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Altruistic offending: from mercy killers to animal liberators

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in Psychology, the University of Auckland, 2015.

*Stand up for something. Too many people they just, they exist, they never stand up for anything. They consume a lot of resource on this planet, they occupy this planet, they breathe in oxygen and spit out CO₂ and yet they make no positive contribution to this planet. And everyone has a cause that they should be standing up for. Be it conservation or animals or humans rights... Get a f***** cause and stand up for something...*

(Participant)

Abstract

Altruism can be defined as an action directed at increasing another's welfare without expectation of personal gain or the expectation of engaging in an exchange relationship. Altruism is claimed to be universal. Altruistic behaviour is often not an attempt to gain social approval and thus, is not generated by egoistic motives. Offending or criminal behaviour, on the other hand, is often perceived to be egoistically motivated and selfish.

The combination of both altruism and offending or "altruistic offending" can be conceptualised as different forms of criminal behaviours which are not motivated by selfish or egotistical reasons. The combination of selfless motivations with criminal behaviour, which is often perceived as egotistical, challenges common perceptions of criminal behaviour.

Altruistic offending is an under-researched yet extremely important area in psychology. The study of altruistic offending can contribute to our understanding of the motivational systems involved and investigate the theory of an independent altruistic motive system. Moreover, the personal experience of altruistic high-risk (offending) behaviour can provide an in-depth, detailed account and can serve to inform psychological theory through the analytic process.

The present thesis sought to examine and investigate the phenomenon of altruistic offending. Firstly, a review of all relevant literature on the topic of human altruism in social psychology including both quantitative and qualitative research was undertaken. This was done in order to identify gaps in knowledge and research, and inform the direction of the thesis as well as future research.

Following the systematic review, quantitative research in the form of a public survey was conducted. The survey provided an overview of public opinion as it related to criminal behaviour in different contexts which was selfishly or selflessly

motivated. It also provided an insight into which factors influence judgements of appropriate punishment.

Subsequent to the survey study, it was felt that in order to gain a thorough understanding of altruistic offending, qualitative research needed to be carried out examining the personal experience of the phenomenon from the offender's perspective. Qualitative research provided an in-depth look into the personal experiences and meaning-making of individuals intimately involved in altruistic offending. Two separate qualitative studies examined two distinct forms of altruistic offending. These were individuals who performed euthanasia/assisted suicide on a loved one, and individuals who had engaged in high-risk animal liberation/activism.

Dedication

I would like to dedicate this thesis to the voiceless humans and animals and to the individuals who have fought and are still fighting to give them voices.

Acknowledgements

I would like to express immense gratitude to all of my participants without whom this thesis would not have been possible. Thank you to the activists who have risked their freedom to stand up for the rights of others. You are truly inspiring. Social change has never happened without first, a revolution in people's hearts and minds. You lead this revolution and society needs you.

I am deeply thankful to my supervisors, Professor R G Owens and Professor F Goodyear-Smith for their continued support and guidance. Glynn, thank you for pointing me in the direction of altruistic offending. Not only have I learned a great deal as a psychologist and researcher but I have also grown as a human being.

Mum and Dad, I cannot begin to express to you how much I value your support and unconditional love. You have always been understanding and encouraging of my academic and life pursuits. Thank you.

Ollie, thank you for being you. Your friendship and love mean so much.

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Glossary

This section provides an outline of the key concepts used throughout this thesis.

Animal Liberation Front	An international, clandestine leaderless resistance movement that engages in illegal direct action in pursuit of animal rights.
Altruistic offending	Criminal acts, the underlying motivation for which is primarily unselfish and aimed at benefitting or improving the general state of another whether human or non-human animal.
Altruistic offender	An individual who engages in altruistic offending.
Animal welfare organisation	An organisation concerned with prevention of unnecessary harm and pain to animals at the hands of humans and upholding of animal welfare practices particularly regarding adequate housing, access to food and water, and freedom to express natural patterns of behaviour. Animal welfare organisations accept that animals have their own interests but allow these interests to be traded away in exchange for human benefits.
Animal rights organisation	An organisation concerned with the rights of animals to live free of human exploitation and abuse. Animal rights organisations hold that animals are not ours to use for food, clothing, entertainment, or experimentation regardless of potential benefits to humans.
Animal liberation	One of the main goals of the animal rights philosophy and movement. The act of freeing of an animal from human exploitation.
Assisted suicide	Suicide with the help of another person.
Activist	A person who campaigns for social/political change and is actively involved in a cause.

Euthanasia	Euthanasia is killing on request such as a doctor intentionally killing a person by the administration of drugs, at that person's voluntary and competent request (Materstvedt et al., 2003).
Factory farm	A large industrialised farming operation and a farm on which large numbers of livestock are raised indoors in controlled conditions intended to maximise production at minimal cost.
Grassroots activism	Activism by local non-government groups which involves different tactics such as protests, demonstrations and can include activities such as animal liberation.
Illegal direct action	Activities performed by grassroots animal rights activists involving (but not limited to) animal liberation, vandalism, disruption of business.
Vegan	Someone, who for ethical reasons, consumes no animal food, dairy products; or animal by-products (such as gelatine). Also, a person who abstains from using animal products (such as leather, fur), and using products tested on animals (such as cosmetics).

Foreword

Why do it?

It can be safely assumed that most people believe crimes to be committed for selfish reasons, motivated primarily by the drive for some sort of personal gain. Arguably this is indeed the case with the majority of crimes committed. However, there are an unknown percentage of crimes committed by individuals for which the underlying motivation may be described as altruistic and not motivated (at least primarily) by a desire for personal benefit. These individuals can be described as altruistic offenders who have engaged in altruistic offending.

Interest in altruistic offending for the current thesis was guided by several questions and goals. Firstly, I wanted to explore the concept of altruism in humans on a broad and general scale encompassing theoretical perspectives and research. Secondly, my goal was to conduct a specific investigation of whether people view more sympathetically those engaging in altruistic offending than those engaging in selfish crimes. Thirdly, I wanted to understand, from a research perspective, what it means to be an altruistic offender. The bigger questions which this thesis can only begin to provide some insight into are whether humans possess the inherent ability to be altruistic in their motives when committing a crime, and whether differences exist between different groups of altruistic offenders, or whether they are almost identical in terms of their underlying motivations.

To gain an understanding and appreciation of the topic of altruistic offending, it was necessary to carry out a comprehensive and systematic literature review on altruistic behaviour in humans. In particular, the focus of my literature review was to examine systematically all social psychological literature on theory and research into human altruism from 1960 to present. This was done with the aim of identifying what is already known and what gaps exist in research on human altruism.

The insight gained from the systematic literature review was used to 'guide' the direction and focus of the thesis and resulting studies. The systematic literature review

provided a good 'broad' understanding of human altruism in social psychology and created a vital 'backdrop' for all subsequent investigations into human altruism for the thesis and future research.

Chapter 1: A systematic literature review of altruism in humans

“How selfish so ever man be supposed, there are evidently some principles in his nature, which interest him in the fortune of others, and render their happiness necessary to him, though he derives nothing from it, except the pleasure of seeing it.”
(Smith, 2009)

1.1 Rationale

The scientific study of altruism in humans is important to our understanding of the processes involved in its development and occurrence as well as informing theory and research. Moreover, the examination of literature on human altruism in general, can be used to identify gaps in knowledge specifically related to altruistic offending and provide a theoretical ‘backdrop’. After examining several definitions of human altruism, the defining features were summarised as an intentional and voluntary act performed to benefit another person as the sole motivation, and without a conscious expectation of reward (Bar-Tal, 1976, 1985-86; Bar-Tal, Sharabany, & Raviv, 1982; Batson, 1998; Berkowitz, 1972; Eisenberg & Miller, 1987a; Krebs, 1970; Leeds, 1963; A. Smith, 2009; Staub, 1978-79). The systematic literature review was conducted in order to provide a thorough overview of theory and original research articles which, in turn, helped to identify ‘gaps’ in research, thus providing guidance for the thesis.

It is worth noting that while the focus of the present thesis is on altruistic offending, no research presently exists examining this concept and therefore, conducting a systematic literature review on altruistic offending was not viable.

1.2 Objective

The objective of the literature review was to summarise all relevant available social psychological literature on altruism in humans from 1960 to the present (2014). A breakdown of the systematic literature review is shown in Figure 1.

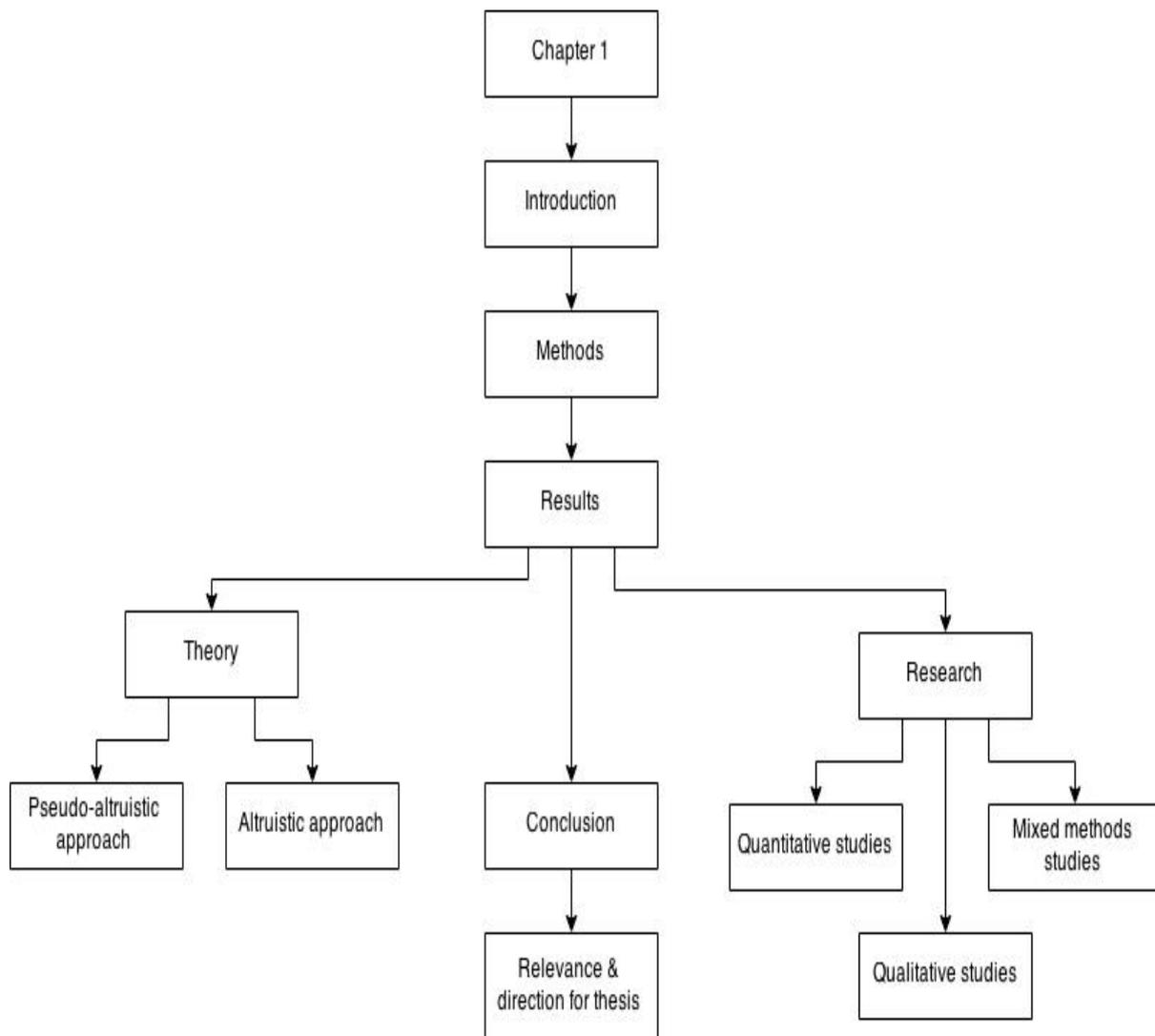


Figure 1. A breakdown of Chapter 1: A systematic literature review of altruism in humans

1.3 Introduction

The term ‘altruism’ was first used by philosopher Auguste Comte (1798-1857) in the 19th century to describe the devotion to the interests of others as an action-guiding principle (as cited in Paul, Miller, & Paul, 1993). Scientific interest in altruism in humans began to grow from the 1960s onwards (Rushton & Sorrentino, 1981). The scientific study of altruism in humans is important to our understanding of the processes involved in the development and occurrence of altruism as well as informing theory and research in the field of psychology and in many other disciplines.

1.4 Method of literature review

A systematic literature review was conducted using the Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses (PRISMA) criteria as a guideline (Liberati et al., 2009; Moher, Liberati, Tetzlaff, & Altman, 2009) to synthesise all relevant available social psychological literature on the topic of altruism in humans from 1960 to the present. Systematic methods were used to identify, select, critically review all relevant theoretical and original research literature, and report data from studies included in the review (Moher et al., 2009). Specific attempts were made to minimise bias by following specific guidelines set according to the PRISMA criteria (Liberati et al., 2009; Moher et al., 2009). Research literature was sourced from several major databases as well as secondary sources such as reference lists from accessed articles and grey literature. Sourced literature (total of 1881 items) was initially screened and then assessed for eligibility using a pre-determined eligibility checklist. All items that passed eligibility were then critically reviewed and synthesised according to key characteristics and findings. Results for the systematic review were discussed.

Several key characteristics were present in the systematic literature review. Firstly, objectives were clearly stated and a reproducible methodology was used (Moher et al., 2009). Secondly, systematic literature searches were conducted in an attempt to identify all literature meeting the pre-determined eligibility criteria (Moher et al., 2009). Thirdly, all screened and selected literature was systematically presented in terms of their characteristics and key findings, resulting in a synthesis of all relevant social psychological literature on human altruism.

All literature which passed the eligibility checks ($N=308$) was sorted into either 'Theory' ($N=97$) or 'Research' ($N=211$) sections depending on content. Appropriate literature was then reviewed in each of the sections. Additionally, to summarise effectively the research literature, all reviewed studies were placed in a table according to methodology (quantitative, qualitative, and mixed methods). Each study was evaluated on properties of reliability, validity, and generalisability based on specific

scoring criteria. A 'Quality' rating was then given based on the evaluation of these three properties (Appendix B).

To illustrate, eligibility criteria were specified for sourcing the literature. Specifically, scientific interest in human altruism has particularly grown from the 1960s onwards (Dovidio, 1984; Rushton & Sorrentino, 1981), thus articles from 1960 to 2014 were sourced, full text availability (such as hard copy, internet file), research on human participants only, and English language criteria were also selected. To narrow down the research focus, only social psychology-related research literature on altruism in humans was sourced. It was also decided to include literature on altruism through the human lifespan (from birth to death), not limiting the review to adults or children only. Subject headings used were: altruism and altruistic behaviour. Keywords used were: altruism, altruistic behaviour, empathy, helping behaviour, and pro-social behaviour.

To ensure that the search was comprehensive, several major psychology databases were used for sourcing literature. These were PsycInfo ($N=229$), PsycArticles ($N=36$), PsycCritiques ($N=53$), PsycEXTRA ($N=124$), Psychology and Behavioural Sciences Collection ($N=929$) and ProQuest ($N=29$). In total, 1,400 records were identified through database searching. Other sources were also searched. These were Voyager ($N=140$), Google Scholar ($N=76$), book sections ($N=125$) and grey literature ($N=20$). Any additional studies were identified by hand using reference lists from key sourced papers ($N=120$). Grey literature sourced included unpublished theses and dissertations. All sourced grey literature was checked for possible publication at a later date. Systematic literature reviews done by other researchers were also sourced and non-English papers were excluded. In total, other sources yielded 481 additional records. All retrieved records were entered into Endnote X7.

A large number of identified citations ($N=1881$) were imported into the referencing programme Endnote X7. After removal of duplicates ($N=325$), 1556 citations remained. The process for initial selection of articles and publications was as follows. Firstly, all sourced publications and information were screened for relevance to the topic of altruism in humans according to their title and abstract. That is, direct mention had to be made of altruism in humans in either the title, the abstract, or both. Mention of terms such as pro-social behaviour and helping were also accepted as long as they

were used in direct relation to altruism. Studies that did not pass initial screening for relevance were excluded on this basis. In addition, video, audio, magazine, newspaper resources, and book reviews were also removed as they were not suitable for the purposes of this systematic literature review. Book reviews were consulted and books not already included were sourced. In total, 1,012 citations were excluded during the initial screening on the basis of not being relevant.

Following the initial screening, full text eligibility checks were conducted on all remaining records ($N=544$). Efforts were made to enhance objectivity and avoid making mistakes in item selection by following an eligibility checklist devised specifically for the current systematic review in accordance with PRISMA recommendations (Liberati et al., 2009; Moher et al., 2009). The eligibility checklist was consulted during the full text eligibility checking process (see Table 1).

Table 1: Eligibility checklist used for full-text check

CHECKLIST	
Altruism and/or altruistic behaviour as main topics	
Pro-social and/or helping behaviour as discussed topics in direct relation to human altruism	
Human participants	
Grounded in psychological theory	
Quantitative and/or qualitative methods used to test theory	
Non-volunteer related	
Non-economic	
Non-genetic	
Non-religious	
Non-philosophical	
Full text	

As mentioned previously, theory and research articles on human altruism were sourced from social psychology literature. This did not, however, include articles based around the study of human volunteering behaviour. This behaviour is planned and its underlying motivation may not be altruistic. For example, some volunteer behaviour

may be motivated by personal career pursuits. Thus, volunteer studies have not specifically attempted to study human altruism per se.

Due to the nature of the research undertaking (as part of a doctoral degree), all materials were screened for eligibility by the principal investigator only (student researcher) which may have slightly affected objectivity and validity.

A number of records were excluded ($N=336$). Table 2 outlines the reasons for exclusion.

Table 2: A breakdown of records excluded ($N=336$) with reasons

Reason for exclusion	Number of records
Genetic/volunteer/ economic/religious/philosophical	79
Not meeting criteria	151
Opinion piece/commentary	62
Unavailable	30
Not relevant at all	14

Some additional records were added through hand searches during the eligibility check ($N=100$). All articles and publications which passed the full-text eligibility check were included in the systematic literature review ($N=308$). Table 3 outlines the types of records included in the systematic literature review.

Table 3: A breakdown of types of records which passed the final eligibility checks (including those added through an additional hand search, $N=308$)

Type	Number
Journal Articles	233
Book Sections	59
Whole Books	15
Theses	1

Synthesis was achieved through the organisation of studies into thematically similar areas of theory and research (quantitative, qualitative and mixed methods), with the critical discussion and integration of both theory and research.

1.5 Results of literature search

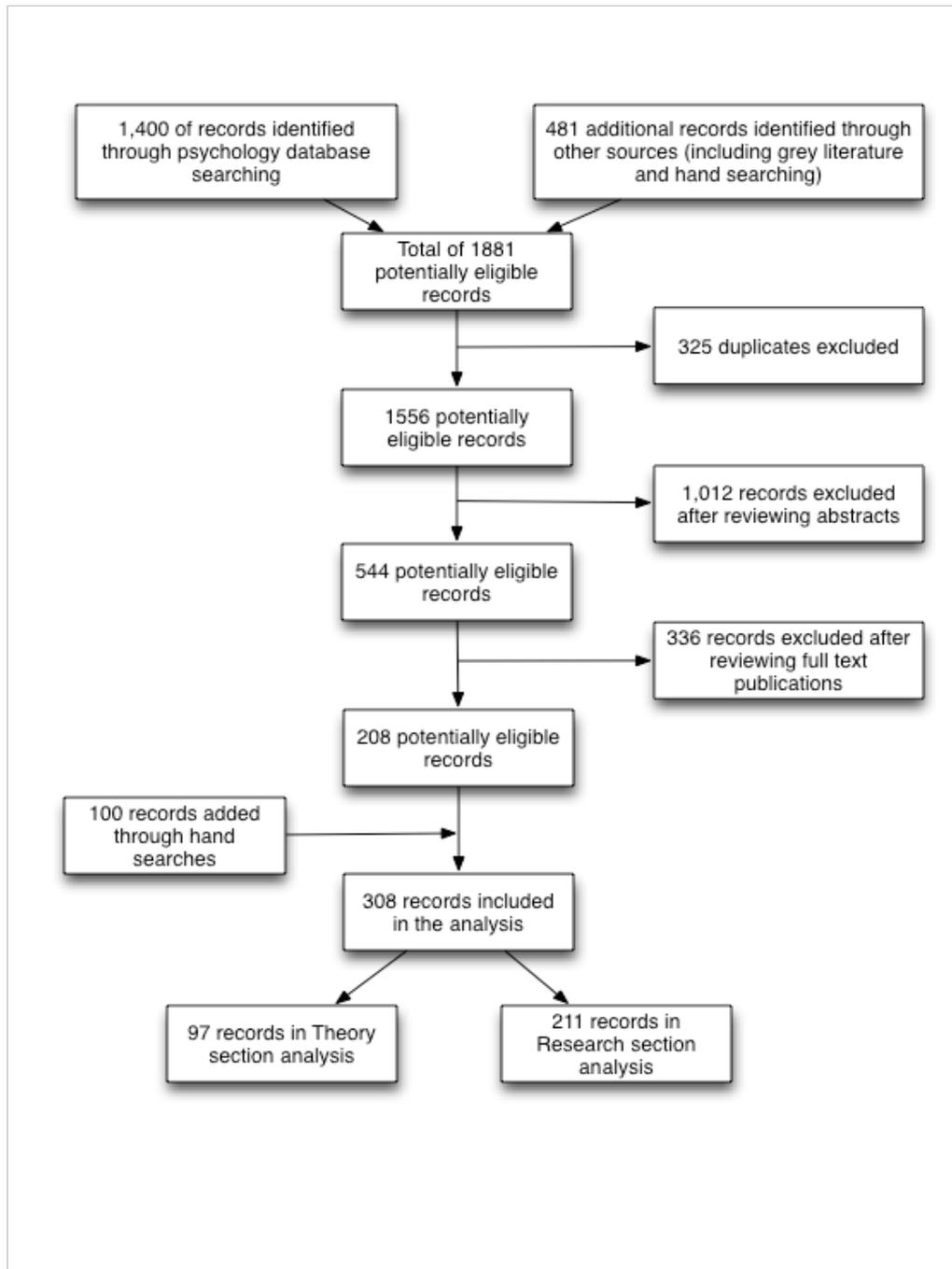


Figure 2. Flowchart of literature search showing the number of records identified, excluded and included (flowchart adapted from Moher et al., 2009)

1.6 Theory of altruism

1.6.1 Defining altruism as a psychological concept

The 1960s is often cited as the decade when a surge in scientific interest occurred on the topic of altruism in humans in both theory and research (Dovidio, 1984; Rushton & Sorrentino, 1981). Several key events have been offered as explanations for this surge in interest, for example the Black Civil Rights Movement and the well-known 'Kitty Genovese' incident of 1964 during which a large number of bystanders failed to intervene while a woman was raped and murdered on a New York street (Batson, 1998; Batson, Darley, & Coke, 1978; Rushton & Sorrentino, 1981). A general surge in psychological research and inquiry during the second part of the twentieth century has been cited as a dominant influence over research into human altruism. Regardless of which factors exerted the greatest influence over the surge in psychological inquiry into altruism, the concept of helping behaviour (later referred to as altruism) and human nature have both always been in the forefront of the minds of philosophers, psychologists, and others concerned with the human condition (Rushton & Sorrentino, 1981).

The definition of altruism as a psychological concept is no easy undertaking. As will become evident throughout this review, different groups of researchers argue for different definitions. The definitions that researchers use often guide how research is conducted (Sorrentino & Rushton, 1981). In particular, one of the most prominent divisions between groups of researchers relates to the underlying motivational influence over altruism, and whether true altruism exists or is merely a form of egoism. That is, whether altruism is selfishly or selflessly motivated. In this literature review, this division is termed as pseudo-altruistic and altruistic approaches.

Some researchers argue that to define altruism accurately, one must separate it from its opposite – egoism (Batson, 1991) - and that altruism is an integral part of the 'selfless' self (Dambrun & Ricard, 2011). According to this view, altruism and egoism are two separate motivational states, and are distinct in terms of the direction of goal-directed motivation (to the self or to the other), with altruism's ultimate goal being the improvement of another's welfare (Batson, 1991; Batson, 2010; Batson, Duncan,

Ackerman, Buckley, Birch, 1981). This view does acknowledge, however, that while egoism and altruism have distinct motives, they can co-occur (Batson, 2010). For example, the weak form of human hedonism asserts that attaining a goal brings pleasure, hence the ultimate goal of improving another's welfare is altruistic, the achievement of which brings egoistic pleasure to the actor (Batson, 2010). Other researchers argue that altruism is selfishly motivated, with the underlying goal being the improvement of one's own well-being (Batson et al., 2007; Cialdini et al., 1987; Hoffman, 1981b).

While there are certain points of difference between the various definitions of altruism, most researchers agree that the essential features of altruism include an act performed (a) to benefit another person, (b) voluntarily and intentionally, (c) with its sole goal being the benefit of another person, and (d) without expectations of an external reward (Bar-Tal, Bar-Tal, 1976; 1985-86; Bar-Tal et al., 1982; Batson, 1998; Berkowitz, 1972; Eisenberg & Miller, 1987a; Krebs, 1970; Leeds, 1963; Staub, 1978-79). Therefore, it seems that a critical criterion in the definition of altruism in humans is its motivational base (Batson, 1998, 2010; Batson & Coke, 1981; Krebs & Russell, 1981) as either a goal-directed action aimed at furthering the welfare of another (Monroe, 1996a) or, in the case of selfish motivation, oneself (Batson et al., 2007; Cialdini et al., 1987; Hoffman, 1981b).

Some researchers point to a duality in the definition of altruism, that is, altruism as either normative or autonomous (Rosenhan, 1970). Normative altruism includes common-place acts of helpfulness, such as returning a lost bag, which are governed by social rewards and punishments (Rosenhan, 1970). Normative altruism is by far the more commonly witnessed and practiced form of altruism for most people. Autonomous altruism, on the other hand, is not influenced by societal norms and the self appears to be its primary driving force without anticipated rewards or punishments (Rosenhan, 1970). Examples of autonomous altruism are not so common-place and include acts such as those committed by rescuers of Jews in Nazi-occupied Europe. Such acts of autonomous altruism may also be referred to as heroism (Franco, Blau, & Zimbardo, 2011). In a general sense, normative altruism is low risk and low cost for the actor, while autonomous altruism is often high risk and high cost for the actor.

1.6.2 Dominant psychological theories on human altruism

Early theories

To review comprehensively modern psychological theories of human motivation in relation to altruism, an understanding of some of the earlier theories is important, because these provide the foundations from which contemporary theories developed. While the present systematic review focuses on psychological literature on human altruism from the 1960s onwards, some historical context is appropriate.

The concept of altruism was something of an anomaly for Charles Darwin (1809-1882) with his theory of the evolution of man and natural selection (Rushton & Sorrentino, 1981), and was largely neglected. It was not until the mid to late 20th century that researchers resolved the paradox of natural selection and altruism by introducing the notions of group and kin selection (Hoffman, 1981b), inclusive fitness (Hamilton, 1964; Hoffman, 1981b; Rushton & Sorrentino, 1981), and reciprocal altruism (Trivers, 1971). Group and kin selection theories revolved around the argument that natural selection favoured groups because the likelihood of passing on genes successfully increased for groups, compared with individuals. The argument of inclusive fitness proposed that an individual's genetic fitness can be measured not only by its survival and the survival of its offspring, but also by the enhancement of the fitness of its kin (Hamilton, 1964; Hoffman, 1981b). In terms of reciprocal altruism, natural selection had to favour altruism even among non-kin, because of the long-term benefits to the organism performing it (Trivers, 1971). According to these theories, altruism is ultimately selfish in the sense that it serves to increase one's genetic fitness. The development of these biological and evolutionary theories impacted on some early psychological theories concerned with parental care and self-sacrifice (Holmes, 1945; Rushton & Sorrentino, 1981).

Many of the early psychological theories, such as those based on behaviourism and psychoanalysis, were influenced by the belief that all human motivation is inherently selfish or egotistical (Batson, 1987, 1991; Batson & Coke, 1981). As a result, investigation into the possible existence of 'true' altruism was largely ignored (Batson & Coke, 1981). For example, Freud (1856-1939) argued that all actions are ultimately self-serving and occur to meet the needs of the self (as cited in Batson, 1991). Human

nature, according to some theorists, is thus hedonistic, with the aim of seeking pleasure and avoiding pain (Bar-Tal, 1985-86). As a result, the existence of altruism was not actively researched for much of the early 20th century (Batson, 1987).

The argument that all human motivation is inherently selfish dominated theory and research for much of the 19th and 20th centuries, and continues to dominate theory today (Hoffman, 1981a). An alternative argument, however, also presented itself in early theory on human motivation. This argument proposed the existence of unselfish motivation directed towards benefitting the 'other' and not the 'self', and was first referred to under the heading of 'benevolence' (Hume, 1896; 1902 as cited in Batson, 1987). In 1851, Auguste Comte introduced the term 'altruism' to describe this form of unselfish motivation and a distinction was drawn between acts which were selfishly motivated and those which were selflessly motivated (Comte, 1875 as cited in Batson, 1987). The existence of 'true' altruism, however, is as much of a contentious matter for many present day researchers as it was throughout history, and theories on human motivation continue to be characterised by egoistic or altruistic undercurrents.

Contemporary theories

Contemporary theories on human motivation can be divided into two main categories: pseudo-altruistic and altruistic (Batson, 1987, 1991). It should be noted that there is significant overlap between pseudo-altruistic and altruistic theories and the distinction between them is not always clear. This may create some degree of confusion. While arguably it is best to approach theories on human altruism from an integrating perspective in order to prevent further confusion, in the present literature review, this division is used with the aim of organising theories for the reader. The following sections attempt to present a comprehensive review of psychological literature covering both categories in a systematic manner.

1.6.3 The pseudo-altruistic approach

The pseudo-altruistic approach to altruism has been a dominating force in psychological theory (Hoffman, 1981a). The defining feature of the pseudo-altruistic approach is that, no matter how altruistic an act appears to be on the surface, it is

ultimately egoistically-motivated whereby the end goal is the improvement of one's own welfare or the alleviation of personal distress (Batson, 1987; Batson & Coke, 1981; B. Schwartz, 1993). In this approach, altruism has been redefined to fit the dominant argument that all human action is self-serving. This is by no means similar to the definition of altruism that Comte (1875) had in mind (Batson, 1987). Thus, the pseudo-altruistic approach refers to altruism as simply a form of egoism (Batson, 1987).

It is possible to identify three main categories of the pseudo-altruistic approach. In the first category, altruism is seen as helping behaviour and the issue of motivation is ignored altogether (Batson, 1987, 1991). This approach refers to altruism as a form of behaviour benefiting another organism relative to oneself and has been popular with developmental psychologists and socio-biologists (Batson, 1987, 1991). Some researchers opposed to this view have argued that the question of motivation is paramount and cannot be ignored (Batson, 1987, 1991).

The second and third categories of the pseudo-altruistic argument are quite similar. They attempt to redefine altruism as a form of egoism and place emphasis on motivation to gain internal rewards, social learning and internalisation of values. Specifically altruism is seen as helping behaviour in order to gain internal rewards (Bar-Tal, 1976; Bar-Tal et al., 1982; Batson, 1987, 1991) and an expectation of internal rewards (Staub, 1978-79) even when these rewards are not directly observable (Aronfreed, 1970). In this way, the altruistic behaviour is a form of egoism so long as the rewards are internal. For example, some researchers argue that through an internalisation process, by adulthood, altruism acts as a self-reward mechanism (Cialdini, Baumann, & Kenrick, 1981). Additionally, the self-reward mechanism fosters self-satisfaction and self-esteem in adolescence as opposed to the expectation of material rewards and social approval in very young children and older children respectively (Bar-Tal & Raviv, 1982; Bar-Tal et al., 1982).

Moreover, altruistic behaviour is self-chosen and a result of internalised values, rather than a result of compliance to external influence (Aronfreed, 1970; Batson, 1987; Grusec, 1981; S. H. Schwartz & Howard, 1982). This is not to say that the importance of the experience of vicarious empathic emotion is diminished. On the contrary, this is

a crucial criterion of altruistic behaviour, the origins of which can be found in contingencies of socialisation (Aronfreed, 1970; Eisenberg, Valiente, & Champion, 2004; Penner, Dovidio, Piliavin, & Schroeder, 2005). If, however, in later stages of development, there is a reliance on material rewards, then the internalisation of intrinsic motivations to help may not be very successful (Grusec, 1991). This view is probably the most popular among contemporary psychologists who adhere to the pseudo-altruistic argument, and it has little in common with the concept of 'true' non-selfish altruism (Batson, 1987, 1991).

The social learning perspective (Rushton, 1982) argues that the frequency, patterning and degree of altruistic behaviour in which a person engages is determined by their social learning history. In this way, our moral responses are acquired through the 'laws of learning' (Rushton, 1982). These laws include classical conditioning, observational learning, reinforcement learning, and learning from verbal instruction (Rushton, 1982). In terms of the internalisation of values, some psychologists argue that this process is facilitated by observational learning by observing models, the consequences to the model from helping (negative, positive or neutral), characteristics of the model, and the relationship between the observer and the model (Aronfreed, 1970; Dovidio & Penner, 2004; Grusec, 1981; Sorrentino & Rushton, 1981).

Parental models have been proposed to exert the strongest and most prolonged influences on the internalisation process (Dovidio & Penner, 2004) and a positive relationship with a parent has been found to play an important role in the development of long-term altruistic behaviour in adult life (Rosenhan, 1970). Conversely, an insecure attachment has been shown to impact altruistic behaviour negatively (Mikulincer, Shaver, Gillath, & Nitzberg, 2005a). Some researchers, however, have found no strong evidence supporting the assumption that parental models exert a strong influence over internalisation of values (Monroe, 1996b). For example, a study of qualitative interviews with altruists revealed no consistent pattern in parental role-modelling (Monroe, 1996b). Some theorists also propose that behaviour-contingent learning influences the development of altruistic behaviour during childhood, and this in turn serves as an internal reinforcement (Aronfreed, 1970).

Personal standards are internalised to varying degrees (Rushton, 1982). Internalised standards of the highest degree are 'moral principles', followed by 'values' and 'social conventions' (Rushton, 1982). Furthermore, the internalisation of moral standards is not age-dependent, according to this perspective, but rather a result of modelling and reinforcement contingencies (Rushton, 1982). Some researchers argue that people can be advanced from one stage of moral development to another through social influence procedures (Rushton, 1982). Others argue, however, that social learning does not explain altruism entirely, and ignores genetic influences, high-order reasoning such as role-taking abilities, and that social influence procedures are insufficient for changing moral reasoning (Krebs, 1982).

According to normative theory, there are three basic influences over altruism - the intensity of moral (personal) obligation, an individual's cognitive structure of norms and values, and the relevance or appropriateness of feelings of moral obligation (S. H. Schwartz, 1977). Moral personal obligations or norms are influenced by shared group expectations about appropriate behaviour and social rewards. However, they vary between individuals (S. H. Schwartz, 1977; S. H. Schwartz & Howard, 1981, 1982). People help because they perceive that doing so would be the appropriate social response, either due to previous experience or observation of others (Dovidio & Penner, 2004). In essence, people are socialised in society to adopt the norm of social responsibility and to help those dependent upon them (Berkowitz, 1972). Social norms in this sense influence altruism.

There are two general classes of social norms identified by researchers. The first class refers to feelings of fairness and the second class to aiding, such as the social responsibility norm (Berkowitz, 1972; Dovidio & Penner, 2004; Lerner, 1980). Feelings of fairness are often described in terms of the norm of reciprocity (Gouldner, 1960). Specifically, we help those who have helped us and not those who have denied us help (Gouldner, 1960).

Fairness and the need to see the world as just are central to the 'just world hypothesis' proposed by Lerner (1970, 1977, 1980). According to this hypothesis there is a shared belief that the world is fair and people get what they deserve, and vice versa. The concern with justice for others only occurs as a result of the observer's sense of

fairness (Lerner, 1970; Lerner & Meindl, 1981). A 'personal contract' guides our self-interest and creates a sense of personal 'deservingness' which takes precedence over anyone else's 'deservingness' (Lerner, 1977). Moreover, while people strive to protect their sense of justice, people's conceptions of moral order (what is good or bad) differ. Divisions between in-groups ('us') and out-groups ('them') in society means that the application of justice is different for 'us' and 'them' (Reykowski, 2002). An example of this type of division is the societal phenomenon of ethnocentrism.

The suffering of an innocent victim, however is inconsistent with the shared belief of a just world and causes aversive arousal (Lerner, 1970, 1977; Sorrentino, 1981). In order to reduce this, the observer will either help or derogate the victim (Batson, 1987; Hoffman, 1981a; Lerner, 1970; Sorrentino, 1981). When the victim is innocent and we are unable to help, we are more likely to derogate them (Sorrentino, 1981). Believing that a victim deserved to suffer restores our belief in a just world (Sorrentino, 1981). Essentially, our decision to either help, walk away, or derogate the victim depends on the pay-offs we, as observers, may receive and what is the least costly choice (Lerner & Meindl, 1981) as well as our individual differences (Sorrentino, 1981). In this way, the observer will only help if their own deservingness is not threatened. This was illustrated by studies showing that people were more likely to correct an injustice towards others by providing additional money only when they had as much money for themselves as they felt they deserved (D. T. Miller, 1977b).

The social responsibility norm assumes that there is a social expectation that people will help those dependent on them (Berkowitz & Daniels, 1963). Personal standards and norms also play an important influential role in helping behaviour (Dovidio & Penner, 2004). Personal norms can influence helping behaviour both cognitively and affectively (Dovidio & Penner, 2004). For example, cognitively, people possess expectations of behaviour based on personal standards. Affectively, people experience emotions when meeting or not meeting these personal standards (such as guilt) (Dovidio & Penner, 2004).

The stage theory approach on the development of altruism argues that individuals go through several stages of ethical development (Kohlberg, 1984) with the central source of change being cognitive-structural development (Krebs & Hesteren, 1994).

During the early stages ethical development is mainly rooted in self-interest, fear of punishment, and desire for reward (Monroe, 1996a). Some individuals then develop the desire to be good members of the communities to which they belong, which provides them with motivation to follow community norms. (Monroe, 1996a). Individuals whose moral development stops at these early stages exhibit 'conventional morality' (Monroe, 1996a). Individuals whose ethical development progresses further acquire universal moral norms which go beyond community norms (Monroe, 1996a). Human behaviour, however, is arguably not solely dependent upon stages of ethical and moral development, but involves an interaction with situational influences (Krebs & Hesteren, 1994).

Other researchers have also argued along similar lines, proposing that a truly altruistic act is a developmental achievement, possible only in the final developmental stage or with increasing maturity (Bar-Tal et al., 1982; Krebs & Hesteren, 1994). Specifically, six stages are proposed to be involved in the development of altruistic behaviour – (1) compliance with defined reinforcement or punishment, (2) compliance with authority, (3) internal initiative with defined rewards, (4) normative behaviour (compliance with societal demands), (5) generalised reciprocity (behaviour guided by universal principles of exchange), and (6) voluntary altruistic behaviour (Bar-Tal et al., 1982). Studies have found some evidence for the stage theory approach (Dreman & Greenbaum, 1973; Monroe, 1996a), however deviations from existing principles and a regression to earlier stages have also been documented in interview participants (Monroe, 1996a).

Further, as argued by proponents of pseudo-altruistic theories, altruism should be seen as helping behaviour motivated by the desire to reduce aversive arousal or tension, such as personal distress from witnessing another's suffering (Batson, 1987, 1991). The arousal-reduction model has often been adopted by researchers to account for this view (Karylowski, 1982; Piliavin, Dovidio, Gaertner, & Clark III, 1981, 1982). According to the arousal-reduction model, when an observer witnesses another's suffering, this causes negative emotional arousal in the observer, and the observer attempts to reduce this arousal by helping the sufferer with the most efficient response possible (Batson, 1990a; Piliavin et al., 1981, 1982).

The negative state relief model is similar to the arousal-reduction model and (Cialdini, Kenrick, & Baumann, 1982; Cialdini et al., 1987; Schaller & Cialdini, 1988) is based on the principles of operant conditioning. It proposes that witnessing another person suffer creates feelings of sadness and guilt which motivate the observer to help because helping minimises these negative emotions and makes the observer feel better (Cialdini et al., 1982; Cialdini et al., 1987; Dovidio & Penner, 2004). The model also proposes that other events besides helping that make the observer feel better can diminish the motivation to help, especially if these events precede the opportunity to help or if the observer is aware of less-costly ways to improve their mood (Cialdini, Darby, & Vincent, 1973; Dovidio & Penner, 2004; Schaller & Cialdini, 1988). Finally, the negative state relief model proposes that an observer will only be motivated to help if helping is believed to reduce the negative emotions such as guilt and sadness, thus motivation is dependent upon helping possessing self-rewarding properties (Cialdini & Kenrick, 1976; Cialdini et al., 1982; Cialdini et al., 1987). If, on the other hand, helping is believed to be incapable of relieving negative emotions, the observer is unlikely to help (Manucia, Baumann, & Cialdini, 1984). Therefore, according to the negative state relief model, the sole goal of the observer is to eliminate the negative arousal caused by witnessing someone in need, without necessarily acting in ways that help the person in need.

The cost-reward model encompasses costs and rewards for helping or not helping and relates closely to the arousal-reduction models (Piliavin et al., 1981, 1982). The cost-reward model proposes that witnessing the distress of another person creates unpleasant empathic arousal in the observer and he is motivated to reduce it (Piliavin et al., 1981, 1982). Empathic arousal motivates the bystander to act and the cost-reward analysis provides direction for the observer's actions (Dovidio & Penner, 2004).

Piliavin et al. (1981, 1982) proposes two subcategories of costs incurred by the observer when witnessing a person in need. Firstly, there are personal costs such as self-blame for inaction and public censure (Piliavin et al., 1981). Secondly, there are empathy costs such as the knowledge that the victim is suffering (Piliavin et al., 1981). The second sub-category of empathy costs is somewhat altruistic in nature, however Piliavin's et al. (1981) reference to 'we-ness' implies that the experience of empathy

costs can lead the observer to help the victim in order to reduce their suffering as much as his own.

The rewards for helping may include avoidance of guilt, self-praise, and social approval (Piliavin et al., 1981). The experience of guilt in response to a victim's suffering can be a powerful motivator for helping behaviour (Hoffman, 1981a; Rawlings, 1970; Salovey, Mayer, & Rosenhan, 1991). Researchers have found that people are more likely to help those that they feel they have harmed (Salovey et al., 1991). This has been explained by researchers in that feelings of guilt endanger self-esteem in the observer and therefore the observer engages in helping behaviour as a form of self-image reparation (Salovey et al., 1991). Thus, both the arousal-reduction model and the cost-reward model are associated with arousal as the central motivational concept (Dovidio & Penner, 2004) and are generally considered pseudo-altruistic with some potentially altruistic elements, such as actions motivated by empathy costs (Piliavin et al., 1981, 1982).

Other researchers have proposed slight variations on the arousal-reduction models. Hoffman (1981a, 1981b) proposed that witnessing another's suffering causes empathic distress (aversive) in the observer which, in turn, motivates the observer to help. Attributions to the cause of the victim's suffering influence the observer's willingness to help as well, with attributions to controllable causes inhibiting helping, and attributions to uncontrollable causes producing sympathy and motivating helping (B. Weiner, 1980, 1986). Furthermore, Hornstein (1982) proposed that when we observe those cognitively linked to the self as 'us' or 'we' in suffering, we are more likely to help because suffering by members of our 'in-group' causes significant aversive tension. Finally, Reykowski (1982) proposed that the perception of a discrepancy between the current and the desirable state of another's welfare produces cognitive inconsistency and a desire to reduce this inconsistency by helping. To conclude, all above mentioned arousal-reduction arguments share a common characteristic: the ultimate goal is to reduce one's own aversive arousal by helping the victim, and all are thus variations of an egoistic motive.

1.6.4 The altruistic approach

The second category of contemporary theory on human motivation – the altruistic approach - retains the meaning of ‘true’ altruism as Comte intended, that is, behaviour guided primarily by non-selfish motivation (Batson, 1987). Here, altruistic motivation is directed toward the end goal of improving the other’s welfare and any feelings of self-reward or alleviation of personal distress are by-products of this goal (Batson & Coke, 1981). Some authors argue that by challenging presumptions of individualism and egoism, ‘true’ altruism is no longer impossible but is, rather, ubiquitous (B. Schwartz, 1993). Moreover, some researchers argue for the existence of a ‘trait’ of altruism and the existence of an ‘altruistic personality’ type (Penner et al., 2005; Rushton, 1981; Staub, 1978-79).

Underlying the ‘altruistic personality’ are motivations such as empathy, norms of appropriate behaviour, and a tendency to experience cognitive and affective empathy (Penner et al., 2005; Rushton, 1981). Role-taking abilities provide the capacity to empathise and norms of behaviour are internalised and guide judgements of approval and disapproval (Rushton, 1981). These motivations are, however, ‘hypothetical constructs’ and thus cannot be directly observed (Rushton, 1981). Nonetheless, proponents of the ‘altruistic personality’ describe an altruist as someone with higher standards of justice, social responsibility, and modes of moral reasoning, who is more empathic to the feelings of others and is, accordingly, able to view the world from the emotional and motivational perspectives of others (Rushton, 1981). Thus, the ‘altruist’ will engage in a variety of altruistic behaviours, behave consistently more honestly and with greater self-control, and have an integrated personality characterised by strong feelings of self-efficacy and integrity (Rushton, 1981).

Unfortunately, altruistic theories suffer from several problems. Firstly, altruistic theories lack precision and are sometimes misinterpreted (Batson, 1987). In addition, due to lack of precision in their definition, empirical findings for altruistic theories are often inconclusive and can be accounted for by pseudo-altruistic theories (Batson, 1987). Much overlap also exists between pseudo-altruistic and altruistic theories. These shortcomings make it difficult to categorise altruistic theories into sub-groups.

Taking into account these shortcomings, it is more effective to review altruistic theories as they are proposed by particular researchers.

Hoffman (1981a) proposed that two processes form the motivational basis for helping and altruistic action – empathic distress and sympathetic distress. Empathic distress occurs when the observer experiences empathy defined as “an affective response appropriate to someone else’s situation rather than one’s own” (Hoffman, 1977a; 1981a, p.44). Empathic distress may occur in response to the plight of an individual or of a group or class of people (Hoffman, 1981a). Empathy can be aroused through certain involuntary mechanisms and also has complex subjective cognitive, affective, and motivational components (Hoffman, 1977a, 1981a).

According to Hoffman (Hoffman, 1977a, 1981a), there are at least six involuntary modes that can arouse empathy. These are the reactive cry (in new-borns), classical conditioning (when distress cues from others evoke distress in the self), direct association (from past experiences), mimicry (through facial expression and/or posture), symbolic association (through language) and role-taking (a very advanced cognitive mode) (Hoffman, 1981a). These modes do not necessarily occur in sequence, although some, such as the reactive cry, occur in infancy and discontinue with maturation. The cues in a specific situation determine which modes of empathic arousal are activated.

The subjective experience of empathy is more complex than the involuntary modes of empathic arousal and involves feelings of sympathy and a desire to relieve the victim’s suffering (Rosenhan, 1978). It involves a cognitive component, which is dependent upon the developmental stage of the observer. That is, young children who lack the distinction between self and other may not experience these cognitions (Hoffman, 1977a, 1981a). As children pass through various developmental stages, they eventually become aware of others as having personal identities and histories, and are thus more likely to experience empathy as well as involuntary arousal (Hoffman, 1977a, 1981a). In essence, an intrinsic altruistic motive system exists in which a person’s empathic response to another’s distress, coupled with a cognitive sense of the other, provides a basis for a motive independent of egoistic motivation (Hoffman, 1975b).

From both affective and cognitive components of empathic distress emerges sympathetic distress, which Hoffman (1977a, 1981a) and others argue is the underlying motivation for altruism (Rosenhan, 1978). Empathic distress may also have the opposite effect, however, by directing the observer's attention away from the victim and onto themselves, thereby decreasing the likelihood of altruistic behaviour (Hoffman, 1977a, 1981a). This suggests a possible optimal range of empathic arousal within which people are more likely to act altruistically. If empathic over-arousal occurs, people are more likely to attend to their own distress, rather than to that of the victim. Observers may also try to reduce the level of arousal by employing different strategies (such as looking away or derogating the victim) (Bandura & Rosenthal, 1966; Hoffman, 1977a, 1981a). Furthermore, if the observer perceives the victim to be responsible for his or her own plight, the empathic distress may be neutralised (Hoffman, 1981a). Thus, empathic and sympathetic distress are pro-social only within certain intensity limits.

As mentioned earlier, altruistic theories suffer from several problems, such as a lack of definitional precision and inconclusive empirical evidence. The theory of empathic and sympathetic distress proposed by Hoffman (1981a) is not immune to these problems. The distinction between empathic and sympathetic distress is not always clear. For example, the term 'empathic distress' has been used by Hoffman to refer to both empathic and sympathetic distress, and the experience of empathy has been described as possessing both egoistic and altruistic characteristics (1981a, 1982).

Some researchers also argue that much of the empirical evidence presented is amenable to egoistic interpretations (Batson, 1987). For example, Hoffman (1982) cites as evidence for the existence of empathic and sympathetic distress that people from a wide range of ages and cultures try to help others in distress (Batson, 1987). This, however, says little about the underlying motivation, which can be altruistic or egoistic (Batson, 1987). The blurring of the distinction between empathic and sympathetic distress and the inconclusiveness of empirical evidence create the possibility of misinterpretation so that Hoffman's theory (1981a, 1982) can be re-conceptualised as a pseudo-altruistic argument that postulates egoistic motives such as the reduction of aversive arousal and subtle self-reward (Batson, 1987). One must

not confuse the consequence of an act and its primary goal whereby if the primary goal was to relieve another's suffering, any benefits to self are secondary.

Krebs (1975), in a similar manner to Hoffman (1981a, 1982), initially proposed the existence of altruistic motivation arising from the experience of empathy but also proposed a pseudo-altruistic view of arousal-reduction. To illustrate, initially Krebs (1975) suggested that "empathic reactions mediate altruistic responses" (1975, p.1134) but then asserted that it is in the best interests of the observer to "maximise the hedonic balance of others in order to maximise the favourableness of their own hedonic state" (1975, p.1144-1145). Some researchers have criticised Krebs' (1975) argument by pointing out that he failed to make a crucial distinction between the goals and consequences of an action and thus fluctuated between altruistic and pseudo-altruistic views of motivation in turn, creating confusion (Batson, 1987). In addition, the empirical evidence presented by Krebs (1975) in support of his theory is inconclusive and can be interpreted as support for either egoistic or altruistic motivation (Batson, 1987).

Other researchers have proposed that certain affects and emotions are the triggers of altruistic motivation rather than specifically empathy or sympathy (Rosenhan, 1970, 1978; Rosenhan, Salovey, Karylowski, & Hargis, 1981). According to this view, whilst experiencing those affects, the observer violates laws of reinforcement by directing behaviour towards the needs of others without regard for himself (Midlarsky & Bryan, 1967; Rosenhan, Salovey, Karylowski, et al., 1981). Autonomous altruism is an example of altruistic behaviour which violates the laws of reinforcement and punishment (Rosenhan, 1970). By definition, autonomous altruism should be seen as 'selfless' as it is not governed by societal norms and its impetus comes from the self. Furthermore, a process of 'empathic conditioning' has been said to occur in both children and adults, whereby the observer's behaviour is influenced by particular cues which elicit an empathic response (Rosenhan, 1978; Weiss, Buchanan, Altstatt, & Lombardo, 1971). Unfortunately, as with previously mentioned altruistic theories, this argument (Rosenhan, Salovey, Karylowski, et al., 1981) suffers from inconsistency in theory and inconclusive evidence (Batson, 1987).

Karylowski (1982) argued for a distinction between doing good to feel good about oneself (endocentric altruism), and doing good to make another person feel good (exocentric altruism). According to this view, endocentric altruism is pseudo-altruistic while exocentric altruism is purely altruistic in motivation (Batson, 1987; Karylowski, 1982). Exocentric altruism is argued to be a result of the focusing of attention on the other rather than on the self (Karylowski, 1982). There are some inconsistencies in the theory of endocentric and exocentric altruism, and the empirical evidence in support of this theory is rather weak (Batson, 1987). For example, the empirical evidence Karylowski (1982) presented is reliant on self-reports of participants, which are potentially biased. Thus, while the theory of endocentric and exocentric altruism is plausible, the investigation of this theory needs to extend beyond reliance on self-reports to more reliable methods.

Lerner expanded on his pseudo-altruistic just world hypothesis and proposed an argument for identity relation (Lerner & Meindl, 1981). According to this argument, when we perceive ourselves as 'psychologically indistinguishable' from another person, we perceive ourselves to be experiencing what they experience (Lerner & Meindl, 1981). When we perceive the other person as in need of something, such as help, 'justice of need is evoked, and we engage in 'identity-based activities' (Lerner & Meindl, 1981). In this way, the self is indistinguishable from the 'other' and the underlying motivation to help cannot be exclusively egoistic or altruistic as the welfare of the self and 'other' have been merged into one (Batson, 1987; Lerner & Meindl, 1981).

In some ways, this view is similar to that of Hornstein's (1982). In particular, the similarity is evoked through the experience of 'we-ness' (Batson, 1987; Hornstein, 1982) and the dissolution of the self-other distinction (Batson, 1987; Lerner & Meindl, 1981). We can also perceive the other as similar to us or different. How we perceive others in relation to ourselves depends on where they stand in terms of identity and our goals (Lerner & Meindl, 1981). There are also other forms of justice which are evoked by different situations such as a 'justice of equality' between friends (Lerner & Meindl, 1981). Essentially, judgements about justice are dependent upon the perceived relations among participants in a given situation (Lerner & Meindl, 1981).

A commonly occurring theme in altruistic theories is that empathic emotion produces altruistic motivation to help (Aronfreed, 1970; Batson, 1987, 1990b, 1991; Batson, Ahmad, & Lishner, 2002; Batson et al., 1978; Coke, Batson, & McDavis, 1978; Hoffman, 1975b, 1976; Krebs, 1975). Batson summarises three key paths leading to helping (Batson, 1987, 1991). Paths 1 and 2 are egoistic and concern themselves with reward-seeking, punishment avoidance, and arousal-reducing motivations respectively (Batson, 1987, 1991). Path 3, however, is associated with empathically evoked altruistic motivation (Batson, 1987, 1991). Path 3 is of particular interest to the current literature review because it separates itself from the dominant egoistic argument of underlying motivation for helping (see Figure 3).

Path 3 is characterised by seven psychological processes which are empirically testable (Batson, 1987, 1991). The first process, termed “perception of another in need” is a function of certain thresholds for the existence and magnitude of perceived need (Batson, 1987, 1991). The thresholds for the existence of perceived need include (a) a perceptible discrepancy between the other’s current and potential state of well-being, (b) sufficient salience of these states, and (c) focus of attention on the other (Batson, 1987, 1991). The thresholds for the magnitude of perceived need include (a) the number of dimensions of well-being perceived to be discrepant, (b) the perceived size of the discrepancies, and (c) the perceived importance of these discrepancies (Batson, 1987, 1991). The perception of the other’s need leads to empathic emotion (Batson, 1987, 1991).

The second process involves the adoption of the other’s perspective and is a function of the threshold of two factors – ability to adopt the other’s perspective (Hoffman, 1976, 1981a; Krebs & Russell, 1981) and a perspective-taking set (Stotland, 1969). Attachment is the third psychological process and contributes to the experience of empathy, which is the fourth psychological process (Batson, 1987, 1991). Arousal of empathy is affected by attachment in two main ways. Specifically, the strength of attachment affects the likelihood of adopting the other’s perspective and the strength of attachment can affect the magnitude of the empathic emotion experienced by the observer (Batson, 1987, 1991). Unlike the experience of personal distress which may evoke egoistic motivation, the experience of empathy, characterised by feelings of sympathy and compassion, evokes altruistic motivation (the fifth process), the ultimate

goal of which is the improvement of the other's welfare (Batson, 1987, 1991). This process has also been referred to as the empathy-altruism hypothesis (Batson, 1990b, 1991; Batson et al., 2002; Batson et al., 1991; Batson & Coke, 1981; Batson et al., 1981; Batson & Shaw, 1991).

The magnitude of altruistic motivation (the fifth process) is dependent upon the magnitude of the experience of empathy (Batson, 1987, 1991; Batson et al., 2002). Altruistic motivation may elicit social and self-rewards as well as avoidance of punishment and reduction of personal distress, all of which form the basis of egoistic motivation. Batson (1987, 1991) argues, however, that these consequences are only by-products of the motivation rather than constitutive of its ultimate goals. Furthermore, according to the empathy-altruism hypothesis, 'true' altruism does exist and is a product of the psychological processes involved in Path 3.

The sixth psychological process in the empathy-altruism hypothesis, termed 'hedonic calculus' or relative benefit analysis, is an analysis performed by the observer with the intention of determining the most effective behaviour possible to attend to the needs of the other and whether someone else is more capable of achieving this (Batson, 1987, 1991). While it can be argued that this calculus is egoistic in nature, this should not be interpreted as meaning that the motivation to help is also egoistic. Furthermore, the altruistically motivated observer will help so long as helping is possible and the relative benefit analysis performed earlier is in favour of doing so (Batson, 1987, 1991).

In cases when the relative benefit analysis is negative (that is, the cost of helping outweighs the benefit to the person in need), the observer will avoid helping by either simply ignoring the victim or derogating the victim (Lerner, 1970). In this case, the empathic emotion along with the altruistic motivation is wiped out. To summarise, Batson (1987, 1991) proposed that the existence of altruistic motivation depends on several key factors, such as the experience of empathy as a distinct emotion triggered by the adoption of the perspective of the person in need and the empathic emotion evoking altruistic motivation to have the other's need reduced.

Pathway 3 can be illustrated by the figure below (adopted from Batson, 1987, p.84, Fig.1).

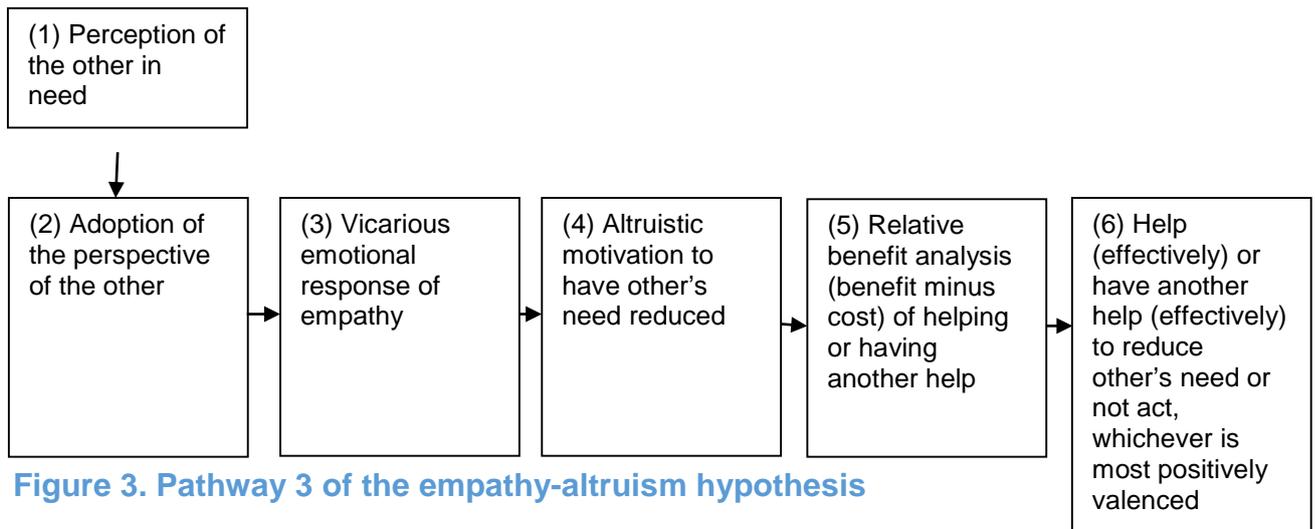


Figure 3. Pathway 3 of the empathy-altruism hypothesis

The empathy-altruism hypothesis has been criticised for attempting to argue for the existence of ‘true’ altruistic motivation. Instead, it has been suggested that the underlying motivation is egoistic. For example, some researchers have argued that manipulations used to elicit empathy in participants also elicit a self-other overlap or a sense of ‘oneness’ which contributes to an improvement in the psychological well-being of the observer once help has been given to the person in need (Cialdini, Brown, Lewis, Luce, & Neuberg, 1997). Batson (1997), however, presented contradictory findings suggesting that group membership and the experience of ‘oneness’ do not affect helping behaviour. Batson and Coke (1981) also note that providing opportunities for escape to the observer (especially when escape is easy) should provide insight into motivation whereby easy escape will elicit low helping behaviour in egoistically motivated observers, and will not affect altruistically-motivated observers (Batson et al., 1981).

An alternative argument is the empathy-specific reward explanation which assumes that an observer helps as a result of the expectation of either external rewards (from the victim or other bystanders) or internal rewards (from the self). The term ‘empathic joy’ is used in this argument and refers to an egoistically motivated desire to share in the victim’s joy upon relief of their need by the bystander. Some empirical evidence has been found to offer support for the existence of empathic joy as a motivational force behind the observer’s decision to help (K. D. Smith, Keating, & Stotland, 1989). However, the absence of empathic joy has also been found not to affect the decision

to help (Batson et al., 1991). Moreover, research has found that empathically motivated people experience a better mood when the other person's need has been met, regardless of whether they actually contributed themselves (Batson et al., 1988). Such findings are contrary to the assumptions of empathic joy, because the bystander feels joy when the victim's needs have been met regardless of the source.

The empathy-specific punishment explanation is also used as a criticism for the empathy-altruism hypothesis and argues that the experience of empathy may produce social (negative evaluations) and personal costs (violation of personal standards) of not helping, and the observer is consequently motivated to help (Archer, 1984; Archer, Diaz-Loving, Gollwitzer, Davis, & Foushee, 1981). Empirical evidence exists contrary to this claim, however, suggesting that people can be altruistically motivated without the presence of social evaluation opportunities (Fultz, Batson, Fortenbach, McCarthy, & Varney, 1986). In conclusion, it is clear that the relationship between empathy and altruism is not a simple one and is not constant across situations and persons.

What other processes influence a bystander's decision to help or not to help someone in distress? Similarly to the empathy-altruism hypothesis proposed by Batson (1987; et al., 1991), the decision model of bystander intervention (Darley & Latane, 1994; Latane & Darley, 1970) proposes that the decision to help depends on five key factors. The first and second, respectively, are the identification of a negative change in the victim's circumstance and the fact that help is needed (Latane & Darley, 1970). The third and fourth factors are the decision to take personal responsibility and the decision as to what kind of help is needed (Latane & Darley, 1970). The final factor in the decision-making process is the decision to provide help (Latane & Darley, 1970). If, at any stage during the decision-making process, the bystander fails to attend to any of the factors, the victim will not be helped (Latane & Darley, 1970).

External influences affect the decision-making process involved in bystander intervention. For example, aspects of the physical and social environment such as vividness (Dovidio & Penner, 2004) and population density (Korte, 1981) can influence whether a situation is interpreted as negative (Hedge & Yousif, 1992). For example, researchers argue that helpfulness is lower in cities than in towns as a result of environmental input overload (Korte, 1981). Field experiments have indeed found

helpfulness to be higher in rural rather than urban settings (R. O. Hansson & Slade, 1977; Korte & Kerr, 1975). However, when exposed to different models, it was found that urban residents were more responsive (R. O. Hansson, Slade, & Slade, 1978), and when the recipient of help was a social 'deviant', urban residents were more helpful, suggesting a lower tolerance for social 'deviancy' among rural residents (R. O. Hansson & Slade, 1977).

The internal emotional states of the bystander can also influence their decision as to whether or not to provide help. For example, it has been argued that positive internal mood states are more facilitative of helping behaviour than negative mood states (Salovey et al., 1991). Other external factors, such as the familiarity of the victim to the bystander, have also been proposed as possible influences with regard to whether or not altruistic behaviour occurs. Some studies, however, found no evidence to support these external factors (Monroe, 1996a). Furthermore, situational variables, such as security in surroundings and bystander behaviour, play a role in influencing altruistic behaviour. Some psychologists argue that security in surroundings is an important influential factor, however qualitative studies have found that rescuers of Jews in Nazi-occupied Europe operated in both secure and insecure surroundings (Monroe, 1996a) which suggests that security is not essential to altruistic behaviour.

In addition to these influences, bystanders are affected by those around them. For example, when the bystander is one among several other individuals, diffusion of responsibility may occur (Darley & Latane, 1968; Dovidio & Penner, 2004; Latane, Nida, & Wilson, 1981). Diffusion of responsibility refers to the belief that others present are just as capable of helping the victim as is the bystander in question (Darley & Latane, 1968). Diffusion of responsibility is more likely to occur when an element of danger is involved, others present are perceived as being able to help, and when norms permit it (Dovidio, Piliavin, Gaertner, Schroeder, & Clark III, 1991; Piliavin et al., 1981). Audience inhibition can also come into play whereby the bystander may be inhibited from helping from fear of embarrassment or negative evaluation as well as general social influence (Latane et al., 1981). To conclude, the decision-making model of bystander intervention proposed by Latane and Darley (1970) provides a general framework for the processes involved in the decision to help a victim and adds to the theoretical base of altruistic behaviour. Further, while the bystander intervention model

is arguably predominantly pseudo-altruistic in nature, significant overlap exists with the empathy-altruism hypothesis (see Figure 4 for a summary of the theories of altruism).

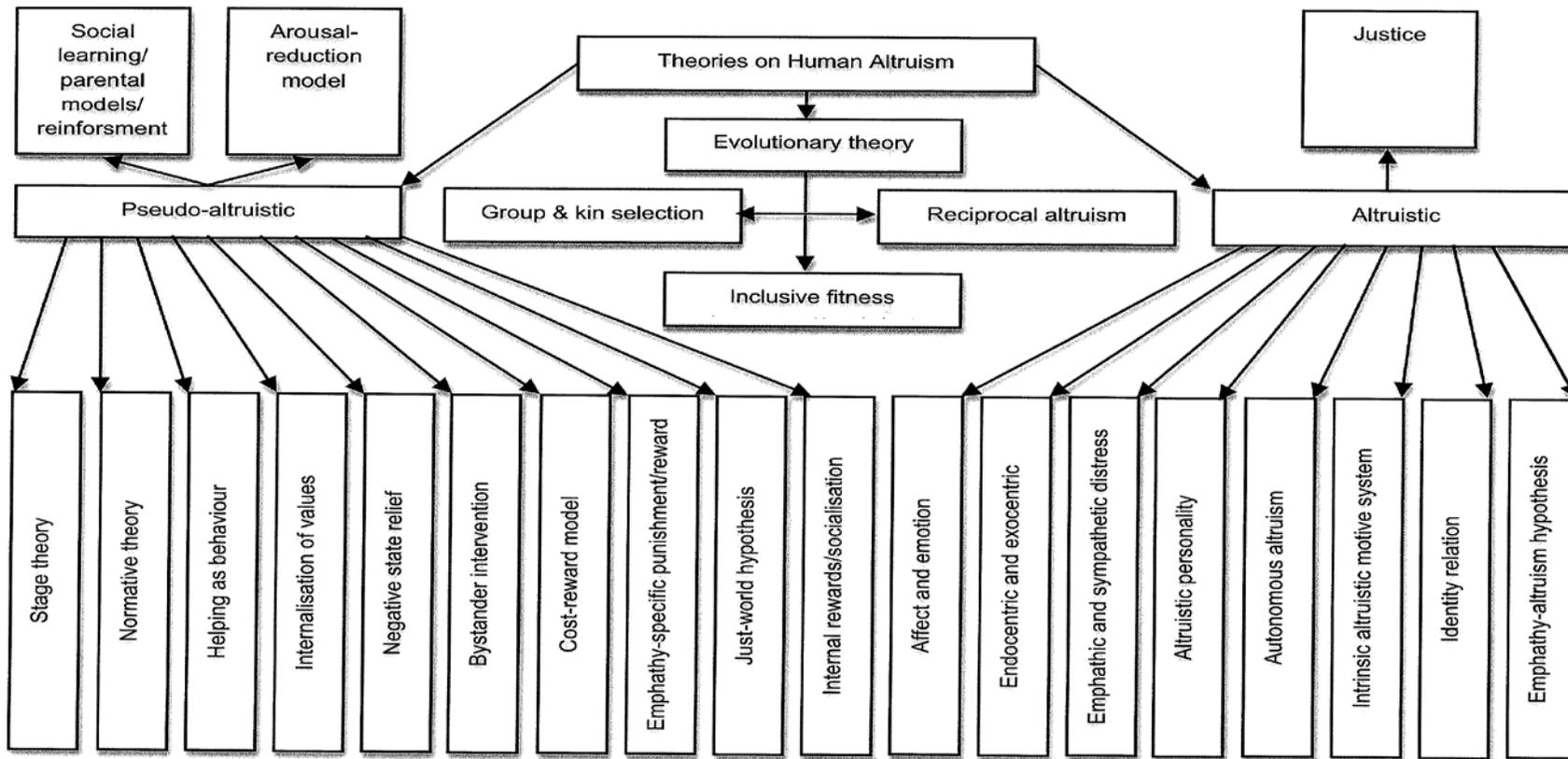


Figure 4. Summary of theories of altruism

A pyramid of conceptual processes involved in helping and altruism is useful in summarising some of the arguments proposed by researchers (Figure 5). The base of the pyramid is characterised by what researchers believe to be the most distal causes of altruistic behaviour (evolutionary processes). The causes gradually become more proximal towards the top of the pyramid, ending with different forms of altruistic behaviour and helping which may also take the form of inaction (Dovidio & Penner, 2004). This pyramid illustrates the idea that human motivation with regard to altruism and helping is complex and multi-determined.

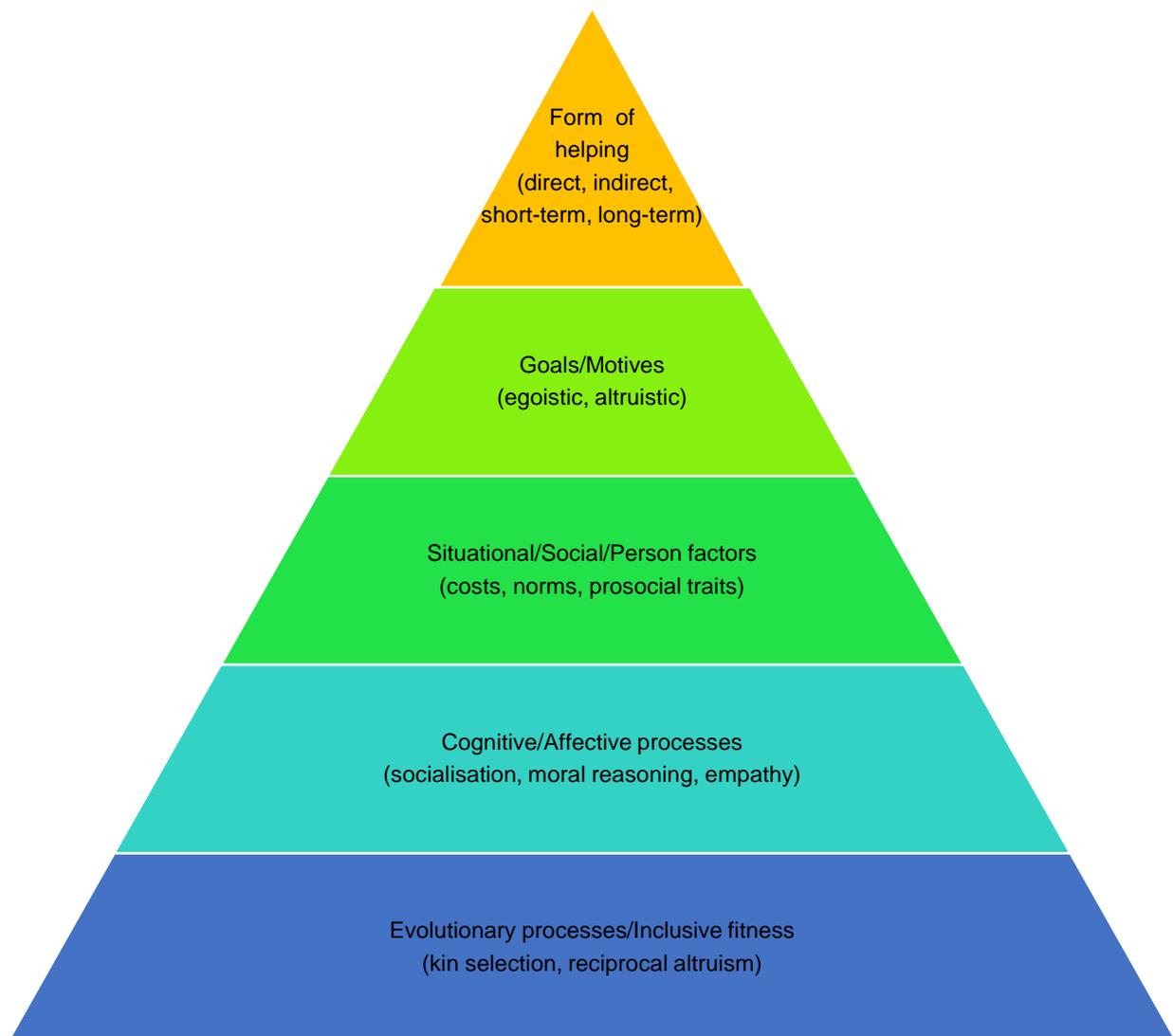


Figure 5. Pyramid of conceptual processes involved in altruism

(adopted from Dovidio & Penner, 2004, figure 12.1, p.270)

1.7 Research on altruism

According to Hoffman (1981a, 1981b), even though the pseudo-altruistic approach to altruism has been dominant in psychological theory, the burden of proof rests as much on the pseudo-altruistic approach as it does on the altruistic approach. Unfortunately, empirical evidence for the existence of altruism is hard to come by as almost all existing empirical evidence can be reinterpreted as evidence for egoistic motivation (Batson & Coke, 1981). The difficulty arises from the fact that it is impossible to observe motivation; we can only infer motivation from observable behaviour or potentially biased self-reports. Some researchers have suggested that instead of inferring motivation from a single behavioural response, one should examine a pattern of responses across situations (Batson & Coke, 1981). There is also a general lack of cross-cultural studies of altruism and thus universality can only be assumed (Hoffman, 1981b). The following reviewed studies are separated into categories according to their methodologies – quantitative, qualitative, and mixed methods. (Refer to Appendix B for all studies included in the review specifically, Table 37 for quantitative, Table 38 for qualitative, and Table 39 for mixed methods studies).

1.7.1 Quantitative studies

Dispositional variables

Much of the early research on altruism focused on bystander intervention and situational variables believed by many researchers to be better determinants of altruistic behaviour (Batson, 1998; Dovidio & Penner, 2004). Dispositional variables, however, have recently been brought back into focus (Batson, 1998). Dispositional variables related to altruistic behaviour include personal motives such as altruistic motivation and intention to help (Clary & Orenstein, 1991; Pomazal & Jaccard, 1976), stages of moral development (Erkut, Jaquette, & Staub, 1981; Ma, 1993), attitudes (Gaertner, 1973; Zuckerman & Reis, 1978), and particular personality traits (Graziano & Eisenberg, 1997) such as public or private self-consciousness (Froming, Allen, & Jensen, 1985; J. Smith & Shaffer, 1986), high self-esteem (Brown & Smart, 1991), and pro-social personality traits (Bereczkei, Birkas, & Kerekes, 2010). For example, researchers have found that people with more pro-social personality traits (Bereczkei

et al., 2010), at higher stages of moral development (Erkut et al., 1981), those scoring high on measures of private self-consciousness (J. Smith & Shaffer, 1986), experiencing feelings of moral obligation (S. H. Schwartz, 1970), strong sense of internal control (Bierhoff, Klein, & Kramp, 1991), and social responsibility (Benson et al., 1980) are more helpful and relatively unaffected by situational variables (Bereczkei et al., 2010).

Studies have found that people with negative personal norms (feelings of obligation not to help) are less likely to engage in helping behaviour (S. H. Schwartz & Fleishman, 1982). Other studies have found that personal norms have a substantial impact on participants high on ascription of responsibility but no impact on those low on ascription of responsibility (S. H. Schwartz, 1973). Likewise, there have been findings from field studies suggesting that racially prejudiced attitudes (Gaertner, 1973; Kunstman & Plant, 2008; Saucier, Miller, & Doucet, 2005) and homophobic attitudes (Shaw, Borough, & Fink, 1994) may inhibit some forms of helping, especially if the helping behaviour involves more effort and cost (Saucier et al., 2005). For example, staged emergency studies have shown that as the level of emergency increased, the speed and quality of helping of white participants to black victims decreased relative to white victims (Kunstman & Plant, 2008). Interestingly, this emergency racial bias was unique to white participants' responses to black victims (Kunstman & Plant, 2008).

Interesting findings have been presented from a study conducted with psychiatric patients and with normal participants as a comparison group. Results demonstrated a higher rate of altruistic behaviour (verbal and physical expressions of aid) from the patient group when compared to the non-patient group (Tolor, Kelly, & Stebbins, 1976) suggesting dispositional differences between the two groups. Furthermore, studies have found that attitudes towards the physically disabled may promote low-cost helping behaviour (Taylor, 1998), positive attitudes towards blood donation can be predictive of future donating behaviour (Zuckerman & Reis, 1978), and the legitimacy of a request for help may promote low-cost helping regardless of physical attributes, whereas in an ambiguous situation the norm to help may be influenced by the victim's appearance (M. Wilson & Dovidio, 1985).

Emotional attachment and emotional closeness (Korchmaros & Kenny, 2001) have been found to regulate altruistic and egoistic behaviour towards another in that a lack of emotional attachment reduced altruistic behaviour unless accountability was present (Schoenrade, Batson, Brandt, & Loud, 1986). In other studies, priming of attachment-security led to greater compassion and willingness to help the victim (Mikulincer, Shaver, Gillath, & Nitzberg, 2005b).

Studies have found agreeableness and empathic self-efficacy beliefs to influence pro-social behaviour (Alessandri, Caprara, Eisenberg, & Steca, 2009; Caprara, Alessandri, Di Giunta, Panerai, & Eisenberg, 2010; Caprara & Steca, 2007) and even intrinsic religious orientation (Benson et al., 1980; C. Schwartz, Meisenhelder, Ma, & Reed, 2003). However, other studies have found religiously-oriented participants motivation to help as egoistic (Batson, Oleson, et al., 1989) and religious orientation as not an influential variable in helping (Darley & Batson, 1973).

Some researchers argue that dispositional variables such as intrapersonal factors are major correlates of non-spontaneous helping behaviour (Benson et al., 1980). Studies found participants differ in preferences for two different forms of planned helping behaviour (formal and informal) with both forms being differentially related to attitudinal, personality and demographic variables, and being stable over time (Amato, 1985). Some authors argue that planned helping behaviour over time is less affected by situational variables and is thus a more valid measure of an altruistic type personality (Amato, 1985). Such findings suggest the importance of internal dispositions as mediators of pro-social behaviour.

The altruistic-type personality

Researchers have attempted to investigate whether an 'altruistic personality' actually exists by measuring self-esteem, planned helping behaviour (Amato, 1985), specific helping behaviours such as blood donation (Ferguson, 2008; Pomazal & Jaccard, 1976), social responsibility (Benson et al., 1980; Carlo, Eisenberg, Troyer, Switzer, & Speer, 1991; Peterson, Hartman, & Gelfand, 1977), ascription of responsibility, perspective-taking, dispositional empathy (Batson, Bolen, Cross, & Neuringer-Benefiel, 1986), and observing behaviour in a naturalistic setting (Zeldin, Savin-

Williams, & Small, 1984), as well as using self-report altruism scales and questionnaires (Romer, Gruder, & Lizzadro, 1986; Rushton, Chrisjohn, & Fekken, 1981).

The 'altruistic personality' is defined as a set of selflessly motivated personal tendencies aimed at benefiting others (Carlo, PytlikZillig, Roesch, & Dienstbier, 2009). Indeed, construct validity has been found for helping-orientation type personalities, namely altruists and receptive givers (Romer et al., 1986). Altruistic-type personalities were more empathic than any other personality type (Romer et al., 1986). There have also been experimental findings suggesting that helping behaviours in very young children (twenty months) are intrinsically motivated, not reliant on rewards, and may even be undermined by extrinsic rewards (Warneken & Tomasello, 2008).

Naturalistic studies have found some consistency in altruistic behaviour among adolescent males who were perceived to be more altruistically-inclined than their peers (Zeldin et al., 1984). Furthermore, a positive linear relationship between age and altruism was found when costs of helping were controlled by replacing monetary donations with time and effort (Midlarsky & Hannah, 1989), as well as in studies of adult twins (Rushton, Fulker, Neale, Nias, & Eysenck, 1986).

Some findings suggested, however, that the relationships found between some personality variables (self-esteem, social responsibility, ascription of responsibility, and dispositional empathy) and altruistic behaviour had underlying egoistic motivations (Batson et al., 1986) suggesting ease of escape to be a mediating factor. To clarify, when participants found it difficult to escape self-censure for failing to live up to their image of a concerned citizen if they failed to help, participants were more likely to help (Batson et al., 1986). However, when escape was easy, the positive correlations disappeared (Batson et al., 1986). Moreover, studies of specific behaviours such as blood donation, believed to be a strong example of altruism, have revealed underlying egoistic motivations (Ferguson, 2008). Specifically, studies have shown that beliefs in self-benefit were better predictors of future blood donating behaviour and blood donation recruitment campaigns were more effective if they emphasised benevolence (benefit to both donor and recipient) rather than pure altruism (Ferguson, 2008).

Researchers have cited behavioural evidence for the existence of an independent altruistic motivation which also provides reinforcement to the actor (Hoffman, 1981b; Weiss, Boyer, Lombardo, & Stich, 1973). Some researchers have argued for a strong altruistic motive system based on empathy that compels bystanders to help when presented with distress cues (Hoffman, 1981a). Studies found that when adult participants were exposed to someone in distress, they were empathically aroused and the arousal was followed by helping behaviour, even when no witnesses were present, suggesting that people do not engage in helping behaviour to gain social approval, at least not in some situations (Darley & Latane, 1968; Hoffman, 1977a; Latane & Rodin, 1969). The presence of strangers often inhibited any altruistic behaviour, whereas the presence of familiar others did not, in some studies (Latane & Rodin, 1969) but not in others (Clark III & Word, 1972).

Other studies examining bystander intervention in emergencies have found that factors such as the relationship between victim and attacker (strangers/married couple) (Shotland & Straw, 1976), perception of the seriousness of the victim's need (S. H. Schwartz & Gottlieb, 1980; Shotland & Straw, 1976), and the degree of ambiguity in an emergency, influenced type of help (direct/indirect). Anonymity of bystander to victim however, had no effect on speed of helping, and diffusion of responsibility occurred when other witnesses were present (S. H. Schwartz & Gottlieb, 1980). Thus, while there appears to be a mix of empirical evidence, some authors argue, based on systematic literature reviews, empirical studies and a series of studies using a self-report scale of altruism (Rushton et al., 1981), for the existence of a broad-based trait of altruism.

Situational variables

It should be noted that both situational and dispositional variables are correlated with helping behaviour, and most researchers adopt this interactionist perspective in relation to altruism and helping (Carlo et al., 1991; Dovidio & Penner, 2004). For example, studies have found that situational variables, such as the presence or absence of bystanders, do not determine behaviour on their own. It is rather the interplay between situational and dispositional factors, such as different motivational

states, which inhibit or foster helping behaviours, (S. H. Schwartz & Clausen, 1970; J. P. Wilson, 1976), as well as the interplay between situational variables (such as deindividuation) and environmental influences (such as pro-social cues) (Spivey & Prentice-Dunn, 1990).

A personality x situation interaction has been demonstrated in studies which found that esteem-oriented participants were more likely to initiate helping than safety-oriented participants. These esteem-oriented participants, were more influenced by high-competency models while safety-oriented participants were more influenced by high-status models (J. P. Wilson & Petruska, 1984). Moreover, participants with altruistic-type personalities have been found to be more helpful in 'no compensation' conditions than other personality types such as receptive givers and selfish personality types (Romer et al., 1986).

Studies have found that situational variables, such as task failure, interact with dispositional variables, such as self-esteem, by influencing self-representations and behaviour (Brown & Smart, 1991). Other situational factors that have been found to influence spontaneous altruistic behaviour include whether the target of the request for help is in a hurry (Darley & Batson, 1973), presence/absence of tactile contact (Guéguen & Fischer-Lokou, 2003), ambiguity of situation, group size, rural/urban residency (Korte & Kerr, 1975; F. H. Weiner, 1976), and residential/business setting (Goldman, Lewandowski, & Carrill, 1982). Further, factors such as urgency and importance of request (Christensen, Fierst, Jodocy, & Lorenz, 1998), familiarity/similarity with victim (Valdesolo & DeSteno, 2011), attraction to victim (Sturmer, Snyder, & Omoto, 2005), identifiability of victim (Small & Loewenstein, 2003), acquaintance with victim (Liebhart, 1972), race/gender of victim and participant (Geller & Malia, 1981; West, Whitney, & Schnedler, 1975), racial neighbourhood composition and proximity to a college campus (West et al., 1975), ability (Pomazal & Jaccard, 1976), and direct cost and effort required for helper (Bell, Grekul, Lamba, Minas, & Harrell, 1995; Clark III & Word, 1972; Hedge & Yousif, 1992; Lay, Allen, & Kassirer, 1974; Shotland & Stebbins, 1983; Shotland & Straw, 1976) have all been found to be influential.

Noise and nonverbal cues do not seem to be significant variables influencing helping behaviour. However, some potential interactions may be present between these variables and gender of either confederate or participant (Geller & Malia, 1981). Studies have found that synchronised movement influenced the participant's perception of similarity with the victim and evoked more compassion and altruistic behaviour (Valdesolo & DeSteno, 2011). Furthermore, some of the situational factors inhibiting altruistic behaviour include stimulus overload without any perceived control over the environment (Sherrod & Downs, 1974). Some researchers point out that situational variables are more important determinants of altruistic and helping behaviour than dispositional variables (Oliner & Oliner, 1988; Piliavin & Charng, 1990) however, as in the case with urban size studies (Hedge & Yousif, 1992; Lay et al., 1974), the problem of confounding variables may be present.

Studies with children showed that personal responsibility increased pro-social behaviours in small groups but diminished in larger groups, suggesting de-individuation and diffusion of responsibility (Maruyama, Fraser, & Miller, 1982). Alternative explanations, however, may account for these findings, as participants may have felt a reduction of fear in the presence of others, or alternatively, they might have attempted to hide fear (Latane & Darley, 1968). When the observer had the opportunity to diffuse responsibility, a reduction in helping behaviour and cardiac arousal has been found to occur (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1977). Female participants were also found to help less in emergency situations in the presence of others, particularly more competent others (S. H. Schwartz & Clausen, 1970).

Gender and altruism

Gender roles and expectations may also play a role in determining behaviour. For example, the female gender is often associated with being caring, emotionally supportive, expressive (Ashmore, Del Boca, & Wohlers, 1986), and needing more help (Geller & Malia, 1981). The male gender role, on the other hand, is associated with assertiveness (Ashmore et al., 1986). Systematic literature reviews suggest that people help in ways which are consistent with their gender roles and expectations (Eagly & Crowley, 1986). Empirical studies have found that while males are more likely to intervene in an emergency than females (Lay et al., 1974; Wispe & Freshley, 1971),

females report stronger altruistic attitudes and behaviours (Coulter, Wilkes, & Der-Martirosian, 2007; Rushton et al., 1986), and that females are more likely to help disadvantaged (blind) persons than non-disadvantaged persons in contrast to males who help both groups equally (Aderman & Berkowitz, 1970).

Moreover, the more salient the person's gender role, the stronger the relationship with particular forms of helping (Eagly & Crowley, 1986). For example, the male gender role's association with assertiveness may influence men to act in 'heroic' ways (S. H. Schwartz & Clausen, 1970). The cost-reward relationship might also be influenced here. For example, male observers might interpret the cost of not acting 'heroically' to be higher than female observers and the cost for intervening (personal harm) to be lower (Eagly & Crowley, 1986). Some studies have found no sex differences in the resolution of hypothetical pro-social dilemmas involving self-sacrifice. However, female participants offered more empathy-oriented reasons for their choices than male participants (R. S. L. Mills, Pedersen, & Grusec, 1989).

Other studies found no significant differences in helping behaviour between male and female participants directed towards targets of either gender (Reysen & Ganz, 2006). Studies examining the relationship between sexual preferences and altruism found that homosexual males scored higher on measures of empathy than heterosexual males, however no direct measures of altruism were used (Salais & Fischer, 1995). Studies with child participants found that female children were more willing to behave altruistically (Harris & Siebel, 1975), and received higher scores on reputational measures of altruism although the differences between male and female children were only marginal on behavioural measures (Shigetomi, Hartmann, & Gelfand, 1981).

Some studies point out that the perception of female children as more altruistic than male children is a result of the use of sex-biased items used in peer-assessment measures (Zarbatany, Hartmann, Gelfand, & Vinciguerra, 1985). Experimental studies with male children have found that friendship formation with a peer in pre-adolescence is a contributing factor to the formation of a general altruistic perspective (Mannarino, 1976). Thus, particular demographics such as gender may influence the type of helping behaviour one exhibits as a function of societal expectations and gender stereotyping.

Empathy, perspective-taking and altruism

Many empirical studies attempt to investigate the relationship between empathy and altruistic behaviour as an indication of altruistic motivation. Some researchers have argued, particularly over the last couple of decades, that empirical support for the link between empathy and altruism is strong (Batson, 1991, 1998; Batson et al., 1991; Batson, Batson, et al., 1995; Batson et al., 1981; Batson et al., 1988; Batson, O'Quin, Fultz, Vanderplas, & Isen, 1983; Bierhoff & Rohmann, 2004; Dovidio, Allen, & Schroeder, 1990; Van Lange, 2008). However, evidence is mixed. Often studies will use one or more of the following methods: picture-story indices, questionnaires, self-report measures, facial or gestural indices, physiological indices, and experimental indices (Eisenberg & Fabes, 1990, 1991; Eisenberg & Miller, 1987a). For example, picture-story indices are often used with child participants, however they are not always successful (Eisenberg & Miller, 1987b; Iannotti, 1978).

Reviews of empirical evidence have found that there is an inconsistent and sometimes negative pattern of relations between empathy and altruism (Eisenberg & Miller, 1987a; Underwood & Moore, 1982). While some studies have found positive relationships between empathy and helping (Krebs, 1975; Liebhart, 1972), other studies have found inconsistent and negative relationships (Cialdini et al., 1987; Feshbach, 1978; Iannotti, 1985; Lennon, Eisenberg, & Carroll, 1986). Inconsistent findings may result from studies measuring different forms of empathy in relation to different categories of pro-social behaviour (Iannotti, 1985). For example, studies have found that picture-story indices are unrelated to helping behaviour and non-verbal measures of empathy (Lennon et al., 1986). The picture-story method has been criticised for potential demand characteristics and questionable validity (Eisenberg & Miller, 1987a). Thus, there are inconsistencies in the empirical evidence for whether a strong positive relationship exists between empathy and altruism. However, if it is taken into account that studies have used different measures to assess this relationship, it may surface that they have been tapping into different variables.

Empathy evoked through role-taking has received strong empirical support (Eisenberg & Miller, 1987b; Iannotti, 1985; Stotland, 1969; Strayer & Roberts, 1989) and some

reviews have concluded that females are more empathic than males, although the size of the difference between male and female empathy scores varied from study to study (Hoffman, 1977a, 1977b). Studies with young children have found that empathy, emotional expressiveness, role-taking, and perspective-taking are related, and positively associated with pro-social behaviour for both genders (Buckley, Siegel, & Ness, 1979; Froming et al., 1985; W. Roberts & Strayer, 1996; Strayer & Roberts, 1989). The same is the case for role-playing (Friedrich & Stein, 1975). Sharing is positively related to empathy and moderate dependency in female children (S. M. Miller, 1979), and social desirability is negatively correlated with 'invisible' sharing (donation to a fictitious groups) in male children (S. M. Miller, 1979).

Some studies report a gender difference in relation to empathy and pro-social behaviour with empathy in male children being a stronger predictor of pro-social behaviour than in female children (W. Roberts & Strayer, 1996). Studies have found that children's donating behaviour increased as a function of role-taking ability and the presence of an evaluative adult and decreased without the presence of an adult (Froming et al., 1985). This suggests a lack of internalised norms and the importance of the person x situation interaction (Froming et al., 1985). Some researchers have argued that to reliably assess the relationship between perspective-taking and pro-social behaviour, the participants must be observed over a period of time in a naturalistic setting (Iannotti, 1985). Studies employing this technique found an inconsistent relationship between perspective-taking and pro-social behaviour, however this inconsistency of results may imply that the capacity for role-taking in young children does not always assure pro-social behaviour (Iannotti, 1985).

Retrospective studies have been carried out using multi-source data obtained from qualitative interviews with rescuers of Jews in Nazi-occupied Europe (Midlarsky, Fagin-Jones, & Nemeroff, 2006). Such studies have found that rescuers were more aware of the needs of others, engaged in altruistic behaviours post-war, and showed higher levels of well-being than non-rescuers (Midlarsky et al., 2006). There are, however, inherent problems with retrospective research, particularly temporal considerations and the difficulty of obtaining a representative sample. Reviews of literature on perspective-taking have concluded that there are reliable relationships between altruism and moral, social, and perceptual perspective-taking (Underwood &

Moore, 1982) particularly between altruism and affective perspective-taking (Oswald, 1996). Meanwhile, some studies have found no supporting evidence that perspective-taking is sufficient for altruistic motivation (Coke et al., 1978).

In a pioneering series of studies, participants were asked to imagine what they would feel if they received the same painful heat treatment to their hands as another person. These participants reported more empathic distress through verbal and physical cues than other participants who were asked only to attend to the person's physical movements or to imagine what the other person was feeling (Hoffman, 1981a; Stotland, 1969). These results were used to suggest that interpersonal processes which cause an individual to 'imagine' themselves in another's position will lead to empathy (Stotland, 1969). Some researchers, however, criticised the techniques used to measure psycho-physiological arousal and rendered the results ambiguous (Krebs, 1975). Perspective-taking may also evoke direct associations from past experiences for the participant, which in turn produces empathy (Hoffman, 1981a).

Furthermore, studies have shown that observers of a person receiving electric shocks and displaying pain-behaviour displayed physiological arousal (Bandura & Rosenthal, 1966; Berger, 1962), however the results of these studies by no means imply the experience of empathy through physiological arousal and it should be noted that with repeated exposure, adaptation occurred (Berger, 1962). Research has also found evidence showing that participants experience vicarious emotion when they perceive others to be in both desirable and undesirable states (Krebs, 1975; Stotland, 1969), and the observer's vicarious emotions have been found to be congruent with the perceived welfare of the other (Krebs, 1975; Stotland, 1969). While some of these studies relied on self-reports, the evidence they provide for genuine empathic arousal is fairly strong as physiological measures of arousal corroborated self-reports and participants in the control condition did not show evidence of empathic arousal.

Empirical studies using questionnaires have found a consistently positive relationship between empathy and altruism in adults (Archer et al., 1981; Fultz et al., 1986; Mehrabian & Epstein, 1972) and some correlation in adolescents and children (Barnett, Howard, King, & Dino, 1981; Eisenberg, McCreath, & Ahn, 1988). For example, a positive relationship between facial/gestural indices of sadness in

response to another's distress and pro-social behaviour in pre-school children has been found (Eisenberg et al., 1988). However, self-report measures were not found to correlate with pro-social behaviour in children (Eisenberg et al., 1988). There have also been findings showing that once empathy was aroused for a particular target, a 'transfer' of empathy occurred and the participant displayed pro-social behaviour towards a different target from the one originally intended by the investigator (Barnett et al., 1981). Furthermore, an interaction between empathy and attraction to victim has been found in relation to altruistic behaviour (Sturmer et al., 2005).

Significant and marginally significant relationships exist between aversive emotional states (Marks, Penner, & Stone, 1982), medium social anxiety (McPeck & Cialdini, 1977), dispositional empathy, fear of negative social evaluation (Archer et al., 1981; Coke et al., 1978; Karakashian, Walter, Christopher, & Lucas, 2006), and altruistic behaviour in adults. Studies show a consistently strong positive relationship between empathic emotion and helping, regardless of whether social evaluation is present, suggesting the motivation for action is the meeting of the victim's needs (Fultz et al., 1986). However, there have also been studies suggesting that the link between empathic distress and helping is more pronounced in kinship relationships (Maner & Gailliot, 2007). With child participants there is limited to weak empirical evidence in relation to aversive emotional states and altruism (Eisenberg et al., 1988), which may be due to cognitive and emotional differences between children and adults and/or a weaker link between felt emotion and some modes of overt behaviour in children (Eisenberg & Fabes, 1991). Some studies with children suggest that children in negative moods were more pro-social if the behaviour offered direct rewards through social approval (Kenrick, Baumann, & Cialdini, 1979).

There is substantial empirical evidence in support of the cost-reward model proposed by Piliavin et al. (Kunstman & Plant, 2008; 1981, 1982). To re-cap, according to the cost-reward model, an observer engages in a cost-reward analysis when faced with an empathy-arousing situation (Piliavin et al., 1981, 1982). Evidence also supports the proposition that both adults and children are emotionally responsive to others in need (Dovidio et al., 1991; Fabes, Eisenberg, & Eisenbud, 1993). Studies have found that children exposed to an emotionally distressing film may experience personal distress and disengage with the stimulus by averting their gaze, or may experience sympathy

and receive higher scores on a measure of dispositional helpfulness (Fabes et al., 1993). The observer may also begin to 'experience' what the person in need is feeling (Vaughan & Lanzetta, 1980). Furthermore, empathic arousal and subsequent anxiety have been positively related to helping (Dovidio et al., 1991; Eisenberg & Miller, 1987a; Marks et al., 1982). In one study, participants reported experiencing personal distress and this was related to helping behaviour, indicating that it was the observers' empathically induced distress which motivated their helping (Marks et al., 1982).

Experimental studies manipulating the attribution of distress in participants support the theory that empathic emotion leads to altruistic motivation. There is evidence that this occurs in females only (Batson et al., 1981) as well as in both males and females (Batson et al., 2007; Coke et al., 1978). Group size has also been found to affect helping behaviour and the occurrence of diffusion of responsibility (Karakashian et al., 2006; S. H. Schwartz & Clausen, 1970; Wolosin, Sherman, & Mynatt, 1975). For instance, studies showed that if participants perceive passive others also witnessing the emergency event, they are less likely to report it than when alone (Darley & Latane, 1968; Latane & Darley, 1968). Participants are more likely to engage in self-interested behaviour at the expense of a victim when in a group environment (Wolosin et al., 1975).

A distinction has been drawn between personal distress and empathic distress in terms of their relationship with motivation to help. For example, personal distress has been found to lead to egoistic motivations and potentially reduce helping (Eisenberg & Fabes, 1990) while empathic distress led to altruistic motivations, however if the helping response was made very costly, self-concern overrode altruistic motivations (Batson, 1996; Batson et al., 1983).

The empathy-altruism hypothesis has received empirical support from experiments manipulating the observational set of participants prior to exposure to a 'needy' other, and showed that the participant was more likely to help when escape was both easy or difficult (Carlo et al., 1991; Coke et al., 1978; Toi & Batson, 1982). Actual arousal manipulation received only limited empirical support (Eisenberg & Miller, 1987a), while manipulations of perceptions of similarity were shown to increase altruistic behaviour in some studies (Batson & Coke, 1981; Krebs, 1975; Panofsky, 1976; Willis, Feldman,

& Ruble, 1977) although not in others (Batson, Lishner, Cook, & Sawyer, 2005; Mehrabian & Epstein, 1972). For example, some experiments were unable to provide evidence that perceived similarity accounts for differences in empathy for strangers (Batson et al., 2005). Other studies have found that different observational sets elicit different kinds of empathic responses, which in turn influence subsequent pro-social behaviour (Aderman & Berkowitz, 1970).

Studies using facial, gestural, and physical indices have produced mixed support for the association between empathy and altruism (Eisenberg & Miller, 1987a). For example, there have been inconsistent findings relating to physiological indices (such as heart rate) in unambiguous and ambiguous helping situations (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1977; Sterling & Gaertner, 1984). For example, cardiac arousal has been found to be correlated with speed of intervention in an emergency (the greater the arousal the faster the intervention) (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1977). When participants were led to believe that their arousal came from a different source (such as a drug or exercise), they were less likely to help (Coke et al., 1978; Gaertner & Dovidio, 1977) in an ambiguous situation (Sterling & Gaertner, 1984). Conversely, in an unambiguous emergency situation, misattribution of arousal from exercise meant that the participant was more likely to help (Sterling & Gaertner, 1984). It should be pointed out that inferring empathy from physiological indices such as heart rate may be problematic, as there may not be an association between the two, or there may be other emotions involved, such as personal distress (Eisenberg & Miller, 1987a) which has been found to be associated with physiological arousal (Eisenberg & Fabes, 1990).

Studies showed that participants who experienced high levels of empathic and sympathetic concern, and possessed altruistic characteristics were more sensitive to the needs of others (Carlo et al., 1991) and the consequences of helping if they were detrimental (Sibicky, Schroeder, & Dovidio, 1995). These participants displayed high levels of helping or altruism (Oswald, 1996; Van Lange, 2008) even when they had the opportunity not to help, when helping was detrimental to the collective good (Batson, Batson, et al., 1995), they were able to justify not helping, when helping would not directly benefit their mood, and when mood-improving events occurred prior to the helping opportunity (Batson, 1991, 1998; Batson et al., 1981; Batson & Oleson, 1991). Participants high in empathic concern were also more likely to be altruistic when

escape was easy than those lower in empathic concern (Bierhoff & Rohmann, 2004), and when participants 'imagined' what the other person felt rather than just 'observed' (Dovidio et al., 1990).

There have also been studies which suggest that altruism was mediated by the experience of sadness (Cialdini et al., 1981; Cialdini et al., 1987), non-altruistic constructs such as oneness (Cialdini et al., 1997), non-empathic negative affect and not by empathic concern (Maner et al., 2002). For example, conditions leading to empathic concern increased the self-other overlap, leading to an experience of oneness. Thus helping under such conditions was primarily egoistic as it was directed towards the self (Cialdini et al., 1997). Such studies pose a challenge to the validity of the empathy-altruism hypothesis. Moreover, the presence or absence of feedback following a helpful act by a highly empathically aroused participant has been found to be a strong moderator of the occurrence or non-occurrence of helping behaviour, which lends support to the empathic joy hypothesis (K. D. Smith et al., 1989). In other experiments, however, the empathic joy, empathy-specific reward, and empathy-specific punishment hypotheses did not receive much support (Batson et al., 1988). On the contrary, it was found that there was no relationship between high-empathy participants and the choice to hear updates of the victim's fate as the likelihood of improvement in their fate increased (Batson et al., 1991).

Studies exploring the relationship between empathy and altruism in children discovered that young children with high empathy scores were more likely to engage in altruistic 'follow-through' behaviours than those with lower empathy scores (Kameya, 1976 as cited in Hoffman, 1977). Some studies have found that children who scored high on a measure of empathy and who were asked to imagine another's misfortune subsequently behaved more altruistically than those who had lower empathy scores and those who were asked to think of their own misfortune (Barnett, Howard, Melton, & Dino, 1982).

Positive correlations have been found between children's ability to de-centre (remove focus from themselves) and altruistic behaviour (Rubin & Schneider, 1973). The norm of social responsibility has been found to be more salient with age in relation to the norm of reciprocity in children (Peterson et al., 1977), and children's motives for

helping have been found to develop with age whereby the older the child, the more advanced the motive for sharing (Bar-Tal, Raviv, & Leiser, 1980). Furthermore, longitudinal and concurrent associations between pro-social behaviour and pro-social target experiences have been shown to exist (Persson, 2005).

Relationship between positive, negative affect and altruism

Internal positive affect sometimes precedes altruistic behaviour (Carlson, Charlin, & Miller, 1988; Isen & Levin, 1972; Rosenhan, Salovey, & Hargis, 1981; Underwood, Froming, & Moore, 1977). Studies have been able to replicate a linear increase in altruistic behaviour from participants in sad, control, and happy mood conditions respectively (Underwood et al., 1977). Meta-analytic literature reviews have concluded that focus of attention, objective self-awareness, separate mutually inhibitory motivational processes, social outlook, mood maintenance, and concomitance are important mediating factors in the relationship between positive mood and altruism (Carlson et al., 1988). For example, when 'feeling good' was induced through the provision of cookies to adult college students, these students were subsequently more helpful than students who did not receive any cookies (Isen & Levin, 1972). In this particular experiment, however, help was solicited and volunteered, but not actually performed by the participants. In another experiment, participants who experienced impersonally induced 'good feelings' were more helpful in an unsolicited situation than controls (Isen & Levin, 1972), whereas in other experiments positive affect for the self-facilitated altruism while empathic joy for another hindered it (Rosenhan, Salovey, & Hargis, 1981).

Some researchers argue that helping behaviour is a direct effect of induced sadness and a side effect of induced positive mood (Manucia et al., 1984). Indeed, studies supporting this claim showed that induced sadness in participants enhanced helping only when they believed their mood to be changeable while induced happiness in participants enhanced helping regardless of whether their mood was labile or fixed (Manucia et al., 1984). This tends to suggest that saddened participants act altruistically only when it is possible to alleviate their negative moods while elated participants act altruistically without concern for their own mood states.

Even the memories of past experiences that produce a positive affect facilitate helpfulness and self-gratification (Baumann, Cialdini, & Kendrick, 1981; Moore, Underwood, & Rosenhan, 1973). Induced sadness facilitates self-gratification but hinders helpfulness (Baumann et al., 1981; Rosenhan, Underwood, & Moore, 1974). Some authors have presented these results in support of the argument that altruism is the functional equivalent of self-gratification (Baumann et al., 1981) and that through sufficient pairings with direct reinforcement primarily via socialisation, altruism becomes a self-gratifying conditioned reinforcer (Cialdini et al., 1981).

Reinforcement following helping behaviour has also been found to influence subsequent helping behaviour. For example, reinforcement, in the form of a rude comment, following helping behaviour reduced the likelihood of subsequent helping behaviour (Moss & Page, 1972). Other positive emotions, such as gratitude, facilitate costly altruistic behaviour not dependent upon reciprocity norms (Bartlett & DeSteno, 2006). Furthermore, secondary emotions (such as distress) elicit significantly more helping behaviour from participants than primary emotions (such as irritation) suggesting that secondary emotions are associated with in-group membership and therefore, increased similarity (Vaes, Paladino, & Leyens, 2002, study I).

The negative state relief model has received some mixed empirical support (Carlson & Miller, 1987). In particular, negative emotions of guilt and sadness, triggered by witnessing another's suffering or from having personally harmed the victim, have been found to motivate helping and voluntary donating behaviour as a way of expiating guilt even in the absence of a direct request for help (Cialdini et al., 1973; Darlington & Macker, 1966; Rawlings, 1968, 1970; D. T. Regan, Williams, & Sparling, 1972; J. W. Regan, 1971; S. H. Schwartz & David, 1976). The distribution of rewards to enhance mood following the transgression (Cialdini et al., 1973) and the induced belief that helping would not alleviate sadness (Cialdini et al., 1987) have, however, been found to reduce helping. High-empathy participants helped more than low-empathy participants except when a mood-enhancing event was expected, in which case there was no significant difference between groups (Schaller & Cialdini, 1988). Helping was reduced when ego-enhancing feedback was delivered to participants experiencing cognitive dissonance but not when the ego-enhancing feedback was unavailable (Dietrich & Berkowitz, 1997).

There have been other findings from studies which suggest that the anticipation of a mood-enhancing event did not lead empathic participants to be less helpful (Batson, Batson, et al., 1989) or when participants were led to believe that helping would not improve their mood (Schroeder, Dovidio, Sibicky, Matthews, & Allen, 1988). Studies that induced an aversive state of empathic distress showed that the termination of that state acted as a reinforcer in acquiring a helping response (terminating shock) (Weiss et al., 1973; Weiss et al., 1971), and that empathically aroused affect was reduced in intensity for those participants who engaged in a helpful act towards the victim as opposed to those who did not (Darley & Latane, 1968).

Reviews of literature on negative mood induction studies provide support for the attentional focus and responsibility models but not for the negative-state relief model (Carlson & Miller, 1987). It has been suggested, based on mood induction studies and literature reviews, that negative affect induces altruistic behaviour when the focus of attention is on the victim as opposed to the self (Carlson & Miller, 1987; Thompson, Cowan, & Rosenhan, 1980). However, in experiments where participants completed tasks designed to increase self-focus immediately prior to exposure to distressed others, ascription of responsibility and desire to help increased (Duval, Duval, & Neely, 1979). Furthermore, authors have argued that it is not the experience of negative mood itself that promotes helpfulness but rather the experience of its underlying variables, such as the degree to which one takes responsibility for the negative mood, one's level of objective self-awareness, and the extent of the focus of one's attention on oneself or another (Carlson & Miller, 1987). Other researchers have also suggested that the mixed results in mood induction studies are a consequence of differences in ages and socialisation of participants used in these experiments and indeed, empirical evidence exists showing that the relationship between negative mood and altruism is progressively reversed, whereby younger, least socialised participants in the negative mood condition are less generous while the older, most socialised group are significantly more generous (Cialdini & Kenrick, 1976).

Competency and altruism

Perceived competence has also been linked to increased helping (Harris & Huang, 1973; Midlarsky & Midlarsky, 1973) and to helping following success on performing a task (Barnett & Bryan, 1974; Isen, 1970) as well as the cost and reward of helping (M. J. White & Gerstein, 1987), ascribed status (Midlarsky & Midlarsky, 1973), and self-monitoring tendencies (M. J. White & Gerstein, 1987). For example, individuals high in self-monitoring have been found to exhibit more helping behaviour when strong social sanctions are introduced as opposed to weak social sanctions, and the opposite occurs with individuals low in self-monitoring tendencies (M. J. White & Gerstein, 1987). Such findings suggest that those high in self-monitoring might be influenced by egoistic motivations to help while those low in self-monitoring might be influenced by altruistic motivations.

In a similar manner, the affect associated with success has been associated with increased helpfulness in different contexts while reduced helpfulness has been associated with prior failure on a task (Berkowitz & Connor, 1966; Isen, 1970; Isen, Horn, & Rosenhan, 1973). When participants experienced failure and then had to perform a task for a dependent peer, they exhibited greater frustration and dislike towards the peer than did the participants who experienced success (Berkowitz & Connor, 1966). In some experiments, participants who were observed to 'fail' on a task subsequently contributed to charity, perhaps as a means of 'image reparation' (Isen et al., 1973).

Increased helping as a result of perceived competence has been argued to result from the reduced cost associated with a more competent helper (Harris & Huang, 1973). In situations where the participant was in competition with the victim, however, helping behaviour occurred less than when competition was not present (Bell et al., 1995). Studies examining donating behaviour in second and fifth grade male children have found that competition suppresses donating behaviour relative to no interpersonal competition. However, of the competing fifth grade children, 'winners' donated significantly more than 'losers' or 'tiers' (Barnett & Bryan, 1974). Other studies showed similar results, with competing participants who were led to believe they were less competent than others donating less than participants in other groups (McGuire & Thomas, 1975). The donating behaviour of female children was not influenced by competition or lack thereof or perceived competence (McGuire & Thomas, 1975).

Gender roles and expectations may come into play here, as males are generally perceived to be more competitive than females.

Relationship between learning, observation and altruism

Studies examining the role of observation and modelling provide evidence to support the assumption that altruistic behaviour is acquired through learning and rearing practices of children (Aronfreed, 1968, 1970; Bryan & London, 1970; Bryan & Test, 1967; Clary & Miller, 1986; Grusec, Kuczynski, Rushton, & Simutis, 1978; Hoffman, 1975a; Midlarsky & Bryan, 1967; Rosenhan & White, 1967; Rushton, 1976; G. M. White, 1972; Yarrow, Scott, & Waxler, 1973). For example, studies have found that altruistically-inclined children have at least one parent (usually of the same gender) who conveys altruistic values and acts as a model, and one (usually of the opposite gender) who uses victim-centred discipline techniques (Hoffman, 1975a). Prospective studies have found that adult volunteers who reported altruistic parental models exhibited sustained helping over a period of time while those reporting less altruistic parental models did not, unless they participated in a highly cohesive training group (Clary & Miller, 1986).

The highest rate of altruistic behaviour occurred in children who were told that they donated because they enjoyed helping others (self-attribution condition) (Grusec & Redler, 1980), children who observed a model engaging in altruistic behaviour both in reality (Grusec et al., 1978) and in a television programme (Friedrich & Stein, 1975), and children with nurturing caregivers who modelled helping symbolically and behaviourally (Yarrow et al., 1973). Furthermore, the altruistic behaviour of these children continued after the experiment and was generalised to other forms of helping behaviour (Friedrich & Stein, 1975; Grusec et al., 1978), particularly for the children who were reinforced for their donating behaviour and for those led to believe they were helpful people (self-attribution) (Grusec & Redler, 1980). Consistency in imitating behaviour, however, is not always present and observers tend to choose who and when they imitate (Rosenhan, 1978).

Helping behaviour in children reflected in generosity has been shown to be more prevalent with girls (Willis et al., 1977), and increases with age and socio-economic

level (Benenson, Pascoe, & Radmore, 2007). Some studies suggest, however, that age-related increases in altruistic behaviour in children are due to feelings of increased competency, responsibility (Peterson, 1983), and socialisation (Benenson et al., 2007; Eisenberg et al., 2004). Some literature reviews have indeed concluded that socialisation processes including response consequences, observation of models, role-playing, and verbal socialising events exert a very strong influence over the development and maintenance of children's altruistic behaviours (Eisenberg et al., 2004; Rushton, 1976).

Studies have shown that adult participants are more likely to engage in helping behaviour after observing helpfulness from another (Bryan & Test, 1967), while interacting with an active versus a passive model (J. P. Wilson & Petruska, 1984), and also in a low level emergency situation (Solomon & Grotta, 1976). Participants perceive themselves to be less altruistic, however, if they engage in critical self-reflection (Batson, Fultz, Schoenrade, & Paduano, 1987) and are exposed to highly helpful models as opposed to moderately helpful ones (G. C. Thomas, Batson, & Coke, 1981). In a high level emergency situation, the presence of a helpful model may have the opposite effect, inducing diffusion of responsibility in participants (Solomon & Grotta, 1976).

Internal self-reinforcement regulates learned behaviour and is a result of internalised standards for certain behaviours in relation to altruism (Midlarsky & Bryan, 1967; Rosenhan, 1978). Studies have found that internalised standards for one form of behaviour may not necessarily extend to other forms of behaviour (Weissbrod, 1976). Longitudinal studies point towards a relationship between high levels of empathy in early childhood and higher levels of internalisation of moral values later in life (Roe, 1980).

Justice and altruism

Studies have reported findings that the relationship between moral judgement and altruism is complicated by two main factors, namely the relationship of the actor to the victim and the specific situation (Ma, 1993). In relation to the just world hypothesis (Lerner, 1970), some interesting results exist regarding the way observers react to

victims during an experiment. For example, the behaviour of participants was influenced by the 'justice motive' whereby participants who believed in their personal deservingness were more willing to help a needy other than participants who did not hold this belief (D. T. Miller, 1977b). Other studies found that observers believed that participants who received payment after a joint team task were more deserving than those who did not, and the observers derogated the teams' efforts if the participant who received payment was less attractive than the one that did not (Lerner, 1965b, 1970).

If the observer was aware of their responsibility for another person's suffering or failure on a group task, they were more likely to derogate the other person, but not when the other person was perceived to be responsible for their own fate, in which case they were perceived to be less attractive, or alternatively more attractive if they contributed to a desirable state for the observer (Lerner, 1965a, 1970; Lerner & Matthews, 1967). Likewise, when the victim's needs were attributed to internal controllable factors, negative affect and avoidance behaviours were maximised in the observer, whereas attributions to uncontrollable factors promoted positive affect and approach behaviours (B. Weiner, 1980). Participants who only witnessed harm but were not personally responsible engaged in altruistic behaviour as a way to re-affirm their beliefs in a just world and reduce perceived injustice (J. W. Regan, 1971). Avoidance behaviours have been described when exposure to a request for help is high in salience and recall of the specific request for help depended on the participant's level of belief in a just world - with high believers recalling significantly fewer high salience requests than low believers (Pancer, 1988).

Participants high in their beliefs in a just world behaved more altruistically than participants low in their beliefs during a time of need (prior to exams) (Zuckerman, 1975); when the victim was an isolated case rather than one of many in the same predicament (D. T. Miller, 1977a); when the suffering of victims was presented as 'temporary' as opposed to 'on-going' (D. T. Miller, 1977a); and in real-life emergency situations requiring first aid (Bierhoff et al., 1991). It should be noted, however, that in some of these experiments, what appeared to be altruistic behaviour was not truly altruistic as it represented a type of 'exchange' of deserving behaviour with the participant's needs being met (Zuckerman, 1975). Moreover, some studies have found

that empathy-induced altruism can lead participants to act in ways which violate justice principles by allocating resources preferentially towards the object of their empathy (Batson, Klein, Highberger, & Shaw, 1995).

Rejection and devaluation of the victim were noted in earlier studies when each observer was led to believe that he or she was powerless to alter the fate of the victim. Rejection and devaluation were strongest when the victim was viewed as suffering for the sake of others ('martyr' condition) (Lerner & Simmons, 1966). The greater the injustice of the victim's fate, the greater the efforts made by observers to reject them (Lerner, 1965b). Moreover, in a different study, participants were more likely to help the other person when that person had been previously treated unjustly than if they had received more than they deserved, especially if the participants had been treated unjustly themselves (Simmons & Lerner, 1968). Perhaps the tendency of an observer to derogate and reject the victim under certain conditions points to an attempt by the observer to reduce guilt or avoid the conclusion that the world is unjust. Likewise, the observer's tendency to be more positive towards the victim when they have experienced a similar fate may indicate a desire to 'identify' with the victim.

Experiments examining the justice motive in children have provided empirical evidence that children are influenced by two main forms of justice: justice of parity and of equity when distributing rewards to peers (Lerner, 1974). Justice of parity refers to equal outcomes regardless of input while justice of equity refers to rewards proportional to inputs. Children in these studies distributed desirable rewards according to their sense of deservingness (Lerner, 1974). Other studies with children have found a strong relationship between tolerance for delayed gratification and concern for 'deservingness' reflected in donating behaviour (Long & Lerner, 1974). Besides concern with 'deservingness', both properly paid and under-paid children were more pro-social towards victims who were not responsible for their fate than to victims who were responsible, whereas the overpaid children were non-discriminating (D. T. Miller & Smith, 1977).

1.7.2 Qualitative studies

Naturalistic studies and qualitative interviews have demonstrated that affect, such as the experience of emotions of sympathy and empathy, precedes altruistic behaviour in adults as well as children (London, 1970; P. A. Miller & Jansen op de Haar, 1997). For example, London (1970) suggested that rescuers of victims of the Nazis during World War II were motivated by sympathy. Internal positive affect has also been found to precede altruistic behaviour in studies examining the motivations of black civil rights activists (Rosenhan, 1970) and has been used as evidence in support of autonomous altruism (Rosenhan, 1970). Furthermore, data from interviews of civil rights activists during the 1960s point towards a distinction between genuinely autonomous and seemingly autonomous (normative) altruistic behaviour in terms of the duration of commitment to the cause (Rosenhan, 1970). Children high in empathy have been found to exhibit more spontaneous expressions of empathy and altruism than their peers and these expressions also differ in depth, intensity, and persistence (P. A. Miller & Jansen op de Haar, 1997).

In a study of Christians who rescued Jews during World War II, researchers found that rescuers displayed adventurousness, identification with a moralising parent, and a sense of social marginality (London, 1970). Some studies also found that altruistic participants had formed positive relationships with one or both parents (Rosenhan, 1970) while others found no consistent pattern of relationships with parents among altruists (Monroe, 1996a).

Common themes which emerged in qualitative studies of altruists include shared perceptions of a universal morality (Monroe, 1996a, 1996b), helpfulness, sociophilia, and positive affect (McWilliams, 1984). Some researchers have postulated a sequence for the development of a stable identity of an altruist, including: adequate love and care in the first two years of life, loss of consistent and adequate love and care in the third year, the simultaneous or subsequent gratifying relationship with an altruistic model, and socialisation into a sub-culturally supported belief system (McWilliams, 1984).

Semi-structured interview studies of rescuers of Jews in Nazi Europe revealed some more interesting findings (Monroe, Barton, & Klingemann, 1990). These include: potential costs of rescue activity (such as danger to self) were viewed strategically but

did not affect whether the rescue was carried out, there was no expectation of reward, the rescue itself was seen as the ultimate goal, rescue actions were part of a consistent pattern of helpfulness, no distinctions were made between need of the self and the other, the rescue activity was not a choice but rather a 'must', and the rescue activity did not necessarily affect internal self-worth or alleviate guilt (Monroe et al., 1990). Moreover, rescuers did not differ significantly from non-rescuers on conventional measures of morality or in their experiences with role-models, suggesting that altruism may differ from other forms of ethical development (Monroe et al., 1990). The defining feature separating the cognitive views of rescuers from non-rescuers was the perception of a common humanity (Monroe et al., 1990). Thus, such qualitative studies pose a significant theoretical challenge to mainstream theories of altruism as primarily guided by self-interest.

1.7.3 Mixed methods studies

A large scale international study of rescuers of Jews in Nazi-occupied Europe was undertaken by Oliner & Oliner (1988). Participants were recruited from Poland, France, Holland, Germany, and other European countries (Oliner & Oliner, 1988). Participants classified as 'rescuers' had to have helped a Jewish person voluntarily, received no external reward, and put themselves at real risk (Oliner & Oliner, 1988; Reykowski, 2002). Also included was a control group of participants, composed of bystanders (passive controls) and resistance fighters (active controls) matched by age, sex, education, and locality to the rescuers group (Oliner & Oliner, 1988). Participants in the 'rescuer' and control groups differed significantly with regards to the recognition of need in others as a prerequisite of helping behaviour. Specifically, active and passive controls experienced strong negative and detached affect respectively, but did not proceed to identify a need in the other (Oliner & Oliner, 1988). Rescuers, however, perceived the needs of others and acted to meet those needs (Oliner & Oliner, 1988).

Particular personality characteristics have been identified which can arguably account for differences in altruistic behaviour between individuals. One of these characteristics is the ability to accept responsibility for helping (Oliner & Oliner, 1988; S. H. Schwartz & Howard, 1982). Research carried out with rescuers of Jews in Europe showed that

rescuers differed from non-rescuers in their ability to accept responsibility for helping (Oliner & Oliner, 1988). Other personality characteristics that have been identified include beliefs of self-efficacy (Colby & Damon, 1992; Oliner & Oliner, 1988), confidence, perceptions of the ability to help successfully (Graziano & Eisenberg, 1997), and empathy (Oliner & Oliner, 1988). Lab and field experiments manipulating the identifiability of victims have demonstrated that an 'identifiable victim effect' exists whereby observers are more likely to act altruistically towards an already 'identified' victim (Small & Loewenstein, 2003). Thus, different personality traits and situational variables have been identified by researchers as contributing to the variance in altruistic and helping behaviour between individuals, although inferences about causality cannot be made here.

Mixed methods studies with children have found that there is a lack of a consistent relationship between perspective-taking and pro-social behaviour (Iannotti, 1985). Some studies involving young children have found that reciprocity norms exert influence over pro-social behaviour, particularly with middle-class male children (Dreman & Greenbaum, 1973). Longitudinal studies showed that female children received higher caregiver ratings of sympathy and pro-social behaviour (Malti, Gummerum, Keller, & Buchmann, 2009), and naturalistic studies found that altruistic behaviour improved self-concepts of at-risk youth (Krock, 2010). Moral motivation had a moderating effect on pro-social behaviour evident in that those with medium-to-high moral motivation displayed increased pro-social behaviour regardless of their level of sympathy, whereas those with low moral motivation became more pro-social as their sympathy increased (Malti et al., 2009). Furthermore, studies involving adolescents and young adults revealed that the factor 'closeness of relationship' between victim and helper was influential in judgements of help, whereby help given in closer interpersonal relationships was rated as more important than in distant relationships, in cases in which helping was judged to be a matter of personal choice (Killen & Turiel, 1998). Helping in distant relationships was, however, considered more satisfying than helping in close relationships, potentially due to its non-obligatory nature (Killen & Turiel, 1998).

Researchers have argued that certain points of evidence account for the variability in altruistic and helping behaviour with regard to personality traits (Graziano & Eisenberg,

1997). Firstly, there are differences in empathy between individuals. Secondly, there is consistency in altruistic and helping behaviour across time and situations. For example, researchers have found that rescuers of Jews in Nazi-occupied Europe continued to exhibit altruistic and helping behaviour several decades after the conclusion of World War II (Oliner & Oliner, 1988).

Motivations of rescuers included taking the perspective of the person in need, the actualisation of the norm of helping, feeling an obligation to act, and the actualisation of moral principles such as justice and the sanctity of human life (Oliner & Oliner, 1988). Moreover, the conception of a 'moral community' (a broad group of people with different ethnicities, religious affiliations, and so on) among rescuers exerted influence over perceived similarity and perceived importance of group belonging (Oliner & Oliner, 1988). Other studies have also found that perceived similarity influences altruistic behaviour through higher empathic arousal (Krebs, 1975). Unfortunately, some of these studies are limited in terms of their generalisability. The rescuers studies (Oliner & Oliner, 1988) were selected on the basis of prolonged helping in times of extreme stress (during World War II) and thus their findings may not be applicable to more short-term immediate situations. On the other hand, the persistence of helping behaviour described in these studies may point to genuine altruistic motivations.

1.8 Discussion and Conclusion

Altruistic theories suffer from several problems. They lack precision and are sometimes misinterpreted. This lack of precision in their definition means that empirical findings are often inconclusive and can be accounted for by pseudo-altruistic theories. Nonetheless, altruistic theories provide new interpretations and theoretical arguments to the study of altruistic behaviour which are separate from selfishly-motivated explanations.

Furthermore, it is particularly difficult to make definitive conclusions about the existence and empirical validity of what has been referred to as 'altruism' in humans. The dense theoretical literature on human altruism stems from many different

theoretical viewpoints which have a tendency to overlap and create confusion. Likewise, with empirical research, the theoretical standpoint of the investigators often determines the direction of the research hypotheses. Nonetheless, if one had to offer some conclusion, it would be that the motivational, intra and interpersonal, and behavioural influences affecting altruism are complex in nature and do not arise from a single source but rather a multitude of sources both within and outside the individual. The theoretical and empirical study of altruism in humans is thus, no easy undertaking. The existing theories and empirical studies, however, provide a multitude of individual puzzle pieces and give us some insight into the phenomenon of human altruism. From existing literature, we can begin to form future empirical investigations and theories and perhaps realise the complexity of the construct of altruism.

In conclusion, it seems obvious that an assumption of universal human egoism is insufficient to explain all aspects of human motivation and behaviour, particularly the motivation and behaviour some researchers' term 'altruistic'. It thus follows that the assumption of universal egoism must be replaced by a more complex assumption allowing room for both egoism and altruism (Batson, 2010) and the possibility of the existence of individuals with altruistic-type personalities. Such a shift would require an overall change in our beliefs about human nature and most importantly would imply that we are capable of caring for others for their own sake, not just our own (Batson, 2010).

1.8.1 Limitations

For some studies included in the review, it was difficult to assess accurately reliability, validity, and generalisability due to a lack of information. Furthermore, assessment of the quality of records was potentially inaccurate due to differing methodologies. Some articles and publications were also unavailable and thus were not included in the review. Due to the nature of the research undertaking (as part of the fulfilment for a doctoral degree), the student researcher was the sole investigator. This unfortunately may have introduced some bias. Counteractive measures were undertaken, however, by following specific guidelines set out by the PRISMA criteria (Liberati et al., 2009; Moher et al., 2009).

Another limitation is that non-English language articles were excluded. Additionally, as the database search was conducted online, there might have been older articles not included in online databases that were missed. Finally, the present literature review was only comprehensive of social psychological theories on human altruism and thus did not cover theories from other psychological disciplines such as organisational and evolutionary psychology.

1.8.2 Recommendations and directions for future research

The complex and multi-faceted nature of human beings seems to suggest a need to be open-minded when developing theoretical models. Closed-mindedness in relation to understanding the underlying motivational forces of human altruism will only serve to handicap future research and theories. Future theoretical models would greatly benefit from being inclusive rather than exclusive in allowing for the possibility of co-existing motivational drives (egoistic and altruistic). The conflict between pseudo-altruistic and altruistic theoretical approaches can be minimised or resolved by combining elements from both sides of the debate and conducting research exploring the validity of these new combinations.

Overall, there remains much to be investigated in the area of human altruism. Future research should attempt to expand on already existing research but also explore less investigated empirical questions. For example, more research needs to be conducted on altruism cross-culturally, social approval of altruism with reference to particular types of altruistic acts, and the study of planned rather than spontaneous altruistic behaviour. There also seem to be significantly fewer qualitative findings available than mixed methods or quantitative findings. It should thus follow that to gain a fuller perspective of altruism in human beings, more qualitative investigations need to be conducted. In cases of select groups, such as rescuers of Jews in Nazi Europe, this may no longer be possible. There are, however, other select groups who continue to engage in high-cost altruistic behaviours. Thus, more exploratory research is necessary to investigate human altruism as a multi-faceted and complex phenomenon not necessarily exclusively egoistically-motivated.

1.8.3 Relevance and directions for thesis

The present literature review exposed areas of the study of human altruism which need further research. Specifically, a broader overview of public attitudes towards altruistic offending was required as this type of research had not been previously conducted. This was achieved by conducting a survey of public perceptions of altruism and corresponding judgements of punishment involving participants mostly within New Zealand (refer to Chapter 2).

The literature review further exposed the lack of previous research into high risk altruistic behaviour such as altruistic offending and the personal experiences of different types of altruistic offenders. Thus, a more detailed look into aspects of altruistic offending from the perspective of the 'offender' was needed. To achieve this, two separate qualitative studies were carried out investigating two distinct forms of altruistic offending. The qualitative research attempted to describe the experiences of 'offenders' who had engaged in altruistically motivated illegal behaviours. Importantly, it was taken into account that altruistic behaviour had the potential to occur between humans and also across species (humans to non-human animals).

Furthermore, the qualitative studies provided findings on the social approval of particular types of altruistic acts, examined planned altruistic behaviour, and instead of being retrospective as had been many previous qualitative studies, the present qualitative studies examined 'snapshots' of recent altruistic behaviours. The two examples of altruistic offending which the qualitative research focused on were: performing euthanasia/assisted suicide on a family member (refer to Chapter 4) and engaging in high-risk animal liberation/activism (refer to Chapter 7).

Chapter 2: Crime and punishment survey study

2.1 Introduction

A search of major databases (PsycARTICLES, PsycINFO, Psychology and Behavioural Sciences Collection) showed a gap in the knowledge of public perceptions of altruistic offending and corresponding punishment judgements, particularly within New Zealand. The rationale behind the survey study included a need for a broad understanding of attitudes of society members towards altruistically motivated crimes, whether society members hold more lenient attitudes towards altruistically motivated crimes versus selfishly motivated ones, and differences between societal attitudes towards particular crimes such as drink driving, theft and euthanasia. Furthermore, it was important to ascertain whether a mismatch exists between societal attitudes towards particular crimes (such as euthanasia) and the legal status of these behaviours within New Zealand.

The survey investigated the relationship between public perceptions of altruism and crime severity, and corresponding punishment judgements in the general population. The relationships between different demographic characteristics, perceptions of altruism, and punishment judgements were also investigated. Three key questions were outlined.

Firstly, to what extent are perceptions of altruism and crime severity related?

Secondly, to what extent do people's perceptions of altruism affect their judgements of punishment?

Thirdly, to what extent are perceptions of altruism and punishment judgements influenced by demographics, such as the age and gender of participants?

It was hypothesised that firstly, perceptions of altruism and crime severity would be significantly related namely, as crime severity increased, the perception of how altruistic the act was would also increase. Secondly, it was hypothesised that the more

altruistic the act was, as perceived by participants, the more lenient the judgements of punishment would be. These assumptions were made intuitively on the presumptions that members of the public would perceive an act to be more altruistic if it contained more risk for the actor, and punishment judgements would be more lenient for non-selfishly motivated crimes that is, crimes which were committed out of concern for another. Thirdly, it was hypothesised that demographics would influence both perceptions of altruism and punishment judgements. The potential effects of all demographic variables were investigated and existing theoretical and empirical literature was taken into account when performing statistical analyses. For example, older age groups have been associated with harsher punishment judgements in previous studies (Indermaur & Roberts, 2005).

The overall research question was as follows: which factors, if any, influence people's perceptions of altruism and corresponding punishment judgements?

2.2 Methods

2.2.1 Materials

The survey was designed and created using Survey Monkey (www.surveymonkey.com) which is a web-based survey software tool.

The participants completed the survey online which required access to a computer or other internet-enabled device.

2.2.2 Participant selection and recruitment

Participants were selected by general recruitment through printed advertisements displayed at university campuses, community libraries, senior net establishments, community education centres, e-mail circulations within the university, and various social networks (such as Facebook) in order to capture as diverse a population as possible. Eligibility criteria were anyone aged sixteen years or older with an adequate understanding of the English language. Exclusion criteria were anyone under the age of sixteen without an adequate understanding of English.

To prevent gaps in demographics based on computer literacy, it was thought that advertising the study through senior net establishments would enable older people less familiar with the computer to participate in the study. Likewise, advertising the study in libraries would enable those people without regular access to a computer to participate.

A priori power analysis was carried out using the program G-Power 3 (Faul, Erdfelder, Lang, & Buchner, 2007) and it was found that 82 participants were needed to achieve a power of .8 with an effect size of .3 (medium).

2.2.3 Content of survey

The survey consisted of demographic questions followed by a series of closed questions in the form of crime scenarios (altruistic and selfish), Likert-type altruism and punishment scales and open-ended questions. Closed questions were split into three categories of Low (L), Medium (M) and High (H) severity for three types of offences: driving offence (drink-driving), theft, and act resulting in death (euthanasia). Each offence, in each category of severity (L, M, and H) had an altruistic or a selfish component.

Each participant was exposed to scenarios of drink-driving, theft and euthanasia in both altruistic and selfish variations but with only one category of severity in each (low, medium or high), determined using random assignment. This was done in order to avoid excessive repetition and random assignment minimised any systematic variation, such as practice and boredom effects (Field, 2009). To reduce subjectivity and limit confounding variables, crime scenarios were kept as constant as possible while the only variables introduced were the amount of alcohol consumed, money stolen and time left to live relevant to each scenario.

Following the presentation of a scenario, the participant was asked to rate the degree of altruism and the appropriate punishment on Likert-type scales. The altruism Likert-type scale consisted of five response categories (1 – not altruistic at all, 2 – slightly altruistic, 3 – moderately altruistic, 4 – strongly altruistic, 5 – extremely altruistic). Participants were given five response categories of punishment severity (1 – no punishment, 2 – minor or trivial, 3 – moderately severe, 4 – very severe, 5 – extremely severe). This was followed by an open-ended question requesting the participant to add any thoughts or comments which was optional.

Listed below in Table 4 are the crime scenarios with each category of severity, and in either an altruistic or selfish variation.

Table 4: Crime scenarios included in the survey

Scenario	Description
Drink-driving (altruistic)	A person has six/eight/ten beers at a party and drives to the hospital a friend who is feeling unwell
Drink-driving (selfish)	A person has six/eight/ten beers at a party and drives to a restaurant for some dinner
Theft (altruistic)	A person commits theft by stealing \$10/\$100/\$1,000 from the till at their work to buy some medication for their mother who is dying from a terminal disease
Theft (selfish)	A person commits theft by stealing \$10/\$100/\$1,000 from the till at their work to buy some lunch for him/herself and a group of friends
Euthanasia (altruistic)	A person administers a lethal dose of morphine to their terminally ill mother, who has 24 hours/1 week/6 months left to live and is in extreme pain
Euthanasia (selfish)	A person is finding that looking after their terminally ill mother, who has 24 hours/1 week/6 months left to live, is interfering with their lifestyle and administers a lethal dose of morphine

At the end of the survey, participants were asked whether they would like to receive a summary of results of the survey once the study was complete. If they selected ‘Yes’, they were asked to specify their e-mail address. If they selected ‘No’, they were presented with the next page.

The next page asked participants if they would like to go in the draw to win a \$50 shopping voucher. If participants selected ‘Yes’, they were asked to provide an e-mail address or contact phone number. If they selected ‘No’, they were presented with the next page.

All participants were then presented with a contacts page in case they had any further questions or wanted to get in touch with the researcher. Participants were then thanked for their time and participation in the survey.

2.2.4 Data collection

Once participants followed the online link for the study, they were presented with the Participant Information Sheet (PIS) which outlined the study (refer to Appendix C). They were advised of the right to withdraw from the study at any time, and their anonymity was assured. Contact details for the principal investigator were also included on the PIS and participants were encouraged to e-mail the investigator if they had any questions.

Participants then were asked to consent to participate in the survey by clicking 'Yes' to having read the PIS and that they were sixteen years or older. Active completion of the survey was deemed to constitute informed consent.

If participants selected the 'No' option, the survey was terminated immediately.

Those who consented were presented with the demographic questionnaire. The demographic questionnaire consisted of sixteen questions. Demographic questions included gender, age group, country of origin, ethnicity, country of residence, education, employment and occupation, relationship status, sexual orientation, religion, area of residence, income level, and whether the participant has any children, criminal or driving offence convictions.

After participants completed the demographic questionnaire, they were presented with a definition of altruism - "an aspect of human motivation present to the degree that the individual derives intrinsic satisfaction or psychic rewards from attempting to optimise the intrinsic satisfaction of one or more other persons without the conscious expectation of participating in an exchange relationship" (D. H. Smith, 1981). This was done with the aim of familiarising the participants with the term 'altruism' in order to prevent any confusion during the completion of the survey. Participants had to click 'Yes' to having read the definition. Participants were then presented with the remainder of the survey.

2.2.5 Ethics approval and consent

Ethics approval and consent were obtained from the University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee on the 11th August 2011 for a period of three years (Reference number 7481). The participant's right to withdraw at any time was emphasised, as was participant confidentiality. Consenting participants gave written consent.

2.3 Results of survey

The survey addressed three key questions. Firstly, to what extent are perceptions of altruism and crime severity related? Secondly, to what extent do people's perceptions of altruism affect their judgments of punishment? Thirdly, to what extent are perceptions of altruism and punishment judgements influenced by demographics, such as the age and gender of participants?

In total, 210 participants responded to the survey. Seven participants began the demographic questionnaire and abandoned it after answering the first few questions. These participants were removed from any further analysis thus, resulting in a total of 203 participants.

A new power calculation was run using the program GPower 3 (Faul et al., 2007) to determine achieved power. It showed that with a new sample size of 203, achieved power was .993.

All collected survey responses were exported into the statistical software program SPSS Statistics version 17. All quantitative data were analysed using this program.

The comments participants left at the end of the survey did not make any significant contributions to the overall study results and were thus, not included in further analysis.

2.3.1 Demographic data

Age, Gender and Employment status

Table 5: Frequency table showing the age groups of participants

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	16-20	17	8.4	8.4	8.4
	21-30	51	25.1	25.1	33.5
	31-40	51	25.1	25.1	58.6
	41-50	44	21.7	21.7	80.3
	51-60	25	12.3	12.3	92.6
	61-70	13	6.4	6.4	99.0
	>70	2	1.0	1.0	100.0
	Total	203	100.0	100.0	

The demographic data for the age groups of participants showed that the two most common age groups were 21-30 (25.1%) and 31-40 (25.1%).

Table 6: Frequency table showing the gender breakdown of participants

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Male	66	32.5	32.5	32.5
	Female	137	67.5	67.5	100.0
	Total	203	100.0	100.0	

The majority of participants were female (67.5%) with male participants constituting 32.5%.

Table 7: Frequency table showing employment status of participants

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Un-employed	19	9.4	9.4	9.4
	Stay at home father/mother	9	4.4	4.4	13.8
	Casual	12	5.9	5.9	19.7
	Part-time	48	23.6	23.6	43.3
	Full-time	115	56.7	56.7	100.0
	Total	203	100.0	100.0	

The two most common forms of employment status were full-time (56.7%) and part-time (23.6%) respectively.

Sexual orientation and Children

Table 8: Frequency table showing the sexual orientation of participants

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Heterosexual	186	91.6	91.6	91.6
	Homosexual	10	4.9	4.9	96.6
	Bisexual	6	3.0	3.0	99.5
	Other	1	.5	.5	100.0
	Total	203	100.0	100.0	

Table 9: Frequency table showing the presence of children of participants

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	84	41.4	41.4	41.4
	No	119	58.6	58.6	100.0
	Total	203	100.0	100.0	

An overwhelming majority of participants reported their sexual orientation as heterosexual (91.6%) and more participants reported not having any children at the time of the survey (58.6%).

Criminal convictions and Driving offences

Table 10: Frequency table showing the presence of criminal convictions of participants

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	6	3.0	3.0	3.0
	No	197	97.0	97.0	100.0
	Total	203	100.0	100.0	

Table 11: Frequency table showing the presence of driving offences of participants

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	44	21.7	21.7	21.7
	No	159	78.3	78.3	100.0
	Total	203	100.0	100.0	

An overwhelming majority of participants did not possess any criminal convictions (97%) or driving offences (78.3%) at the time of the survey.

Ethnicity and Country of origin

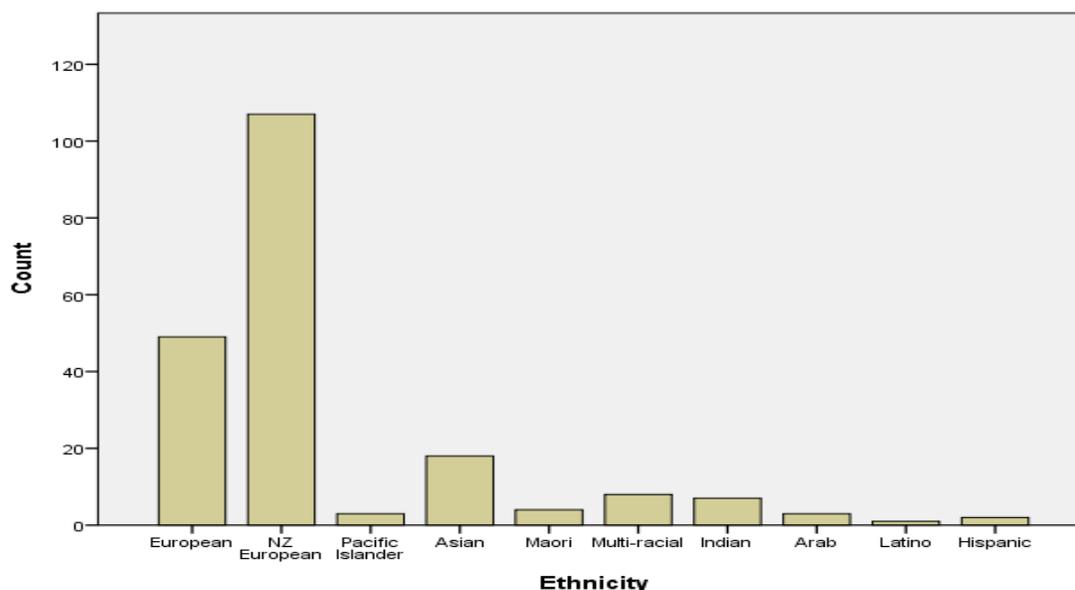


Figure 6. Histogram showing the ethnicity breakdown of participants

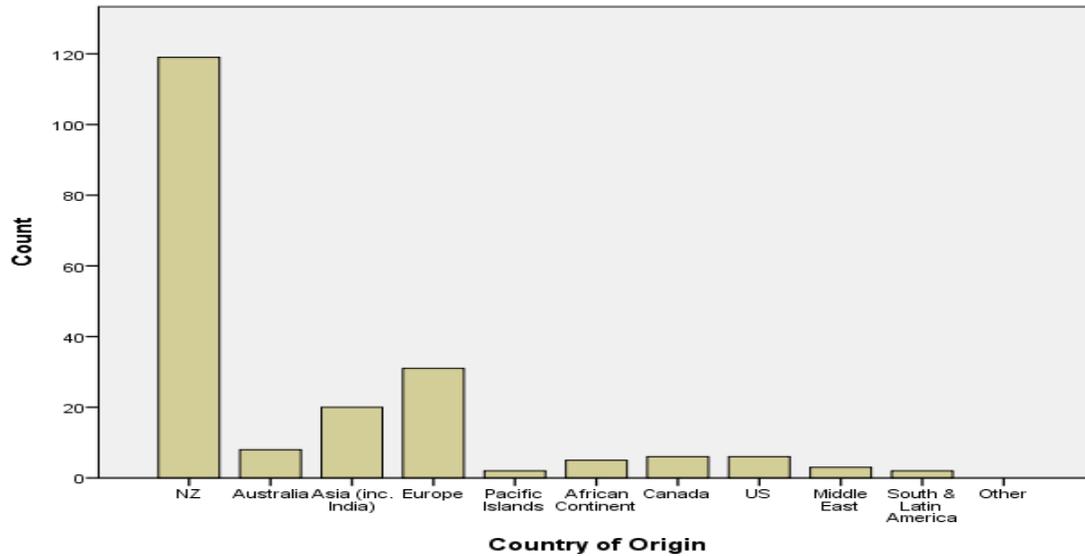


Figure 7. Histogram showing countries of origin for participants

The major ethnicity participants identified with was New Zealand European (68.5%) and an overwhelming majority of participants considered their country of origin to be New Zealand (57.6%).

Level of education and Current occupation

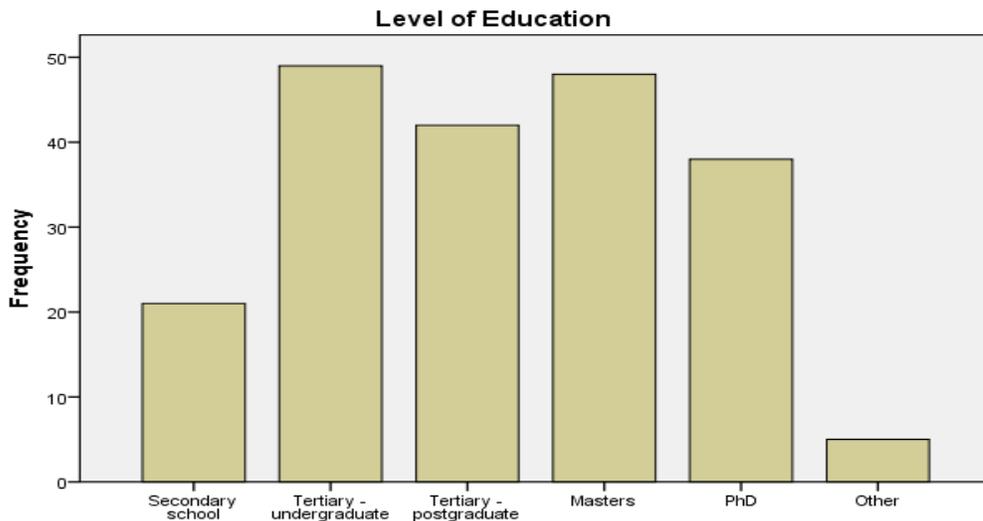


Figure 8. Histogram showing the level of education of participants

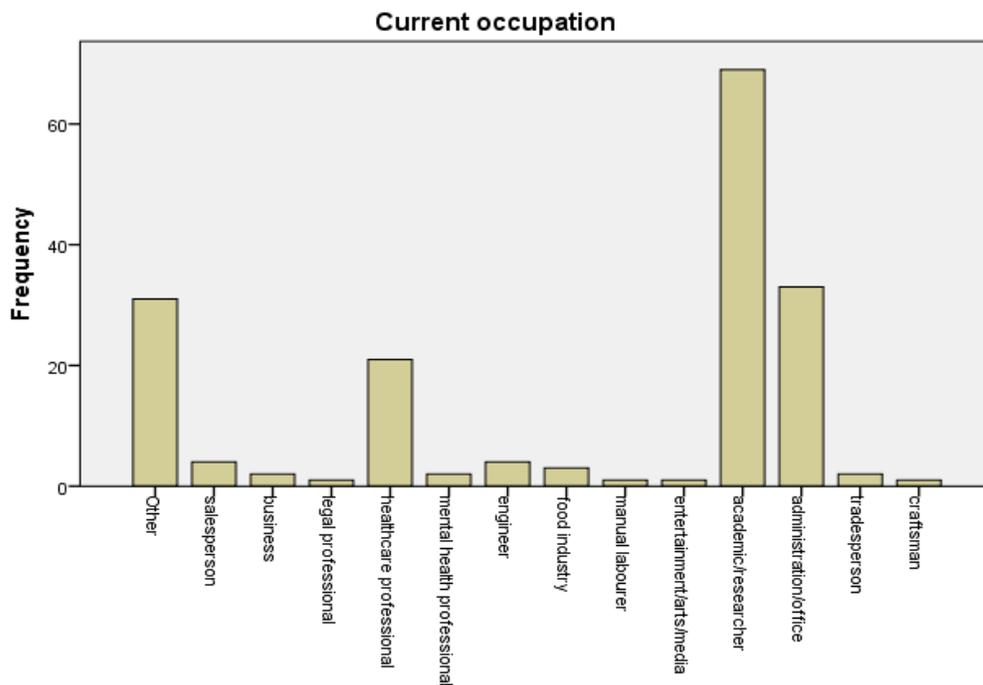


Figure 9. Histogram showing the occupations of participants

The majority of participants held some form of tertiary level education accomplishments with undergraduate (24.1%) and Master’s degrees (23.6%) being the most represented. Further, the majority of participants reported their current occupation to be in the field of academic research (34%).

Relationship status and Religious beliefs

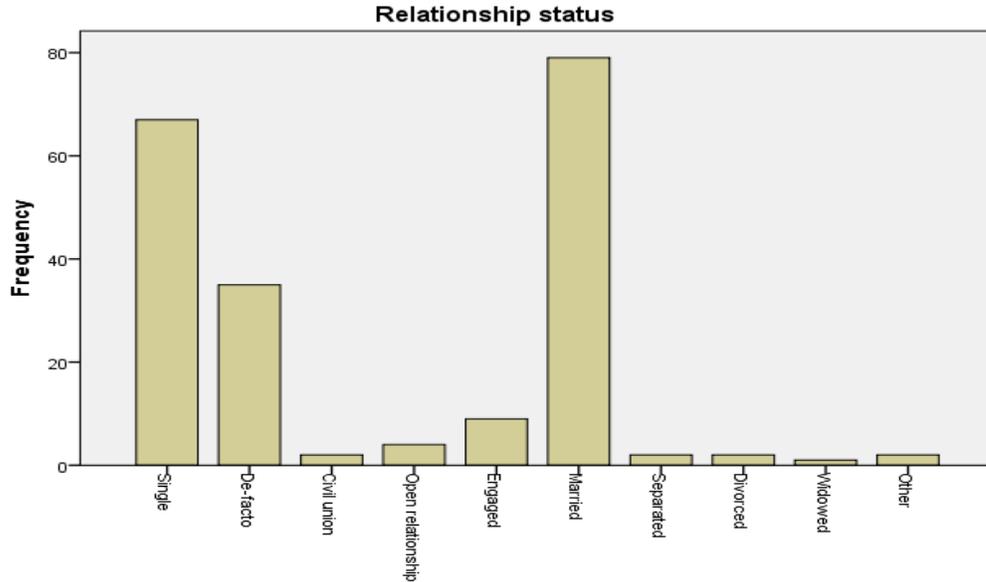


Figure 10. Histogram showing the relationship status of participants

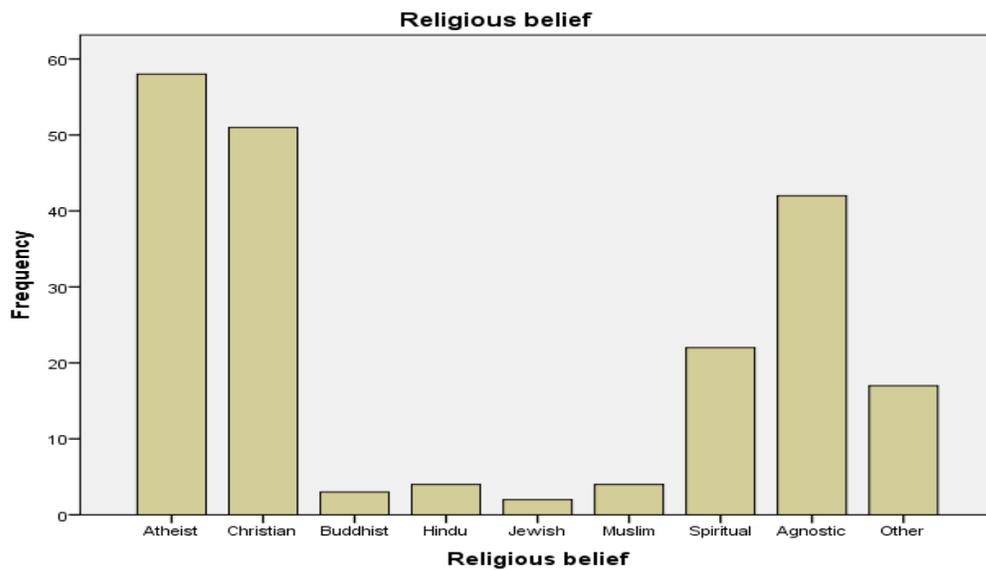


Figure 11. Histogram showing the religious beliefs of participants

The majority of participants were either married (38.9%) or single (33%), and the three most common religious beliefs (or lack of) were atheism (28.6%), Christianity (25.1%), and agnosticism (20.7%) respectively.

Area of residence and Annual income

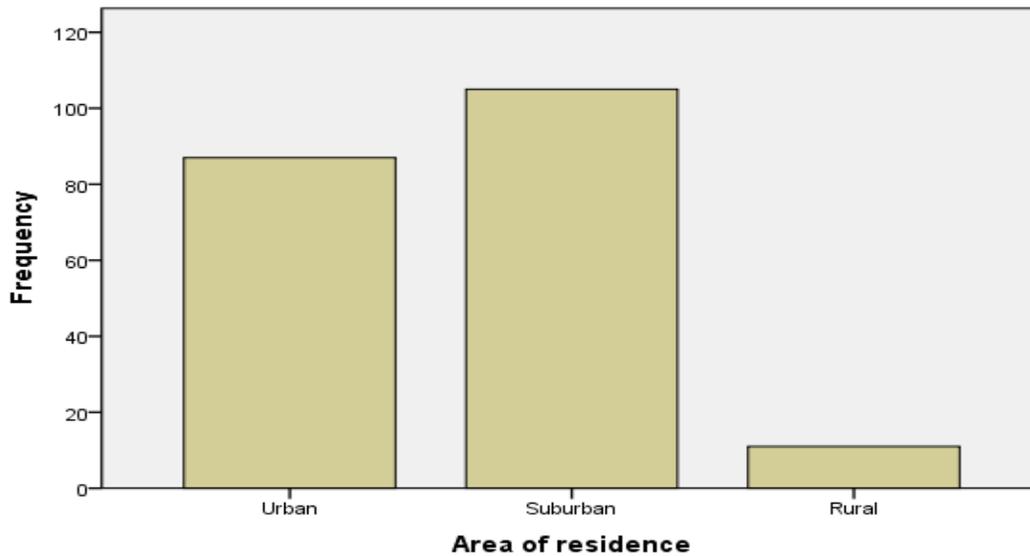


Figure 12. Histogram showing the area of residence for participants

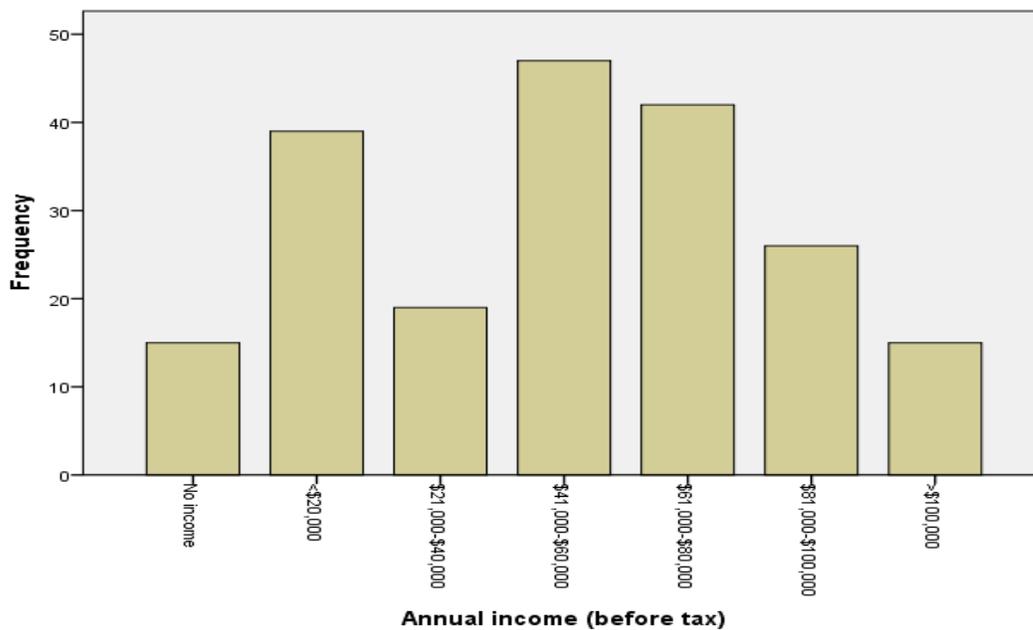


Figure 13. Histogram showing annual income for participants (before tax)

The majority of participants resided in either suburban (51.7%) or urban (42.9%) areas and reported their annual income to be between \$41,000 and \$60,000 (23.2%), followed by \$61,000-\$80,000 (20.7%).

2.3.2 Exploring the data

Assumption of normality

The assumption of normality was explored for all scenarios for the Altruism and Punishment sample distributions. It appeared, based on the skewness and kurtosis values that several sample distributions were likely not to be normally distributed (refer to Appendix C for skewness and kurtosis tables).

Skewness and Kurtosis

1. Drink-driving scenario (altruistic variation) - Altruism and Punishment (with all three levels of severity) sample distributions

There was a skewness of around 1 (positive skew) for the sample distribution of Drink-driving Altruism scale (altruistic variation, High severity) which indicated a pile-up of scores on the left side of the distribution. None of the values of skewness and kurtosis were zero for the remaining distributions however, they were less than 1.

2. Drink-driving scenario (selfish variation) - Altruism and Punishment (with all three levels of severity) sample distributions

The values of skewness and kurtosis were very high for the sample distributions of Drink-driving Altruism scale (in all levels of severity) indicating a pile-up of scores on the left side of the distribution and a pointy, heavy-tailed distribution.

3. Theft scenario (altruistic variation) - Altruism and Punishment (with all three levels of severity) sample distributions

The values for skewness and kurtosis for the sample distributions of Theft Altruism scale (altruistic variation) and Punishment scale (altruistic variation) had some negative skew which indicated a pile-up of scores on the right side of the distributions and negative kurtosis which indicated flat and light-tailed distributions.

4. Theft scenario (selfish variation) - Altruism and Punishment (with all three levels of severity) sample distributions

The values of skewness and kurtosis for the Theft Altruism scale (selfish variation) sample distributions appeared to deviate from normality as the values were quite high (>1).

5. Euthanasia scenario (altruistic variation) - Altruism and Punishment (with all three levels of severity) sample distributions

The values for skewness for the Euthanasia Punishment scale (altruistic variation, Low and Medium severity) sample distributions appeared to deviate from normality as the values were quite high (>1).

6. Euthanasia scenario (selfish variation) - Altruism and Punishment (with all three levels of severity) sample distributions

The values for skewness and kurtosis for the Euthanasia Altruism scale (selfish variation, Low, Medium, High severity) sample distributions were all above 1 which indicated deviations from normality.

Sample distributions

Histograms fitted with normality curves were produced to examine visually the deviation from normality for all scenarios encompassing both Altruism and Punishment scales (refer to Appendix C for figures 16-51). They revealed variations in skewness and kurtosis as demonstrated by the values for skewness and kurtosis statistics.

After visually inspecting the data for deviations from normality, the Kolmogorov-Smirnov and Shapiro-Wilk tests were performed (refer to Appendix B).

The tests were significant ($p < .05$) meaning that all of the distributions deviated from normality. However, large sample sizes (more than 200 participants) are likely to yield significant results and thus, may not necessarily indicate a substantial deviation from normality (Field, 2009).

Homogeneity of variance

The Levene's test was performed to test the assumption of homogeneity of variance (refer to Appendix C for tables). Variances were significantly different for several sample distributions.

The variances were significantly different for the drink-driving scenario (selfish variation) Altruism sample distribution, $F(2,188) = 5.418$, $p < .01$.

Likewise for the theft scenario (altruistic variation) Punishment sample distribution $F(2,188) = 5.462$, $p < .01$, and for both theft scenarios (selfish variation) Altruism, $F(2,190) = 9.048$, $p < .01$, and Punishment sample distributions $F(2,190) = 3.399$, $p < .05$ respectively.

Finally, the variances were significantly different for the Euthanasia scenario (altruistic variation) Altruism sample distribution, $F(2,188) = 3.223$, $p < .05$.

Outliers

Outliers in the data were examined and traced back to the original data set. Outliers which appeared more than once in the raw data set were investigated. When these outliers were removed and normality tests were performed, it was found that removal of these outliers did not make any significant difference to the sampling distribution's closeness to normality. Thus, it was decided to keep the outliers in the data.

On closer inspection of the raw data, one case was removed however as it was clear that the responses given by the participant were not valid or reliable as they were identical in all scenarios and the number of participants was brought down to $N=202$.

2.3.3 Statistical Analyses

To recap, the focus of the analyses was on three key questions.

Question 1: To what extent are perceptions of altruism and crime severity related?
(Hypothesis 1: as crime severity increases, perceptions of altruism also increase)

Question 2: To what extent do people's perceptions of altruism affect their judgements of punishment?
(Hypothesis 2: the more altruistic an act is perceived to be, the more lenient the punishment judgements)

Question 3: To what extent are perceptions of altruism and punishment judgements influenced by demographics, such as the age and gender of participants?
(Hypothesis 3: Demographics would influence both perceptions of altruism and punishment judgements)

It was decided based on assumption testing, to carry out non-parametric tests as the sample distributions were not normally distributed (Field, 2009).

2.3.3.1 Question 1: To what extent are perceptions of altruism and crime severity related?

The Kruskal-Wallis Test was carried out because the data were non-parametric and the independent variable was categorical.

Drink-driving scenario (altruistic variation)

Perceptions of altruism were significantly affected by crime severity categories, $H(2) = 13.05, p < .05$. Mann-Whitney tests were used to follow up this finding. A Bonferroni correction was applied and so all effects are reported at a .0167 level of significance. It appeared that perceptions of altruism were not different between Low and Medium crime severity categories ($U = 1382, r = -.15$) or between Medium and High severity categories ($U = 1888.5, r = -.19$). However, perceptions of altruism were significantly different between Low and High severity categories ($U = 1283, r = -.3$) and as crime severity went up, perceptions of altruism decreased.

Tables 12 and 13 display a summary of the results.

Table 12: Table showing summary of ranked data for the Drink-driving scenario (altruistic variation) in Low, Medium and High severity categories

	A(a) Severity	N	Mean Rank
Altruism A(a)	A(a,L)	52	114.25
	A(a,M)	64	99.59
	A(a,H)	75	80.29
	Total	191	

Table 13: Table showing Kruskal-Wallis test results for Drink-driving scenario (altruistic variation)

			Altruism A(a)
Chi-square			13.055
<i>df</i>			2
Asymp. Sig.			.001
		Sig.	.002*
Monte Carlo Sig.	99% Confidence Interval	Lower Bound	.001
		Upper Bound	.003

Note. * $p < .05$, two-tailed

Theft scenario (selfish variation)

Perceptions of altruism were significantly affected by crime severity categories, $H(2) = 9.18$, $p < .05$. Mann-Whitney tests were used to follow up this finding. A Bonferroni correction was applied and so all effects are reported at a .0167 level of significance. The post hoc tests showed that perceptions of altruism were not different between Low and Medium crime severity categories ($U = 2173.5$, $r = -.01$). However, perceptions of altruism were significantly different between Low and High severity categories ($U = 1464$, $r = -.23$), and Medium and High severity categories ($U = 1744.5$, $r = -.22$). Thus, as crime severity went up, perceptions of altruism increased, supporting the first hypothesis.

Tables 14 and 15 display a summary of the results.

Table 14: Table showing summary of ranked data for the Theft scenario (selfish variation) in Low, Medium and High severity categories

	B(s) Severity	N	Mean Rank
Altruism B(s)	B(s,L)	61	90.63
	B(s,M)	72	91.54
	B(s,H)	59	108.62
	Total	192	

Table 15: Table showing Kruskal-Wallis test results for the Theft scenario (selfish variation)

			Altruism B(s)
Chi-square			9.179
<i>df</i>			2
Asymp. Sig.			.010
		Sig.	.010*
Monte Carlo Sig.	99% Confidence	Lower Bound	.007
	Interval	Upper Bound	.012

Note. * $p < .05$, two-tailed

2.3.3.2 Question 2: To what extent do people’s perceptions of altruism affect their judgements of punishment?

Spearman correlation analyses were carried out because the data were non-parametric and the independent variable was continuous.

Drink-driving scenario (altruistic variation)

Perceptions of altruism were significantly related to judgements of punishment for the drink-driving scenario with an altruistic variation, $r_s = -.25$, $p < .05$. The correlation was negative, which meant that as perceptions of altruism increased, judgements of punishment decreased. That is, participants judged that the more altruistic an act is, the lesser the punishment should be, supporting the second hypothesis.

Tables 16 and 17 provide a summary of the results.

Table 16: Cross tabulation for Altruism and Punishment sample distributions on the five point Likert-type scale, Drink-driving scenario (altruistic variation)

		Punishment (a)					Total
		1	2	3	4	5	
Altruism (a)	1	0	6	28	12	7	53
	2	3	18	33	12	3	69
	3	2	13	22	6	0	43
	4	0	10	8	2	0	20
	5	0	2	0	3	1	6
Total		5	49	91	35	11	191

Table 17: Correlations between perceptions of altruism and judgements of punishment for Drink-driving scenario (altruistic variation)

Spearman's rho	Altruism (a)	Correlation Coefficient Sig. (2-tailed) N	Altruism (a)	Punishment (a)
			1.000	-.248*
		.	.	.001
		191	191	191
	Punishment (a)	Correlation Coefficient Sig. (2-tailed) N	-.248*	1.000
		.	.	.001
		191	191	191

Note. * $p < .05$, two-tailed

Theft scenario (altruistic variation)

Perceptions of altruism were significantly related to judgements of punishment for the theft scenario with an altruistic variation, $r_s = -.18$, $p < .05$. The correlation was negative, which meant that as perceptions of altruism increased, judgements of punishment decreased. That is, participants judged that the more altruistic an act is, the lesser the punishment should be. These results also provided support for the second hypothesis.

Tables 18 and 19 provide a summary of the results.

Table 18: Cross tabulation for Altruism and Punishment sample distributions on the five point Likert-type scale, Theft scenario (altruistic variation)

		Punishment (a)				Total
		1	2	3	4	
Altruism (a)	1	0	15	6	2	23
	2	1	31	15	2	49
	3	3	31	20	1	55
	4	7	31	14	2	54
	5	5	3	1	0	9
Total		16	111	56	7	190

Table 19: Correlations between perceptions of altruism and judgements of punishment for Theft scenario (altruistic variation)

Spearman's rho	Altruism (a)	Correlation Coefficient Sig. (2-tailed) N	Altruism (a)	Punishment (a)
			1.000	-.177*
			.	.014
			190	190
	Punishment (a)	Correlation Coefficient Sig. (2-tailed) N	-.177*	1.000
			.014	.
			190	190

Note. * $p < .05$, two-tailed

Theft scenario (selfish variation)

Perceptions of altruism were significantly related to judgements of punishment for the theft scenario with a selfish variation, $r_s = .17$, $p < .05$. The correlation was positive, which meant that as perceptions of altruism increased, judgements of punishment also increased. That is, participants judged that the more altruistic an act is, the greater the punishment should be.

Tables 20 and 21 provide a summary of the results.

Table 20: Cross tabulation for Altruism and Punishment sample distributions on the five point Likert-type scale, Theft scenario (selfish variation)

		Punishment (s)					Total
		1	2	3	4	5	
Altruism (s)	1	1	54	77	20	6	158
	2	0	1	6	2	0	9
	3	0	2	4	2	1	9
	4	0	3	6	3	0	12
	5	0	0	2	0	2	4
Total		1	60	95	27	9	192

Table 21: Correlations between perceptions of altruism and judgements of punishment for Theft scenario (selfish variation)

			Altruism (s)	Punishment (s)
Spearman's rho	Altruism (s)	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	.170*
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.019
		N	192	192
	Punishment (s)	Correlation Coefficient	.170*	1.000
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.019	.
		N	192	192

Note. * $p < .05$, two-tailed

Euthanasia scenario (altruistic variation)

Perceptions of altruism were significantly related to judgements of punishment for the euthanasia scenario with an altruistic variation, $r_s = -.28$, $p < .05$. The correlation was negative, which meant that as perceptions of altruism increased, judgements of punishment decreased. That is, participants judged that the more altruistic an act is, the lesser the punishment should be, supporting the second hypothesis.

Tables 22 and 23 provide a summary of the results.

Table 22: Cross tabulation for Altruism and Punishment sample distributions on the five point Likert-type scale, Euthanasia scenario (altruistic variation)

		Punishment (a)					Total
		1	2	3	4	5	
Altruism (a)	1	2	2	6	3	1	14
	2	5	9	9	3	0	26
	3	9	18	12	0	2	41
	4	15	29	12	5	1	62
	5	24	13	6	1	3	47
Total		55	71	45	12	7	190

Table 23: Correlations between perceptions of altruism and judgements of punishment for Euthanasia scenario (altruistic variation)

Spearman's rho	Altruism (a)	Correlation Coefficient Sig. (2-tailed) N	Altruism (a)	Punishment (a)
			1.000	-.275*
		.	.	
		190	190	
	Punishment (a)	Correlation Coefficient Sig. (2-tailed) N	-.275*	1.000
		.	.	
		190	190	

Note. * $p < .05$, two-tailed

Euthanasia scenario (selfish variation)

Perceptions of altruism were significantly related to judgements of punishment for the euthanasia scenario with a selfish variation, $r_s = -.24$, $p < .05$. The correlation was negative, which meant that as perceptions of altruism increased, judgements of punishment decreased. That is, participants judged that the more altruistic an act is, the lesser the punishment should be, also supporting the second hypothesis.

Tables 24 and 25 provide a summary of the results.

Table 24: Cross tabulation for Altruism and Punishment sample distributions on the five point Likert-type scale, Euthanasia scenario (selfish variation)

		Punishment (s)					Total
		1	2	3	4	5	
Altruism (s)	1	1	8	38	52	41	140
	2	3	4	8	1	0	16
	3	1	3	4	2	2	12
	4	1	1	3	4	2	11
	5	1	1	0	6	3	11
Total		7	17	53	65	48	190

Table 25: Correlations between perceptions of altruism and judgements of punishment for Euthanasia scenario (selfish variation)

			Altruism (s)	Punishment (s)
Spearman's rho	Altruism (s)	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	-.235*
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.001
		N	190	190
	Punishment (s)	Correlation Coefficient	-.235*	1.000
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.001	.
		N	190	190

Note. * $p < .05$, two-tailed

2.3.3.3 Question 3: To what extent are perceptions of altruism and punishment judgements influenced by demographics, such as the age and gender of participants?

Multiple regression analysis was used to investigate the effects of demographic variables on perceptions of altruism and judgements of punishment. Assumptions were checked before running the multiple regression with robustness of multiple regression to violations of assumptions taken into account (C. H. Mason & Perreault, 1991).

Assumptions of no perfect multicollinearity, non-zero variance, homoscedasticity, independent errors, normally distributed errors, independence of each value of the outcome variable, linearity, and variable types, were upheld with some deviations from normality.

Independent variables (demographics) with more than two categories were transformed into dummy variables before the analysis.

Initial regression analyses were run to determine predictors which contributed substantially to the model's ability to predict the outcome. The analyses were then rerun using only the identified important predictors.

Perceptions of Altruism

There is a gap in research examining the influence of demographic variables on perceptions of altruism in relation to specific criminal behaviour thus, the regression analysis was exploratory using the stepwise method.

Drink-driving scenario (altruistic variation)

Table 26 displays the results of the stepwise regression showing the relationship between demographic variables (Country of birth, Education, Sexual orientation) and perceptions of altruism.

Results indicated that the prediction model was statistically significant, $F(3,187) = 8.17$, $p < .05$, and accounted for 11.6% of the variance of perceptions of altruism ($R^2 = .116$, Adjusted $R^2 = .102$). Perceptions of altruism for the drink-driving scenario (altruistic variation) were predicted primarily by country of birth, followed by education level and sexual orientation.

Further, results showed that participants who were born in the United Kingdom had significantly lower perceptions of altruism than those born in New Zealand, ($B = -.733$, $p < .05$). Participants with a Masters level of education had significantly lower perceptions of altruism than those who had school as their highest academic achievement, ($B = -.441$, $p < .05$). Finally, participants who identified themselves as homosexual, had higher perceptions of altruism than those who identified themselves as heterosexual, ($B = .878$, $p < .05$).

Table 26: Summary of Stepwise Regression Analysis for demographic variables (Country of birth, Education, and Sexual orientation) predicting perceptions of altruism for the drink-driving scenario (altruistic variation)

Predictor variable	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
BornUK vs NZ	-.733	.241	-.210	-3.045	.003
Masters vs school	-.441	.172	-.177	-2.561	.011
Homosexual vs heterosexual	.878	.348	.174	2.521	.013

Note. $R^2 = .116$ ($p < .05$); Adjusted $R^2 = .102$, $n = 191$.

Drink-driving scenario (selfish variation)

Significant relationships were found between demographic variables (Children, Education, Occupation and Religious belief) and perceptions of altruism (Table 27).

Results indicated that the prediction model was statistically significant, $F(4,185) = 4.85$, $p < .05$, and accounted for 9.5% of the variance of perceptions of altruism ($R^2 = .095$; Adjusted $R^2 = .075$). Perceptions of altruism for the drink-driving scenario

(selfish variation) were predicted primarily by education level, occupation, presence of children, and religious belief respectively.

Results also showed that participants without children had significantly lower perceptions of altruism than those with children, ($B = -.308, p < .05$). Participants who achieved a higher level of education (Masters as opposed to school only), also had significantly lower perceptions of altruism, ($B = -.383, p < .05$). Those participants who chose 'Business' as their occupation had significantly higher perceptions of altruism than those who were employed as academics/researchers, ($B = 1.576, p < .05$). Finally, participants with Buddhist religious beliefs had significantly higher perceptions of altruism than atheists, ($B = 1.385, p < .05$).

Table 27: Summary of Stepwise Regression Analysis for demographic variables (Children, Education, Occupation, and Religious belief) predicting perceptions of altruism for the drink-driving scenario (selfish variation)

Predictor variable	B	$SE B$	β	t	p
Children	-.308	.142	-.153	-2.168	.031
Masters vs school	-.383	.161	-.167	-2.372	.019
Business vs Academic/Researcher	1.576	.682	.163	2.313	.022
Buddhist vs Atheist	1.385	.679	.144	2.041	.043

Note. $R^2 = .095$ ($p < .05$); Adjusted $R^2 = .075, n = 190$.

Theft scenario (altruistic variation)

Significant relationships were found between demographic variables (Ethnicity and Sexual orientation) and perceptions of altruism (Table 28).

Results indicated that the prediction model was statistically significant, $F(2,187) = 5.513, p < .05$, and accounted for 5.6% of the variance of perceptions of altruism ($R^2 = .056$; Adjusted $R^2 = .046$). Perceptions of altruism for the theft scenario (altruistic variation) were predicted primarily by ethnicity followed by sexual orientation.

Participants who classified themselves as Middle Eastern had significantly lower perceptions of altruism than those of Caucasian ethnicity, ($B = -1.86, p < .05$). Also, participants who classified themselves as homosexual had significantly higher perceptions of altruism than heterosexual participants ($B = .806, p < .05$).

Table 28: Summary of Stepwise Regression Analysis for demographic variables (Ethnicity and Sexual orientation) predicting perceptions of altruism for the theft scenario (altruistic variation)

Predictor variable	B	$SE B$	β	t	p
MiddleEast vs Caucasian	-1.860	.763	-.173	-2.437	.016
Homosexual vs Heterosexual	.806	.367	.156	2.199	.029

Note. $R^2 = .056$ ($p < .05$); Adjusted $R^2 = .046, n = 190$.

Theft scenario (selfish variation)

Significant relationships were found between demographic variables (Children, Country of birth, Ethnicity, Occupation, and Religious belief) and perceptions of altruism (Table 29).

Results indicated that the prediction model was statistically significant, $F(7,184) = 6.554, p < .05$, and accounted for 20% of the variance of perceptions of altruism ($R^2 = .200, Adjusted R^2 = .169$). Perceptions of altruism for the theft scenario (selfish variation) were predicted primarily by religious beliefs, occupation, presence of children, country of birth, and ethnicity respectively.

Participants without children had significantly lower perceptions of altruism than those with children, ($B = -.343, p < .05$). Participants who were born in the United Kingdom had significantly lower perceptions of altruism than those born in New Zealand, ($B = -.489, p < .05$).

On the other hand, Maori participants had significantly higher perceptions of altruism than those who classified themselves as Caucasian, ($B = .693, p < .05$).

Further, participants whose occupations were in business or sales, had significantly higher perceptions of altruism than those working as academics/researchers, ($B = 1.788, p < .05$) and ($B = 1.055, p < .05$) respectively. Finally, participants who adhered to Christian or Buddhist religious beliefs, had higher perceptions of altruism than atheists, ($B = .495, p < .05$) and ($B = 1.387, p < .05$) respectively.

Table 29: Summary of Stepwise Regression Analysis for demographic variables (Children, Country of birth, Ethnicity, Occupation and Religious belief) predicting perceptions of altruism for the theft scenario (selfish variation)

Predictor variable	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
Children	-.343	.136	-.172	-2.516	.013
BornUK vs NZ	-.489	.211	-.156	-2.312	.022
Maori vs Caucasian	.693	.349	.133	1.986	.049
Business vs Academic/Researcher	1.788	.648	.185	2.760	.006
Sales vs Academic/Researcher	1.055	.525	.133	2.010	.046
Christian vs Atheist	.495	.147	.227	3.368	.001
Buddhist vs Atheist	1.387	.640	.144	2.165	.032

Note. $R^2 = .200$ ($p < .05$); Adjusted $R^2 = .169$, $n = 192$.

Euthanasia scenario (altruistic variation)

Significant relationships were found between demographic variables (Country of birth, Ethnicity, and Income) and perceptions of altruism (Table 30).

Results indicated that the prediction model was statistically significant, $F(3,186) = 6.557, p < .05$, and accounted for approximately 9.6% of the variance of perceptions of altruism ($R^2 = .096$, Adjusted $R^2 = .081$). Perceptions of altruism for the euthanasia scenario (altruistic variation) were predicted primarily by country of birth, ethnicity, and income level respectively.

Participants born in Taiwan had significantly lower perceptions of altruism than participants who were born in New Zealand, ($B = -1.868$, $p < .05$). Likewise, participants who classified themselves as Middle Eastern had significantly lower perceptions of altruism than Caucasian participants, ($B = -2.035$, $p < .05$). Finally, participants who earned over \$100,000 per year had significantly higher perceptions of altruism than participants with no income, ($B = .773$, $p < .05$).

Table 30: Summary of Stepwise Regression Analysis for demographic variables (Country of birth, Ethnicity, and Income) predicting perceptions of altruism for the euthanasia scenario (altruistic variation)

Predictor variable	B	$SE B$	β	t	p
BornTaiwan vs NZ	-1.868	.676	-.193	-2.763	.006
MiddleEast vs Caucasian	-2.035	.826	-.172	-2.464	.015
>\$100,000 vs No income	.773	.334	.162	2.314	.022

Note. $R^2 = .096$ ($p < .05$); Adjusted $R^2 = .081$, $n = 190$.

Euthanasia scenario (selfish variation)

Significant relationships were found between demographic variables (Children, Age group, and Education) and perceptions of altruism (Table 31).

Results indicated that the prediction model was statistically significant, $F(6,183) = 9.073$, $p < .05$, and accounted for approximately 23% of the variance of perceptions of altruism ($R^2 = .229$, Adjusted $R^2 = .204$). Perceptions of altruism for the euthanasia scenario (selfish variation) were predicted primarily by level of education, presence of children, and age group respectively.

Participants without children had significantly lower perceptions of altruism than those with children, ($B = -.525$, $p < .05$). Participants who belonged to the 51-60 age group had significantly lower perceptions of altruism than those in the 21-30 age group, ($B = -.511$, $p < .05$). Finally, participants who achieved a tertiary level of education (undergraduate, postgraduate, Masters, PhD), had significantly lower

perceptions of altruism than those who completed school only, ($B = -1.036, p < .05$), ($B = -1.158, p < .05$), ($B = -1.566, p < .05$), and ($B = -1.451, p < .05$) respectively.

Table 31: Summary of Stepwise Regression Analysis for demographic variables (Children, Age group, and Education) predicting perceptions of altruism for the euthanasia scenario (selfish variation)

Predictor variable	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
Children	-.525	.164	-.216	-3.200	.002
51-60 vs 21-30	-.511	.239	-.143	-2.133	.034
Masters vs school	-1.566	.277	-.566	-5.649	.000
PhD vs school	-1.451	.289	-.480	-5.028	.000
Postgrad vs school	-1.158	.286	-.391	-4.050	.000
Undergrad vs school	-1.036	.278	-.380	-3.725	.000

Note. $R^2 = .229 (p < .05)$; Adjusted $R^2 = .204, n = 190$.

Judgments of Punishment

Several demographic variables are known from previous research to influence punitive attitudes. These are income (Kury & Ferdinand, 1999), marital status (Dowler, 2003), race (Dowler, 2003; Cohn, 1991), education (Dowler, 2003; L. D. Roberts & Indermaur, 2007), age (Gerber & Engelhardt-Greer, 1996; Indermaur, 2005), religion (Unnever, Cullen, & Applegate, 2005), and gender (Mattinson & Mirrlees-Black, 2000). Thus, it was decided to carry out multiple regression analysis using the hierarchical method on all 'known' (from previous research) independent variables, and the stepwise method was used on new independent variables.

Drink-driving scenario (altruistic variation)

Significant relationships were found between demographic variables (Relationship status, Country of birth) and judgements of punishment (Table 32).

Results indicated that the prediction model was statistically significant, $F(3,187) = 7.620$, $p < .05$, and accounted for approximately 11% of the variance of punishment judgements ($R^2 = .109$, Adjusted $R^2 = .095$). Punishment judgements for the drink-driving scenario (altruistic variation) were predicted primarily by country of birth and relationship status respectively.

Participants who indicated their relationship status to be 'separated', had significantly more severe punishment judgements than participants who were single, ($B = 1.549$, $p < .05$). Likewise, participants born in the United Kingdom had significantly more severe punishment judgements than participants born in New Zealand, ($B = .499$, $p < .05$).

On the other hand, participants born in China had significantly more lenient punishment judgements than participants born in New Zealand, ($B = -1.151$, $p < .05$).

Table 32: Summary of Hierarchical/Stepwise Regression Analysis for demographic variables (Relationship status, Country of birth) predicting judgements of punishment for the drink-driving scenario (altruistic variation)

Predictor variable	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
Separated vs single	1.549	.597	.179	2.593	.010
BornChina vs NZ	-1.151	.381	-.209	-3.020	.003
BornUK vs NZ	.499	.199	.174	2.508	.013

Note. $R^2 = .109$ ($p < .05$); Adjusted $R^2 = .095$, $n = 191$.

Drink-driving scenario (selfish variation)

Significant relationships were found between demographic variables (Ethnicity, Relationship status) and judgements of punishment (Table 33).

Results indicated that the prediction model was statistically significant, $F(2,187) = 7.486$, $p < .05$, and accounted for 7.4% of the variance of punishment judgements ($R^2 = .074$, Adjusted $R^2 = .064$). Punishment judgements for the drink-driving scenario (selfish variation) were predicted primarily by relationship status and ethnicity respectively.

Participants who indicated their ethnicity to be Asian, had significantly more lenient punishment judgements than Caucasian participants, ($B = -.544$, $p < .05$).

Participants who indicated their relationship status to be 'separated', had significantly more severe punishment judgements than participants who were single, ($B = 1.729$, $p < .05$).

Table 33: Summary of Hierarchical/Stepwise Regression Analysis for demographic variables (Ethnicity, Relationship status) predicting judgements of punishment for the drink-driving scenario (selfish variation)

Predictor variable	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
Asian vs Caucasian	-.544	.204	-.188	-2.666	.008
Separated vs single	1.729	.640	.190	2.703	.007

Note. $R^2 = .074$ ($p < .05$); Adjusted $R^2 = .064$, $n = 190$.

Theft scenario (selfish variation)

A significant relationship was found between the demographic variable Education level and judgements of punishment (Table 34).

Results indicated that the prediction model was statistically significant, $F(1,190) = 7.508$, $p < .05$, and accounted for approximately 4% of the variance of punishment judgements ($R^2 = .038$, Adjusted $R^2 = .033$).

Participants who attained a higher level of education (PhD), had significantly more lenient punishment judgements than those who attained a school-only level of education, ($B = -.404$, $p < .05$).

Table 34: Summary of Hierarchical/Stepwise Regression Analysis for demographic variable (Education level) predicting judgements of punishment for the theft scenario (selfish variation)

Predictor variable	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
PhD vs school	-.404	.147	-.195	-2.740	.007

Note. $R^2 = .038$ ($p < .05$); Adjusted $R^2 = .033$, $n = 192$.

Euthanasia scenario (altruistic variation)

Significant relationships were found between demographic variables (Religious belief, Country of birth) and judgements of punishment (Table 35).

Results indicated that the prediction model was statistically significant, $F(3,186) = 5.794$, $p < .05$, and accounted for 8.5% of the variance of punishment judgements ($R^2 = .085$, Adjusted $R^2 = .071$). Punishment judgements for the euthanasia scenario (altruistic variation) were predicted primarily by religious belief and country of birth respectively.

Participants who indicated their religious beliefs as Christian or Muslim, had significantly more severe punishment judgements than atheists, ($B = .502$, $p < .05$) and ($B = 1.326$, $p < .05$) respectively. Also, participants born in the Netherlands had significantly more severe punishment judgements than participants born in New Zealand, ($B = 1.326$, $p < .05$).

Table 35: Summary of Hierarchical/Stepwise Regression Analysis for demographic variables (Religious belief, Country of birth) predicting judgements of punishment for the euthanasia scenario (altruistic variation)

Predictor variable	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
Christian vs Atheist	.502	.165	.215	3.041	.003
Muslim vs Atheist	1.326	.586	.159	2.264	.025
BornNetherlands vs NZ	1.326	.586	.159	2.264	.025

Note. $R^2 = .085$ ($p < .05$); Adjusted $R^2 = .071$, $n = 190$.

Euthanasia scenario (selfish variation)

Significant relationships were found between demographic variables (Age group, Religious belief, Criminal convictions, Country of birth, Employment status) and judgements of punishment (Table 36).

Results indicated that the prediction model was statistically significant, $F(6,183) = 6.194$, $p < .05$, and accounted for approximately 17% of the variance of punishment judgements ($R^2 = .169$, Adjusted $R^2 = .142$). Punishment judgements for the euthanasia scenario (selfish variation) were predicted primarily by criminal

convictions, place of birth, employment status, age group, and religious belief respectively.

Participants who indicated their age group to be 41-50 had significantly more lenient punishment judgements than participants in the 21-30 age group, ($B = -.367, p < .05$).

Participants who held Muslim religious beliefs had significantly more severe punishment judgements than atheists, ($B = 1.191, p < .05$).

Interestingly, participants who possessed criminal convictions had more lenient punishment judgements than participants with no criminal convictions, ($B = -1.471, p < .05$).

Further, participants who were born in China had significantly more lenient punishment judgements than participants born in New Zealand, ($B = -1.309, p < .05$).

Finally, participants who worked part time or were a stay at home parent, had significantly more lenient punishment judgements than participants who were unemployed, ($B = -.404, p < .05$) and ($B = -1.071, p < .05$) respectively.

Table 36: Summary of Hierarchical/Stepwise Regression Analysis for demographic variables (Age group, Religious belief, Criminal convictions, Country of birth, Employment) predicting judgements of punishment for the euthanasia scenario (selfish variation)

Predictor variable	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
41-50 vs 21-30	-.367	.176	-.141	-2.088	.038
Muslim vs Atheist	1.191	.574	.140	2.074	.040
Criminal convictions vs none	-1.471	.448	-.222	-3.280	.001
BornChina vs NZ	-1.309	.447	-.198	-2.929	.004
PartTime vs unemployed	-.404	.167	-.165	-2.415	.017
StayAtHome vs unemployed	-1.071	.448	-.162	-2.388	.018

Note. $R^2 = .169$ ($p < .05$); Adjusted $R^2 = .142$, $n = 190$.

2.4 Discussion & Conclusion of survey study

2.4.1 Principal findings for Question 1 & Discussion

It was hypothesised that perceptions of altruism and crime severity would be significantly related namely, as crime severity increased, the perception of how altruistic the act was would also increase. It was thought that increased risk would influence participants' perceptions of altruistic motivation in that, the more risk someone took the more altruistic were their actions. Results showed a couple of significant effects of crime severity on perceptions of altruism, but did not provide support for the hypothesis or at best, the support was mixed. Namely, increased crime severity resulted in both increased and decreased perceptions of altruism for two different scenarios.

For the drink-driving scenario (with an altruistic variation), which examined driving a sick friend to hospital after a few drinks, the correlation was negative. This meant that the more severe the drink driving offence (i.e. the more alcohol consumed), the less altruistic it was deemed to be. This finding did not support the hypothesis that higher severity of crime would also generate increased perceptions of altruism.

The severity levels of the crime were manipulated based on how many drinks the person in the scenario consumed before driving. Low severity was six beers, medium was eight and high was ten beers respectively. The negative correlation may have been a result of overall negative attitudes towards drink driving meaning that higher quantities of alcohol consumed before driving generated a more negative appraisal of the person concerned and their motivations, regardless of whether they were described as altruistic or selfish.

The only other significant correlation was for the theft scenario (with a selfish variation) which described theft of money from work in order to buy food for oneself and/or friends. The correlation was positive which meant that as severity of crime increased (i.e. amount of money stolen), perceptions of how altruistic the act was

also increased. This finding supported the hypothesis that higher crime severity would increase perceptions of altruism.

Even though arguably stealing food for oneself and/or friends could be perceived as altruistic, there were no other details in the scenario provided to participants to indicate that this was the case. The misjudgement of the scenario by participants - the more money stolen to buy food, the more altruistic the act, could point to a potential confusion with the definition of altruism. That is, the definition of altruism provided to participants at the start of the survey may not have been specific enough in describing the essential elements of altruism. One of the participants in fact, left a comment at the end of the survey with regards to the confusing nature of the definition. Thus, participants may have misunderstood this scenario to be altruistic when in fact it wasn't.

A major difference may have been present between the drink driving and theft scenarios which may have had an impact on perceptions of altruism. Participants may have deemed the act of drink-driving as posing potential risks to life and deemed the act selfish, whereas the theft scenario did not endanger life and thus, was viewed as altruistic. In this way, increased risk resulted in increased perceptions of altruism provided that the increase in risk was not related to an increase in the risk of injury or death. This may also be indicative of differences in public attitudes towards drink-driving and theft. Other studies have documented that participants displayed more negative attitudes towards crimes involving violence than no violence such as minor theft (Gebotys, Roberts, & DasGupta, 1988; Jacoby & Cullen, 1998). Previous research has also found public attitudes to differ whereby crimes involving drink driving were consistently rated as more severe than crimes involving theft (Cullen, Link, & Polanzi, 1982).

Further, results indicate negative attitudes towards drink driving regardless of motivation. Research from previous studies shows that at a general level, public attitudes towards drink driving are negative and it is viewed as a serious social problem in need of addressing (Baum, 2000; Homel, 1988; Loxley, Saunders,

Blaze-Temple, & Binns, 1990; P. Mason & Cheyne, 2000). Therefore, the underlying motivation behind drink driving behaviour does not appear to be a significant influence on public perceptions of altruism.

Results also indicated that theft of money to buy food was deemed as altruistic regardless of the underlying motivation. Support for these results exists from previous studies which have found that respondents are more approving of theft if it is committed by someone from a lower socio-economic status and occurs within the context of a large or government owned business (Smigel, 1956). Perhaps participants from the present study assumed that the actor in the scenario was of lower socio-economic standing particularly, as they stole money to buy food.

2.4.2 Principal findings for Question 2 & Discussion

It was hypothesised that perceptions of altruism and corresponding judgements of punishment severity would be significantly related. Namely, it was thought that as perceptions of altruism increased, corresponding judgements of punishment severity would decrease. This was based on the assumption that perceptions of higher altruism would generate a more sympathetic and lenient attitude towards certain offences and in turn, generate lower corresponding punishment judgements.

Results provided strong support for the hypothesis that as perceived levels of altruism increase, corresponding judgements of punishment severity decrease. In other words, participants felt that actors in scenarios should be punished less severely if their underlying motivation was altruistic, and in some cases selfish. Support for the hypothesis came from the drink driving, theft and euthanasia scenarios.

Three interesting points can be made in relation to the results. Firstly, as perceptions of altruism for the euthanasia scenario increased, punishment severity judgements decreased, supporting the second hypothesis. This was evident for

both selfishly and altruistically motivated acts of euthanasia. That is, participants consistently chose more lenient punishment regardless of the underlying motivation of the actor in the euthanasia scenario. This finding is particularly notable as euthanasia is illegal in New Zealand. Further, previous research has found that some members of the public support euthanasia regardless of circumstances (Emanuel, 2002).

This finding points to an overall positive attitude within the sample population towards euthanasia, and perhaps the general public. For example, there exist numerous studies which have found that public attitudes towards euthanasia of the terminally ill appear to be moderately to highly favourable (Bachman et al., 1996; Emanuel, Daniels, Fairclough, & Clarridge, 1996; Genuis, Genuis, & Chang, 1994; J. A. Rietjens, van der Heide, Onwuteaka-Philipsen, van der Maas, & van der Wal, 2006; J. A. C. Rietjens, van der Heide, Onwuteaka-Philipsen, van der Maas, & van der Wal, 2005; Rynänen, Myllykangas, Viren, & Heino, 2002; Suarez-Almazor, Belzile, & Bruera, 1997), and have become more favourable in some countries over the last two decades (Cohen et al., 2006). It can also be said, in relation to the present study, that favourable public attitudes towards euthanasia extended to caregivers of the terminally ill.

Secondly, participants chose more severe punishments for theft committed with selfish motivations whereas theft committed with altruistic motivations received more lenient punishment judgements (supporting the second hypothesis). The altruistically motivated version of the theft scenario involved theft of money to buy medication for a terminally ill family member. This finding may be indicative of public sympathy towards caregivers of the terminally ill. Thus, the underlying motivation of the actor was important in terms of affecting the punishment severity that participants chose for the theft scenario.

Lastly, participants chose more lenient punishments for drink driving only if the act was altruistically motivated again, providing support for the second hypothesis. It

can be claimed based on this that participants saw the act of drink driving as more forgivable if the motivation was appropriate, that is, altruistic.

2.4.3 Principal findings for Question 3 & Discussion

It was hypothesised that demographic variables would influence both perceptions of altruism and judgements of punishment severity. Results showed a number of demographic variables which significantly influenced perceptions of altruism and judgements of punishment. Amongst these findings several variables were particularly notable.

Perceptions of altruism

Several demographic variables influenced perceptions of altruism consistently across scenarios. These were education level, sexual orientation, parenthood, religion, and ethnicity. Lower perceptions of altruism were found among participants with a university level education, no children, of Middle Eastern ethnicity, or born in Taiwan.

University educated participants viewed drink driving as less altruistic than those with a school only education regardless of motivation which may indicate that they viewed the act as inexcusable regardless of circumstances. The majority of participants for this survey were involved in academic research and thus, may have held stronger views on drink driving due to possible involvement in research on drink driving.

Participants without children had lower perceptions of altruism than those with children. Interestingly, this finding meant that for the euthanasia scenario (selfish variation), participants with children had higher perceptions of altruism. This may be reflective of the desire not to be a burden on family members which has been documented in previous research (McPherson, Wilson, & Murray, 2007). The euthanasia scenario described a family caregiver being burdened by a terminally

ill family member and performing euthanasia. Thus, the burden aspect of the scenario may have resonated with participants who had children.

Middle Eastern participants had lower perceptions of altruism than Caucasian participants in scenarios of theft and euthanasia (both in the altruistic variation). It can be argued that this finding reflects different cultural traditions and perhaps legal systems. Previous studies have not documented ethnicity as a significant influence on attitudes towards crime and punishment. Some studies even reported remarkable similarities between Middle Eastern and Western ethnicities, with the exception of moral-type offences (Evans & Scott, 1984). It may be that performing euthanasia was seen by the Middle Eastern participants of the present survey as a moral crime.

Similarly to Middle Eastern participants, participants born in Taiwan had lower perceptions of altruism for the euthanasia scenario than those born in New Zealand. This finding may be reflective of different cultural expectations whereby end of life care is traditionally family dependent and dominated. Authors have previously pointed out that in countries such as Taiwan, the family is often given priority over the patient in end of life care and there are often discrepancies between patient preferred end of life care and the provision/withholding of care by a family caregiver (Tang, Liu, Lai, Liu, & Chen, 2005).

Higher perceptions of altruism were found among participants of homosexual orientation, Buddhist or Christian religious beliefs, or Maori ethnicity.

It can be argued that higher perceived altruism scores of homosexual participants reflected the experience of more empathy than heterosexual participants. Previous research has found that homosexual males scored higher on measures of empathy than heterosexual males (Salais & Fischer, 1995) and that higher empathy scores were associated with lower punitive attitudes (Gault & Sabini, 2000). The results related to the scenarios of drink driving and theft

(both in altruistic variations). Perhaps homosexual participants viewed these scenarios with more empathy which resulted in increased perceptions of altruism.

Participants who belonged to a Buddhist or Christian faith displayed higher perceptions of altruism than atheists particularly for the drink driving and theft scenarios (both in selfish variations). It can be argued based on this finding that religious teachings may have played a role. Some previous research has found that involvement in religious activity equates to less punitive attitudes (L. D. Roberts & Indermaur, 2007; Unnever et al., 2005), unless the religious activity is fundamentalist in nature (Evans & Scott, 1984).

Participants with a Maori ethnicity displayed higher perceptions of altruism than Caucasian participants for the theft scenario (selfish variation). The scenario described theft of money to buy food and this result may indicate more sympathetic attitudes by an ethnicity which is over-represented statistically in crime and incarceration rates (NZ Ministry of Social Development, 2009). Previous research with ethnic minorities reports similar findings. For example, in surveys carried out in the United States, results indicated that African American respondents were less likely to hold punitive attitudes which may potentially relate to being statistically over-represented in the criminal justice system including high incarceration rates (Dowler, 2003; Cohn, 1991).

Punishment severity judgements

Several demographic variables influenced judgements of punishment consistently across scenarios. These were relationship status, country of birth, and religion. Further, if participants possessed a university education, criminal convictions or were between the ages of 41 and 50, they tended to display more lenient punishment judgements.

Participants who attained a university level education had more lenient punishment judgements than those with a school only education. Previous studies suggest that

those with a college education are less likely to hold punitive attitudes and those of lower income are more likely to hold stronger punitive attitudes (Dowler, 2003; Roberts, 2007) and favour custodial sentences (Hough & Moxon, 1985). Other studies however, have found participants in lower income groups to be 'less punitive' (Kury & Ferdinand, 1999).

The finding that participants with criminal convictions displayed more lenient punishment judgements than those without convictions, may reflect an increased awareness through experience of the consequences of committing criminal acts such as consequences of being convicted and any resulting punishment. Intuitively one would assume that those with convictions would view punishment more negatively because of potential long term negative consequences (such as loss of job prospects).

Older participants (41-50 years of age) had more lenient punishment judgements than participants in the 21-30 age group for the euthanasia scenario (selfish variation). Euthanasia, arguably, presents as a more relevant issue to older age groups. This finding may be reflective of what previous research has identified as not wanting to be a burden on family members (McPherson et al., 2007).

More severe punishment categories were chosen by participants who indicated 'separated' as their relationship status, born in the United Kingdom or the Netherlands, or were either Christian or Muslim.

Participants who indicated their relationship status to be 'separated' had more severe punishment judgements than those who were 'single' for the drink driving scenario. It can be hypothesised that participants who were separated may have also had children and felt they had 'more to lose', which is similar to findings from previous research suggesting that married participants' harsher punitive attitudes revolved around feelings of having more to lose (Dowler, 2003). This finding could also be reflective of age differences between 'separated' and 'single' participants.

The relationship between age and attitudes toward crime has been examined previously. Harsher attitudes towards crime and harsher punitive attitudes have been found to increase with age (Gerber & Engelhardt-Greer, 1996; Indermaur & Roberts, 2005). However, studies suggesting a relationship between age and punitive attitudes can be misleading as they do not always account for the influence of third variables such as fear of crime. Indeed, researchers have pointed out that it is the fear of crime in older age groups which influences harsher punitive attitudes (Langworthy et al, 1986).

Interestingly, those born in the United Kingdom or Netherlands had displayed harsher punishment judgements for the drink driving and euthanasia scenarios respectively than those born in New Zealand. This finding could be demonstrative of exposure to different legal systems but is difficult to interpret with regards to harsher punitive attitudes towards euthanasia from participants born in the Netherlands where euthanasia performed by a medical professional is not illegal. Perhaps harsher punitive attitudes were influenced by the details of the scenario namely, that euthanasia was performed by a family caregiver instead of a medical professional.

More punitive attitudes displayed by Christian and Muslim participants towards euthanasia, when compared to atheists, may be a result of different cultural and religious experiences. It can be argued that participants who belonged to a religious faith viewed euthanasia as wrong regardless of motivation indicating lower religious tolerance for more serious crimes. Previous research findings support this as association with more rigid, fundamentalist beliefs has been found to influence more punitive attitudes (Unnever et al., 2005). It is not known however, which participants in the present study believed themselves to hold fundamentalist beliefs. Furthermore, some authors have argued that highly religious people hold others more accountable for their actions and thus, favour more severe punishments (Grasmick & McGill, 1994).

2.5 Strengths of the study

The present survey study had several strengths. The survey examined public attitudes towards altruistic offending by investigating the relationships between crime severity, underlying motivation, perceived altruism and corresponding punishment judgements. This was conducted with the majority of participants coming from New Zealand and in this way, provided introductory insights into public attitudes towards altruistic offending in this country. Furthermore, with research conducted into this area in the future, it might be possible to extrapolate findings to other contexts. An obvious example of this would be the courtroom setting whereby members of a jury may be influenced by the underlying motivations of the 'offender', and the type of criminal offence committed.

The demographic questionnaire at the beginning of the survey also provided an opportunity to look for significant relationships between demographics, perceived altruism and judgements of punishment. As demonstrated by the results, quite a few demographic variables influenced the participants' perceptions of altruism and punishment judgements. Again, this has relevance to the 'real-world' context whereby jury selection may be influenced by demographic characteristics.

The findings of the survey also potentially revealed certain biases or more accurately, sympathetic attitudes towards particular criminal acts. Specifically, participants demonstrated higher perceptions of altruism and more lenient punishment judgements towards euthanasia even when the underlying motivation in the scenarios was described as selfish. These findings may be representative of a wider trend in public perceptions and sympathy towards euthanasia for the terminally ill.

Additionally, the survey findings showed that public judgements of appropriate punishment for a particular crime can be swayed by whether the underlying motivation of the offender is perceived as non-selfish or selfish. For example, punishment severity decreased for drink driving if participants perceived the

offender to have acted from non-selfish reasons. This also related to the crime of theft. Again, this may have significant implications for the legal context.

2.6 Limitations of the study

Several limitations also existed in the survey study. The definition of altruism used in the survey namely, *"an aspect of human motivation present to the degree that the individual derives intrinsic satisfaction or psychic rewards from attempting to optimise the intrinsic satisfaction of one or more other persons without the conscious expectation of participating in an exchange relationship"* (D. H. Smith, 1981), may have been somewhat confusing for the participants. The potential misunderstanding was demonstrated in the findings whereby participants perceived certain scenarios which contained selfish motivation as being altruistic.

The results of the present survey also need to be interpreted within the context of the country the survey was administered in and the specific laws governing illegal behaviour discussed in the survey scenarios (drink driving, theft, euthanasia). In this way, findings of the survey may be limited to the specific country (New Zealand) and may not be generalisable. Generalisability may have also been affected in the sense that while the survey was open to the public, the majority of participants recruited held postgraduate qualifications and were academic researchers from the University of Auckland.

The opportunity to leave feedback was optional and this resulted in a lack of comments for many scenarios, and many non-relevant comments. This in turn made it difficult to regard any qualitative data as representative of the views of participants. A more structured and perhaps required qualitative element to the survey may have been beneficial. Furthermore, some participants had left comments that the scenarios provided did not give sufficient detail and thus, their responses may have been different if they were provided with more information such as specific personal circumstances of the actor. However, it should be

recognised that the scenarios were kept brief deliberately to limit any possible confounding 'third' variables.

Finally, selection bias may have been present. It should be noted that participation in human research may potentially have altruistic elements to it and the sample recruited may have been a more altruistically inclined group than the general population. Thus, the survey results need to be interpreted with caution.

2.7 Recommendations for future research

Several important recommendations can be made for future research into the topic. For example, it would be beneficial to combine a more structured qualitative component (questionnaire) in combination with a quantitative survey to provide a more in-depth view of participant views on altruistic offending. Further, it might be beneficial to design and administer a survey with a more varied range of altruistic offending scenarios, perhaps even ones involving cross-species altruistic offending such as animal liberation. Also, crime scenarios involving violence and non-violence can be compared.

With particular relevance to New Zealand and perhaps Australia, it would be beneficial to conduct a detailed survey examining the attitudes towards crime and punishment of indigenous populations and those of immigrant European descent. Previous studies have found participants who classed themselves as 'white' held more punitive attitudes (Longmire, 1996). Future research could look into the punitive and crime attitudes of participants of Maori and/or Aboriginal descent versus European descent.

Finally, a clearer definition of altruism needs to be used in future research. As has been discussed previously, the definition used in the present study may have been confusing for participants which may have confounded the results.

2.8 Conclusion

Overall, the results of the survey showed that perceptions of altruism play a major role in how a crime is interpreted and judged. Further, results revealed that for specific crimes, participants retained either a strong negative attitude (such as drink driving) or a sympathetic attitude (such as euthanasia) regardless of the underlying motivation to commit the crimes. Various demographic variables also appeared to play a role in perceptions of altruism and punishment judgements and were for the most part, in line with previous research where such was available.

It was interesting to see that some participants appeared to have projected themselves into the scenarios and their responses were influenced by this. This was particularly evident for participants with children who perceived the act of euthanasia as more altruistic even though the underlying motivation was described as selfish.

The influence of altruistic motivation of an act on punitive judgements has significant implications for real world contexts such as judicial proceedings. Results suggest that our views on crime and punishment are influenced by motivational forces behind an act. That is, a crime may be deemed justifiable if it was committed out of good will and intentions and therefore, may warrant a lesser degree of punishment.

Overall, one very clear conclusion that can be drawn is that the link between altruism, crime and punishment is complex. Some inconsistencies in the findings may not indicate inconsistencies in views of participants involved. Thus, it became important to investigate altruistic offending from a personal in-depth perspective.

Two qualitative studies were designed to investigate the lived experiences of two separate groups of altruistic offenders to gain a more informed appreciation of the phenomena of altruistic offending. Thus, a move from the broad to the specific was required. The qualitative investigations are discussed in the following chapters.

Chapter 3: From the general to the specific: an in-depth look into altruistic offending

3.1 A general introduction to two qualitative studies

After the examination of several major databases (PsycINFO, PsycARTICLES, Psychology and Behavioural Sciences Collection), a gap in the literature was identified with regards to detailed qualitative investigations into personal experiences of altruistic offenders. In order to address this, two qualitative studies were designed investigating the personal experiences of individuals whose offending could reasonably be seen as altruistic. To clarify, participants from both studies had either experienced or faced risks to personal freedom, safety and other negative consequences.

As mentioned previously altruistic behaviour, specifically altruistic offending, can encompass human to human interactions as well as human to non-human animal interactions. As a result, the two qualitative studies focused on individuals who engaged in altruistically motivated criminal acts towards fellow humans and non-human animals. Besides providing rich detailed insights into experiences of individuals from both studies, a comparison of differences and similarities across the two studies was essential to fill the gap in literature and our knowledge of altruistic offending.

The comparison of these two groups was also beneficial as it was assumed that the two groups would differ in terms of overall societal acceptance. Specifically, it was assumed that, as a result of animal agriculture comprising a significant portion of New Zealand's economy, societal appraisals of animal rights and environmental activists would be more disapproving than attitudes towards euthanasia.

Previous research into animal rights activists focused primarily on surveying the views and attitudes of activists and looking for common trends in decisions whether to partake in or abstain from activism (Downton & Wehr, 1998; M. E. Gomes, 1992;

Plous, 1991). Little to no exploratory research had been carried out investigating the personal experiences of animal rights activists and how they had made sense of their experiences. Additionally, a gap exists in research with animal rights activists in New Zealand. Similarly, the personal experiences of individuals who assisted a family member with dying is a significantly under-researched area particularly within Australasia. Both populations of altruistic offenders were thought to be unique in that they provided in-depth accounts of specific forms of high risk altruistic offending and these were presented from the point of view of the participant.

Given the emphasis on the personal experiences, a decision was made to use the most appropriate qualitative method which allowed for a detailed examination of the participant's experience.

3.2 Phenomenology & Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA)

The role of meaning is of paramount importance in human life. It is natural for us as human beings to attempt to make meaning of and in our lives and of those around us (Krauss, 2005). Qualitative methodology, specifically phenomenology and IPA facilitate the meaning making process. The process of IPA involves what is commonly referred to as a double hermeneutic. That is, the participant is trying to make sense of their world (make meaning) and the researcher is trying to make sense of how the participants is trying to make sense of their world (J. A. Smith, 1996). The ability of qualitative methodology and analysis to generate meaning makes it a powerful epistemological tool for understanding experiences (Krauss, 2005).

Phenomenology, in particular IPA, was useful as a methodology for the current qualitative research studies. Its usefulness was reinforced by the fact that, as an approach, phenomenology deals with the participants' perception of meaning, attitudes and beliefs, feelings and emotions, and is descriptive rather than

analytical (Denscombe, 2003). Both studies involved a detailed description of the experiences under investigation (Denscombe, 2003).

Overall, human experience is at the forefront of phenomenological research. IPA places a special emphasis on the individuals' views and personal experiences (Denscombe, 2003). An insight is thereby provided into the personal meaning making of altruistic offenders from their individual perspective. Specifically, the essence of what it meant to engage in assisted dying, and the essence of what it meant to engage in high-risk animal liberation. Such detailed personal accounts are invaluable to understanding what it means for someone to engage in altruistic offending.

In both of the studies, the phenomenological approach was concerned with fundamental things associated with the way the participants experienced their lives (i.e. death of a loved one, breaking the law, saving animals) (Denscombe, 2003). Furthermore, the use of IPA provided a humanistic perspective particularly as the lived experiences involved behaviours which are deemed criminal or illegal under current laws in New Zealand (Denscombe, 2003).

Participants were regarded as creative interpreters or active agents of events who make sense of their world through actions and interpretations (Denscombe, 2003). In this way, participants had almost total control over the content of the interviews and what they wanted to relay to the researcher. The specific methods for each study such as the interview schedule, reflected this. Further, the length of the interviews in both qualitative studies (over one hour) allowed for an in-depth exploration of each topic. Interviews were relatively unstructured which allowed the interviewee to discuss topics of personal importance.

A rough outline of topics or 'phases' was provided to each participant and the participant was given free rein to fluctuate between phases as they saw fit. Guidance by the researcher/interviewer was limited as much as possible to avoid 'ordering' the participants' experience. Additionally, the researcher suspended

'common-sense' beliefs as much as possible to avoid reliance on own beliefs and introducing biases (Denscombe, 2003). The researcher was however, aware of existing personal biases and what impact they may have had on the participants (see Appendix A for the post-research reflexive account). Thus, the researcher suspended or 'bracketed' off own beliefs (Denscombe, 2003).

Several advantages existed in using qualitative research tools, in particular IPA. Both the data and analysis were 'grounded' and the theories generated by such data were 'grounded' in reality (Denscombe, 2003). Moreover, the research undertaking targeted very specific focused areas, was small scale, and dealt with complex social situations (Denscombe, 2003). Finally, contradictions were tolerated, as while the participants of both studies belonged to a specific group, each personal situation differed and accordingly so did each experience and account of the phenomenon under investigation.

Chapter 4: Euthanasia study

...it doesn't have to be about unbearable pain... there's not a set of criteria that can justify or qualify someone for feeling that they need assistance in dying. It doesn't have to be a level eight on a scale of ten pain, or unbearable pain... you are qualifying someone else by your own judgement. And it's not about your judgement, it's their judgement, it's their life, it's their decision, it's their death.
(Mary)

4.1 Introduction

The present study was qualitative and consisted of semi-structured face-to-face interviews which were carried out with three research participants. The study was of a purely exploratory nature and no hypothesis existed prior to the research undertaking.

The objective of the interviews was to investigate and explore in-depth the personal experience of having assisted with another person's death and subsequent consequences (legal, emotional, and psychological).

Specifically, the research question was: How does someone make sense of their personal experience with euthanasia and/or assisted suicide?

The study had two main objectives:

1. To examine how the participant made sense of a major transition in their lives (losing a loved one)
2. To examine how the participant made an important decision (help loved one die)

The researcher conducted the interviews, transcribed them, and performed interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA).

4.2 Methods

Semi-structured one-to-one interviews were conducted with three participants. It was thought that a semi-structured interview was best suited because the focus of the research was on depth rather than breadth. The goal of the research was to investigate and explore the emotions and feelings associated with the participants' personal experiences of assisted dying. The researcher sought to investigate how each of the three participants made sense of their personal experiences. Furthermore, the research covered a sensitive and personal issue, data retrieved from the interview was based on privileged information, and a semi-structured interview allowed the interviewee to 'speak their mind' and allow for 'discovery' (Denscombe, 2003).

4.2.1 Recruitment

The participants were selected by 'purposive sampling' or targeted sampling (Denscombe, 2003). That is, the researcher used media reports to investigate court cases which involved euthanasia and/or assisted suicide performed by someone close to the deceased. The researcher then contacted the potential participant through a third party and sent an information sheet outlining the objectives of the study. If the potential participant expressed interest and willingness to participate, then a consent form was sent by e-mail directly to the individual.

The researcher identified three cases in the media and after communication through a third party, all three participants enrolled in the study. The legal case involving each participant was a high profile case and it was thought that the experiences of these participants were particularly relevant to this research as well

as appropriate to the research under-taking. Furthermore, all three participants were tried and found guilty or no conviction was recorded.

Two of the participants were male and one was female. Two participants were over the age of forty (Martin, Derrick) and one over the age of thirty (Mary) at the time of their experience with assisted death. All three participants were either born in New Zealand or were New Zealand citizens. After their experience with assisted death, participants were either imprisoned (Mary), placed on home detention (Derrick), or discharged without conviction (Martin). All three participants pleaded guilty during their trials.

4.2.2 Procedure

For two participants, the researcher travelled to the residence to perform a face-to-face semi-structured interview. For the third participant, the interview was conducted via Skype as the participant was not physically available to meet face-to-face. There was no definite time limit placed on the interviews.

4.2.3 Interview plan

The semi-structured interview was divided into seven predetermined phases which were relevant to the participant's story. These included: 1) illness, 2) deterioration, 3) passing, 4) after passing, 5) arrest/charges (pre-trial), 6) trial, and 7) post-trial.

It was thought important to incorporate the pre- and post-trial phases to gain a full picture of the participant's personal experience.

At the beginning of the interview, the participant was asked to provide some biographical information. This was done in order to allow the participant to feel more at ease when talking about themselves and their experiences. For example,

Interviewer: "To start off the interview, I thought it might be a good idea to get you to tell me a little bit about yourself and your family history? What was

your childhood like? What was the relationship like between a) you and your mother, b) you and your siblings/father?"

After the participant finished talking about biographical information, the interviewer directed the participant's attention towards the main objective of the interview. For example,

Interviewer: "Ok, now we will focus on the main objectives of this interview..."
*"Let us begin from a point that was significant to **YOU** with relation to the illness of ..."*

The participant was encouraged to speak openly and freely about matters related to the main objectives of the interview. The interviewer only directed the participant if they strayed from the main objectives with occasional requests for clarification or elaboration of specific points. The participant was encouraged to take any breaks necessary or ask any questions that arose during the interview.

Towards the end of the interview the participant was asked whether there were any points that they felt had not been covered and wished to discuss.

Finally, to round up the interview and move the participant into a more positive outlook and state of mind, the participant was asked to discuss their plans and hopes for the near future.

The participant was thanked for their contribution.

4.2.4 The interview

The interview schedule was used flexibly and the participants had an important stake in what was covered (J. A. Smith, Flowers, & Larkin, 2009). A couple of days prior to the commencement of the interview, the participant was sent specific information regarding the interview via e-mail (Appendix C).

Participants acknowledged the receipt of this e-mail and their understanding of it. On the day, the participant was once again reminded about the procedure and objectives of the interview. The participant was also advised of the phases of the interview.

Participants were shown the recording devices and advised when they were switched on and commenced recording, and when they were switched off at the end of the interview.

After the conclusion of the interviews, all three participants indicated willingness to stay “in touch” and provide any necessary clarifications on the recorded material.

4.2.5 Interview transcription and Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis (IPA)

Transcripts of the interview were analysed using IPA. Transcripts were turned into a narrative account with the analytic interpretations and verbatim extracts (J. A. Smith et al., 2009). All names, including those of the participant, were changed and any matches are purely coincidental.

The interview was transcribed in Microsoft Word by the researcher and included a series of steps. Analysis was guided by a staged process (Shinebourne, 2011). Specifically, after transcription an initial stage of analysis included a thorough familiarisation with the data by reading and re-reading the transcripts (Shinebourne, 2011).

This was followed by a noting of exploratory comments and then emergent themes in the wide margins of each transcript (Shinebourne, 2011). All themes were then clustered according to conceptual similarities and each cluster was given a descriptive label which later became the superordinate theme (Shinebourne, 2011). During this clustering process, themes were condensed.

Finally, a table of themes was produced containing superordinate and subordinate themes. The researcher then chose an illustrative quotation for each subordinate theme (Shinebourne, 2011). To increase validity, the researcher sought feedback regarding the suitability of certain quotations with subordinate themes from third parties.

4.2.6 Ethics approval and consent

Ethics approval and consent were obtained from the University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee on 21st August 2012 for a period of three years (Reference number 8348). The participant's right to withdraw at any time was emphasised, as was participant confidentiality. Participants gave written consent.

Chapter 5: Findings and Discussion of the Euthanasia study

The present study aimed to explore the question: How does someone make sense of their personal experience with euthanasia and/or assisted suicide?

The study had two main objectives:

1. To examine how the participant made sense of a major transition in their lives (losing a loved one)
2. To examine how the participant made an important decision (to help a loved one die)

Superordinate and subordinate themes were extracted from the interviews and discussed. Figure 14 shows the superordinate themes of the study, with the arrows representing the order of themes as presented in this chapter.

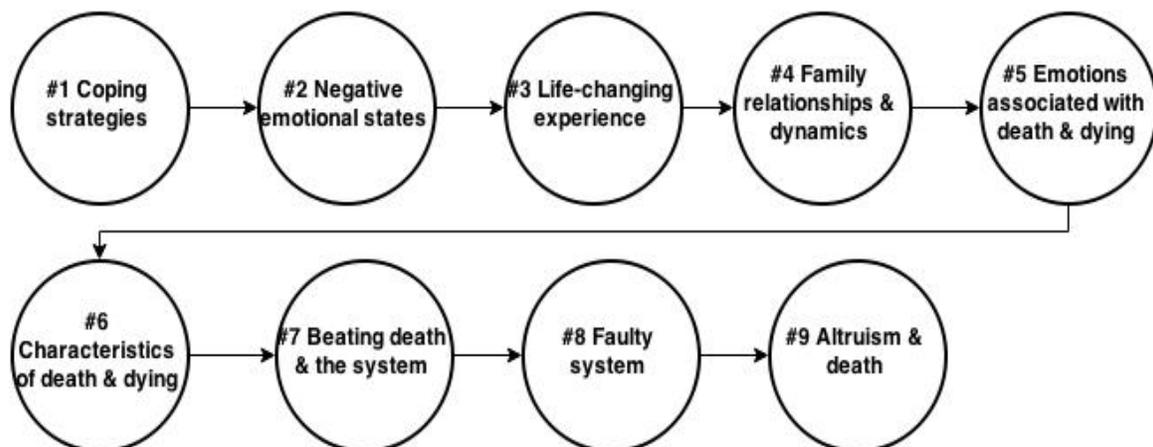


Figure 14. Flow diagram showing the superordinate themes for the Euthanasia study

5.1 Superordinate theme #1 – Coping strategies

A number of coping strategies emerged as themes during the interviews. All three participants used coping strategies to help them deal emotionally and psychologically with major transitions in their lives.

5.1.1 Detachment

All three participants discussed the experience of detachment. Specifically, Martin described his detachment in terms of immediate overseas work commitments after his experience with the New Zealand justice system. Detachment prevented him from having the time to think in-depth about his experience. This could have had a short-term benefit of keeping Martin occupied but could also have had long-term less positive effects such as the inability to process fully and to make sense of his experience. This form of avoidance has been reported in other bereavement studies (Mariko et al., 2010).

Martin: It's like my feet didn't touch the ground. Let's get my tools off, get my passport back and get moving... So you know it was just rush rush rush. And there wasn't really time to think.

Derrick described his experience of detachment as a necessary coping mechanism to enable him to assist his mother with personal tasks such as going to the bathroom. Derrick saw his help with personal tasks as completely separate from the relationship he had with his mother and was able to detach himself from those situations successfully.

Derrick: I detached myself from the humiliation and embarrassment to my mother as she did herself. I mean she's a human body as I am and the fact that I had to help her with intimate tasks just didn't become an issue at all for either of us... that was something survival thing and nothing to do with our relationship.

Mary discussed her experience of detachment while imprisoned as an attempt to cope with provocations from other inmates. The detachment allowed her to distance herself from the provocations and avoid responding to them.

Mary: And then they'd start trying to provoke me like by calling my mother all sorts of things, by saying that I why didn't I kill her in such and such a way... And you know like hugely offensive stuff. Like so offensive that I couldn't even connect with the words really. Like it was like reading a bad book or something, like it was so perverted in their thinking that I couldn't even emotionally attach to it so I didn't respond to it.

For the participants, detachment may have been productive in helping them cope and adjust during their experiences with death and dying. Thus, the experience of detachment had both positive and negative elements for the participants.

5.1.2 Sharing as part of healing

All three participants discussed sharing their stories as a form of healing. Sharing their experiences through writing had a cathartic effect. In Martin's case, sharing was also a form of tribute to his loved one.

In writing about his story, Martin attempted to not only make sense of his experience but also convey to others the desperation and lack of options faced by his wife and by him.

Martin: Yeah so nobody's gonna wipe my arse, a requiem for [participant's wife] um, why sometimes euthanasia is the only option, is actually what the title is going to be. Um, yeah and it it will cover a tribute to [participant's wife]...

Derrick described his attempt at healing through sharing his story in the form of a book which, at least initially, was not written and published in order to help others, but rather to assist in making sense of the experience for himself as part of his healing process.

Derrick: Which to me wasn't the reason for publishing, I just wanted to tell my story, I think it was part of the healing process.

Mary described encountering some difficulties in accurately describing her experience in words when she wrote her book.

Mary: And so to write a book you achieve several things. On a purely personal level, it was cathartic. It was healing on a certain level but also profoundly difficult to write and read and find the right words to express those moments.

For all three participants, the ability to tell their story assisted in making sense of their experiences. Interestingly, all three participants chose to write at least one book to describe their experiences. The motivation for sharing in the form of writing a book evolved from helping themselves to helping others. In addition, writing about their experiences may have reduced the stress participants experienced. Expressive writing has been documented in previous research as an effective tool to reduce stress, anxiety (Burt, 1994), and depressive symptoms (Gortner, Rude, & Pennebaker, 2006; Koopman et al., 2005).

Martin wrote a book sharing his experience for two main reasons: as a tribute to his wife and also as a tale of warning for others who may face similar circumstances. For Derrick, the experience of writing a book had the original goal of helping him make sense of his experience but this developed also into a cautionary tale. Likewise, writing a book assisted Mary in the healing process and this was her initial motivation, which later developed into a form of activism. It

appears that sharing as part of healing for all three participants had positive psychological benefits.

5.1.3 Grieving pre and post death

Martin experienced emotional outbursts following the death of his wife.

Martin: I mean you know like three or four days you just breaking down and um you know there are still times when you relive it and it's just um yeah you break down again... you're breaking down in the bank and just generally a mess...

For Derrick, the experience of grief was strongest prior to his mother's death and was generated by the knowledge of her impending and inevitable death.

Derrick: I think the greatest grief was before um letting go of her, knowing she was going to die soon. That was probably the greatest grief of all yeah... I think it was during the hunger strike... It was just hard knowing my mother was going to die and it was also the combination of the way she was dying as well made it even more painful.

Mary described her experience of grief as being interfered with by the legal/criminal proceedings which followed immediately after her mother's death.

Mary: That just seemed bizarre that you'd be on a homicide inquiry having to put your life on provision you know. What if this, what if that? You know don't make plans for this... And it distorts your grieving process again, it becomes a very traumatised grieving.

The interviews produced descriptions of different forms of grief which related to the individual experiences of the interviewees. For all three participants, it appears that aspects of their experiences interfered with healthy grieving.

Martin experienced episodes of grief after his wife's suicide which were preceded by a re-living of his experience. These outbursts occurred in different places, including public places. This form of grief occurred immediately after his wife's death and continued to occur sporadically for a prolonged period of time. This form of grief may have been a form of post-traumatic stress disorder. Perhaps, this was linked to the fact that Martin was unable to be present during his wife's death. Furthermore, Martin found it difficult to make sense of his wife's incurable illness which led to her decision to commit suicide. Previous research has found failure to find meaning following a violent loss resulted in complications of the grieving process (Currier, Holland, & Neimeyer, 2006).

The knowledge of his mother's approaching death and the dying process itself characterised Derrick's initial grieving process. This form of grieving, often termed as anticipatory grief, consists of most of the elements of post-death grief (Fulton & Gottesman, 1980). Essentially, Derrick began grief work prior to his mother's death. His experience of grief however, was compounded by the fact that his mother was dying from starvation. Derrick was traumatised by witnessing the way in which his mother was dying. Open communication with his mother regarding death, however, aided Derrick during his anticipatory grieving process and this has been shown to be an important buffer against unhealthy grieving (Hebert, Schulz, Copeland, & Arnold).

Mary's grieving was interfered with by the immediate police involvement after her mother's death. The resulting experience of uncertainty about her future further served to traumatise her and interfere with her grieving process. Uncertainty has been shown by previous studies to negatively impact the grieving process (Hebert et al.).

5.1.4 Rationalisation, acceptance and letting go

Martin experienced the sequence of rationalisation, acceptance, and letting go when he was physically faced with the dead body of his wife immediately after her suicide.

Martin: You know it was only when I went into the bedroom and you know she was dead on the bed. Um, but it's ok this is you know, this is the next chapter. This is the next chapter, you know. It's the final chapter in your life and this is the next chapter in my life.

Derrick was able to undergo the process of acceptance and letting go due to external influences from others involved in his mother's care (nurses). After he was able to let go, he experienced feelings of joy.

Derrick: The nurses told me that I had to let her go and mum was waiting for me to let her go... It was after that I realised yes, it's actually me being selfish trying to keep mum alive and keeping her holding on when her life is miserable and she's suffering and she wants to go... So eventually I came to the point where I told her that... the time is ok for you to die, I can deal with it... I'm sure she really appreciated hearing that cause that's something you always want to tell someone who's dying, how much you love them and how much you're sad for them to go but you're prepared to let them go... I'm so glad I did that for me and for her, we both really felt it... the joy of that occasion.

Rationalisation and acceptance allowed the participants to cope with their experiences. Previous research has indicated that the experience of acceptance coincides with the resolution of grief and eases emotional pain associated with the loss of a loved one (Prigerson & Maciejewski, 2008). Acceptance has also been shown to be more prevalent in those bereaved for longer periods of time (Holland & Neimeyer, 2010). Perhaps both Martin and Derrick experienced anticipatory grief for a prolonged period of time prior to the deaths of their loved ones and this allowed for acceptance either prior to death or immediately after. The process of

healthy grieving has also been found to be facilitated by the ability to make sense of losing a loved one (Neimeyer, 2000). All three participants engaged in meaning making at different times during their experiences with assisted dying.

5.1.5 Connecting with others

Martin described his experience connecting with others as particularly significant after the not guilty verdict in his trial.

Martin: I cannot count the amount of people after the verdict particularly were just coming out of shop doors and were shaking my hand. When I was working at [place of work] the whole, the whole place stopped when it was announced you know, people in tears...

For Mary, connecting with others helped her cope with and adjust to the stressful situation (prison) in which she found herself.

Mary: We don't function as individuals, we're all connected to the people around us... Like we found some common thread that wasn't about prison and violence and crime and prison sentences... So once you kind of get to that point you can start coping with each day.

Both Martin and Mary experienced connections with others which they felt were significant. Connecting with others represented psychological support and assisted in coping and adjusting to their experiences. Seeking social support was an important factor post-bereavement in previous qualitative studies (Mariko et al., 2010).

Derrick, however, did not discuss connecting with others in a significant manner in relation to his experience. This may have been due to the fact that for a prolonged period of time, Derrick was isolated from others and his personal experience was only shared with his mother who subsequently died.

5.1.6 Continuity

For both Martin and Derrick, continuity took the form of the ongoing presence of their loved ones in their lives after their death.

Martin saw this continued presence as a 'calling' to write a book about his experience.

Martin: I and her friends just feel that she's still around. Um, it's the same as this compulsion to tell her story. It it's as if I'm being compelled to finish the process... So whether it's um some essence of [participant's wife] or where it's coming from I have no idea. But it's real.

Derrick accepted his mother's passing and she continued to be in his thoughts daily. He did not see this as a negative influence on his life, however.

Derrick: You have acceptance and resignation but not closure and it doesn't matter this is part of life, someone close to you will be with you forever. And yeah so I think about my mother every day but it doesn't affect the way I live my life... my mother will be with me for the rest of my life in some way...

Mary experienced continuity in the form of being actively involved in the cause of the legalisation of euthanasia in New Zealand and saw the death of her mother as the primary contributing factor in her engagement with this cause.

Mary: I don't feel I've stopped yet. I feel I've got one more piece to offer... I do believe that there are certain life events that change everything and on some level in every one's life is the death of our parents. Yeah and for some of us, too many of us on this level, yeah.

Continuity was reflected in the participants' experiences in two main aspects: the continued presence of a loved one (Derrick and Martin), and activism for the legalisation of euthanasia (Mary). Interestingly, qualitative studies with non-Western participants also reported a sense of presence of the deceased in daily life (Mariko et al., 2010).

The continuity participants experienced has been described in previous research as continuing bonds and has been linked to meaning making (Neimeyer, Baldwin, & Gillies, 2006). Specifically, research suggests that strong continuing bonds are predictive of traumatic and separation distress, but only when the bereaved are unable to make sense of loss on personal, practical, and existential terms (Neimeyer et al., 2006). The participants in the present study engaged actively in making sense of their loss. Moreover, none of the participants attributed negative meanings to continuity, which may in part be explained by the fact that continuity gave meaning or purpose to their experiences.

5.2 Superordinate theme #2 – Negative emotional states

In making sense of their experiences, participants described several negative emotional states, discussed below. The negative emotional states that participants described reflect the fact that aspects of their experiences had traumatic effects on them.

5.2.1 Stress and shock

Martin experienced stress and shock, as he had not expected to face any legal consequences following his wife's death.

Martin: Well that was totally insane. I mean the first, on the first day, I went with a detective, [detective's name], and ah to police station and it

was a first I knew, since I wasn't there with [participant's wife], that I'd committed any crime any way.

Derrick experienced shock when he was arrested and also particularly when he became aware that he faced the charge of attempted murder of his mother.

Derrick: Which was a huge shock I had no notion that this would happen. Sure I knew there was an investigation going on I just couldn't believe it could lead to an arrest. So it was a big big shock to be arrested... I was absolutely totally shocked um that it could go this far and most particularly because of the charge and when they read it out, you are arrested for the attempted murder of [participant's mother], it was just such a shock.

Mary described experiencing shock several times during her overall experience. In particular, even though she had believed she was prepared for it, she felt the guilty verdict had caught her by surprise.

Mary: I was just [gasps], it was still again it was a shock. It was like mum actually being dead and this colostomy stump stopping moving that was a shock. And it was a shock that I had prepared myself as much as possible for a guilty verdict, it was still a shock... you think you're strong and you think you're prepared and you're still not you know, you still get side swiped...

The negative experience of stress and shock was described by participants in relation to the legal consequences they faced after the death of their loved one. For all three participants the legal consequences were somewhat unexpected.

Martin articulated his lack of knowledge that he had committed a criminal offence. He had not been present during his wife's death by suicide and therefore had not expected to face any legal consequences. For Derrick, the charge of attempted

murder of his mother was unthinkable, for, as he described extensively, his overwhelming focus had been on the well-being of his mother. Thus, being charged with attempted matricide was completely bewildering to him.

Mary described experiencing shock in relation to several aspects of her experience such as the death of her mother and the guilty verdict in court. She described feeling prepared for the guilty verdict yet still being shocked when it was read out. Perhaps, while preparing for the worst outcome, Mary had been optimistic and had been disillusioned when the verdict was read out.

5.2.2 Psychological dilemma/cognitive dissonance

Derrick experienced a psychological dilemma in that he found it very difficult to agree to end the life of his mother because he had previously focused exclusively on keeping her alive and enjoying life.

Derrick: I was left with this uh dilemma of whether to help her or not. Initially, I didn't want to at all because my whole focus for it's about three months or so was keeping my mother alive and giving her pleasure... There's a total different mind-set to end a life ah and it caused me a lot of agony not not just because of the change of mind set but because she's my mother and to to end the life of your mother is much much harder than you could possibly imagine.

Mary reported the experience of cognitive dissonance when she attempted to explain to the police, and to herself, what had occurred in the moments leading up to her mother's death.

Mary: I believe that the psychological hard-wiring within us on this issue of the death of a person we have this primary relationship with, is a crisis of that thinking. Um, I believe it manifests itself in, I've called it, a fragmented depiction of events... we put forward an explanation of

events to satisfy each of those opposing camps of thought... according to which side of that hard-wiring that I was trying to satisfy. (A) I did not kill her, that puts forward a certain explanation. (B) I did not let her suffer, that puts forward another explanation of the same event.

Both Derrick and Mary experienced cognitive dissonance prior to assisting with the death of their loved one. Derrick initially had not wanted to help his mother die as it was contrary to his care for his mother's well-being. He reported having to change his mind-set in order to go through with it.

Mary discussed cognitive dissonance as arising from her trying to make sense of her experience and also when she described the experience to police. This resulted in conflicting accounts due to the fact that she was not prepared to let her mother suffer and therefore assisted her in death, while at the same time she did not feel responsible for the death. This made her vulnerable to legal consequences.

Martin, however, did not report the experience of psychological dilemma or cognitive dissonance. This may be due to the fact that, unlike the other two participants, Martin was not present at the suicide of his wife and therefore was not actively involved in her actual death.

It is possible that participants were only vulnerable to cognitive dissonance if they had had direct and active roles to play in the actual deaths of their loved ones.

5.2.3 Exhaustion and frustration

Derrick and Mary reported the experience of exhaustion while Martin experienced frustration.

Martin described his experience of frustration at people suggesting that someone would step in and help in a scenario similar to the one he had experienced.

Martin: ...we had taken every single um potential possible way of trying to understand it, alleviate ah live with the whole condition. We had we had, literally there were no other options left. So to say ah yes if authority had known it would have stepped in, well who would have stepped in? It was never specified who would have stepped in and what would they have done?

Derrick felt exhausted during his experience prior to his mother's death.

Derrick: ...it's all becoming a bit of a blur as we lived through these days and it seemed quite natural that I was the one to do it... I was extremely tired um I was up throughout the night turning her um always on high alert in case she needed help. So our lives were unravelling together and at the same time decisions were probably not made clearly.

For Mary, the events following her release from prison created significant psychological exhaustion.

Mary: I was contracted to [name of publisher] to write the second book, and I just couldn't stand up. You know I just really for the first time in my life felt like I was really on my knees and I just couldn't you know, if people ask me the time of day, I just couldn't answer. I had nothing left to give, had nothing left to say or to contribute and I just had to go and sit quietly for one side for a while...

Martin only reported experiencing frustration. His frustration was caused by the fact that all options had been exhausted and there was nothing anyone could do to help his wife. He felt strongly that the only option that had been left to them was euthanasia and any suggestions to the contrary served to intensify his frustration.

Derrick's exhaustion prior to his mother's death, he felt, may have clouded his judgement. Exhaustion has been reported by family caregivers in previous studies (Jo, Brazil, Lohfeld, & Willison, 2007). This aspect of Derrick's experience serves to highlight the dangers of close family members assisting with death after being intimately involved with the care of their loved ones.

Mary's experience with exhaustion following her release from prison was overwhelming and interfered with her ability to function and cope with her situation. The exhaustion was compounded by highly stressful events such as her release from prison and divorce. Mary's resilience was very low, as was the availability of psychological resources to help her to deal with her situation. Both Mary and Derrick may have experienced what has been termed as compassion fatigue whereby their role in assisting with death of their loved one traumatised them (Huggard, 2011).

5.2.4 Isolation and aloneness

Derrick reported feeling isolated and alone after his mother's passing.

Derrick: ...we were in this sphere this bubble moving towards her direct death and suddenly she was gone and I was still dealing with these issues of life and death and overdose and judgement. Suddenly I was dealing with it on my own and that made it very very difficult... We were doing this together, mum and me. Suddenly it's just Derrick doing it on his own and that was quite a shock yeah, which I hadn't prepared myself for.

Mary described feeling she was in a 'zone' with her mother prior to her death and felt isolated from the rest of the world.

Mary: And and we were in this just this zone, and it really reached the point where mum did go unconscious. And once I realised I couldn't rouse her anymore and I used all the medical techniques of pain stimulus and things.

Derrick and Mary described feelings of isolation and aloneness. Martin, however, did not report experiencing these emotions. Derrick felt that after his mother's death, he had lost the one person he had shared the experience with and now had to deal with everything alone. He had not felt prepared for the change. This illustrates the lack of outside support Derrick had received, primarily due to the illegality of euthanasia and assisted suicide. Reviews of literature indicate feelings of isolation and aloneness to be common for caregivers of terminally ill family members (Funk et al., 2010).

5.2.5 Uncertainty

Martin felt uncertainty as to whether his wife had carried through with her plan when he returned home.

Martin: ...the worst thing would have been that if I came back and she hadn't gone ahead... that's what she intended to do um but yeah if she just said no... I would have been supportive of her in whatever choice she made.

Derrick described uncertainty in relation to his mother's decision that she was ready to die.

Derrick: Also was in the back of my mind that she was holding on and holding on and so she should if she was getting pleasure out of life. I was never quite sure even when she was talking about ending her life and wanting to die, I was never completely convinced um she kept holding on for another visit...

Mary experienced uncertainty about her future after her conviction.

Mary: ...then there is a very bizarre month between verdict and sentencing... where you have to prepare yourself for going to prison or you don't know what it's going to be so you have to pack your bag for prison.

Derrick and Martin discussed experiencing uncertainty in relation to the decisions their loved one's made regarding their deaths while Mary described feeling uncertain about her future during her sentencing, in particular whether or not she would be going to prison. Interestingly, while previous qualitative studies report fluctuations and ambivalence in the desire for euthanasia in terminally ill patients (Johansen et al., 2005), the participants in the present study did not report significant fluctuations in their loved ones' desire to die.

In the experiences of all three participants, uncertainty was related to nervousness and anxiety and may have both complicated the grieving process and increased the traumatic impact of their experiences.

5.2.6 Regret

Martin described feeling a lack of regret in relation to the death of his wife. This was due to the fact that he was relieved she was no longer suffering.

Martin: But there's never been a point of, oh I wish you were still alive. Yes, I wish she was still alive and well. I wish I could have found a way to cure her absolutely. But if it was a choice between her continuing to suffer and for the suffering to get worse or for her to have chosen to say enough's enough, thank fuck you know she, her spirit never wavered. She was a battler to the last breath... and that's how she

would have wanted it to be and that's how everybody that knew her would have wanted it to be...

Derrick did not experience feelings of regret when it came to the role he had played in his mother's death, and described feelings of having done the right thing regardless of the law. He did experience regret however in the way he had dealt with the legal consequences.

Derrick: To me nothing was done wrong at that time. That's how people should judge it at that time. I do wish I'd gone to jury though that was a mistake. I wish I hadn't pleaded guilty but the court... the prosecution made it look so clear the jury would find me guilty of attempted murder. I should have said ok, let them, keep on going and they probably wouldn't have but this is when my lawyer gave me bad advice.

Mary regretted her decision to get married during her experience with the legal system.

Mary: ...having just got married in the middle of it all, that was just the dumbest thing. We didn't stand a chance, the marriage just never had a normal day. Never ever had a normal day that didn't involve all this crazy stuff going on and um and that in itself became another stress.

Therefore, both regret and lack of it were features of experiences described by all three participants. Importantly, however, the participants did not regret assisting their loved ones with death because they believed they were relieving suffering and therefore doing the right thing.

5.2.7 Resentment & Anger

Martin experienced resentment and anger towards the situation his wife was in, whereby, due to threat of legal consequences, she had to commit suicide alone.

Martin: Yeah it was hugely unfair that [participant's wife] had to, that she was in, she was in a bad physical state and that she had to take her own life alone by her own hand. That's not, that's not fair, that's not right, that's not civilised.

Mary experienced anger towards her mother for not addressing her health issues before it had become too late.

Mary: And unbeknown to anyone she had been bleeding her bowel since before she left, just about three weeks before she left. She chose to ignore it, rather than put the trip off... and I think she knew something was up. You know I think she knew it wasn't just like haemorrhoids or and so I went through a period of being angry with her that she put that on hold. Maybe it would have been a different outcome if she had it seen to six months earlier...

Both Martin and Mary reported experiencing resentment and anger regarding different aspects of their personal experiences while Derrick did not feel this had been a significant part of his experience.

Anger was directed at the legal system and society at large for failing to provide options and thereby forcing someone to take their own life (Martin). Anger was also directed at a loved one who had failed to address a health concern at the right time (Mary). Derrick's lack of resentment and anger may have been due to the fact that he engaged in several activities such as journal writing and physical exercise which may have served as 'outlets' of anger. He also described his overall experience of the actual death of his mother as positive in contrast to the other two participants.

5.2.8 Despair

Despair, for Martin resulted from the lack of options and help available to his wife as well as her continual deterioration.

Martin: ...that this is just nobody knows and uh [participant's wife] would've taken scores literally scores of different drugs. I mean because she had neuropathic pain and it was the neuropathic pain which never stopped ever from the time that she broke her arm so for four and a half years she had continual pain 24/7.

Mary experienced despair after her sentencing, at which time she was sent to prison.

Mary: I was emotionally shut down. I was absolutely shut down and that's a dangerous place to be because then you're just completely not yourself and um you know they bring food to you and it's on a plastic plate. No cutlery, there's nothing that you could hurt yourself with. No magazines in case you pull the staples out. Um nothing you could try and choke yourself with...

Martin and Mary experienced significant despair while Derrick did not discuss despair as part of his experience. Despair was illustrative of lack of hope and a negative outcome, similarly reported in other studies (Grbich, Parker, & Maddocks, 2001). Perhaps the lack of despair, in Derrick's case, resulted from the overall positive experience of death and dying as discussed by Derrick.

5.2.9 Trauma

Martin reported experiencing trauma when he contemplated his wife's deterioration to the point of complete dependence.

Martin: ...she was just entrapped sitting in a bloody chair in a rest you know that would've been horrible... obviously horrible for her but horrible for everybody who knew her...

Mary reported feeling traumatised immediately after her mother's death.

Mary: You know how how can we hold people legally responsible for the words that come out of their mouths at that time? I know what it feels like now to be caught up in that while you're still so traumatised... And it distorts your grieving process again, it becomes a very traumatised grieving.

The experience of trauma was discussed in relation to dying and death of a loved one. Derrick described his experience of his mother's death as positive without specific traumatic elements other than the dying process, which had contained traumatic elements (such as his mother 'rotting' in bed).

Physical deterioration (Martin) and being present and involved in assisting a death (Mary) were described as traumatic. Mary described her experience of her mother's death as very traumatic and emotionally painful. She also felt that she did not have sufficient time to process and make sense of her situation at the time of her interview with police. Thus, the risk of traumatisation was dependent on how the participant made sense of their experience, as well as specific elements of the experience such as rapid deterioration, a 'messy' death, and immediate police involvement.

5.2.10 Guilt

Martin experienced guilt at being unable to alleviate his wife's suffering or find a cure for her condition.

Martin: ...there must be a cure for MS, there must be a solution and I couldn't find it and so I couldn't help [participant's wife] and so you know I felt I let her down, it's an emotional thing... if... the top neurologist at [name of hospital] can't help her there's no way I can help her, but doesn't alter the emotional fact that you know I feel I should've. So I feel all the six months of... are they gonna bang me up or what? ... and lose a few thousand dollars a week in pay let alone everything else... big deal you know, that was my penance for not being able to save her.

Mary made inferences from other people's experiences in relation to euthanasia as the basis for understanding various aspects of guilt.

Mary: And they feel very guilty that they didn't step in and assist. So the grief stops being a natural and healthy thought process to allow us to deal with death. It becomes a traumatic, unhealthy grieving. Dealing with a sense of guilt for not breaking the law, it becomes bizarre in itself...

Martin and Mary both discussed guilt as significant in their personal experiences while Derrick did not. Guilt was experienced as a result of feeling responsible for not being able to alleviate suffering (Martin). The emotional turmoil created by the inability to find a cure and alleviate suffering has been described in previous research as engendering strong feelings of anger, guilt, and injustice (Gilliland & Fleming, 1998). Moreover, the experience of guilt resulted in feelings that one deserved the legal and financial consequences one faced. Other studies have also reported self-blame in the context of family based care of the terminally ill (Funk et al., 2010; Mariko et al., 2010). Thus, as a result of self-blame and guilt, participants viewed certain events as a form of self-punishment.

While Mary did not discuss the experience of guilt as directly relevant to her, she recognised the potential for guilt if one does not step in and assist with alleviating

suffering. Related to this, Derrick's lack of guilt may be because of his active role in his mother's death; and his lack of regret stemming from feeling that he had helped to alleviate her suffering.

5.3 Superordinate theme #3 - Life-changing experience

For all three participants, their experiences were life-changing in several ways.

5.3.1 Ending the life of a loved one

Derrick described as a turning point in his life the point at which he became involved in helping end his mother's life.

Derrick: But she got to this point by slow process not realising the bigger picture that she's going to need help to die. And this is where the point came where she had to ask me to help her. And I remember at that time she asked me to give her the overdose of morphine that she's been hoarding.

Mary described her decision to end her mother's life as being very painful, difficult, and the experience as having changed her life.

Mary: ...I couldn't take it for her anymore. And so I just picked her up and she had this soft pillow that's the pillow [points]. And I just pulled it between us and just held her really tight. And I consciously held her tight and it was such a, an intense pain in me [starts crying] that that changed me for life... it was so painful, and it was so hard to do, and to not stop. To know that that's what was happening...

The experience of ending the life of a loved one alone was described as a life-changing experience. This was not described by Martin most likely because he

was not actively present and involved during his wife's death. However, Martin's life was still significantly affected by his experience.

There were differences between Derrick's and Mary's account in that in Derrick's case, his mother requested his help whereas in Mary's case, she made the decision to end her mother's life herself. This would explain why for Derrick, the overall experience of ending his mother's life was positive while for Mary, it was traumatic and painful. Therefore, the involvement in ending a loved one's life whether active or passive, significantly altered the lives of the participants.

5.3.2 Media involvement

Media involvement for Derrick was characterised by the misrepresentation of his experience. This in turn created legal consequences for him.

Derrick: ...and from that they deduced everything from the manuscript was correct and they published a sensational story at the time. Son confesses to killing mum. Which I didn't do, I acknowledged this is my manuscript and from that they deduced a heading in the story. I never actually confessed which is the irony of the whole thing because that story in the [newspaper] is what caused the police investigation more than anything.

Mary described her experience of media involvement as extremely intrusive and a significant influence on the development of her public persona.

Mary: ...I remember turning around and a producer for a TV program was sitting right behind me and he positioned himself to look straight into my eyes if I turned around... and I thought how fucking cruel is that, you know? How parasitic is that, to be right in on that moment? ... and even leaving the prison there were like photographers... trying to get photos up over these wire fences and I could hear people

outside... so really for me, I'd lost the person I was before it all happened. I think I still was me up to the point of the book launching and then I became a publicly recognisable person and that kind of changes your perception of yourself.

In Martin's case, there was media involvement but the fact that he did not discuss it may be related to a general positive experience of the media.

Both Derrick and Mary described media involvement as negative from misrepresentation to extreme intrusiveness. For Derrick, the media misrepresentation carried with it serious consequences in the form of a police investigation and Mary described the 'parasitic' nature of media journalism and how it affected her perception of herself. Both Derrick's and Mary's negative experiences of the media illustrated their vulnerability and lack of support at a very significant time in their lives.

5.3.3 Legal consequences and conviction

Martin felt reassured by the police officer he dealt with regarding the unlikelihood of a conviction.

Martin: He said... you have committed a crime. He said I'm a junior detective, it's not up to me but as far as I can see no jury would convict you so I cannot see why the police would pursue this matter. Fine. Um, that was that.

Derrick reported not expecting any legal consequences to follow his mother's death. He felt that his situation did not warrant any police investigation.

Derrick: I thought it very unlikely because the GP who wrote the death certificate expected my mother to die earlier because he knew she wasn't eating and she had cancer and she's eighty five. So it wasn't

really something to be suspicious about and he wrote the death certificate, she was cremated, had a funeral and that would have been the end of it. So I didn't really suspect any criminal investigation at all and there was no reason for there to be one.

For Mary, legal consequences resulted in a conviction and a prison sentence.

Mary: Now the court system as we have in New Zealand found me guilty of attempted murder and the legal consequence in that day in that time, was a prison sentence.

All three participants experienced legal consequences which were life-changing. Martin was the only participant who did not experience conviction and this may be reflective of his lack of active involvement in his wife's death whereas both Derrick and Mary helped end their loved ones lives through their actions immediately prior to death.

The fact that all three instances of altruistic offending had different consequences such as a prison term (Mary), home detention (Derrick), and no conviction (Martin), reflects the complexities of each case. However, all three participants, once they had become of interest to the police, underwent criminal court proceedings.

5.3.4 Activism and helping others

Martin's activism reflected itself in the writing of a book which he hoped would get people thinking about the issue of euthanasia.

Martin: And written in such a way that it's communicating, in a friendly manner, but in a readable manner too, hey have a think about this, have a look at this. You've got to do something about it, because it's going to affect you... it is important for this issue that people actually see intellectually behind that, beyond that, I am going to die, all my

family are going to die, all my friends are gonna die. Some of them are gonna die horribly, horrendously, unnecessarily, unnecessarily you know as far as suffering is concerned and there needs to be a provision for when that occurs...

For Derrick, activism reflected itself in active seeking of a law change to set up provisions for others who might be facing similar circumstances.

Derrick: ...that's why I'm trying to seek a law change to allow anyone to make that decision. To me now I've moved beyond... To me this is now very much not about me, the book or my mother. It's about the fact that many people will find themselves in the same position that my mother was in and many people will find themselves in the same position I was in.

Mary believed that activism was the only solution to correct the wrongness of current laws regarding euthanasia.

Mary: If you don't act on that and the wrongness of it, the wrongness that we're put in that position, that people like me are put in that position. The wrongness that mum had to face a prolonged difficult death unless someone stepped in. Then nothing changes, you know. Then I'm still vulnerable to that in my dying, my sons are still vulnerable...

The personal experiences of the participants resulted in their engagement with various forms of activism in order to help others. Particularly, they wanted to help others avoid similar situations. Participants tailored their lives around their activism which has been previously reported by other activists (Downton & Wehr, 1998). All participants felt strongly that provisions need to be in place for those who want assistance in dying and that those provisions should not be secret or come from loved ones. Participants also felt that once provisions were in place, those seeking assistance would be able to avoid horrible, traumatic deaths.

The participants' activism was concerned with getting people to think about the inevitability of death and potentially difficult death and also creating change. Therefore, the experiences of all three participants were life-changing in that they were compelled, as a result, to become actively involved in the cause of legalisation or de-criminalisation of euthanasia.

5.3.5 Enormous personal cost

All three participants experienced personal losses as a result of their experiences with losing their loved ones and their involvement in assisted death.

Martin felt that a major personal cost for him was the loss of future plans he had made with his wife. These plans were unfulfilled as a result of her illness.

Martin: Unfortunately, you know ultimately she died and she probably lost twenty good years of life... if things had happened as I'd have hoped... when [name of son] had finally left school, left home, was that I'd be here working in Europe she'd be with me and on the weekends we'd go and see all the archaeology sites... That was what was planned for the rest of our... actually our time together when the kids were finally gone and that was what was lost...

Derrick faced threats to his life and to the lives of his family as a result of his efforts to actively seek a law change for euthanasia. He described events where direct threats were made to him such as a brick being thrown through his window with a biblical message of retribution attached.

Derrick: I do fear for my family not for myself and that could become an issue when I come back if I feel these threats are genuine and the police are worried. Yeah that would be the only reason I'd walk away but I don't intend to walk away.

Mary felt that she had suffered immensely after her release from prison, particularly due to the resulting loss of her brother's life, marriage breakdown, and a son's serious car accident.

Mary: ...he died on the anniversary of my first day in prison. So that first anniversary of my first day in prison was the day [brother] had been switched off the ventilator... it was kind of like a final blow. Like I just had come out of prison on December thirteenth and then six weeks after that [husband] ended our marriage... Three weeks after that my eldest son had a bad car accident, was in intensive care and had internal surgery and stuff and then sort of three weeks after that [brother] died.

The personal experiences of all three participants involved different personal costs which were very significant to them. Mary viewed traumatic events, such as the loss of her brother, near loss of her son, and breakdown of her marriage, all as personal losses which affected her ability to cope and function. The experience of enormous personal costs demonstrates the risks involved when family members actively involve themselves in the death of a loved one.

5.3.6 Self-discovery

For Martin, self-discovery took the form of planning his own death.

Martin: I mean I've got my plan A and when it's my time I know how I'm gonna pull my plug for me but um, its only because I've been through this and I said, right these are the options that I could, that I can take for myself...

Derrick's personal experience resulted in him identifying his desire to have the option of euthanasia available to him when dying.

Derrick: I'm a long way off from that stage but because of the situation I've been in I now project myself and know how... like to have that option.

Mary described her experience of self-discovery whilst in prison. She described learning about herself and the things that she felt mattered in life.

Mary: And it's funny how when you're just out in your normal daily life like you get pissed off and outraged about something... In prison... the trivial stuff just didn't even factor anymore. Like you just you function on a whole new deeper primitive level and so I think I learned a lot about myself. I... learnt I wasn't a violent reactive person and I wasn't interested in fighting anyone and I would share whatever stuff I had... I still kind of was a decent person in prison.

A positive life-changing experience was the experience of self-discovery for all three participants. Self-discovery involved knowledge, acceptance and planning of one's own death (Martin, Derrick), and learning about oneself and important things in life (Mary). Additionally for Mary, self-discovery involved viewing oneself in a positive light, from the words of the participant, as a 'decent person'.

Furthermore, the planning of one's own death involved the desire for provisions if dying were to become difficult, in the form of euthanasia or taking one's own life. The experience of death allowed participants to project themselves into the future and think about their own death, which was a positive experience for them. This has been supported by previous studies whereby those who had witnessed traumatic deaths were more likely to favour euthanasia for their own end of life care (Chapple, Ziebland, McPherson, & Herxheimer, 2006).

5.4 Superordinate theme #4 - Family relationships/dynamics

Both Derrick and Mary discussed family relationships and dynamics. Martin, however, did not feel this to be a significant part of his personal experience at the time of the interview.

5.4.1 Normal sibling relationship and support

Both Derrick and Mary described normal sibling relationships including sibling rivalry and bonds.

Derrick: We had the normal sibling rivalries. [first sister] was a year older than me um and we were very very close. I don't remember any issues at all with [first sister].

Mary: My brother and I, um as kids growing up we were all fine. My brother, my sister and I were just into normal stuff you know.

For Mary and Derrick, childhood sibling relationships were characterised by what they felt were normal interactions and rivalry. For Derrick, the close bond he had with one of his sisters served as a source of support during his experience with his dying mother. Likewise, for Mary the close bond she had with her brother was also an important source of support later in life.

5.4.2 Break in relationship with sibling

For Derrick, a break in relationship with his sister occurred after he attempted to publish a book about his personal experience.

Derrick: And this is where my sister [second sister] objected and took out court injunctions to try and stop it so for various reasons. And at that time yeah it was quite complicated... she threatened to tell the police inform the police, which I didn't think was likely and subsequently I learned... when I was arrested they put a copy in front of me and

said, is this yours? This manuscript. And immediately I recognised it as a copy that went to my sister...

Mary experienced a break in the relationship with her sister following her mother's death and Mary's subsequent legal problems. This break culminated in a complete disintegration of the relationship.

Mary: [sister] saw that as an opportunity to vent her sibling issues with me. So then she completely fabricated certain things... set herself up as... insulted and traumatised by me and ignored and left out of it and it wasn't the case at all... she acted in a way that I said to her... dad would be really ashamed of the way you've conducted yourself through this. And with her and I it actually got to the point a few months later, where we actually came to physical blows. So that was really just, there was no nothing between us from that point on...

For both Derrick and Mary, a break in relationship with a sibling occurred as a result of their personal experience with assisted death.

For both participants, the relationships deteriorated to the point of complete loss of relationship and subsequent loss of contact. This can be seen as a negative consequence of the participants' personal experience, however both participants reported not being close to the siblings concerned during childhood, which may also have been a contributing factor.

5.4.3 Close bond with loved one

Martin described his close bond with his wife.

Martin: ...well as long as [participant's wife] could deal with it, I would've dealt with it you know like if she was still here, I was only there in a supportive role. The same as helping her research what would work.

Derrick described his love and admiration for his mother.

Derrick: Emotionally very close to my mother... I was very close to mum and very lucky I had my mother for my own sanity. She was a wonderful wonderful mother... Her life was more about children than work yeah, even though she loved her work.

Mary described her closeness to her mother, not merely from a familial perspective, but also from the perspective of a very close friendship.

Mary: So with my mum, she was a woman I would have wanted to be friends with anyway... she was warm, funny, smart, attractive, personable person who went out of her way to help people...

All three participants discussed their close bonds with their loved ones. The close bond was described in terms of readiness to accept any situation the loved one was in and act in a supportive role (Martin), strong friendship (Mary) and admiration (Derrick). Open communication was a prominent feature of the close bond and previous qualitative studies report similar findings (Jo et al., 2007). The close bonds that all three participants had with their loved ones were pivotal in helping them make the important decision to be actively or passively involved in their loved ones' deaths and the alleviation of their suffering.

5.5 Superordinate theme #5 - Emotions associated with death and dying

Participants described experiencing different emotions associated with the death and dying of their loved ones, which were both negative and positive for them.

5.5.1 Death/dying as tragic and not tragic

Martin described the negative emotions he experienced as a result of his wife having had to take her own life due to a lack of alternative options.

Martin: Yeah it was hugely unfair that [participant's wife] had to, that she was in, she was in a bad physical state and that she had to take her own life alone by her own hand.

Derrick described his mother's dying and ultimate death as being both tragic and not tragic at different points during the experience.

Derrick: So when I came back to be at her final months, it wasn't tragic. It was sad but not tragic. Death is tragic when you haven't lived a full life, my mother had lived a very full life and so it wasn't tragic. Of course I'm leading up to what's going to happen which became quite tragic.

Mary experienced her mother's death as fragmented and ultimately tragic.

Mary: So within that twenty four hours between the attempt with the morphine and then picking my mum up and holding her to me, she was dying in pieces.

Death was described as tragic if the loved one had died alone and by their own hand (Martin), when the dying process was painful and traumatic (Derrick), and the process of death was not instant but fragmented (Mary). Also, death was tragic if there had been a lack of options and provisions for ending life.

Death was described as not tragic if the person dying had lived a full life, although this had only been discussed by one participant (Derrick). Furthermore, actual death was viewed with relief by all participants, but whether or not the dying process itself was deemed tragic depended on the above mentioned factors.

5.5.2 Fear of judgement (non-religious)

Only Derrick described experiencing a fear of judgement which was non-religious in nature.

Derrick: ...yeah I did feel at the time some kind of judgement in making taking that kind of action to end a life even though... I'm not Christian and I don't believe in God. But I do bizarrely believe in some kind of judgment of of the soul... I did momentarily consider the legal consequences. I knew it was breaking the law and I did think about it more than momentarily, enough to try to cover my tracks...

Fear of judgement for Derrick comprised of fear of both spiritual and legal judgements. The fear of legal consequences resulted in pre-meditated concealment of evidence. It is unclear why the other two participants did not experience any fear of judgement but the difference may have arisen due to personal trait differences related to spirituality/religiousness.

5.5.3 Trust and respect of loved one's decision

Martin felt his role as a partner was primarily a supportive one.

Martin: My whole role you know, that's the role of the partner is to be supportive of your partner not to be you know not to say you should do this, you should do that. It's just like I'm here for you whatever choices you make and whatever you need you know that's what I'm here for and ah yeah so that was that was how it was. I was there to support [participant's wife] as and however...

Derrick described feeling implicit trust in his mother's decisions and a respect for her ability to decide for herself which stemmed from her experience with life.

Derrick: ...she had made decisions, courageous decisions, all her life and she made decisions about me, the family. And here was another decision and I always respected her decisions. And secondly, I knew she was a GP, a doctor, a medical doctor and I kind of assumed she knew what she was doing and I didn't need to question it.

Mary's close relationship with her mother meant that they did not have to discuss specific details of how Mary would assist her mother with dying.

Mary: I think those close relationships you don't have to have huge conversations, like dotting i's and crossing t's. You literally just know that you'll do whatever's necessary for each other. You know you verbalise it by saying things like, well if I get that bad you'll help me won't you? And the other person says, yes I will. And you both know what that means...

All three participants described an implicit trust and respect that they had for their loved ones and their decisions regarding life and death. The close bond the participants shared with their loved ones may have facilitated their implicit trust and respect. Furthermore, the experience of trust and respect assisted the participants in deciding to help their loved ones with death.

5.5.4 Importance of goodbye

For Martin, the knowledge that his wife was going to die by committing suicide provided him with the opportunity to say goodbye.

Martin: Because we'd discussed it... it was not like somebody suddenly dying. It's just like... over a period of years really come to well, this is where it's gonna go and you know, all the research, what will work and getting this thing, this stuff so it would work... there wasn't any of the oh shit I didn't say goodbye kind of thing... I mean it was like

that for everybody else because... she didn't want to paint herself into a corner. She knew very well that I would be supportive of her whatever she chose, and didn't matter but she certainly didn't wanna tell anybody else.

Derrick described the desire to be with his mother until her death.

Derrick: ...prior to my arrival she had some radiotherapy for her cancer and this led to a partial recovery and her friends said because I was coming back her spirits lifted a lot because she knew I was going to stay with her. And then I made a plan to be here until her death because yeah I knew it was going to be a very special time as her final months and wanted to be with her.

Mary experienced extreme stress while she organised to move back with her mother, particularly as she was worried her mother might die in her absence.

Mary: You know through cancelling your rent and your house and selling all your stuff, and returning school uniforms, and books, library books just like that. It was just absolutely crazy stressful and in the meantime mum was getting worse and worse here and I was thinking gosh she might even die while I'm trying to get home again. So it was really stressful...

Farewelling their loved ones was important to all three participants. The ability to say goodbye as assisting with the grieving process is supported by other studies (Swarte, van der Lee, van der Bom, van den Bout, & Heintz, 2003). Previous research also suggests that the ability to say goodbye has adaptive functions for bereavement by reducing the likelihood of post-traumatic stress disorder (Schut, Keijser, van Den Bout, & Dijkhuis, 1991; Swarte et al., 2003) and reducing levels of traumatic grief (Meij et al., 2008; Swarte et al., 2003).

Saying goodbye was made easier by the knowledge of an impending death (Derrick, Martin). Thus, a planned death allowed participants to say goodbye. However, other family members and friends were unable to do so because the methods of death (euthanasia, assisted suicide) were kept secret. This highlights the problematic nature of illegality of assisted death. Furthermore, the potentiality of a sudden death was described as stressful (Mary) and thus some element of control over death was seen as desirable.

5.5.5 Positive experience of death

Only Derrick described a positive experience of death.

Derrick: She took the overdose and died some hours later and it was very positive for both of us really really was. Once I got over that mental hurdle of what I was going to do, it was a very positive thing to do.

The other two participants (Martin, Mary) experienced death as a highly traumatic and stressful event. This difference may be due to the different ways in which death occurred. That is, death by morphine overdose was described more positively than death by asphyxiation and suicide, which were described as negative.

Despite this difference, the dying processes witnessed by participants such as starvation, fragmented loss of bodily functions, and rapid physical deterioration were negative and unpleasant for all three participants. Witnessing a loved one's deterioration may have contributed to feelings of helplessness which were negative experiences and similar to findings from previous studies (Grbich et al., 2001).

5.5.6 Fear of a ghastly and unsuccessful death

Martin was worried that his wife's suicide attempt would be unsuccessful, leaving her in an even worse state than the one she was attempting to escape.

Martin: You know her biggest worry it would be a mess, my biggest worry was a) that she wouldn't be dead, she'd be brain damaged or b) that you know there would've been a huge trauma.

Derrick described both his mother's initial failed starvation plan and his fear that his mother's attempt at suicide by swallowing pills would be unsuccessful.

Derrick: And she then realised that she was going to have the ghastly death that she went on a hunger strike to avoid. She went on a hunger strike to to die quickly to avoid the horrible ghastly death from cancer. She was now going to have that ghastly death from malnutrition by rotting in her own bed and she realised then that something even more radical and extreme had to be done... And I told her when she asked me for help first of all, I said, look it's too late mum, you can't take all these tablets now because it's a slow process for you to swallow... you wouldn't be able to do it without falling asleep from the morphine or...vomiting. Something would happen, you wouldn't get the whole lot and you'd end up maybe worse, you could be paralysed, all kinds of consequences that we don't know about.

For Mary, helping end her mother's life was a very stressful event because she felt she only had one opportunity to do it correctly.

Mary: ...you can't fuck it up you know, you can't commit to that you know and stuff it up. You have to succeed in it...

All three participants described being fearful both that the death of their loved ones would be traumatic and that the initial attempt to die would be unsuccessful. This reflected the fact that participants had to assist in death themselves (Derrick, Mary) or leave the method of death to be carried out by the loved one alone (Martin) without any professional medical assistance or support. Fear of a ghastly and

painful death has been found to be highly correlated with a positive attitude towards euthanasia and assisted suicide in terminally ill patients (Johansen et al., 2005; Steinhauser et al., 2000).

The success of the initial attempt to die was recognised as crucial by participants (Mary, Martin) if more traumatic events, such as brain death and further disability, were to be avoided. This highlights the potential dangers involved in unsupervised assistance in death. Furthermore, one participant described an initial attempt at death through starvation (Derrick) which proved to be very traumatic and unsuccessful and necessitated assistance in death from the participant.

5.5.7 Too late to turn back

For Martin, the point of no return came when he left his wife alone to attempt suicide.

Martin: ...that was where [participant's wife] was going before I came back and then we said, well you know it looked like a very iffy way of attempting to end it and so we did research to find what hopefully um was gonna be a humane and successful and non-traumatic method that she could use which it did prove to be but um with you know like its there's no um trial run with killing yourself and so you just hope you got it right and it worked for us that time...

For Derrick, that point came when his mother accepted the glass with morphine which he had prepared for her.

Derrick: She had a beautiful little smile even before the morphine she knew this is the moment had come... on that night when I said that this is the glass, this is the drink that will end your life, she said, you are a wonderful son.

Mary described reaching a point of no return while helping her mother die where she could not turn back. She had to carry on until her mother was dead.

Mary: ...you've crossed that line, if there's any offence in it at all, you've already done it. You know you've already, the the committing to assisting to end their life under those circumstances, with those tools and that secrecy and in that social void is so profound that you don't withdraw back from it, you just keep going until you succeed.

Participants described a general feeling that after a certain point, it was too late to turn back. The point came when the loved one was left alone to commit suicide (Martin), drank a mixture which resulted in an overdose (Derrick), and when the participant felt they had crossed the line from legal to illegal behaviour (Mary). Participants recognised these turning points as significant and this was highlighted by the recognition that there is no “trial run” of death (Martin) and the methods described by participants were expected to cause death.

5.5.8 Relief

For Martin, the experience of overwhelming relief that his wife was no longer suffering came in the form of a spiritual experience.

Martin: ...for probably a month and it was not just me... all of her friends. It was... this feeling of relief was as if it was coming from beyond ah, beyond us. It was as if you're actually sensing some spiritual feeling of [participant's wife] of relief... it was so strong... it wasn't like, oh I think I will feel relief. It was just like this feeling was just coming in. Wow! It's over! I'm not having to put up with this shit anymore... I can't explain in any sort of logical or sensible sense... if it was just me, it's ok, it's just your head, but it wasn't. It was universal for everybody who knew her, was this unbelievable feeling of of relief.

There wasn't any sort of ah conventional grief. It was like, you know the overwhelming feeling was relief. She's not suffering anymore... that was the only feeling and the overwhelming feeling, thank fuck the suffering's over...

Derrick described experiencing relief immediately after his mother's death.

Derrick: ...she drank that drink and that moment her death was imminent and inevitable and was a matter of waiting. And yeah that was a happy time it wasn't an unhappy time. And when she died again it was great relief.

Martin and Derrick described a positive experience of relief in relation to the death of their loved ones. The relief related to the fact that the chosen suicide method had resulted in a tidy and successful death (Martin) and that the loved one's suffering had ended (Martin, Derrick). Derrick experienced anticipatory grief which served an adaptive function allowing him to engage in grief work while his mother was still alive. By the time of her death, Derrick may have worked through much of his grief.

Interestingly, the experience of relief was also characterised by a spiritual connection to the dead loved one, which was a form of continued bond (Martin). The experience of relief has been documented in other studies examining bereavement in caregivers (Heintz, 1995; Jordan, 2001; Schulz et al., 2003).

Mary, however, did not report feeling relief and this may have been due to the highly traumatic nature of direct physical involvement in the death of her mother. Relief was a positive emotion experienced by participants and lack of relief may have compounded the negative emotions associated with death, particularly traumatic grieving.

5.6 Superordinate theme #6 - Characteristics of dying and death

Participants described various characteristics of dying and death which, they felt, had featured prominently in their experiences.

5.6.1 A life not worth living and importance of a peaceful death

Martin described seeing in his wife's eyes her desire to end her life.

Martin: I was away, I was at work but when I came back that was one of the two times that I could see in her eyes exactly like you'd see if your dog was really really sick and they look, you look in their eyes and their just saying, I've had enough dad, I don't want this anymore...

For Derrick, the main concern was ensuring a peaceful death for his mother, which he felt to be more important than legal consequences.

Derrick: So, even though I don't recall at the time the great fear of legal consequences, I I clearly was aware of them and didn't want it to be found out. But that to me was a minor consideration. To me, my main consideration was my mother's peace and uh uh what would have been a peaceful death, what became a peaceful death.

Mary described her desire to end her mother's life and prevent any further prolonging of the dying process. She also discussed what she saw as a difference between living and being kept alive.

Mary: And um so that's when you really step up and you, well in my situation, that's when I made that decision and without it having been a huge planned thing on the details of it between my mother and I, I knew that that was the point in which she would have wanted to have

been assisted. When essentially she had stopped living, what we were doing was alleviating the prolonging of the dying process.

Participants discussed a difference between living and merely being kept alive. In particular, being kept alive for the sake of living was discussed as prolonging suffering. Participants also felt that the goal of a peaceful non-traumatic death outweighed any resulting legal consequences.

The prolonging of the dying process to which all three participants referred to was pushed by established medical institutions (including hospices). Similarly, findings from previous studies suggest while the hospice is often an option, sometimes personal circumstances (such as unbearable pain) warrant euthanasia as seen by those close to dying (Chapple et al., 2006). Thus, if the dying process was unnecessarily prolonged due to lack of other options, participants felt that life was no longer worth living.

5.6.2 Loss of control and dependence

Martin discussed what would have been the stages of his wife's loss of physical abilities and her decision to prevent them from happening.

Martin: But when you've got a degenerative condition, it's ok, I'm gonna have to deal with this today but tomorrow I'm gonna have to deal with this plus you know it's gonna get worse. Eventually I won't be able to swallow, I won't be able to talk, I won't be able to walk, I'll just be a vegetable in a wheelchair with a brain. And it's like, no.

Derrick described observing his mother's condition steadily decline. She lost control over her body and eventually came to completely depend on him.

Derrick: I stayed with my mother and watched the steady decline partly from the cancer but probably more from the malnutrition. And over the

next month, she ah lost more and more ability. She lost the ability to walk first, she became very unstable on her feet and had to be escorted to the bathroom and and eventually she became totally bed-bound and she wasn't eating, she was only drinking water... she lost the ability to move her limbs and she then realised that she was decomposing. Her her flesh was feeding her organs basically.

Mary discussed the physical transformation her mother had undergone after falling ill and her dependence on daily care.

Mary: I'd have to do these abdominal lavages like insert a catheter tube through her rectum, she had a colostomy ileostomy bag and stuff and drain puss out of her abdomen couple of times a day. And the smell as well for her, she'd just pass large amounts of blood and pus rectally and she was just so sick. she went from this strapping ninety kilo woman... to a lady who, from the day of her surgery, she only went outside the house once... From the day of her surgery she didn't have the strength to lift a jug...

All three participants described witnessing a gradual loss of control over life and an increasing level of dependence from their loved ones as characteristic of the dying process. This was described in a negative manner as upsetting and highly traumatic and was seen to be an undesirable consequence of dying. Participants felt that the lack of provisions and options for their loved ones in the form of assisted dying meant that life had to be cut short before total loss of control and dependence occurred. In other studies, loss of control on the part of the caregiver had also been documented (Grbich et al., 2001).

5.6.3 Unpredictability of death

Derrick discussed the logical expectation of his mother's imminent death and not expecting the need to assist her.

Derrick: She had mentioned it several times and I didn't think the request would ever come to me. Um, and like my mother I kept assuming that she was going to die... And yeah it just seemed so illogical that she'd keep living when she was eighty five with cancer and hadn't eaten for a month. Plus, the month before she'd hardly eaten anything anyway. It was just a natural assumption that she was going to die.

Mary described prior knowledge of the unpredictability of death and this served to inform her decision to help.

Mary: And you know I thought either I do something now or I let this go on for three days to wait and see. But I had seen enough of death in nursing to know that this could go on.

The experience of unpredictability of death was described by Derrick and Mary as undesirable and both participants took steps to prevent or control this. Death was seen as unpredictable. This prompted participants to be actively involved in assisting the death of their loved one. Martin's passive involvement (researching suicide methods) may explain why he did not discuss the unpredictability of time of death. The unpredictability of death related to the importance of establishment of legal provisions for assistance in death as discussed by the participants.

5.6.4 Inevitability of death

Martin discussed the importance of recognising the inevitability of death and the potential for suffering.

Martin: ...we have a built in um denial that we are going to die because we wouldn't get out of bed if we actually looked at the statistical reality. But you know, it is important for this issue that people actually see intellectually behind that, beyond that, I am going to die, all my family

are going to die, all my friends are gonna die. Some of them are gonna die horribly, horrendously, unnecessarily, unnecessarily you know as far as suffering is concerned and there needs to be a provision for when that occurs...

Derrick discussed the inevitability of assistance in old age during the dying process and the need for recognition and acceptance of this.

Derrick: I found it so sad that we could end up like that and we're all going to end up like that if we live long into old age. Each one of us is going to age steadily so it's nothing to be embarrassed about. We're all going to need help in old age one by one.

For Mary, the inevitability of death had a symbolic representation and it changed the discourse she was having with her mother.

Mary: So we sort of knew what was coming really and again I said in the book, it's like a steam roller you know, it just grinds on relentlessly and you can't do anything to stop it. So the conversation sort of changed from getting better to death and dying...

All three participants recognised and discussed inevitability as being an inherent characteristic of death. The recognition that death is inevitable and the subsequent potential for suffering were also seen as the driving forces behind the need for provisions for assistance in death. Moreover, death and its inevitability were discussed as natural processes, which are thus in need of recognition and discussion.

5.6.5 Death and dying as biological processes

Martin outlined the biological processes underlying his wife's degenerative illness.

Martin: MS actually is your own immune system attacking the sheath in your nerves in your brain and spinal cord. It's not a disease as such, I mean it's your own immune system attacking you. Nobody knows why.

Derrick hypothesised about the biological processes which occurred during his mother's hunger strike in order to understand the physical changes which occurred as a result.

Derrick: I think this is a survival mechanism of the body when you're basically dying and or and you start rotting first because the least essential part of your body is used up to keep the essential part going. So the muscle and the tissue was feeding the brain and the heart and the lungs and the liver.

Mary described observing the sequential process of her mother's body shutting down and dying.

Mary: ...all her peripheries were really dark and almost black and, she was just shutting down. And her chest was hard and cold. Was like she was dying bit by bit. It wasn't sort of from the peripheries particularly, it was like parts of her body were already hard and cold.

Participants described death and dying as ultimately biological processes, with some of the processes being as yet not understood through science (Martin). Furthermore, the biological processes were described as survival functions (Derrick) and shutting the body down in parts (Mary). Whilst participants were able to discuss these processes they also found them to be highly upsetting. Thus, participants displayed attempts at trying to understand these processes which in turn, assisted them in making sense of their experience of death and dying.

5.7 Superordinate theme #7 – Beating death and the system

Participants discussed a multitude of ways they felt they and their loved ones had 'beaten' both death and the system with their attempts to exercise control over death and dying.

5.7.1 Dying with dignity

Martin discussed dying with dignity in the form of rejecting complete dependence and taking control of the point at which one dies.

Martin: And the whole point of nobody's gonna wipe my ass is that's not just with me but so many people that have talked to me it's like there's a point at which I don't want that. I, the individual, do not want somebody wiping my ass for me. That's out of the question, I'd rather be dead. You know simple as a b c really.

Derrick identified his desire for his mother to live, provided it was her own choice.

Derrick: I was still happy for her to live for as long as possible that was my instinct as well, keep her alive. But I wasn't going to deny her the right to die, to die with some dignity.

Mary described death as a natural event requiring possible assistance.

Mary: That people don't have the legal right to request assistance in dying, in the same way that we accept and provide assistance in child birth, death is another natural event and yet we're refusing to assist in dying. So that it can be achieved with as much dignity and safety and humanity as possible. You know, where is the evil in that? I don't see the evil in that.

For all three participants dying with dignity was seen as a natural human right. Dying with dignity meant rejection of almost complete dependency (Martin), the right to take control over one's own death and its timing (Martin, Derrick), and the legal right to assistance in death (Mary). Qualitative studies with participants close to death have found similar results in terms of the right to choose manner of death, independence, and personal control over death (Chapple et al., 2006; Johansen et al., 2005; Lipsman, Skanda, Kimmelman, & Bernstein, 2007).

The argument that death is a natural process and that dying with dignity can be achieved through the legalisation of euthanasia was based around issues of safety and humanity. Participants felt strongly that everyone has a right to die with dignity and if that means that a person feels they should be assisted with their death, then they should have full rights to such provisions.

5.7.2 Avoidance of, and victory over a ghastly death

In describing his feelings, Martin gave more weight to that fact that his wife no longer had to suffer than to his grieving.

Martin: Everybody says oh you gotta grieve and this that and the other um you know, the overwhelming feeling was she's not suffering anymore. The overwhelming feeling... fuck she's not having to put up with this shit anymore.

For Derrick, the experience of assisting his mother with death was positive as he felt that they had won over the system that was prolonging the dying process and preventing her from choosing her own death.

Derrick: ...we made it something of a celebration, not just of her life but of having beaten the system to keep her alive, so much of what had been going on previously was to keep her alive. Doctors keeping her alive, oncologists keeping her alive, people around her wanting her

to eat or to go to a hospice, all these people trying to keep her alive. Here she was, yes it's like a victory, and I'm getting the death I want and avoiding the ghastly death that was she had avoided what could have been many several weeks of a ghastly death and that was a little victory too. So we had like a victory party that night. She took the overdose and died some hours later and it was very positive for both of us...

Mary felt that her mother's choice regarding assistance in dying was strongly influenced by prior experience and the desire to avoid a traumatic and prolonged dying process.

Mary: I know that just the deterioration that prolonged dying over several days of her own mother, influenced her wishes for herself. Like a bad or a very traumatised death, or a prolonged death, or a difficult death influences the people around it and how they then look at their own dying process. What they will accept for themselves and what they won't. And to the point where many people will actually put in some place plans to end their life if things progress down that track.

All three participants felt that taking steps to avoid a ghastly death was a form of victory over death itself and also over the institutionalised system of death. The institutionalised system included medical professionals and the hospice. In particular, victory over the medical institutions was manifested in personal choice over the time of death as opposed to what participants saw as prolonging of the dying process by these medical institutions.

Participants felt strong relief at their loved ones not having to suffer any longer. This was seen as a form of victory over death and may have assisted grieving.

5.7.3 Taking control over one's own death

Martin described a set of conditions that he felt justified anyone's, including his wife's, right to choose when they die.

Martin: ...she you know she just was not prepared to allow that to happen and that was where you know she felt that it was her life, her choice and her right to say ok I'm incurable, I'm mentally competent, I'm suffering intolerably, and I've had enough and that should be a basic human right under those conditions.

Derrick considered being able to choose where you die to be a basic right. In his mother's case, this was the right to die at home not in a hospice.

Derrick: ...it was her right to die at home and it should be anyone's right... if you've lived a life and and you're surrounded by it, surely you should be allowed to die in that life and not die in this artificial sterile environment of a hospital or hospice. At the same time not criticising them, they do a fantastic job but if you want to die surrounded by your life, the things and the people you love so you should be allowed to, everyone should be allowed to... it's simple human right to die at home with the people you love.

Mary felt strongly that there can be no set criteria other than personal choice for establishing when someone has a right to ask for assistance in dying.

Mary: ...it doesn't have to be about unbearable pain. That there's not a set of criteria that can justify or qualify someone for feeling that they need assistance in dying. It doesn't have to be a level eight on a scale of ten pain, or unbearable pain or because then you are you are qualifying someone else by your own judgement. And it's not about

your judgement, it's their judgement, it's their life, it's their decision, it's their death.

The argument about a basic human right to choose one's own time and manner of death featured prominently in the accounts of all three participants. Conditions were discussed by participants which, they felt, qualified anyone to seek assistance in dying. More specifically, being mentally competent, suffering intolerably, being incurable, and wanting to avoid total dependence were seen as satisfactory conditions for allowing someone to request assistance in dying (Martin). However, some participants also felt that there can be no set criteria to qualify someone for assistance in dying (Mary). In particular, high levels of pain were argued not to be a necessary criterion for seeking assistance in dying, but rather personal choice was seen as sufficient.

Additionally, the right to choose where one died also featured in participants' accounts. Specifically, this was the right to die at home versus in a hospital or a hospice (Derrick). Dying at home was seen as desirable as it provided the dying with familiar surroundings and reminded them of their life whereas settings of a hospice or hospital were described as impersonal and non-familiar. This finding differs from some studies which point to a higher preference for hospice death, particularly from participants who had close personal experiences of death (Charlton, 1991). Systematic reviews however tend to support the present study's finding of preference for home death over hospice death (B. Gomes & Higginson, 2006; Higginson & Sen-Gupta, 2000). Thus, all three participants shared a similar view on the basic human right to choose time and manner of death, although there were some differences in relation to qualifying criteria.

5.7.4 Removal of taboo

Martin felt that by pleading guilty and publicly accepting his role in his wife's death, he was telling the truth and impacting society.

Martin: ...the barrister said I understand what you're doing and I support what you're doing but if you had pleaded not guilty... but I'm not gonna lie... And you know the consequence was mind-blowing, we changed history. I mean the courtroom exploded, it was just like a movie when the judge actually gave the final summation. The whole court room was on its, just was clapping, it's just, it was unbelievable. It was it was well you know, we made history and it was bloody worth it.

Derrick described his public acceptance of his role in his mother's death as something of which he was proud.

Derrick: And in the end, that's what I did, I assisted her suicide, I've never denied that... even after I was arrested I didn't deny it and in the media in [country of residence] it wasn't allowed to be published in New Zealand. I wasn't ashamed of it... And my partner... she found a very nice description of what happened which she told when she was interviewed. She said this conviction is a badge of honour. A badge of honour.

For Mary, the open discussion about assistance in dying was crucial for the removal of the associated taboo and hence the shame and secrecy.

Mary: ...it makes a liar of you in another whole way in that you have to keep these secrets from people... voluntary euthanasia law would change that, you wouldn't have to be secretive about it. It wouldn't be something you'd have to be ashamed of to want to to strive for a humane death... for you as the patient or you as the family member, for everyone to be able to talk about it. Would do away with all those secrets and it would vastly help family relationships cause most families split after death... I see acknowledging the dying process and assisted dying as being really helpful opening that up.

All three participants felt that by openly discussing euthanasia, the element of taboo would be removed from the topic and this would allow for non-censored public discussion. This was reflected in their decisions not to deny assisting their loved ones in their deaths and their engagement in open discourse in the forms of guilty pleas and testimonies in court, writing of books and general public discussion and attempts to raise awareness of the issue of euthanasia.

Acknowledging the complexities of death and the dying process were seen as steps towards recognising that some circumstances may require assistance with dying. Therefore, removing the element of taboo associated with euthanasia was seen as crucial in the pursuit of legalisation of euthanasia. On a more personal level, this would provide individuals with provisions should they need them and support families through very difficult periods.

5.8 Superordinate theme #8 – ‘Faulty’ system

For all three participants, the experience of the system (medical, legal and societal) as faulty and inadequate was highly significant in their accounts and was reflected in several themes. The inadequacy of the various institutions to which the participants referred was discussed in relation to the lack of currently available provisions for end of life decisions, specifically euthanasia and assisted suicide.

5.8.1 Cautionary tale – illegality of euthanasia is dangerous

Martin felt that the lack of provisions for assistance with dying created possibilities for corruption.

Martin: ...it's totally underhand, what we have now with the medical situation where some medical personnel are prepared to help is because it's completely underhand, there's no um provision there's no policy...

It's open, I'm not saying that it's it happens but it is open to ah corruption.

Derrick discussed how assistance with dying should not be the responsibility of family members and one should not have to wait beyond the point at which life becomes intolerable.

Derrick: ...to me the lesson is, it shouldn't be a son that has to do it but everyone should have the right to die at home and at the time of choosing... the cautionary tale is that it shouldn't have to be a family member in that circumstance. A person shouldn't have to be rotting in their own bed before that time comes, they should be allowed to choose their own time.

Mary felt strongly that the current illegality of euthanasia left room for abuse, biases and subjectivity.

Mary: So while we continue to leave it ungoverned, there is this grey area of what is the real motivation if we just leave it as it is and people are stepping up and assisting illegally... the reason why we should have a law because we've left it wide wide open to that abuse as it stands at the moment... will people even be very honest about how they, like will judges be honest about how much of their personal thinking has gone into a sentence.

Participants discussed the current illegality of euthanasia in New Zealand as being dangerous for families and their loved ones. Participants also felt that family members should not be the ones to be actively involved in ending the life of their loved ones.

5.8.2 Prolonging an unwanted life as cruel and inhumane

Martin drew parallels between human and animal care and highlighted the contradictions.

Martin: If your dog or your pet, your beloved pet is suffering intolerably, it is understood and respected and enforced that the humane thing to do is to take them and to get them put down you know in a proper way. Not, ah yeah my dog's suffering, I'm not feeding him and he'll eventually starve to death. Well that's the option you get with your mum but if that's what you did with your dog, the RSPCA would be saying we're gonna bang you up for this.

Derrick felt strongly that it is cruel to extend someone's life beyond the point at which their life has no meaning for them and ending it should not be a crime.

Derrick: I respect anybody in a similar situation taking control of their own death when death is inevitable choosing their moment of death. To allow any person in that situation to keep on going beyond the time they want to be there is really its cruel, cruelty. And... since... I've stood my ground and I do not believe it is a crime to help someone to die who has made that decision for themselves already, it's not a crime, no.

Mary described how she felt there was a current lack of humane options for someone who no longer wishes to be alive.

Mary: I was left with a feeling that there must be a more humane way for us to deal with death um as civilised human beings... You know if you had any choice to extend it in a way that was humane and meaningful and um, living, you would. But when the reality is that it's in extending the dying process or you're extending suffering...

Participants felt strongly that the prolonging of a life that was no longer wanted was inhumane and when to end a life was not the decision of the system, but the individual concerned. Comparisons were made with the provisions available in animal care in relation to death, in particular the availability of euthanasia and the lack of such provisions in human care.

Participants emphasised the inhumane nature of the unavailability of options to make personal decisions concerning end of life and assistance in dying. The preference for quality over quantity of life has been documented in other studies (Lipsman et al., 2007). Thus, participants viewed current end of life care in New Zealand as lacking in options for personal choice and freedom regarding one's own death.

5.8.3 Issue as global/widespread

Martin described the outpouring of support he received from the community after his court case.

Martin: ...the whole state social issue that is um, it its huge. I have people coming out of shops you know shaking my hand. I had bank managers in tears, I had probably hundreds of emails all saying the same thing pretty much. Thank goodness some common sense is starting to come through...

Derrick discussed his realisation, after the release of his account into the public domain, that his experience was not an isolated occurrence and that other people have been in similar circumstances.

Derrick: And since I've written my book I've heard so many stories. I've become a magnet for stories... over and over again I hear very similar stories. Some of them more tragic much more tragic than my

own and I realise it's a very common occurrence... a high percentage of people have very elderly parents and they have issues like this to deal with.

Mary described her realisation of the extent of the issue and the unfortunate social and legal taboo preventing society from addressing it.

Mary: And like I've been gifted so many countless stories now over the years countless. And seventy percent of them have done similar things. You know seventy percent of them, many many people out there have assisted in a way that there would be a legal response to. So it's just so widespread... it is the way it is and as I've said we don't acknowledge it.

In their accounts, participants experienced the issue of euthanasia as global and widespread in society as well as in their immediate communities. Studies conducted on physician-assisted deaths in New Zealand also suggest widespread occurrence (Mitchell & Owens, 2003). Participants recognised widespread public concern with the illegality of euthanasia through the support they received after their situations were made public through media and publishing of books re-telling their experiences.

Attention was also drawn to the experiences of others who had not gone public due to fear of legal repercussions (Mary). Participants argued that without open widespread acknowledgement in all spheres both social and institutional/legal, assisted death will continue to be swept under the carpet regardless of its importance and widespread occurrence.

5.8.4 Faulty laws/legal system and lack of remorse

Martin felt strongly that pleading guilty to assisting his wife in suicide was a reflection of his faithfulness to her, her decision, and the truth about his personal experience.

Martin: ...the situation has to be brought to attention um I had no idea what the consequences would be but there's no way ah, in being faithful to [participant's wife] and what she did and the truth that I wasn't going to plead guilty to having assisted her at the time that she chose successfully euthanise herself.

For Derrick, his lack of remorse posed a problem for the judicial system in terms of sentencing.

Derrick: But you haven't shown remorse so we can't knock this piece off. So [laughs] it was a problem for the court. But I wasn't ever going to show remorse, it wasn't an issue for me at all. So even pre-sentencing report from the probation services said this is a problem for them cause they have to recommend a sentence for the judge. You're not showing any remorse? I said no, I'm not going to. Yeah, I actually felt quite happy with that, that I'm not showing remorse... We have to keep in mind that laws are written by man and man makes mistakes.

Mary discussed how her lack of remorse was a decisive factor in sentencing by eliminating the possibility of home detention leaving prison as the only option.

Mary: ...everyone else saying do whatever you have to do to come home but the one thing they said that I had to state that I was repentant and remorseful and that it would never happen again. And that I was sorry for what happened and I didn't do that so I didn't get home detention.

None of the participants experienced remorse for the roles they played in their loved ones' deaths. During their trials, participants were advised by their lawyers to indicate remorse. To clarify, the experience of remorse was a necessary condition during the trials which may have reduced their sentences if convicted.

Both the lack of remorse of participants and their refusal to state any remorse highlighted how the current laws lack identification of the issues involved with assisted dying. Participants felt that if they were to claim to feel remorseful, they would be lying. Furthermore, all three participants felt strongly that they had helped liberate their loved ones from further suffering and thus had not committed a crime. As a consequence, the lack of remorse resulted in harsher sentencing for some participants (Mary).

In this theme, the lack of remorse that all participants experienced was illustrative of the 'faulty' legal system which failed to account for crimes committed due to selfless motivations which were void of remorse. Therefore, the mismatch between a traditional and mainstream legal understanding of a crime as one that should be accompanied by remorse was not applicable to the personal experiences of all three participants.

5.8.5 Dehumanisation

Martin discussed dehumanisation as being reflected in his wife's desperate resort to various suicide techniques.

Martin: I was away um for eight months until May 2011 I assume it was an um that time is when she started to get these bloody pills and plastic bags and masks and all of that... she already thought right I'm gonna

have to deal with this. She she gone that way because that was the only way...

Mary described being dehumanised during her experience in prison as an inmate.

Mary: ...you're put in a round white room and there's a concrete block that is heated within it but and there's a mattress sort of attached to it that's covered in plastic. And you have um a blanket, no pillow, no sheets that you can strangle yourself with. You can't rip these blankets. I had nothing else, I had a robe on, no underwear, no socks, no shoes, no toothbrush, no clock, no music, no one to talk to. Couldn't see outside um, it was under camera surveillance. A two litre ice cream container as a toilet. And I refused to do anything other than pee in it...

The dehumanisation theme was illustrated by the lack of rights for assisted dying as well as the stripping of rights from the participant by the legal system. Prison and prison regulations were described as fundamentally dehumanising and devoid of opportunities for personal freedom as well as the loss of privacy and bodily integrity. Previous research has also documented dehumanisation within prison (Scruton & Moore, 2006).

5.8.6 Mercy killing vs criminal killing

Derrick did not consider himself to be a murderer and his personal view was incongruent with the conviction he was facing.

Derrick: Murdering my mother? This just didn't make sense at all and as soon as that arrest charge was read I knew I had to remain silent because the charge was so serious. I couldn't, I'm not a murderer...

Mary described how she was placed in the same category as someone who committed murder for reasons other than compassion.

Mary: I was sent to the maximum security wing because my crime was attempted murder so I was in the same category as someone who would have swung an axe at someone trying to kill them. So that's that should be another huge concern for the justice system is that you're putting none criminal thinking in with criminal thinking and you're kind of feeding the lambs to the slaughter really. Like I really was a lamb to the slaughter.

Derrick and Mary felt it was important to discuss the differences between mercy killing and criminal killing in their accounts. Both participants did not feel they had committed a criminal murder but rather a mercy killing motivated by compassion as opposed to selfish motivation. Furthermore, the inadequacy of the legal system was discussed as participants were grouped, despite their underlying motivation, into the same category as other criminals potentially exposing them to risks associated with personal safety (Mary). Thus, contrasts were highlighted between selfish and altruistic motivation in relation to criminal and mercy killing respectively as being separate categories and the need for current laws to address this.

5.8.7 Suicide vs euthanasia

Martin described a difference between euthanasia and suicide at the cognitive level.

Martin: Which is one of the reasons why it's so important to differentiate between euthanasia and suicide. Suicide always involves a mental oh I don't feel that good, I'm going to kill myself... [participant's wife] did not want to die. What she describes as specifically is it's like reading a book where you can't read the last chapters. You know,

she didn't want to die. It was a physical thing it was not a mental thing.

Derrick discussed the relationship between legalised euthanasia and suicide rates.

Derrick: If you want to go into statistics, to me one of the defining statistics in countries where they have this voluntary euthanasia available the number of elderly attempted suicides has dropped dramatically... when elderly people know they've got the option of assisted dying they don't attempt to end their life. If they don't know they have that option, they either succeed or attempt to end their life.

Parallels between suicide and euthanasia were drawn by participants. One participant drew attention to the fact that even though his wife committed suicide, she had not wanted to die and was forced to kill herself due to the lack of other available options (Martin). Moreover, the lack of provisions for legal euthanasia was discussed as a risk factor for unsuccessful attempts at suicide (Derrick). Mary did not discuss this distinction potentially because suicide was not relevant to her personal experience.

5.8.8 Assisted dying as taboo

Martin felt that due to its complicated nature, it was easier for society to label assisted dying as taboo.

Martin: ...it is a very complicated issue um, but it's, which is why it's been swept under the carpet for so long. Because it's in the too hard basket. But it has to be dealt with.

Derrick felt that his published account did not accurately reflect his original account due to censorship.

Derrick: A lot was taken out and then I took all that stuff out from the book and then the publisher [name of publisher] were doing marketing distribution. Their lawyers wanted everything taken out related to my helping my mother to die because they said that's breaking the law. And then they went to great lengths beyond that to where I was agonising over helping my mother before she died. Which is actually quite irrelevant. What I did before she died, what I thought, is totally irrelevant...

Mary described how the societal taboo placed on assisted dying created problems for people faced with situations similar to hers.

Mary: It's just a real lack of understanding of what it takes, what it takes to assist in the environment that we have now. Where there, where we're not talking honestly about what what's happening... So while we continue to ignore that and continue to have a legal response, and we continue to have cases like mine...

Despite receiving widespread public support, all three participants described assisted dying as a taboo topic in New Zealand society. Complexity of the issue of assisted dying made open discussion difficult. Also, the element of taboo was reflected in the censorship of specific details from written material available to the public relating to assistance in dying and handicapped honest, open discourse. Participants felt strongly that the recognition of the issue of assisted dying, both in New Zealand and globally, was one of paramount importance and necessity.

5.9 Superordinate theme #9 - Altruism and death

In the accounts of participants, altruism and altruistic motivation were intimately linked to their experiences of death, specifically the deaths of their loved ones.

5.9.1 Two lives merged into one

Derrick discussed how he felt the merging of his life with the life of his mother was partially due to her complete dependence on him.

Derrick: ...our lives did become one life, initially, very orderly at the start of the hunger strike but she became very dependent on me for everything, from giving her the water to taking her to the commode... At the same time, I was becoming very dependent on her, her whole life was my life... every moment of her life was me and our lives became entwined... as it unravelled, we unravelled together, the two lives unravelling together... everyone else was kind of outside of that sphere of our lives unravelling. So it became logical, it had to be me who was going to be the one to help her to die especially when she asked people outside our sphere and they had said no.

Mary described the experience of being in a zone with her mother which was separate from everything and everyone else around them.

Mary: ...and really you enter a zone I think. You know there's this um a zone of life outside the zone kind of becomes surreal and remote and stops and and everything revolves around what goes on the death zone...

The merging of two lives into one was achieved through almost complete interdependence on each other (Derrick) and an isolation from the rest of the world during the dying process (Mary). The experience of merging into one also influenced the decision to assist with death on the part of both participants as interdependence involved implicit trust and understanding between the participants and their loved ones. Thus, participants did not view their lives as separate from the lives of their dying loved ones but rather, as one shared life experience.

5.9.2 Reciprocity and sacrifice

Martin felt that he was ready to pay any price for the relief of his wife's suffering by being open and honest about his experience.

Martin: [participant's wife] wasn't suffering [any longer]. That overrode any other consequence. Um, whatever they chose to do I accept, that's what they chose to do... they chose to say we have the right to bang you up or give you home detention or you know whatever. Fine, you know, if that's the price you pay for being honest, then I'll pay the price...

For Derrick, helping his mother when she was dying was a form of reciprocity for everything she had done for him when he had depended on her.

Derrick: People say do you resent being stuck there for so many months? Not at all... it was an absolute privilege to be there to help her at the end. She'd helped me all my life even beyond the stage where I was dependent on her... was a small payback and you don't really realise how much your parents have given you until much later in life...

Mary discussed her activism on the issue of euthanasia as being sacrificial and detrimental to her own well-being.

Mary: ...what I'm doing doesn't bring anything positive into my life, it is not for one positive thing. I've had people say, oh she's only doing this to get her name into the paper or to become famous. My god with what it cost me financially alone. Like I stopped counting at two hundred thousand, by the time you've taken loss of earnings, all the rest of it.

All three participants discussed how their experiences involved reciprocity and personal sacrifice. Participants also felt that relieving their loved ones of suffering was worth any sacrifice they made. Sacrifice was seen as a form of reciprocity in the relationship between the participant and a loved one. In particular, the reversal of dependency from child-parent to parent-child was seen as a way to 'give back'. Thus, both sacrifice and reciprocity were viewed by participants as positive aspects of their experiences with assisted dying.

5.9.3 Making the dying process positive

Derrick described how he introduced humour into the interaction between himself and his mother to distract them from the grim reality of their situation.

Derrick: ...it was trying to bring pleasure out of very unfortunate circumstances where she's dying, it's unfortunate, and she had a quirky sense of humour and um, she knew I enjoyed dancing... Initially, I was very very tentative when I first took her ah supported her going to the bathroom and said, ok, we're now doing a foxtrot because I didn't want to make fun of it but the fact that she responded so positively... so it made a fun situation out of you know an embarrassing situation... Everything we did together we kind of made a pleasurable ritual... The idea is to make life pleasurable which she did until the end.

Mary discussed how the knowledge that she was ready to help her mother die had not impeded the enjoyment of the remaining time they had together.

Mary: And um that time is really precious, it's really very painful but it has moments of absolute beauty as well. And so again for the people who argue against assisted dying by saying that it robs people of this important process, I'd argue that point that I don't believe it ever

would because I believe people would still commit to the process up until the point where they know.

Both Derrick and Mary emphasised making the dying process as positive as possible for their loved ones. Participants described their awareness of the grim reality of their situations but described attempts to focus on any positive elements of their experiences. This may have allowed participants to cope better with their circumstances. For Martin, this was not a prominent theme, potentially because his experience of death was in the form of suicide as opposed to euthanasia, which may have directed his focus away from the dying process toward the actual death of his wife. Thus, two out of three participants made attempts to make the dying process as pleasurable as possible for the sake of their loved ones but also themselves.

5.9.4 The right thing to do

Martin felt that helping his wife by ensuring her suicide attempt was successful did not constitute a crime and he felt prepared to face any resulting consequences for his actions.

Martin: ...it would be unfaithful to [participant's wife] and [participant's wife's] memory to me to start lying and saying no I didn't help her... None of that had any relevance compared to [participant's wife] not having to suffer any more... if the price I have to pay for doing the right thing by [participant's wife] is you're gonna knock me on the head, well go ahead... She made that choice all I did was help her so that when she made that choice she had the best chance of not suffering and success. And um, if that's a crime, well lock me up.

Derrick described how his concern for his mother superseded all other considerations, including legal consequences.

Derrick: My mother's well-being was my really only my only concern. Um yeah. And all these other issues became totally secondary including the fear of possible judgement. Um, it was just the right thing to do yeah. And when you know you're doing the right thing there's nothing else to think about.

Mary experienced a strong moral obligation that overrode any other concerns regarding helping her mother die.

Mary: ...there's something in us that won't let it just, it's too profound to just sit in the drawer and go away. We do connect with our responsibility for the wrongness of this situation to be addressed... It's something I felt profoundly morally obliged to do from my perspective to the best of my ability.

All three participants felt strongly that helping their loved ones die was the right thing to do. This was a theme that perhaps featured most prominently in the participants' accounts of their experiences.

The experience of doing the right thing arose from feelings of moral obligation to correct a situation which participants felt to be inhumane and uncivilised. Therefore, the feeling that one was doing the right thing overrode any concerns regarding legal, personal, or social consequences and may be argued to be representative of an exclusively altruistic underlying motivation. This theme has been found by previous qualitative research to override considerations of any consequences and personal safety when engaging in high-risk altruistic behaviour (Oliner & Oliner, 1988).

5.9.5 Act of compassion

Derrick felt that his motivation to end his mother's suffering stemmed from compassion.

Derrick: To me compassion summarises it in one word. My mother was suffering, my mother didn't want to suffer, I didn't want to see her suffer and this was the way to end the suffering.

Mary described how she felt compelled to end her mother's suffering.

Mary: A tear just trickled down, it was just too much you know. It was just enough, I just couldn't put her through another twenty four hours of dying piece by piece...

For both Derrick and Mary, helping their loved ones die was an act of compassion. Compassion arose from witnessing the suffering, both physical and psychological, of their loved ones. Martin's account did not feature this theme because he was not actively involved in his wife's death, however his account still featured compassion. Compassion drove their motivation to assist in dying.

5.9.6 Solitary death

Martin described how the illegal status of euthanasia in New Zealand meant his wife had to die alone, without the presence of any family members.

Martin: ...if she had a backup such as Dignitas that said ok as soon as you're ready we understand, as soon as you feel it's time we'll be there for you and she wouldn't have died alone with a bloody bag on her head with her whole family and friends would have wanted to be there for her and be supportive. No that couldn't have happened, she couldn't be public except with me as to when she was gonna do it...

The theme of solitary death was only present in Martin's account as it was specific to his personal experience of passively assisting his wife with suicide by helping her research potentially effective suicide methods. The theme of solitary death was

experienced by Martin in a negative way. Specifically, a solitary death by suicide was a reflection of a lack of provisions in the form of legal assistance in dying, lack of outside support due to the illegal nature of euthanasia in New Zealand, and not being surrounded by family and friends at the time of death. The solitary death theme is an illustration of the negative consequences of the illegal status of assisted dying.

Chapter 6: Conclusion and Recommendations for future research

6.1 Conclusion

The experience of assisting a death changed the participants' lives in ways they had not foreseen. In reflecting on their experience, participants cautioned that assisting a death should never have to fall on the shoulders of a family member. It was a task they performed out of love and compassion, but also one which placed enormous stress and psychological turmoil on them.

The participants in the present study used a number of coping strategies to make sense of a major transition in their lives involving the loss of a loved one and to make the important decision - to assist a loved one with death. These coping mechanisms were both productive and counter-productive for participants in terms of either assisting them with coping and adjustment or interfering with these processes.

Participants experienced several negative emotional states such as exhaustion, which may have interfered with their decision-making processes and served to traumatise them further during and after their experiences. The negative emotional states illustrate the psychological risks associated with situations when close family members assist with the death of a loved one. Moreover, the experience of negative emotional states was amplified by the illegal status of euthanasia in New Zealand and resulting lack of established support systems.

All three participants recognised a turning point after which it was too late to turn back. This turning point came when steps were taken to ensure death. This type of turning point has been communicated previously albeit by a non-family member.

"I haven't been in church for nine years ... But at that moment I thought, you can't go back there either. You have crossed a line where the Catholic Church says you can never cross that line, it is not for a human being ... to cross that line ... which is a line that is put upon you by church, but also by the normal Christian-Jewish morality which has been there for ages. The whole culture, the whole way of approaching ethics, morality, society as it runs, is based on some agreement that you do this and you don't do that. it is like ... losing your virginity ... It is very important, and one time it happens ... and you never can go back." (Dutch Doctor)(Owens)

Afterwards participants described experiencing overwhelming relief that the death was successful and the suffering was over. Participants placed great value on the ability to say goodbye to their loved ones and a planned death allowed for a final farewell. The ability to say goodbye may have assisted participants in their grief work.

There were differences between the two participants who were actively involved in the death of their loved ones and the one who passively assisted by helping research suicide methods. These differences may have been due to the personal differences in resiliency and available psychological resources, as well as participant-specific elements of the experience with death and dying. For example, active involvement in assisted death appeared to predispose participants to the experience of cognitive dissonance. Also, in Martin's case, his passive involvement in his wife's death was a consequence of wanting to avoid legal repercussions. Martin faced legal consequences regardless which illustrates the confusion created by the lack of a legal structure for assisted death.

Participants experienced certain emotions specific to their making sense of death and dying. These emotions had both positive and negative elements for participants. Only one participant described his experience of actual death as positive and it is worth taking into account that all participants described highly traumatic and stressful experiences with the dying processes of their loved ones.

The emotions discussed also highlighted the lack of external support, such as that from medical and legal institutions.

The present study findings suggest the need for recognition from institutions including legal, governmental, medical and societal that the issues of assisted dying must be addressed and not merely 'swept under the carpet', if the negative consequences for close family members are to be prevented or at least minimised. The lack of an established legal structure with regards to euthanasia leaves room for negative consequences, confusion, and lack of consent (such as in the case where an explicit request for an assisted death had not been made).

For all participants, their assisted dying experiences changed the course of their lives in several ways. Legal consequences, conviction, and media involvement served to further alter the participants' lives in ways they had not foreseen. These life-changing experiences of death and dying influenced the participants to engage in activism for the legalisation of euthanasia and helping others but also came at enormous personal costs such as loss of significant relationships. The participants' experiences altered family relationships and dynamics by either strengthening bonds with other family members or severing them entirely. Additionally, a positive aspect of the life-changing experiences participants described, came in the form of personal self-discovery. However, as previously stated, participants did not foresee the courses their lives took and described the changes as predominantly negative for themselves and their personal well-being.

Several characteristics of death and dying were described by participants which were particularly illustrative of their experiences. Being kept alive versus living a fulfilling life and loss of control and complete dependence were described as determining factors in relation to the value of life and stress was placed on the importance of a peaceful death. Furthermore, the current lack of provisions for assistance with death in New Zealand was highlighted by the decisions to end life prematurely before total dependence became inevitable.

Through making sense of their experiences, participants gained knowledge and first-hand experience with the inevitability and unpredictability of death as well as recognising some biological processes underlying death and dying. Gaining knowledge about death and dying through first-hand personal experience served to inform the participants' decisions about their own eventual end of life care in terms of having a 'plan B' if the dying process were to become unbearable.

Participants felt they had beaten death and the system including the legal, medical, societal, and governmental institutions which they saw as attempting to exercise control over when and how people die. These systems, in particular the legal and medical systems, were also described as faulty in a number of ways such as interfering with a dignified death and taking away individual control over one's own death. Participants felt a sense of victory over these systems by assisting a loved one with death and thus taking back individual control and autonomy. A sense of victory over death itself was also described in terms of achieving a peaceful death by avoiding a ghastly one and, in doing so, helping to remove the societal, medical and legal taboo around the topics of euthanasia and assistance with death.

Furthermore, institutions attempting to exercise control over death and dying were described as ignorant by both prolonging unwanted life and ignoring the widespread occurrence and need for assistance with death. Participants drew a contrast between animal care in New Zealand and the availability of euthanasia for sick and dying animals, and the lack of such provisions for humans. Participants viewed laws relating to assisted dying as faulty for several reasons. The shortcomings of current laws in relation to euthanasia meant that altruistic offenders were grouped together with selfishly motivated offenders and experienced de-humanisation. The present legal system, as discussed by participants, also failed to take into account the lack of remorse experienced by mercy killers and lack of appropriate rehabilitative services.

Altruism and altruistic motivation were intimately linked to the participants' experiences of death and dying and how they made sense of them. In particular,

the experience of doing the right thing by helping a loved one die was motivated primarily by compassion and a desire to stop suffering. Altruism was experienced by participants through the intimate merging of their life with that of their loved ones, and the desire to reciprocate and sacrifice regardless of consequences. In the context of the present study and in relation to existing theories of altruism, the experiences of participants suggest the ability to care for the welfare of others for their sakes alone, and without expectation of any rewards (Batson, 1990b). The motivations underlying their behaviours, as discussed by the participants, point towards what has been termed as true altruistic motivation (Batson, 1990b).

To conclude, the four principles of medical ethics, specifically – autonomy, beneficence, non-maleficence, and justice are highly relevant to the discussion of assisted dying. Autonomy, or the ability to make one's own decisions such as choosing one's time and manner of death, has been described by participants in the present study as vital to humanity. Beneficence and non-maleficence can only be provided by respecting autonomy (Gillon, 1994). By prolonging the dying process and extending the life of someone who no longer wishes to live, these principles are not upheld. Finally, the principle of justice and the respect for one's rights requires recognition of the right to personal autonomy. Participants in the present study felt strongly that every human being has the right to request assistance in dying.

6.2 Limitations of the research

Some limitations existed in relation to the study. One main limitation was the small sample size of three participants. However, the methodology of IPA and the fact that the researcher achieved data saturation after the third interview allowed for a small sample size and provided sufficient data for analysis and interpretation. Further, the potential participant pool was highly limiting. That is, potential participants had to have assisted with death of a loved one for altruistic reasons and had to have faced some form of legal consequences. All potential participants

who had met these criteria were contacted through a third party and agreed to participate.

Furthermore, the present study did not take into account those who had similar personal experiences to the participants but did not face legal consequences because they did not disclose their experiences publicly. Research conducted on such participants would be very beneficial to the study of altruistic offending however, it would pose ethical and legal obstacles.

Some limitations outside the researcher's control were the ways in which interviews were conducted and the setting. For example, one interview was conducted via a video chat program Skype which created geographical and technological distance between the participant and researcher, and also some technical difficulties occurred such as delayed Internet speed and external noise. Two other interviews were conducted in the participants' home settings where occasional interruptions also occurred. However, the fact that interviews were conducted in the participants' homes was also a strength of the study's methods, as participants' felt more comfortable in familiar settings.

Finally, the chosen research objective, how someone makes sense of their personal experience with euthanasia and/or assisted suicide, was of a highly sensitive and personal nature and some reluctance for full disclosure on behalf of the participants may have been present. This was reflected in some initial reluctance by one participant to disclose a chosen suicide method. The researcher felt that this was overcome by establishing trust and good rapport with the participant.

6.3 Recommendations

Several recommendations can be made for future research on this and similar research questions. Research needs to be conducted into the personal

experiences of people who have not publicly disclosed their involvement in assisted dying and therefore have not faced any legal consequences. An assumption can be made based on anecdotal evidence such as participant observations, that there may be a larger potential participant pool available. One of the participants in the present study discussed meeting people with similar assisted death experiences who had never publicly disclosed them. Recruitment of such participants however, will have its own ethical, logistical, and legal challenges.

Furthermore, future research should include participants from a wider variety of cultural backgrounds, as it would be interesting to examine whether emerging themes vary according to cultural and perhaps religious backgrounds. This could be achieved by conducting research on a multi-national level.

Future research could also include interviews of other family members who were not involved in assisting a death. For example, in the present study two of the participants had siblings who were not involved in the assisted deaths. Unfortunately, it was not possible to interview these siblings as one had died and the other was not approachable.

It would also be interesting to conduct interviews with non-family members who assisted with dying. This includes friends and medical personnel. Specifically, it would be interesting to see how the negative effects experienced by non-family members would be similar or different to those experienced by the participants from the present study. Lastly, future research could investigate more in-depth the themes uncovered in the present study, for example examining whether the fear of judgement correlates with any other personal traits, such as spirituality and religiousness.

Chapter 7: Activist study

...my attitude is, if I've gotta break a wall or smash a lock to get in and save lives... don't care if I'm operating outside the bounds of what society tells me is right or wrong or legal or illegal because I believe I'm a good person and I'm operating under my moral conscience...(Betsey)

7.1 Introduction

The present study aimed to answer the following research question: How does someone make sense of their personal experience with high-risk animal liberation and/or activism? Due to the small sample size and methodology used, the study was of an exploratory nature (Downton & Wehr, 1998; Shinebourne, 2011) and no hypothesis was formed prior to data collection.

Two main objectives were outlined.

1. To examine how the participant made sense of their personal development and role as an activist and/or animal liberator
2. To examine how the participant made sense of their experiences specific to their role as an activist and/or animal liberator

A series of qualitative semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted with four participants followed by transcription and analysis of the interviews using interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA).

In line with the work of Shapiro (1994), for the purposes of this study, an animal rights activist was identified as an individual (1) who is primarily concerned about the welfare of animals; (2) who is primed to see suffering in animals; (3) who investigates situations in which animals are suffering; and (4) for whom caring about animal

welfare becomes pervasive in most aspects of daily life, embodied in his or her lifestyle and intimately linked to his or her philosophy.

7.2 Methods

The qualitative semi-structured interviews were informed by IPA and phenomenological theory. Specifically, the research project was concerned with the in-depth exploration of personal and lived experiences of the participants from their point of view and ways in which the participants made sense of their experiences (Shinebourne, 2011).

7.2.1 Sample

In line with IPA, the sample was selected purposefully using the 'snow ball' technique and targeted advertising (Shinebourne, 2011; J. A. Smith et al., 2009). That is, advertisements were placed within organisations particularly relevant to the research (animal welfare organisations) and information about the research was spread by 'word of mouth' among prominent animal activists/liberators that were initially approached by the researcher. Thus, participants were selected on the basis that they offered the researcher access to a particular perspective on the phenomenon under study (J. A. Smith et al., 2009).

The sample was small and homogeneous, consisting of four participants (J. A. Smith, 2008; J. A. Smith et al., 2009). A small sample allowed for a more detailed investigation of each participant's experience (J. A. Smith, 2008). In the present study, homogeneity was achieved by purposefully recruiting participants who actively engaged in high-risk animal liberation/activism activity. High-risk was defined as any activity which carried with it severe consequences for the actor such as legal consequences and/or threats to personal safety.

When interest was expressed in the study (either by phone or e-mail), the researcher engaged in some initial screening to ensure that the potential participant represented the required population of interest for the study. This screening took the form of a series of questions which were used to determine whether the potential participant met the criteria for having (1) actively engaged in high-risk animal liberation/activism which (2) carried with it legal consequences for the actor and/or risks to personal safety.

The four participants included in this study had all engaged in high-risk animal liberation/activism and faced legal and personal consequences. Three of the participants were male (Richard, John, Tim) and one was female (Betsey). All four participants had been involved in activism long-term (over ten years). Two of the participants were over the age of forty (Richard, John), and two were between the ages of thirty and forty (Betsey, Tim).

7.2.2 Procedure

Once a potential participant had expressed interest in the study, an information sheet and consent form were e-mailed to them to allow them to familiarise themselves with the research project and provide an opportunity for questions. If potential participants agreed to participate and signed the consent form, the researcher then proceeded to arrange for the face to face interview.

Three interviews were conducted on university grounds, and one at the participant's home. Prior to the commencement of the interview, the researcher encouraged participants to ask any questions they had.

An interview plan was used to guide the researcher through phases of the interview and the participant was given an opportunity to familiarise themselves with the plan. The interview plan was used as a guide only (J. A. Smith, 2008) and participants were free to move back and forth between phases as they saw fit.

The length of interviews ranged from one to two hours. Once the interview was complete, the participant was thanked for their contribution.

7.2.3 Interview plan

The interview plan was a guide to ensure both interviewer and participant stayed 'on track'. Upon completion of the interview, participants were asked whether they felt they had covered everything in sufficient detail and whether they wished to add anything more.

Below are the phases of the interview included in the plan.

Phases of interview

Phase #1 Personal history

Interviewer: To start off the interview, I thought it might be a good idea to get you to tell me a little bit about yourself.

- *How old are you?*
- *Where were you born/brought up?*
- *How would you describe your childhood?*

Phase #2 Introduction to animal liberation/activism

Interviewer: How did you first become involved in animal liberation/activism?

- *Why did you get involved in animal liberation/activism? (Describe your motivations.)*
- *How did you feel when you first got involved in animal liberation/activism?*

- *Describe to me your first experience as an animal liberator/activist*
- *How did you feel when you first faced legal repercussions for your actions?*

Phase #3 Experiences as an animal liberator/activist

Interviewer: How has being an animal liberator/activist affected you?

- *Describe to me a specific animal liberation/activism event in your life that was significant to you.*
- *How have your motivations changed/developed since you first began?*
- *How do you see yourself in the future?*

Phase #4 Experiences with the legal system

Interviewer: How do you think the legal system views you and your actions?

- *How do you view the legal system?*
- *How did it make you feel when you faced legal consequences for your more recent actions?*
- *Have your feelings changed since your first experience with the law?*

Phase #5 Message to the world

Interviewer: What message would you like to give to the world?

7.2.4 Interview transcription and IPA

The researcher analysed the interview data using IPA. Due to the nature of the research question, the researcher sought to achieve rich and detailed data while at the same time allowing for ambiguity and contradictions (Denscombe, 2003).

After all four interviews were complete, the researcher applied a series of steps in the IPA analysis. Firstly, the researcher transcribed the interviews. Secondly, transcripts were read and re-read until the researcher was intimately familiar with the material. Thirdly, margins were created on either side of each page and descriptive notes were taken alongside the transcript (Denscombe, 2003). Fourthly, emergent themes were noted alongside the transcript. Finally, all emergent themes were combined together (clustered) and the researcher engaged in the process of condensing and eliminating certain themes (J. A. Smith, 2008).

The results were six superordinate themes with several sub-themes within each. The researcher proceeded to select a quotation they felt was most representative of each subordinate theme (Ryan & Bernard, 2010). It is useful to note that the researcher sought feedback from other researchers regarding the extracted themes and whether they were representative of the selected quotations. Specifically, a list of themes was provided together with a range of quotes and opinion sought as to how well these matched.

All names were changed.

7.2.5 Researcher bias

In an attempt to avoid confounding the research project and results, the researcher maintained an objective observer interaction with the participant during the interview with minimal interference. If the researcher did speak during the interview, it was usually to ask an open question or steer the participant towards discussing something in greater detail.

The researcher possessed certain biases of which they were aware. Specifically, the researcher became active themselves in an area of animal rights prior to undertaking the research, and held similar beliefs to some of the participants involved in the study. The impact of this was minimised by avoiding discussion of these topics before the interview commenced. One participant, however, asked the researcher their stance on some philosophical ideas and the researcher in this case did discuss briefly their personal views. The researcher felt this was necessary in order to establish rapport with this particular participant as the participant had displayed initial reluctance and distrust.

7.2.6 Ethics approval and consent

Ethics approval and consent were obtained from the University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee on 21st January 2013 for a period of three years (Reference number 8479). The participant's right to withdraw at any time was emphasised, as was participant confidentiality. Participants gave written consent.

Chapter 8: Findings and Discussion of Activist study

The present study aimed to explore the question: How does someone make sense of their personal experience with high risk animal liberation and/or activism?

The study had two main objectives:

1. To examine how the participant made sense of their personal development and role as an activist and/or animal liberator
2. To examine how the participant made sense of the experiences specific to their role as an activist and/or animal liberator

Superordinate and subordinate themes were extracted from the interviews and discussed. Figure 15 shows the superordinate themes of the study, with the arrows representing the order of themes as presented in this chapter.

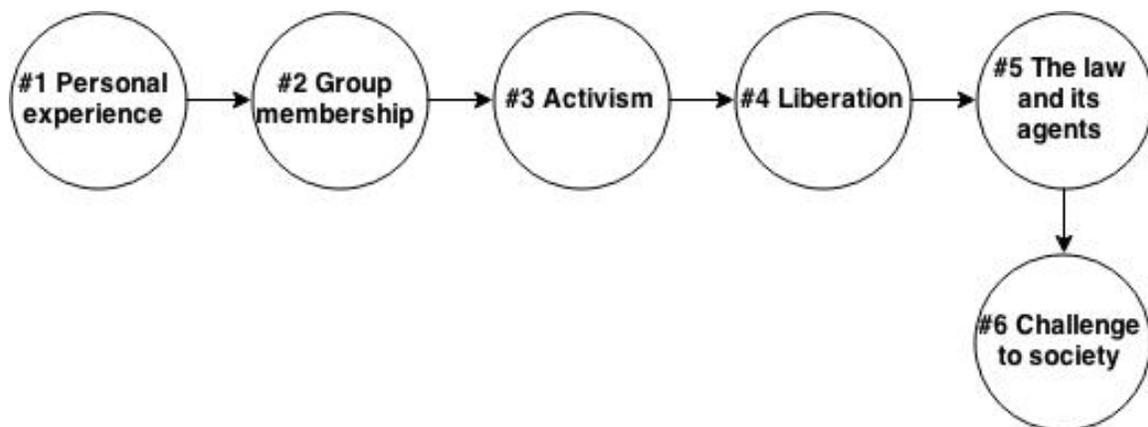


Figure 15. Flow diagram showing the superordinate themes for the Activist study

8.1 Superordinate theme #1 – Personal experience

Aspects of personal experience (including personal development) emerged as themes during the interviews. Personal experience as a superordinate theme encompassed psychological development, experienced emotions and emotional growth. It played an important role in how participants made sense of their experiences as activists/animal liberators. Participants described both negative and positive aspects of personal experiences.

8.1.1 Guilt and anger

Richard reported feelings of anger resulting from the legal circumstances in which he found himself following his arrest and his inability to change what he felt was an incorrect charge.

Richard: So it meant it was quite difficult for me to plea not guilty really... except for the assault, I was pretty fucked off about that. You know I've got an assault charge against my name and there's no way I assaulted anyone you know but the other four convictions I never complained.

Betsey described feeling guilt as a result of having to deceive others as to the origin of the animals she rescued.

Betsey: I had to for yeah the first few homes that I found, I was I feel bad admitting it but like I would make up stories, so I'd find people through different networks online... it was the only way to do it so we'd basically lie and we'd turn up at these people's houses... and they'd have no idea they came from factory farms. So they were unknowingly taking, accepting stolen goods, is how the law would

see it and I did feel guilty about that... because the person was receiving them unknowing but I wanted to get pigs out.

John described how feelings of anger have accompanied his role as an activist on an ongoing basis regardless of his age and experience.

John: ...I haven't become mellow in my old age, the more I find out, the more angry I am about animal abuse... so I suppose I'm still um, what you call militant or extreme... But I may not look it because I don't do the stuff I did when I was young and I haven't been arrested in ages but my views are still the same and probably more so.

Tim discussed understanding the experience of anger which he developed in his role as an activist.

Tim: ...it was an angry action and I don't think angry actions really dissipate anger... I think when you carry out an action out of anger, I think you just feed more anger. Um and I think it just kind of perpetuated what we were doing. I mean it's not like, you know, I mean nine butcher shops in one day, clearly if it was about dissipating anger, we would've you know, been less angry...

The experience of emotions such as anger and guilt featured in the accounts of all four participants. Anger was described as occurring episodically or as part of the overall experience.

For Richard, anger was triggered when he was faced with a situation (being convicted in a foreign country) over which he felt powerless and was unable to defend himself against what he felt was an inaccurate accusation. Specifically, Richard had been arrested in international waters and faced the criminal justice system in an Asian country where he was unfamiliar with the language and customs.

The experience of anger and resulting feelings of powerlessness have been reported in other phenomenological studies (S. Thomas, Smucker, & Droppleman, 1998). Throughout the interview, Richard discussed his abilities as a leader. Strong initiative-taking, the loss of control, and the inability to defend himself triggered in Richard intense feelings of anger and frustration. Moreover, Richard was not in denial over his other criminal charges, for which he accepted responsibility.

Anger for Tim and John became part of their overall experience as activists. In particular, John continued to experience anger and believed it had intensified with continued involvement in activism. His experience of anger was not affected by age and experience, however the way he expressed his anger had changed from outbursts resulting in arrests and confrontations with the police to more strategically planned activism. Likewise, for Tim expression of anger initially involved vandalism and a high risk of police apprehension. Both participants gradually came to view emotional outbursts of anger as counterproductive and ineffective, and learned to channel it into more productive activist pursuits.

Guilt was experienced by Betsey as a result of deception. She was able to reconcile her experience of guilt by seeing her actions as means to an end.

8.1.2 Desensitisation and detachment

Betsey described the experience of desensitisation after repeated exposure to animal suffering.

Betsey: ...after so many years of campaigning for these issues, and so much exposure to factory farms and I've been to slaughterhouses... you become de-sensitised... like I go into a factory farm now and I don't, unless I have to articulate what I'm seeing, and that makes me cry because it, you start making the connections. But you go in and

you're just business. You're like, oh there's a dead one, film that or like this one's got a fucked wing... becomes like a business type operation.

Richard described his experience of sensory deprivation during his time in prison.

Richard: ...so it takes you two minutes to do that and then I think you end up with about eight or nine minutes in the bath. That was the most amazing thing. Like since Japan I fucking love baths and showers... you know like, you're in the cell, the same colour, sights, smell... deathly quiet... no stimulation to your ears, nothing to your eyes, nothing to your nose apart from the smell of male humanity... your senses get deprived, the bath is the exception...

John experienced detachment and desensitisation during the actual experience of animal liberation.

John: It's three in the morning whatever, and we're in the back seat of the car, someone's driving, and we looking at the footage, that's when it hits you... it sounds weird, but at the time you're focusing on you know, is this in focus, is this the right frame. But when you're looking back on it you think, oh my god that chicken is dying and you know and suffering... And that that happens when you're out of the shed, to me anyway yeah.

John and Betsey described desensitisation and detachment during animal liberation. For them, behaviour became goal-focused and removed from any emotional experience. This may have assisted them in dealing with what otherwise may have been very traumatic experiences and also allowed them to maintain focus. After the activity of animal liberation had been completed however, participants experienced feelings of horror regarding what they had seen. Thus, desensitisation during animal liberation was used as a coping mechanism. The

experience of detachment has been reported in previous qualitative research with activists (A. Mills & Smith, 2008).

Betsey's experience of desensitisation paralleled her description of the exposure of others who worked in the industry (such as farmers). In this way, she saw herself sharing a similar experience with others (farmers), albeit from a different standpoint (as an activist), who exposed themselves on an ongoing basis to methods of animal agriculture.

For both John and Betsey, detachment ceased and they became aware of their experiences and were able to react emotionally to them, once they either reviewed video footage from an observer's perspective or described verbally what they were seeing during an act of animal liberation.

As a contrast, Richard experienced imposed and forced sensory deprivation during his time in prison which led him to appreciate any stimulation of the senses during and immediately after his release.

8.1.3 Overwhelmed

Despite later developing desensitisation and detachment, participants described feeling overwhelmed during early animal liberation experiences.

Betsey's experience in a factory farm that had been shut down overwhelmed her.

Betsey: And we went back and we filmed everything... one thing I should mention is the smell of shit in these farms combined with all the decomposing bodies... the second night we were gonna go to go out, I'd over slept a bit and my friends woke me up and they were like, come on we've gotta go and I was like, I don't wanna go back there...

For Tim, the first experience of a factory farm was extremely emotional and overpowering.

Tim: ...we made our way into a shed... it was the first time I'd actually been inside myself outside of just seeing things and videos. But it was I mean I cried when I was first in there, I mean it's it was... this huge long shed as far as I could see with just cages stacked up and just all these chickens stuck in there...

Richard described feeling overwhelmed at his achievement of boarding a vessel illegally under very difficult conditions.

Richard: ...we went out and first attempt failed, fell in the water... Second attempt amazingly pulled it off. And I look back on it like an extraordinary moment. Like I remember when I, when I stepped onto that vessel, I remember just hiding out the back... and fuck I knew I'd created history. Like it was an extraordinary feeling. You know I spent the best part of several months trying to make this happen and then suddenly here I am.

John was overwhelmed by the scale of a factory farm he visited during a liberation and the contrast it created between individual and masses of animals.

John: ...it's just the big, just the scale of it and then you go down and you get your little camera and you film or rescue a couple of chickens. Um and it's kind of weird because you're focusing on one or two chickens and you get them out and you look around and there's a hundred thousand more...

For Betsey, Tim, and John, the feeling of being overwhelmed was negative and occurred during early first-hand experiences as animal liberators in factory farms. All three reported experiencing extreme aversion to the environment (factory farm).

Furthermore, while Betsey was overwhelmed by what she saw and smelled (sensory overload), Tim and John were overwhelmed by the scale of factory farming they witnessed and the contrast between individual animals and masses of them. The mass scale of animal agriculture that participants discussed highlighted for them the inescapability of death and suffering for the animals involved and their powerlessness over industry demands.

In contrast for Richard, feeling overwhelmed was a positive experience and related to overcoming an obstacle which he had worked hard to overcome. Being overwhelmed with a sense of achievement and reward for his efforts created a particularly memorable experience for him.

8.1.4 Frustration and disappointment

Richard described experiencing frustration and disappointment when his values and priorities clashed with those of the organisation of which he had become part.

Richard: So I came in with all these quite radical ideas and [organisation] were like... that's a bit too out there... we can never use weapons, and so I was a little bit like a muzzled dog there. I felt like really hamstrung they kept saying no you can't do that... it was quite frustrating and you see that in activist groups a lot... people start off with one group and then you know they get right into it but often the group has other priorities.

Betsey experienced extreme frustration when one of the animal liberations she attended became unsuccessful and she had not been prepared for this outcome.

Betsey: ...our first rescue that we did was, actually we couldn't even do the rescue because... piglets scream a hell of a lot and you're on a silent

factory farm in the middle of the night... we tried to take these piglets out of this building and they were just screaming and we were like, we can't do it and we fucking hated it but we had to put them back and leave empty handed.

Tim was overwhelmed with frustration after witnessing the suffering of animals in a factory farm he visited and this spilled over into physical aggression.

Tim: ...being there physically and seeing the state... of the animals and the suffering they were in, and the sores on the pigs backs or the pink raw parts of the chickens necks... not being able to do anything about it... it just drove us to at least get a sense that we had done something um, even if it was as disconnected as breaking the window of a butcher shop. Which we could cognitively create a connection saying, well we're costing the butcher money... But it wasn't actually saving any, it wasn't actually doing anything beneficial for animals...

Betsey and Tim described feeling frustrated in relation to unsuccessful animal liberation attempts and being exposed to what they saw as extreme cruelty inflicted on animals. For Tim, the experience of frustration triggered anger and physical aggression which he expressed through acts of vandalism.

Feelings of powerlessness were also related to frustration and attempts to regain some control over their situation resulted in acts of vandalism directed at businesses which were dependent on the animal agriculture industry. Finally, participants made sense of these experiences as a way of learning more effective animal liberation strategies.

Richard experienced frustration and disappointment when he felt he was losing the bond he had created with his chosen activist organisation. This loss of common ground came about through disagreements in strategy and resulted in Richard

feeling a loss of freedom and being labelled an outsider. This contributed to Richard eventually seeing his role as an activist as separate from that of the organisation. The loss of cohesion within the activist group and resulting disappointment has been found in previous studies to be associated with stress and discontinuation of activism (Downton & Wehr, 1998; M. E. Gomes, 1992).

8.1.5 Stress and trauma

John experienced stress during his first arrest as he felt his life to be in danger.

John: And the scary thing was, he didn't rush out and grab us, he hid behind his car door, and we realised he thought we had guns... And then we realised he had a gun. So we were putting our hands up and stuff... And it was kind of weird ... we were expecting maybe to get arrested but we weren't expecting to have guns pointed at us.

Tim found animal liberation extremely stressful as well as having to choose which animals he liberated while leaving others behind.

Tim: And then get them off to a safe house... there were all sorts of things that were stressful about it and it was never, it was never a pleasant experience... it was actually worse feeling when you had to take, when you had to randomly pick who you took. And it was kind of like, this chickens' now gonna have a life and the one beside it you just can't take...

Richard described being under constant and persistent stress due to the possibility of being attacked while in prison.

Richard: And this thing of, when you spend every day wondering if you're gonna be smacked, it starts, it does start to affect you and there's a,

there's a thing that, it's called snake eyes... you become actors, you're trying to pretend that you're this really staunch guy who would rip someone's head off...

Betsey experienced extreme trauma while interacting with a baby piglet in a factory farm.

Betsey: ...we didn't have experience with pig farms and I picked up this piglet and it had what I thought was a broken leg... and I was just like describing the room and how hideous it was... and just how all these poor mother pigs were just lying in these crates just looking dead and lifeless and like they'd lost all hope... I knew that they were just destined for either death or like to become mentally deprived like their mothers... it was just really intense experience.

Elements of stress and trauma were present in the experiences of all four participants. Stress and trauma were related to potentially life-threatening situations (John and Richard), activist investigations of intensive farming (Betsey) and animal liberations (Tim).

Interestingly, while the goal of participants was to liberate animals, participants did not enjoy the actual act of liberation. This related to having to make choices regarding which animals were rescued and which were left behind, and also the inability to perform a successful liberation due to logistical difficulties. Furthermore, participants made sense of their role as activists as seeking to save (animal) lives, so having to decide which animals lived longer than others (given that they were destined for slaughter), created conditions of extreme stress.

8.1.6 Targets of hatred

The target of Betsey's hatred changed from farmers to executives who profited from the animal agriculture industry. This shift was influenced by her experience of meeting individual farmers.

Betsey: ...you get to meet them and talk to them, and I hate to say it but it makes things a lot more grey because they're not your evil factory farmer. They become a person. But there's a difference between, you've got farmers that have been doing it since the sixties... mainly the smaller farms that are getting shut down. And then you've got executives... the ones that sit on the boards. Um I have no sympathy for the suits, the ones that make money... no sympathy, they're just dicks and they deserve everything they get.

Richard described losing his feelings of hatred towards whalers whom he originally perceived to be his enemies.

Richard: ...when I got on board I had this hatred for the whalers, I get on there and this is on the security vessel which has all of their supposedly hard-core guys. Fucking nice guys. You know at one stage the first officer, we're sitting down talking, he goes, he says... we think of you as being all crazy psycho, he says, you're not crazy psycho at all...

For John, the experience of hatred was directed at both individual farmers and executives involved in the animal agriculture industry.

John: ...you think that the people who do this are scum but on the other hand, you never see them so it's kind of abstract. The abstract scum, you know they're not real people, if they are real people then you start trying to run away 'cause you've been caught... I think they're scum on one level but... for me it's always been the system. Um but then on the other hand when I have met them I kinda do hate them for what they do.

Betsey, Richard, and John all described experiencing an intense dislike of the animal agriculture industries as well the system which propagated what they viewed as prioritising financial profit over well-being, thereby causing suffering of animals. The system that participants referred to included any corporate or governmental structures that profited from the activity against which participants fought (intensive farming and illegal whaling). Hatred, much like the experience of anger, propelled participants into activism similarly to activists in other studies (Downton & Wehr, 1998; Horwitz, 1994; Shapiro, 1994). For example, it has been noted in previous research that the exposure of animal rights activists to animal suffering had created strong feelings of anger, and became a strong motivating force for action (Shapiro, 1994).

Initially, participants described experiencing hatred towards individuals (such as farmers). However, when participants encountered these individuals face-to-face, their hatred changed, for the most part, and became generalised instead towards elements of the animal agriculture industry. For John, however, intense dislike continued for both industry and individual people. Hatred as an emotion was experienced as both abstract and personified.

8.1.7 Appreciation of purpose in life

Richard developed feelings of appreciation for a meaningful life during his time in prison.

Richard: ...when you're looking at a long lag, it does make you realise... we only get a very finite time on this planet. When I was sitting there, I was forty six and I'm thinking, shit if I get five years... I'm gonna be over fifty when I get out... And so it brought this appreciation about the need to like, you wanna be effective, you wanna make stuff

happen. And I don't think you should just drift through life, make shit happen.

These feelings of appreciation were reflective of Richard's experience in prison which the other participants did not report. Feelings of appreciation for a meaningful life were related to his life goals in terms of what he wanted to achieve as an activist and as a person during his time in prison and after his release. In this way, Richard re-evaluated his role as an activist.

8.1.8 Willingness to question

Betsey described applying the analogy of oppression from feminism to animal rights.

Betsey: ...I was big into feminism for ages and I was like, obviously because they're vulnerable, like women are vulnerable, and then I thought, well what else is vulnerable in society that I care about and then I started to think about animals and I've always been an animal lover and I was always like, well I love animals but I eat meat so what is it that makes a vegetarian a better animal lover than me?

When John was exposed to the idea of animal rights he accepted it based on the idea that he felt it to be logical.

John: But for me it was always just, as soon as I heard that idea... of vegetarianism... I knew I'd be one... Because of animal suffering... animals dying horribly in slaughterhouses and for us to eat, and we don't need to eat them, and we shouldn't eat them. And for me that was the argument... I was convinced. There was no big ideas or thinking or philosophy. There was just seemed very logical, obvious thing to do.

Tim described being analytical early during his childhood which influenced him to adopt principles of veganism later in life.

Tim: I was always someone who thought about things. So, even as a kid, I remember sitting eating meat and thinking about that piece of flesh being part of a moving animal before...

Willingness to question involved an appreciation of vulnerable populations and a generalisation of principles from one philosophy/cause (feminism) to another (animal rights). Richards and Krannich (1991) found that animal rights activists frequently belonged to several other socially progressive movements such as feminism. Furthermore, participants discussed the onset of realisations of animal cruelty they saw as inherent in society, such as the slaughter and consumption of animals, as occurring prior to their adoption of an activist orientation. This realisation and identification of other forms of oppression have been previously documented with long-term committed animal rights activists (Pallotta, 2008; Shapiro, 1994).

Being analytical and willing to question established societal norms featured in the accounts of Betsey, John, and Tim. It can be said that questioning the status quo is what assisted participants in their adoption of the role as activists. Furthermore, this can be referred to as attitudinal availability (Downton & Wehr, 1998) which allowed participants to develop certain convictions and beliefs and propelled them into the activist movement.

8.2 Superordinate theme #2 - Group membership

Certain characteristics of activist groups were an integral part of all participants' experiences. Participants described what they saw as essential components of group membership which assisted them in making meaning of their roles as

activists/animal liberators and which, in turn, influenced how they perceived certain experiences.

8.2.1 Long-term commitment

Richard described his long-term commitment to one particular cause which he felt to be extremely important for humanity.

Richard: If you can't stop whaling, man we've got no hope to save this planet... so whales are important you know, I believe the fact that we can stop whaling in Antarctica... And I do believe it's a battle that's winnable...

John discussed his developed understanding of how to apply himself to his chosen cause in the most efficient manner.

John: ...I don't live animal rights every single day anymore... because that would burn me out. But I'm more kind of stepping back and thinking strategically... But if I can't think of anything effective to do, I'll just do something else for a week, come back... I'm now long-term committed which means that I don't have to rush round feeling guilty if I don't do anything today... cause I used to be... and now I don't feel that because I know I'm in it for the next forty years fifty years...

For Tim, his long-term commitment to animal rights was no longer something he actively sought out, but rather something for which he felt an obligation to continue being involved in.

Tim: ...this year I went down ah with [name of group] and a few other groups to um [city] where we carried out that blockade protest... I didn't wanna be involved at all but... I just feel like I have to be

because like, I have the experience, I have the knowledge, I have the skills and I do feel that somebody has to do these things...

Betsey's long-term commitment was reflected in her readiness to accept any consequences of her actions, regardless of how undesirable they might be.

Betsey: ...that's the one thing even when we were operating masked, it's like you don't do this stuff without being a hundred percent comfortable with the fact that you might be convicted... you have to even be prepared to go to jail. Like you don't just do this willy nilly and then cry when you get arrested, you go into it a hundred percent you know, committed to whatever the outcome...

All four participants saw their role as activists being long-term and involving commitment regardless of consequences. Participants identified a particular cause about which they felt passionate and, through their experiences as activists, devised strategies for advancing that cause that they felt to be effective. Diversification of activities and strategies allowed participants to avoid burnout and ensure long-term commitment which has also been observed with activists in other studies (Downton & Wehr, 1998). Betsey, John, and Richard discussed feeling commitment to their chosen causes voluntarily while Tim experienced feelings of obligation. Thus, long-term commitment was not always actively sought.

8.2.2 Like-minded people

Tim described his introduction to animal rights activism as a consequence of meeting members of activist groups.

Tim: I came up to Auckland to go to a punk rock show and [name of group] was there with an info stall. So I grabbed a flier, e-mailed them later, asked if they could come down... they came down later for a GE

protest, that's when I met up with them and through that I just kind of got sucked into the current I guess of grassroots animal rights...

Betsey's introduction to activism and meeting activists was a positive experience where she felt she belonged.

Betsey: I felt like I was young and I was angry and... I wanted to go and do that angry stuff... I went and joined this group... and I immediately had this affinity with these people that were all misfits and unconventional. Yeah I just kind of felt like family...

John felt that being surrounded by like-minded people provided him with support and encouragement, which he felt he needed.

John: ...one of the reasons I haven't dropped out is because I have a little scene around me... people that think like me. I think that's really important for sustaining people... being part of that community means... like you're not banging your head against a brick wall all the time... sounds obvious but yeah, it is really important, yeah for keeping people motivated and involved...

Richard felt that being part of an activist group provided him and others with a sense of pride and community.

Richard: What happens a little bit with your activist group [name of group] is your tribe... and there's a certain pride that goes with that. And people, people like to belong. And a lot of your activists, they kind of struggle belonging in mainstream society...

Meeting other activists served several important functions for all four participants. Originally, meeting others with similar viewpoints influenced the initial commitment of participants to a group, in turn fostering feelings of belonging and identification

with others. Furthermore, being surrounded by like-minded people helped participants sustain commitment to the group, avoiding burnout and, in turn, sustaining motivation to the cause and nurturing a feeling of community. The reinforcement of fundamental beliefs by community has been previously identified as an important contributing factor to sustaining activism (Downton & Wehr, 1998; Shapiro, 1994).

Additionally, identification with others in a group created feelings of pride. Previous qualitative research on activists has found connecting with like-minded others to be a rewarding experience (M. E. Gomes, 1992). Thus, being surrounded by like-minded people was seen by all participants as essential to their commitment and ongoing role as activists, and was positively interpreted.

8.2.3 Misfits

Richard discussed individuals' motivation to join an activist group and the desire to belong.

Richard: They don't accept the same norms that everyone else does and often they're looking for a tribe... often the people are a little bit unusual... often a lot of them have had problems as kids, didn't fit in at school, got beaten up... a chunk of them would be the awkward kids at school, don't fit into mainstream...

Betsey identified herself as a misfit from early on in her life and felt this may have influenced her decisions in later life.

Betsey: So I guess I've always been a little bit of a misfit from the start as far as not growing up in your nuclear family... perhaps that's shaped, I'm pretty much still a misfit really um, as far as society goes, unconventional.

Being outside of mainstream society and societal rules and norms, and wanting to belong or 'fit in' were the primary motivating factors for participants when they transitioned into the role of activists and joined activist organisations. Participants also discussed belonging to fringe and sub-culture groups.

Studies have termed this 'situational availability', whereby life circumstances provide the opportunity for individuals to join activist organisations (Downton & Wehr, 1998). Therefore, identification with other 'misfits' from society assisted participants with personal development as activists through a new-found social support network.

8.2.4 Exposure to new ideas

Betsey described how her exposure to activist literature shocked her and pushed her into changing her lifestyle.

Betsey: I read it in one day from start to finish, and I was totally horrified to know that chickens were farmed in cages and that dairy cows were made pregnant ten times a year... And I had no idea cause I honestly did think that they all lived in barns with grass and I was just completely ignorant. And so I went vegetarian from that day forth...

For John, identification with an alternative music band provided him with new knowledge and ideas which he embraced.

John: I was eighteen... and a friend um got me into a band... that kind of opened up the world of all sorts of different ideas... that band, was my favourite band, and they were vegetarians and sung about vegetarianism and animal rights. And that was my first kind of contact with those ideas...

Tim's exposure to animal rights activism came as a result of the expansion of the Internet and identification with alternative music groups.

Tim: ...when the Internet started becoming more accessible... I'd... spend a lot of time learning... and just coming across anarchists' literature or different activists' literature and I was listening to punk rock anyway so a lot of that had ties in with radical politics... I did a little bit more reading into the issues around meat production and the different theories of animal liberation, animal rights...

Exposure to new ideas through literature, music, and the expansion of the Internet had significant influence on Tim, John, and Betsey with regard to their identification with and understanding of the role of an activist. Identification with activism through learning and exposure has been previously noted as influential (Horwitz, 1996).

These influences became routes to new ideas and possessed elements of revolutionary, critical, and alternative thinking styles which participants adopted willingly. Furthermore, participants made sense of early exposure to new ideas as enlightening and a removal of their ignorance. Thus, the change in self-concept was welcomed.

8.2.5 Sacrifice

Richard felt he had made significant sacrifices for his chosen activist group which compounded his feelings of hurt when they rejected him and his ideas.

Richard: Whoever it is, that becomes their tribe and they will bleed for that tribe... look at what I sacrificed... I did five months in prison and willingly. And there was always a chance I was gonna do a decent lag... I could have easily ended up with two or three years there. I

went along and did that willingly and did some, even by my standards, some quite risky things on behalf of my tribe and I accepted that quite happily...

Richard felt he had made significant sacrifices to the overall well-being of his group. He felt he had paid a very high price for his group membership by going to prison in a foreign country. These feelings were amplified by feelings of rejection and ultimately, Richard felt that his contribution to the group outweighed the returns he received from the group in terms of acceptance and support.

8.2.6 Outside acceptance

John discussed outside acceptance as coming from his non-activist family and friends who, he felt, understood his motivations.

John: And those people see me as... most of them know that I've got a criminal record... they still see that criminal record as not a criminal thing... like none of those people are shocked... if I say I've got a conviction for burglary, they don't think of it as, oh he's got a conviction for burglary. They think, he's done some animal rights stuff.

Richard experienced outside acceptance from the media who publicised his story and generated discussion about his cause.

Richard: And then everyone wanted to come and have a piece of me... when they got in there they found, fuck this guy isn't actually the radical... he's intelligent and he's articulate and he puts forward some valid arguments. We don't agree with all of them... and so that debate started...

Betsey felt strongly that acceptance and identification from wider society was necessary in order to generate changes in the cause for which she was active.

Betsey: ...it's finding ways to appeal to people and then once you do they realise that what they thought was radical... and they start to understand motivations behind why people like myself do these things... I guess it's like having faith in humanity even though all of this stuff makes you hate humanity... we're never gonna win the war as a fringe... we need people, we need them on our side to make change.

Tim was initially outside of the activist movement and certain actions he took gave him credibility for other activists and acceptance into the movement.

Tim: ...both being arrested and then setting up a successful group gave me more credibility within the animal rights scene, more so than I had before... I started spending more time... with animal rights activists here.

Outside acceptance was important to all four participants even though they felt themselves to be somewhat different from other members of wider society. Outside acceptance was perceived as important from mainstream society as well as from activist groups with which the participants sought to identify.

It was important to the participants that they not be identified as criminals or radicals even though some of them had criminal records. This was because the participants viewed their motivations as altruistic rather than selfish, which they saw as generally characterising criminal behaviour. Furthermore, outside acceptance was aided by media and participants viewed this as an effective strategy for influencing members of wider society. Thus, participants, whilst identifying themselves as outside mainstream society, also depended on it.

8.3 Superordinate theme #3 – Activism

Participants discussed various aspects and characteristics of their roles as activists. Certain characteristics of activism and activist culture were seen by participants as central to their roles and without which they would be ineffective and redundant in their cause.

8.3.1 Strategic activism

John discussed how he developed as an activist and learned to focus his energy on more productive strategies.

John: I think I've gotten a lot more sensible since I was young... when I first got into it I was very angry, had no strategy, it was just full steam ahead regardless... as I've gotten older... I've kind of realised that a lot of things I did when I was young weren't particularly useful and a lot of them were probably counter-productive... I wasn't really thinking about what's the most effective? It was more like... what's gonna make me feel better now?

Betsey described her development as an activist in terms of learning. Strategically she saw herself as improving with age and experience.

Betsey: I kind of got a bit older and I started to get more strategic... that's when we started doing quite sort of strategic, more intelligent approaches and we started to get really good with media and really good with our public relations... and the public was supporting us more... the cops would view us differently... one thing that I've learned is the different ways that you'll be treated depending on how you're fighting the system.

Richard discussed strategic activism in terms of applying his skills differently depending on the context in which he was operating.

Richard: So the fact that it's a corrupt system, cuts both ways... I could never do what I do... I'd have to do it differently here. Like I can't go around with guns here and threaten people at gun point and taking their boats down cause the government would never allow it. But in [country], a couple thousand dollars I could normally buy a permit to do that sort of thing.

For Tim, strategic activism encompassed frequent public protests and using the media to create an image of himself and fellow activists.

Tim: ...we started up an animal rights group there that kind of burst out of protests against animal vivisection conference... we would organise several protests a week... we were in the newspaper all the time and the newspapers... felt like there were three hundred of us but there were only five...

By changing strategies, participants did not see themselves as backing down from what they viewed as 'fighting the system'. Rather, they learned to do this more effectively with fewer negative consequences. In this way, they noted an improvement in their strategies through experience and adapted their roles as activists based on the contexts in which they were operating.

8.3.2 Grassroots activism

John felt he influenced others into forming grassroots activist movements.

John: ...because of these magazines I've been doing... And all of a sudden there was a kind of mood, so we formed all these new groups. And

so me and my co-defendant ended up being in a group, a local grassroots radical group here... and we were public campaigning so we chained ourselves to things and blockaded doorways and got arrested a lot...

For Betsey, early activism was also strongly influenced by grassroots philosophy.

Betsey: ...so we basically formed our own ALF [Animal Liberation Front] cell and it was pretty tame... we'd go and like spray paint [names of restaurants]... and we'd glue their locks and we'd slash their banners, and we'd feel very very satisfied with that and cause we were so angry and we were like, these people have got to pay...

Likewise, Tim's early involvement in animal rights activism stemmed from grassroots strategy.

Tim: ...it was the first real protest I'd been to but it wasn't like a real protest... there were no placards, there was no message, it was just disrupt the whole restaurant... and they did, what went on there, the restaurant was shut down for a day... at the time, that was what grassroots animal rights activism was like... who cares about educating people because the real issue is gonna be disrupting business...

Activism strategies were strongly influenced by a grassroots philosophy. There was a shift from grassroots tactics to strategic activism which redefined the participants' roles and how they made sense of themselves as activists. Richard did not discuss grassroots activism, most likely because his background differed from the other three participants. Richard became an activist later in life after gaining financial independence and maturity, whilst Betsey, John, and Tim started from late adolescence and were heavily influenced by alternative fringe cultures. Grassroots tactics were well suited to their needs as young activists as they

provided an outlet for anger and frustration. After maturing as activists through experience, a shift to what they saw as more productive and less explosive forms of activism occurred.

8.3.3 Philosophy and activism as hand-in-hand

Betsey described her transition into an activist as being unexpected but retrospectively, as a natural transition.

Betsey: I didn't know that there was an activist movement that you could join. I had no idea because I was just an ordinary person... I was reading all these magazines... wow this happens it's amazing. So I kind of took the step there from being an ordinary person that cared and was trying to do the right thing to... learning about activism, and going to my first protest...

Tim felt that holding specific beliefs on an issue was insufficient and one had an obligation to act on one's beliefs.

Tim: I think what happens especially when you're young and you're being introduced to concepts like animal liberation and you're watching videos all the time... of animals being exploited and... you start surrounding yourself with people who are passionate about it and you just start to feel this increasing anger... but at the same time there's a sense of powerlessness I think in that like, cool now we're vegan but like, that's not really doing that much. It's like you know, if you're in Nazi Germany and you're opposed to like the concentration camps, it's not enough to be opposed to something.

Richard felt strongly that once he dedicated himself to a cause, it was impossible to return to the life he had led before the transition.

Richard: ...you get to work on stuff you really believe in, it's almost impossible to just go back and work nine to five and sell washing machines or go back to the factory... or whatever... like, there's no going back, you know.

John described being aware of the fact that his philosophy would lead him to activism and saw it as a natural progression.

John: So I got involved in groups and it just seemed at the time, just a natural kind of thing... I got invited to a protest and stuff like that. And kind of it went from there. But it was always, activism was always part of the argument... it was always the same thing. Yeah it wasn't ever that I was vegetarian and wasn't gonna do anything more.

All four participants strongly believed that their philosophy and way of life had significantly influenced their adoption of an activist role. Moreover, participants saw their progression as natural. Action guided by moral principles was a way of overcoming feelings of powerlessness and resisting the system, be that governments or major industries. Supporting their beliefs with actions was seen as rewarding and necessary and has been a dominant theme in previous research (M. E. Gomes, 1992; Herzog, 1993; Horwitz, 1994).

Participants also felt that other members of society should commit to their beliefs by acting on them. Participants saw their beliefs as the guiding principles behind all of their actions as activists. Moreover, this provided what they saw as meaning to their existence, not just as activists but as human beings.

8.3.4 Damage to property

Richard described feeling proud when he faced conviction for property damage.

Richard: One of them was disruption of business, you know that's a badge of honour. You know, I felt like saying to the judge, of course I disrupted their fucking business it was my job, yeah.

For John, property damage carried an element of retribution.

John: ...we saw that and we thought about it, got some paint and some slingshots, and we're gonna fire his windows out, and we went back to the shop and we smashed it up. And we re-painted that sign, so it said, stop killing ducks... but the problem was, it's a gun shop, so it was alarmed straight to the police station and all the rest of it.

Similarly, for Tim, damage to property was a form of retribution and not necessarily always well thought through.

Tim: ...we were reading you know ALF [Animal Liberation Front] primers... like a little hand book... on how to disrupt things... we just kind of started experimenting with that... we would find where all the factory farms were... a lot of the times we'd go and visit them and we'd become really angry and then we'd have to go and break a window somewhere... we got arrested as a result of some of the vandalism...

For some of the participants, damage to property was an intended strategy and not just a way to vent anger or seek revenge. Moreover, feelings of pride were associated with a successful disruption of business.

To stop the operation of a business was part of an effective strategy plan and participants viewed this as part of their role. Strategically, damage to property and disruption equalled financial losses for their targets. Thus, damage to property was associated with both early activist roles and part of ongoing strategy.

8.3.5 Above-ground activism

Whilst discussing illegal direct action, John also discussed legal above-ground strategies which he implemented as an activist.

John: ...we ended up doing that for quite a few years and we were public campaigning so we chained ourselves to things and blockaded doorways and got arrested a lot but not for underground stuff, it was more just protests and climbing on roofs and dropping banners.

Betsey described feeling that the above-ground activism in which she engaged was insufficient for achieving what she wanted to accomplish as an activist.

Betsey: So we did all our [organisation] stuff and we loved [organisation] but then we started to feel like it's not enough to just go and hold a sign at a protest so, there was a few of us.

Tim's development as an activist progressed from illegal direct action to above-ground activism.

Tim: I'm interested more now in concepts of community building and concepts of personal empowerment... which is kind of where I think my activism is going to lead me... I still go to protests but I'm like the cynic... And I still help out with liberations if nobody else can... I don't wanna get arrested again, I've had my seven years since my last conviction...

While illegal direct action formed a significant part of how participants' saw their role as activists, legal activism also featured in their discussions. Often, a combination of both illegal and legal activism characterised participant behaviour.

In addition, participants saw illegal direct action as achieving what legal activism could not. Tim, however, redefined his role as an activist and developed a strong preference for legal activism because it carried fewer negative consequences such as police repercussion.

8.3.6 Effective activism

Richard expressed a strong preference for working in a team of activists, as this was what he saw to be the most effective way in which to achieve his goals.

Richard: ...a lot of people who I meet, they say, fuck you're amazing... I'm not really. Like I've got a certain skill set that I'm very good at. There's lots of stuff I'm shit at... if you look at really effective people... they're never a lone soldier... they're always part of a team. And I'm very conscious of that... great things are really achieved by individuals, it's almost always as a team.

John described a process of critical self-appraisal which he underwent while conducting activist investigations. This process was a way of determining whether or not he had achieved his goals.

John: ...looking at the footage, you're thinking... is this footage any good? Have I achieved what I was setting out to do? And you see it and you realise, I have. This is awful... This shows the scale of the farm and then we go down to one chicken... there's a dead or dying chicken and then you think, yeah I have achieved... that's when it hits you, cause you think, you've got this, it shows awful cruelty.

For Betsey, effective activism comprised coming up with new tactics of raising awareness in the public through media.

Betsey: ...the movement's gotta grow, because if we don't grow and we don't change, and we don't change our tactics, we're never gonna win because people get de-sensitised... we can't even get media for chicken rescues because the media are like that's boring, you've done that ten million times give us something new. Which is really sad, I mean you've gotta try and keep it fresh because these animals are gonna be suffering for the next two, three decades more, so how are you gonna keep keeping it fresh?

Tim described finding his role within the activist movement which he felt had the greatest benefit to his cause.

Tim: I didn't wanna be involved in petty vandalism that had no real consequence for the animals... that was when I started doing media more often for animal rights groups, being a face for grassroots... it was when I started organising more disruptive protests like lock-on's...

Participants held strong beliefs about being effective in their activist roles, which fostered feelings of achievement and commitment to the cause (Einwohner, 2002). This included teamwork, critical self-appraisal, and effective use of media to send a message. Participants felt themselves to be 'in touch' with the opinions of the general public and aware of their potential impact on society and the system. Similar reflection exercises have been found to sustain commitment of activists (Downton & Wehr, 1998).

What participants saw as effective activism generally came later in their activist careers and was influenced by experience through learning. Furthermore, change and growth occurring in both themselves as activists and in their wider activist movement were also seen as important for combatting the public de-sensitisation

to an issue that results from repeated exposure. In this way, effective activism had an adaptive function.

8.3.7 Enormity of task

Tim discussed his recognition of the scale of the issue for which he was active.

Tim: ...there's just rows upon rows of cages... So you've got just like this huge shed that you can hardly see the end of and it's probably like five six seven eight rows wide... you're taking one hundred and eleven chickens from there. A farmer never even knows it's happened because it's not a dent... it would just be impossible to actually empty a shed... so you have to pick and choose. Which is why I stopped going in to farms... I just can't cope with that.

Betsey felt as though she was facing an uphill struggle against the animal agriculture industry and that a lack of significant resources handicapped her efforts.

Betsey: I just feel like how many times can I go into a factory farm and say, this is awful... I've been doing it for ten years... I love the big scale direct actions like the blockades and stuff but they take masses amounts of planning, energy, time, people, resources... and you don't have staff and lots of money, it's as a volunteer grassroots activist, it's incredibly draining...

Richard also discussed his realisation of the scale of certain issues.

Richard: ...in terms of conservation of endangered species, [ethnicity] are the number one enemy... their number matter, you've got one and a half billion people all wanting to eat shark fin soup... How do you change

the attitude of one and a half billion people... you gotta pick missions that you can win... Fuck it's nearly impossible to win that one to try and stop one and a half billion people eating shark.

For John, the realisation of the enormity of the cause for which he was active created feelings of powerlessness.

John: ...the more I find out about strategy... the more I realise what a big job it is... when I was young I thought, I was just gonna kick some ass and get arrested... and eventually we'll win. And now I kind of realise, its gonna take way more than that... it's gonna take changing society... to change say the meat industry... it's the way humans eat throughout most of the planet, it's a huge thing... It's changing all society from top to bottom. And when you think of it like that, it's quite depressing.

Enormity of task was related to what participants described as the enormous scale of the targets of their activism, such as intensive farming and shark finning. Participants were overwhelmed by the magnitude of their ambitions and by the realisation that they opposed a majoritarian culture. The large scale of the issues created a perceived impossibility of making a significant impact directly through animal liberation, which in turn caused significant stress, feelings of powerlessness, and perceived lack of control. Concern over lack of progress has been previously documented as a significant source of stress for activists (Gaarder, 2008; M. E. Gomes, 1992).

Participants also described being aware of the inherent difficulties associated with their activism caused in part by unfair advantages for the system and industry in terms of financial capabilities. As a result, participants redefined their roles as activists and either in part or wholly directed their efforts into what they saw as more achievable tasks and goals.

8.4 Superordinate theme #4 – Liberation

Liberation, specifically animal liberation, was an essential part of the role participants played as activists and was a goal of paramount importance for them. Liberation was also a key experience for the participants as activists. Participants discussed at length various aspects of their liberation experiences. Furthermore, liberation occurred on both a small scale (individual animal liberation acts) and large scale (changing public behaviour and beliefs to affect industry and society overall). Even small scale successes were viewed by activists as rewarding and worthwhile, and activists from other studies have identified as important (M. E. Gomes, 1992).

8.4.1 A face for the faceless

For Tim, animal liberation provided an opportunity to meet and form attachments to individual liberated animals.

Tim: The turkey's name is Tofu. Tofu died recently but had lived a long life... She played with the dogs and would run with the dogs. And whenever someone would come to see, like to the place where she was living... she, like the dogs would come barking and she would come like, honking or whatever a turkey does, gargling...

Betsey saw her own unmasking and being able to show her face in relation to activism as a form of liberation.

Betsey: ...it was all ALF [Animal Liberation Front], undercover, we don't want to go to jail... let's hide our faces... after, I don't know how many years, five six years of operating undercover and feeling so repressed cause I want to stand up, I'm not ashamed, it's the industry that should be hiding their faces, I wanted to stand up and say, yes I

go into these farms and I rescue animals cause this is a moral crime...

John felt he was able to see animals as individuals only once he had liberated them; *en masse* in a factory farm they were unidentifiable.

John: ...they're individuals intellectually but you don't see that when they're in the farm, it's only once you've got them out... and then a month later you go and visit them and you see the same chickens that you rescued and that's a good feeling... And you think all those other hundred thousand didn't come out, they'd all be dead by now... for me it's difficult to get my head around the mass scale of it versus individuals and you only really get to know the individuals once you've got them out of the farm...

Participants described an identification process which occurred for them following the liberation of individual animals. Specifically, once participants liberated animals, they formed attachments to them, were able to attribute positive psychological characteristics to them, and these animals became individualised. Participants also drew a contrast between seeing animals as individuals with worthwhile lives versus as unidentifiable commodities in large numbers to which participants were exposed during their liberation experiences.

Interestingly, one participant (Betsey) described the occurrence of change in her role as an activist in terms of being able to identify herself publicly. This fostered feelings of self-affirmation and self-assertion. Betsey felt that by removing her balaclava and openly associating herself with the activist role, she had regained a sense of her power, control, and freedom of speech.

8.4.2 Animal liberation as rewarding

For Richard, a close encounter with an animal he was actively seeking to protect was an extremely memorable experience.

Richard: ...next thing these three humpbacks come up right beside us... this entire whale... come up and put his head between the outrigger and the middle hull. I remember looking down and you could see this eye looking around. And he was... really intrigued by us. And he come up and his eye looking around and we were like, my whole crew was like, holy fuck. This is super cool...

John discussed his preference for actual animal liberations over merely conducting investigations without rescue.

John: ...I find that going in... and doing the investigations... sometimes feels a bit futile because you're not taking chickens... it's not the same as getting a chicken into a box and taking it home. I kind of always feel like it's way more satisfying to do. Like I don't like going into the farm and filming and then going away again, leaving those chickens behind... if you're taking a few... even one, it feels like you've made a difference... in your heart.

Likewise, Betsey felt more satisfied when an activist investigation was immediately followed by animal liberation.

Betsey: ...it's like you're bearing witness to their suffering and we'd go and we'd document... and we'd rescue where we could and it felt really really satisfying... for me, factory farming is the most important because... they are the biggest abused group... in New Zealand, our economy is based around farming so it's relevant to us. So um yeah that was really really powerful...

For Tim, animal liberation represented saving a life, which he perceived as extremely rewarding.

Tim: ...the industries don't care about the animals, they just care about profits and if the profits mean that you kill a dairy producing animal once it decreases its production... So they just kill them... I know that the goat would have been killed eventually. Which is the thing about liberations. No matter what... you rescue a layer hen and you're saving it from death and extending its life...

All four participants described their involvement in animal liberation as thoroughly rewarding, albeit highly stressful. Participants reported feelings of self-satisfaction and amazement in relation to their experiences of liberation. Through their engagement with liberation activities, participants felt themselves actively taking part in saving lives. Animal liberation stemmed from an inherent concern for animals which the participants possessed and shared with activists from other studies (Shapiro, 1994).

Moreover, animal liberation was seen by participants as an integral part of their role as activists. In a sense, animal liberation provided them with the opportunity to see instantly the 'results' of their activism. Thus, animal liberation acted as reinforcement for their activism.

8.4.3 The act of animal liberation

John discussed engaging in regular animal liberation acts with every activist investigation.

John: ...filmed inside it and stole some chickens as we were checking out... every time we went in, we'd grab as many chickens as we could... which was only three or four each time I think. And we did

that over the course of a couple of months and then we did this action where we got ten people from around the country to come and did the very public rescue...

Betsey described some inherent logistical difficulties in liberating particular types of animals which she felt a strong motivation to rescue.

Betsey: ...with pigs it's very hard to find homes for pigs because they grow into these many tonne animals you need a person that understands pigs... you can't take adult pigs because... they're huge... So you have to take the babies and then when you take the babies from their mothers, they're still nursing... it's quite scary cause they're literally babies... So anyway so after that experience, it became my mission to do a pig liberation...

Animal liberation was a learning curve for Tim due to his inexperience.

Tim: ...I was into the ALF [Animal Liberation Front] thing so I had a balaclava on... she took out... several hens and I was like, what are we gonna do now. So I took off my shirt, I took off my balaclava cause I realised it was silly at that time and I just put two chickens in my jersey that I'd taken off and she had taken two more and had them in somewhere just to keep them safe.

As mentioned previously, animal liberation activity formed an essential element of how participants' understood their role as activists. However, not all participants described a direct experience of animal liberation. For example, Richard did not discuss taking part in an animal liberation such as the ones in which the other participants had engaged. The nature of Richard's activism differed slightly from the other participants in that he was part of a collective effort to prevent illegal whaling and poaching activities.

Animal liberation was often combined with other activist strategies and tactics. Moreover, the nature of animal liberations was both small and covert and public and on a large scale. Participants described experiencing logistical difficulties when performing liberations of certain animals which increased their motivation to succeed. They also experienced personal development in which they unmasked themselves and learned new strategies. In essence, animal liberation was part of direct action which is a strategy commonly employed by animal rights activists when animal rights abuses are being investigated (Munro, 2005).

8.4.4 Extreme cruelty

Betsey felt it was extremely important that she witness animal cruelty first-hand.

Betsey: ...they started taking me to factory farms cause I'd never been... I just got really sucked into that because there's nothing really like it. Like when you watch videos and you go to protests... but for me, actually going to places where animals are being abused... it was quite powerful just because you're, you're bearing witness to their suffering...

Tim described feeling shock when he saw first-hand the conditions in which animals were kept during an activist investigation of a factory farm.

Tim: ...the cages were probably about like a couple feet off the floor and underneath was the manure piled up from maybe eighteen months... it was actually touching the bottom of the cage... an awful sight... seeing the birds in such awful condition. De-feathered and pinkness on their bodies and de-beaked and their feet all deformed... we even found a kitten on this farm trapped in the manure, I mean it was just like, it was shocking...

John discussed his first experience in a factory farm during which he witnessed what he saw as extreme cruelty towards the animals.

John: ...it had a hundred thousand chickens in this section we were in and... they were kind of approaching what they call 'end of lay'. So at the end of their laying period they had they had no fears, they were all bald and some of them were dead and stuff... it was the first time I... really got the idea of the cruelty of factory farming.

As part of their liberation experiences, participants described their exposure to extreme cruelty. Interestingly, for Betsey, the initial motivation for being exposed to cruelty came from wanting to witness suffering and violence. This became a powerful driving force for her activism. Previous research has found traumatisation and re-traumatisation as powerful influences on sustaining commitment to activism (N. Hansson & Jacobsson, 2014).

Exposure also created feelings of shock. Participants felt that these experiences were almost a form of initiation into activism and also saw them as learning experiences. Later in their activism, participants described having feelings of desensitisation and detachment, early on, they all reported feelings of psychological shock and trauma.

8.4.5 Illegal direct action as right

Tim felt that the legal system was inadequate at protecting animals.

Tim: ...there is no real animal welfare act in New Zealand, there's no prosecutions of any substantial nature for somebody who's neglected, abused or for any of the animal abuse industries or anything like that... I've been involved in campaigns against factory farming for over fifteen years and we're really no closer to stopping

that. So why would we not take you know, illegal activities to at least save the world for one hen you know, or one pig, or goat.

John distinguished between his illegal actions as an activist versus other illegal behaviour.

John: ...I've never ever had any doubt that what I was doing was perfectly right and nothing to be ashamed... breaking the law to save animals has always been the right thing to do for me... I've never thought, maybe I'm bad... It doesn't come into it, it never has... I never ever felt like a criminal. I've always felt like breaking the law... I don't wanna say it was natural but it's always, yeah for me breaking the law is just a tactical thing, it's never a moral thing...

Morality was the guiding principle for Betsey, not the law.

Betsey: ...my attitude is, if I've gotta fucking break a wall or smash a lock to get in and save lives you know like, I don't care if I'm operating outside the bounds of what society tells me is right or wrong or legal or illegal because I believe I'm a good person and I'm operating under my moral conscience...

Richard discussed his lack of regret in being imprisoned as a direct result of his activism.

Richard: ...we've got limited time, you wanna make sure you do the best with your time... I don't regret it, it was the right thing to do. And you know, did shine the spotlight on whaling like never before... was the year the world woke up to whaling and I was part of that team. And I still think I was quite privileged and blessed to be part of it.

Illegal direct action often involved animal liberation and what participants saw as saving lives. Life was valued more than the laws by participants and they did not distinguish between human and non-human animal life. Participants felt that all life had value.

Moreover, participants saw current laws as inadequate and this inadequacy justified illegal direct action. Regardless of whether laws were being broken, participants felt they had been doing the right thing and experienced no doubts or regrets about their actions, even if they had resulted in negative consequences for them such as being convicted.

In this way, current laws were not viewed as being guided by moral principles but rather by industry and profits. Illegal direct action for the participants was a way of fighting the system and exercising their moral principles. Furthermore, breaking laws became integrated into common activist strategy. Thus, participants viewed illegal direct action as characterising part of their activist role and believed strongly in the effectiveness of illegal action in enacting change and affecting society.

8.5 Superordinate theme #5 – The law and its agents

Aspects of the law pertaining to animal rights were discussed at length by participants, as well as misuses of the law and the agents used to uphold it. Integral parts of each participant's experience were interactions with the legal system. Through these interactions, participants formed strong beliefs in relation to what they saw as inadequacies of the law.

8.5.1 Law as the tool of the powerful

Betsey discussed the misuse of the law and the resulting injustices.

Betsey: ...once you start looking into these issues and you realise that there's injustice left right and centre. Not just for animals but for all sectors of society... our society is based on injustice to the weak and the vulnerable... there's only a few at the top that are benefitting and you're a part of that vulnerable that's being abused... it's just normal and natural to wanna stand up and say, that's wrong... this can't carry on.

Tim felt that there was a significant imbalance of power and influence.

Tim: But animal rights activists, we've never been able to have an influence really in government policies... the industries, they have the money... they're the giants and we're kind of like doing what we can to just kind of keep them on their toes.

Richard discussed his change in perspective.

Richard: ...the [ethnicity] were kind of my enemy but the real enemy is in fact, it's the government and the whaling business. Cause those are the two entities that perpetuate whaling... if you put a job up in New Zealand, if you said, right, we're gonna go down to Antarctica and do some whaling and offered enough money, you'd have Kiwis going down to do it too. There's always poor people that will do whatever is their job.

John felt strongly that all current laws relating to animals were flawed at the core.

John: ...in some ways I have respect for the legal process cause it is quite interesting... But on the other hand, it's the law of the government. And it doesn't represent freedom or democracy... It represents capitalism and industry, it's there to defend the state... it certainly doesn't defend the interests of animals, never has. Like no matter

what you look at, even the most mildest animal welfare law is flawed because it's based on the idea that animals are property. So from that point of view the law is always an obstruction.

Participants felt strongly that the misuse of the law and its resulting injustices reinforced the need for activism and resistance, and saw their role as activists as requiring them to push boundaries with those who held the power and influence. The law was seen as faulty in relation to protecting animal rights and was seen to exist to safeguard and represent industry and government interests only.

Furthermore, a change in perspective was evident whereby participants began to see government and industry as responsible for misuse of laws, rather than the individual people involved. Hence, the blame was shifted from individuals to powerful collective bodies. In this way, activism was targeted at those in power. Disaffection with institutions of power has been noted to drive individuals to activism (Downton & Wehr, 1998).

8.5.2 Being charged and convicted

By choosing to defend himself, John applied strategy in court.

John: ...I was charged with burglary, not with theft, cause they couldn't find the chickens... it took another eighteen months of court and then I was convicted. And I defended myself which was fun but I lost... that was a political decision. Cause I knew I was guilty as hell so I kind of thought, well I'll defend myself cause so I can talk about why I did it...

For Richard, being convicted in another country was stressful and he did not feel he had any other options other than pleading guilty.

Richard: ...so there's no way I was gonna be found not guilty and even the assault charge, we didn't really fight it like I would've liked to but my lawyers they said to me, if you stand up there and you're still saying you're all innocent, you're gonna get five years and you'll have to do the full five years of hard labour.

Betsey saw her experience with the justice system as a learning curve.

Betsey: ...so all my charges relate basically to protest activity and yeah it was a weird feeling for me going through, I spent two years basically getting arrested and going through the court system before I realised it was a massive diversion of energy and wasn't worth it.

Tim described how his early experience with the justice system affected his job prospects.

Tim: ...arrested us, brought us in for questioning. Charged us with nine counts of criminal damage and gave us a curfew... Which sucked cause we were supposed to start work that night at a kiwi fruit factory. We couldn't cause we weren't allowed out... that was my first I guess experience with the legal system...

Some negative aspects emerged in participants' accounts when they discussed the process of being charged with crimes and resulting court proceedings. For example, stress and uncertainty were experienced by participants, immediate job prospects were affected in a negative manner due restriction on freedom, and participants felt that they had wasted time.

Positive aspects which emerged included the learning of new strategies. Specifically, John discussed self-representation in court as being part of his strategy to spread public awareness of the cause for which he was active, even though he was unsuccessful at defending himself and was ultimately convicted.

The decision to defend himself was partly informed by the self-admission of guilt. Thus, participants displayed creativity during their experiences with the legal justice system in a similar manner to activists in other studies (Downton & Wehr, 1998).

8.5.3 Police as enforcers of the law

John's view of police had changed as a result of his experiences.

John: I think my view of the police has probably changed. I used to think that most if not all cops were bad and were against us, the movement, the animals... since then I've, just through experience, I've realised that it's a bit different... cops are human, and lots of them support what we're doing... quite often you'll get cops, even ones arresting you will say, good on you but the problem is, they're cops and they're paid to do their job and they're job is to enforce the law. And the law is against us...

Betsey described her persistent mistrust of the police.

Betsey: ...you never ever trust the police, you never trust them. You always treat them with the utmost caution but... it's a waste of energy to divert into hating them and to fighting them...

Tim viewed the police as inadequate and ill-equipped to deal with certain types of behaviour.

Tim: ...from my experience the police actually do not know how to defend against somebody who is denying that they've done something they rely... on people just being too scared... all of the times I've gone to court for... animal rights activism or other activism the prosecution is

just ridiculous. The police take the stand and their stories are seldom really relate to the reality... there were a number of arrests where we were going preparing for a defendant hearing and then the police lost our files.

While some participants described a persistent underlying mistrust of police and felt them to be incompetent enforcers of the law, other participants described how their views of police had changed and evolved because of their experiences.

For example, John's view of police officers changed, whereby he no longer made internal attributions to officers but rather recognised that their role was to enforce the law, which he saw as being against him and his fellow activists. In this way, he developed views of police officers as both people and agents of the law but ultimately felt they were handicapped by an unjust legal system.

8.5.4 Law as faulty

Betsey saw the laws in relation to farmed animals as inherently flawed and biased in the interests of industry.

Betsey: So it's illegal to smash a wall to get into a battery farm to save a few dying chickens when all two thousand of the rest of them are dead. That's illegal, that's wrong... but it's legal to have these chickens in cages. Like it's just fucked... say what's right and wrong, and that's ridiculous because they're just... the government, industries. You know they rule everything for their own good, for their own profit...

Tim felt that the current animal welfare laws were of little practical use and inadequately applied, particularly to farmed animals.

Tim: ...the Animal Welfare Act says animals have the right to... express natural patterns of behaviour. Which they can't do and so the government has made these codes of welfare... which allows certain industries to go outside of that prerequisite... But even if... shown a farm that is breaching the code of welfare... for layer hens. And the government says, well we actually can't prosecute them because this code of welfare isn't actually binding, it's just a guide...

John did not view the law as being on his side or necessarily representing wider public opinion.

John: ...I kind of knew going into it that yes I was doing the right thing but yes I was probably gonna get convicted anyway, because the law is not the same as common sense... I always knew it was an uphill battle. Like it doesn't matter what people think on factory farming, the law says you can't go around taking hens out of other people's farms... I knew that the law was against me... and I still think that the law is against me.

Participants felt strongly that animal welfare laws were inadequate, flawed at their core, and of narrow focus. They made it their goal as activists to challenge the system that enacted these laws.

Profit for industries involved in animal agriculture and maintenance of government power were seen as underlying what participants described as out-dated legal understandings of the status of animals in human society as property. Moreover, participants believed that current laws were not 'up to date' with public opinion.

Participants also saw the government and its lawmakers as actively responsible for allowing misuses of the animal welfare laws by purposefully creating 'loop holes' in legislation allowing industries to avoid prosecution.

8.6 Superordinate theme #6 – Challenge to society

The participants saw their role as activists as not only being to challenge established law and industry but also to provide society with information in order to challenge existing belief systems and spread knowledge about their activism. Ultimately, however, each individual member of society was viewed as responsible for his or her own choices in life.

8.6.1 Freedom of speech

Betsey found it difficult and restrictive of her freedom to be operating as part of an illegal direct action group.

Betsey: ...it was quite a surreal experience because at this stage, we were still operating as the ALF [Animal Liberation Front] so I did this media release and I was on TV... talking about what an atrocity it was and how the ALF had handed us this footage. When actually I had been one of those ALF activists so it was quite weird... strategically it was hard because I wanted to say, I was in there... I wanted to speak. But I couldn't because we were operating as the ALF.

Richard discussed how losing his ability to speak freely and communicate with the outside world had had a significant impact on him during his time in prison.

Richard: ...and so prison there is definitely quiet until there's a fight... As soon as the fights over, back to deadly quiet. And that was the worst thing I found... prison did affect me, and I came out quite a different person... the biggest thing I had in there was not being able to talk to anyone... once the interrogations stopped, basically there was no visitors... I wasn't allowed any mail at that stage... so basically you know, twenty three and a half hours a day in your cell...

John described how being convicted gave him the freedom to speak openly about illegal direct action.

John: ...as a result of that first arrest... we got convicted of that and we did some interviews in a magazine... it was in the paper and everything, and we kind of became spokespeople for... for illegal direct action for a while. Because we were the only people who were convicted and we could speak.

Participants experienced both losing their freedom of speech and gaining it. All participants saw freedom of speech as a basic human right. Moreover, they viewed it as an essential part of their functioning as activists and human beings. Not being able to speak freely was described as restrictive and isolating.

Losing the right to speak openly and freely was stressful while gaining this right was a liberating experience. The ability to speak freely about activism was attained through legal conviction and this allowed participants to employ new strategies.

8.6.2 Spreading knowledge

Much like other studies, participants were driven by a sense of responsibility bigger than them (A. Mills & Smith, 2008).

John felt it was his duty to spread knowledge about his chosen philosophy and activism.

John: ...like it seemed to me obvious that it's not enough for me just to not to eat meat, I have to get involved in stopping cruelty cause it was, to me, it was so obvious... once I heard this idea and I thought, why did no one tell me this? So I thought, I better go tell other people.

Covert activist investigations were a way for Betsey and her co-activists to spread knowledge and information to the wider community.

Betsey:going on TV and making videos of ourselves in factory farms you know saying, we're here because this is wrong and this is gotta change and look at these animals suffering. And we'd show you know footage of us taking them out of farms and rescuing them. And that worked really well.

Besides engaging in illegal direct action, Tim utilised legal above-ground strategies to spread information to the wider community.

Tim: ...we started thinking about how to introduce people to veganism. And we started printing out more fliers and having more info stalls and things like that at punk rock shows or just in the street...

Richard also employed the use of above-ground legal strategies to reach out to the wider community.

Richard: So we started this idea of just promoting to people, to schools and to people who were interested in what we were doing, we'd promote this idea about... thinking about all of the things you do in your life and looking at it from an environmental perspective. Is there a better way that I can go do this?

Spreading knowledge was viewed by participants' in previous and present research as part of their role as activists (Einwohner, 2002). They employed a series of strategies, both legal and illegal, to make available to other members of society information they considered important. Participants felt themselves to be 'enlightened' and this fostered a sense of responsibility and duty. Similarly to other

studies, participants felt themselves to be examples to the rest of society (Einwohner, 2002; M. E. Gomes, 1992).

Participants approached their role in spreading knowledge in non-confrontational ways, seeking to create rapport and identification with non-activist members of society. In a way, participants viewed knowledge and information as the missing link between philosophy and action/activism.

8.6.3 Rebellion and provocation

Learning about animal rights influenced Tim's behaviour.

Tim: I started to get more opinionated about animal rights and animal liberation concepts... any time the school would fundraise for the cancer society, I would protest about the vivisection thing...

Richard traced his desire to rebel against authority and question norms to early on in his life.

Richard: ...a lack of respect for authority I reckon and not liking rules, and not liking being told what to do... And the few times we were exposed to... people trying to influence us, I wouldn't say we rebelled against it but we didn't like it. And I see that in myself today... just because a policeman says you can't do this, doesn't mean that's right or wrong, and I don't like that at all, I don't like being told what to do...

Provoking a police response by admitting guilt on camera was one of the tactics employed by John.

John: And then the next day put out a media release and me and one other person went on TV and said, yes we did this, yes we broke the law,

because this law is wrong, and here's film footage of us and... we committed a burglary. And invited them to arrest us.

Betsey viewed her earlier attempts at police provocation as triggered by built-up anger and counter-productive to her cause.

Betsey: I've had different phases to my activism... when I was a lot younger and angrier and we used to do things like scream and yell outside fur shops... and be really intimidating, and go in and have riots... and kick the police... yeah so stupid stuff like that... when I went through that phase, they came down really hard... Yeah they basically treat you like you're shit and like you're a lesser member of society because their attitude is, if you're causing all this trouble and you're disrupting society... then you're shit and we're gonna treat you like that.

The desire of participants to behave in a rebellious manner arose from the accumulation of knowledge and information related to animal rights and began before they had formally identified themselves as activists. The building up of anger and frustration were also contributing factors, similar to other studies (Downton & Wehr, 1998).

Rebellion involved not only contradicting and questioning certain belief systems in society but also being critical of authority (Downton & Wehr, 1998). Furthermore, the drive to be rebellious led participants to 'act out'. This acting out was characterised by deliberate physical provocations and confrontations with police. This was seen as part of the role of being an activist and was utilised strategically albeit not always effectively.

8.6.4 Selfish vs non-selfish crimes

Betsey described being treated in the same way as other offenders.

Betsey: I'm a political activist yet here I am with these people that are basically others that are disaffected members of society like drug addicts or glue sniffers or people living rough on the streets... it was weird to get lumped in with them...

Tim felt his motivations for some of his offending behaviour, while being different from the motivations of others, were also similar.

Tim: ...there is different motivations behind people who are just doing it... like I see people just going around with markers just scribbling on stuff, and their motivation in one sense is different than my motivation was in spray painting a butcher shop. I wanted to cause the butcher losses and I wanted them to know why I was doing it... I think there probably were similarities in the sense that, I have no doubt that part of me was doing stuff like that to create an image for myself... show off to people that I was serious...

John described how the law does not differentiate between offenders on the basis of their underlying motivations, however individual people do and those involved in the judicial system are sometimes biased, depending on their beliefs.

John: I think that the law doesn't distinguish at all. So like on paper... there's no distinction at all... But if I meet someone and explain it, it's quite different. They say, oh you're not really a criminal... And also going through the court system... court is run by humans and so they do treat you differently because it's political... sometimes it's good and sometimes it's bad. Like sometimes some people in the court system see a political thing as much worse than your common criminal because you're a threat to the establishment... some people see it, and particularly with animal rights... oh you're no way near as

bad as a criminal. You know, like criminals are bad but you just rescued chickens...

The laws and legal system, as experienced by participants, did not distinguish them from other offenders regardless of potential differences between their motivations. Participants did not view other offenders as markedly different from themselves, instead as being similar in terms of disenfranchisement and alienation from mainstream society. Political motivation, however, was seen as differing from 'common' criminal motivation and participants distinguished themselves as political activists.

Additionally, they identified both selfless and selfish elements in their offences through which they identified with other non-activist offenders. Finally, participants recognised personal bias as the cause of differential treatment in the legal system, which either acted in their favour or against them.

8.6.5 Stigmatisation and stereotyping

John discussed how he may be stereotyped and stigmatised by people who have never met him.

John: It's like on paper, my criminal record looks bad... I've got burglary, criminal damage and a whole lot of others for protests... disorderly behaviour... So it's more like on paper and in official stuff it's hard to explain, you know, people assume... when they see burglary that it sounds bad yeah but I'm confident that I can, if they get passed that to the point of meeting me, and they say, what have you got this conviction for? I can say well here's why. But it's much harder to write that down...

Betsey felt anger at what she described as a gender imbalance during the conviction process. This anger related to Betsey's identification as a feminist.

Betsey: I've never ever been convicted. And I, pretty much find it incredibly frustrating because I know why. Because someone like [name] who's a forty something year old male, he wouldn't get away with it. Whereas someone like me, young, female, white, looks fairly innocent... I can do all sorts of things... the judge looks at me and was like, not guilty... that's a whole other issue cause that's fucking gender imbalance... I find it frustrating... it's just another example of how society's fucked.

Tim discussed what he saw as a stereotype of other people with similar lifestyle choices to him.

Tim: ...there are these vegan pages on the Internet... and I find them the most fascinating places in the world, where people... their motivation isn't love at all, it's just kind of like this new form of you know, this new sense of superiority.

Richard felt stereotyped by the media which did not fit with his own understanding of himself as an activist.

Richard: Like the media there... a lot of it was quite anti... they portrayed me as an eco-terrorist and I don't consider myself a terrorist by any means... I'm an activist and I'm a conservationist... but that's often what happens, a lot of mainstream society might look at what we did and think, fuck that is radical but I don't see it that way. They might look at it as being really dangerous and it was... but they were calculated risks...

Stigmatisation and stereotyping were discussed as undesirable by-products of activism by participants. As participants saw it, stigmatisation and stereotyping were created by personal conviction records, personal biases, misrepresentation of activism and corresponding philosophy, and media misrepresentation. Contexts in which this emerged included seeking jobs, meeting new people, social media interactions, and legal proceedings.

Participants experienced difficulties in counteracting negative stigmatisation, which created feelings of stress and anxiety. Importantly, participants pointed to the dangers of stigmatisation and stereotyping. Specifically, Richard discussed the dangers associated with misunderstanding their tactics and philosophy, including being labelled as radical by non-activist members of society and through media involvement being associated with terrorism.

8.6.6 Society as responsible for progress

Betsey felt strongly that members of society had a moral obligation to inform themselves and she saw her role as an activist as attempting to get the public to identify with her cause.

Betsey: I'm just no different to anyone else really... once you start looking into these issues and I think people should... people have an obligation, even if it's just for themselves to be informed members of society... the general public, they're apathetic, they're ignorant, they don't know... if you could find a way to reach people... so that they click on to this, people are better than you give them credit for you know. Like they will start thinking...

John saw the impetus for change as originating within society and being followed by governmental and legal changes.

John: The law won't change. The way we treat animals is something that society has to fix and the law will follow. If society has progressed to the point where most people don't eat meat and don't eat animals, then the law will catch up... you change society and then politicians will eventually follow...

Tim discussed his disdain for what he saw as persistent ignorance within society to the issues to which he was sensitive.

Tim: I just wish people would think and act more I guess cause I just don't see it... it's what I hate about the world I guess, is that people are willing to continue in ignorance and like willing to be apathetic and willing to just be inactive and ignore the stuff that they see...

Richard felt strongly that many members of society exist without a purpose. He believed the individuals of a society have a responsibility for themselves and their impact on their surroundings.

Richard: Stand up for something. Too many people they just, they exist, they never stand up for anything. They consume a lot of resource on this planet, they occupy this planet, they breathe in oxygen and spit out CO₂ and yet they make no positive contribution to this planet. And everyone has a cause that they should be standing up for. Be it conservation or animals or humans rights... Get a fucking cause and stand up for something...

Participants described attempts at identifying society members overall as compassionate yet ignorant individuals. At the same time, disillusionment with the 'goodness' of human nature was also evident in participants' accounts. This was caused by repeated exposure to traumatic events, the causes of which participants saw as predominantly being ignorance of society and greed of systems such as

governments and industries. In this way, participants experienced difficulties in attempting to reconcile two conflicting views of society.

Furthermore, participants saw themselves as playing an active role (M. E. Gomes, 1992) and the belief in individual responsibility of every society member was strongly adhered to by participants. Despite attempting to challenge the system, participants believed that long-lasting change begins at the level of the individual, which they exemplified through their own choices and behaviours (Horwitz, 1994). Thus, participants, through their activism, attempted to send out strong messages to society regarding the need for non-selfish motivation and direction in life.

Chapter 9: Conclusion and Recommendations for future research

9.1 Conclusion

A number of themes emerged in the present study which were illustrative of how participants made sense of their personal development and role as activists/animal liberators, as well as how they made sense of the specific experiences related to their roles. Personal experience was largely characterised by negative emotions, such as shock, anger and trauma, which in turn strengthened participants' motivation, drive and resistance to major institutions such as animal agriculture industries and government. Participants used coping mechanisms to shield themselves psychologically from further traumatisation.

The ability of participants to keep an open mind, when it came to philosophies which mainstream society labelled largely as radical, allowed them to easily adopt roles of activists/animal liberators. Furthermore, being outsiders from mainstream society and misfits assisted participants in the adoption of and identification with alternative lifestyles and activist organisations. The need to belong to a group and be surrounded by like-minded people fostered and strengthened feelings of commitment, and the participants had pledged long-term commitment early on in their activism.

The role of an activist/animal liberator encompassed several strategic directions and implicit understandings. Participants became more aware of effective activist strategies and structured their goals into the long-term in accordance with their level of commitment. The 'face' of animal rights activism for participants also began to change from consisting of almost exclusively underground illegal activity to embracing other more legal activist pursuits. The philosophies of participants, namely a strong adherence to protection of animal rights that reflected itself in all

areas of their lives, was the undercurrent of their activism. Essentially, the behaviour of participants was guided by their moral principles.

Liberation encompassed the liberation of individual non-human animals from violence and death. Liberation, whilst being the cornerstone of activism, was overall highly stressful and unpleasant. The driving force of motivation to liberate was the desire to save as many lives as possible. Participants rejected how the current laws viewed non-human animals as property. Thus, they felt that the legal status of non-human animals was flawed at its core.

Slight differences existed in participants' accounts and how they made sense of their experiences. Overall, however, the main unifying factors between participants were feelings that what they did were the right things to do, dislike and disagreement with laws relating to animal rights, distrust of the government and industry systems, and attempts to challenge and change existing belief systems within society.

Altruism and altruistic motivation were present in the meanings participants ascribed to their roles as activists, however elements of selfish motivation, such as attempting to 'prove' oneself to other activists, were also present. These selfish elements were outweighed by the ultimately selfless goals of participants which were often achieved in detriment to their personal freedom and safety.

Importantly, the present study highlighted the need for differentiation between altruistically motivated activism and terms such as 'radical' and 'terrorist'. Neither radicalism nor terrorism featured in how participants made sense of themselves, their roles and experiences. These two terms, however, were widely applied to the participants by media and members of society. This attempt at marginalisation and branding of animal rights activists as extremists has been previously argued as a form of discriminatory stereotyping and as highly inaccurate (Munro, 2005; Shapiro, 1994). Such stereotyping may highlight cognitive dissonance experienced by non-activist members of society in terms exposure to animal

cruelty within the animal agriculture industry and continued consumption of animals and their products.

Furthermore, the description of high-risk activism originally applied by the researcher was not seen by participants as characteristic of their activism. The pursuit and achievement of goals was driven by what participants saw as calculated risks without endangering the lives of either humans or non-human animals.

Finally, the participants experienced no remorse for their activism. Their moral philosophy and conscience overrode all considerations for legal repercussions particularly in their early activism experiences. Participants saw themselves as being active agents of change and placed emphasis on individual responsibility. Through their activism they not only challenged the status quo but also called upon non-activist members of society to make meaningful contributions to the world around them.

9.2 Limitations

Some limitations existed in the present study some of which can be overcome in future research. Firstly, a small sample size of four participants, while suitable for the methodology, may have been unrepresentative of other activists and difficulties with generalisability were thus present. Data saturation was achieved, however, by the present study and for this reason the researcher did not recruit further participants.

The inherent distrust of an 'outsider' by potential participants may have prevented them from approaching the researcher. Further, with existing participants, certain experiences may have not been discussed in sufficient detail or at all due to the potentially self-incriminating nature of such experiences. Additionally, only

activists/animal liberators operating in New Zealand were approached which may have further affected generalisability of activist populations in other countries.

The researcher's own potential biases may have had some influence on participants; attempts were made however to minimise this. Also, the setting within which some interviews occurred may have had some impact on participant comfort levels. Specifically, interviews were conducted in assigned university rooms which were unfamiliar and potentially perceived as 'hostile' territory by participants (some participants had conducted animal liberation/activism on the grounds of the university). This limitation was largely beyond the researcher's control as participants were highly unlikely to invite the researcher into their own homes, where they may have felt more comfortable. In fact, only one participant did so. Nevertheless, the researcher felt that any initial reluctance was overcome by establishing rapport with the participants.

9.3 Future research

Future research examining the meanings activists/animal liberators ascribe to their roles and experiences could benefit from a number of improvements on this study. The study of animal rights activists on an international scale may provide researchers with better generalisability and a more in-depth understanding of how culture and government systems (including industries) affect activists in different countries. Also, a comparison between different types of activists, such as animal rights and environmental activists, could be useful to broaden the understanding of potential similarities and differences between different activist pursuits.

The inherent distrust of 'outsiders' by participants, which may have been present in this study, may be overcome by adjusting the methodology to incorporate a more ethnographic approach. Specifically, this could possibly involve the 'insertion' of the researcher into an activist organisation with the role of only observing and documenting.

A study examining potential differences and similarities between activists operating on a predominantly legal basis and those operating on a predominantly underground, illegal basis could highlight some interesting themes. Lastly, qualitative in-depth research into activists serving prison terms might yield interesting findings and 'snapshots' of meanings attached to the experience of activist incarceration.

Chapter 10: General discussion and Conclusions

The following discussion attempts to bring together several years of study of human altruism, specifically of altruistic offending.

10.1 Review of the literature: identification of gaps in research

A comprehensive systematic review of all available literature on human altruism in the field of social psychology was conducted with the aim of providing a broad overview of existing theories and research. It became clear from the outset that altruistic behaviour in humans was not a simple phenomenon and had many intra and interpersonal factors. Competing theories and research findings were outlined. Two major conclusions resulted from the systematic literature review.

Firstly, it became evident that one could not argue with confidence that all human behaviour is ultimately selfishly motivated. While the research that was reviewed supported both selfish and non-selfish theories of altruism, it also pointed to the existence of an enduring altruistic-type personality. Overall, the need for open-mindedness for theoretical and research undertakings is required if meaningful progress is to be made with regards to the study of human altruism.

Secondly, several gaps in research were identified. The literature review exposed several areas relating to our knowledge of human altruism as generally lacking and in need of research. Specifically, there was a lack of research into public perceptions of altruistic offending and altruistic offenders. The literature review also exposed a lack of qualitative research into human altruism. It was decided that three studies examining altruistic offending would be carried out in an attempt to contribute to scientific knowledge and provide directions for future research. Thus, the systematic literature review was highly beneficial to the current thesis as it provided an overview of existing theories and research, and also guided the resulting research by exposing areas in need of further investigation.

10.2 Gaining a 'broad' perspective: Survey study

The survey study investigated how public perceptions of altruism were affected by different crime scenarios with varied severity, and how this affected corresponding judgements of punishment. The effects of demographic variables were also examined. Overall, the survey sought to investigate which factors, if any, influence people's perceptions of altruism and corresponding punishment judgements.

The results revealed that certain crimes were viewed in either negative or positive light regardless of motivation, while for other crimes participants were heavily swayed by the underlying motivation of the actor. Demographic variables also appeared to affect perceptions of altruism and punishment judgements.

Not all crimes were perceived equally. This seems to be a rather obvious statement, but it becomes interesting when one takes into account that certain crimes were viewed by participants in a sympathetic light regardless of underlying motivations. For example, participants tended to view the act of euthanasia in a more positive light even when the act was motivated by selfish reasons. More lenient punishment judgements were also evident for the act of euthanasia. Perhaps there was a trade-off between attitudes towards low and high risk crimes in that crimes involving more risk, such as euthanasia, were perceived to be more altruistic than lower risk crimes. In addition, previous surveys have shown this to be a trend in the attitudes of the general public in New Zealand indicating that current laws, particularly those regarding euthanasia, are out of sync with public opinion (Mitchell & Owens, 2004).

Moreover, a strong case can be made, based on the survey results, that the motivations underlying certain crimes may have a major influence over public perceptions of those crimes and thus form a particularly important consideration in the legal context. Specifically, the survey showed that participants chose more

lenient punishments if the crimes of drink driving and theft were motivated by altruism.

After the completion of the survey study, a move occurred from the broad to the specific, as well as from the public to the private. Altruistic offending was investigated in terms of the personal experiences of two separate groups of people – those who had assisted a loved one with dying, and those who had engaged in animal rights activism and liberation.

10.2.1 Comparison of survey and euthanasia studies

It is not possible to draw any comparisons between the survey study findings and the qualitative study of animal rights activists. However, because a euthanasia crime scenario was incorporated into the survey study, such a comparison becomes possible with the qualitative study of assisted dying.

Firstly, the comparison of public perception of euthanasia is possible. The survey study participants viewed euthanasia more favourably than other crimes regardless of underlying motivation and this was reflected in their punishment judgements (which were more lenient). This finding suggests overall positive attitudes towards euthanasia and caregivers of the terminally ill, and is supported by the qualitative study findings whereby participants described an overwhelming public support for their actions.

Further, the survey study findings suggest that those adhering to religious beliefs (such as Christianity) hold more punitive attitudes towards euthanasia. Lower religious tolerance for euthanasia was described by one of the qualitative study participants (Derrick) whereby anonymous threats were made to him and his family which carried religious overtones.

10.3 In-depth look at altruistic offending: Similarities between two qualitative studies

Even though two distinct and separate groups of participants were investigated, numerous similarities emerged between them which had important implications for the study of altruistic offending.

Based on the qualitative research findings it appears that the existence of what can be termed as 'true' altruism is highly plausible and certainly cannot be accounted for by pseudo-altruistic explanations. Specifically, underlying motivation was the same for all participants regardless of which study they belonged to (assisted dying or animal rights). That is, participants from both studies were similar in that they felt what they had done was the right thing to do. This characterised the accounts of all participants. Altruistic offending was governed by a moral conscience for both groups of participants. Furthermore, the altruistic offending behaviour in which participants engaged was dominant in their lives and was life-changing for them.

All participants engaged in planned helping behaviours. That is, their altruistic offending was often pre-meditated. Planned helping behaviour has been argued to be an indication of an altruistic personality type (Amato, 1985). This is primarily because planned helping behaviour is a better indication of enduring and intrinsic personality traits as opposed to spontaneous helping behaviour which is more liable to external and situational influences. Participants engaged in both spontaneous and planned altruistic behaviours however the planned behaviours were consistently referenced across all accounts.

For both qualitative studies, it appears that participants engaged in what has been termed 'autonomous' altruism (Rosenhan, 1970). That is, their actions were not influenced by societal norms, but rather the 'self' became the driving force. In neither of the studies were any explicit rewards anticipated by participants. Participants were, however, prepared to accept and deal with any resulting

punishments or consequences for their actions. Literature states that autonomous forms of altruism are less commonplace than the more frequent every-day forms of altruism (Clary & Miller, 1986; Rosenhan, 1970). In this way, the two qualitative studies provided a unique in-depth look into what can be described as less common forms of altruistic behaviour. Because such forms of altruistic behaviour are relatively infrequent, they warrant particular research attention and investigation.

There was similarity between studies in the participants' self-perception. Specifically, all participants saw themselves as activists; as being active for a cause. They also attempted to change and influence other members of society and society as a whole through their activism. In effect, it became their 'life calling' or vocation. They saw themselves as examples for others and considered their philosophies as the guiding principles for action and behaviour.

Whilst participants viewed their roles as activists in a generally positive light, they had also had negative experiences such as trauma. As a result, social support and acceptance from other members of society was of significant importance to them.

In their roles, both groups of participants fought and resisted the 'system'. This meant the medical and legal establishments, government, and major industries. Moreover, they saw the system as faulty and corrupt, and members of society as the forces behind social change. In essence, participants sought to create a 'revolution' of some kind, whether that involved changing the laws, various establishments, or ingrained societal attitudes and beliefs.

It can be argued with some confidence that the participants displayed what can be termed 'true' non-selfish altruism. Specifically, participants engaged in an act or acts (a) which were performed solely to benefit another human or non-human animal, (b) were performed voluntarily and intentionally, and (c) were performed without expectations of an external reward (Bar-Tal, 1976, 1985-86; Batson, 1998;

Krebs, 1970). The evident potential for this form of 'true' altruism, suggests that altruistic behaviour can be governed by primarily non-selfish motivations.

Certain implications exist for current laws in relation to altruistic offending. Both groups of participants pointed out a general lack of appreciation by the legal system of motivation behind behaviour and a lack of some form of established recognition of motivation, which in turn, created opportunity for personal bias within the justice system. Further, participants from both groups discussed adverse effects of the legal system on their personal lives and being grouped together with other offenders even though they saw themselves as different, particularly in terms of underlying motivation and goals.

In conclusion, the similarities which emerged between the two studies suggest the existence of an altruistic personality type – one not influenced by external factors such as socialisation, learning and group behaviour. On the contrary, both groups of participants appeared to display an intrinsic moral conscience which guided their behaviour and was not significantly affected by considerations of adverse consequences.

10.4 In-depth look at altruistic offending: Differences between two qualitative studies

Fewer differences existed between participants of the two studies than similarities.

Perhaps one of the most obvious differences between these two groups was the distinction between one-off versus continuous acts of altruistic offending. Specifically, the euthanasia study participants were more likely one-off altruistic offenders as the opportunity to assist with the death of a loved one may not present itself again. The animal rights study participants on the other hand, continued to engage in acts of altruistic offending on more than one occasion and for a prolonged period of time (over ten years).

It can be argued that someone who assists with dying can still be ideologically opposed to the legalisation of euthanasia while the animal rights study participants ideologically objected to animal welfare laws on the grounds that they did not view animals as property. Here a further distinction can be made. Specifically, for the euthanasia study participants, the act always preceded ideology, whereas for the animal rights study participants, ideology always preceded action.

There are certain implications related to the issue of one-off versus continuous acts of altruistic offending. For example, continuous altruistic offenders are more likely to re-offend and face legal consequences on more than one occasion. For them, the potential for the experience of re-traumatisation, continued stress and need for support becomes highly relevant.

Because the two groups had different experiences, there were differences that were specific to those experiences. This was reflected in different themes which emerged. For example, the participants from the assisted dying study reported experiences of both trauma and grief in relation to the loss of a loved one while animal rights study participants reported only trauma in relation to exposure to animal cruelty.

Societal acceptance of both types of altruistic offending differed in that, acts of assisted dying tended to be more positively viewed as opposed to acts of animal rights activism. This was reflected in how the altruistic offending of participants from the two groups was perceived by the 'outside world' namely, the media and members of the public. The actions of the assisted dying study participants were received with more societal acceptance and understanding than the actions of the animal rights study participants. Perhaps this difference in societal attitudes existed because acts which endanger profits of a large sector of a country's economy were viewed less positively than acts which related to personal autonomy and end of life decisions. The difference in perception may have also been related to cognitive dissonance – that is, the inconsistencies between awareness of issues relating to animal rights and behavioural choices (meat consumption).

10.5 Issues relating to methodology using IPA

The qualitative studies were designed according to phenomenological methodology and analysed using IPA. Several methodological issues were present.

10.5.1 Generalisability and researcher bias

Generalising from present qualitative research is problematic as small numbers of participants were used and the phenomena studied may be argued to occur infrequently or be characteristic of a small 'fringe' group of people. This raises the issue of representativeness of the data (Denscombe, 2003).

The researcher encountered problems with recruitment for both studies and these problems were unavoidable. For the euthanasia study, only a limited number of cases existed whereby the person who performed euthanasia/assisted suicide on a family member also faced criminal proceedings. Specifically, the researcher could find four individuals, three of whom agreed to participate and the fourth could not be contacted. The investigation of those individuals who assisted in dying but had not faced criminal proceedings was not part of the present research but is of immense importance to future research undertakings.

For the animal rights activists study, the researcher was wary of interviewing participants who would disclose criminal behaviour which was ongoing and thereby put themselves and the researcher in a highly compromising position. To prevent this, the researcher informed the participants of dangers of disclosing such information. After the interviews of four participants it was decided that data saturation had been reached and the researcher stopped recruitment.

In terms of researcher bias, while it is in theory possible to remove all presuppositions and approach research as a 'stranger', in practice this may be

more difficult. For example, as mentioned previously, the researcher had prior knowledge of and involvement in certain animal rights related activities. This ended up serving a beneficial function in terms of establishing rapport with animal rights activists who may not otherwise have wanted to participate in the study. Also, an awareness of this potential problem may have helped the researcher to moderate its impact (Denscombe, 2003). Thus, the researcher made a conscious attempt to remain as objective and neutral as possible.

10.5.2 Reliability and validity

Would a different researcher have generated similar results? This is highly likely, except that the animal rights participants may have been secretive and exercised more caution than the euthanasia participants when discussing their experiences. This was potentially related to probable continued involvement in illegal and borderline legal activities by the animal rights activists.

In terms of validity, the conclusions drawn from both studies did not oversimplify the phenomena and the researcher's self was potentially an influence but hopefully only to a minimal degree. Further, the phenomena selected for the studies were suited to the aim of the research – an exploratory investigation of what it means to engage in altruistic offending.

Participants were engaged in the process pre-, during and post-interview through cross-checking interpretations of the data to ensure that it matched their emotions and feelings on the subject.

Finally, external validity was present as similar themes have been interpreted in qualitative research conducted with other groups of participants who engaged in altruistically motivated behaviours (Downton & Wehr, 1998; Einwohner, 2002; Funk et al., 2010; M. E. Gomes, 1992; Herzog, 1993; Higginson & Sen-Gupta, 2000; Horwitz, 1994, 1996; P. Huggard; Jo et al., 2007; Johansen et al., 2005; McAdam, 1989; Munro, 2005; Oliner & Oliner, 1988; Pallotta, 2008; Shapiro,

1994). For example, congruency between beliefs and behaviours (Herzog, 1993; Horwitz, 1996), bonding to an activist group (Downton & Wehr, 1998), experience of frustration, sadness (Jo et al., 2007), stress and pessimism in relation to activist campaigns (Einwohner, 2002, Gomes, 1992), and strategic action to gain publicity for a cause and to challenge conventional thinking within society (Munro, 2005). Most importantly perhaps, altruistic offenders in the current and other studies engaged in activism based on universal moral principles and felt that what they were doing was the right thing to do (Oliner & Oliner, 1988; Shapiro, 1994).

10.6 Future research

For future research, it would be interesting to investigate which factors are influential in low risk altruistic offending such as low level theft as the present research investigated high-risk altruistic offending only. The existence of an innate moral conscience and the plausibility of an altruistic personality type or trait needs further investigation and perhaps can be achieved by combining qualitative in-depth research with quantitative methods such as the measurement of personality traits. For example, it would be of interest to examine the relationship between different personality traits such as openness, conscientiousness, agreeableness, neuroticism, and extraversion (the Big Five) and altruistic offending.

Future research could investigate the personal experiences of different groups of altruistic offenders by recruiting participants who had engaged in different forms of altruistic offending, along a continuum of behaviour from low to high risk. This could include various groups of altruistic offenders such as whistle blowers and environmental activists. Further, groups which are non-liberal but may be considered altruistic (at least on an abstract level) such as anti-abortion activists can also be investigated.

Furthermore, there exists a population of altruistic offenders that is less accessible to the researcher. These are individuals who have engaged in altruistic offending, such as performing the act of assisted dying, but who have not experienced any legal consequences. These individuals would offer a unique insight, particularly as they had never openly acknowledged their behaviour. Research with such altruistic offenders can take the form of an anonymous survey as has been done in the past with medical practitioners and euthanasia in New Zealand (Mitchell & Owens, 2003). Comparisons could then be drawn between the 'secret' altruistic offenders and ones whose actions resulted in legal consequences.

It would also be of interest to attempt to investigate the frequency with which altruistic offending occurs within the population and which behaviours are more common than others. This could be achieved by way of a population based survey. Qualitative questions could also be incorporated to provide a more in-depth look into personal experiences as they relate to different altruistic offending behaviours. Finally, future research could incorporate the examination of other culturally available narratives (such as Internet blogs, autobiographies) to provide a fuller picture of personal accounts.

10.7 Implications

10.7.1 Implications for theory

The term altruistic offending suggests that an individual commits a criminal offence motivated by empathy and compassion with the goal of improving another's welfare. The present qualitative research suggests that true altruistic behaviour is highly plausible and is reflected in different types of offending behaviour (helping others with death, animal liberation). Altruistic offenders view breaking the law as necessary to raise awareness of social injustices. Also, they appear to have a generalised sense of morality.

The concept of altruistic offending does not fit well within the pseudo-altruistic theory framework. For example, participants engaged in planned helping behaviour which researchers have argued to be an indication of an altruistic personality type because it is a better indication of enduring and intrinsic personality traits (Amato, 1985). Further, the research findings do not fit well within the self-reward and avoidance of punishment frameworks commonly proposed by pseudo-altruistic theories as participants were not motivated by arousal reduction or social approval (Bar-Tal & Raviv, 1982; Cialdini et al., 1981; Karylowski, 1982).

Instead, altruism theories such as autonomous altruism and altruistic personality type appear to better explain altruistic offending (Rosenhan, 1970; Rushton, 1981). Participant actions (from both studies) were guided by a sense of personal responsibility, universal moral norms, were high cost and risk, and often went against societal norms and established laws and practices. Further, their behaviour was not significantly affected by considerations of adverse consequences.

Based on participant accounts, it appears that their altruistic offending was motivated by a trigger which was the suffering of another. This may reflect a latent, intrinsic tendency towards altruism. It is possible, given the right circumstances, a type of enlightenment can occur whereby individuals become, if not altruistic activists and offenders, at least more empathically attuned to the plight of others (both human and non-human animals).

Context appears to be important. Perhaps it is the combination of internal tendencies and external influences which contribute to the development of altruistic offending. For example, internal tendencies such as dispositional empathy, tendency to question authority and external events such as exposure to suffering are combined to produce altruistic offending behaviour. These factors come together like a jigsaw puzzle.

10.7.2 Implications for practice

There are some important implications for practice. For example, altruistic offenders require support systems (such as counselling) as negative emotional states such as trauma, stress, and cognitive dissonance may be characteristic of their experiences. This is applicable to one-off altruistic offenders as well as ongoing ones.

There may need to be some form of recognition, perhaps in sentencing guidelines, of the motivational element to altruistic offending and that such offenders are highly unlikely to experience guilt or remorse and are likely to re-offend. Lack of any guidelines regarding offender motivation may lead to differential treatment and bias. Their motivation may also impact on the jury. For example, the survey study showed that altruistic motivation impacts on public punishment judgements. Basically, we may need to look more closely at how someone's motivation is perceived.

Further, altruistic offending differs from other types of offending behaviour in terms of motivation and end result. Grouping altruistic offenders into the same category as common-place offenders does not address their needs and it appears that most legal sanctions are not applicable nor effective for altruistic offenders. Furthermore, punishments such as prison terms may place altruistic offenders in environments of de-humanisation, increased stress, and at risk of harm from others. For example, Mary described being placed in prison as *“you're putting non criminal thinking in with criminal thinking and you're kind of feeding the lambs to the slaughter”*.

Prison terms may be counter-productive and may lead to a martyr-type condition whereby the altruistic offender receives increased support and recognition from fellow activists, and may also increase public awareness of their cause through media exposure. Prison terms in this way are not a deterrent. Indeed, some of the participants of the animal rights study described actively seeking out legal

repercussions including prison sentences. In saying that, a deterrent may not be necessary as altruistic offenders can direct public (and legal) attention to areas of the law which may be incongruent with widespread public opinion. However, if the law is broken there needs to be consequences but these may be made more appropriate to the type of offender. For example, taking into account altruistic tendencies of altruistic offenders, perhaps community service sentences are more appropriate.

Altruistic activists may draw public and legal attention to elements of the law which may need addressing (such as animal welfare laws) and which may be out of sync with widespread public opinion (such as illegality of euthanasia). For example, John discussed "*The way we treat animals is something that society has to fix, and the law will follow*". Indeed, there are historical examples whereby civil disobedience drew public and legal attention to areas where the law was outdated such as the Stonewall riots of the 1960s.

These implications would further lead to the consideration of whether altruistic activism and offending should be sustained and supported. An argument can be made that it should indeed be sustained and supported as it is instrumental in guiding change in legal and social contexts. One only has to think back to historical examples of altruistic offending such as rescuers of Jews in Nazi-occupied Europe, Black Civil Rights Movement in the United States, and more recent whistle-blowing examples. On a more general note, perhaps an approach of complete freedom of speech and access to information (such as the ability to openly visit factory farms) would diminish the need for such offences as people will be able to make informed choices.

There are a number of ways in which altruistic activism and offending can be sustained and supported. For example, the provision of support services such as counselling within the legal context as well as outside of it. Such services would have to be fully confidential as there might be some inherent distrust present. Altruistic activists in the present research reported trauma and stress in relation to

legal proceedings and consequences, and a lack of adequate support. Therefore, effort needs to be made to reduce the 'trauma burden'.

Sentencing guidelines should include considerations of underlying motivation of offender to reduce bias and differential treatment. Further, there is an over-emphasis in sentencing guidelines on admission of guilt and remorse. As the present research shows, altruistic offenders do not experience guilt or remorse. There should also be recognition that some altruistic activists engage in illegal behaviour in full knowledge of and despite existing laws. This is why re-offending is highly likely. Participants described being guided by a moral conscience instead of existing laws. For example, Betsey discussed this at length during the interview - *"I don't care if I'm operating outside the bounds of what society tells me is right or wrong or legal or illegal because I believe I'm a good person and I'm operating under my moral conscience"*.

Conducting further research into altruistic activism and offending would raise awareness and affect the discourse within the research community but also within the mainstream media. Essentially the goal should be to reduce marginalisation and radicalisation of these groups. Activists from both studies emphasised the importance of public support and acceptance. Ideally, research will promote education.

10.8 What does this all mean?

The systematic literature review provided a broad overview of research on human altruism, the quantitative survey study provided a glimpse into public perceptions relating to altruism and judgements of punishment, and the two in-depth qualitative studies provided a unique understanding and contribution to knowledge of altruistic offending from the offender's perspective.

Based on survey study results, it appears that not all crimes are created equal. For example, some crimes are consistently viewed more leniently regardless of circumstances (euthanasia). This carries implications for the real world setting whereby certain crimes may be viewed more positively than others.

The qualitative studies added a significant insight to existing research on human altruistic offending and the personal experience of it. Specifically, results suggest that the two groups of altruistic offenders are not distinct from each other in one very important respect - motivation. Both appear to share similar characteristics such as connecting with others, trauma, personal sacrifice, compassion, and challenge to legal and established belief systems. Moreover, in terms of motivational similarity, both groups were motivated by an overwhelming empathic response to the suffering of another. While the general populace may express more sympathetic attitudes towards assisted dying than animal rights activism, the two forms of altruistic offending are actually almost identical. That is, the similar themes extracted from both studies seem to suggest that the two forms of altruistic offending are identical at their motivational core.

In terms of the altruistic offenders themselves, the research conducted for this thesis suggests the notion of the existence of an altruistic personality type or at least, its plausibility. This might involve the altruistic personality type individual as being someone who has higher standards of justice, social responsibility, modes of moral reasoning, is more empathic to the feelings of others, and is able to view the world from the emotional and motivational perspectives of others (Rushton,

1981). Interestingly, the ability to view the world from another's perspective relates here both to human and non-human animals.

While it may be argued by some proponents of pseudo-altruism that selfish motivation is the primary driving force behind human behaviour and that the present research findings can just as easily be explained by pseudo-altruism as they can by 'true' altruism theories, several important points should be noted. Namely, for the participants of both qualitative studies, the potential negative consequences far outweighed any personal benefits or rewards. Participants were conscious of the potential for overwhelming negative consequences and thus, if they truly had been motivated by selfishness, surely this would have served as discouragement from action.

Additionally, the nature of the altruistic offending served to change the course of the participants' lives on a drastic scale. One would assume that again, if the underlying motivation was selfish, an easier life-path would have been chosen by participants – one with more rewards. Finally, while the participants did discuss some elements of personal reward gained from their experiences, as mentioned previously, one must not confuse the consequences of an act with the initial motivation to undertake that action. Perhaps a paradigm shift is needed whereby the distinction between selfish and non-selfish motivation is rendered redundant with respect to altruistic offending. The two qualitative studies strongly suggest that altruistic behaviour specifically, improving the welfare of others, was the strongest reinforcer for participants.

Based on the research conducted for this thesis a wider conclusion can be drawn in relation to intrinsic altruism and human nature, keeping in mind obvious generalisation limitations. Even when one acknowledges the limitations of the studies, it becomes clear that the perception of an offender's motivation as altruistic is regarded as an important issue, both by the public and by offenders themselves. Such altruistic motivation appears, on the basis of the offenders' accounts, to have been activated by one or another form of 'trigger'. A picture emerges of a latent,

possibly intrinsic tendency towards altruism which motivates action once the individual is exposed to the suffering of others. In a society often described as selfish and individualistic this suggests hope for a more caring future.

“An individual who breaks a law that conscience tells him is unjust, and who willingly accepts the penalty of imprisonment in order to arouse the conscience of the community over its injustice, is in reality expressing the highest respect for the law.”

Martin Luther King, Jr.

Appendix A: A post-research reflexive account

Although a reflexive account is commonly written during the course of a qualitative research project, this was, unfortunately, not done on this occasion. What follows however is a reflection on completion of the project, illustrating the kind of issues that would have been included in such an account. Further, in hindsight, I would have kept a reflexive journal through the course of the qualitative research.

Euthanasia study

From the first participant I was a naïve listener particularly as I have never (as yet) experienced the death of a loved one or had any personal knowledge of assisted dying. At the same time, I was becoming increasingly aware as data collection progressed of my emerging support for euthanasia as originally I approached the study from a 'neutral' perspective (neither for nor against). In saying that, in hindsight, I recognise that my stance on assisted dying (whilst being uninformed on a personal level) was never entirely neutral as I identified with liberal ideology and the right to self-determination.

The experiences of participants placed me in touch with my own mortality and the mortality of my loved ones which influenced my philosophical stance on assisted dying (particularly for myself). I found it difficult to remain a neutral observer and listener during emotional outbursts which the participants experienced during the re-telling of their stories. For example, Mary became extremely upset upon recounting of her mother's physical deterioration shortly prior to death. I felt uncomfortable during this point in the interview as I wanted to comfort Mary and at the same maintain focus of the interview. I also felt however, that she was appreciative of my presence and the role I played as 'listener'.

In terms of establishing rapport, all three participants did not appear to require any encouragement to tell their stories. On the contrary, they appeared very motivated to 'open up' and discuss their experiences of assisted dying. The first two

participants were particularly open and forthcoming with their stories and I assumed that interviewing them in their homes was a contributing factor. I also felt that my age (being in my mid-twenties) may have contributed to the type of interactions I had with the participants. Specifically, all three participants were older than I and, as became clear further into the interviews, they were motivated to tell their stories as a 'cautionary tale'. Perhaps they viewed me as part of their target audience. Further, participants may have viewed me as a 'witness' for their stories (Banister, Burman, Parker, Taylor, & Tindall, 1994).

My role as researcher in the interactions with participants may have been influential in fostering a trusting relationship as participants expressed the desire to describe and discuss their experiences from a psychological framework. For example, Mary discussed her belief that she experienced cognitive dissonance when describing to police the final moments of her mother's life. I also felt that the participants, specifically Mary and Derrick, related to me on a personal level, creating a kind of fluidity in my identity of which I was aware during the research process. This was expressed particularly well during my first interview with Derrick who, upon completion of the interview, invited me to have dinner with him and the family with whom he was living at the time (while under home detention). I felt it necessary to adjust my role from researcher to 'friend' but the two identities were not completely separate and I found myself fluctuating between the two through the course of the study.

Animal rights activism study

After the completion of the euthanasia study, I engaged in active brainstorming of other groups of altruistic offenders that I would like to interview. The idea to do the study came to me after watching a video lecture on YouTube by a prominent animal rights activist who, as a result of his activism, had been imprisoned and banned from entry into several countries. I found myself thinking, if humans can commit crimes motivated by compassion towards other humans, can they also do so for non-human animals? I wanted to explore the 'lived' experiences of animal

rights activists who had engaged in altruistic offending and also see what differences and similarities existed between the two different types of altruistic offending. The idea to carry out this study also appealed strongly to me as I had prior interest and engagement with animal rights philosophy and activism. Therefore, this study had personal significance for me.

During this study, I saw myself as both an 'insider' and an 'outsider'. Specifically, I was (and still am) an active and passionate supporter of animal rights and activism. Having a philosophical 'allegiance' with members of various animal rights organisations allowed me access to potential participants with relative ease. Snowballing proved to be an effective means of participant recruitment as potential participants approached me very quickly after I had spoken to a few animal rights activists.

I was also aware of my position as a university researcher which placed me in an 'outsider' group as participants may have viewed me from an 'official' perspective. I found myself shifting during the interviews (and post-interview interactions) between the frameworks of being a researcher and being an animal rights supporter. Regardless of similarities with the participants, I may have been treated as an outsider simply due to my position as a researcher (Mohammad, 2001). This was particularly evident with the first participant (John).

Activists who were unfamiliar with me displayed some reluctance and potential distrust, and this was demonstrated during my encounter with the first participant. John, who upon meeting me in the interview room, proceeded to inquire about my views on animal rights, welfare, and veganism. After a short conversation, I managed to relay to him my views and upon seeing that both of our views were congruent, John noticeably relaxed and appeared to be quite comfortable. Subsequent interviews with other participants did not require much effort to establish rapport as it is highly likely that participants knew each other and after the first interview, some trust had been established. I feel that my views on animal rights facilitated the collection of participant stories and their level of comfort in

disclosing details of their experiences. Had I not had these views, the process may have gone differently. Indeed, this was a valued 'resource' (Banister et al., 1994). I was aware of experiencing instant identification with the participants as, like those I interviewed, I felt myself to be a 'misfit' in society and actively began questioning the status quo in my early twenties. In addition to this, I had become involved in animal rights activism before I had the idea to conduct the study. Increasingly, as the study progressed, I found myself wanting to engage in more active forms of animal rights activism. Needless to say, I felt inspired by the participants. I did however, encounter some difficulties as while wanting to engage in various forms of animal rights activism, I also wanted to avoid legal repercussions.

While conducting the study, I encountered mixed feedback from others around me who were not involved in the research. For example, an acquaintance remarked to me, upon hearing about the research project, "but some people see them as food" (in reference to farmed animals). Receiving mixed feedback created feelings of frustration (and sometimes annoyance), and at the same time provided motivation to present findings which were accurate representations of participants' experiences.

I found that the interactions I was having with participants and exposure to their stories pushed me further into questioning 'appropriate' boundaries. That is, whether the illegal nature of some activism warrants a negative legal and social appraisal or is a necessary activity when such strongly ingrained practices within society (such as animal agriculture) are questioned. Also, the desire to partake in grass roots animal rights activism became very strong for me. I was very strongly affected by the experiences participants disclosed to me. Thus, the experience of exploring this topic, which was of high personal significance, and engaging with participants, fostered personal development and change for me (Banister et al., 1994).

Concluding remarks

For both studies, because the experiences relayed to me had social and moral significance, I struggled with anxiety of wanting to do right by the participants such as interpret the findings and present them accurately, and dissemination of research findings.

I had experienced the creation of a 'bond' between myself and several of the participants from both studies. This bond is still present and is reflected in communication or, 'keeping in touch', I continue to have with some of the participants. Furthermore, the experience of conducting this qualitative research had a profound impact on me in terms of personal development.

Appendix B: A breakdown of quantitative, qualitative and mixed methods studies on human altruism from 1960 – 2011

Table 37: Quantitative studies included in the systematic literature review and their respective ratings

Quantitative studies	Year	Participants (n)	Methods	Reliability	Validity	Generalisability	Quality (H=high, M=medium, L= low)
Berger	1962	Male & female Exp. I – n=30; Exp. II – n=96	Lab experiments with random assignment	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	M
Lerner	1965 (a)	Female students (n=44)	2 experimental conditions with random assignment	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	M
Lerner	1965 (b)	Female students (n=22)	2 experimental conditions – lab setting	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	M
Berkowitz, Connor	1966	Male college students (n=108)	Lab experiments with random assignment	Good	Good	Moderate	M
Bandura, Rosenthal	1966	Adult volunteers (n=100)	Lab experiments with random assignment	Moderate	Moderate	Low to Moderate	M
Darlington, Macker	1966	Female undergraduates (n=39)	Lab experiment with random assignment	Moderate	Moderate	Low	M
Lerner, Simmons	1966	Female students (n=72)	Experimental lab design with random assignment	Good	Good	Moderate	M
Rosenhan, White	1967	Children (n=130)	Subjects assigned to experimental conditions in presence/absence of a model	Good	Moderate	Low	M
Midlarsky, Bryan	1967	Female children (n=160)	Subjects assigned to different conditions	Low to Moderate	Low	Low	L
Lerner, Matthews	1967	Female students (n=66)	2 experimental conditions with random assignment	Good	Good	Moderate	M
Bryan, Test	1967	Exp. I – Drivers (n=4,000); Exp. II – shoppers (n=730); Exp. III – shoppers (n=720); Exp. IV – shoppers (n=3,703)	4 naturalistic experiments	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	M
Darley, Latane	1968	Students (n=72)	Laboratory setting – subject exposed to epileptic fit	Good	Good	Good	H
Simmons, Lerner	1968	Female students (n=153)	2 studies with random assignment	Good	Good	Moderate	M
Rawlings	1968	Female undergrad students (n=40)	4 experimental conditions	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	M
Latane, Darley	1968	Male undergraduates (n=58)	3 experimental conditions	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	M
Latane, Rodin	1969	Male undergraduates (n=120)	Lab experiments with random assignment	Good	Good	Moderate	M
Stotland, Sherman	1969	Male undergraduate students (n=128)	Lab experiment with random assignment	Good	Good	Good	H

Isen	1970	Exp. I & II – teachers (n=6); Exp. III - psychology students (n=10)	3 experiments (Exp. III a replication of Exp. II)	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	M
Aderman, Berkowitz	1970	Male college students (n=120)	Lab experiment with random assignment	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	M
Schwartz	1970	Blood donors (n=144)	Lab experiments with random assignment	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	M
Schwartz, Clausen	1970	University students (n=179)	Lab experiments with random assignment	Good	Good	Moderate	M
Weiss, Buchanan, Alstatt, Lombardo	1971	Students (n=144)	2 lab experiments with random assignment	Moderate	Low to Moderate	Good	M
Regan	1971	University students (n=84)	Lab experiments with random assignment	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	M
Wispe, Freshley	1971	Adult shoppers (n=176)	Natural setting	Moderate	Moderate	Low	M
White	1972	Children (n=210)	Subjects assigned to experimental conditions	Moderate	Moderate	Low	M
Mehrabian, Epstein	1972	Students (n=91)	Personality scales and pairing with confederate	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	M
Isen, Levin	1972	Exp. I – male students (n=52) Exp. II – shoppers (n=41)	2 experimental conditions in both studies	Moderate	Moderate	Low to Moderate	M
Moss, Page	1972	Adults walkers (n=120)	Field experiment in naturalistic setting	Low to Moderate	Low to Moderate	Moderate	M
Regan, Williams, Sparling	1972	Female shoppers (n=40)	Field experiment	Moderate	Moderate	Low to Moderate	M
Clark III, Word	1972	Exp. I - male undergraduates (n=70); Exp. II - male undergraduates (n=150)	2 lab experiments with random assignment	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	M
Liebhart	1972	Male school students (n=102)	Experimental design with random assignment	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	M
Weiss, Boyer, Lombardo, Stich	1973	Students Exp. I (n=48); Exp. II (n=48); Exp. III (n=72)	3 lab experiments with random assignment	Good	Good	Good	H
Cialdini, Darby, Vincent	1973	Undergraduate psychology students (n=68)	Subjects assigned randomly to 1 of 9 conditions	Good	Moderate	Moderate	M
Harris, Huang	1973	Students (n=46)	6 experimental groups with random assignment	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	M
Moore, Underwood, Rosenhan	1973	School children (n=42)	4 experimental conditions	Low	Low	Low	L
Isen, Horn, Rosenhan	1973	Children Exp. I (n=75); Exp. II (n=60); Exp. III (n=60)	3 experiments with random assignment	Good	Good	Moderate	M

Midlarsky, Midlarsky	1973	Male college students (n=64)	Lab experiment with random assignment	Good	Good	Moderate	M
Gaertner	1973	Political party members; Exp. I (n=468); Exp. II (n=unclear)	2 field experiments	Moderate	Moderate	Low	M
Rubin, Schneider	1973	Children (n=55)	2 experimental sessions	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	M
Schwartz	1973	Adult females (n=132)	Mailed questionnaire followed by mailed letter	Moderate	Moderate	Low	M
Yarrow, Scott, Waxler	1973	Preschool children Exp. I (n=104); Exp. II (n=23)	6 phases in experiment I; replication of part of study in experiment II	Good	Good	Good	H
Darley, Batson	1973	Students (n=67)	Questionnaire, field experiment	Good	Good	Moderate	M
Lerner	1974	Children Exp. I (n=60); Exp. II (n=90); Exp. III (n=80)	3 experiments with random assignment	Moderate	Moderate	Low	M
Rosenhan, Underwood, Moore	1974	Children (n=36)	Random assignment to 3 experimental conditions	Good	Good	Moderate	M
Barnett, Bryan	1974	Male school children (n=80)	8 experimental conditions	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	M
Lay, Allen, Kassirer	1974	Recipients of the Carnegie Hero Medal and Metropolitan Police Civilian Citations (n=248)	Retrospective analysis of recipients	Low to Moderate	Low to Moderate	Low	M
Long, Lerner	1974	School children (n=48)	Random assignment to 2 experimental groups	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	M
Sherrod, Downs	1974	Female students (n=60)	Lab experiment with random assignment	Low to Moderate	Low to Moderate	Low	M
Krebs	1975	Male adult students (n=60)	Laboratory experiment with random assignment	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	M
Zuckerman	1975	Undergraduate students Exp. I (n=52); Exp. II (n=37); Exp. III (n=165)	3 experiments with random assignment	Good	Good	Moderate	M
McGuire, Thomas	1975	School children (n=55)	Lab experiment with random assignment	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	M
Harris, Siebel	1975	School students (n=73)	Lab experiment with random assignment	Low to Moderate	Low to Moderate	Low to Moderate	M
Friedrich, Stein	1975	Pre-school children (n=73)	Lab experiment with random assignment	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	M
Wolosin, Sherman, Mynatt	1975	Male undergrad students; Exp. I(n=60); Exp. II(n=54)	2 lab experiments with random assignment	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	M
Hoffman	1975	Children (n=80)	Multiple questionnaires	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	M
West, Whitney, Schnedler	1975	Motorists Exp. I(n=64); Exp. II(n=128)	Experiments I & II – naturalistic	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	M

Korte	1975	Adults (n=116)	Field experiment	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	M
Weissbrod	1976	Male children (n=72)	Lab experiment with random assignment	Moderate	Low to Moderate	Low	M
Wilson	1976	Students (n=196)	Subjects assigned to 1 of 3 experimental conditions	Good	Good	Moderate	M
Tolor, Kelly, Stebbins	1976	Neuropsychiatric patients & students (n=50)	Questionnaire & exposure to behavioural measure	Moderate	Moderate	Low to Moderate	M
Weiner	1976	Students (n=126)	Lab experiment with random assignment	Low to Moderate	Low to Moderate	Low to Moderate	M
Solomon, Grotta	1976	Adult shoppers (n=32)	Filed study	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	M
Pomazal, Jaccard	1976	Students (n=270)	Questionnaires, naturalistic setting, follow-ups	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	M
Schwartz, David	1976	Male students (n=72)	Lab design with random assignment	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	M
Cialdini, Kenrick	1976	Children and adolescents (n=100)	Experimental design with random assignment	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	M
Shotland, Straw	1976	Experiments I-V: students; Exp. I (n=51); Exp. II (n=88); Exp. III (n=80); Exp. IV (n=56); Exp. V (n=81)	Experimental design with random assignment, questionnaire	Good	Good	Moderate	M
Mannarino	1976	Pre-adolescent males (n=60)	Experimental design	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	M
Gaertner, Dovidio	1977	White female undergraduates Exp. I(n=75); Exp. II (n=193)	2 studies with random assignment	Low to Moderate	Low to Moderate	Low to Moderate	M
Willis, Feldman, Ruble	1977	School children (n=48)	Lab experiment with random assignment	Low to Moderate	Low to Moderate	Low	M
McPeck, Cialdini	1977	University students (n=96)	Lab experiment with random assignment	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	M
Miller (a)	1977	University students Exp. I (n=220); Exp. II (n=48)	Experiments I & II – scales and lab experiments	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	M
Miller (b)	1977	Male students Exp. I(n=53); Exp. II (n=52)	2 lab experiments with random assignment	Moderate	Moderate	Low to Moderate	M
Miller, Smith	1977	Children (n=90)	Lab experiments with random assignment	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	M
Peterson, Hartmann, Gelfand	1977	Children Exp.I (n=47); Exp.II (n=63)	Experiments I & II - experiments with random assignment	Good	Good	Moderate	M
Underwood, Froming, Moore	1977	School children (n=153)	Experimental design with random assignment	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	M
Hansson, Slade	1977	Adults (n=216)	Field experiment	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	M
Coke, Batson, McDavis	1978	Undergraduate students Exp.I (n=44); Female students Exp.II (n=33)	2 experiments with random assignment	Good	Good	Good	H

Iannotti	1978	6-9 year old male children (n=60)	Lab experiments with random assignment	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	M
Baker, Reitz	1978	Adults randomly selected from phone book (n=428)	Experimental design with 3 independent variable and 1 observed variable	Good	Good	Moderate	M
Grusec, Kuczynski, Rushton, Simutis	1978	School children (n=126)	4 phases in study	Good	Good	Moderate	M
Zuckerman, Reis	1978	University students (n=251)	Questionnaire, field experiment	Moderate	Moderate	Low to Moderate	M
Hansson, Slade, Slade	1978	Students (n=51)	Experimental design with random assignment	Moderate	Moderate	Low to Moderate	M
Duval, Duval, Neely	1979	Female undergraduate students Exp. I (n=55); Exp.II (n=55)	Lab experiment with random assignment	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	M
Kenrick, Baumann, Cialdini	1979	Children Exp.I (n=72); Exp.II (n=77)	Experiments I & II - Lab experiments with random assignment	Good	Good	Good	H
Buckley, Siegel, Ness	1979	Children (n=41)	Experimental design with random assignment	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	M
Miller	1979	School children (n=66)	Experimental design with random assignment & measures	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	M
Vaughan, Lanzetta	1980	Psychology students Exp.I (n=16); Exp.II (n=19)	2 experiments with random assignment	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	M
Roe	1980	School children (n=42)	Longitudinal study	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	M
Thompson, Cowan, Rosenhan	1980	Undergrad students (n=36)	Affect induction experiment	Good	Good	Good	H
Benson, Dehority, Garman, Hanson, Hochschwender, Lebold, Rohr, Sullivan	1980	College undergraduates (n=113)	Intrapersonal scales	Moderate	Moderate	Low to Moderate	M
Bar-Tal, Raviv, Leiser	1980	Children (n=124)	Experiment in a naturalistic setting	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	M
Grusec, Redler	1980	School children Exp. I(n=60); Exp. II (n=48); Exp. III (n=60)	Experiments I, II, III - Lab experiments with random assignment	Good	Good	Good	H
Schwartz, Gottlieb	1980	Exp. I (n= 127) students; Exp. II (n=52) female students	Experiment I & II - experimental lab design with random assignment	Good	Good	Moderate	M

Weiner	1980	Experiments I – VI: students; Exp. I(n= 30); Exp. II(n=40); Exp. III(n=28); Exp. IV(n=41); Exp. V(n=41); Exp. VI(n=99)	Experiment I- questionnaire; Experiments II-VI: correlational and experimental designs	Good	Good	Good	H
Batson, Duncan, Ackerman, Buckley, Birch	1981	Female students Exp. I(n=44); Exp. II(n=48)	2 lab experiments with random assignment	Good	Low to Moderate	Low	M
Archer, Diaz-Loving, Gollwitzer, Davis, Foushee	1981	Female undergraduate students (n=123)	2 experimental conditions & measure of empathy	Good	Good	Moderate	M
Barnett, Howard, King, Dino	1981	High school students (n=103)	Questionnaire and video presentation	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	M
Erkut, Jaquette, Staub	1981	Male undergraduates (n=116)	3 experimental conditions	Good	Good	Moderate	M
Baumann, Cialdini, Kenrick	1981	Undergraduate students (n=80)	Lab experiment with random assignment	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	M
Rushton, Chrisjohn, Fekken	1981	Undergraduate students Exp.I (n=118); Exp.II (n=146); Exp.III (n=200)	3 studies using a self-report altruism scale (SRA)	Good	Good	Good	H
Shigetomi, Hartmann, Gelfand	1981	School children (n=279)	Reputational measures and behavioural tasks	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	M
Thomas, Batson, Coke	1981	University students (n=64)	Lab experiments with random assignment	Moderate	Low to Moderate	Moderate	M
Rosenhan, Salovey, Hargis	1981	Students (n=31)	Experimental lab design with random assignment	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	M
Geller, Malia	1981	Exp. I (n=104)– students; Exp. II (n=160)- pedestrians	Experiment I – lab experiment; Experiment II – field study	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	M
Marks, Penner, Stone	1982	Male undergraduate psychology students Exp. I(n= 159); Exp. II(n=318)	2 experiments with random assignment	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	M
Toi, Batson	1982	Female psychology students (n=84)	Lab experiment with random assignment	Good	Good	Moderate	M
Barnett, Howard, Melton, Dino	1982	School age children (n=112)	Empathy measurement, induced affect	Good	Good	Moderate	M
Schwartz, Fleishman	1982	Adult women (n=382)	Questionnaire, follow-up phone call	Moderate	Moderate	Low to Moderate	M
Goldman, Lewandowski, Carrill	1982	Adult pedestrians (n=80)	Field experiment	Low to Moderate	Low to Moderate	Low	L
Maruyama, Fraser, Miller	1982	Children (n=177)	Field experiment with random assignment	Low to Moderate	Low to Moderate	Moderate	L

Peterson	1983	Pre-school and school age children (n=16)	Lab experimental setting	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	M
Shotland, Stebbins	1983	Adults Exp.I (n=320); Students Exp.II (n=486)	2 field experiments	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	M
Batson, O'Quin, Fultz, Vanderplas, Isen	1983	University students (n=40)	Experiments I, II & III - experiments with random assignment	Good	Good	Good	H
Sterling, Gaertner	1984	Male students (n=54)	Low, medium, high physical exercise & exposure to ambiguous/unambiguous situation	Good	Good	Moderate	M
Zeldin, Savin-Williams, Small	1984	Adolescent males (n=12)	Questionnaire/naturalistic setting/observation	Low to Moderate	Low to Moderate	Low	L
Wilson, Petruska	1984	Male students (n=112)	Safety and esteem measure, random assignment to experimental conditions	Good	Good	Moderate	M
Manucia, Baumann, Cialdini	1984	Students (n=86)	Experimental design with random assignment	Good	Moderate	Moderate	M
Wilson, Dovidio	1985	Adult shoppers (n=80)	Field experiment	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	M
Amato	1985	Exp. I(n=97) & II(n=160) – students; Exp.III (n=115) – adults in helping & non-helping professions	3 lab experiments with random assignment	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	M
Zarbatany, Hartmann, Gelfand, Vinciguerra	1985	School children (n=65)	Questionnaire	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	M
Froming, Allen, Jensen	1985	Children Exp.I (n=222); Exp.II (n=143)	Experiments I & II - Lab experiments with random assignment	Good	Good	Good	H
Lennon, Eisenberg, Carroll	1986	Pre-school children (n=35)	Facial/gestural indices & picture/story indices	Good	Good	Good	H
Fultz, Batson, Fortenbach, McCarthy, Varney	1986	Female undergraduate students Exp.I (n=22); Exp.II (32)	2 experimental studies with random assignment	Good	Good	Moderate	M
Batson, Bolen, Cross, Neuringer-Benefiel	1986	Female college students (n=60)	Subjects assigned to conditions by randomised block procedure	Good	Good	Moderate	M
Smith, Shaffer	1986	Female university students (n=80)	Lab experiment	Moderate	Moderate	Low to Moderate	M
Schoenrade, Batson, Brandt, Loud	1986	Female undergraduates (n=40)	Lab experiment with random assignment	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	M
Clary, Miller	1986	Adult volunteers (n=162)	Survey, prospective study	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	M

Rushton, Fulker, Neale, Nias, Eysenck	1986	Adult twin pairs (n=573)	Questionnaires	Good	Good	Good	H
Romer, Gruder, Lizzadro	1986	Exp. I(n=94), & II(n=125) - students	Exp. I – questionnaire; Exp. II – experimental design with random assignment	Good	Good	Moderate	M
White, Gerstein	1987	University students (n=113)	Field experiment	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	M
Batson, Fultz, Schoenrade, Paduano	1987	Exp. I(n=69)& II(n=48) – university students	Lab experiments with random assignment	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	M
Cialdini, Schaller, Houlihan, Arps, Fultz, Beaman	1987	Female students Exp. I(n=87); Exp. II (n=35)	Experiments I & II - Lab experiments with random assignment	Good	Good	Moderate	M
Schroeder, Dovidio, Sibicky, Matthews, Allen	1988	Psychology students (n=120)	8 experimental conditions with random assignment	Good	Moderate	Moderate	M
Eisenberg, McCreath, Ahn	1988	Pre-school children (n=62)	Self-report, facial/gestural indices	Good	Moderate	Moderate	M
Pancer	1988	Students (n=411)	Field experiment	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	M
Schaller, Cialdini	1988	Female students (n=90)	Experimental lab design with random assignment	Good	Good	Moderate	M
Batson, Dyck, Brandt, Batson, Powell, McMaster, Griffitt	1988	Exp. I(n=80), II(n=120), III(n=88) – male and female students; Exp.IV (n=60), V(n=48) - female students	Experimental design with random assignment, Stroop task, questionnaire	Good	Good	Good	H
Batson, Batson, Griffitt, Barrientos, Brandt, Sprengelmeyer, Bayly	1989	Male and female university students Exp.I (n=44); Exp.II (n=40); Exp.III (n=60)	3 experiments involving enhancement/manipulation of mood	Good	Good	Good	H
Strayer, Roberts	1989	School children (n=51)	Measures of empathy, role-taking, imagination, ego resiliency, verbal ability and prosocial behaviour	Good	Good	Good	H
Midlarsky, Hannah	1989	Subjects in age groups from 5 to 75+ years of age (n=unclear)	Experiments I & II – naturalistic studies	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	M
Mills, Pederson, Grusec	1989	Adults (n=70)	Experiment with random assignment	Moderate	Moderate	Low	M
Smith, Keating, Stotland	1989	Undergraduate students (n=64)	Lab experiments with random assignment	Good	Good	Moderate	M
Batson, Oleson, Weeks, Healy, Reeves,	1989	Exp. I(n=46) – male and female students; Exp.II (n=60) – female students	Experimental design with random assignment	Good	Good	Moderate	M

Jennings, Brown							
Eisenberg, Miller, Schaller, Fabes, Fultz, Shell, Shea	1989	Students (n=78)	Personality measures, lab experiment with random assignment	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	M
Spivey, Prentice-Dunn	1990	Male students (n=72)	Questionnaire, lab experiment with random assignment	Good	Good	Moderate	M
Dovidio, Schroeder, Allen	1990	Students (n=193)	Experimental design with random assignment	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	M
Clary, Orenstein	1991	Male and female volunteers (n=161)	Prospective study	Good	Moderate	Moderate	M
Bierhoff, Klein, Kramp	1991	First aiders (n=43)	Questionnaire by mail	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	M
Batson, Batson, Slingsby, Harrell, Peekna, Todd	1991	Experiments I(n=72) & II(n=72) – female students; Experiment III(n=108) – male & female students	Lab experiments with random assignment	Good	Good	Good	H
Brown, Smart	1991	Students Exp.I (n=52); Exp.II (n=52)	Experiments I & II – questionnaire measures, random assignment	Good	Good	Moderate	M
Carlo, Eisenberg, Troyer, Switzer, Speer	1991	Students (n=109)	Personality measures, lab experiment with random assignment	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	M
Hedge, Yousif	1992	Adults Exp.I (n=400); Exp.II (n=1,000)	Field experiments	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	M
Ma	1993	Chinese students (n=823)	Experimental design with random assignment	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	M
Fabes, Eisenberg, Eisenbud	1993	Children (n=66)	1 experiment – physiological reactions recorded	Good	Good	Good	H
Shaw, Borough, Fink	1994	Adults (n=80)	Field study	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	M
Salais, Fischer	1995	Homosexual (n=76) & heterosexual males (n=51)	Measure of empathy	Low to Moderate	Low to Moderate	Low	M
Bell, Grekul, Lamba, Minas, Harrell	1995	Undergraduate students (n=242)	Lab experiment with random assignment	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	M
Sibicky, Schroeder, Dovidio	1995	Female students (n=84)	Lab experiments with random assignment	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	M
Batson, Klein, Highberger, Shaw	1995	Experiment I (n=60) – female students; Experiment II (n=60) – female & male students	Experiments I & II – experiments with random assignment	Good	Good	Good	H

Batson, Batson, Todd, Brummett, Shaw, Aldeguer	1995	Exp. I(n=120), II(n=45) – students	Experimental design with random assignment	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	M
Oswald	1996	Adult students (n=65)	Lab experiment with random assignment	Moderate	Low to Moderate	Moderate	M
Roberts, Strayer	1996	Children (n=73)	Lab experiments, vignette interviews, questionnaires, empathy measures	Good	Good	Good	H
Cialdini, Brown, Lewis, Luce, Neuberg	1997	Exp. I(n=90), II (n=74), III (n=263) – students	Experimental design with random assignment, questionnaire	Good	Good	Good	H
Dietrich, Berkowitz	1997	Female students (n=60)	Experimental design with random assignment	Good	Good	Moderate	M
Taylor	1998	Adult shoppers Exp. I(n=240) & Adult drivers Exp. II (n=300)	Field experiments	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	M
Christensen, Fierst, Jodocy, Lorenz	1998	Adults (n=240)	Wrong-number technique & random assignment	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	M
Korchmaros, Kenny	2001	Students (n=29)	Questionnaire	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	M
Vaes, Paladino, Leyens	2002	Exp. I university personnel (n=86); Exp. II scientists (n=240)	Lab experiment with random assignment	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	M
Maner, Luce, Neuberg, Cialdini, Brown, Sagarin	2002	University students (n=169)	Lab experiments with random assignment	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	M
Gueguen, Fischer-Lokou	2003	Adults on the street (n=60)	Field experiment	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	M
Schwartz, Meisenhelder, Yunsheng, Reed	2003	Church members (n=2,016)	Mail questionnaire	Moderate	Low to Moderate	Low	L
Bierhoff, Rohmann	2004	Adult females (n=56)	Experimental lab design with random assignment, questionnaire	Good	Good	Moderate	M
Batson, Lishner, Cook, Sawyer	2005	Female undergraduates Exp. I (n=45) & Exp. II (n=64)	Lab experiments with random assignment	Good	Good	Moderate	M
Persson	2005	Young children (n=44)	Longitudinal naturalistic observation with coding	Low to Moderate	Low to Moderate	Moderate	M
Mikulincer, Shaver, Gillath, Nitzberg	2005	Students Exp.I (n=180), Exp.II (n=180), Exp.III (n=240), Exp.IV (n=240), Exp.V (n=24)	5 experimental studies with random assignment	Good	Good	Good	H
Sturmer, Snyder, Omoto	2005	Exp. I (n=166) – adult volunteers;	Exp. I – longitudinal study; Exp. II – laboratory experiment	Good	Good	Moderate	M

		Exp. II (n=44) – students					
Midlarsky, Fagin Jones, Nemeroff	2006	Adults (n=210)	Retrospective/case-control	Moderate	Moderate	Low	M
Bartlett, DeSteno	2006	College students – Exp. I(n=105), Exp. II(n=97), Exp. III(n=35)	3 experiments	Good	Good	Moderate	M
Reysen, Ganz	2006	Adults (n=324)	Natural setting	Moderate	Moderate	Low	M
Karakashian, Walter, Christopher	2006	Undergraduate students (n=83)	Lab experiment	Good	Good	Good	H
Maner, Gailliot	2007	Undergraduate students (n=154)	Lab experiment with random assignment	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	M
Benenson, Pascoe, Radmore	2007	4, 6, 9 year old children (n=360)	Dictator game with random assignment	Good	Good	Moderate	M
Carpara, Steca	2007	Adults (n=1,324)	Questionnaires	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	M
Coulter, Wilkes, Der-Martirosian	2007	Students (n=440)	Cross-sectional survey design	Moderate	Moderate	Low to Moderate	M
Van Lange	2008	College students (n=84)	A one-variable design	Good	Good	Moderate	M
Ferguson, Farrell, Lawrence	2008	Blood donors students Exp. I (n=957), Exp. II(n=333), Exp. III(n=200)	Prospective study, cross-sectional study, experimental study	Good	Good	Moderate	M
Warneken, Tomasello	2008	Children (n=36)	Experimental design with random assignment	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	M
Kuntsman, Plant	2008	Students Exp. I(n=115), Exp. II(n=65), Exp. III(n=142)	Staged emergency experimental design with random assignment	Good	Good	Good	H
Alessandri, Carpara, Eisenberg, Steca	2009	Adolescents (n=466)	Longitudinal study	Good	Good	Good	H
Carpara, Alessandri, Di Giunta, Panerai, Eisenberg	2010	Adolescents (n=377)	Longitudinal study – multiple cohort design	Good	Good	Good	H
Bereczkei, Birkas, Kerekes	2010	University students (n=194)	Lab experiment with random assignment	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	M
Valdesolo, DeSteno	2011	Adults (n=69)	Experiment with random assignment	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	M

Table 38: Qualitative studies included in the systematic literature review and their respective ratings

Qualitative studies	Year	Pop-n	Methods	Reliability	Validity	Generalisability	Quality (H=high, M=medium, L=low)
London	1970	Adults (n=69)	Standardised interviews	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	M
Rosenhan	1970	Adults (n=92)	Structured interviews	Moderate	Moderate	Low	M
McWilliams	1984	Adults (n=5)	Qualitative semi-structured interviews	Low	Low	Moderate	L
Monroe, Barton, Klingemann	1990	Adults (n=18)	Semi-structured interviews	Good	Good	Moderate	M
Monroe	1996	Adults (n=25)	Interviews	Moderate	Moderate	Low	M
Miller, Jansen op de Haar	1997	Children, caregivers (n=27)	Qualitative semi-structured interviews	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	M

Table 39: Mixed methods studies included in the systematic literature review and their respective ratings

Mixed methods studies	Year	Pop-n	Methods	Reliability	Validity	Generalisability	Quality (H=high, M=medium, L=low)
Dreman, Greenbaum	1973	Children (n=120)	Observation and content analysis	Low to Moderate	Low to Moderate	Low to Moderate	L
Iannotti	1985	Children (n=52)	Natural observation, structured measures & rating scales	Low to Moderate	Low to Moderate	Moderate	M
Oliner & Oliner	1988	Adults (n=682)	Questionnaires and interviews	Moderate	Moderate	Low	M
Killen, Turiel	1998	Adolescents, & young adults (n=90)	Interviews, rating scales	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	M
Small, Loewenstein	2003	Exp. I (n=76)-undergraduate students, Exp. II(n=234)-adults	Experiment I – lab experiment; Experiment II – field experiment	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	M
Malti, Gummerum, Keller, Buchmann	2009	Children & caregivers – Exp.I(n=1,273) & Exp.II(n=175)	2 longitudinal studies	Good	Good	Good	H
Krock	2010	Female adolescents (n=7)	Questionnaires, naturalistic setting, structured interviews	Low to Moderate	Low to Moderate	Low	L

Appendix C: Crime and Punishment survey study

Participant Information Sheet

DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY
Faculty of Science

Participant Information Sheet (Research participant)

‘Crime and Punishment’

Supervisor: Professor Glynn Owens
Secondary supervisor: Professor Felicity Goodyear-Smith
Student researcher: Svetlana Feigin
PhD candidate (Department of Psychology)

This survey aims to examine public attitudes towards crime and punishment. You are invited to participate in this interesting and informing research project.

You will be presented with a series of questions and asked to answer each one. Participation is entirely voluntary and neither grades nor academic relationships will be affected by either refusal or agreement to participate. Upon completion of the survey you have the choice to go in the draw to win a \$50 Westfield voucher.

The data obtained from the survey will be kept in a secure encrypted file for six years and then will be deleted. You have the right to withdraw from participation at any time.

Anonymity and confidentiality are guaranteed. You will be asked to fill out a demographic questionnaire which will not ask you for any identifying information such as your name. The information you provide with regards to your contact details will remain confidential to be used only by the researcher for the purposes of following up on voucher wins and study results (if requested). After completion of the research project, any potentially identifying information will be destroyed.

Consent is obtained by clicking a box which also indicates age of 16 or older.

Contacts:

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Professor Felicity Goodyear-Smith (supervisor)

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Svetlana Feigin (PhD candidate)

Phone: +64 9 923 6853

Email: sfei001@aucklanduni.ac.nz

For any queries regarding ethical concerns you may contact the Chair, The University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee, The University of Auckland, Office of the Vice Chancellor, Private Bag 92019, Auckland 1142. Telephone 09 373 7599 extn.83711

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE ON 11/8/2011 for 3 years, Reference Number 7481

Advertisement of Crime and Punishment survey study

DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY



CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

**Would you like to participate in this interesting survey and go into the draw to win a \$50 dollar Westfield voucher?
Would you like to share your views on **crime** and **punishment**?**

If you've answered 'yes' to the above then I would love to hear from you!

I invite you to participate in this survey which aims to examine public attitudes towards crime and punishment. The survey is composed of a series of questions and should take no longer than 15-20 minutes to complete. The survey needs to be completed online and you must be 16 years or older to participate. After completion, you may choose to go into the draw for a \$50 Westfield voucher.

If you are interested in participating, please contact me via e-mail and I will provide you with a link which will take you straight to the survey!

Email: sfei001@aucklanduni.ac.nz (Svetlana)

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE ON 11/8/2011 for 3 years, Reference Number 7481

Testing assumptions

Skewness and Kurtosis

Table 40: Skewness and Kurtosis for Drink-driving scenario (altruistic variation) - Altruism and Punishment (with all three levels of severity) sample distributions

		A(a)	Statistic	Std. Error
Altruism	(L)	Mean	2.57	.146
		Std. Deviation	1.065	
		Skewness	.267	.327
		Kurtosis	-.492	.644
	(M)	Mean	2.30	.123
		Std. Deviation	.987	
		Skewness	.693	.299
		Kurtosis	.344	.590
	(H)	Mean	1.97	.126
		Std. Deviation	1.090	
		Skewness	1.018	.277
		Kurtosis	.254	.548
Punishment	(L)	Mean	2.81	.135
		Std. Deviation	.982	
		Skewness	.142	.327
		Kurtosis	-.432	.644
	(M)	Mean	2.94	.109
		Std. Deviation	.871	
		Skewness	.570	.299
		Kurtosis	.275	.590
	(H)	Mean	3.13	.096
		Std. Deviation	.827	
		Skewness	.332	.277
		Kurtosis	.355	.548

Table 41: Skewness and Kurtosis for Drink-driving scenario (selfish variation) - Altruism and Punishment (with all three levels of severity) sample distributions

		A(s)	Statistic	Std. Error
Altruism	(L)	Mean	1.22	.093
		Std. Deviation	.791	
		Skewness	3.615	.283
		Kurtosis	12.233	.559
	(M)	Mean	1.51	.137
		Std. Deviation	1.126	
		Skewness	2.094	.291
		Kurtosis	3.138	.574
	(H)	Mean	1.37	.143
		Std. Deviation	1.019	
		Skewness	2.721	.333
		Kurtosis	6.361	.656
Punishment	(L)	Mean	3.08	.108
		Std. Deviation	.915	
		Skewness	.398	.283
		Kurtosis	.328	.559
	(M)	Mean	3.24	.115
		Std. Deviation	.948	
		Skewness	-.278	.291
		Kurtosis	-.023	.574
	(H)	Mean	3.37	.134
		Std. Deviation	.958	
		Skewness	.025	.333
		Kurtosis	-.295	.656

Table 42: Skewness and Kurtosis for Theft scenario (altruistic variation) - Altruism and Punishment (with all three levels of severity) sample distributions

		B(a)	Statistic	Std. Error
Altruism	(L)	Mean	2.92	.126
		Std. Deviation	1.114	
		Skewness	-.250	.272
		Kurtosis	-.707	.538
	(M)	Mean	2.66	.142
		Std. Deviation	1.085	
		Skewness	.054	.314
		Kurtosis	-1.047	.618
	(H)	Mean	3.02	.148
		Std. Deviation	1.097	
		Skewness	-.037	.322
		Kurtosis	-.872	.634
Punishment	(L)	Mean	2.04	.069
		Std. Deviation	.612	
		Skewness	.329	.272
		Kurtosis	.858	.538
	(M)	Mean	2.33	.087
		Std. Deviation	.659	
		Skewness	.673	.314
		Kurtosis	.598	.618
	(H)	Mean	2.56	.089
		Std. Deviation	.660	
		Skewness	-.042	.322
		Kurtosis	-.119	.634

Table 43: Skewness and Kurtosis for Theft scenario (selfish variation) - Altruism and Punishment (with all three levels of severity) sample distributions

		B(s)	Statistic	Std. Error
Altruism	(L)	Mean	1.28	.102
		Std. Deviation	.799	
		Skewness	2.696	.306
		Kurtosis	5.901	.604
	(M)	Mean	1.29	.098
		Std. Deviation	.830	
		Skewness	2.751	.283
		Kurtosis	6.152	.559
	(H)	Mean	1.68	.160
		Std. Deviation	1.242	
		Skewness	1.734	.309
		Kurtosis	1.713	.608
Punishment	(L)	Mean	2.49	.076
		Std. Deviation	.595	
		Skewness	.769	.306
		Kurtosis	-.348	.604
	(M)	Mean	2.81	.083
		Std. Deviation	.705	
		Skewness	.046	.283
		Kurtosis	-.477	.559
	(H)	Mean	3.43	.112
		Std. Deviation	.871	
		Skewness	.291	.309
		Kurtosis	.252	.608

Table 44: Skewness and Kurtosis for Euthanasia scenario (altruistic variation) - Altruism and Punishment (with all three levels of severity) sample distributions

		C(a)	Statistic	Std. Error
Altruism	(L)	Mean	3.56	.159
		Std. Deviation	1.291	
		Skewness	-.581	.295
		Kurtosis	-.742	.582
	(M)	Mean	3.49	.179
		Std. Deviation	1.351	
		Skewness	-.566	.316
		Kurtosis	-.849	.623
	(H)	Mean	3.51	.127
		Std. Deviation	1.044	
		Skewness	-.365	.291
		Kurtosis	-.474	.574
Punishment	(L)	Mean	2.06	.143
		Std. Deviation	1.162	
		Skewness	1.093	.295
		Kurtosis	.521	.582
	(M)	Mean	2.11	.136
		Std. Deviation	1.030	
		Skewness	1.003	.316
		Kurtosis	.778	.623
	(H)	Mean	2.35	.110
		Std. Deviation	.910	
		Skewness	.208	.291
		Kurtosis	-.121	.574

Table 45: Skewness and Kurtosis for Euthanasia scenario (selfish variation) - Altruism and Punishment (with all three levels of severity) sample distributions

		C(s)	Statistic	Std. Error
Altruism	(L)	Mean	1.59	.153
		Std. Deviation	1.261	
		Skewness	1.937	.291
		Kurtosis	2.234	.574
	(M)	Mean	1.73	.155
		Std. Deviation	1.234	
		Skewness	1.602	.302
		Kurtosis	1.358	.595
	(H)	Mean	1.52	.135
		Std. Deviation	1.049	
		Skewness	2.093	.309
		Kurtosis	3.515	.608
Punishment	(L)	Mean	3.59	.139
		Std. Deviation	1.149	
		Skewness	-.587	.291
		Kurtosis	-.363	.574
	(M)	Mean	3.59	.127
		Std. Deviation	1.010	
		Skewness	-.634	.302
		Kurtosis	.377	.595
	(H)	Mean	3.85	.136
		Std. Deviation	1.055	
		Skewness	-.497	.309
		Kurtosis	-.580	.608

Sample distributions

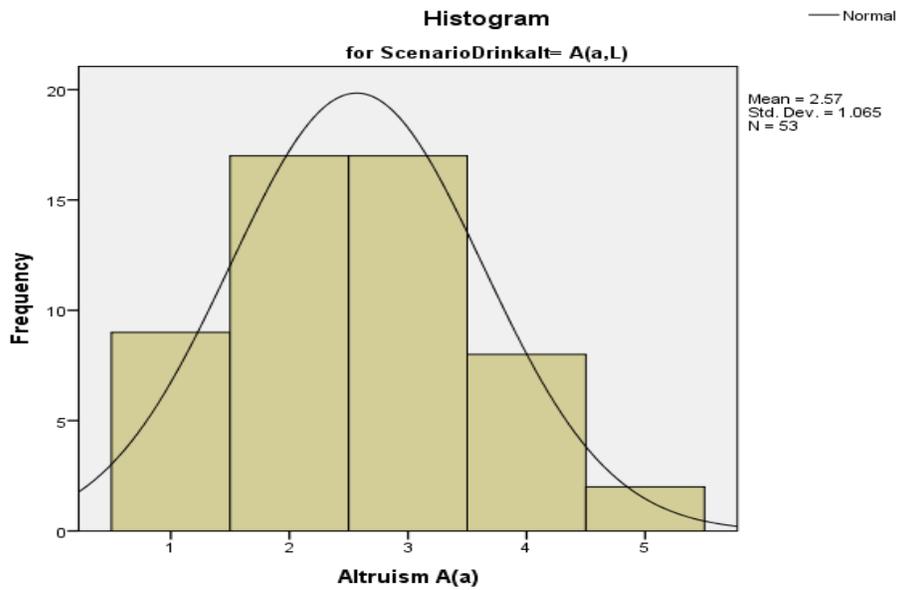


Figure 16. Histogram with normality curve for drink-driving scenario (altruistic, low severity), Altruism scale

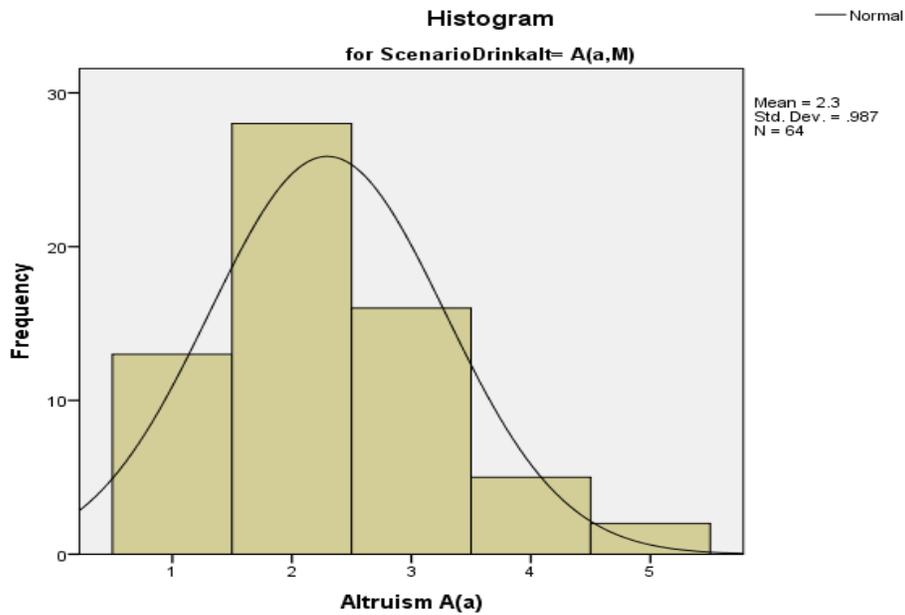


Figure 17. Histogram with normality curve for drink-driving scenario (altruistic, medium severity), Altruism scale

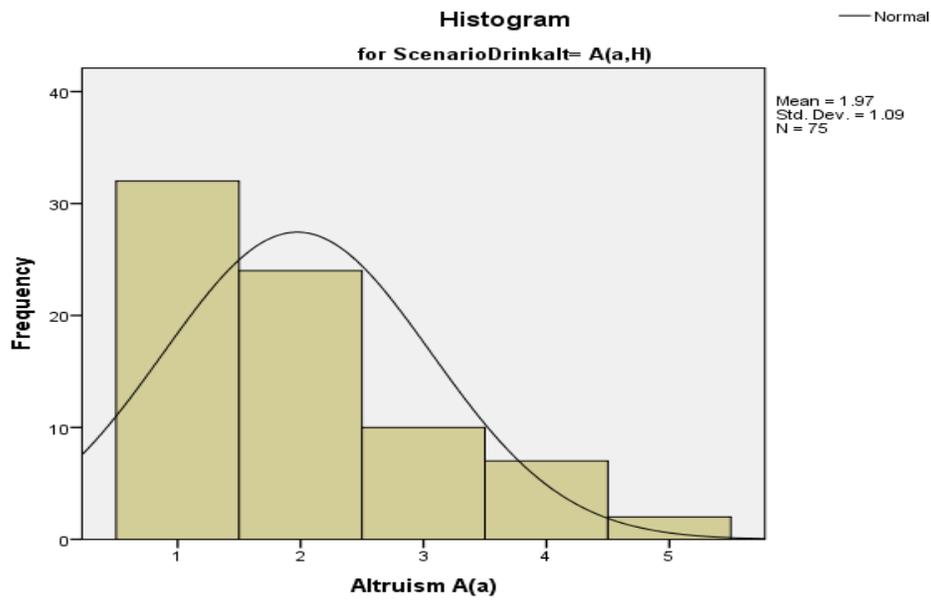


Figure 18. Histogram with normality curve for drink-driving scenario (altruistic, high severity), Altruism scale

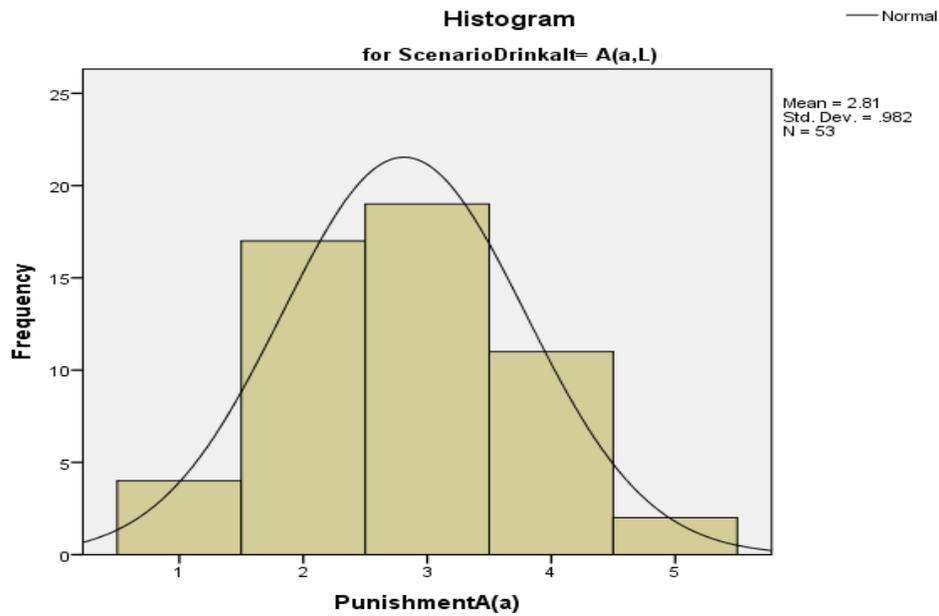


Figure 19. Histogram with normality curve for drink-driving scenario (altruistic, low severity), Punishment scale

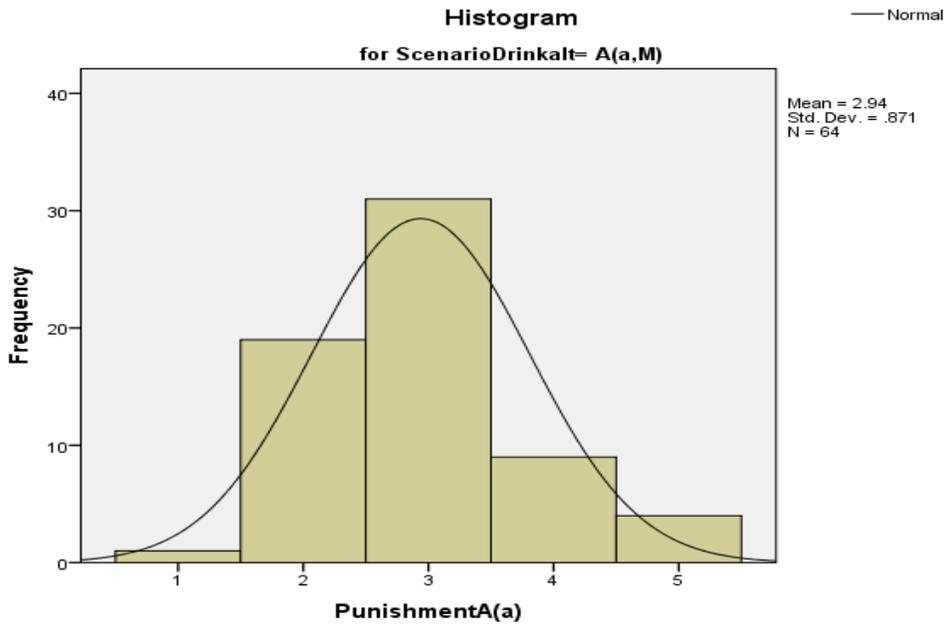


Figure 20. Histogram with normality curve for drink-driving scenario (altruistic, medium severity), Punishment scale

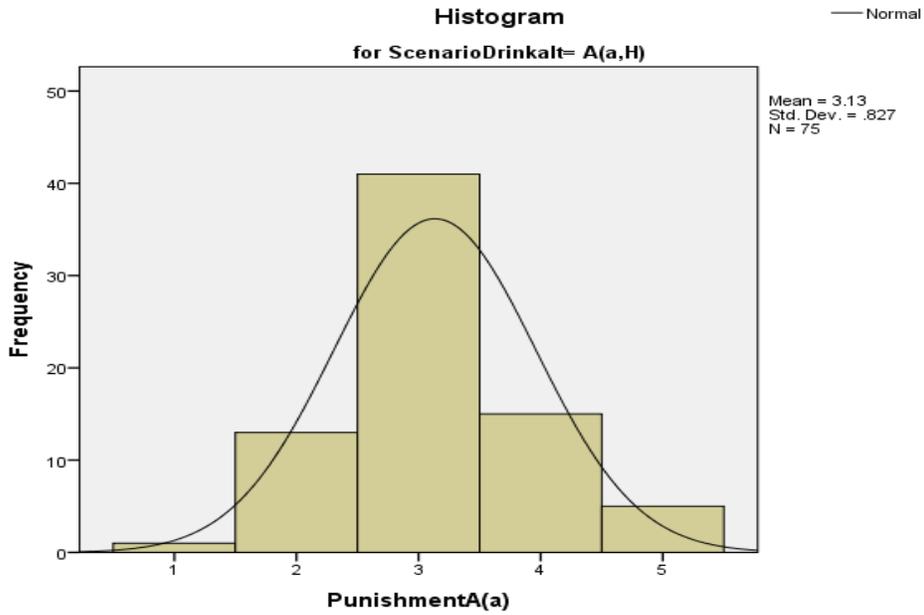


Figure 21. Histogram with normality curve for drink-driving scenario (altruistic, high severity), Punishment scale

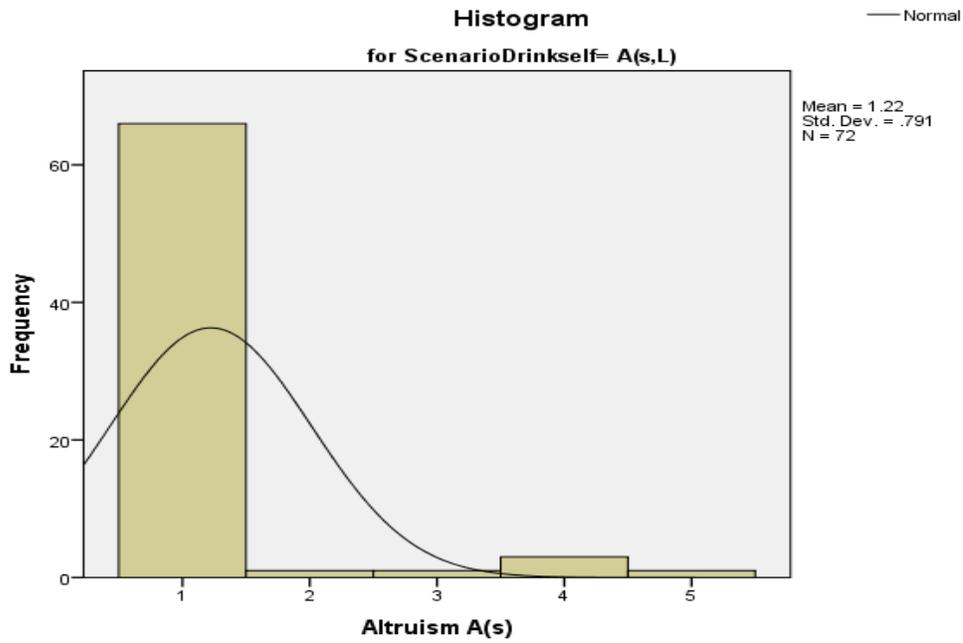


Figure 22. Histogram with normality curve for drink-driving scenario (selfish, low severity), Altruism scale

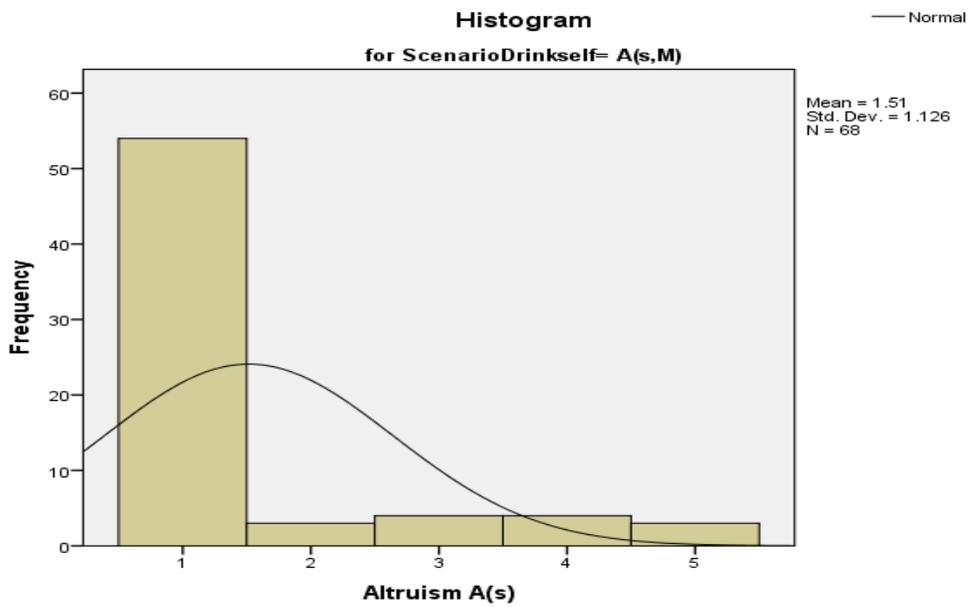


Figure 23. Histogram with normality curve for drink-driving scenario (selfish, medium severity), Altruism scale

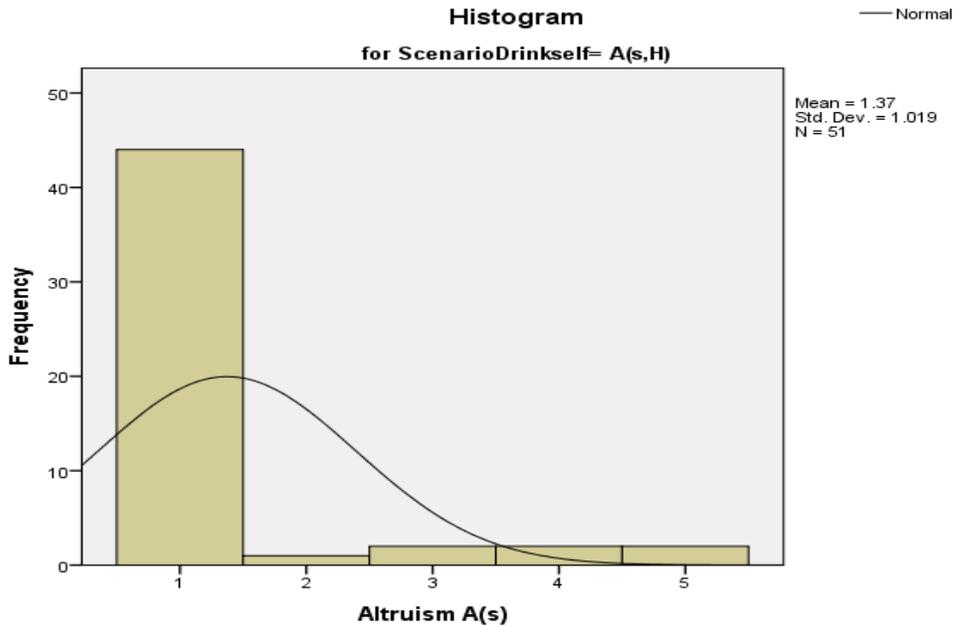


Figure 24. Histogram with normality curve for drink-driving scenario (selfish, high severity), Altruism scale

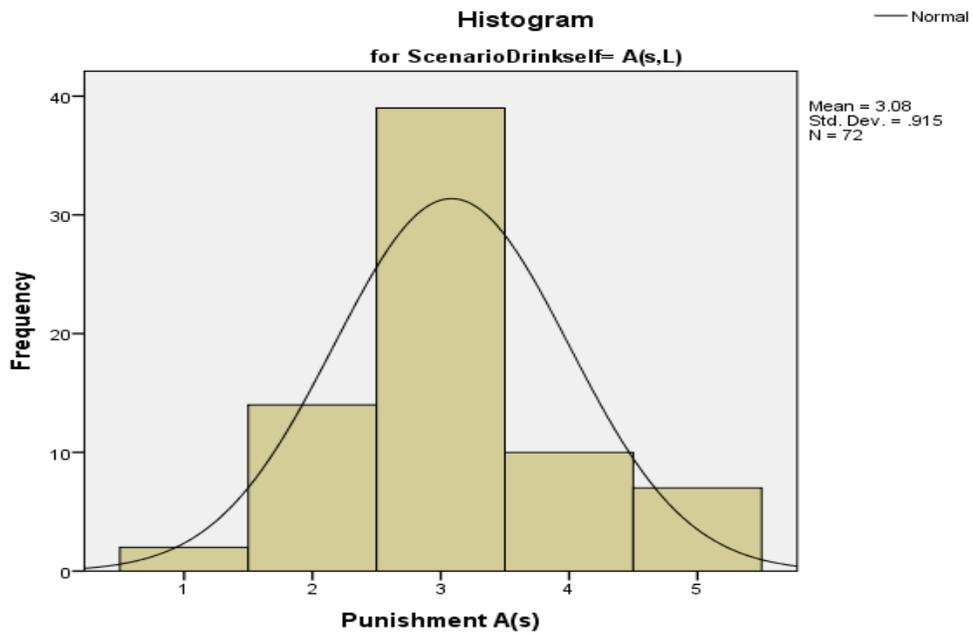


Figure 25. Histogram with normality curve for drink-driving scenario (selfish, low severity), Punishment scale

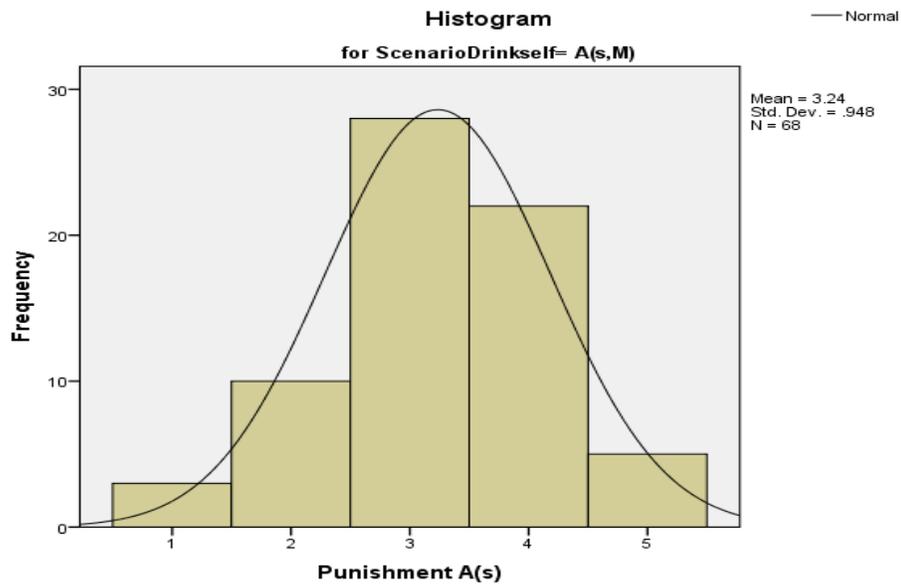


Figure 26. Histogram with normality curve for drink-driving scenario (selfish, medium severity), Punishment scale

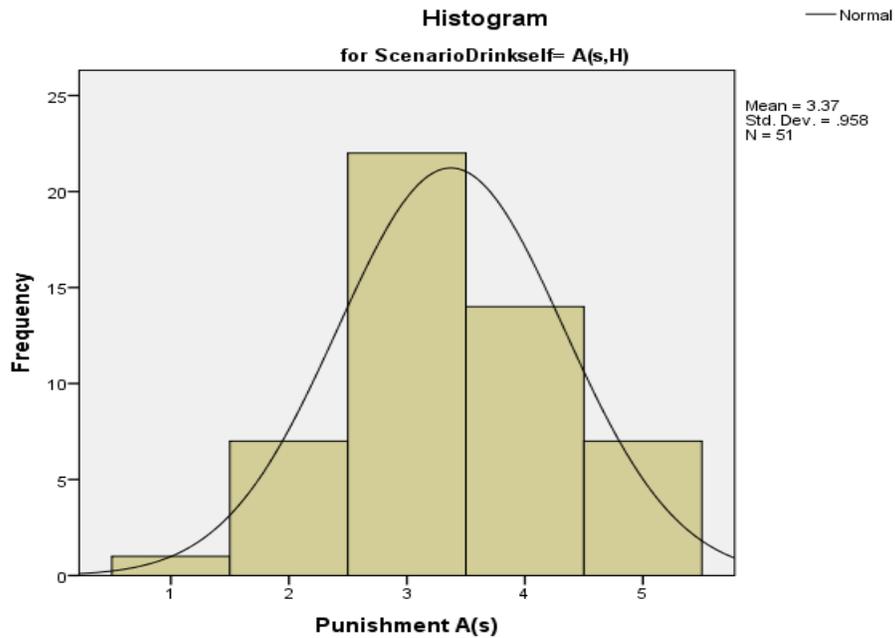


Figure 27. Histogram with normality curve for drink-driving scenario (selfish, high severity), Punishment scale

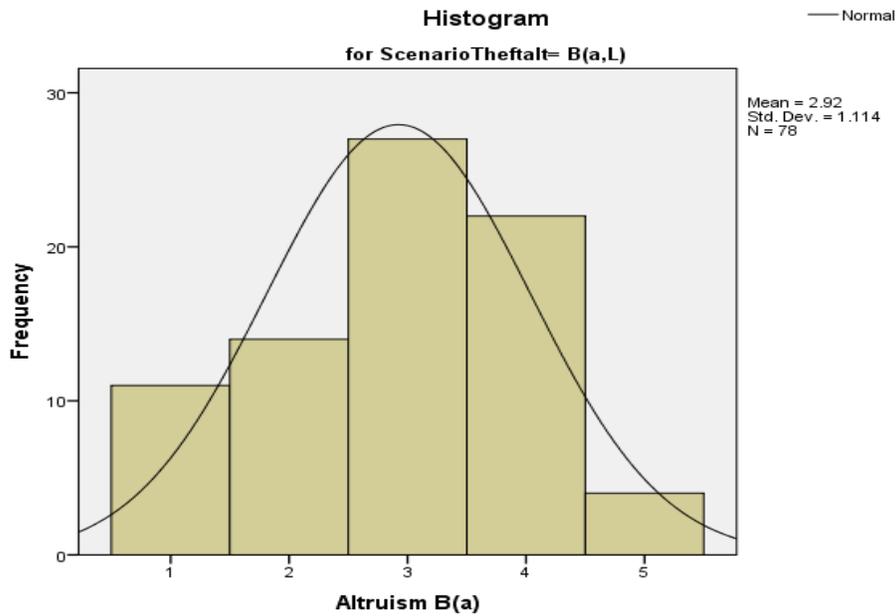


Figure 28. Histogram with normality curve for theft scenario (altruistic, low severity), Altruism scale

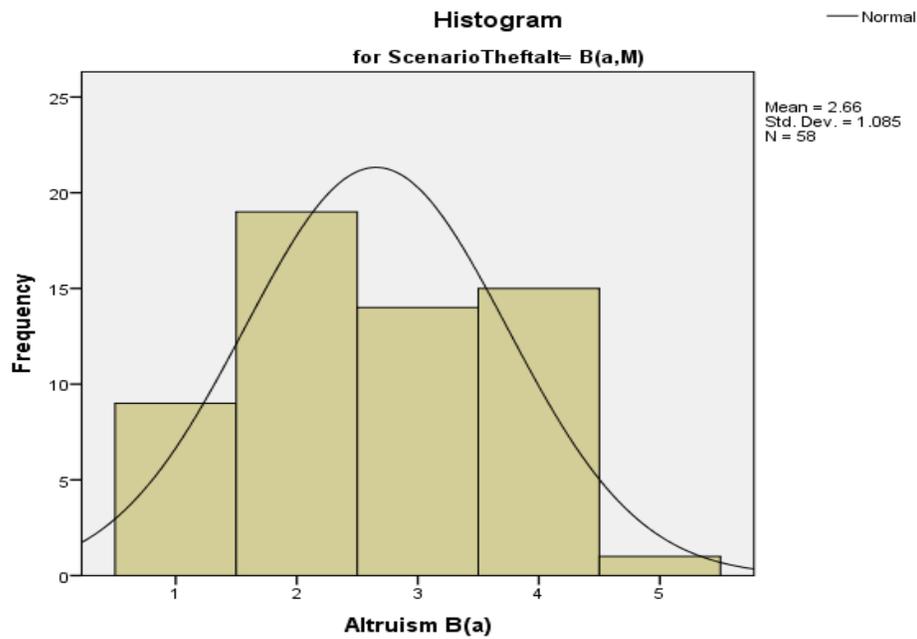


Figure 29. Histogram with normality curve for theft scenario (altruistic, medium severity), Altruism scale

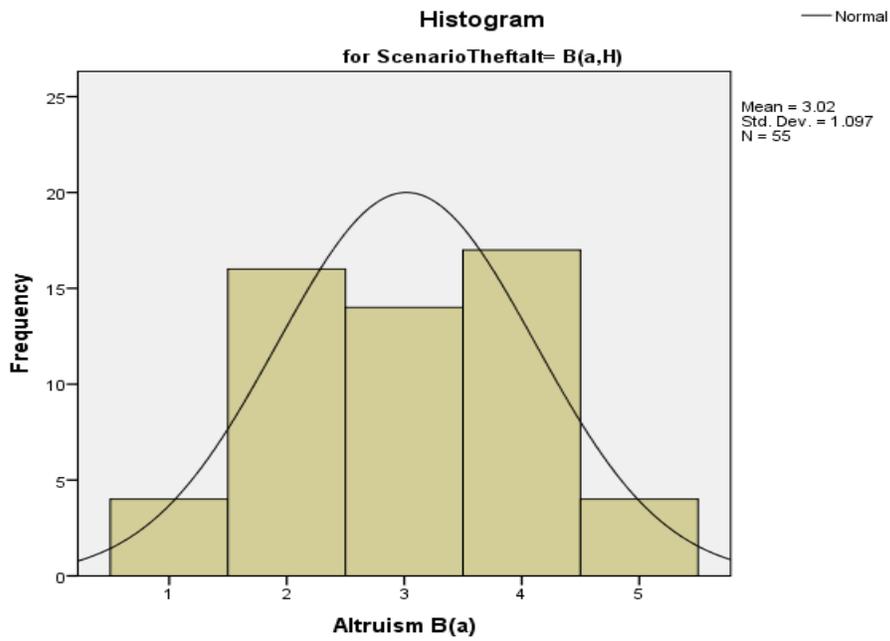


Figure 30. Histogram with normality curve for theft scenario (altruistic, high severity), Altruism scale

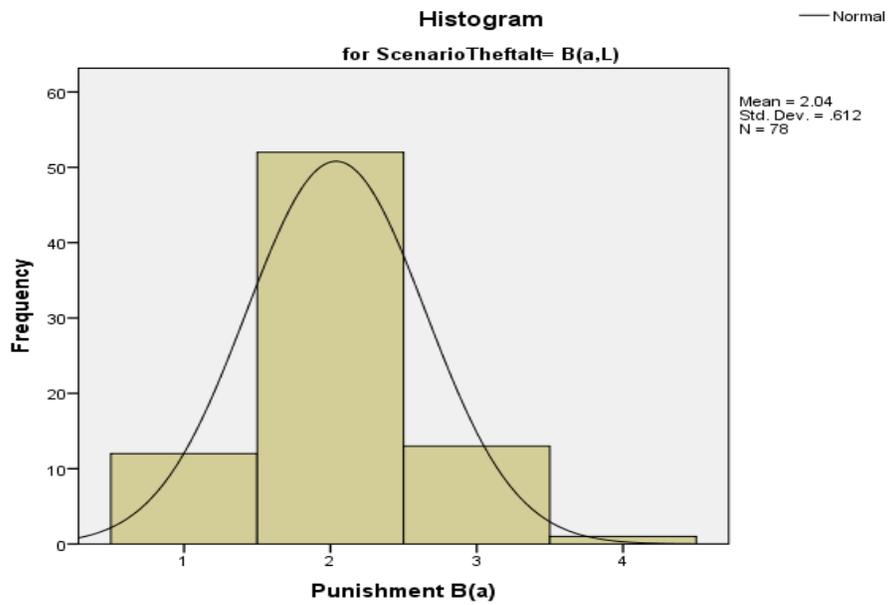


Figure 31. Histogram with normality curve for theft scenario (altruistic, low severity), Punishment scale

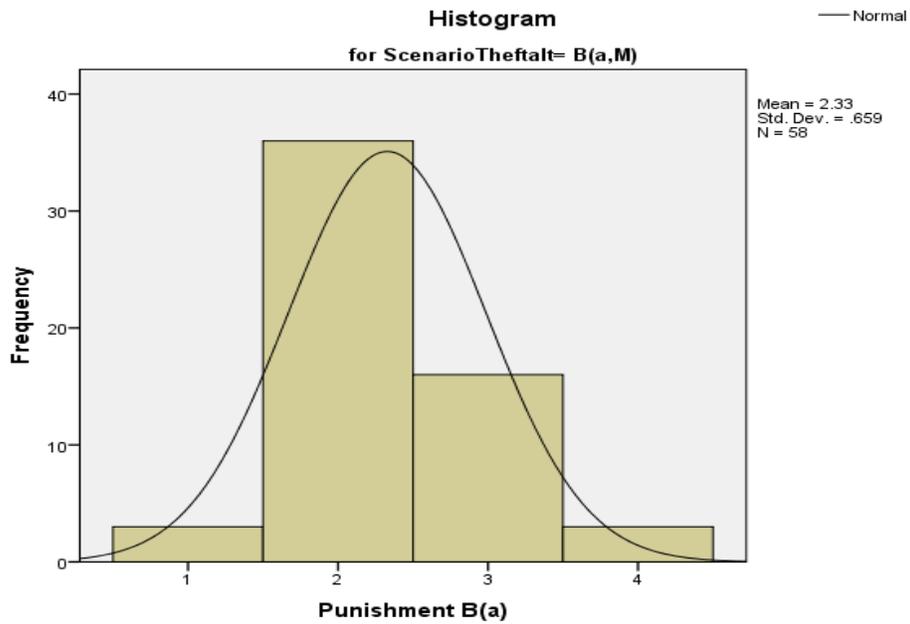


Figure 32. Histogram with normality curve for theft scenario (altruistic, medium severity), Punishment scale

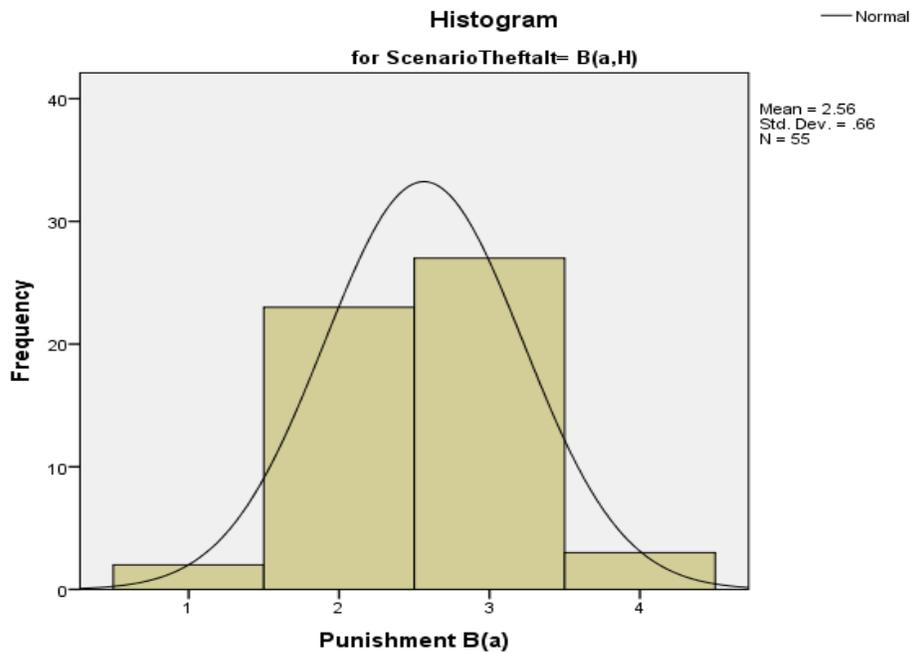


Figure 33. Histogram with normality curve for theft scenario (altruistic, high severity), Punishment scale

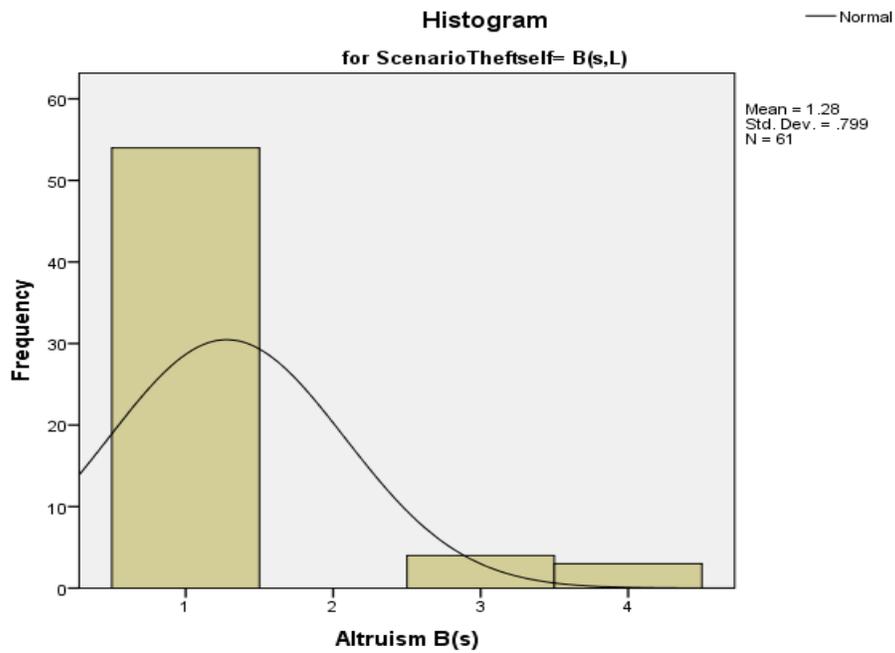


Figure 34. Histogram with normality curve for theft scenario (selfish, low severity), Altruism scale

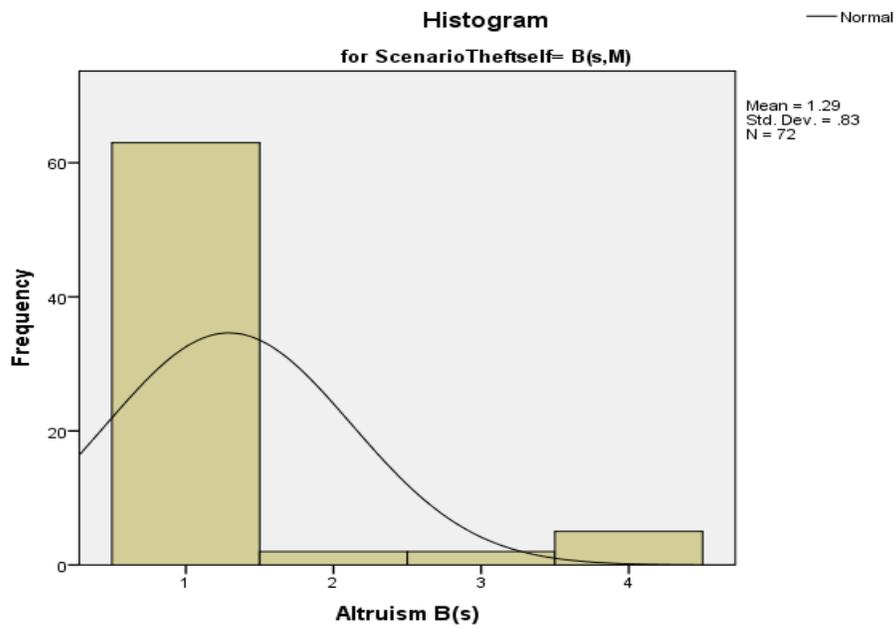


Figure 35. Histogram with normality curve for theft scenario (selfish, medium severity), Altruism scale

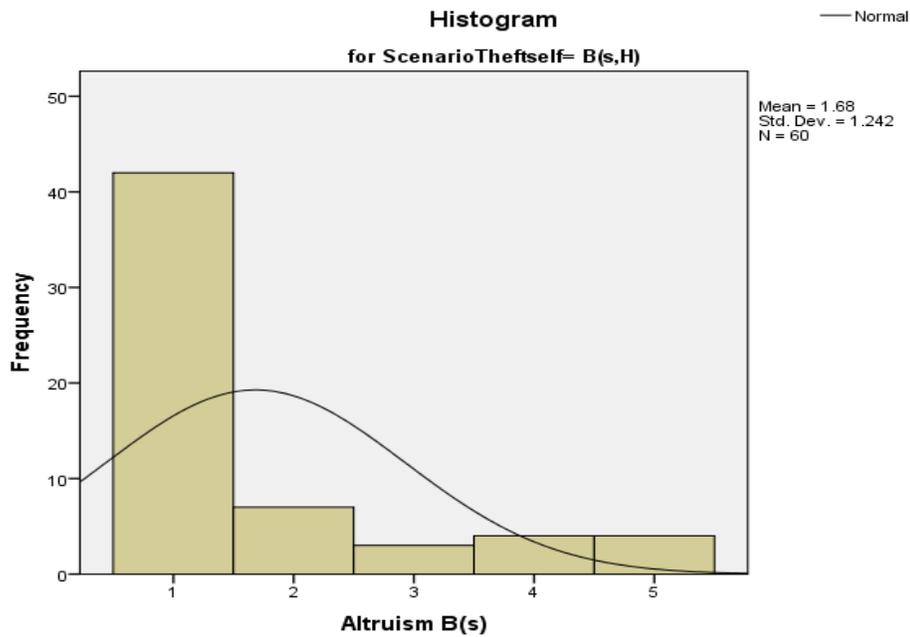


Figure 36. Histogram with normality curve for theft scenario (selfish, high severity), Altruism scale

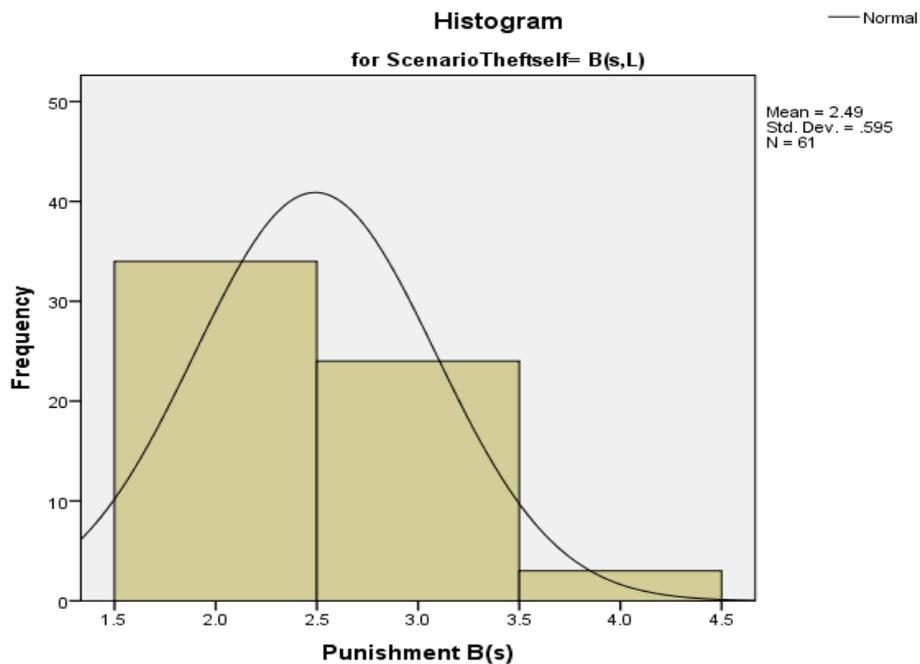


Figure 37. Histogram with normality curve for theft scenario (selfish, low severity), Punishment scale

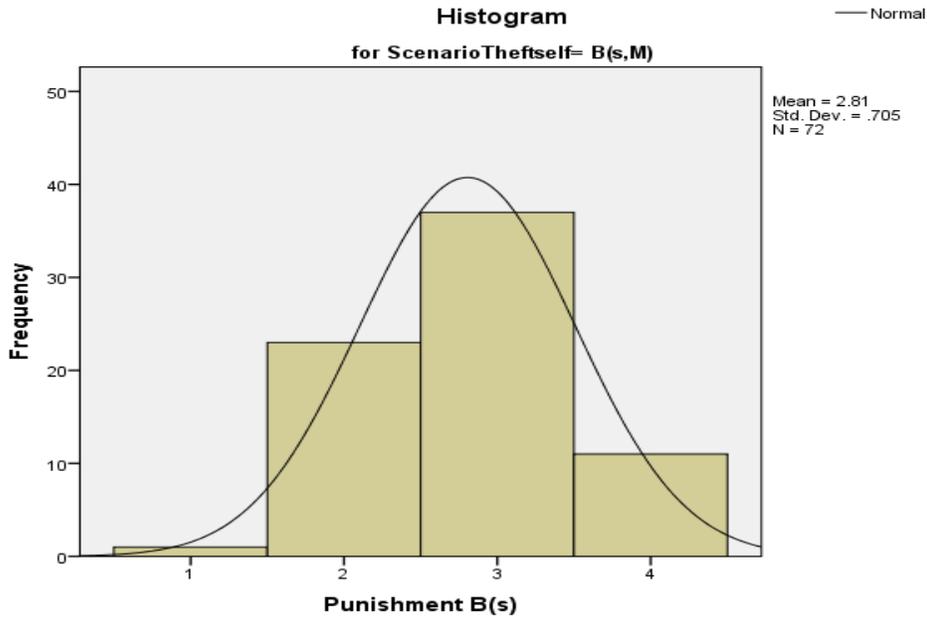


Figure 38. Histogram with normality curve for theft scenario (selfish, medium severity), Punishment scale

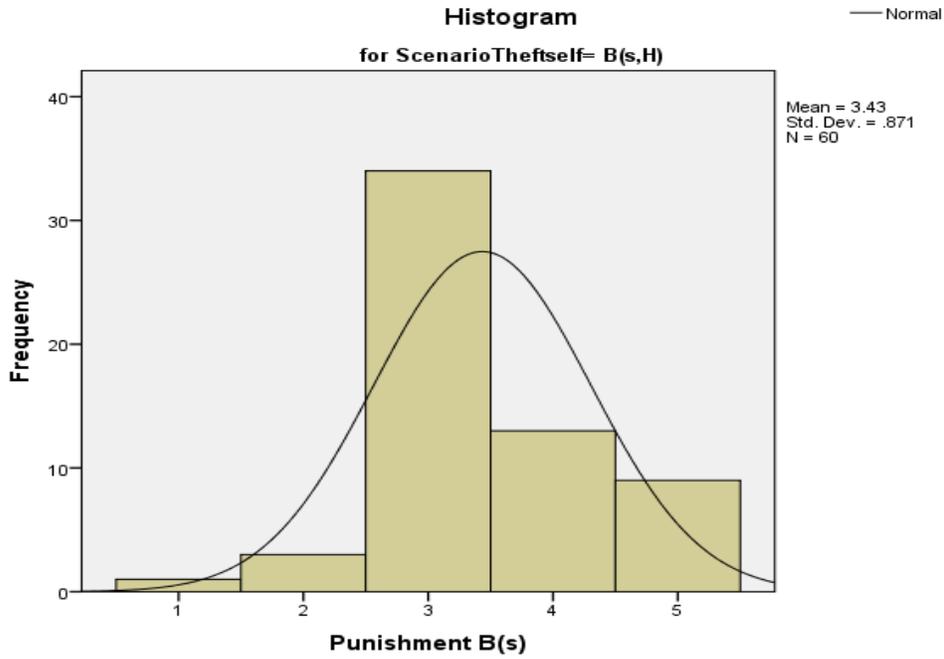


Figure 39. Histogram with normality curve for theft scenario (selfish, high severity), Punishment scale

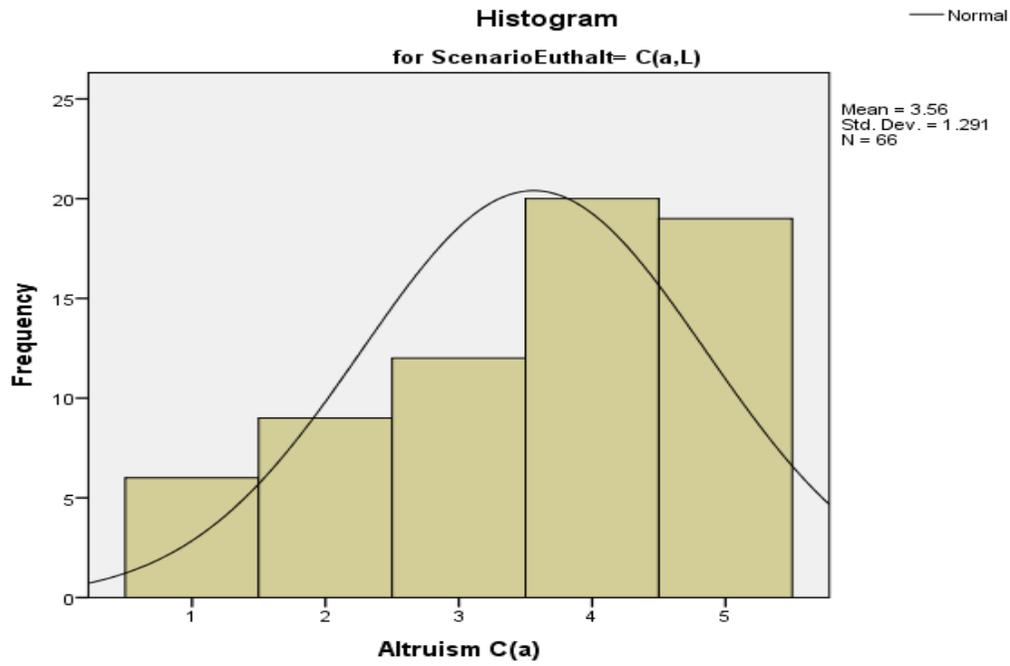


Figure 40. Histogram with normality curve for euthanasia scenario (altruistic, low severity), Altruism scale

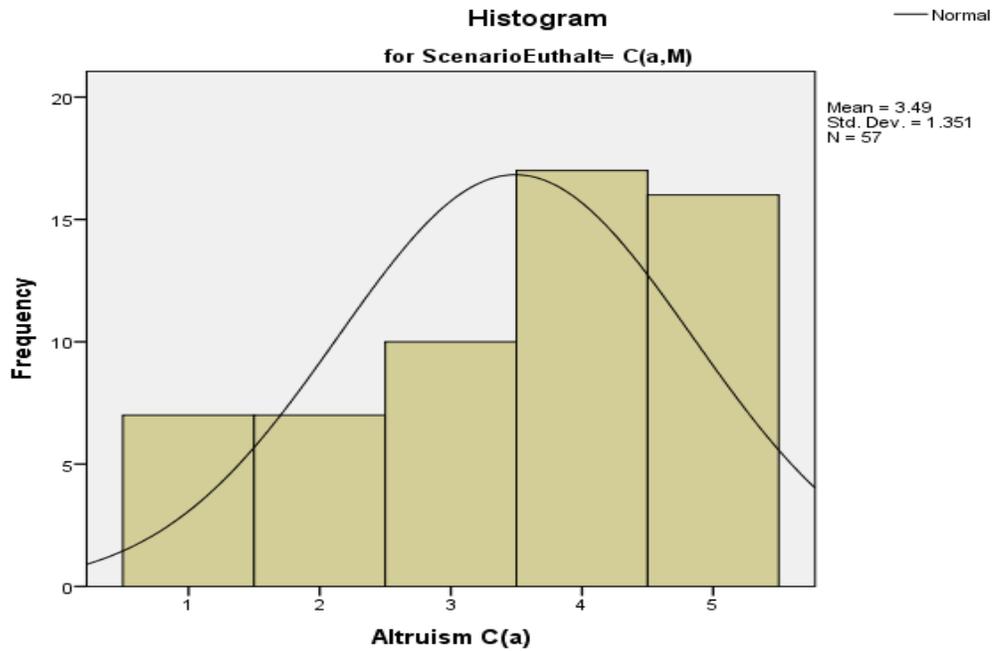


Figure 41. Histogram with normality curve for euthanasia scenario (altruistic, medium severity), Altruism scale

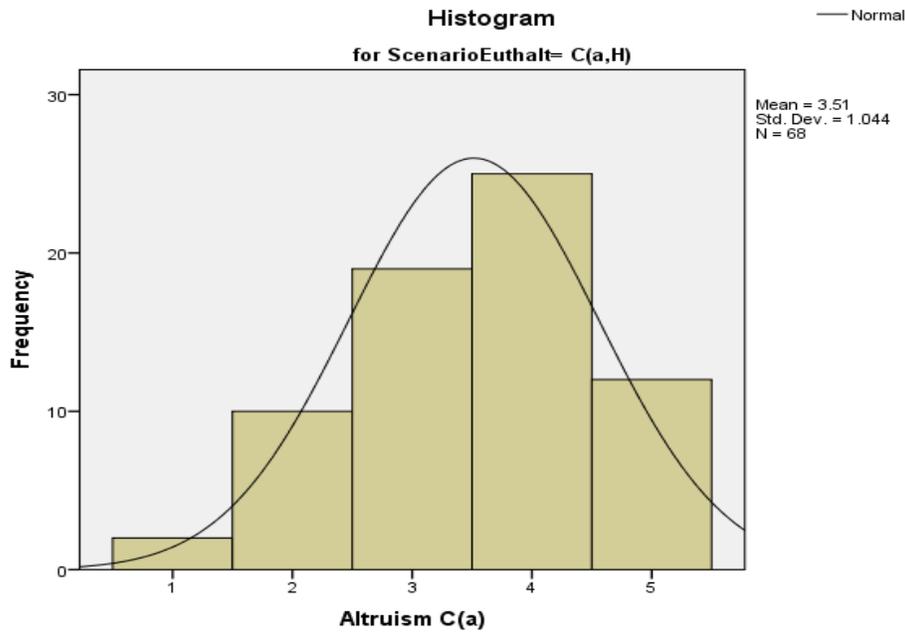


Figure 42. Histogram with normality curve for euthanasia scenario (altruistic, high severity), Altruism scale

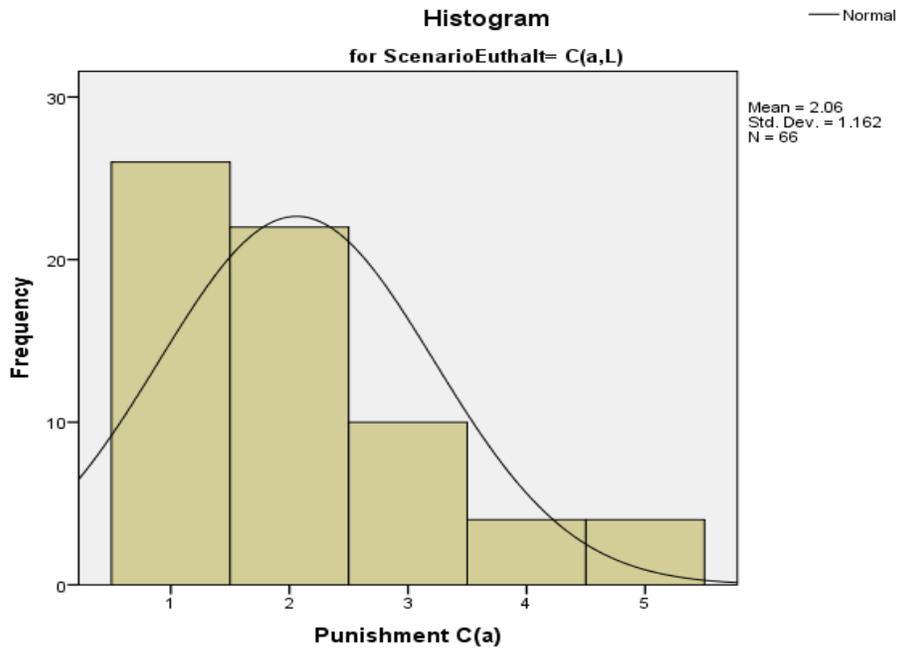


Figure 43. Histogram with normality curve for euthanasia scenario (altruistic, low severity), Punishment scale

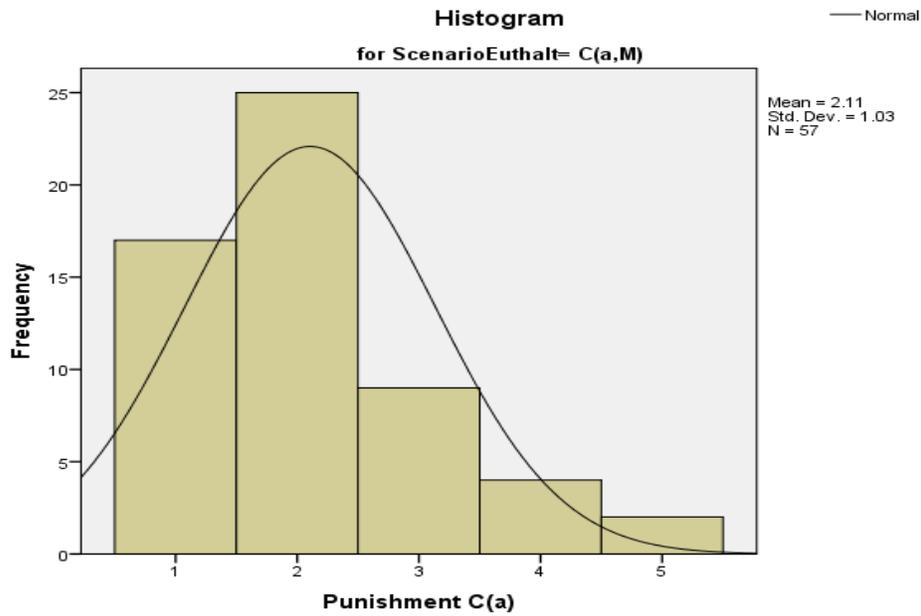


Figure 44. Histogram with normality curve for euthanasia scenario (altruistic, medium severity), Punishment scale

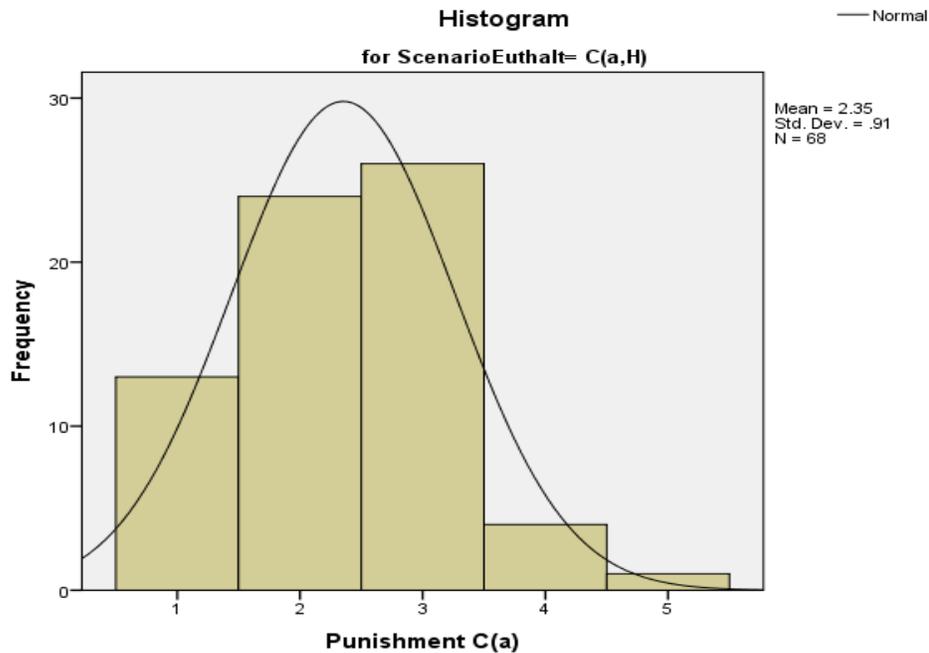


Figure 45. Histogram with normality curve for euthanasia scenario (altruistic, high severity), Punishment scale

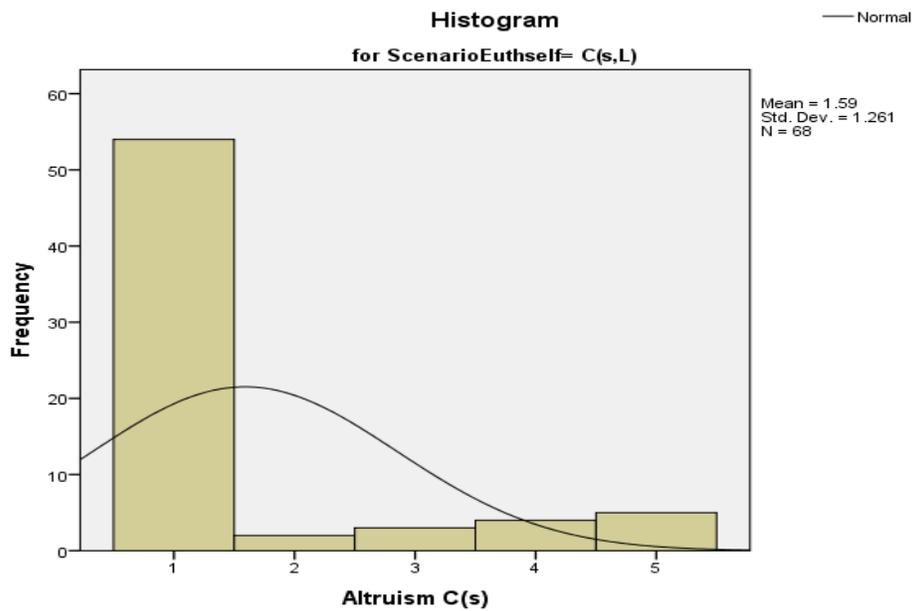


Figure 46. Histogram with normality curve for euthanasia scenario (selfish, low severity), Altruism scale

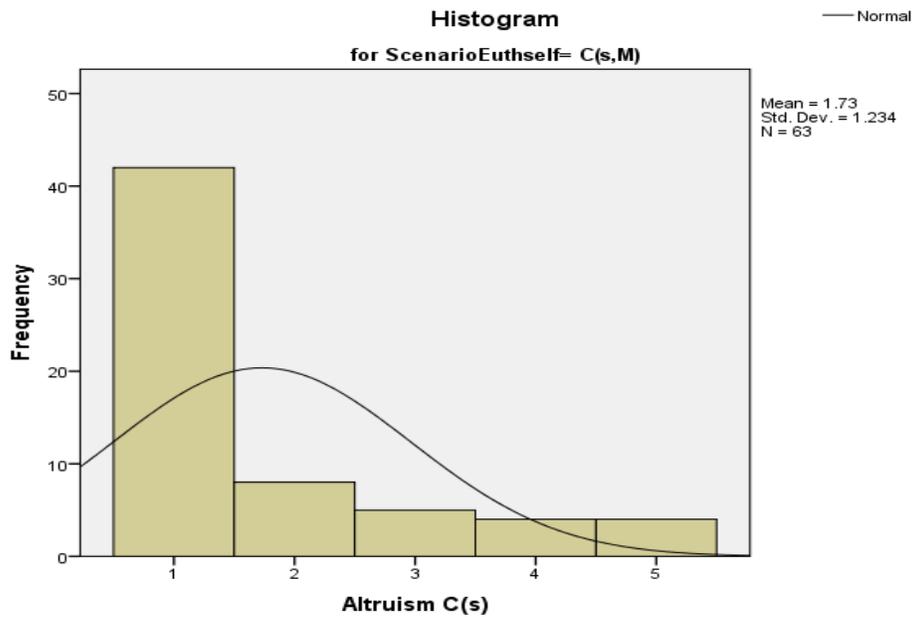


Figure 47. Histogram with normality curve for euthanasia scenario (selfish, medium severity), Altruism scale

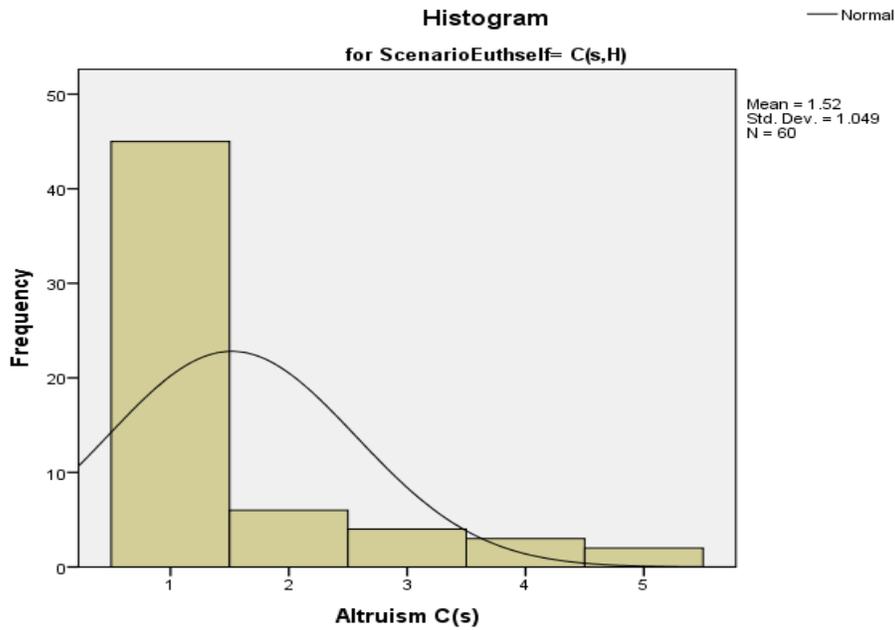


Figure 48. Histogram with normality curve for euthanasia scenario (selfish, high severity), Altruism scale

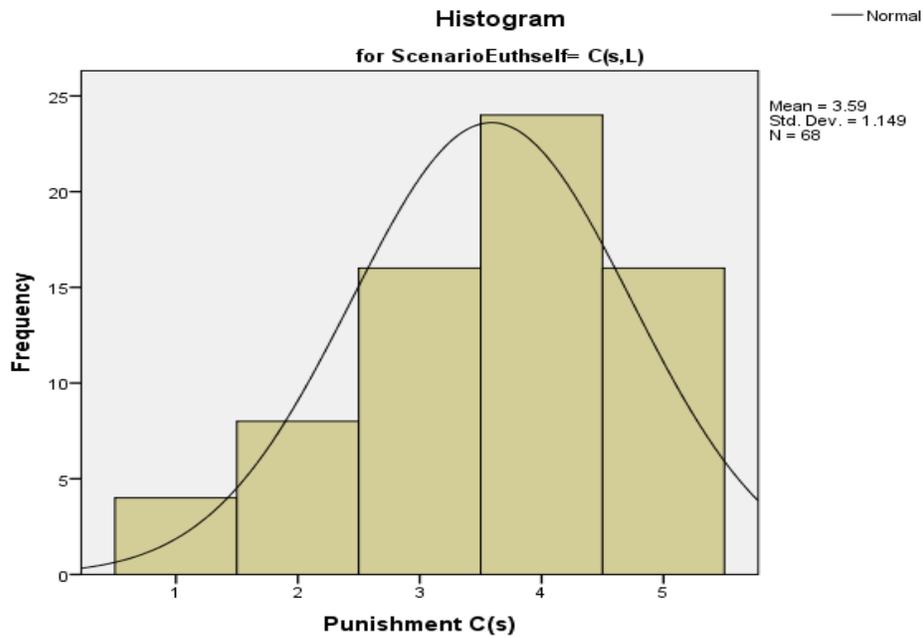


Figure 49. Histogram with normality curve for euthanasia scenario (selfish, low severity), Punishment scale

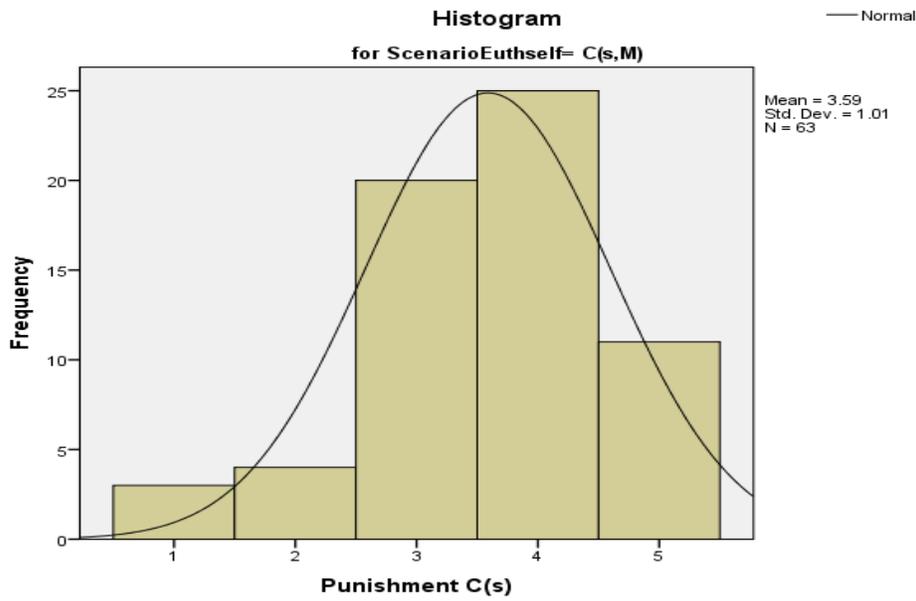


Figure 50. Histogram with normality curve for euthanasia scenario (selfish, medium severity), Punishment scale

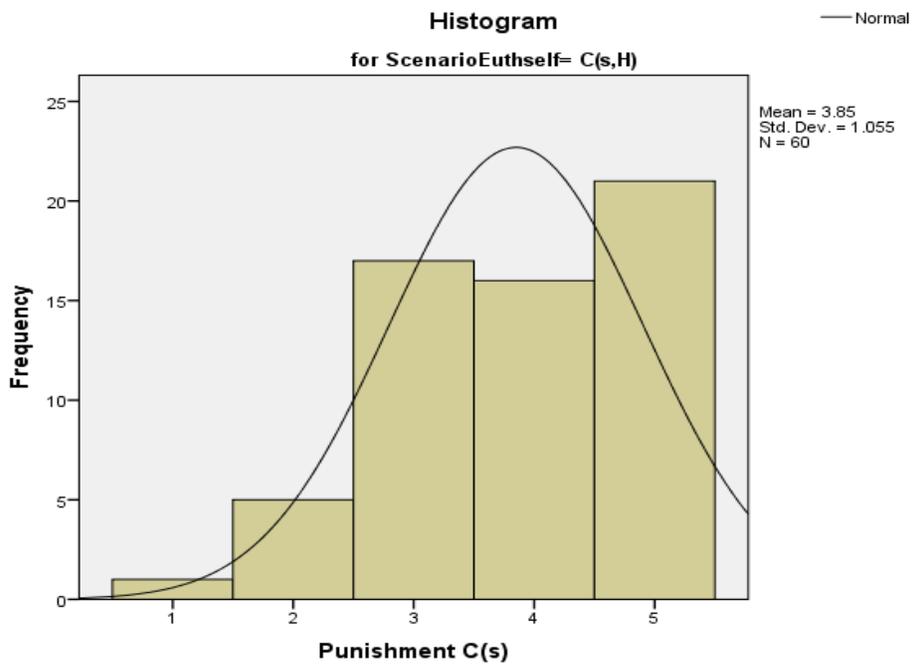


Figure 51. Histogram with normality curve for euthanasia scenario (selfish, high severity), Punishment scale

Kolmogorov-Smirnov and Shapiro-Wilk tests of normality

Table 46: Kolmogorov-Smirnov and Shapiro-Wilk tests of normality for drink driving scenario (altruistic) for Altruism and Punishment scales

		Kolmogorov-Smirnov [*]			Shapiro-Wilk		
		Statistic	df	Sig.	Statistic	df	Sig.
Altruism A(a)	A(a,L)	.193	53	.000	.908	53	.001
	A(a,M)	.259	64	.000	.874	64	.000
	A(a,H)	.241	75	.000	.810	75	.000
Punishment A(a)	A(a,L)	.192	53	.000	.907	53	.001
	A(a,M)	.268	64	.000	.858	64	.000
	A(a,H)	.297	75	.000	.859	75	.000

Note. * Lilliefors Significance Correction

Table 47: Kolmogorov-Smirnov and Shapiro-Wilk tests of normality for drink driving scenario (selfish) for Altruism and Punishment scales

		Kolmogorov-Smirnov [*]			Shapiro-Wilk		
		Statistic	df	Sig.	Statistic	df	Sig.
Altruism A(s)	A(s,L)	.527	72	.000	.308	72	.000
	A(s,M)	.470	68	.000	.516	68	.000
	A(s,H)	.505	51	.000	.415	51	.000
Punishment A(s)	A(s,L)	.300	72	.000	.859	72	.000
	A(s,M)	.211	68	.000	.897	68	.000
	A(s,H)	.240	51	.000	.896	51	.000

Note. * Lilliefors Significance Correction

Table 48: Kolmogorov-Smirnov and Shapiro-Wilk tests of normality for theft scenario (altruistic) for Altruism and Punishment scales

		Kolmogorov-Smirnov [*]			Shapiro-Wilk		
		Statistic	df	Sig.	Statistic	df	Sig.
Altruism B(a)	B(a,L)	.207	78	.000	.901	78	.000
	B(a,M)	.210	58	.000	.891	58	.000
	B(a,H)	.196	55	.000	.905	55	.000
Punishment B(a)	B(a,L)	.346	78	.000	.767	78	.000
	B(a,M)	.363	58	.000	.772	58	.000
	B(a,H)	.291	55	.000	.809	55	.000

Note. * Lilliefors Significance Correction

Table 49: Kolmogorov-Smirnov and Shapiro-Wilk tests of normality for theft scenario (selfish) for Altruism and Punishment scales

		Kolmogorov-Smirnov [*]			Shapiro-Wilk		
		Statistic	df	Sig.	Statistic	df	Sig.
Altruism B(s)	B(s,L)	.522	61	.000	.383	61	.000
	B(s,M)	.512	72	.000	.386	72	.000
	B(s,H)	.409	60	.000	.606	60	.000
Punishment B(s)	B(s,L)	.353	61	.000	.710	61	.000
	B(s,M)	.275	72	.000	.825	72	.000
	B(s,H)	.324	60	.000	.820	60	.000

Note. * Lilliefors Significance Correction

Table 50: Kolmogorov-Smirnov and Shapiro-Wilk tests of normality for euthanasia scenario (altruistic) for Altruism and Punishment scales

		Kolmogorov-Smirnov*			Shapiro-Wilk			
		Statistic	df	Sig.	Statistic	df	Sig.	
Altruism	C(a,L)	.224	66	.000	.871	66	.000	
	C(a)	C(a,M)	.226	57	.000	.866	57	.000
	C(a,H)	.223	68	.000	.900	68	.000	
Punishment	C(a,L)	.248	66	.000	.812	66	.000	
	C(a)	C(a,M)	.278	57	.000	.838	57	.000
	C(a,H)	.217	68	.000	.878	68	.000	

Note. * Lilliefors Significance Correction

Table 51: Kolmogorov-Smirnov and Shapiro-Wilk tests of normality for euthanasia scenario (selfish) for Altruism and Punishment scales

		Kolmogorov-Smirnov*			Shapiro-Wilk			
		Statistic	df	Sig.	Statistic	df	Sig.	
Altruism C(s)	C(s,L)	.474	68	.000	.515	68	.000	
	C(s,M)	.390	63	.000	.644	63	.000	
	C(s,H)	.439	60	.000	.562	60	.000	
Punishment	C(s,L)	.228	68	.000	.886	68	.000	
	C(s)	C(s,M)	.230	63	.000	.879	63	.000
	C(s,H)	.212	60	.000	.861	60	.000	

Note. * Lilliefors Significance Correction

Levene's test for homogeneity of variance

Table 52: Test of Homogeneity of Variance for drink driving scenario (altruistic variation)

		Levene	df1	df2	Sig.
		Statistic			
Altruism (a)	Based on Mean	.433	2	189	.649
	Based on Median	1.000	2	189	.370
	Based on Median and with adjusted df	1.000	2	188.487	.370
	Based on trimmed mean	.585	2	189	.558
Punishment (a)	Based on Mean	2.029	2	189	.134
	Based on Median	1.897	2	189	.153
	Based on Median and with adjusted df	1.897	2	188.955	.153
	Based on trimmed mean	2.149	2	189	.119

Table 53: Test of Homogeneity of Variance for drink driving scenario (selfish variation)

		Levene	df1	df2	Sig.
		Statistic			
Altruism (s)	Based on Mean	5.418	2	188	.005
	Based on Median	1.552	2	188	.215
	Based on Median and with adjusted df	1.552	2	173.519	.215
	Based on trimmed mean	5.043	2	188	.007
Punishment (s)	Based on Mean	1.346	2	188	.263
	Based on Median	.799	2	188	.451
	Based on Median and with adjusted df	.799	2	187.284	.451
	Based on trimmed mean	1.539	2	188	.217

Table 54: Test of Homogeneity of Variance for theft scenario (altruistic variation)

		Levene	df1	df2	Sig.
		Statistic			
Altruism (a)	Based on Mean	.210	2	188	.811
	Based on Median	.268	2	188	.766
	Based on Median and with adjusted df	.268	2	185.040	.766
	Based on trimmed mean	.195	2	188	.823
Punishment (a)	Based on Mean	5.462	2	188	.005
	Based on Median	2.094	2	188	.126
	Based on Median and with adjusted df	2.094	2	184.261	.126
	Based on trimmed mean	5.565	2	188	.004

Table 55: Test of Homogeneity of Variance for theft scenario (selfish variation)

		Levene	df1	df2	Sig.
		Statistic			
Altruism (s)	Based on Mean	9.048	2	190	.000
	Based on Median	3.489	2	190	.032
	Based on Median and with adjusted df	3.489	2	159.955	.033
	Based on trimmed mean	8.693	2	190	.000
Punishment (s)	Based on Mean	3.399	2	190	.035
	Based on Median	.562	2	190	.571
	Based on Median and with adjusted df	.562	2	172.286	.571
	Based on trimmed mean	3.618	2	190	.029

Table 56: Test of Homogeneity of Variance for euthanasia scenario (altruistic variation)

		Levene	df1	df2	Sig.
		Statistic			
Altruism (a)	Based on Mean	3.223	2	188	.042
	Based on Median	1.215	2	188	.299
	Based on Median and with adjusted df	1.215	2	183.069	.299
	Based on trimmed mean	2.916	2	188	.057
Punishment (a)	Based on Mean	.696	2	188	.500
	Based on Median	.706	2	188	.495
	Based on Median and with adjusted df	.706	2	182.229	.495
	Based on trimmed mean	.735	2	188	.481

Table 57: Test of Homogeneity of Variance for euthanasia Scenario (selfish variation)

		Levene	df1	df2	Sig.
		Statistic			
Altruism (s)	Based on Mean	1.151	2	188	.318
	Based on Median	.517	2	188	.597
	Based on Median and with adjusted df	.517	2	183.818	.597
	Based on trimmed mean	1.073	2	188	.344
Punishment (s)	Based on Mean	.841	2	188	.433
	Based on Median	.436	2	188	.647
	Based on Median and with adjusted df	.436	2	179.550	.647
	Based on trimmed mean	.759	2	188	.470

Appendix D: Euthanasia study

Participant Information Sheet

DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY

Faculty of Science



Participant Information Sheet

(Research participant)

Understanding euthanasia from a personal perspective

Supervisor: Professor Glynn Owens
Secondary supervisor: Professor Felicity Goodyear-Smith
Student researcher: Ms Svetlana Feigin
PhD candidate (Department of Psychology)

I, Svetlana Feigin would like to invite you to participate in this research project. This research project is part of my PhD examining altruistic offending. Specifically, examining people who have engaged in high-risk compassionate and self-less behaviours which have resulted in legal consequences for them.

You have been identified from court records/media reports. Your legal advisor has been contacted and asked to forward this information to you. If you are interested in participating in this research project, please contact either my supervisor and Principal Investigator (Prof Glynn Owens) or me. If you choose to, you can also contact us through your legal advisor.

The aim of this research is to discover a 'common meaning' in your personal story and your personal experience with euthanasia. That is, to engage with your reflections on the significance of your experience.

Two main objectives of the research are:

1. To examine how the you made sense of a major transition in your life (losing a loved one)
2. To examine how you made an important decision (helped loved one die)

In addition, I (Ms Feigin) seek to hear you tell your story in-depth and to understand the events surrounding your personal experience.

The research will take the form of a semi-structured interview. There is no time limit on the semi-structured interview (can take anywhere from two to four hours) and some follow-up may be necessary to clarify further questions. However, the length of the interview is completely dependent on what you are comfortable with.

Participation is entirely voluntary. Consent will be obtained by signing the consent form.

The interview will be recorded using a Dictaphone device. The data obtained from the interview will be transcribed by me only (Ms Feigin). You are welcome to request a copy of the transcript for your records as well as a copy of the results of the study.

You may also edit and/or veto all or some of the transcript if you wish to do so.

Transcripts of the interview will be analysed and then will be turned into a narrative account with analytic interpretations and verbatim extracts. The results will be included in the thesis and possible future publications.

The data obtained from the interview will be kept in a secure encrypted file for six years and then will be deleted. Your data will be stored separately to the consent form (CF).

You have the right to withdraw from participation at any time and withdraw the data obtained within one month from the receipt of your transcripts (if you request them) or within one month from the date of the interview.

Please be aware that the current research is about a specific event in your life. In the event that new information is revealed with regards to criminal behaviour (not known by police or courts), I (Ms Feigin) may be obliged to report it. I would strongly advise you to exercise caution should there be any such information. I will reserve the right to re-iterate this during the interview if I feel you may be in danger of revealing such information.

I will make every effort to ensure that your identity will be kept confidential and findings will be reported in a way that does not make you identifiable. Steps will be taken to disguise your story in some ways so long as this does not significantly alter the content of the interview.

The information you provide with regards to your contact details will remain confidential to be used only by the researcher for the purposes of a potential follow up and/or clarifications.

I would also like to inform you that should you require any support services, I can help provide access to counselling and/or legal aid services.

Contacts:

Professor Glynn Owens (supervisor, Principal Investigator)

Phone: +64 9 373 7599 ext. 86845

Email: g.owens@auckland.ac.nz

Professor Felicity Goodyear-Smith (second supervisor)

Phone: +64 9 373 7599 ext. 82357

Email: f.goodyear-smith@auckland.ac.nz

Svetlana Feigin (PhD candidate, co-investigator)

Phone: +64 9 373 7599 ext. 82369

Email: sfei001@aucklanduni.ac.nz

For any queries regarding ethical concerns you may contact the Chair, The University of Auckland Human Ethics Committee, The University of Auckland, Office of the Vice Chancellor, Private Bag 92019, Auckland 1142. Telephone 09 3737599 extn. 83711.

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE ON 21.08.2012 for (3) years, Reference Number 8348

General interview schedule for Euthanasia study

I would like to inform you that this interview is an account of your experience/s with euthanasia and will ONLY be used for the purposes of my PhD research and potential publication at a later date.

I will make every effort to ensure that your identity will be kept confidential and findings will be reported in a way that does not make you identifiable. Steps will be taken to disguise your story in some ways so long as this does not significantly alter the content of the interview.

Please be aware that the current research is about a specific event in your life. In the event that new information is revealed with regards to criminal behaviour (not known by police or courts), I may be obliged to report it. I would strongly advise you to exercise caution should there be any such information. I will endeavour to re-iterate this during the interview if I feel you may be in danger of revealing such information.

I would like to influence you as little as possible so please refrain from asking my opinion etc. during the interview as I do not want to impact on the content of this interview in any way.

I will however, offer some direction during the interview to ensure that it remains 'on topic' and relevant.

The interview is completely confidential and your responses will only be viewed by myself and my supervisors (Prof Glynn Owens and Prof Felicity Goodyear-Smith).

Any analysis carried out on the interview will be with your full informed consent.

Please remember: we can stop at any point to take a break if you need to...

To start off the interview, I thought it might be a good idea to get you to tell me a little bit about yourself and your family history? What was your childhood like? What was the relationship like between...

Ok, now we will focus on the main objectives of this interview...

*Let us begin from a point that was significant to **YOU** with relation to the illness of...*

Phases of interview

1 – Illness

2 – Deterioration

3 - Passing

4 – After passing

5 – Arrest/charges (pre-trial)

6 – Trial

7 – Post-trial

Towards the end of the interview...

Are there any points which you feel we have not covered but you would like to cover in this interview?

Q: What are your plans for the future?

Your contribution is highly appreciated... Thank you...

E-mail sent to participants prior to interview

“Dear,

Just wanted to let you know that I am looking forward to meeting you. I greatly appreciate your time.

I thought it might be a good idea to e-mail you a few key points with regards to the interview:

- 1. This interview is an account of your experiences and will ONLY be used for the purposes of my research thesis and any associated research publications.*
- 2. The interview is completely confidential and your transcript will only be viewed by myself and my supervisors*
- 3. It is important that I cannot be seen as introducing any bias or influence in the interview. Because of this I would like the interview to center on your own thoughts and views, and will avoid offering any opinions or views of my own.*
- 4. My main role during the interview will be to provide a certain amount of direction in order to ensure that it remains 'on topic'*
- 5. You will have full and on-going access to the transcripts of the interview*
- 6. I will send to you a copy of the transcript of the interview for comment, and also the outcome of any editing or analysis. No part of the interview will be used in my thesis or any related publications without your expressed consent.*

The main objective of this interview is: to hear you tell YOUR story in-depth and to understand the events surrounding your loved one's death from your personal experience.

Please be aware that during the interview we can take as many breaks as you need :)

I hope that these points will be helpful. Once again, I look forward to meeting you.

Consent Form

DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY

Faculty of Science



Consent Form and Contact Details

Title of Project: Understanding euthanasia from a personal perspective

Researcher: Ms Svetlana Feigin, Psychology Department, The University of Auckland.

Phone: 09-373-7599, ext. 82369. E-mail: sfei001@aucklanduni.ac.nz

This form is to gather your consent to participate in this interview. Only Ms Feigin and her supervisors (Prof R G Owens and Prof Felicity Goodyear-Smith) will have access to your responses. Your personal information will be kept separate from your responses at all times. Your responses will be identified by an anonymous code.

Please be aware that the current research is about a specific event in your life. In the event that new information is revealed with regards to criminal behaviour (not known by police or courts), I (Ms Feigin), may be obliged to report it. I would strongly advise you to exercise caution should there be any such information. I will endeavour to remind you of this during the interview if I feel you may be in danger of revealing such information.

There is no specific time limit on the interview. It is completely dependent on what you are comfortable with but may take anywhere from two to four hours. You may of course end the interview at any time you wish.

An encrypted electronic copy of all responses will be stored for a period of six years for research purposes. The consent form will be kept for a period of six years in a securely locked cabinet and will be stored separately from the data.

You have the right to withdraw from participation at any time and withdraw the data obtained within one month from the receipt of your transcripts (if you request them) or within one month from the date of the interview if you decline to receive a copy of the transcript.

You are able to veto the use of some or all of the transcripts if you decided to do so.

I will make every effort to ensure that your identity will be kept confidential and findings will be reported in a way that does not make you identifiable.. Steps will be taken to disguise your story in some ways so long as this does not significantly alter the content of the interview.

I would also like to inform you that should you require any support services, I and my supervisors can help provide access to counselling services.

If you are comfortable with the following statements, please sign as indicated at the end of the letter:

I have read and understood a description of this research project. On this basis, I agree to take part.

I understand that my data will remain confidential at all times (except if new information about criminal behaviour is revealed in which case Ms Feigin may need to report it to the police/courts).

I understand that only Ms Feigin will have access to my contact details.

I understand that only Ms Feigin will transcribe the recorded interview.

I consent to publication of the results of the project with the understanding that steps will be taken to ensure my confidentiality.

I understand that I am free to withdraw from the research at any time and withdraw the data within one month from receipt of my transcripts.

I understand that I can request a copy of the transcript at any time during the duration of the research and/or a copy of the results of the research.

I understand that I can edit or veto all or some of the transcripts if I wish to do so.

I understand that I will be recorded.

I understand that my contact details will never be shared with anyone.

I understand that there is no specific time limit on the interview and it is only dependent on what I am comfortable with.

I understand that I may ask for support services if I require them.

I wish/do not wish to receive a copy of my transcript.

I wish/do not wish to receive a summary of findings.

Name:

Signature:

Date:

Home phone:

Cell phone:

Email address:

Postal Address:

For any queries regarding ethical concerns you may contact the Chair, The University of Auckland Human Ethics Committee, The University of Auckland, Office of the Vice Chancellor, Private Bag 92019, Auckland 1142. Telephone 09 3737599 extn. 83711.

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE ON 21.08.2012 for (3) years, Reference Number 8348

Letter to 3rd party

DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY
Faculty of Science



Date

Dear Legal Advisor,

Dept. of Psychology
Tamaki Campus
Cnr Morrin and Merton Roads
St Johns
Auckland 1072.

The University of Auckland
Private Bag 92019
Auckland 1142, New Zealand
Direct Line +64 9 923 68

Re: X.

My name is Glynn Owens, and I am Professor of Psychology at the University of Auckland. I am also President of New Zealand's Independent Forensic Practitioners Institute. You may have previously come across my work either in terms of my research into topics such as euthanasia or my professional work, e.g. my testimony as a defence witness in the 2004 Lesley Martin trial.

I understand that you acted on behalf of 'X' during 'X's recent trial on charges arising from the death of 'Y'. I am anxious to contact 'X' regarding research we are conducting here at the University of Auckland. The research is concerned with the broad topic of offences committed from altruistic motives, and 'X's actions would appear to fall within this field.

Ideally I would like to arrange for my PhD student, Ms Svetlana Feigin, to meet with 'X' at a time and location convenient to 'X' and consistent with the conditions of 'X's sentence. The purpose of the interview would primarily be to obtain more detailed information than is currently available regarding his motivations for his behaviour and to enquire about his feelings subsequent to the process as a whole. We would of course be more than willing to respect 'X's wishes with respect to matters such as restrictions on the use of interview material and so forth.

I have attached a second copy of this letter as well as the Participant Information Sheet and Consent form and would be grateful if you could arrange for it to be forwarded to 'X' for 'X's consideration. I can be contacted directly at the above address or by email at g.owens@auckland.ac.nz. I can also be reached by cell phone on 021 075 1810.

Thank you for your assistance in this matter.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to be 'R Glynn Owens', with a stylized flourish at the end.

R Glynn Owens DPhil(Oxon)

Professor of Psychology

Support services information supplied to participants

Support services

Free counselling

Lifeline Aotearoa

<http://www.lifeline.org.nz>

Phone 24 hours

(09) 5222 999 (within Auckland)

0800 543 354 (outside Auckland)

Lifeline provides 24 hour, 7 day a week free Telephone Counselling together with by appointment Face-to-Face counselling and other services.

Call the number at the top of this page for 24 hour counselling or find out more about Lifeline's range of services on their website (above).

Legal aid

You can find information on legal aid on the Ministry of Justice website (below):

<http://www.justice.govt.nz/services/legal-aid>

Alternatively, you can contact:

Ministry of Justice (including Legal Services and Treaty)

The Vogel Centre

19 Aitken St

WELLINGTON

Email: info@justice.govt.nz

Phone (international): +64-4-918 8800

Phone (national): 04-918 8800

Fax: +64-4-918 8820

The Ministry of Justice website (<http://www.justice.govt.nz/contact-us>) also has a list of local courts you can contact.

Transcripts (Derrick, Mary, Martin)

(Included on CD)

Appendix E: Activist study

Study advertisement

DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY



Altruism of Animal Liberationists and Activists Study (AALAS)

**Have you engaged in high-risk animal
liberation/activism activities?
Have you suffered legal consequences as a result?**

If 'YES' then please read on...

I would like to invite you to participate in this research. I seek to hear you tell your story in-depth about your personal experience as an animal liberator/activist.

The research will take the form of a semi-structured interview. The interview will be confidential and I will NOT ask for any identifying information from you.

There is no time limit on the semi-structured interview - the length of the interview is completely dependent on what you are comfortable with.

If you are interested in participating in this research project, please contact me by e-mail:

svetlana.feigin@auckland.ac.nz

If you consent to take part in this study, \$20 will be donated to an animal welfare or rights organisation of your choice.

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE ON 21.1.2013 for 3 years, Reference number 8479

Participant Information Sheet

DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY

Faculty of Science

Participant Information Sheet

(Research participant)

How does someone make sense of their personal experience of high-risk animal liberation and activism?

Supervisor: Professor Glynn Owens

Secondary supervisor: Professor Felicity Goodyear-Smith

Student researcher: Ms Svetlana Feigin

PhD candidate (Department of Psychology)

I (Svetlana Feigin) am undertaking this research as part of a PhD degree at the Department of Psychology, University of Auckland. I would like to invite you to participate in this research project. If you are interested in participating, please contact me by e-mail.

The aim of this research is to discover a 'common meaning' in your personal story by recalling the 'parts' of the personal experience with animal liberation/activism and their connections to each other. That is, to engage with your reflections on the significance of your experience.

Two main objectives of the research are:

1. To examine how you made sense of a major event/s in your life (animal liberation/activism)
2. To examine how you made an important decision (to engage in high-risk animal liberation/activism)

In addition, I seek to hear you tell your story in-depth and to understand the events surrounding your personal experience.

The research will take the form of a semi-structured interview online using instant messaging Skype or voice-only Skype (if you request this). This semi-structured interview aims to explore in depth the personal experience of animal liberation/activism. There is no time limit on the semi-structured interview (can take anywhere from one to two hours). The length of the interview is completely dependent on what you are comfortable with.

Participation is entirely voluntary. Consent will be obtained by returning the consent form via e-mail (with 'Yes' selected at the bottom of the form).

The interview will be recorded on Skype or using a Dictaphone device if you request the voice-only Skype option. The data obtained from the interview will be transcribed by me only (Ms Feigin). You are welcome to request a copy of the transcript for your records. You will also be able to request a summary of findings after the results have been collated.

You may also edit and/or veto all or some of the transcript if you wish to do so

Transcripts of the interview will be analysed through a systematic, qualitative analysis and then will be turned into a narrative account with the analytic interpretations and verbatim extracts. The results will be included in the thesis and possible future publications.

The data obtained from the interview will be kept in a secure encrypted file for six years and then will be deleted. Your data will be stored separately to the consent form (CF).

You have the right to withdraw from participation at any time and withdraw the data obtained within one month from the receipt of your transcripts (if you request them) or within one month from the date of the interview.

Please be aware that the current research is about a specific event/s in your life. In the event that new information is revealed with regards to criminal behaviour (not known to the police or courts), I may be obliged to report it. This applies to past as well as future planned events. I would strongly advise you to exercise caution should there be any such information. I will endeavour to reiterate this during the interview if I feel you may be in danger of revealing such information.

Furthermore, I may not be able to protect you because I will not know the local laws or your location.

I will ensure that your identity will be kept confidential and findings will be reported in a way that does not make you identifiable. However, given that some event/s in your life may have been widely publicised, your identity might be guessed by others. Steps will be taken to disguise your story in some ways so long as this does not significantly alter the content of the interview.

Confidentiality will be ensured except in the case of new information about criminal behaviour being revealed (of which the police/courts are unaware of), in which case I may need to report it to the police/courts.

The information you provide with regards to your contact details (e-mail address) will only be known to the researcher for the purposes of a potential follow up and/or clarifications.

I would also like to inform you that should you require any support services, I can help provide access to counselling and/or legal aid services (for New Zealand participants only).

Free counselling

Lifeline Aotearoa

<http://www.lifeline.org.nz>

Phone 24 hours

(09) 5222 999 (within Auckland)

0800 543 354 (outside Auckland)

Lifeline provides 24 hour, 7 day a week free Telephone Counselling together with by appointment Face-to-Face counselling and other services.

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19 Aitken St

WELLINGTON

Email: info@justice.govt.nz

Phone (international): +64-4-918 8800

Phone (national): 04-918 8800

Fax: +64-4-918 8820

The Ministry of Justice website (<http://www.justice.govt.nz/contact-us>) also has a list of local courts you can contact.

If you consent to take part in this study, please be aware that \$20 will be donated to an animal welfare organisation (ONE from the list below). Alternatively, you may suggest a different animal welfare organisation, you would like the \$20 to be donated to.

Animal Welfare organisations
The Sanctuary www.animalsanctuary.co.nz
SAFE (Saving Animals From Exploitation) www.safe.org.nz
ADAPTT (Animals Deserve Absolute Protection Today and Tomorrow) www.adaptt.org
Animal Re-homing www.animalrehoming.co.nz

Contacts:

Professor Glynn Owens (supervisor, Principal Investigator)

Phone: +64 9 373 7599 ext. 86845

Email: g.owens@auckland.ac.nz

Professor Felicity Goodyear-Smith (second supervisor)

Phone: +64 9 373 7599 ext. 82357

Email: f.goodyear-smith@auckland.ac.nz

Svetlana Feigin (PhD candidate, co-investigator)

Phone: +64 9 373 7599 ext. 82369

Email: svetlana.feigin@auckland.ac.nz

For any queries regarding ethical concerns you may contact the Chair, The University of Auckland Human Ethics Committee, The University of Auckland, Office of the Vice Chancellor, Private Bag 92019, Auckland 1142. Telephone 09 3737599 extn. 83711.

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE ON 21.01.2013 for (3) years, Reference Number 8479

Consent Form

DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY

Faculty of Science

Consent Form and Contact Details

Title of Project: How does someone make sense of their personal experience of high-risk animal liberation and activism?

Researcher: Ms Svetlana Feigin, Psychology Department, University of Auckland.

Phone: 09-373-7599, ext. 82369. E-mail: sfei001@aucklanduni.ac.nz

This form is to gather your consent to participate in this interview.

- You must be 16 years or older to participate.
- You may either request an interview using instant messaging Skype, voice-only Skype or face to face (which ever option you feel comfortable with).

If you are comfortable with the following statements, please circle 'YES' as indicated at the end of the letter (where it says 'I consent to take part in this study'):

- Only Ms Feigin and her supervisors (Prof R G Owens and Prof Felicity Goodyear-Smith) will have access to your responses.
- Your personal information will be kept separate from your responses at all times. Your responses will be identified by an anonymous code.
- I have read and understood a description of this research project. On this basis, I agree to take part.

- I understand that my data will remain confidential at all times (except if new information about criminal behaviour is revealed in which case Ms Feigin may need to report it to the police/courts).
- I understand that steps will be taken to ensure confidentiality.
- I understand that only Ms Feigin will have access to my contact details (the e-mail address I provide).
- I understand that only Ms Feigin will transcribe the recorded interview.
- I consent to publication of the results of the project with the understanding that steps will be taken to ensure my confidentiality.
- I understand that I am free to withdraw from the research at any time and withdraw the data within one month from receipt of my transcripts.
- I understand that I can request a copy of the transcript at any time during the duration of the research and/or a copy of the results of the research.
- I understand that I can edit or veto all or some of the transcripts if I wish to do so.
- I understand that I will be recorded using instant messaging on Skype or using voice-only Skype.
- I understand that my contact details will never be shared with anyone.
- I understand that there is no specific time limit on the interview and it is only dependent on what I am comfortable with.
- I understand that I may ask for support services if I require them.
- I understand that I can request to have either a voice-only Skype interview or an instant messaging Skype interview.
- An encrypted electronic copy of all responses will be stored for a period of six years for research purposes. This form will be kept for a period of six years in a securely locked cabinet and will be stored separately from the data.

- I wish/do not wish to receive a copy of my transcript.
- I wish/do not wish to receive a summary of findings.

I consent to take part in this study	YES	NO
--------------------------------------	-----	----

If you consent to take part in this study, please be aware that \$20 will be donated to an animal welfare organisation (please choose ONE from the list below). Alternatively, you may suggest a different animal welfare organisation; you would like the \$20 to be donated to.

Animal Welfare organisations (please choose ONE)
The Sanctuary www.animalsanctuary.co.nz
SAFE (Saving Animals From Exploitation) www.safe.org.nz
ADAPTT (Animals Deserve Absolute Protection Today and Tomorrow) www.adaptt.org
Animal Re-homing www.animalrehoming.co.nz

Date:

Email address:

For any queries regarding ethical concerns you may contact the Chair, The University of Auckland Human Ethics Committee, The University of Auckland, Office of the Vice Chancellor, Private Bag 92019, Auckland 1142. Telephone 09 3737599 ext. 83711.

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE ON 21.1.2013 for (3) years, Reference Number 8479

Transcripts (Betsey, John, Richard, Tim)

(Included on CD)

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