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Morality of Offenders:

Investigating Morality of Individuals Who Commit Crime

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24,560 words
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Abstract

Morality is often difficult to define due to its abstract nature, relating to both internal beliefs and morals that an individual possess as well as external factors and circumstances that arise which impact on an individual’s moral decision-making ability. Prior research suggests there is a relationship between morality and criminal behaviour but that this relationship is multifaceted and complex. It is often the assumed that criminals have a lower sense of morality. This study aims to investigate individuals’ own understanding of morality and crime, their level of morality and whether situational precipitators influence the moral decision-making process and, ultimately, their propensity to commit crime.

The research used mixed-methods to examine how a range of complex factors may influence criminal behaviour. The fieldwork was conducted in two, interconnected, phases. In phase one, 184 survey responses captured relevant data on individual demographic characteristics, levels of self-reported moral attitudes and past criminal behaviour. Phase two involved follow-up interviews with a purposively-selected sample of the survey participants. Eight interviews were carried out, seven who self-reported previously committing a range of crimes and one who did not. The interviews were used to tease out some of the complexities between individuals understanding of morality and situational precipitators, and additionally explore the flexible and dynamic nature of individuals’ morals within the complexity of different decisions they made in relation to committing crimes.

Findings suggest that there appeared to be no difference in levels of morality between those who do and do not commit crime, but stigma relating to the belief that criminals ‘lack morals’ emerged. Situational precipitators also became evident and appeared to influence an individual’s moral decision-making process to commit crime, especially peer and social pressures. Interestingly, morality appeared to have the ability to both inhibit and encourage criminal behaviours, with morality proving to be a fluid component of human behaviour, often dependant on situational contexts. This research, therefore, contributes to existing knowledge demonstrating morality and criminal behaviour to share a relationship, but one which is complex, dynamic and influenced by multiple factors.
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1. Introduction

In England and Wales, during the twelve-month period ending June 2016, a total of 4.6 million criminal offences were committed (Office for National Statistics, 2016a). However, this is likely to underestimate the true scale of crime as a large volume of offences are not reported, therefore resulting in an unknown dark figure of crime (Bider & Reiss, 1967). To date a range of explanations for this criminal behaviour exist: classic biological theories which evaluate an individual’s physical and genetic characteristics (Akers, 2013), psychological explanations, for example, mental illness (Appleby, Flynn, Rodway & Shaw, 2014), long rooted evolutionary causes in which committing crime to gain economic security aids potential attraction for reproduction (Kanazawa & Still, 2000), and a vast array of social and environmental approaches which view crime to be a result of a lack of resources available to an individual or community (Anasatsia, Henry & Lanier, 2014). Two alternative explanations that have received less attention are, firstly, those of moral values held by an individual which may influence their criminal behaviour (Brown, Cromby, Gross, Locke & Patterson, 2010; Mcloughlin, in press; Palmer, 2003a). Secondly, situational precipitators (Clarke & Cornish, 2003) which may alter the opportunity and possibility of an individual carrying out a criminal act by influencing their moral decision-making, either providing an opportunity to commit crime, or in some cases acting as a crime prevention technique (Clarke & Cornish, 2003).

This study is one of the first to consider the possible interaction between morality and situational precipitators of crime. It attempts to combine the two areas and explore the relationship between morality and criminal behaviour within the concept of situational precipitators which might influence decision making. Considering the extent that morality influences an individual’s overall criminal behaviour, actions, and decision-making processes...
adds to current knowledge and builds on existing literature. The research formulates a more rounded explanation of why crime is committed, taking into account both internal beliefs and morals that contribute towards criminal behaviour, as well as external elements that alter the opportunities available for crime and influence the decision-making process. At the outset of this study, it is important to define key concepts underpinning this study, including ‘morality’, ‘societal’ moral values, and ‘legality’.

1.1. Defining Morality

Morality is inherently complicated with numerous overlapping concepts including; right and wrong, decision making, cultural differences, religion, and legislation. Due to this wide ranging philosophical concept of morality, previous definitions that try to clarify morality have been criticised as over-simplistic (Spielthenner, 2005) and vague (Smith, 1974). Morality has, thus, emerged to be a complex subject being perceived in an abstract manner (Zigon, 2008). Smith (1974) defines morality to be an individual’s beliefs and attitudes about what can be viewed as right and wrong or good and bad. This suggests morality is based on the beliefs and attitudes of an individual; an individual’s morality forms through intrinsic abilities. Caracuel, Carmona-Perera, Perez-Garcia and Verdejo-Garcia (2015) also suggests morality to be internal, based on an individual’s ability to make conscious decisions that reflect their own beliefs of right and wrong. Caracuel et al. (2015) states morality to be judged to the standard of the individuals own beliefs; it is what a person themselves considers to be right or wrong. This, therefore, suggests that moral beliefs, attitudes, and views on how people should behave differs from person to person as morality is a unique, subjective, concept rather than one which is universally accepted. Henning, Matsuba, Pitts and Walker (1999) explore how morality relates to behaviour, claiming that morality is a unity of how a person’s thoughts, emotions, and
behaviour govern an individual’s voluntary actions thus applying a holistic approach. This is supported through the work of Mashek, Stuewig and Tangney (2007) who suggest that emotions have a strong influence on an individual’s moral behaviour as negative emotions of embarrassment, shame and guilt, contribute towards inhibiting immoral or wrong behaviours while other positive feelings of pride and empathy, facilitate behaviours considered moral or right. Despite this debate defining morality, for the purpose of this study morality is defined as an individual’s beliefs and principles of right or wrong, shaped both by their personality and their social experiences. These social experiences arise and occur within their society, and, therefore, it is necessary to outline what a society is.

1.2. Defining Society

A society can be understood as a large collective group of individuals and smaller social groups who all live within a shared area (Thomas, 2002). Due to the diverse range of people who live within a society, people with various characteristics (religions, ethnicities, ages, and employment, for example) come to exist together. Within a society certain rules may provide a framework to individuals about how they should behave. These informal rules are not formally enforced by an official body, unlike the law. They are understood and learnt through interaction with others and the passing of knowledge from one generation to the other (Dhyani, Sharma & Venkatadurai, 2014). An individual’s perception of right and wrong is based on their understanding of these rules thus relating back to this study’s stated definition of morality. Discussion of the terms morality and society can further highlight when a person may be considered by others to behave morally or immorally, thus allowing for deeper understanding of some of the terms which will often be referred to within this thesis.
1.3. Defining Moral and Immoral Behaviour

Comparing an individual’s behaviour to the rules which exist within a society, can determine whether they are judged by society as behaving morally or immorally. Additionally, if an individual possesses awareness of why it is right to follow these rules, then they can demonstrate to others how they are expected to behave. However, when an individual is considered to break social rules and behavioural standards of their society, they can be judged to behave immorally by that society. Informal repercussions such as the breaking of relationships with peers or social animosity may then ensue. There are no set criteria for how a person is treated after breaking social rules or standards. Indeed, not all immoral behaviour is classed as illegal, and vice versa. Therefore, it is pertinent to consider morality in the context of legal and illegal behaviour.

1.4. Illegal and Legal Behaviour

Determining behaviour to be illegal or criminal, is a function of the Criminal Justice System (CJS). The CJS implements formal laws that set out how an individual should behave within the confines of the law, and the repercussions that occur when someone behaves illegally. Offences range from those classed as serious crime, in which the act is punishable by a criminal crown court (Newburn, 2007), to less serious non-notifiable offences which may be resolved through either the lower level magistrates court, a fixed penalty notice, police caution, or community order (Office for National Statistics, 2016b). These formal standards are not static and can adapt according to changes amongst societal values and expectations. However, this is discussed in further detail later within the thesis (chapter 2.1.2). Having a clear understanding of what is meant by morality, society, moral and immoral behaviour, criminal behaviour, and
how some of these factors influence one another can be explored to provide new explanations as to why crime is committed and overcome.

1.5. Overall Aim and Structure of Thesis

The overall aim of this research is to explore the relationship between morality and criminal behaviour. To achieve this the following objectives were identified:

- To investigate the individual characteristics and societal influences that impact on how morality develops overtime and is defined, along with whether individuals hold differing levels of morality
- To explore how these differing levels of morality impact on criminal behaviour and, if so, the type and severity of offences committed
- To identify if, and if so how, situational precipitators may influence an individual’s moral decision-making behaviour in relation to crime.

This thesis is presented in six chapters. Following on from this introduction, chapter 2 will explore the existing literature on morality and crime, and how situational precipitators may influence this relationship. This chapter identifies a clear research gap and provides the rationale for this research. In chapter 3 the methodology is outlined with clear justification and clarification for using a mixed-methods approach. Chapter 4 presents the findings of the results for both the quantitative analysis of the survey phase and the thematic analysis of the semi-structured interviews. Chapter 5 synthesises these finding and offers an in-depth analytical interpretation and discussion of the research, while also identifying some of the limitations of this research. Finally, the concluding chapter 6 demonstrates how this research contributes to
new knowledge, offers possible avenues for future research, and additionally outlines policy recommendations.
2. Literature Review

This chapter examines factors identified as relevant to understanding the relationship between crime, morality and the considerations individuals make when deciding to commit an offence. Three key sections of this chapter explore previous research and literature surrounding: firstly, morality, criminality and the law, and how each of them view behaviour; secondly, the debate regarding whether moral development is an internal or external process; and thirdly, whether the situation and circumstances present at the time of a crime being committed influences an individual’s criminal behaviour and moral decision-making. The fourth and final section outlines the rationale for this study.

2.1. Morality, Criminality and the Law

A number of studies suggest a relationship between criminal behaviour and morality (Cromby, et al., 2010; Mcloughlin, in press; Palmer, 2003a). However, this relationship becomes highly complex when exploring how morality and criminal behaviour interact. An individual may break informal rules held within a society, thus acting immorally, but may not have broken any legal rules enforced by officials and so is still considered to be law abiding. The opposite may also occur in that an individual’s behaviour may breach criminal law, thereby acting illegally, but may not have broken any of the informal rules of society, and so be perceived as a moral individual. This confusion and conflict leads to uncertainty with regards to which rules an individual should follow and abide by, requiring a greater consideration of the interplay between morality and social rules.
2.1.1. Morals and Society

The early works of Aristotle demonstrate how an individual behaves morally by upholding the moral values and rules created by society. Through his early works of Nichomachean Ethics, Aristotle raised the importance of happiness, success and ethics as key for people to reach ultimate goals in their life (Pakaluk, 2005) and to create honest, successful societies (Haidt, 2008). Within Nichomachean Ethics, Aristotle summarised a formal system of set rules which were adopted and subsequently altered by groups of people within a society. These groups of people often wished to be viewed as trusted, noble and honest, for instance, medical professionals (Dhyani et al., 2014). Individuals, who then failed at intellectual judgements and breached these rules, were blamed and labelled dishonest (Anscombe, 1958). The belief that society shares a set of collective moral values is reflected today; examples include general shared perceptions among individuals of what is moral behaviour, such as respecting your elders, and immoral behaviour, such as being ‘rude’.

If an individual breaks the informal rules imposed by a society, it does not necessarily result in formal repercussions or punishments because their behaviour may not necessarily be against the law and classified illegal or criminal as they may not have broken any of the formal rules enforced by the CJS. However, members of society judged to be acting immorally are generally the most socially disliked (Krakowiak & Oliver, 2012). Therefore, it is possible that when an individual breaks society’s moral rules they personally may not consider what they have done as immoral but other members of society might due to discrepancies between beliefs that exist within a society, and the individual’s own personal morals.

It is possible for an individual to commit behaviour viewed by others in society as immoral, yet at the same time follow their own moral beliefs, or implement neutralisation techniques
which serve to justify or excuse the behaviour. Indeed, Taylor (2014) interviewed 30 convicted burglars, finding they often use their own self-regulated moral code to justify their behaviour; in effect to “downplay their actions” (p. 498). Taylor (2014) also found that burglars used neutralisation and denial techniques to distance themselves from their behaviour, as well as minimising the consequences of their actions. Thus, offenders may develop their own moral code, while deploying neutralisation techniques to justify and excuse their behaviour when it deviates from their own, or society’s moral code.

Situational Action Theory (SAT) supports the notion that behaviours are a form of moral action, guided by an individual’s own beliefs as to what is ‘good and bad’ (Wikstrom, 2011). SAT proposes that those who commit immoral behaviour consider their actions viable and so continue to deliberately carry out the behaviour (Wikstrom, 2011). This suggests individual’s judge behaviour to be moral or immoral based on their own beliefs. Hence an individual may participate in socially immoral behaviour when they personally do not consider themselves to be doing anything morally wrong (Baron & Gallupe, 2014).

Additionally, consideration of cultural relativism when evaluating an individual’s behaviour is useful as it suggests that not all moral rules and judgements universally exist across all cultures and groups (Tilley, 2000). Therefore, not all cultures accept and follow the same moral standards (Cook, 1999). This demonstrates how morality should be considered a subjective concept, unique to each culture, while also helping to account for the extensive range in behaviours considered moral and immoral. As societies become more diverse, individual differences grow and so multiple moral values come to exist within a singular society. Negative implications could arise as the mixture of cultures could create social unrest and lead to instances of hate crime and aggression (Craig, 2002). However, Turiel (2002) proposes that
differing values held by diverse cultures can be a source of social harmony as people communicate and learn from one another. The role of culture, therefore, plays a significant role in understanding behaviour and cultural diversity may also relate to difficulties in classifying behaviour with consideration of the law that governs a society.

2.1.2. Morals, the Law and Individual Conflict

The CJS creates a formal set of rules which individuals of a society must follow. If the rules (laws) are broken, an individual is judged to have committed illegal, criminal behaviour and is subject to formal punishable repercussions for their actions. This formal enforcement of laws differentiates criminal behaviour from being simply immoral. Shavell (2002) highlights the law as a body of rules which are used to control human behaviour, being created in line with social views and then legally enforced by the state. It is important that these laws are adaptable to public opinions over time, and therefore can adjust to reflect evolving public perspectives (Shavell, 2002). For example, as views on same-sex marriage have changed over time, shifting from a taboo topic to one more widely accepted, the laws too have changed. In 2001, the Netherlands became the first country to legalise same-sex marriage (Akkoc, 2015). Since then many more countries including Spain, Canada, the United Kingdom and South Africa (Akkoc, 2015) have introduced similar legislation. This change demonstrates the adjustments of laws to reflect changes in societal views.

As stated previously, people within a society commonly share the same moral values, but not all individuals may have beliefs consistent with the legal rules of society. Here lies potential for conflict, as those who do not share the same moral values as the majority of society are “likely to have a persistent problem of law enforcement” (Fuller, 1942, p. 624). The reason for
this is they may continue to behave in a way they consider moral, but that breaks the law. An instance of this relates to views on same sex-marriage: despite changes to legislation to reflect the majority of society’s views regarding same-sex marriage, some minorities still do not share these moral values. For example, often those who follow a Muslim religion still regard same-sex relationships to be sinful (Newton, 2010). This may account for differences in laws that govern different countries as locations with high populations of Muslims, such as Iran, Saudi Arabia and Nigeria, still enforce severe ramifications on those in same-sex relationships. Consideration of an individual’s religious beliefs can, thus, also provide examples of how these moral conflicts arise, (Mawson, 2009; Paulson, 2007). While moral values within one religion are followed by some and act as guidance for their behaviour, the same beliefs may not exist in other religions and in some circumstances and legal jurisdictions to follow a particular religion itself can be considered criminal.

An example of this is illustrated through Japan’s banning of Christianity in the early 1600’s, with those who openly practiced it being executed and persecuted by the government (McCurry, 2015). Furthermore, to convert to Christianity was perceived to be a crime in itself (McCurry, 2015). While the ban was lifted in 1873 by the Meiji government (McCurry, 2015), only one percent of the Japanese population identifies as Christian today (McCurry, 2015). These conflicting perceptions reflect the difficulty individual’s face in trying to decide which moral values and rules to follow. This is further complicated as some people who lead a religious lifestyle may still commit criminal acts, while some people who would not classify themselves as religious may not commit any criminal offence(s). On the other hand, religion may in some circumstances be the reason why an individual carries out a criminal act. This is highlighted by the extensive list of religiously motivated terrorist attacks that have taken place over the past years portrays this, such as the case of Lee Rigby. During the ruling of the trial in
2014, the two defendants, Micheal Adeboljao and Michael Adebowle, were found guilty of murder with Adeboljao, claiming that the killing was commanded by God (Dodd, 2014). These examples demonstrate that not all people follow the same beliefs and how some values may be accepted and upheld within one society and legal system but rejected in another, thus highlighting the many conflicts that can arise. Reasons why individuals behave in illegal, or socially immoral ways are complex. To gain additional insight into the importance of an individual’s morality in guiding their behaviour, consideration of the individual’s intention and decision making is crucial.

2.1.3 Intention and Decision Making in Relation to Criminal Behaviour and Morality

One method for determining whether an act is morally good or bad is to consider the motive, intention and decision-making process behind an individual’s actions (Spielthenner, 2005). Two examples of this are Deontology and Consequentialism. Deontology determines actions themselves to be morally right or wrong, regardless of their consequences (Spielthenner, 2005), thus suggesting criminal behaviour to be based on an individual making one single decision (to act or not to act) and whether it is morally right or wrong. The emergence of Consequentialism, however, challenges Deontology, moving away from the concept of decision-making to be a singular event and instead a series of decisions judged to be morally right or wrong based on the consequences of the action (Carlson, 1995).

Differences between these two perspectives are explained by Spielthenner (2005). A doctor may disclose to their patient that they are suffering from a terminal illness. From a deontology viewpoint, the single decision of being honest with the patient results in acting morally. From a consequentialism approach, the doctor can tell the truth due to a number of reasons and
decisions, being truthful to allow the patient to spend quality time with family or being malicious to scare the patient, with this act only being judged upon the intention of disclosing the news and consequences that follow which could be both positive and negative (Spielthenner, 2005).

Lenman (2000) disputes the consequentialism stance, stating that a person is never categorically certain of future outcomes as matters beyond an individual’s control may result in unpredicted future events. Therefore, considering an action to be morally right or wrong, when there may be long-lasting effects of the action which may not be known for some time (Lenman, 2000), can be an irrational viewpoint to follow. Burch-Brown (2014) expresses that dismissing consequentialism is too pessimistic, as the focus is largely based on negative consequences despite consequences from our actions sometimes being good and that instead, individuals should use rational judgement to reasonably predict the most likely outcome. This focuses attention on whether an individual’s decision-making is a conscious or unconscious moral process when deciding to act illegally.

Rational Choice Theory (RCT) proposes individuals choose to commit criminal behaviour upon balancing the costs and benefits of their actions (Newburn, 2007), thus criminal behaviours are resulting actions of choices and decisions made by individuals (Clarke & Cornish, 1987). When the benefits and rewards of a criminal action outweigh the possible repercussions, an individual consciously decides to carry out the criminal act even if it may be against their morals, meaning that sometimes rational individuals decide to act immorally (Coleman and Kraus, 1987). RCT, therefore, contributes to understanding the moral decision-making process, explaining that an individual consciously decides whether or not to commit
an action, thus furthering the idea of moral responsibility based on the consequences of their actions, which provides for the assessment of individual liability (Carruther & King, 2012).

However, Sie (2009) explores the possibility that, when deciding an action to be right or wrong, an individual may not be acting as an alert moral agent. Sie (2009) explains that an individual may commit an act with no intentional consideration as to whether or not the act is moral, with the individual simply reacting unconsciously. Assessing whether or not the moral decision-making process is carried out consciously or unconsciously, therefore proves important in attempting to hold individuals liable and morally responsible for their actions.

Nevertheless, Gert (1998) indicates that moral decision-making is a conscious process when defining morality to be an individual’s ability to make decisions through actions which morality encourages and restricts, both within their own behaviour and towards others. Recognition of behaviour and actions being guided by an individual’s moral beliefs illustrates a process in which individuals have to be consciously aware of their moral values, reflect on these, and then behave based on their belief system. Expressing morality to be some sort of ability leads to the question of whether this ability can be improved or changed overtime and therefore presents the possibility that a person’s morality is flexible.

Suggesting morality to be flexible introduces the idea that intervention methods and strategies could influence an individual’s moral decision-making and could ultimately end their criminal activity. Identifying how and what possible techniques influence morality therefore is useful, but can only be considered after reviewing how an individual comes to understand and develop a concept of morality in the first place.
2.2. Understanding Morality: Nature vs. Nurture

Scholars have already described morality and its development with some largely focussing on innate processes, highlighting internal decision-making and cognitive elements (Colby & Kohlberg, 1987; Piaget, 2013) while others emphasise external influences such as social experiences and interaction with others (Mahapatra, Much, Park & Scweder, 1997). Understanding moral development proves useful for exploration of how morality impacts on an individual’s criminal behaviour and behaviour towards others. Furthermore, understanding such developments could lead to improvements in contemporary criminal prevention techniques, as well as the identification of risk factors which predict the likelihood of future criminal activity (Boeck, Dunkerton, Kenshall & Marsland, 2006).

2.2.1. Internal Process of Moral Development (Nature)

Jean Piaget explains the development of morality and moral judgement as three set stages which we all pass through at different points within our lives, focusing on childhood and biological development of the brain (Oakley, 2004) and giving limited recognition to environmental forces which may influence moral development. Between ages five and ten children pass through the Heteronomous Stage with morality being black and white as behaviour is judged right when set rules enforced by an authority figure, like parent or teacher, are followed, and wrong when they are not (Shaffer, 2009). Here children believe in immanent justice that when set rules are broken, punishment will inevitably follow (Shaffer, 2009). The Autonomous Stage then follows where a pure view of morality no longer exists, instead children understand that rules can be challenged and altered (Shaffer, 2009), as well as rule breaking sometimes going unpunished (Shaffer, 2009). As the child comprehends judgement of behaviour to be right or wrong, a Reciprocal Punishment stance is adopted as punishment
for a wrongful act needs to be suitable for the behaviour displayed (Shaffer, 2009). The final Equity Stage, in which individuals examine others needs and motives (Hallam, 1969), allows individuals to grasp what it means to be moral, as well as evolution of their own perceptions of right and wrong that guides their behaviour and moral judgement.

Expanding on Piaget, Lawrence Kohlberg constructed his own moral stages: Pre-conventional, Conventional and Post-Conventional (Colby & Kohlberg, 1987). Within the Pre-conventional stage, a person wishes to avoid punishment and so follows rules set out to them (Colby & Kohlberg, 1987). A person then proceeds to the Conventional Stage, again wanting to obey rules but also win the approval of others and maintain social order (Shaffer, 2009) as well as considering others’ perspectives (Shaffer, 2009). The final Post-Conventional Stage sees an individual create their own judgement on what is right or wrong, as well as understanding that these views may clash with others perceptions of right and wrong (Shaffer, 2009). Kohlberg’s interpretation supports the original theory put forward by Piaget, as an individual has to progress through similar steps to create their own understanding of morality. Hunt, Lapsley, Narvaez, Nuzzi and Power (2008) further highlight how Kohlberg extends the concept of morality past an individual’s childhood, allowing greater understanding into how morality may change over time.

A number of studies utilising Kohlberg’s theory demonstrate how those who offend are considered to conduct moral reasoning at a lower stage of morality, than those who do not offend (Palmer, 2003b). Interviews conducted by Ashkar and Kenny (2007) with 16 incarcerated sexual and non-sexual offenders found none of the offenders possessed a high level of morality. All of the offenders indicated being in the early Pre-Conventional stage of moral development, comprehending moral and immoral actions in relation to the pain and
pleasure of an action (Buntzman, Rahim & White, 1999) and a wish to avoid punishment (Colby & Kohlberg, 1987). The attraction of a pleasurable outcome could trigger an individual to commit an action (Buntzman et al., 1999), which could be argued to reflect in real life examples of criminal offences. For example, shoplifting enables an individual to achieve a pleasurable outcome as they gain something valuable without paying for it.

Ashkar and Kenny (2007), however, can be criticised due to the small sample size which impedes the validity and application of results to a wider set of offenders. Argument could also be put forward that some offenders have higher levels of morality. For example, those who cause criminal damage during protests for animal’s rights or against the creation of new legislation, commit an offence from a legal perspective, but from their own perspective and possibly in the eyes of others, are demonstrating high levels of morality in fighting for what they believe to be right. A key consideration therein is that an individual’s morality could influence which types of offences they may be prepared to commit, and the extent to which they consider actions moral or immoral.

Exploration of morality and crime has been furthered by the consideration of sex as an influencing factor. In the most recent report by the Ministry of Justice (2016) from October to September 2016 in England and Wales, a total of 101,612 males and 33,476 females were first time entrants to the CJS. Levels of morality could therefore differ between males and females, with males possibly having lower levels of morality if the relationship is related to criminal behaviour and criminal statistics accurately reflects a sex disparity in criminal behaviour. That being said, Dawson (2002) analysed four different sets of data from four research teams in studies including male and female participants conducted over thirty years and found Kohlberg’s stages of moral development to exist for both genders in all of the studies. This
demonstrates that morality may not differ between the sexes and the impact which it may have on crime, but, adds to the argument that morality is intrinsic.

Evidence exists which reinforces moral development to be innate with Covington (2016) stating that an individual is born with a conscience that guides perceptions of right and wrong. Findings by Dwyer et al. (2009) additionally emphasise morality as an innate process with internal emotional and cognitive mechanisms within us, regulating how we behave. Dwyer et al. (2009) suggests when individuals act immorally they suffer emotional consequences. Furthermore, Dwyer et al. (2009) illustrates the importance of emotions by considering psychopaths who lack feelings of guilt and remorse, often being unable to stop their violent criminal behaviour. However, further experimental research may be needed to explore the exact influence emotions have on morality (Cameron, Gray & Lindquist, 2015).

Even though these theories focus on innate moral development providing an outline of how we conceive and view moral and immoral behaviour, they can be regarded as constricted as they only pay limited attention to social and cultural factors which may influence an individual’s morality.

2.2.2. The External Process of Moral Development (Nurture)

Operant conditioning may shape an individual’s behaviour at a young age (Gerwirtz & Kurtines, 2014; Iverson, 1992). For example, at an early age, individuals learn about moral principles and expectations within society as parents/caregivers explain the values of right and wrong. Behaviour may be reinforced, with incidents being praised, like receiving a sweet on completion of homework, and punished, such as the removal of a favourite toy due to bad
behaviour, thus leading to the idea that the development of morality occurs through socialisation.

The impact of family role models and environment on the likelihood of individuals being involved in crime is widely researched with, for example, Barnes, Farrington and Lambert (1996) stating that offending is strongly contained within families, being passed from one generation to the other. Conducting a longitudinal study with 1009 boys investigating parental involvement with the CJS, Loeber, Murray and Pardini (2012) found that boys who had experienced their parents being incarcerated had a higher rate of theft and rapidly increasing marijuana use compared to a control group. These findings strengthen the notion that morality is linked to an individual’s role models, such as parents, possibly accounting for why people have different perceptions of moral and immoral behaviour and differing levels of morality.

Nonetheless, Loeber et al. (2012) identify that other pre-existing risk factors impact on criminal behaviour. Biological arguments relating to genetics also emerge when considering criminal behaviour in families as Osborn and West (1979), found that of 261 sons who had a father with a criminal record, 135 (51.7%) were too delinquents thus highlighting how genetics could contribute to why some people behave morally and illegally and further link back to the ideology of morality being innate. On the other hand, Barnes, Farrington and Lambert (1996) stress that environmental links between criminal parents and their children should be explored with twin studies (Frisell, Langstrom, Lichensten & Pawitan, 2012; Rhee & Waldman, 2002) additionally demonstrating that not only genetic factors, but environmental and social factors can impact on criminal and immoral behaviour. It therefore proves important to explore other ideologies that consider external influences on our behaviour and morality, like the Big Three of Morality (BTM).
The BTM considers an individual’s own formation of morality while also examining surrounding social and communal factors (Mahapatra, Much & Scweder, 1997). Mahapatra, et al. (1997) proposes three key elements of morality to be Autonomy, Community and Divinity which all co-exist to underpin moral values. Autonomy reviews an individual’s own values on justice and harm which promotes behaviour (Mahapatra, et al., 1997). Community relates to traditions that are thought to protect community values, while Divinity links to upholding sacred spiritual components that guide human conduct. BTM encompasses the impact of external influences on the development of a person’s morality with Bruce (2013) stating that the ideology proved instrumental in leading the way for new knowledge to be acquired on morality. Although the BTM takes a holistic approach (Bruce, 2013), including how personal and social aspects of morality interact, further elements which exist within a society may be overlooked such as economic class.

The Relations Model Theory (RMT) proposes, like the BTM, that morality is shaped through both innate and external influences, but also recognises economic components. Fiske and Haslam (1999) reveal the four main models which substantiate the overall RMT and demonstrate the multiple segments required to understand morality overall. These are: Communal Sharing, creating harmony between members of a group, Authority Ranking, how we treat others with loyalty and respect, Equality Matching, how we organise our relationships with others and, Market Pricing, organising both social transactions and transactions involving values like money. These four elements are used to assess communications between individuals and to predict a person’s behaviour (Sabbagh & Schmitt, 2016), with morality being formed around how a person relates to each of the models (Sabbagh & Schmitt, 2016). The existence of these theories has proved useful allowing for new perspectives on moral development to
emerge through the Moral Foundations Theory (MFT) which combines parts from both the BTM and RMT (Flanagan, 2016).

The MFT, developed by Haidt and Joseph (2007), outlines how our moral values and decision-making abilities are influenced by five different foundations found both intrinsically within an individual and externally in society. Harm/Care is one of the first foundations suggesting individuals often wish to protect and care for others through displays of compassion and kindness, developing from past evolutionary traits (Haidt & Joseph, 2007). The next foundation is Fairness/Reciprocity which helps us to understand how people may emotionally react in times of social co-operation and conflict, for example feelings of anger upon learning your partner was unfaithful (Haidt & Joseph, 2007). In-group/Loyalty is another foundation exploring how individuals who have similar characteristics, interests and beliefs, have a tendency to naturally group together generating a common sense of loyalty between those integrated within the group (Haidt & Joseph, 2007). The fourth principle of Authority/Respect portrays the interplay of dominant and submissive aspects within social interactions with respect, fear and obedience maintaining hierarchy within social groups (Haidt & Joseph, 2007). The final Purity/Sanctity foundation demonstrates how individuals strive to live healthy happy lives, avoiding situations which may cause them harm through maintaining a high level of self-restraint or seeking possible religious guidance (Haidt & Joseph, 2007). These foundations each relate to various principles that exist both within our surrounding social communities and inherently within individuals, demonstrating moral development to be complex and, once again, flexible due to differing situations and factors that surround us.

The MFT broadens the concept of morality, providing a clear explanation of how a person develops a moral framework through both internal and external influences. However, while
Churchland and Suhler (2011) also acknowledge MFT to incorporate multiple perspectives thus creating an influential ideology of morality, they also argue that no supporting evidence from the disciplines of evolutionary biology or neuroscience confirm the foundations relating to emotional characteristics or evolutionary traits. Nevertheless, the five foundations are culturally adaptive and relevant in various social contexts around the globe (Haidt & Joseph, 2007).

Ditto, et al. (2011) shows the MFT to be valid and relevant to other cultures by administering the Moral Foundations Questionnaire (MFQ) to twelve different locations around the world. Each of the five foundations were constant across all geographic groups and cultures, therefore also showing the MFT ease of application (Ditto et al., 2011). However minor differences in moral concerns regarding some foundations was found by Ditto et al. (2011) as the In-group/Loyalty and Purity/Sanctity assumptions were considered of more importance in eastern cultures, such as Asia, than western cultures, like the United Kingdom, who regarded the Fairness/Reciprocity, Harm/Care and Authority/Respect foundations to be of greater relevance. These findings exhibit the significance of culture in establishing morality, as not all cultures hold the same beliefs (Cook, 1999); thus fuelling the debate that different cultures and societies could also perceive criminal behaviour differently.

It may be that an individual’s behaviour can only be judged when contextualising the behaviour to the individual’s demographic characteristics. As Marsh, Melville, Morgan, Norris and Walkington (2006) state: “by imposing our own moral ‘code’ on which we judge offenders, we may simply be missing their own values and attitudes that represent different societies” (p. 78). An offender’s illegal action may be considered immoral but ultimately, they may withhold
different moral values and perceptions of their behaviour due to experiencing a different moral development process.

The debate between morality being formed innately as part of our own development process with traits linked to morality existing within our genes (Carruthers, Laurence & Stich, 2006), or morality being shaped through our surrounding environments and interaction with others which leads to moral values differing across cultures (Dias, Haidt & Koller, 1993), is one of much interest when considering how an individual’s understanding of morality develops and may lead to criminal behaviour. The emergence of Biosocial Criminology which aims to explain antisocial and criminal behaviour through consideration of biological, genetic, environmental and sociological factors (Barnes & Boutwell, 2012; Raine, Rocque & Welsh, 2012), goes some way to recognising the different elements that may impact an individual’s behaviour and moral development. While use of this holistic approach may allow for understanding of the relationship between immoral criminal behaviour and morality, other factors may exist which influence an individual’s morality and decision-making process. Such factors arise when considering the circumstances present at the time of an individual committing a criminal and immoral act.

2.3. Situational Impacts on Criminal Behaviour

Alternative explanations exploring criminal behaviour and morality aim to incorporate the situation which an individual finds themselves within, before and at that moment in time of committing an offence. It is important to identify what circumstances and situational factors alter an individual’s morality and how they ultimately may influence an individual’s moral decision making and behaviour.
2.3.1. Moral Disengagement

Moral Disengagement Theory proposes that those who commit illegal and immoral behaviour detach themselves from the situation through various psychological techniques, therefore allowing themselves to stray from their moral beliefs (Marsh, Melville, Morgan, Norris & Walkington, 2006). Bandura, Barbaranelli, Caprara and Pastorelli (1996) outline that individuals may attribute blame to the circumstances which they find themselves within, perceiving their actions to be forced by the situation rather than their own choice to commit the behaviour. An individual disengages with their own morality, instead viewing “themselves as faultless victims driven to injurious conduct by forcible provocation” (Bandura, 2002, p. 110).

Research conducted by Caprara, Fida, Lupinetti, Paciello and Tramontano (2002) demonstrates that those who are frequently aggressive and violent have high levels of moral disengagement, thus illustrating that distancing from moral frameworks leads to increased incidents of immoral behaviour which could also be illegal. Cauffman, Fagan, Piquero and Shulman (2011) found links between moral disengagement and antisocial behaviour. Furthermore, Cauffman et al. (2011) state that moral disengagement and offending behaviour decreased over time, therefore indicating that age may additionally be related to an individual’s moral behaviour. Nonetheless, Bandura (2002) emphasises that an individual, when faced with situations which may lead to immoral behaviour, can choose to behave otherwise by exercising control over their behaviour. For this reason, further investigation into how a situation may impact an individual’s decision-making process, perception of moral behaviour and self-control is needed.
2.3.2. Situational Precipitators

Situational precipitators direct attention towards the situation considering four different elements: Prompts, Pressures, Permissibility and Provocations. These can weaken moral standards which often prohibit an individual committing a crime (Clarke & Cornish, 2003). Prompts are particular cues within the environment which may be subtle (Wortley, 2001), like following behaviour displayed by a role model, influencing an individual to perform criminal behaviour (Clarke & Cornish, 2003). Pressures refer to behaviour expectations and demands which may be forced upon an individual by their peers or members of higher authority (Clarke & Cornish, 2003), causing an individual to behave differently than how they would when in their own company (Wortley, 2001). Permissibility sees individuals attempt to minimise the consequences of their actions or possibly blame the victim (Clarke & Cornish, 2003), behaving in a manner unlike they normally would (Wortley, 2001). The final element of provocation creates situations of adverse emotional arousal that triggers a criminal response (Clarke & Cornish, 2003). Situations where a person feels their privacy has been breached or mass crowding (Clarke & Cornish, 2003), for example, triggers an antisocial response or high levels of aggression (Wortley, 2001) leading to immoral criminal behaviour being committed.

These precipitators present just before or at the time of a criminal offence being committed, encouraging an individual to carry out criminal behaviour which otherwise they would not. Evidence of precipitators playing a role in criminal behaviour is demonstrated by Dowling, Leclerc and Wortley (2016) who, after conducting semi-structured interviews with 553 male sex offenders, found the presence of precipitators to be common. Dowling et al. (2016) reports that 75.8% of the sexual crimes committed did have precipitators, such as the intake of alcohol or level of excitement, present prior to the act. These factors could have lowered an individual’s morals or inhibited the moral decision-making process thus leading to the immoral and illegal
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behaviour. However, Dowling et al. (2016) consider that although precipitators may play some role offences being carried out, true causation of precipitators leading to the behaviour cannot be confirmed. Additionally, difficulties arise in relation to how situational precipitators may apply to other offences. While precipitators are noted to be associated with sexual offences (Dowling et al., 2016) the same cannot be said for other offences which may heavily rely on prior planning. For instance, in cases where people have robbed banks, the circumstances of the immediate surrounding situation could prove irrelevant. The influence of precipitators therefore, may vary depending on the type of offence to be committed.

Crime prevention techniques such as situational crime prevention strategies, reinforce the importance of surrounding situations and environment which an individual finds themselves in at the time of committing crime. These strategies provide testimony for reducing crime through identification of situational circumstances that could lead to criminal behaviour (Lee, 2010) and addressing them, thus highlighting how precipitators may impact moral and criminal behaviour.

The extensive literature which outlines how morality and criminal behaviour share a relationship is also reflected in current research and techniques used to rehabilitate convicted offenders. Prison aims to reform inmates (Her Majesty’s Prison and Probation Service, 2017), as well as encouraging individual’s moral disposition and development of characteristics linked with honesty, respect, obedience and self-control (Hickey, Kohlberg & Scharf, 1994). Rehabilitation techniques implemented in America, for example, illustrate the link between morality and crime with a program that aims to teach moral principles to young teenagers in the form of ‘The Fact of Life Seminar’ (Beighley, Driscoll, Ramm & Ramm, 2009). The course consists of eight sessions which aim to teach teenagers awareness of moral values (Beighley et
al., 2009). This program proves useful in America with the UK also teaching offenders to develop new vocational skills, gain a useful education and qualifications, and to reflect on their past behaviour (Mcloughlin, in press). These rehabilitation techniques often reflect current social and political approaches (Craig, Dixon & Gannon, 2013) therefore emphasising that people tend to refer to social and legal rules to outline acceptable behaviour.

Considering how situational factors impact on an individual’s morality, and ultimately their criminal behaviour, identifies how an offender’s decision-making process and morality may be altered. Likewise, paying attention to how an individual comes to develop their moral values and how they may be reflected within the normal realms of society also proves important in understanding how an individual comes to learn expected standards of behaviour and moral values, along with how their behaviour is then judged. Further research however, is still needed into how all of these areas interact.

### 2.4. Rationale for This Study

This literature appraisal has demonstrated that the relationship between morality and criminal behaviour is complicated and numerous ideologies have influenced current knowledge. An emerging gap from the literature review is that, although existing research explores individual and societal morality and crime, certain key areas are under-researched. Namely, changes to morals over time, decision-making behaviour, situational influences and how all of these interact within a criminal discipline. Further research is needed on how an individual’s morality may influence the type and severity of criminal behaviour they are likely to participate in. Therefore, this study will: firstly, investigate how morality is developed and interacts with criminal behaviour, secondly examines whether and how differing levels of morality may
influence the severity or type of offence that an individual carries out, and, finally examine how an individual’s moral decision-making is affected by situational precipitators. As well as facilitating further new areas of study needed to enhance knowledge surrounding morality and criminal behaviour. Understanding of these concepts will improve current knowledge as well as providing an insight into possible new contemporary crime prevention, intervention and rehabilitation methods that inhibit or reduce an individual’s offending.
3. Methodology

This chapter justifies the choice of using a mixed-methods approach and describes the two phases undertaken in the study. It outlines the research instruments and discusses how they were integrated within the interview and survey design. It also provides discussion of the sampling techniques used to gain participants. Finally, an overview of how the data collected was analysed will be provided, before exploring ethical considerations of the research.

3.1. Research Phases and Design

This research project used a mixed-methods design, conducted in two separate phases. Phase one was a survey questionnaire to enable exploration of objective measures of an individual’s level of morality, demographics and self-reported past criminal behaviour. Phase one also informed the second phase of the research, identifying participants who met the criteria for follow up interviews in phase two. In phase two semi structured interviews were used to explore individuals’ attitudes and beliefs about morality, the connection to criminal behaviour, the circumstances which surrounded their previous criminal behaviour, or reasons for why they had not previously committed any crimes. Using this phased approach allowed for differing research aims to be explored in detail by the separate methodologies, but also allowed for some triangulation of the data when similar findings and themes arose in both phases and proved supplementary to one another (Crandell, Leeman, Sandelowski & Voils, 2012; Forbes & Heale, 2013). Indeed, the “combination of findings from two or more rigorous approaches provides a more comprehensive picture of results” (Forbes & Heale, 2013, p.98) as well as building on the strengths of each method (Denscombe, 2010) and overcoming the weaknesses (Clark & Creswell, 2011).
Limitations of quantitative research, such as the limited responses that can be given by participants that lack context and real-life applicability (Babbie, 2017; Choy, 2014; Clark & Creswell, 2011), are overcome through also employing qualitative methods to investigate perceptions of participants and the world within which they live (Choy, 2014). On the other hand, the weakness of qualitative research, such as lacking objectivity (Choy, 2014), can be resolved through the use of quantitative methods as little subjective interpretation is undertaken and instead participants’ responses are measured on a numerical scale (Choy, 2014). Whilst the mixed-methods design did strengthen the research in several ways, there were a number of limitations that are discussed in more detail in chapter five.

### 3.2. Research Instruments

In this section the design, creation and purpose of the instruments for the two research phases are discussed.

#### 3.2.1. Survey Design

This research modified a pre-existing questionnaire by adding additional questions relating to participants’ demographics and participants’ past criminal behaviour. These additional questions enabled a range of socio-demographic data to be compared with self-reported criminal behaviour and a pre-validated morality measure. Note, there are limitations to this as discussed in chapter 5.4.
3.2.1.1 An Individual’s Morality

The Moral Foundations Questionnaire (MFQ) was developed by Ditto et al. (2011), and is based on the Moral Foundations Theory (Haidt and Joseph 2007). The MFQ measures a person’s morality in a standardised quantifiable measure (Babbie, 2017) using 32 item six-point likert scale (0-5) questions (see Appendix 1) exploring the five moral dimensions on separate sub-scales: Harm/Care, Fairness/Reciprocity, In-group/Loyalty, Authority/Respect, Purity/Sanctity. The questionnaire compromises of two parts, one measuring moral relevance while the other measures moral judgement, with different questions within both sections being associated with one of the moral foundations (see Appendix 2). Upon completion of both parts, a score of the individual’s morality is established with the higher the score, the more value the participant places on that moral foundation.

Implementing an already existing questionnaire proved beneficial under the time constraints as well as ensuring for validity and reliability of the questionnaire (Ditto et al., 2011). Additionally, the use of two ‘catch’ questions in the MFQ, one in both part one and two (see Appendix 2), allows for those participants who may complete the questionnaire without truly reading the statements, or fall victim to social desirability (Odendaal, 2015), be detected and the data they have provided to be eliminated from the study as to not skew or influence the results.

Implementation of the MFQ by both its creators (Ditto et al., 2011) and other academics (Cabeza, Clifford, Iyengar & Sinnott-Armstrong, 2015; Miles & Vaisey, 2014) allows for limitations of the MFQ to emerge. For example, gaps emerge regarding the questionnaires use within a criminal context, hence why additions needed to be made to allow for participants to disclose their past criminal behaviour.
3.2.1.2. Criminal Behaviour

To gauge whether or not the individual had participated in past criminal behaviour(s) a tick list of options was added to the end of the MFQ (see Appendix 3). The list comprised of 25 different types of offences taken from the Crown Prosecution Service (2016) and the Department for Transport (2016). Offences consisted of different severities, ranging from minor offences such as speeding and cycling on the pavement, to more serious offences such as grievous bodily harm, public order offences and drug offences. Sex offences were excluded from this study as they were considered unique, having rather complex relationships with morals to other types of crimes (Ashkar and Kenny 2017; Herring, 2016).

Including various types and severities of offences allowed for the research aims to be achieved as individual’s morality scores from the MFQ were compared and tested depending on the different types of offences that individuals had self-reported committing (flaws and limitations linked to self-reporting techniques are discussed in chapter 5.4). Being able to understand the past criminal behaviour of participants allowed for investigation into whether an individual’s level of morality influences their criminal behaviour. Additionally, understanding how the two interact not only further asserts if a relationship between the two exists, but also allows for possible predictions of an individual’s level of moral to be made based on their criminal behaviour, and vice versa.

3.2.1.3. Demographic Information

A number of demographic characteristics of participants were captured as identified in the literature as potentially relevant to an individual’s moral development and how they come to
understand morality, including: ethnicity and culture (Cook, 1999; Dias, Haidt & Koller, 1993; Ditto et al., 2011; Turiel, 2002); religion (Paulson, 2007); and societal class (Haidt & Joseph, 2007; Mahapatra, Much, Park & Scweder, 1997).

In designing the survey questions to capture the demographic information, caution was taken to ensure that response options did not overlap and that they were simple and unambiguous (Denscombe, 2010). Care was taken to ensure multiple religions and additional options, such as ‘Atheist’ and ‘Non-religious’, were included as the number of people who now identify as atheists or as having no religion has rose over time (Sherwood, 2016). The option for ‘Student’ was also given for employment status due to knowing that surveys would be distributed at university sites. Additionally, participants were given further options related to various types of employment to allow for determination of their social class and financial situation, and how this may influence their morality and criminal behaviour.

Creating responses suitable for participants to indicate their ethnicity was difficult as the most recent census for England and Wales in 2011, identified the population to be ethnically diverse (Office for National Statistics, 2015). Therefore, guidance was sought from the Metropolitan Police Authority (2007) in establishing response options suitable for the survey that included multiple ethnic groups.

3.2.2. Interview Design

Follow-up interviews allowed participants to explain their survey responses as well as enabling further exploration of the circumstances and situation present at the time of their criminal behaviour and decisions, thus meeting the research aims.
3.2.2.1 Interview Schedule

Two interview schedules were created, one for those who self-reported past criminal behaviour (see Appendix 4), and one for those who did not self-report past criminal behaviour (see Appendix 5). Only very minor differences exist between the two, mostly related to how participants had responded to the criminal behaviour questions in the survey. The interview schedules included a series of prompts which encouraged the interview participant to discuss their ideas regarding the relationship of morality and crime and also acted as a tool to open up discussion (Davies & Hughes, 2014) when participants struggled to answer a question, especially as much of this research relates to abstract topics. Using such materials proved valuable, allowing for the interview to be conducted efficiently as well as providing flexibility in the ordering of questions to encourage engagement from participants.

In the interview participants were asked to complete a simple short task (see Appendix 6). The purpose of this was to offer further insights into an individual’s morality and to encourage their active engagement. A 6-point likert scale allowed participants to rate the five statements, formulated based on the Moral Foundations Theory (Haidt & Joseph, 2007). The responses to this were then used to prompt discussion around the different areas that link into, and construct the concept of morality. Discussing these statements with participants allowed for differences between different ideas on morality, and especially the moral foundations, to emerge, which could then be analysed and contribute towards the interpretation and explanation of results from the survey.

3.2.2.2. Situational Context of the Criminal Behaviour

Those who self-reported to have previously committed crime in the phase one survey were asked in the phase two interviews to discuss the circumstances leading up to, and during, their
acts of criminal behaviour. Questions were designed with reference to previous research on situation precipitators (Clarke & Cornish, 2003; Wortley, 2001) and other possible circumstances, such as what had lead up to the event, how they were feeling at the time, their age and whether this was the first time they had committed crime. Participants were asked to additionally explain how they felt looking back at the behaviour and what may have, at the time, stopped them from committing the criminal behaviour. Exploring such information would not have been possible through use of the MFQ alone, therefore further justifying the use of a mixed-method approach within this study.

3.3. Sampling and Data Collection

Below provides an explanation of how initial survey responses were collected and then used to recruit participants for interview gaining the quantitative and qualitative data needed to assess the research aims.

3.3.1. Survey

The survey was administered in two formats, paper (see Appendix 3) and electronically with the use of SurveyMonkey (see Appendix 7). Potential limitations of this varied sampling and data collection are discussed in further detail in chapter five. Permissions to administer and email the surveys were gained from the District Commissioner of Oldham Borough Scouts, the Chair of the Ethics Committee and also Director of Development and Learning at University Campus Oldham, and the acting manager of Canon Pharmacy in Oldham (see Appendix 8).

For phase one, an opportunity sampling method was implemented with those people available at the recruitment sites at the relevant time being asked to complete a paper version of the
survey. Such a sampling technique was used due to the ease of which a large sample could be collected (Searle, 1999) under the study’s strict time constraints. Additionally, the electronic survey allowed for data to be collected in an economical and efficient manner (Forano & Gravetter, 2010) as a direct link to the survey was sent to individuals so they could complete the survey online at home in their own privacy, therefore also overcoming issues related to social desirability. Both men and women, above the age of 18, were encouraged to complete the survey to allow for responses from a diverse and mixed sample of ethnicities, ages, socioeconomic class and cultures in order to compare perceptions of morality and meet the research aims.

3.3.2. Interviews

The research used a stratified sampling technique to gain a representative sample of participants for interviews (Denscombe, 2010) with those who: had completed the survey, were male or female from the general public, above the age of 18, and had indicated that they wished to take part further in the study, therefore leaving their contact information, were selected for interview. When participants had indicated committing crime, responses were categorised based on the type and severity of the offences self-reported, therefore allowing for a mixture of individuals who had committed various criminal behaviours to be interviewed. Those who had not self-reported committing any past offences were also grouped together and then randomly selected for interview.

A pilot interview was conducted to validate the interview schedule, questions, format and room layout. Based on this, the seating arrangements in the room were changed to better build a rapport with interviewees (Gilbert & Miles, 2005; Gillham, 2005; Klenke, 2008) with the
interviewer being seated on the corner of the desk on the same side of the participant. This aimed to enable participants to feel comfortable and at ease (Gilbert & Miles, 2005), seeing the interview less formally and thus elaborating on ideas more as if it were a general conversation.

Additionally, after the pilot interview, the timing of when participants completed the task of ranking statements was deliberated, as the task proved very useful in opening up discussion and building up rapport. Therefore, it was decided that instead of having a set slot, the task would be ready to use at any point to help participants who struggled to answer questions or discuss their thoughts, as it could ease participants and facilitate discussion. To validate the findings, (Koelsch, 2013) a random selection of participants were contacted post analysis to check if the patterns and themes identified within the data accurately reflected their responses.

3.4. Analysis

This section discusses the quantitative analysis of the surveys and the qualitative analysis of the interviews.

3.4.1. Survey

Data collected from the survey were collated and entered into the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) software (see Appendix 9). Each question was entered as a variable and responses coded (see Appendix 10). Any missing responses were coded as ‘99’.

Initial interpretation of the data was obtained within SPSS through Measures of Central Tendency (Mean, Mode and Median) as well as Measures of Dispersion (Standard Deviation and Range) being calculated. Kolomogrov-Smirnov tests for normality and the Levene’s test
for Homogeneity of variance were then also run to determine whether any further parametric or non-parametric tests could be undertaken to establish any significant differences within the data. A range of tests in the form of T-Tests, one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) and Mann-Whitney U were then used to analyse if this was the case. Binomial Logistic Regressions were also used to determine how the binary response of committing crime or not, is influenced or dependant on explanatory variables within this research (the five moral foundations and demographic factors) (Hato & Shafique, 2015).

3.4.2. Interviews

All interviews were transcribed verbatim and anonymised (see Appendix 11) providing a sound audit trail (Davidson & Halcomb, 2006) and allowing for textual thematic analysis of the data (see Appendix 12) in which themes and patterns in the data could be identified (Attride-Stirling, 2001). First-level coding was carried out within the left margin, highlighting initial key words and phrases which emerged. Second-level coding was then executed in the right margin, building on the initial stage of coding to explore the underlying meaning and interpretation of the phrases and words that had been highlighted in the first-level. The final step of the analysis, third-level coding, was then performed to link themes, codes, and any existing theoretical concepts which the data may be related to (Appendix 13). From undergoing this iterative process in analysing the data, answers for the research questions could be found and the research aims addressed (Appendix 14).

3.5. Ethical Considerations

Before collecting any data or conducting any of the research, ethical approval was gained from the School Research Ethics Panel at the University of Huddersfield (see Appendix 15). Further
guidance in ensuring ethical standards were upheld was gained from the Code of Human Research Ethics (Ethics Committee of the British Psychological Society, 2014) and is outlined below.

3.5.1 Survey

Before completing the survey, participants were given the opportunity to read an information sheet (see Appendix 16) and upon confirmation that they understood the research, given a consent form to sign and date (see Appendix 17) confirming any information provided could be included in the study and published in the future for academic purposes. Participants were assured that at any time they could withdraw or not answer a question if they did not want to, and upon completion of the survey that they could still withdraw up to a specified date.

After completing the survey, the front information sheet was separated from the rest of the questionnaire and given to the participant, who was reminded of how to withdraw from the study at any point. Completed surveys were then stored in a secure folder and locked in a cabinet. Any sheets containing personal information, were stored separately, upholding ethical standards relating to confidentiality and anonymity.

A replication of the ethical procedures was applied to the electronic version of the survey as participants were still presented an information sheet and required to sign a consent form (see Appendix 18). The electronic data from the survey was stored on a secure computer, with the electronic data file being encrypted and password protected.


3.5.2 Interviews

Before conducting any interviews, an agreement was made with the acting manager of Canon Pharmacy in Oldham to use their private consultation room (see Appendix 8) to ensure privacy and confidentiality was upheld. The presence of staff on site and the existence of a phone, which upon pressing one button would ring through to the main pharmacy, overcame any safety concerns relating to the interviewer. Prior to any interviews both supervisors, family members and staff of the pharmacy were made aware of the time and date of which an interview was arranged to further ensure interviewer safety.

Upon arriving to be interviewed participants were greeted and led through to the consultation room with the door being shut behind them to ensure privacy. Once seated, participants were reminded of the research aims and handed an information sheet (see Appendix 19) were they were further informed of their right to withdraw at any time during the interview and their right not to answer any questions they did not want to. Participants were given the opportunity to ask any questions and told that if they did not understand or need further explanation on a question, to not be afraid to ask. Extra care was taken in ensuring participants agreed to be recorded during the interview and for the data they provided to be published; with assurance that anonymity would be guaranteed, except in cases where safeguarding issues emerged. After confirming that they were happy to continue, participants were asked to sign and date a consent form (see Appendix 20). Interviews were then started, with each interview lasting on average around 30-40 minutes.

Once the interview had been conducted, participants were debriefed (see Appendix 21) and again reminded that after leaving, participants could still withdraw from the study by contacting the researcher no later than a specified date. Assurances were given that their personal details
would remain anonymous and confidential, but again with clear explanation that should safeguarding concerns emerge, their details would be passed to relevant officials. Participants were also asked how they were feeling and that if upon leaving the interview they felt they needed some support, to speak to their friends and family or if they needed further professional support to contact Manchester Mind through the details provided (see Appendix 21). Participants were then thanked for their contribution again and told they could leave when they were ready.
4. Phase One Findings

This chapter will present the findings of the survey analysis with results presented in four parts. Firstly, a brief description of key characteristics of the sample is provided to give some context to the findings. Following this the MFQ scores of participants in this survey are compared to those of the original MFQ study (Ditto et al., 2011). The survey results then investigate the relationship between morality (based on MFQ) and criminal-non-criminal behaviour (based on self-declared offences), as well as exploring how participants’ demographic characteristics and moral foundation scores may impact on their criminal behaviour.

4.1. Survey Data

A total of 184 participants completed the survey: 119 (65%) were female, 61 (33%) male and 4 participants (2%) did not disclose their gender. Participants ranged from aged 18 to 65 or over, and were a mixture of different ethnicities, religious backgrounds and employment.

4.1.1. Comparison of the Moral Foundation Questionnaire (MFQ)

Table 1 compares the MFQ scores obtained from the survey in this study with the original MFQ scores (Ditto et al., 2011). This offers, at least partially, an assessment of the reliability of the MFQ scores obtained in this sample, although limitations of this are discussed in chapter 5.4.

It is evident from Table 1 that the MFQ scores obtained in this study (across four of the foundations sub-categories) were slightly higher than those in the original study (Ditto et al., 2011). The greatest difference observed is in the Purity/Sanctity foundation which in this study
is almost 1 times higher (note on a likert scale of 0-5 this is a fairly sizeable difference). These differences were tested to ascertain whether any were statistically significantly.

Normal distribution of the data was presumed due to the Central Limits Theorem (CLT) which states when the sample size is larger than 30 (n>30), then the data allows for certainty to larger populations (n>100) (Jolliffe, 1995). However, tests for normality were also run with the awareness that false indications of the data not being normally distributed can occur when scores within a large data set only slightly vary (Field, 2013). Upon interpretation of Q-Q plots, histograms, values of skewness and kurtosis alongside results from the Kolomogrov-Smirnov test, it was concluded that normality of the data was achieved. Homogeneity of variance was met for all but one moral foundation. The Purity/Sanctity foundation did not meet homogeneity of variance, F (1, 10727) = 5.694, p = .017. Therefore, assumptions of normality and variance were met for the Harm/Care, Fairness/Reciprocity, In-Group/Loyalty and Authority/Respect foundation, thus, a parametric Independent T-test was run. Whereas for the Purity/Sanctity foundation, normality and variance assumptions were not met and a non-parametric Mann-Whitney U test run to determine for any significance.

Results from the Independent T-Test indicated there to be significant differences within the Harm/Care, t (10725) = -2.831, p = .005, Fairness/Reciprocity, t (10727) = -3.083, p = .002, Authority/Respect, t (10725) = -9.628, p = .001, foundations. Results from the Mann-Whitney U also indicated a significant difference within the Purity/Sanctity foundation, U = 473832, Z = -11.931, p = .001. These results highlight a significant difference between the data collected within this current study and from the original study conducted by Ditto et al. (2011). This suggests morality (based on the MQF score) was scored higher for participants in this study. However, one possible explanation for this is sample sizes. Ditto et al. (2011) collected over
10,000 responses compared to the 184 participants in this study and therefore it is difficult to draw any meaningful comparison between the two. The analysis presented below is based solely on the responses to this study to compare morality with self-declared criminal activity.

4.1.2. Self-Reporting of Previous Criminal Behaviour

In total, 141 (77%) participants reported to have previously committed criminal behaviour, while the remaining 43 (23%) did not. Offences ranged in their type and severity from cycling on the pavement and receiving parking fines, to perverting the court of justice and possession of illicit substances. Moral foundation comparisons (Table 2) revealed that those who did not report any past crimes tended to score higher MFQ scores than those who did not, for all categories except the Authority/Respect foundation. That being said, scores are still very similar being separated by only .02 difference. Overall this pattern suggests that those who commit crime hold lower morals to those who do not. Parametric Independent T-Tests were carried out (as data met assumptions of normality and variance (see Appendix 22.1.)) and this found the differences were not significant for any of the five foundations (see Appendix 27.1.). This suggests there is no significant difference in morality between those who have and those have not declared past criminal behaviour.
Table 1
Comparison of the mean and standard deviation of each of the five moral foundations from the current study to previous research conducted by Ditto et al. (2011)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Moral Foundation</th>
<th>Date from current study M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>Data from study conducted by Ditto et al. (2011) M</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Harm/Care</td>
<td>3.69</td>
<td>.770</td>
<td>3.52</td>
<td>.834</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fairness/Reciprocity</td>
<td>3.65</td>
<td>.745</td>
<td>3.68</td>
<td>.748</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In-group/Loyalty</td>
<td>2.27</td>
<td>.958</td>
<td>2.08</td>
<td>.008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Authority/Respect</td>
<td>2.69</td>
<td>.958</td>
<td>2.03</td>
<td>.902</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purity/Sanctity</td>
<td>2.34</td>
<td>1.08</td>
<td>1.33</td>
<td>.986</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2
Comparison of Moral Foundation Scores between Those Who Self-Reported Committing a Crime and Those That Did Not

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Moral Foundations</th>
<th>Crime committed</th>
<th>Crime not committed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harm/ Care</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>3.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fairness/Reciprocity</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>3.88</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.1.3. Examination of the Criminal Behaviour

Moral foundation scores were calculated for each of the offence types (see Appendix 23) except burglary as none of the sample self-declared committing this. Overall, one of the key findings was that for all offence type scores for the In-group/Loyalty, Authority/Respect, and Purity/Sanctity foundations are lower than scores for the Harm/Care and Fairness/Reciprocity foundations. This suggests those who commit crime have a lower regard for values found within the In-group/Loyalty, Authority/Respect, and Purity/Sanctity foundations. Due to the small number of cases for some crime categories offence types were aggregated into broader categories in order to test for significance.

4.1.3.1. Comparison of Moral Foundations Based on Offence Type

Offences were categorised based on the type of criminal behaviour which they entailed and effects of the crime. Six final categories relating to offence type were devised: Driving offences, Drugs/Alcohol offences, Minor offences, Financial/Non-Personal crime, Violent/Personal crime, and Cyber-crime (see Appendix 24). Moral foundation scores were calculated for each of these (Table 3). Inspection of this reveals no clear trend emerges and no offence types were consistently the lowest or highest moral scores. However, a similar pattern as before emerges in that the In-group/Loyalty, Authority/Respect and Purity/Sanctity foundations produce lower scores than the other two foundations.

As the data met assumptions of normality and homogeneity of variance (Appendix 22.2.), parametric tests were used to test for significant differences. ANOVAs were used to compare multiple groups with single variables (Urdan, 2017). Results of the one-way ANOVA (see Appendix 26.1.) indicated no significant difference between offence types and morality,
suggesting that for the crime classifications above, there is no evidence of a link between morality and offence type.

4.1.3.2. Comparison of Moral Foundations Based on Severity of the Offence

As an additional test, offences were further categorised in terms of severity based on the length and type of sentence permissible for the offence. Information regarding sentencing guidelines were gathered from the Sentencing Council (2017), Crown Prosecution Service (2017), the Department for Transport (2016), and the Ministry of Justice (2017). Using this sentencing information, offences were categorised into ‘minor’, ‘middle level’ and ‘serious offences’ (see Appendix 25). Table 4 compares crime severity with morality, and identifies that the ‘serious offence’ category scores the highest on morals, the ‘middle offence’ category scores the lowest, while the ‘minor offence’ category remains in between the two. This suggests those who commit offences classed as ‘serious’ hold a higher level of morality than those who commit ‘middle’ severity crimes who score the lowest. As assumptions of normality and variance within the data were satisfied (see Appendix 22.3.), parametric one-way ANOVAs were used to test for significant differences (see Appendix 26.2.). The results found no significant differences between moral foundations scores and crime severity of crime. Therefore, when comparing both classification of offence and severity no statistically significant differences were observed between morality and offending.

As identified in the literature review, establishing if a relationship exists between morality and criminal behaviour is complex. Therefore, additional quantitative analysis was used to examine the relationship between crime and morality controlling for the demographics of the sample.
Table 3
*Comparison of Moral Foundation Scores Between Offence Types*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Offence Types</th>
<th>Moral Foundations</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Driving offences</td>
<td></td>
<td>242</td>
<td>3.59</td>
<td>.743</td>
<td>3.63</td>
<td>.720</td>
<td>2.23</td>
<td>.875</td>
<td>2.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drugs/Alcohol</td>
<td></td>
<td>58</td>
<td>3.50</td>
<td>.766</td>
<td>3.56</td>
<td>.708</td>
<td>2.08</td>
<td>.861</td>
<td>2.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minor offences</td>
<td></td>
<td>111</td>
<td>3.62</td>
<td>.697</td>
<td>3.66</td>
<td>.645</td>
<td>2.20</td>
<td>.803</td>
<td>2.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial/Non-Personal crimes</td>
<td></td>
<td>134</td>
<td>3.55</td>
<td>.673</td>
<td>3.55</td>
<td>.669</td>
<td>2.13</td>
<td>.891</td>
<td>2.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violent/Personal crimes</td>
<td></td>
<td>49</td>
<td>3.61</td>
<td>.649</td>
<td>3.65</td>
<td>.554</td>
<td>2.20</td>
<td>.768</td>
<td>2.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cyber-crimes</td>
<td></td>
<td>39</td>
<td>3.47</td>
<td>.687</td>
<td>3.55</td>
<td>.646</td>
<td>2.10</td>
<td>.700</td>
<td>2.38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4
Comparison of Moral Foundation Scores Based on Severity of Criminal Behaviour

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Moral Foundations</th>
<th>Minor offences</th>
<th>Middle level offences</th>
<th>Serious offences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>SD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harm/Care</td>
<td>324</td>
<td>3.60</td>
<td>.727</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fairness/Reciprocity</td>
<td></td>
<td>3.64</td>
<td>.696</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In-group/Loyalty</td>
<td></td>
<td>3.61</td>
<td>.670</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Authority/Respect</td>
<td></td>
<td>3.65</td>
<td>.745</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purity/Sanctity</td>
<td></td>
<td>3.65</td>
<td>.745</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.1.4. Demographics

Information was collected regarding participant’s demographics, such as age, gender, religion, ethnicity and employment and is explored below. Demographic information is also combined and tested with the moral foundations through binominal multiple regression tests to examine if the two variables impact on criminal behaviour.

4.1.4.1. Gender

A total of 119 (64.7%) females and 61 (33.2%) males completed the survey, only 4 (2.2%) participants chose not to disclose their gender. Overall female scores appear higher than male scores for all of the five moral foundations (Table 5) thus suggesting that females hold a higher standard of morals. Normality of the data was established, while homogeneity of variance was achieved for all but the Harm/Care, $F (1, 178) = 4.321, p= .039$, and the Purity/Sanctity, $F (1, 178) = 5.905, p= 0.16$ foundations. Therefore, while the Fairness/Reciprocity, In-group/Loyalty and Authority/Respect foundations were tested using a parametric Independent T-Test, a non-parametric Mann Whitney-U was run on the Harm/Care and Purity/Sanctity foundations. No significant difference between female and male moral foundation scores emerged (see Appendix 27.2.). However, results from the Mann Whitney-U demonstrates that a significant difference, $U= 2716.50, Z=-2.766, p=.006$, does exist between female and male scores within the Harm/Care foundation. A binomial logistic regression was run to ascertain if gender and Harm/Care scores influence the likelihood of an individual committing crime, but results were non-significant. However, these results suggest that moral values between the two genders do differ within the Harm/Care foundation, with females showing a higher regard for moral values both within this foundation specifically and overall.
4.1.4.2. Age

Six possible options were presented for participants to choose from as an indication of their age (see Appendix 3). Upon reflection of the sample sizes for each original option, it was decided to merge age groups together into larger groups to allow for any significant differences to be identified more easily and increase the sample sizes. Due to this, three main age groups were created: aged 18-24, 25-44, and 45-65, with only one participant not disclosing their age in the final sample. Table 6 reports the moral foundation scores between the age groups, with scores between the 18-24 and 45-65 or over age category appearing to differ the most.

Assumptions of normality and homogeneity of variance were met (see Appendix 22.4.) therefore parametric tests were run in the form of one-way ANOVAs. Results of the one-way ANOVA found a significant difference to exist within the Authority/Respect foundation, $F(2, 180) = 8.435$, $p = .001$, with post-hoc Tukey HSD tests indicating the age group 45-65 or over ($M = 3.12$, $SD = .974$) to be significantly different ($p = .001$) from age groups 18-24 ($M = 2.51$, $SD = .788$) and age group 25-44 ($M = 2.51$, $SD = .978$). Additionally, age appeared relevant in the likelihood of committing crime as the results of a binomial logistic regression show, $b = - .628$, Wald $\chi^2 (1) = 4.912$, $p = .027$. These significant scores demonstrate that age may influence an individual’s consideration of authority and hierarchy, as well as supporting the notion of morality being flexible and possibly evolving as a person matures. The differing scores for each age group reinforce that moral values and beliefs may change over an individual’s lifetime, establishing the reasons for this however, requires further exploration through interview data.
Table 5
Comparison of moral foundation scores between females and males

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Harm/Care</th>
<th>Fairness/Reciprocity</th>
<th>In-group/Loyalty</th>
<th>Authority/Respect</th>
<th>Purity/Sanctity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>M 3.84</td>
<td>SD 0.665</td>
<td>M 3.71</td>
<td>SD 0.667</td>
<td>M 2.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>SD 0.892</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>M 3.46</td>
<td>SD 0.857</td>
<td>M 3.60</td>
<td>SD 0.808</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>M 2.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>SD 0.978</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>M 2.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>SD 0.996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>M 2.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>SD 1.211</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6  
*Comparison of moral foundation scores for each age group*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>M (Harm/Care)</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>M (Fairness/Reciprocity)</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>M (In-group/Loyalty)</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>M (Authority/Respect)</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>M (Purity/Sanctity)</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18-24</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>3.73</td>
<td>.791</td>
<td>3.82</td>
<td>.666</td>
<td>2.38</td>
<td>.875</td>
<td>2.51</td>
<td>.788</td>
<td>2.23</td>
<td>.995</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-44</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>3.75</td>
<td>.616</td>
<td>3.60</td>
<td>.666</td>
<td>2.11</td>
<td>.862</td>
<td>2.51</td>
<td>.978</td>
<td>2.27</td>
<td>1.099</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-65 or over</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>3.62</td>
<td>.880</td>
<td>3.58</td>
<td>.845</td>
<td>2.38</td>
<td>1.027</td>
<td>3.12</td>
<td>.974</td>
<td>2.58</td>
<td>1.146</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Comparing moral foundation scores (Table 7), Christians often score the highest. Normality and homogeneity of variance within the data appeared to be achieved (see Appendix 22.5.) therefore parametric ANOVAs were conducted. Significant differences exist in scores of the In-group/Loyalty foundation, F (4, 178) = 7.589, p= .001, with post-hoc Tukey HSD tests indicating a significant difference (p= .030) between Christians (M= 2.74, SD= 0.903) and Atheists, as well as a significant difference (p= .001) between Christians (M= 2.74, SD= 0.903) and Non-religious (M= 1.96, SD= 0.815) samples. The ANOVA also revealed significance in the Authority/Respect foundation, F (4, 178) = 9.137, p= .001. Post-hoc Tukey HSD tests highlighted differences to be significant (p= .017) between Christians (M= 3.20, SD= 0.799) and Atheists (2.42, SD= 0.729), as well as scores between Christians (M= 3.20, 0.799) and the Non-religious (M= 2.34, 0.962) also being significantly different (p= .001). Furthermore, significant differences existed in scores for the Purity/Sanctity foundation, F (4, 178) = 12.310, p= .001, with post-hoc Tukey HSD tests indicating significant differences between various religious samples. Christians (M= 2.92, SD= 0.908) were found to significantly differ (p= .001) from Atheists (M= 1.83, SD= 0.964), as well as the Non-religious (M= 1.88, SD= 1.032) to a significance level of p= .0001. While Muslim scores (M= 2.94, SD= 0.820) are significantly different (p= .011) from Atheists (M= 1.83, SD= 0.964), as well as also being significantly different (p= .001) from Non-religious scores (M= 1.88, SD= 1.032). These significant differences between scores of separate religious groups, demonstrates that religion influences an individual’s level of morality. No one religion provides the same scores for any moral foundation therefore illustrating that each religion may emphasise different values and beliefs, thus religion is a factor which affects the morality of an individual. That being said, results from binomial logistic regressions appeared non-significant with religion not appearing as a variable relevant within the model of whether an individual does or does not commit crime.
Religion may therefore influence the development and understanding of morality but not criminal behaviour.

4.1.4.4. Ethnicity

Changes were made to the categorisation of participant’s ethnicity due to only a small number of participants indicating to be of a Black or minority ethnicity. Therefore, the original multiple ethnicities were grouped together into one large non-white group, with the intention that this would allow for better comparison of scores. Initial differences can be identified (Table 8), with the non-white group scoring higher for all five of the moral foundations when compared to the White group.

Normality of the data appeared to be met for all but one of the moral foundations within the Non-white group. Results indicated normality within the Purity/Sanctity foundation, D (24) = .289, p=.0001, for the non-white group to be broken. Homogeneity of variance also appeared to be met for the majority of the data, apart from the Fairness/Reciprocity foundation, F (1,179) = 4.125, p= .044). Therefore, while parametric Independent T-Tests were run to determine significant differences in scores for the Harm/Care, In-group/Loyalty and Authority/Respect foundations, a non-parametric Mann-Whitney U was run to determine any significance for the Fairness/Reciprocity and Purity/Sanctity foundations.

Scores for the Harm/Care foundation were higher for the non-white group (M= 3.66, SD=.741), then the White group (M= 3.66, SD=.741), with an Independent T-Test, t (179) = -2.149, p= .042, indicating there to be a significant difference between the two groups. However, binomial logistic regressions did not show any relevance between ethnicity, the Harm/Care foundation or both of them combined when determining the likelihood of an individual
committing criminal behaviour. All other Independent T-Tests were non-significant as too were binomial logistic regressions. Results from the Mann-Whitney U indicated there to be a significant difference in scores within the Purity/Sanctity foundation, $U= 1220.00$, $Z= -2.781$, $p= .005$, with the non-white group scoring higher, $Mdn= 3.08$, then the White group, $Mdn= 2.33$. The difference in scores, some of which appear to be significant, of the five foundations between the White and non-white group demonstrates that ethnicity can influence an individual’s morality, thus offering some support for the concept of Cultural Relativism (Tilley, 2000). These results suggest that not all ethnicities accept and follow the same moral values (Cook, 1999), instead varying in where they place the greatest importance on certain values and beliefs.

4.1.4.5. Employment

Participants who completed the survey were from various types of employment. However, the decision was made to create three larger groups that combined the original categories together so that group sizes were larger and easier to compare. On first glance of the data (Table 9), those who are employed, full-time, part-time and self-employed tend to have the lowest scores except for the Authority/Respect foundation were their score appears the highest. This could be attributed to the likelihood that those who are employed often follow a chain of command and hierarchy within their workplace. This data therefore illustrates the beliefs of the Moral Foundations Theory in relation to people maintaining a line of power and hierarchy (Haidt & Joseph, 2007). Again, the pattern emerges that the In-group/Loyalty, Authority/Respect and Purity/Sanctity foundations receive the lowest scores.

Normality and homogeneity of the data was established within the data (see Appendix 22.6.) and so a parametric one-way ANOVA was conducted. A significant difference emerged in
scores of the Harm/Care foundation, \( F (2, 180) = 3.986, p = .020 \), with a post-hoc Tukey HSD test revealing scores provided by the Employed (\( M = 3.59, SD = .781 \)), to be significantly different (\( p = .015 \)) from Students (\( M = 3.92, SD = .650 \)). Additionally, the ANOVA highlighted a significant difference in the In-group/Loyalty foundation, \( F (2, 180) = 3.631, p = .028 \), with results from a post-hoc Tukey HSD test indicating a significant difference (\( p = .023 \)) between the Employed (\( M = 2.19, SD = .943 \)) and unemployed (\( M = 2.95, SD = .760 \)). Furthermore, binomial logistic regressions highlighted employability to be relevant and significant in determining the likelihood of an individual committing criminal behaviour, \( b = .442, \) Wald \(^2 \) \((1) = 4.466, p = .035 \). These significant differences illustrate that employment and socio-economic status can influence an individual’s values, morality and criminal behaviour.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Christian</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>3.78</td>
<td>.691</td>
<td>3.68</td>
<td>.717</td>
<td>2.74</td>
<td>.903</td>
<td>3.20</td>
<td>.799</td>
<td>2.92</td>
<td>.908</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslim</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>4.03</td>
<td>.647</td>
<td>3.95</td>
<td>.481</td>
<td>2.36</td>
<td>.925</td>
<td>2.90</td>
<td>.802</td>
<td>2.94</td>
<td>.820</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atheist</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>3.65</td>
<td>.834</td>
<td>3.69</td>
<td>.775</td>
<td>2.02</td>
<td>.791</td>
<td>2.42</td>
<td>.729</td>
<td>1.83</td>
<td>.964</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Religious</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>3.56</td>
<td>.778</td>
<td>3.58</td>
<td>.750</td>
<td>1.96</td>
<td>.815</td>
<td>2.34</td>
<td>.962</td>
<td>1.88</td>
<td>1.032</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4.12</td>
<td>.843</td>
<td>4.08</td>
<td>.500</td>
<td>2.16</td>
<td>1.062</td>
<td>2.54</td>
<td>1.300</td>
<td>2.12</td>
<td>1.003</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7  
*Comparison of Moral Foundations Scores between Religions*
Table 8  
*Comparison of Moral Foundations Scores for the different Ethnicity Groups*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>3.66</td>
<td>.741</td>
<td>3.63</td>
<td>.743</td>
<td>2.28</td>
<td>.905</td>
<td>2.70</td>
<td>.967</td>
<td>2.28</td>
<td>1.062</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-white</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>.746</td>
<td>3.91</td>
<td>.498</td>
<td>2.34</td>
<td>1.026</td>
<td>2.75</td>
<td>.879</td>
<td>2.84</td>
<td>1.103</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Three participants chose not to disclose their ethnicity
Table 9
Comparison of Moral Foundation Scores between Employment Status

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Employment</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Employed</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>3.59</td>
<td>.781</td>
<td>3.57</td>
<td>.773</td>
<td>2.19</td>
<td>.943</td>
<td>2.72</td>
<td>.943</td>
<td>2.31</td>
<td>1.075</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3.77</td>
<td>.800</td>
<td>3.63</td>
<td>.918</td>
<td>2.95</td>
<td>.760</td>
<td>3.19</td>
<td>1.045</td>
<td>3.00</td>
<td>.963</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>3.92</td>
<td>.650</td>
<td>3.84</td>
<td>.558</td>
<td>2.32</td>
<td>.863</td>
<td>2.54</td>
<td>.952</td>
<td>2.31</td>
<td>1.109</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*One participant did not disclose their employment status*
4.2.6. Summary

Differences can be observed in an individual’s level of morality, with moral foundation scores varying depending on an individual’s criminal behaviour and demographics. Those who self-reported to have not committed crime, scored higher for all five moral foundations than those who self-reported previously committing crime. When comparing moral foundation scores based on the criminal offence type, no clear trend emerged. However, when considering the severity of the criminal behaviour, offences perceived as serious often scored the highest indicating the individual’s higher regard and emphasis on moral values, while middle level offences scored the lowest for all moral foundations. This is unexpected as often it is assumed that those who commit serious crime, withhold lower levels of morality (Ashkar & Kenny, 2007; Palmer, 2003b). Overall, results indicate towards a relationship existing between criminal behaviour and morality, with the possibility that this relationship may sometimes be influenced by an individual’s demographic information. However, the relationship between morality and criminal behaviour can be clarified further through analysis and interpretation of the interview data as so far morality is seen to be complex and unique.
4.2. Phase Two Findings

Eight participants were interviewed, one female and seven males, between the ages of twenty-four to sixty-nine. Seven indicated to have previously committed criminal behaviour, ranging from speeding, parking fines and shoplifting, to perverting the course of justice and possession of illicit substances. Only one participant was interviewed that self-reported to have not committed any criminal behaviour. Participants were of various religious beliefs, employment statuses and ethnicities, providing a diverse sample and mixture of opinions relating to topics discussed within the interview (Figure 1). This chapter will explore how morality was defined and understood by participants and how morality was believed to interact with crime, the moral decision-making process and situational precipitators. Furthermore, this chapter explores how participants believed morality to be reflected within society and the law.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
<th>Employment</th>
<th>Past Criminal Behaviour</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>18-24</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Christian</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Employed</td>
<td>Speeding, Handling stolen goods, Criminal Damage, Using a mobile phone while driving, Parking fine, Driving under the influence, Cycling on a pavement, Possession of illicit substances, Software piracy, Shoplifting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>25-34</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Christian</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Student</td>
<td>Criminal Damage, Cycling on a pavement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>45-54</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Christian</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>Speeding, Perverting the course of justice, Fraud, Shoplifting, Being drunk and disorderly, Theft, Possession of illicit substances</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>65 or over</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Christian</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Retired</td>
<td>Assault, Possession of a weapon, Perverting the course of justice, Handling stolen goods, Robbery, Shoplifting, Being drunk and disorderly</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Morality of Offenders: Investigating Morality of Individuals Who Commit Crime

<p>| | | | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>65 or over</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Christian</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Retired</td>
<td>Speeding Using a mobile phone while driving Parking fine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>25-34</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Non-religious</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>Robbery Theft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>35-44</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Non-religious</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>Assault Criminal Damage Shoplifting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>55-64</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Christian</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Full-time employment</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 1: Profile of Participants Interviewed
4.2.1. Defining Morality

Before exploring the themes and patterns that emerged from the interview data in relation to participant’s criminal behaviour, it is necessary to first consider how participants’ defined morality. A consensus emerged that morality is linked to beliefs of right and wrong, reflecting current definitions found within existing literature (Caracuel et al., 2015; Smith, 1974):

“knows right from wrong and erm... knowing yeh, what’s right and wrong” Participant 3

Participants also highlighted elements of forgiveness, politeness and sincerity when defining the concept of morality. However, the element of respect was one repeated throughout and its importance to morality reinforced by all but one of the participants:

“So morality to me is about being respectful” Participant 2

Recognition of respect and explanation of how this plays a crucial role in understanding morality, demonstrates a concept not previously raised in the current literature when defining morality. Further ideas about morality proposed by participants, included the extent to which an individual conforms to society’s rules:

“The rules by which [pause] you agree to be ruled by society” Participant 5

The multiple elements that arose in participants’ definitions of morality reinforces morality as a confusing, abstract topic, which is unique to each individual, with no one universal definition. Nevertheless, despite the multiple definitions, all participants agreed that their morality plays a significant role in their life:

“It’s very important... so I think it’s very important morality” Participant 5
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Thus, participants indicated that morality is relevant to their everyday life and therefore may have a role in criminal behaviour.

4.2.2. The Relationship between Morality and Criminal Behaviour

Participants were asked to consider whether they believe a relationship between morality and criminal behaviour exists. Four participants strongly agreed there to be a relationship between the two, with two of these discussing that often those who commit crime have lower levels of morality:

“I’d say people who commit crime and stuff, lack morals... a distinct lack of morality”

Participant 7

These viewpoints link with existing literature that an individual’s level of morality can impact on their propensity to commit crime (Ashkar & Kenny, 2007; Palmer, 2003b). The remaining participants did not definitively believe there to be a relationship between morality and criminal behaviour, instead highlighting other factors related to financial gain, family circumstances and upbringing that could influence an individual’s reasons to commit crime:

“I don’t think so erm, I’m not sure whether through circumstances with upbringing”

Participant 5

Reflecting upon an individual’s upbringing and family circumstances could prove to be important when considering an individual’s morals and criminal behaviour, as every participant believed an individual’s childhood proves crucial in the development of morality and their later behaviour:

“I think it’s how you’ve been brought up” Participant 6
This stance supports the ideology proposed by Gewirtz and Kurtines (2014) that morality is an external process and learnt from parents. Furthermore, participants stated morality develops through external sources when asked how an individual’s morals may change:

“I think it all starts at home for me. I think you set the standards at home... that’s what they do at home” Participant 8

That being said, some recognition towards morality developing both internally and externally emerged as a couple of participants indicated that their own personal beliefs influence their actions:

“just me upbringing and with my own moral compass, you know, my own feeling for things” [88-89] Participant 3

Here participants appear to pay attention to both sides of the nature versus nurture argument as well as reflecting assumptions of the MFT, as an individual’s morals and behaviour is influenced by both internal and external factors (Hadit & Joseph, 2007). This combination of elements hints towards the idea that a holistic viewpoint may be best when attempting to understand the impact of an individual’s upbringing and how morality is developed. Some participants believed that despite having a good upbringing with loving parents, an individual could still go on to commit crime:

“depends on who you’re brought up; I mean not all of it, not all... I’ve come from a good home and erm really I should have turned out better” Participant 7

These beliefs suggest a deterministic viewpoint of morality and criminal behaviour; however, such understandings could be considered too simplistic as using an individual’s past family experiences to predict the future likelihood of them committing crime is not a reliable technique. Multiple factors can influence and affect an individual’s behaviour and so various
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factors need to be taken into consideration in conjunction with the individual’s childhood and upbringing.

Nonetheless, the dilemma of attempting to understand criminal behaviour, along with how morality influences this, is further complicated as participants indicated that an individual may in fact commit crime because they are acting upon their morals. For example, one participant explained that upon witnessing something against his morals, he intervened:

“I’ve seen a bloke hitting a woman which isn’t on, I’ve gone over and stopped the bloke from hitting the woman and cracked him myself” Participant 4

While participants previously identified that people who commit crime lack morals, morals could also motivate behaviours which may be criminal. Therefore, people with strong moral values and beliefs could still commit crime as a direct consequence of these morals, therefore adding more confusion to understanding the relationship between morality and criminal behaviour as well as challenging the perception of the ‘average criminal’. Added conflict also arises in these circumstances, as an individual’s personal morals may not be in line with wider societal values and more importantly, values withheld and enforced by the law. Furthermore, participants stated that all people are capable of committing crime:

“everyone is capable of committing a crime… at some point in our life we would have all committed a crime” Participant 2

The belief put forward by participants that everyone has broken the law at one point or another, or is capable of doing so, raises the question of what prevents participants’ judging everyone a criminal? The element of intention arose as an area that participants reflected upon when differentiating who should be viewed as criminal:
“It’s intention, some people do it on purpose and they intend of thieving... whereas some people, well the majority of people who are I know and reckon are quite honest with quite a lot of standards, it’s that were they’ve got away with it but it was accidental like oh I’ve scanned this and turns out it’s not charged me” Participant 8

Those who are judged to have purposefully intended to commit crime are viewed more severely than those who may commit the act by accident hence leading to thoughts regarding the possibility that individuals may not view behaviour as immoral or criminal if carried out unintentionally, and links back to the ideologies of Consequentialism and Deontology (Carlson, 1995; Spielthenner, 2005). Therefore, exploring participants’ views in relation to their own moral decision-making process when previously committing crime, may provide further factors to consider when determining the relationship between morality and criminal behaviour.

4.2.3. Moral Decision-Making Process and Criminal Behaviour

Six of the participants’ explained that at the time of the criminal behaviour being committed they did not reflect on their morals or consider the consequences of their actions:

   “you’ll probably ask were I thinking about it the consequences, no, did I hec, did my beliefs come into it, no” Participant 2

However, two participants shared that they had reflected and thought about the criminal behaviour they were to carry out:

   “I suppose it was planned” Participant 4
Whether an individual’s moral decision-making process is thought-out in advance or an impulsive action may relate to the type of criminal behaviour that is committed. For example, participants who admitted to offences such as shoplifting, criminal damage, and handling stolen goods, described the offence being committed as a snap, spur of the moment decision, while participants who committed offences such as robbery, fraud, and perverting the course of justice, indicated the decision-making process to have been more thought-out and planned. This difference may be due to the nature of the offence, as some offences may require planning and extra materials to undertake. For example, one participant who spoke about a robbery they had committed explained:

“I suppose it was planned because I made sure I had gloves, glass cutter er and a bag to carry the stuff away in” Participant 4

No universal answer can, therefore, be established as to an offender’s moral decision-making behaviour and criminality, with further complexity arising due to participants’ expressing that their morality has changed and altered over time. One participant when asked if his morality had changed simply expressed:

“Yeh, hugely, yeh” Participant 7

Participant 7 further expanded on this point explaining how upon reflection of his past behaviour when younger, he now saw his actions as wrong:

“I don’t agree with bullying or anything like that. I was, that’s changed by the way, when I was younger I used to be a bit of an idiot myself... I’m embarrassed by it you know but that’s who I was when I was younger” Participant 7

The majority of participants shared the opinion that since committing their past criminal behaviour, their morality had changed, and in their own judgements, improved. However,
problems arise in regards to the level of honesty in participants’ responses surrounding this issue as one could argue that participants wished to portray that they no longer committed criminal or immoral behaviour, thus raising the issue of socially desirable responses (Crowne & Marlowe, 1960). As a result, to accept participants’ responses at face value could be harmful to the outcomes of this research and a matter discussed in more detail within the following discussions chapter. Despite this, exploring the context of offending and situational precipitators could further enhance the understanding of the relationship between morality and criminal behaviour emerging from the data.

4.2.4. Situational Precipitators

All seven participants who self-reported committing crime, talked about situational precipitators existing at the time of the offence occurring (Clarke & Cornish, 2003). Pressures, expectations and demands from peers (Clarke & Cornish, 2003) emerged as the most common situational precipitator that led, in their view, to the criminal behaviour being committed, with little emphasis being placed on prompts, permissibility and provocations. Participants’ recalled being within a group of people or challenged by peers when participating in criminal behaviour:

“Daring each other” Participant 1

One participant was clear in explaining that had they not joined in with their peers, then they would have been socially excluded:

“probably because I didn’t want to be ostracised, seen as different which is not always a good thing you know” Participant 2

Wanting to be accepted and conforming to others, therefore, may be critical in explaining why when an individual is with others they are more likely to join in the behaviour being carried
out within their social group, even when this is criminal behaviour. Individuals may join in with the behaviour as to not become socially excluded or isolated from their peer group. Another possible reason is that a person may have previously considered committing crime but never acted on it until when placed with others as it maybe that only once they are with their peer group they gain the confidence to act on their behaviours. Further support for peer groups being very influential to some in the committing of criminal behaviour, is illustrated by Participant 7, who demonstrates awareness of his own behaviour changing depending on who he is with:

“I wouldn’t say I’m easily led but if I get with a certain type of person, I go off the rails”

Participant 7

While individuals may give into peer pressure due to fear of social consequences, an individual’s own ability to resist peer pressure emerged as a factor that could impact on the effectiveness of pressures and situational precipitators. For example, one participant explained that they ‘gave in’ and behaved as they would not normally:

“I should have stuck to my guns looking back erm, I should have stuck to my guns and said no, but I didn’t” Participant 2

This links back to Self-Control Theory in that those who are considered to have low self-control, tend to act with no thought in regards to the consequences of their actions (Antonaccio & Tittle, 2008). Individuals with a lack of self-control, when presented with an opportunity to commit crime, therefore, are more likely to engage in crime (Antonaccio & Tittle, 2008). Due to this, understanding an individual’s level of self-control rather than their level of morality may provide greater explanatory power of why crime is committed. It is argued that self-control is created through societal factors such as rules set by our parents (Beaver & Ratchford, 2009) with some evidence of this emerging from participant’s discussions:
“my dad ruled the roost and what my dad said went... lay the law down and make sure we didn’t step over that mark” Participant 8

That being said, Beaver and Ratchford (2009) argue that self-control is formulated by a combination of both societal and biological influences, with factors like neuropsychological deficits also being linked to the development of self-control. While self-control could therefore contribute towards explanations of crime, other factors emerge as important in distinguishing how behaviour may be judged and the multiple variations in moral values that an individual may follow. Recognition was given to the fact that rules, morals and behaviours that an individual is expected to follow may vary for different social groups:

“certain pockets of places have different morals, different standards” Participant 2

Additionally, participant 2 drew upon an example that they had watched in a documentary about individuals’ morals and beliefs being different due to the social and cultural groups they belonged to:

“actually watching twenty-four hours in police custody... it was this Irish culture that they don’t grass even though they knew what he’d done was wrong but even the person he’d assaulted didn’t want to press charges against him but again it’s the culture and I think we have that all over in the country and our society” Participant 2

This example highlights the importance of Cultural Relativism as not all cultures and groups accept and follow the same moral standards. (Cook, 1999). Furthermore, such an example demonstrates that while reflection on our own experiences enables understanding of morality and how values may differ depending on culture and or social groups, that media sources can shape our perceptions and knowledge of morality. Participant 1 further supports the ideology
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of Cultural Relativism (Cook, 1999) as he believed that your peer group influences whether you commit crime:

“If you’re in a gang that likes to commit criminal activities, you’re more than likely to commit” Participant 1

Nevertheless, one participant did express a contrasting opinion, believing that collective morals exist within society but that they are only acknowledged when an unfortunate event occurs:

“There is, but it needs a tragedy to bring it out... they don’t do that day in day out normal life but why can they do it when something tragic happens” Participant 6

The contrasting arguments of whether collective morals exist and how peer groups may influence behaviour illustrates, that as well as behaviour, morals and values are fluid and can change depending on the social context and setting that an individual finds themselves in. This emerging concept strengthens participants’ previous beliefs that their morality has changed, again reinforcing morality to be flexible. Having said that, the extent to which an individual is willing to join in with the behaviour of others may depend on how seriously they consider loyalty. This can be explored through consideration of the In-group/Loyalty foundation as individuals who have similar characteristics, interests and beliefs, tend to group together (Haidt & Joseph, 2007), thus resulting in the creation of loyalty to those within their social group. All participants strongly considered loyalty as an important quality to have and to be reciprocated by others, with similar themes emerging related to supporting friends, family and colleagues:

“just there for you through whatever, thick or thin ya know, a good back-bone, solid”

Participant 3

Participants’ also expressed that should someone’s loyalty to them be broken, then they would disconnect from the person and no longer interact with them:
“Just dump them” Participant 8

These perceptions and feelings shared by participants reinforce how an individual may conform with the behaviours of others and feel like they have an obligation to do so due to their loyalty. Participant 4 explained that he had previously perverted the course of justice due to hiding stolen bikes in his back garden brought there by his friends and, when asked why he lied to the police, highlighted that his actions were a way to portray loyalty to his friends:

“Yeh because I was showing the lads I was loyal to them” Participant 4

The previous actions of this participant highlights that maintaining loyalty to the social group in which he existed, ultimately led to acts of criminal behaviour. This demonstrates that at the time more emphasis and importance was placed on maintaining loyalty to his peers, than telling the truth to the police, thus reinforcing how moral values can be prioritised. This suggests that an individual’s behaviour depends upon which moral values they consider more valuable and important at the time, further highlighting how an individual may hold their own hierarchy of moral values. This hierarchy of morals can then be altered and shift due to the situation and circumstances that an individual finds themselves within. Nevertheless, this is still an area which requires further exploration before deciding that definitive links exist.

The situation and events which lead up to or occurred immediately prior to a crime being committed also emerged as influential in relation to criminal behaviour. Some participants explained that had the circumstance been different, the offence they committed probably would have been prevented:

“because things have been different, some of them might not have happened” Participant 4
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The role of peers in the existence of crime paired with previous statements provided by participants explaining how they ‘gave in’ or felt pressured, could be argued to reduce the amount of accountability that participants feel for their actions. One could argue that those who commit crime and justify their actions through emphasising the presence of peers, clearly demonstrate neutralisation techniques (NT), attempting to decrease the liability and culpability of their actions and justify their behaviour (Matza & Sykes, 1957). However, NT can be very complex. An individual may behave in a manner that falls in line with their moral values but is viewed illegal by law enforcement, thus NT are used as method to justify their actions and minimise consequences. It may also be the case that the individual is untruthful, using NT as a strategy to appear remorseful and aware that their actions were against the law, when this may not be true. On the other hand, an individual may realise that their actions are against their own moral values but still continue to act illegally. In this case, NT may be implemented to overcome the internal conflict that the individual experiences and as a means to make sense of their behaviour. NT therefore can be very complicated to comprehend and understand how and why different individuals implement them. Additionally, NT relates to psychological theories of Cognitive Dissonance (Brehm & Wicklund, 1976), which can be described as when a “person acts in a way that contradicts their personal beliefs” (McKimmie, 2015, p. 202), playing a key role in how people choose to behave as individuals often choose the most desirable behaviour and alternative (Alvarado & Ramirez, 2014). Upon exploring Cognitive Dissonance, the notion of Moral Dissonance (MD) appears and proves to be more relevant to the current research project. MD has been described by Lowell (2012) as “when a person’s behaviour or general cognitions are in conflict with his/her moral values. Or to put it another way moral dissonance is cognitive dissonance, only with a moral dimension” (p.17). The existence of MD therefore emerges
as another factor to consider when exploring why individuals commit crime as conflict may arise between their actions and own personal morality.

Presuming an individual may commit crime and then use the presence of peers as an excuse, gives way to Labelling Theory (Lanier & Restivo, 2015). Participant 3 clearly highlights the negative repercussions of labelling and how the label influenced his later behaviour:

“If they’re gunna call you bad, you might as well act bad” Participant 3

Labelling individuals can therefore be a facilitator to immoral or criminal acts and negatively impact on an individual’s behaviour.

Overall, the clear examples given by participants of situational precipitators and the discussion surrounding the relevant theories, demonstrates that circumstances leading up to or present at the time of a crime are worth consideration when attempting to understand criminal behaviour.

4.2.5. Contextualising Morality within Wider Society and Influence on the Law

Exploration of participants' past experiences and their viewpoints on how morality is related to wider society ensures for full investigation into the research aims. Additionally, understanding participant’s attitudes towards the law compared to their own personal morality and whether they believe moral rules to be reflected within legislation, allows for examination of the Criminal Justice System (CJS) and assessment of the current literature.
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4.2.5.1. Morals and Society

Mixed views were held by participants regarding collective morals that exist within wider society and also within law enforcement. A general consensus emerged that it is important to care for others, with participants emphasising that it is especially important to care for those vulnerable in society:

“obviously the vulnerable and new born babies, the elderly” Participant 3

However, participants’ reasons for caring for others varied. Two participants explained how religious beliefs reinforce how they should care and behave towards others:

“If you look at it in a religious way, we’re all brothers and sisters with each other, we are all in that sense” Participant 2

On the other hand, some participants indicated that they care for others as they would like someone to care for them should they need it:

“there’ll come a time when you’ll want people to care for you... I’d like people to do that for me” Participant 4

This participant’s reason for caring for others, demonstrates that they may only do so because of the possible long-term benefits for themselves and thus the action of caring for others may not be such a self-less action after all. Nonetheless, participants agreed that everyone should be treated fairly:

“You can’t really judge, you don’t know what someone’s going through, where they’ve been or what’s happened so it’s good to keep an open mind” Participant 3
However, some participants recognised that not everyone is treated fairly, referring to possible stereotypes and prejudices that exist with society:

“No, no, you know the Asians are getting a bad stick at the moment you know what I mean” Participant 6

These opinions reflect the literature identifying potential community unrest resulting from a mixture of cultures within one society (Craig, 2002). The emergence of certain stereotypes, prejudices and labels amongst participants, especially those who commit certain types of crime, further demonstrates the possibility that not everyone is equally valued within society:

“the majority of people should be treated fairly but people like racists and rapists and stuff like that, especially paedophiles, I don’t see why they should be treated as equal as us” Participant 7

Such a mixture of views regarding collective morals held by society, and the origin of moral rules, again highlights the uniqueness of morality and how it may become difficult for an individual to follow one specific set of moral rules. Having such a mixture of values and expectations can lead to internal conflict, again linking to MD, as an individual may be perceived to obey one set of guidelines for behaviour, but not another. Consequently, an individual may be viewed to act immorally by one society or group, but morally by others. The spotlight therefore falls upon the law and to what extent the laws and the CJS manage to successfully reflect public perspectives and morality, as Shavell (2002) claims it does. Exploring such an area allows for identification if conflict also arises between an individual’s own personal morality and the rules enforced by legislation.
4.2.5.2. Morality and The Law

While most participants agreed that the majority of collective morals within society are reflected within the law, therefore suggesting that the CJS may in fact reflect collective morals and shared public perspectives (Shavell, 2002), participants also identified that not all moral values can be enforced by law enforcement officials or exist within current legislation:

“I think some of them are, I don’t think they all are... never read in a policy, in a government policy to say you know you will not swear or things like that” Participant 2

Additionally, it was explained that there may still be some collective morals or behaviours that are not illegal but still immoral:

“Yeh they overlap... but there’s some that you know, it’s not illegal but to me it’s unmorally justifiable” Participant 7

These mixed views that not all collective or personal morals exist within the CJS, highlights how society’s views, legal ones and the individual’s own views may all differ on what is and is not considered moral or legal creating conflict in regards to how an individual is expected to behave. One participant did explain that some people may not agree with certain laws and that the law itself is unfair:

“They overlap, I think they overlap and there are those of course who do not agree with the laws... they’re all protection of middle class property erm and middle class values” Participant 5

Trying to determine criminal behaviour therefore, as immoral or illegal, becomes problematic with an individual not knowing which morals and or rules to abide by. It may become the case
therefore that an individual follows the collective morals within society, but could be acting unlawfully or vice versa. Participant one further reinforces this dilemma:

“Think if you were trying to protect a family member and it meant breaking the law then morally it might be okay” Participant 1

It must be noted that depending upon the way in which an individual was to protect a family member, that their actions may too be considered illegal. However, this participant’s views highlights how an individual may consider a range of conflicting rules and expectations, created by both internally by ourselves and externally by others, when deciding on how to behave and judge the actions of others. However, there is a further indication of how it is important to consider other rules which an individual may adopt as two participants expressed that their religious views often guide their daily life and actions:

“there are rules I follow, I pray at three times a day at least er, I give alms, I try and help people” Participant 5

It may be that individuals place a larger emphasis on obeying rules formulated by other organisations which the individual may consider more important and personal to them. As highlighted above, the role of religion in two participant’s lives largely impacts how they behave thus suggesting that there are multiple rules and policies other than that of the law which an individual may follow. Additionally, the presence of religious views being considered with an individual’s thought process supports Haidt and Joseph’s (2007) creation of the Purity/Sanctity moral foundation. That being said, all participants did believe that officials who enforce the law, such as the police, should be respected and followed, with negative repercussions arising should no one enforce the law:

“Because there’d be anarchy otherwise, it’d just be madness” Participant 7
Nonetheless, all participants also identified that the police are no longer respected as much as they used to be. This may be linked to participants’ belief that not all police officers conduct their duties properly:

“there’s good coppers and bad coopers” Participant 6

The mixed views of police, alongside the indication from participants that they look to their own personal beliefs and sometimes religious ones to guide their behaviour, raises questions about the law. Indeed, the issue that to have one legal body that imposes one universal set of rules to all people, could be in itself unjust. In addition, it could prove to be unfair and unjust to judge someone’s behaviour to be legal or illegal without consideration of their own personal morals which they choose to abide by as well as the situation and context of their behaviour.

4.2.6. Summary

A range of themes and points worthy of discussion emerged from the interview data. The above findings demonstrate that; a) defining morality is difficult with no one universal explanation existing but, b) a general consensus exists that there is a relationship between morality and criminal behaviour, however, c) this relationship is very complex with multiple factors influencing the relationship as well as the added complication that moral values sometimes inhibit criminal behaviour and other times motivate it, d) thus, the moral decision making process underlying criminal behaviour is specific to each individual and may relate to the type of offence carried out, and e) that situation precipitators, specifically peer influences, can greatly increase the likelihood of criminal behaviour. Additionally, moral values can often be reflected within the wider society but these values may not always be reflected and enforced by the CJS. Consequently, conflict and confusion arise when regarding which rules and standards an individual should abide by. This is further complicated due to the notion of
morality being fluid as while an individual’s morality, and also wider societal morals, may alter quite quickly, such changes to legislation can prove difficult and take a length of time.
5. Discussion

The overall aim of this project was to explore the relationship between morality and criminal behaviour. This chapter re-addresses the research objectives, detailing how the research successfully meets its purpose:

- To investigate the individual characteristics and societal influences that impact on how morality develops over time and is defined, along with whether individuals hold differing levels of morality
- To explore how these differing levels of morality impact on criminal behaviour and, if so, the type and severity of offences committed
- To identify if, and if so how, situational precipitators may influence an individual’s moral decision-making behaviour in relation to crime.

This chapter concludes with an exploration of the possible limitations of the research, providing details of how some of these issues were overcome and reflecting upon the research process.

5.1. Understanding and Developing Morality

Analysis of the interview data found terms relating to right, wrong, rules and beliefs emerged in participant’s definitions, consistent with the literature (Caracuel et al., 2015; Smith, 1974). The concept of respect also repeatedly emerged, which is a term not greatly highlighted within previous literature, thus the research has been able to identify a new concept that should be greater taken into consideration upon defining morality. Definitions of morality were for the most part similar, yet no two definitions were the same. This demonstrates the complexity and abstract manner of morality suggesting that morality is subjective and unique to each individual. Consequently, this suggests that those who commit crime may be following their
own morals and values. Therefore, while they could be breaking the law, they may still behave in line with their own moral rules. This indicates potential conflict between an individual’s own morals and the wider societal rules, as well as legislation. Furthermore, suggesting that offenders do have moral values but that they differ from the ‘average’ person, challenges the stigmatisation that emerged from participant’s responses that those who commit crime, often lack morals. It may be, instead, that offenders follow a different set of values, posing the question of whether the law is reflective of all members of society.

Findings from the MFQ analysis highlighted that individuals do have varying levels of morality, supporting the notion that offenders may follow their own moral rules rather than the ones that exist within the Criminal Justice System (CJS). Yet, when exploring moral foundations within interviews, participants repeatedly placed a large amount of emphasis on the Harm/Care and Authority/Respect foundation therefore illustrating that despite differences in each individual’s morality, these two specifically are highly regarded by the majority. However, the high regard and emphasis for these two foundations was not reflected within MFQ responses. The findings from both the survey and interviews therefore contradict one another as while the surveys demonstrate individuals to hold differing levels of morality and variation within such levels, the interviews display the pattern that the majority place emphasis on the Harm/Care and Authority/Respect foundation. To further explore why this is the case, further research could be conducted looking specifically at these two foundations.

When considering how morality develops, factors repeatedly raised in the interviews were upbringing and an individual’s childhood; suggesting that morality is developed throughout childhood through the influence of parents and wider social interactions, thus, supporting the literature that morality develops via external factors (Gerwirtz & Kurtines, 2014; Iversen,
1992). Considering moral values to develop extrinsically, additionally supports the presumption that criminal behaviour is shared and exists within families (Barnes, Farrington & Lambert, 1996; Loeber, Murray & Pardini, 2012; Osborn & West, 1979), as individual’s copy and learn the behaviours and values of those closest to them. However, to assume that someone will commit crime due to their parents, caregiver or other family members having done so, creates an array of problems. Deciding a person to be criminal before they commit such acts is unfair and a form of stigmatisation. Moreover, such claims links Labelling theory (Lanier & Restivo, 2015) and may in fact lead to criminal behaviour which otherwise would have been avoided. Individuals may come from a ‘criminal family’ but never commit crime, therefore to decide someone as criminal based on family upbringing proves unreasonable. Family circumstances is only one of several influences that can influence an individual’s behaviour. Multiple other factors can impact an individual’s behaviour, one of which has been a main focal point of this research; an individual’s level of morality.

5.2. The Impact of Morality on Criminal Behaviour

No significant difference emerged in moral foundation scores between those who did and did not self-report committing crime thus contradicting previous literature that suggests morality to influence crime (Mcloughlin, in press Palmer, 2003a) and lessens the argument that the two are intertwined (Brown, et al., 2010). This finding was investigated further detail during interviews which demonstrated that participants still stigmatised and believed those who commit crime, to hold lower levels of morality or in some cases ‘lack morals’ completely. This issue raises the question that, despite this research highlighting no major differences in morality between those who do and do not commit crime, why do members of the general public and possibly wider society perceive offenders’ morality differently? These negative perceptions
and judgements of offenders regarding their morals, illustrates the stigmatisation that exists within society towards offenders (Mcloughlin, in press; Moore, Stuewig & Tangney, 2016) and the possible divide within society between ‘them and us’. Such beliefs again relate to Labelling Theory (Lanier & Restivo, 2015) which may lead to criminal behaviour that otherwise could be avoided and additionally could impede on the rehabilitation of those who have previously committed crime. This especially becomes a concern as some interview participants who self-reported to have previously committed crime believed their morals to have changed overtime and ultimately, improved. Suggestions that they had gained a higher regard for morals and values that guided their behaviour suggests morality to be fluid and changeable. This is further supported by the results of the MFQ, as the different age categories varied in moral foundation scores. For three of the five moral foundations (In-group/Loyalty, Authority/Respect, Purity/Sanctity), the overall mean moral foundation score increased as age did, thus suggesting morality may alter overtime and be a fluid component of human behaviour. On the other hand, the variation in scores may demonstrate the differing societal values reflected within the different aged cohorts but this is something that requires further investigation.

Another valuable finding that needs to be discussed, is the pattern that appeared when analysing moral foundation scores for each of the offences (see Appendix 23), as scores for the In-group/Loyalty, Authority/Respect and Purity/Sanctity foundations consistently scored lower than the Harm/Care and Fairness/Reciprocity foundations. These low scores for the In-group/Loyalty foundation contradicts values highlighted within the interviews that showed participants to greatly consider loyalty an important quality. All participants agreed loyalty to be pivotal in building and maintaining social relationships with peers and in some cases, was the reason for some participants having committed a crime. One participant spoke openly and at length of how they perverted the course of justice in order to show loyalty and obligation to
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their peers. A couple of participants also outlined that should someone’s loyalty to them be broken, then repercussions would ensue.

Furthermore, these lower scores challenge ideas proposed by the questionnaire developers themselves, Ditto et al. (2011) suggested that within western cultures, like the UK, higher emphasis is placed upon the Harm/Care, Fairness/Reciprocity, and Authority/Respect foundations. While the current research highlights the importance of the Harm/Care and Fairness/Reciprocity foundations, the Authority/Respect foundation often received the lowest scores. Trying to understand why the Authority/Respect foundation received low scores proves difficult. One explanation could be due to the time difference between which each study was conducted. The current research takes place six years after Ditto et al. (2011), therefore possible changes in societal attitudes towards authority may have occurred overtime. However, this seems a short time scale for social attitudes to change and so could be an unlikely explanation for the changes seen in Authority/Respect scores.

Consideration of the current study’s sample however could possibly provide a more plausible reason for low scores within the moral foundation as students made up the largest percentage of the sample (32%). Findings that students often hold a low regard for authority (Yariv, 2009) along with the general consensus of those interviewed being that younger generations no longer regard those in authority to be important or consider respect an important part of their behaviour, could indeed have lowered the overall scores for Authority/Respect foundation. Nonetheless, when looking at results from the MFQ in relation to the age categories, both the 18-24 and 25-44 age groups score the same for Authority/Respect foundation. Therefore, trying to establish why moral foundations scores vary from previous research proves highly difficult to explain and one which could be explored further in future research.
When exploring moral foundation scores after categorising the data based on the type or severity of offence committed, differences in scores which had previously existed, became less visible. No longer could distinct differences between moral foundation scores be observed as they had when each offence was separately analysed. These results contradict the claim that morality can impact on criminal behaviour (Ashkar & Kenny, 2007; Palmer, 2003b) as no clear pattern was found. Additionally, mixed views emerged from the interviews as to whether a definitive relationship between morality and crime exist. Instead, more significance was placed on the intention and moral decision-making process of an individual, as to whether their actions could be considered criminal or not. These intentions and decision-making processes can be argued to link to an individual’s morality and whether or not they wish to obey either their own beliefs, wider societal expectations or legislation.

Through interviews, an individual’s desires to obey their own moral values and beliefs proved to substantially influence their behaviour and criminal actions. In some cases, individual’s wishing to obey their own morality is what prevented them from participating in crime, proving to be an inhibitor of the criminal behaviour. On the other hand, some participants disclosed that it was wanting to uphold their own moral values and beliefs that lead to and encouraged their criminal behaviour. An example of this is highlighted by participant 4 who discussed committing a criminal act in line with his moral beliefs as he saw someone acting in a manner he deemed immoral, and wished to stop it. This is highly complex indicating that morality encourages behaviour or actions that may be viewed as immoral by others or criminal depending on the context and situation an individual finds themselves in.
Furthermore, this explanation and approach to morals and criminal behaviour links to Situational Action Theory (SAT) as, in this case, participant 4 acted in accordance with his own moral beliefs and so deliberately carried out the behaviour (Wikstrom, 2011). Such ideas further promote morality to be unique and subjective to each individual. However, in considering an individual’s criminal behaviour, attention should be paid to their self-control. Self-Control Theory may explain why some individuals commit immoral and criminal behaviour as their low-levels of self-control lead them to engage in undesirable behaviours (Antonaccio & Tittle, 2008). Furthermore, Moral Dissonance (MD) and neutralisation techniques become relevant to this discussion as an individual may further try to justify and explain their actions.

5.3. The Influence of Situational Precipitators

The existence of situational precipitators alters the opportunity and motivation of an individual to commit crime sometimes either preventing, or in most cases, leading to criminal behaviour (Clarke & Cornish, 2003). This was explored within the interview phase with those who self-reported committing crime, being asked to discuss the situation and circumstances that were present immediately before and at the time of the crime being committed. While limitations can be identified in asking participants to consider their actions retrospectively, which is examined later within this chapter, participants managed to offer detailed responses of events which lead to or were present at the time of the offence. External pressures appeared to greatly influence participants’ criminal behaviour as they described behaving in a manner which they would not otherwise, paying little attention to their own moral values. Wanting to avoid being excluded from their social groups and displease their peers often emerged as explanations for participating in criminal behaviour. These explanations can be further supported by analysis of
the MFQ as while already identified earlier in this chapter that the In-group/Loyalty, Authority/Respect and Purity/Sanctity foundations often scored lower than the other two foundations, out of the three, Authority/Respect frequently received higher scores. According to Haidt & Joseph (2007), the Authority/Respect foundation relates to aspects of social interactions and maintenance of hierarchy within social groups, therefore, participants scoring high within the foundation complements participants explanation of committing crime due to fear of being ostracised and displeasing their peer group.

These pressures did not prove relevant to just those who committed crime as participant 8, who self-reported committing no crime, also surprisingly touched on breaking rules due to being surrounded by their peers. Along with other participants who did commit crime, participant 8 also indicated that had they not been with a group of their peers at the time, then in their case, the rule breaking behaviour would not have occurred. This proves to be a significant finding of the current research, demonstrating that situational precipitators do not purely relate to criminal behaviour, but also different types of deviant behaviour, suggesting an area worthy of further research.

When considering pressures and the presence of situational precipitators, again one could argue that individuals’ own self-control would prevent them behaving in a manner which they did not want to, again linking to Self-Control Theory. Within this research, this did not appear to be the case. Many participants disclosed that upon reflection on their actions, they wished they had ‘stuck to their guns’ and upheld their own moral values rather than giving into peer pressures. Again, this links back to the issue of MD as during interviews some participants did admit and disclose that at the time of committing the offence, they knew what they were doing was illegal and against their own morals. This process of MD encouraged participants to
commit crime despite realisation that their actions went against their own values (Lowell, 2012). However, some participants may have been retrospectively attributing blame for their immoral criminal behaviour to someone else thus lowering their own culpability and moral responsibility (Bandura et al., 1996), forging links to techniques of neutralisation as participants aim to justify their behaviour. Furthermore, the possibility of social desirability responses arises (Crowe & Marlowe, 1960) so participants’ responses are to be taken with caution.

Nevertheless, some participants’ disclosed that they reflected on their morals at the time of the offence indicates the possibility of the moral decision-making process to be thought out as individuals considered whether their behaviour aligns with their morals in deciding how to act. The moral decision-making process however could be argued to relate to the type of offence committed as those who acknowledged prior planning to their criminal behaviour explained that they only did so to ensure they had the correct resources needed to carry out the offence (robbery). Additionally, those who had committed minor offences such as shoplifting claimed that the decision to carry out the offence had been a quick, spur of the moment decision, thus contradicting that there is a considered moral decision-making process It is not possible, therefore, to conclude whether the moral decision-making process is thought out or not. The extent of the decision-making process may depend upon the type of offence which a person commits or is planning. Alternatively, it may be related to an individual’s hierarchy of morals and the moral values they prioritise during particular situations and contexts.

That being said, this research yields interesting and contemporary findings relating to: morality being fluid and unique to each individual, morality being able to both inhibit and encourage criminal behaviour, that those who commit crime do not possess low levels of morality but are
still stigmatised as doing so, the moral decision-making process being dependent upon a range of factors, and pressures being especially influential in altering an individual’s propensity to commit crime. However, after discussing these findings it is necessary to acknowledge the limitations of this current research project and explain how these were overcome and managed.

5.4. Limitations

This research does have some limitations which are described below, along with explanation of how they were overcome. Additionally, throughout the research process, a reflective journal (see Appendix 28) was kept to contemplate the ongoing research project. This method proved useful to enable for bracketing, therefore ensuring that personal preconceptions and judgements did not alter the interpretation of data (Newman & Tufford, 2010), and also allow for good research practice.

The first and primary limitation of this research is collecting survey responses through self-reporting methods as this technique can distort data due to social desirability bias responses (Bachrach et al., 2009) and memory recall. Participants may not fully report their past criminal behaviour due to the belief of facing possible judgement from the researcher, for example. However, efforts were made to overcome this through a variety of methods. Firstly, the MFQ contains two catch questions (see Appendix 2), which enabled for the detection of participants who may fall victim to social desirability (Odendaal, 2015). Secondly, when administering the MFQ, a conscious effort was made to allow for participants to complete the survey in their own privacy. This becomes more apparent through completion of the electronic version of the survey as participants could complete it independently within their own homes. Thirdly, participants were constantly reminded that their responses would be kept private, confidential
and anonymous so that no one would know their true identity. These methods were used to overcome the issue of self-reporting measures and it can be argued that they did work as many participants (77%) did openly disclose their past criminal behaviour.

Another limitation is having to ask participants to think retrospectively. The majority of this research required participants to think about events and behaviour that had occurred within the past and, for some participants, may have happened many years ago. Conducting research that requires participants to focus on past events can result in poor data as individuals are unable to accurately remember what happened (Elliot, 2005). Therefore, effort was made during the interview phase to make participants comfortable and get them thinking about their past experiences. Participants were asked to think about the situation and events that led to the criminal behaviour with the hope that this would support memory recall their memories. After asking participants to think of their past criminal behaviour, they were also allowed time to provide their own narrative and thoughts, regardless of the order which the information was recalled and emerged. Additionally, the use of prompts (see Appendix 4) further encouraged participants’ memories and thoughts relevant to their past experiences.

In addition, implementing mixed-methods could also have limitations, as it can often be unnecessary and in some cases, inappropriate (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2010). Implementing both quantitative and qualitative methods could result in a conflict of theoretical approaches and paradigms, along with the issue that researchers often provide very little explanation of how the two methodologies actually interact and overlap with one another (Bazeley, 2002). Nonetheless, Crotty (1998) argues that using both methodologies allows for a wider perspective and theoretical frameworks to work together in order to provide in-depth understanding of what is (ontology) as well as what it means to know (epistemology) in regards to the research topic.
In the case of this research, mixed-methods were crucial in enabling all of the aims and objectives to be fulfilled. Should one method alone have been implemented for this research, then distinctive differences within the findings would have existed as both the survey and interview phase illustrated different results, as well as relating to separate objectives. Only upon synthesis of both phases, was a full overview and interpretation of how successful the research had been in meeting its aims achieved and evaluated. While the survey served a useful purpose in gaining initial moral foundation scores, criminal behaviour and information relating to participants, it took the interview phase to add meaning and understanding to these figures for a full view of participants’ attitudes and beliefs which would allow for the relationship between morality and crime to be fully investigated.

Other limitations could be said to exist within the research related to sample size. Having only interviewed seven participants who did self-report committing crime and one who did not, it could be argued that full saturation of the data was not achieved as all possible themes and patterns may not have emerged from the data (Brunce, Guest & Johnson, 2006). One could further suggest that collecting more surveys may have also benefitted the research findings and results. However, this was an issue difficult to overcome due to the time constraints placed upon the research project but could be implemented if the research was to be replicated in the future.
6. Recommendations

This research builds and furthers existing knowledge in several ways. This study proves useful in identifying future recommendations that contribute towards theory, could fuel new research interests and also influence current policy. Below such matters are discussed and explored.

6.1. Theoretical

Firstly, this research highlights morality to be a fluid component of human behaviour that changes and alters both overtime and due to differing contexts and situations that a person finds themselves within. While it does emerge that morality could be developed internally, the majority of this research indicates external elements to greatly impact on an individual’s comprehension of morality thus supporting the nurture side of the debate (Fiske & Haslam, 1999; Haidt & Joseph, 2007; Mahaptra et al., 1997). Additionally, the concept of morality appears to differ from person to person and so applying one universal definition of morality to vast populations proves inappropriate. Such issues bring into question the usefulness and suitability of standardised tests and questionnaires that are used to measure morality. Therefore, it may be more beneficial to use a combination of techniques, such as questionnaires and interviews or case studies, to fully understand an individual’s moral beliefs and values rather than assuming their definition of morality to be the same as one created by someone else. Furthermore, the element of loyalty proved very crucial in understanding morality and so should be considered in future definitions and theories.

In addition, situational precipitators were argued to influence criminal behaviour but also more deviant and less severe behaviour, like breaking school rules. Situational precipitators can
therefore be considered to affected other mundane behaviours and be applied in a wider social context other than crime. The influence of situational precipitators may also not be straightforward and simple, as they can be linked to an individual’s moral decision-making behaviour. It could be suggested that at the time of a criminal opportunity arising, it is how individuals order and rank their moral values which lead to their resulting behaviour. Situational precipitators can therefore be suggested to influence the hierarchy of morals, rather than a binary relationship which results in an individual behaving morally or not. This is a concept that should be considered in future when exploring the importance and application of situation precipitators.

These recommendations and considerations to theory could improve the relationship between morality and criminal behaviour is acknowledged and understood. This can be further added to through future research relating topics that have emerged from this thesis.

6.2. Future research

Within this research it emerged that participants held the general view that those who commit or have committed crime often lack or withhold low levels of morality, therefore it would prove beneficial to delve into the stigmatisation of offenders and their morality, and where such viewpoints develop. Exploring such a topic could highlight where these negative perceptions of offenders develop, are maintained and also the impact of such perceptions on offenders.

Another area worthy of research is to further expand on morality being fluid. It could be that a longitudinal study be carried out that measures an individual’s level of morality over time thus indicating how an individual’s morality may change overtime, how moral values are
formulated and maintained, and whether age and experience impacts on an individual’s concept of morality. Such a study could further illustrate how morality is understood and can be altered.

While the current research does offer suggestions for new areas of research and exploration, it could also be beneficial to repeat the current study but using a larger sample sizes. To replicate this study in the future, but interviewing more participants, especially those who do not self-report committing any criminal behaviour, would enable full saturation of the data (Brunce et al., 2006) and differences between those who do and do not commit crime to be explored. Interviewing more participants and distributing more surveys could provide a rich abundance of data that could explore the relationship between morality and criminal behaviour in a meticulous manner and further build on knowledge.

Undergoing future research related to such topics, could benefit academics who aim to grasp morality and crime. This research could expand on current theories and also contribute towards changing policy and practice.

6.3. Policy

This research identifies implications with current policy and practice. As already touched upon, morality has emerged to be a fluid, abstract concept and so changes need to be made in how we measure such a component of human behaviour. As suggested, moving away from static, regulated questionnaires and instead shifting towards qualitative methods like interviews could provide more in-depth knowledge of an individual’s understanding of morality. How an individual’s morality is then judged in relation to criminal behaviour could also be changed. Currently within the CJS, often an individual’s mental decision-making process is examined
through use of mens rea, however how this relates to the individual’s moral values is ignored. Attempting to understand whether the individual believed they were acting morally and following their own moral values, could be argued to counter-balance the unfairness of applying one static set of rules to everyone within a population. Each individual would therefore need to be viewed as unique, with their own morality and rules which they abide by. However, implementing such methods could be impractical and cause legal proceeding within the CJS to become lengthy. Therefore, one would simply hope that legislation changes and alters to reflect the views of the majority of society. As identified within this thesis, participants did not believe the law to reflect all moral values thus ensuring that legislation is regularly reviewed could go some way to overcoming this issue.

This research could further influence rehabilitation techniques and highlight the importance of educating individuals who commit crime to firstly understand their own moral values, and secondly know how these values may differ from others within society. In highlighting such differences, individuals could become more aware of their behaviour and why their actions may, in some circumstances, be considered immoral and or illegal. In addition, education of individuals could also improve their integration within society and possibly contribute to overcoming the stigma and stereotypes that an offender may be faced with upon re-entry back into society. Such strategies could prove as useful prevention techniques of future criminal behaviour and break the cycle of recidivism for some.

6.4. Final Thoughts

The research that has been conducted and presented successfully achieves its research aims as a relationship between morality and criminal behaviour emerges. Through interpretation and
synthesis of both phases, answers to the research objectives can be provided and clearly demonstrate that morality is unique and more importantly, fluid. Yet, the stereotype still remains that individuals who commit crime lack morals and continue to do so throughout their life. Despite this belief, no distinctive difference can be identified between those who self-report to have or have not committed criminal behaviour, with little difference also existing when comparing moral foundations scores when offences are categorised based on their type or severity. That being said, evidence from the interviews demonstrates how morality can both inhibit and encourage behaviour, that at times may be judged criminal. Situational precipitators can also largely influence an individual’s behaviour and propensity to commit crime with pressures emerging to be the most common factor as to why individuals participate in criminal behaviour. While this thesis does present key findings that contribute to existing knowledge, this research suggests recommendations to theory, useful areas of future research, and changes to policy that could ultimately impact on how individuals who commit crime are rehabilitated. Overall, a relationship between morality and criminal behaviour can be outlined but this relationship is not one that is binary, as multiple factors influence and contribute towards how they interplay with one another creating a complex and intricate relationship.
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Morality of Offenders: Investigating Morality of Individuals Who Commit Crime

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Morality of Offenders: Investigating Morality of Individuals Who Commit Crime


Morality of Offenders: Investigating Morality of Individuals Who Commit Crime


Morality of Offenders: Investigating Morality of Individuals Who Commit Crime


Appendix

Appendices 1 – Moral Foundations Questionnaire

Part 1. When you decide whether something is right or wrong, to what extent are the following considerations relevant to your thinking? Please rate each statement using this scale:

[0] = not at all relevant (This consideration has nothing to do with my judgments of right and wrong)
[1] = not very relevant
[2] = slightly relevant
[3] = somewhat relevant
[4] = very relevant
[5] = extremely relevant (This is one of the most important factors when I judge right and wrong)

_____ Whether or not someone suffered emotionally
_____ Whether or not some people were treated differently than others
_____ Whether or not someone’s action showed love for his or her country
_____ Whether or not someone showed a lack of respect for authority
_____ Whether or not someone violated standards of purity and decency
_____ Whether or not someone was good at math
_____ Whether or not someone cared for someone weak or vulnerable
_____ Whether or not someone acted unfairly
_____ Whether or not someone did something to betray his or her group
_____ Whether or not someone conformed to the traditions of society
_____ Whether or not someone did something disgusting
_____ Whether or not someone was cruel
_____ Whether or not someone was denied his or her rights
_____ Whether or not someone showed a lack of loyalty
_____ Whether or not an action caused chaos or disorder
_____ Whether or not someone acted in a way that God would approve of
Part 2. Please read the following sentences and indicate your agreement or disagreement:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
<th>Moderately disagree</th>
<th>Slightly disagree</th>
<th>Slightly agree</th>
<th>Moderately agree</th>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

_____ Compassion for those who are suffering is the most crucial virtue.
_____ When the government makes laws, the number one principle should be ensuring that everyone is treated fairly.

_____ I am proud of my country’s history.
_____ Respect for authority is something all children need to learn.
_____ People should not do things that are disgusting, even if no one is harmed.
_____ It is better to do good than to do bad.
_____ One of the worst things a person could do is hurt a defenseless animal.
_____ Justice is the most important requirement for a society.
_____ People should be loyal to their family members, even when they have done something wrong.
_____ Men and women each have different roles to play in society.
_____ I would call some acts wrong on the grounds that they are unnatural.
_____ It can never be right to kill a human being.
_____ I think it’s morally wrong that rich children inherit a lot of money while poor children inherit nothing.
_____ It is more important to be a team player than to express oneself.
_____ If I were a soldier and disagreed with my commanding officer’s orders, I would obey anyway because that is my duty.

_____ Chastity is an important and valuable virtue.


www.MoralFoundations.org
Morality of Offenders: Investigating Morality of Individuals Who Commit Crime

Appendices 2 – MFQ Key

Moral Foundations Questionnaire: 30-Item Full Version

Item Key, July 2008

--Variable names are IN CAPS
--Besides the 30 test items there are 2 “catch” items, MATH and GOOD
--For more information about the theory, or to print out a version of this scale formatted for participants, or to learn about scoring this scale, please see: www.moralfoundations.org

PART 1 ITEMS (responded to using the following response options: not at all relevant, not very relevant, slightly relevant, somewhat relevant, very relevant, extremely relevant)

MATH - Whether or not someone was good at math [This item is not scored; it is included both to force people to use the bottom end of the scale, and to catch and cut participants who respond with last 3 response options]

Harm:

EMOTIONALLY - Whether or not someone suffered emotionally

WEAK - Whether or not someone cared for someone weak or vulnerable

CRUEL - Whether or not someone was cruel

Fairness:

TREATED - Whether or not some people were treated differently than others

UNFAIRLY - Whether or not someone acted unfairly

RIGHTS - Whether or not someone was denied his or her rights

Ingroup:

LOVECOUNTRY - Whether or not someone’s action showed love for his or her country

BETRAY - Whether or not someone did something to betray his or her group

LOYALTY - Whether or not someone showed a lack of loyalty

Authority:

RESPECT - Whether or not someone showed a lack of respect for authority

TRADITIONS - Whether or not someone conformed to the traditions of society

CHAOS - Whether or not an action caused chaos or disorder

Purity:

DECENCY - Whether or not someone violated standards of purity and decency

DISGUSTING - Whether or not someone did something disgusting
GOD - Whether or not someone acted in a way that God would approve of

**PART 2 ITEMS** (responded to using the following response options: strongly disagree, moderately disagree, slightly disagree, slightly agree, moderately agree, strongly agree)

GOOD – It is better to do good than to do bad. [Not scored, included to force use of top of the scale, and to catch and cut people who respond with first 3 response options]

Harm:

COMPASSION - Compassion for those who are suffering is the most crucial virtue.

ANIMAL - One of the worst things a person could do is hurt a defenseless animal.

KILL - It can never be right to kill a human being.

Fairness:

FAIRLY - When the government makes laws, the number one principle should be ensuring that everyone is treated fairly.

JUSTICE – Justice is the most important requirement for a society.

RICH - I think it's morally wrong that rich children inherit a lot of money while poor children inherit nothing.

Ingroup:

HISTORY - I am proud of my country’s history.

FAMILY - People should be loyal to their family members, even when they have done something wrong.

TEAM - It is more important to be a team player than to express oneself.

Authority:

KIDRESPECT - Respect for authority is something all children need to learn.

SEXROLES - Men and women each have different roles to play in society.

SOLDIER - If I were a soldier and disagreed with my commanding officer’s orders, I would obey anyway because that is my duty.

Purity:

HARMLESSDG - People should not do things that are disgusting, even if no one is harmed.

UNNATURAL - I would call some acts wrong on the grounds that they are unnatural.

CHASTITY - Chastity is an important and valuable virtue.
Appendices 3 – Survey Distributed

Moral Foundations Questionnaire

This piece of research aims to explore if there are any differences which exist in moral values held by individuals who self-report to have committed different types of criminal offences. Participation is voluntary and responses will be kept fully confidential. The questionnaire should take in total around 15 minutes to complete.

It is your decision how much information you wish to disclose, please do not feel pressured to answer any questions which you do not wish to.

Please tick below which answer applies to you.

1. How old are you?

   18-24  25-34  35-44  45-54  55-64  65 or over
               [ ]  [ ]  [ ]  [ ]  [ ]  [ ]

2. What is your gender?

   Female  Male
               [ ]  [ ]

3. Which religion do you associate yourself with?

   Christian  Muslim  Buddhist  Hinduism  Atheist  Non-religious  Other
               [ ]  [ ]  [ ]  [ ]  [ ]  [ ]  [ ]

4. What is your ethnic group?

   White  Mixed  Asian/British Asian  Black/Black British  Chinese or other ethnic group
               [ ]  [ ]  [ ]  [ ]  [ ]

5. What is your current employment status?

   Full-time employment  Part-time employment  Unemployed  Self-employed  Student  Retired
               [ ]  [ ]  [ ]  [ ]  [ ]  [ ]

PLEASE TURN OVER →
Part 1. When you decide whether something is right or wrong, to what extent are the following considerations relevant to your thinking? Please rate each statement using this scale:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[0]</th>
<th>[1]</th>
<th>[2]</th>
<th>[3]</th>
<th>[4]</th>
<th>[5]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Not at all relevant</td>
<td>Not very relevant</td>
<td>Slightly relevant</td>
<td>Somewhat relevant</td>
<td>Very relevant</td>
<td>Extremely relevant</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

_____ Whether or not someone suffered emotionally

_____ Whether or not some people were treated differently than others

_____ Whether or not someone’s action showed love for his or her country

_____ Whether or not someone showed a lack of respect for authority

_____ Whether or not someone violated standards of purity and decency

_____ Whether or not someone was good at math

_____ Whether or not someone cared for someone weak or vulnerable

_____ Whether or not someone acted unfairly

_____ Whether or not someone did something to betray his or her group

_____ Whether or not someone conformed to the traditions of society

_____ Whether or not someone did something disgusting

_____ Whether or not someone was cruel

_____ Whether or not someone was denied his or her rights

_____ Whether or not someone showed a lack of loyalty

_____ Whether or not an action caused chaos or disorder

_____ Whether or not someone acted in a way that God would approve of
### Morality of Offenders: Investigating Morality of Individuals Who Commit Crime

#### Part 2. Please read the following sentences and indicate your agreement or disagreement:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
<th>Moderately disagree</th>
<th>Slightly disagree</th>
<th>Slightly agree</th>
<th>Moderately agree</th>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Compassion for those who are suffering is the most crucial virtue.
2. When the government makes laws; the number one principle should be ensuring that everyone is treated fairly.
3. I am proud of my country’s history.
4. Respect for authority is something all children need to learn.
5. People should not do things that are disgusting, even if no one is harmed.
6. It is better to do good than to do bad.
7. One of the worst things a person could do is hurt a defenceless animal.
8. Justice is the most important requirement for a society.
9. People should be loyal to their family members, even when they have done something wrong.
10. Men and women each have different roles to play in society.
11. I would call some acts wrong on the grounds that they are unnatural.
12. It can never be right to kill a human being.
13. I think it’s morally wrong that rich children inherit a lot of money while poor children inherit nothing.
14. It is more important to be a team player than to express oneself.
15. If I were a soldier and disagreed with my commanding officer’s orders, I would obey anyway because that is my duty.
16. Chastity is an important and valuable virtue.

**PLEASE TURN OVER**
Please remember that it is your decision how much information you wish to disclose, please do not feel pressured to answer any questions which you do not wish to.

Please tick below which criminal behaviour/s you have previously committed, regardless of whether you have been charged for the behaviour/s or not:

- Arson
- Grievous Bodily Harm
- Cyber-Stalking
- Possession of a weapon
- Speeding
- Assault
- Perverting the course of justice
- Possession of illicit substances
- Driving whilst not wearing a seat-belt
- Fraud
- Handling stolen goods
- Burglary
- Criminal Damage
- Robbery
- Using a mobile phone when driving
- Shoplifting
- Software Piracy
- Being drunk and disorderly
- Breach of bail
- Driving whilst under the influence
- Theft
- Parking fine
- Computer Hacking
- Cycling on a pavement
- Possession of illicit substances

Would you be willing to take part in an interview which would last around 30-40 minutes to discuss the responses that you have given? All of the information provided will remain anonymous and confidential.

I WOULD NOT like to be interviewed

I WOULD like to be interviewed, on the next page are my contact details
Morality of Offenders: Investigating Morality of Individuals Who Commit Crime

This is the end of the questionnaire. Thank you for taking part.

## Appendices 4 – Interview Schedule Used for Those Who Did Self-Report Participating in Criminal Behaviour

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Main Questions</th>
<th>Prompts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Background/ upbringing</strong></td>
<td>Can you tell me about yourself? How was your upbringing?</td>
<td>• Parenting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Family home – did you move a lot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Family life – how would you describe it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Morals</strong></td>
<td>How would you define morality? What does morality mean to you? How much does</td>
<td>• Right and wrong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>morality influence your behaviour? To what extent do your moral influence your</td>
<td>• Rules</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>decision making? How do you decide something to be moral?</td>
<td>• Good and bad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Society</strong></td>
<td>Are there collective morals within society? To what extent do you think society</td>
<td>• Morals passed from generations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>follows these rules? What happens when someone breaks these rules within</td>
<td>• Shared values</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>society? Are these rules reflected within laws and by the government? Does</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>society influence an individual’s morals?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Moral Foundations</strong></td>
<td>Using the material just given to you, can you please rate the extent of which</td>
<td>• Think of how important they are to you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Participants given statements</td>
<td>you agree/disagree with the statements Why did you put them in this order?</td>
<td>• Think of your own experiences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to rate)**</td>
<td>- Who should we look after?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Does society treat people equally?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Is it more important to be loyal to others or others be loyal to you?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morality of Offenders: Investigating Morality of Individuals Who Commit Crime</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| **- Should the police be respected?**  
**- Do you have any rules that you follow daily? / When would you deviate?** |
| **Criminal activity / Situational Factors** | From your questionnaire, you indicated reported doing X, is this correct?  
What were the circumstances at the time of the crime being committed?  
How did you find yourself in the situation?  
Do you think your morals are different to individuals who do not commit crime?  
Are your morals different to people who commit different types of crime?  
Does morality play a part in the existence of criminal behaviour? |
|  | • What was it  
• Less moral/more moral  
• Relationship to victim  
• Place  
• Time  
• Reasons for economic, personal, peer pressure...  
• Ever been a victim of crime |
| **Moral Reasoning / Thinking** | How did you view your actions at the time?  
What was your reasoning for committing the criminal behaviour?  
What was your decision making process at the time?  
How do you view your actions looking back now? |
|  | • Any costs/ benefits  
• Negative emotions  
• Positive emotions  
• Morals against or for the morals you believe in |
| **Recommendations** | Could anything be done to change an individual’s morals?  
Could anything be done to change an individual’s decision making?  
What do you think the government could do to reduce crime? |
### Appendices 5 – Interview Schedule Used for Those Who Did Not Self-Report Participating in Criminal Behaviour

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Main Questions</th>
<th>Prompts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Background/upbringing</td>
<td>Can you tell me about yourself? How was your upbringing?</td>
<td>· Parenting&lt;br&gt;· Family home – did you move a lot&lt;br&gt;· Family life – how would you describe it&lt;br&gt;· Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morals</td>
<td>How would you define morality? What does morality mean to you? How much does morality influence your behaviour? To what extent do your moral influence your decision making? How do you decide something to be moral?</td>
<td>· Right and wrong&lt;br&gt;· Rules&lt;br&gt;· Good and bad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Society</td>
<td>Are there collective morals within society? To what extent do you think society follows these rules? What happens when someone breaks these rules within society? Are these rules reflected within laws and by the government? Does society influence an individual’s morals?</td>
<td>· Morals passed from generations&lt;br&gt;· Shared values</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moral Foundations (Participants given statements to rate)</td>
<td>Using the material just given to you, can you please rate the extent of which you agree/disagree with the statements Why did you put them in this order?</td>
<td>· Think of how important they are to you&lt;br&gt;· Think of your own experiences</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Who should we look after?
- Does society treat people equally?
- Is it more important to be loyal to others
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Morality of Offenders: Investigating Morality of Individuals Who Commit Crime</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| or others be loyal to you?  
- Should the police be respected?  
- Do you have any rules that you follow daily? / When would you deviate? |
| **Criminal activity**  
Have you ever been a victim of a crime?  
Do you think your morals are different to individuals who commit crime?  
Does morality play a part in the existence of criminal behaviour?  
Does morality play a part in people’s decision to commit crime? |
| • What was it  
• Less moral/more moral  
• Circumstances at the time |
| **Recommendations**  
Could anything be done to change an individual’s morals?  
Could anything be done to change an individual’s decision making?  
What do you think the government could do to reduce crime? |
Appendices 6 - Interview Task

Statements relating to each moral foundation:

Harm/Care Foundation:
“It is important to care for others”

Fairness/Reciprocity Foundation:
“Everyone should be treated equally and fairly”

In-group/Loyalty Foundation:
“Loyalty is an important quality”

Authority/Respect Foundation:
“The police are important”

Purity/Sanctity Foundation:
“It is important to have rules that guide your daily life”

Scale shown to participants so that they could rank statements:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>0</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly disagree</td>
<td>Moderately disagree</td>
<td>Slightly disagree</td>
<td>Slightly agree</td>
<td>Moderately agree</td>
<td>Strongly agree</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendices 7 – Screen Shots of the Electronic Version Survey
Appendices 8 – Permissions Granted for Distribution of Survey and Use of Consultation Room

Scouts
Permission for: Distribution of questionnaires to individuals aged of the age of eighteen within the Oldham District Scouting area.
Permission from: Acting District Commissioner of Scouting in the Oldham District.
Name: Rob Partington
Contact Information: rob.partington74@gmail.com
Sent: Saturday 8th October 2016, 11.30am

Recieved: Thursday 13th October 2016, 3.42pm
Morality of Offenders: Investigating Morality of Individuals Who Commit Crime

University Campus Oldham
Permission for: Distribution of questionnaires to both students and staff above the age of eighteen on the University Campus Oldham premises.
Permission from: Chair of the Ethics Committee at University Campus Oldham.
Name: Debra Caffery
Contact Information: debra.caffery@oldham.ac.uk
Sent: Friday 21st October 2016, 10.02am

---

Re: Rachael McLoughlin

Hi Deborah,

I have been passed your email from Emma Young. I graduated from UCO this year in Psychological Studies and have now gone on to undergo a Masters by Research at Huddersfield University.

For the research, I aim to distribute and interview individuals to investigate their level of morality, examining with this any differences that occur due to any individuals who have committed a criminal offence. I have acquired permission from the scouting association and a local pharmacy to distribute the questionnaires at events to individuals over the age of 18. I was wondering if I would be able to hand some out on the UCO premises to students and even some staff.

Due to this being a masters research project, I will be handing in an ethics form to be examined by the Huddersfield Ethics Committee along with a research plan to ensure that any methodology and techniques used are suitable and ethically correct. These documents are to be submitted next month in which I have to provisionally state any permission that I have been given to distribute any questionnaire in that specific area.

Many thanks, let me know your thoughts,
Rachael McLoughlin

---

Recieved: Friday 21st October 2016, 11.51am

Caffery, Debra

Hi Marie, Faye, Alan, Louise, Emma, me etc.

Having spoken with colleagues we are happy that you have ethical approval from your educational institution. As you are approaching staff and students as adults, and you are not asking us to carry out the questionnaires for you, then we see no problem at all.

Good luck!

Regards

Debra
University Campus Oldham

Permission for: Link to electronic version of survey to be emailed to students and staff.
Permission from: Director of Learning
Name: Katherine Griffths
Contact Information: Katherine.Griffths@oldham.ac.uk
Sent: Thursday 6th April 2017, 10.59am

From: McLoughlin, Rachael
Sent: 06 April 2017 10:59
To: Griffths, Katherine
Subject: Distribution of questionnaire for my Masters Research

Hi Katherine,

As you may know, I am currently completing a Masters by Research in Psychology at Huddersfield University. My research aims to look at the morality of individuals who do and do not self-report to have participated in criminal behaviour. The research is mix-methods, with questionnaires being distributed and then hopefully follow up interviews with a few participants. I have been granted ethical approval from the School Research Ethics Panel at Huddersfield University and also back in October when I knew I would be distributing questionnaires, I emailed Debra Caffery/UCO Ethics Committee to gain approval for the distribution of questionnaires on site here at UCO, which was approved.

I have made an electronic version of the questionnaire on Survey Monkey and was discussing the research with Daniel who suggested I try and send a link to the questionnaire via email to staff/students here at UCO. I was therefore wondering if with your permission, I could send the following link below via email to staff and or students present at UCO. While the large sample would help me with my research, the opportunity to take part in some research may prove beneficial to students by giving them an example of what type of research practice is required should they wish to continue into post-graduate education. Additionally, due to the possibility of being interviewed, students may also gain an insight into research methods and conduct through the experience of an interview. I also plan on contributing towards the UCO Symposium using this research.

Here is the link to the survey:
https://www.surveymonkey.co.uk/j/dAg6Y7Z

I have also attached screenshots of the permissions that have been granted from both ethical boards so you can have a read. If you wish to know any further information or would like me to call up to your office to discuss the research in further detail, please let me know.

Many thanks
Rachael

Recieved: Thursday 6th April 2017, 11.59am.

Hi Rachael

This does sound like a great opportunity for yourself and yes, for students to see a research activity in action.

Yes, do proceed with the request.

Best regards,
Katherine
**Use of Consultation Room**

Rachael McLoughlin U1351012

To: spressy@ntlworld.com

21 October 2016 11:41

To Mr S Preston,

I am currently a post-graduate student at Huddersfield University undergoing a Masters by Research qualification and would like to seek permission to use the private consultation room onsite at the pharmacy you manage. The piece of research that I am aiming to complete, hopes to investigate where on a scale of morality individuals who self-report committing a criminal offence score and the role that morality has in influencing their decision making process, and ultimately their criminal behaviour.

Before conducting any of the research, I will sit before a Ethics Committee board at Huddersfield in which they will ensure that the research I aim to conduct is appropriate and ethically sound. I intend to distribute questionnaires to members of the general public and then from these, identify candidates for interview to further examine why they may have responded as they did. The interviews should last roughly around 40-50 minutes with full ethical procedures in place. The consultation room at the pharmacy would be an ideal location due to the pharmacy being easy to access and allowing for privacy of participants. The interviews can be arranged to accommodate for the vacancy of the room, taking part at various days throughout the week best suited to yourself and the participants.

Please let me know your thoughts and do not hesitate to ask any questions.

Many thanks,

Rachael McLoughlin BSc (Hons)

Recieved: Monday 31st October 2016, 07.03am

**RE: Use of Consultation Room**

spressy@ntlworld.com

To: Rachael McLoughlin U1351012

31 October 2016 07:30

Dear Rachael,

Sorry about the delay, I can’t see a problem with you using the consultation room for your interviews.

We can discuss the times etc that are suitable for both parties to ensure they are convenient for both of us.

Kind regards
Stuart Preston (Pharmacist Manager, Cannon Pharmacy)
Appendices 9 – Screen Shot of Collated Data in SPSS
Appendices 10 – Screen Shot of Entered Variables in SPSS

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Appendices 11 – Interview Transcript

Upon P5 entering the consultation room where the interview was to be conducted, the desk at which we would be sitting was set out with a glass of water, consent form and information sheet visible ready for P5 to read and sign. There was also a mobile which would be used to record the interview and a notebook/pen for RM to make notes with. Once both inside, the consultation room doors were shut for privacy and the interview started.

Transcript

[RM handed the information sheet over to P5 to read. P5 was then asked to sign the consent form confirming they had understood all of the information and were still willing to be interviewed and their data used. Any questions or queries were answered and then the interview started with RM also starting the voice recording.]

RM: Okay, so I’ve started the recording now. Thanks again for wanting to be interviewed.

[RM moves the signed consent form to one side]

RM: If at any time you want me to stop or explain anything further, just let me know. So we will start off a little easy, would you like to tell me a bit about yourself?

P5: Yes. I’m sixty-nine years old, I taught in Oldham for thirty-three years and fifteen years ago I took early retirement. Once I had taken early retirement, I did an MA in Theology, particularly in Mariology, the study of Our Lady and then about five years ago, I did an MSc in Educational Research so that’s me. My interests are amateur dramatics, and I’m heavily involved at the lyceum, so [pause] and I’m a strong Catholic at St Adian and Oswald’s in Royton.

RM: Okay, thank you. So how was your upbringing?

P5: Erm, it was [pause] I was brought up in the fifties and it was a time of shortages then, there was still rationing. You couldn’t buy sweets until I was about six erm [pause] I was brought in a loving family, mum and dad, and me erm [pause] we had relatives on either side who were close to us so I think I’ve been brought up in a close, a close family.

RM: Very nice. So how about your education?

P5: My mum worked out that I was bright so I didn’t go to the local Catholic school because there were fifty-three in infant one, and I wasn’t being one of fifty-four so she sent me to a little Church of England primary school, Coldhurst, and it got you through your eleven plus which was important in those days because them you went on to grammar school and that was the gate-way to the professionals. So I passed my eleven plus and went to Hathershaw Tech, as it was then, did O-Levels, did A-Levels there, went off to university to do Social Science at Leicester and I majored in Politics and then I stayed on an extra year to train as a teacher so I got my PGCE [pause] so I came back to Oldham and I taught in Oldham all my working life.
RM: Very well educated
P5: Yes [smiles]
RM: So moving on slightly, if I was to ask you how you understand morality, how would you define it to me?
P5: I think it’s the rules by which [pause] you agree to be ruled by society, be that the church, the state er, be it your community group. So that’s how I define morality, a way of living your life rightly as opposed to wrongly.
RM: How important is morality then to you?
P5: Oh it’s very important because it’s the basis of my faith and it’s the basis of my political views also so I think it’s very important morality.
RM: Does your morality influence your behaviour?
P5: Yes, yes it does.
RM: Can you give me any examples?
P5: Yes, yes, for example er because of the job I did, I wasn’t over paid but I was reasonable paid and when I took early retirement, I got a teacher’s pension, which is half of what my salary was, but I’m conscious that I have quite a lot compared to other people because there’s only me erm [pause] I’m a only child so I inherited the house, the money as well as saving so for example when I go out for a meal, whatever it costs, I tide myself on that and I put that in a box and then at periodic intervals, I just sent a donation to feed Christians in Iraq er the food bank, certainly at Christmas I make sure I’ve made a sizeable donation to that so that’s my morality that says ‘you have, others don’t’, it’s your moral duty to help support. Again I’m not boasting, fifty-pounds a month from my pension goes to charities so there’s that aspect of my morality and I try to live my life according to a moral tenet that is found within the teaching of the Catholic Church.
RM: So your religion and the Catholic Church plays a large part in your morality?
P5: Yes it does, it also defines who I am in that sense.
RM: If your are trying to make a decision about something, is this where you would think about your morals?
P5: Hmm, yes, [pause] I’m not sure I consciously think about every decision or whether it’s, it’s now inbred in me and so the decision I take is automatically in line, so I think there’s that.
RM: In society then, is there a collective morality or collective morals?
P5: Yes I do, I do think and although we might not be a Christian country, I think there is a definite morality that thou shall not steal er, that committing adultery is a fractious thing that being envious ectetera that murdering people in not on.
RM: Is society following these rules?
P5: I would think that most of society does but I think there’s a growing group that don’t what’s and sometimes it’s the deviants and sometimes it’s the [pause] what was called the precariat, there are people on the edge who if they see chances of making the odd buck, whether it’s legal or not, will do it because they don’t have the money, they don’t have the food etcetera.

RM: So if a person breaks these morals and rules within society, what repercussions might occur to the individual?

P5: That’s a difficult one because there has to be some sort of punishment, at the moment the only form of punishment is incarceration which the number of recidivists who come out of prison, rises each year so I think there’s work by the government to be done on that [pause] you know they have these sentencing guidelines and everybody’s judges by that but whether we need all these people in jail all day, every day, seven days a week for how many years, I’m not sure.

RM: Is there anything you can think of that would maybe –

P5: I’d go for weekend jail so that they work during the week and on their time off, that’s when they do the punishment.

RM: So thinking about the morals in society again, to what extent do these guide our laws?

P5: I think they do there’s [pause] the last political philosopher I studies was T.H.Green and he said that we are, we have a political obligation to obey the government because it’s the elected government and it gives us the institutionS that people use like the courts, like the judge, like the judiciary so yes I do think we are guided by society erm [pause] but our MPs aren’t delicates, they’re our representatives so for example if you ask for a vote, still a lot of people would go for capital punishment but the MPs won’t wear that and they say no my conscience says I am your representative not your delicate.

RM: So is there a clear distinction between societies morals and the law or do they overlap?

P5: No I think they overlap, I think they overlap and there are those of course who do not agree with the laws. If you look at many of the laws that have been passed, they’re all protection of middle class property erm and middle class values [pause] I mean how many of the bankers who ruined the country and went to jail.

RM: So is the law fair to everyone?

P5: I don’t think it is [pause] I think if you are an educated middle class person who has savings, you have access to solicitors, barristers the lot, then you can press your case. If you are a single mum with three kids, who’s going to stand up for you, who going to battle for you against whatever it is.

RM: Okay. Moving on now, I have a small task for you to complete. So it is very similar to the questionnaire in that you have a scale ranging from zero to five, and five statements that I would
Morality of Offenders: Investigating Morality of Individuals Who Commit Crime

like you to rate. Take your time to read them and have a think and let me know when you have
finished. We can then chat about why you’ve given then numbers you have, just let me know
when you’re ready.

[P5 reads the statements and marks each one with a number using the white-board pen provided.
He then puts the pen down and P4 indicated they are ready to continue]

RM: Okay. So we are just going to discuss these statements a little, see why you have scored
them as you have. So starting with it’s important to have rules that guide your daily life, you
strongly agree with that –

P5: I do and I think they can be the guidelines of your class, your religion that keep you working
in that [pause] so I agree, I strongly agree with that. If you have no rules then your life is chaotic
but I don’t think rules are [pause] they’re for the guidance of wise men and the obedience of
fools you know [laughs]

RM: Are there rules that you have that you follow daily? I know we have mentioned your
religion.

P5: Yes there are rules I follow, I pray at three times a day at least er, I give alms, I try and help
people erm, I’m fairly law abiding in the sense that [pause] I have a couple of areas where I’m
not, like I speed and I’ve parked and had to go on the naughty drivers course so they are the
areas I haven’t but generally I think it’s important to have those rules otherwise your life
becomes chaotic.

RM: So it’s important to care for others, you strongly –

P5: Yes I do, it’s part of do onto others as you would have them do onto you, you know er
[pause] I think it’s important to care for others less fortunate then yourself.

RM: Are there people that you should care for more than others or not?

P5: Hm [pause] there’s a problem with this because you can’t care for everybody so I think you
have to make choices of whom you’re caring for and I have certain charities that I care for
through them erm [pause] and that often relates to something that may have happened to me.
For example, had you known me five years ago I got these thick glasses, like jam jar bottoms,
two cataracts operations and I can see again, never been able to do this since I was six [pause]
so there’s a charity called Orbis where this plane arrives in a country and they line them up you
know, and it’s a conveyor belt, you know bump bump done, out the other end so that’s a charity
I support so erm [pause] I think you have to decide because you can’t do everybody, you have
to decide where you can make the difference. There’s a book written by a couple of Americans
called The Life You Can Save and that was, when I read that, that was very influential.

RM: So for the police are important –
P5: Yes they are, they are. The guardians, no no it’s the courts that are the guardians of the law, they are the executive arm of society to keep people in line, keep us safe.

RM: Do you think the police should be respected?

P5: Oh I do, definitely.

RM: Are they always respected?

P5: No they’re not and they have a lot to answer for themselves because you know we’ve all heard of corrupt coppers so I think there are aspects like that [pause] my grandfather was a policeman in Oldham on the Mountain Division [pause] I don’t know if it was respect or whether he was feared but his job was to keep order.

RM: So are the police respected or are people more scared of them?

P5: Oh I don’t think they’re scared anymore erm [pause] I think they ought to be frightened of punishments because that’s the only, well it was Hobbs who said you know man by nature is nasty, brutish and short and the only way to keep him in line is to have a big stick and beat him into line [grins, P5 mimes hitting with a stick] and that’s what the police are suppose to do but their powers have been curtailed so I don’t think they’ve got that, enough of that power now.

RM: So has policing changed over the years?

P5: Oh I think so.

RM: For the better or worse?

P5: I think for the worse but I understand why some of those changes have been made you know the police and criminal pace document whatever, how they have to interview people I think that’s important because people were fitted up.

RM: Okay. Looking now at loyalty is an important quality you scored that a four –

P5: Yes because I’m not sure loyalty to whom and for what.

RM: Okay so starting a little more simple, what is loyalty?

P5: Loyalty is obeying and respecting and following those who are placed over you or, on one level, or there’s loyalty in the family, to your colleagues erm [pause] so I think it’s an important quality but sometimes it [pause] if it’s blind loyalty that’s no good.

RM: Is loyalty a valuable quality to yourself?

P5: I don’t know because you can see it in relative terms you know if I am loyal to a church that puts women in a second state, that has ridiculous understanding of contraception, I can’t see that blind loyalty is necessarily a good thing there, you should be loyal but you should be able to disagree.

RM: Is that element of being able to question things part of loyalty then?
Morality of Offenders: Investigating Morality of Individuals Who Commit Crime

172 P5: I think it is but I can understand that you know if you’re in a state of war you’ve two choices, you either join up and fight or you’re a conscientious objector so that loyalty would be to the crown and the country.

175 RM: If someone was to break loyalty to you, how would you feel about that?

176 P5: Well that’s happened hasn’t it, you know that’s part of life and er, you’re disappointed and I have, as much as I try not to, I can have a vindictive strik, you know I’m a Scorpio so [pause] they used to say about our family cut one and they all bleed [laughs] you know.

179 RM: So the final one, everyone should be treated equally and fairly, you scored that with a one –

181 P5: Yes because when I did political philosophy, Detotvil said you cannot equalize despite nature so [pause] is it animal farm, all pigs are equal but some of them are equal than others so I [pause] I might want equality of opportunity there rather than equality [pause] and I forget who it was who said you can either have equality or equality of opportunity, you can’t have both so that’s why I’ve scored it with a one.

186 RM: That’s fine, there are no right or wrong answers just your opinions. So is equality something displayed currently within society?

188 P5: No no, not in our class ridden society, not in our limit well-fair state.

193 RM: Okay. So moving on now to a bit more about yourself and the questionnaire you have previously completed. All I’m going to do is ask you about each behaviour you ticked as participating in and we can have a chat about it. If you can’t remember circumstances around it, don’t worry, we can just move on.

193 P5: Yes, okay.

194 RM: So you indicated receiving a parking fine.

195 P5: Yes, parking on double yellow lines.

196 RM: Was this recently, quite a while ago?

196 P5: No I seemed to have learnt my lesson now [grins] I’ve been to appeal several times erm because I know they’re going to fine me so I make sure it’s a lot of work for them to do that, I take them to the tribunal in Manchester, even though I know I’m in the wrong [laughs]

200 RM: So why is it you do that?

201 P5: Sometimes I think parking authorities are arrogant, Oldham for example seems to gain a lot of money from penalising motorists and I remember parking near, I was in a show at the Oldham Coliseum years ago and to park round there is difficult. There’s a side street with no houses on no entry to anywhere and the double yellow lines where distinctly faded and of course I get a ticket, so I appealed and said but the lines aren’t clear, you know you’re obstructing nothing, you could think it’s disused so I got away with that one.
RM: So it’s something you’ve done more than one?
P5: Oh yeh yeh.
RM: So when you have done it, has it been a snap decision to do so or not?
P5: Yes, yeh snap decision.
RM: So the driving while using a mobile phone?
P5: Once and that was, I’d just come out of hospital from visiting my closet friend and I got to
the car just driving off when the phone went and I could see it was his number, so whilst driving
I answered it and I went straight back picked him up and took him home because he’d been
discharged so that’s the only time I’ve ever done that.
RM: So again was that a snap decision?
P5: Yes, once I saw the name on the, yeh.
RM: How about the speeding?
P5: Most cars going into fourth gear, you go into fourth gear roughly at about thirty-three miles
an hour and I think thirty too low a speed limit.
RM: Why is that?
P5: Because most modern cars are built for a continental and there’s are thirty-five miles an
hour on the continent so I think that’s a more realistic one and I think we should change to that
but we won’t.
RM: So is speeding something you’ve done more than once?
P5: Oh yeh. I mean when I’m on the motorway going somewhere, I’m generally well over
seventy, somewhere between seventy and eighty.
RM: So your decision behind that, is it a conscious decision?
P5: Oh I think it’s a conscious decision but you know, I don’t bomb down at hundred and twenty
and I don’t think I’m a fast driver but you know if I’m on the motorway going somewhere, it’s
that boring you want to get off. You want to get going as quick as you can.
RM: So when thinking about morals and crime, do you think your morals differ to someone
who might have committed a more personal crime like assault for example?
P5: Yes I do, I do.
RM: And how might they vary?
P5: I think if you’re going to set out to hurt somebody, that is not a good thing and I don’t think
I have ever set out to hurt anyone and I’ve certainly not assaulted anybody.
RM: With morality then, does it play a part in criminal behaviour?
P5: I don’t know [pause] I don’t think so erm, I’m not sure whether through circumstances with
upbringing, they’re not a different group from me and I know that sounds very elitist but I spent
twenty-two years teaching on Limeside where the morals and the criminal behaviour, I mean it
Morality of Offenders: Investigating Morality of Individuals Who Commit Crime

was known as crime-side, so a lot of the kids I taught were feral like that but then they came from parents like that.

RM: So does parenting play a part in criminal behaviour?
P5: I think so, I think so I mean if, I know that you can have perfectly good parents whose kids turn out erm [pause] I have a godson who’s a case in point, he and his sister were both brought up in a loving family and he’s a junky and she, she erm goes all over the world setting up motor shows.

RM: So thinking back to your example of Limeside, could the area not also being referred to as Crime-side influenced criminal behaviour?
P5: Could have. When I first started teaching, I taught on Fitton Hill and that was a council estate and then I taught at Holy Rosary and that was the nicest school I’ve ever taught at. There’s a loving atmosphere there and yes we had a couple of families who were distinctively criminal you know.

RM: So when thinking of a person’s moral, could anything be done to change them?
P5: I think one way is that restorative justice where you met the person you hurt and see the impact but as it’s never happened to me, he says touching wood [grins], I won’t know so in theory I think restorative justice and I have a friend who works in that area in Oldham and she’s a great believer in it and there’s still something of me that’s hang them and flog them, you know and eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth.

RM: How about in terms of the government?
P5: Oh I think the government is weak on punishment but it’s, it’s subject to popular and academic results you know if you find that x leads to more y, then perhaps the political culture says well you can’t be too harsh on them so I don’t know about that one.

RM: Okay. Well we have come to the end of the set questions but is there anything else that maybe you have any ideas or opinions on?
P5: No no, I do have a lot of opinions on thing though [laughs]. One of the thing I would like to do when you finish this, I would like to read it.

RM: Of course you can, by all means.
P5: Because I think it’s nice to take part in something and then see what your findings are.

RM: Of course. So just to remind you that any of the information you have given will remain anonymous and confidential, no personal details of yours will be shared. In the write up report quotes will be given as participant one said and so on. The same will occur if the research is published with a paper. All data will be kept safe and secure.
P5: Okay.
RM: So I also have this for you before you leave. On this piece of paper [RM hands P5 the debrief sheet] is a recap of the aims and purpose of the research, so looking at issues of morality and crime and just a general discussion around your own experiences. There is also my email address on there should you wish to contact me or there is also my supervisors details on there should you have any serious queries. There is also contact information for Mind, should you feel low or need to talk to someone upon leaving. How are you feeling now the interview is over?

P5: Fine yeh.

RM: Okay, that’s good. So thank you once again for agreeing to take part.

P5: No problem, good luck with everything and I look forward to hearing about some of the results.

RM: Thank you. You do still have up to Monday 24th July if you want to withdraw from the research, just contact me through the information given. If there is nothing else and you feel okay, you’re free to leave.

[RM stops the recording and P5 leaves the room with RM following behind. RM thanks P5 once again and P5 leaves the facility]

*More interview transcripts can be made available upon request*
Morality of Offenders: Investigating Morality of Individuals Who Commit Crime

Appendices 12 – Coded Interview Transcript

Participant: P5 (M, R)
Interviewer: Rachael McClelland - RM
Conducted: 05/07/2017
Time: 3.00pm – 4.00pm
Location: Canon Pharmacy, 5 Manchester Chambers, Consultation Room.

28 P5: Erm, it was [pause] I was brought up in the fifteen and it was a time
29 of shortages then, there was still rationing. You couldn’t buy sweets
30 until I was about six erm [pause] I was brought up in a loving family, mum
31 and dad, and we were [pause] we had relatives on either side who were
32 close to us so I think I’ve been brought up in a close, a close family
33 RM: Very nice. So how about your education?
34 P5: My mum worked out that I was bright so I didn’t go to the local
35 Catholic school because there were fifty-three in one infant, and I wasn’t
36 being one of fifty-five so she sent me to a little Church of England
37 primary school, Coldham, and it got you through your eleven plus
38 which was important in those days because then you went on to
39 grammar school and that was the gateway to the professionals. So I
40 passed my eleven plus and went to Northbrooke Tech, as it was then, did
41 O-Levels, did A-Levels there, went off to university to do Social Science
42 at Leicester and I majored in Politics and then I stayed on an extra year
43 to train as a teacher so I got my BEd [pause] so I came back to Oldham
44 and I taught in Oldham all my teaching life.
45 RM: Very well educated
46 P5: Yes [smiles]
47 RM: So moving on slightly, if I was to ask you how you understand
48 morality, how would you define it to me?
49 P5: I think it’s the rules by which your area is to be ruled by
50 society, be that the church, the state or, be your community group. So
51 that’s how I define morality, a way of living your life right as opposed
52 to wrongly.
53 RM: So why is morality important then to you?
54 P5: It’s the rules by which you have to live by

3 Upon P5 entering the consultation room where the interview was to be
4 conducted, the desk at which we would be sitting was set out with a
5 glass of water, consent form and information sheet visible ready for P5
6 to read and sign. There was also a mobile which would be used to record
7 the interview and a notebook/pens for RM to make notes with. Once both
8 inside, the consultation room doors were shut for privacy and the
9 interview started.
10 Transcript
11 [RM handed the information sheet over to P5 to read. P5 was then asked
12 to sign the consent form confirming they had understood all of the
13 information and were still willing to be interviewed and their data used.
14 Any questions or queries were answered and then the interview started
15 with RM also starting the voice recording.]
16 RM: Okay, so I’ve started the recording now. Thanks again for wanting
17 to be interviewed.
18 [RM moves the signed consent form to one side]
19 RM: If at any time you want me to stop or explain anything further, just
20 let me know. So we will start off a little easy, would you like to tell me a
21 bit about yourself?
22 P5: Yes. I’m 60 years old, I taught in Oldham for thirty-three years and
23 fifteen years ago I took early retirement. Once I had taken early
24 retirement, I did an MA in Theology, particularly in Mariology, the
25 study of Our Lady and then about five years ago, I did an MSc in
26 Educational Research so that’s me. My interests are amateur dramatics,
27 and I’m heavily involved at the lyceum, we [pause] and I’m a strong
28 Catholic at St Adrian and Oswald’s in Royton.
29 RM: Okay, thank you. So how was your upbringing?
*More coded interview transcripts can be made available on request*
Appendices 13 – Third-Level Coding Linking Themes, Codes and Theoretical Concepts
Morality
- Definition/Understanding DEF
  - Right + Wrong RN
  - Standards ST
- Conscious CON
- Unconscious UNCON
- Development of Morality (Internal/External) DEVEL
- Significance to daily life SIG
  - How often reflect on
  - Any rules followed RF
- Impact behaviour
  - How conduct self/other, both + respect CONSELF
  - How act towards others, BOTH
- Evidence
  - EC - Society (collective) - Fixed + changes (what changes) F
  - EI - Individual/Internal - Static + constant S
  - Consquences when broken
    - Formal CF
    - Informal CI
- Moral Inhibitors (prevents/block morality) MI
- Change morality (promotes) MF
- History of morality (how teach children etc.) PM
- Breaking norms BM
  - Reasons for norms followed RFN
  - Morals + Common Behaviours MB
  - Reasoning + Int at R+I
  - Con
## Appendices 14 – Table Illustrating Information Which Answered the Research Aims

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aims</th>
<th>Information which answered research aims</th>
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| Investigate how morality can be defined and developed, along with whether individuals withhold differing levels of morality | • Asking participants to define morality  
• Participants asked which values and rules are important to them  
• Asked how they believe morality to be developed |
| Understand how these differing levels of morality impact on criminal behaviour and if so, the type and severity of offences which may be carried out | • Participants asked if they believe a relationship between morality and crime to exist, if so how they influence one another  
• Asked to describe criminal’s morality and whether their morals differ to those who do not commit crime  
• Participants also asked if their morality differs from someone who may commit a different type of offence to them |
| Identify how situational precipitators influence an individual’s decision-making behaviour in relation to crime | • Participants asked to recall what events led to their criminal behaviour  
• Also instructed to reflect on the situation of the criminal behaviour and what factors were present  
• Participants asked whether they can recall thinking about their actions before committing the criminal behaviour or whether it was a spare of the moment decision  
• Discussion surrounding whether the criminal behaviour would have still been committed had the circumstances been different |
Appendices 15 – Ethical Approval Obtained from the School Research Ethics Panel at the University of Huddersfield

Confirmation of ethical approval;
Obtained Thursday 23rd March 2017, 10.56am

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Dear Rachael,

Please accept this email as confirmation that your SREP application as detailed above has now been approved outright.

With best wishes for the success of your research project.

Regards,

Kirsty
(on behalf of Prof Liz Hughes, Chair of SREP)
### ACTIVITY: Post-graduate Research Project

<table>
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<th>Hazard(s) Identified</th>
<th>Details of Risk(s)</th>
<th>People at Risk</th>
<th>Risk Management Measures</th>
<th>Other Comments</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Overhearing of interview conversation and data</td>
<td>Privacy and confidentiality breached</td>
<td>Participant</td>
<td>Achieved access to private consultation room in which only two people can sit Small room separate from the main part of the shop away from general public and onsite staff members</td>
<td>Ensure door closed and reminder to staff and others not to enter the room while being used</td>
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<td>Loss of collected data</td>
<td>Data collected from both questionnaires and interviews could become misplaced and lost lowering amount of security upheld</td>
<td>Participant</td>
<td>All data collected to be kept in secure folder and locked away in a cabinet. Any information stored on a computer to be password protected</td>
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<td>Personal wellbeing</td>
<td>Mental and physical fatigue causing stress after working long periods of time</td>
<td>Researcher</td>
<td>Ensure to have small breaks and comfortable workplace</td>
<td>If needed extra support or advice, contact supervisor</td>
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<tr>
<td>Trips, falls or general injury</td>
<td>Distribution of questionnaires in public places where possible obstructions may exist</td>
<td>Researcher</td>
<td>Try to stay vigilant and only conduct</td>
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<tr>
<td>Personal Safety</td>
<td>Approaching different members of the public in various places</td>
<td>Researcher</td>
<td>Only enter places that the correct individuals are aware of and that permission is gained to enter</td>
<td>Ensure supervisor, family and others are aware of where and at what specific times questionnaires will be being distributed</td>
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Appendices 16 – Survey Information Sheet

Unique Number: u1351012
Version 2/ 02.03.2017

Morality of Offenders, Are We So Different? A Mixed-Methods Investigation into Morality of Individuals Who Self-Report Participating in Criminal Behaviour

You are being invited to take part in a study about morality, and how beliefs of right and wrong may influence a person’s criminal and decision making behaviour. Before you decide to take part, it is important that you understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with me if you wish. Please do not hesitate to ask if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like further explanation or information.

What is the study about?
The purpose of this research is to investigate the relationship between morality and criminal behaviour. The research also examines how moral decisions may change depending on how serious a crime is perceived to be.

Why have I been approached?
Anybody above the age of 18 and from the general public is welcome to take part in the study, regardless of whether they have or have not previously committed any criminal act.

What will I need to do?
Please complete the Moral Foundations Questionnaire which will take roughly 10-15 minutes. It asks questions about your beliefs and opinions on various topics relating to morality. Please read and follow the instructions on the questionnaire. It is your decision how much information you wish to disclose, please do not feel pressured to answer any questions which you do not wish to. At the end of the questionnaire, there is also the opportunity to leave your contact details should you be interested in helping this study further by taking part in an interview at a later date.

Do I have to take part?
Participation is completely voluntary. If you wish to continue, please sign the consent form and proceed to complete the questionnaire. You have the right to withdraw from the research process after completing the questionnaire up until Monday 24th July 2017. To withdraw, simply contact me on the details below and provide the unique number in bold at the top of this sheet. If you wish to withdraw now and not continue, you do not need to complete a questionnaire and you are free to continue with your day. You are also free to stop answering the questionnaire at any point when filling it out.

Will my identity be disclosed?
All of the information and details disclosed on the questionnaire will be kept confidential. Upon publication of the research in a journal or research report, no names or other identifying information will be given, therefore protecting your identity and ensuring anonymity.

What will happen to the information?
All of the information collected will be kept secure in a locked location and a password protected computer file. Transportation of the information will remain secure. All names and personal contact information will be removed to ensure anonymity and confidentiality. Upon leaving university and completing this research, the data will then be passed to the main supervisor who oversaw this project ensuring the data will still be securely kept for ten years in accordance with the University of Huddersfield procedures and recommendations.

Who can I contact for further information?
If you require any further information about the research, please contact me:

Rachael Mcloughlin
Email: rachael.mcloughlin@hud.ac.uk

Or if you have any issues or concerns, please feel free to contact my supervisor:

Dr Andrew Newton
Email: a.d.newton@hud.ac.uk
Telephone: 01484 473837
Appendices 17 – Survey Consent Form

Morality of Offenders, Are We So Different? A Mixed-Methods Investigation into Morality of Individuals Who Self-Report Participating in Criminal Behaviour

It is important that you read, understand and sign the following consent form. Your participation and contribution to this research is completely voluntary and the right to withdraw up until Monday 24th July 2017. If you require any further details do not hesitate to ask or contact the researcher.

I have been fully informed of the nature and aims of this research as outlined in the information sheet version 2, dated 02/03/2017

☐ I consent to taking part in the research

I understand that I have the right to withdraw from the research up until Monday 24th July 2017 without giving a reason

☐ I give permission for my answers to be used anonymously within the final research report

I understand that the information collected will be kept securely for a period of 10 years by the University of Huddersfield according to the data protection policy

☐ I understand that only the researcher/s and academic supervisors will have access to the information provided

☐ I understand that my identity will be protected and anonymity upheld

If you are satisfied that you understand the information and are happy to take part in this project, please put a tick in the box aligned to each sentence and print and sign below.

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Appendices 18 – Screen Shot of Online Survey Information Sheet and Consent Form
Morality of Offenders, Are We So Different? A Mixed-Methods Investigation into Morality of Individuals Who Self-Report Participating in Criminal Behaviour

You are being invited to take part in a study about morality, and how beliefs of right and wrong may influence a person’s criminal and decision-making behaviour. Before you decide to take part it is important that you understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with me if you wish. Please do not hesitate to ask if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like further explanation or information.

What is the study about?
The purpose of this research is to investigate the relationship between morality and criminal behaviour. The research also considers an individual's moral decision making and whether this influences the types or severity of crime which they may commit.

Why I have been approached?
You have been asked to participate based on your responses to the Moral Foundations Questionnaire. I would like to ask you about your responses in a bit more detail.

What will I need to do?
An interview will take place which will last roughly 30-40 minutes which will also be recorded. This may involve questions surrounding your upbringing, criminal behaviour committed, your thinking at the time of the criminal behaviour being committed, and also your own personal views on the issue of morality and crime. It is your decision how much information you wish to disclose and so you do not have to answer any questions which you do not want to.

Do I have to take part?
Participation is completely voluntary. If you wish to continue, please sign the consent form and will can proceed to complete the interview. You have the right to withdraw from the research process after completing the interview up until Monday 24th July 2017. Please contact me on the details below if you wish to withdraw, recalling the date of the interview and confirming your personal details. If you wish to withdraw now and not continue, then you can leave and continue with the rest of your day. You can stop the interview at any time.

Will my identity be disclosed and will my responses be kept confidential?
All the information and details disclosed in the interview will be treated in the strictest confidence for the purposes of this research. There is one exception to this commitment to confidentiality. If you divulge to me that you are about to cause serious harm to yourself or to others then the research team may have to share that information with the appropriate authorities. Upon publication of the research in a journal or research report, we may use quotes from your interview but your identity will not be revealed. Quotes will be attributed to participant 1, participant 2 etc, therefore protecting your identity and ensuring anonymity.
What will happen to the information?
All of the information collected will be kept secure in a locked location and a password protected computer file. Transportation of the information will remain secure. All names and personal contact information will be removed to ensure anonymity and confidentiality. Upon leaving university and completing this research, the data will then be passed to the main supervisor who oversaw this project ensuring the data will still be securely kept for ten years in accordance with the University of Huddersfield procedures and recommendations.

Who can I contact for further information?
If you require any further information about the research, please contact me:
Rachael Mcloughlin
Email: rachael.mcloughlin@hud.ac.uk

Or if you have any issues or concerns, please feel free to contact my supervisor:

Dr Andrew Newton
Email: a.d.newton@hud.ac.uk
Telephone: 01484 473837
Morality of Offenders: Investigating Morality of Individuals Who Commit Crime

Appendices 20 – Interview Consent Form

Morality of Offenders, Are We So Different? A Mixed-Methods Investigation into Morality of Individuals Who Self-Report Participating in Criminal Behaviour

It is important that you read, understand and sign the following consent form. Your participation and contribution to this research is completely voluntary and the right to withdraw up until Monday 24th July 2017. If you require any further details do not hesitate to ask or contact the researcher.

I have been fully informed of the nature and aims of this research as outlined in the information sheet version 2, dated 02/03/2017

☐ I consent to taking part in the research

☐ I understand that I have the right to withdraw from the research up until Monday 24th July without giving any reason.

☐ I give permission for my words to be quoted anonymously (i.e. participant 1 stated...)

☐ I agree to the interview being recorded

☐ I understand that the information collected will be kept in securely for a period of 10 years by the University of Huddersfield according to the data protection policy

☐ I understand that no person other than the researcher/s and academic supervisors will have access to the information provided

☐ I understand that my identity will be protected and anonymity upheld

If you are satisfied that you understand the information and are happy to take part in this project, please put a tick in the box aligned to each sentence and print and sign below.

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Appendices 21 – Interview Debrief Sheet

Morality of Offenders, Are We So Different? A Mixed-Methods Investigation into Morality of Individuals Who Self-Report Participating in Criminal Behaviour

That is the end of the interview.

Aims and Recap
The aim of the interview was to gain insights into the relationship between morality and criminal behaviour, and how morality may influence the decisions you make.

What Happens next?
A copy of the findings from the research can be made available to you upon request. You still do have the right to withdraw from the research up until Monday 24th July 2017. If you wish to withdraw the interview data that you have provided between now and the specified date, please contact me on the below details where you will be asked to recall the date of this interview and confirm the details you have given.

Researcher Contact Information
If you have any questions or queries about the research and would like further information, please do not hesitate to contact me through:

Email: rachael.mcloughlin@hud.ac.uk

Or if you have any issues or concerns, feel free to contact my supervisor:

Dr Andrew Newton
Email: a.d.newton@hud.ac.uk
Telephone: 0148 473837

Professional Support and Advice
If once leaving here you feel any distress, please contact someone to talk to, this may be a close friend or family member. If you would like to seek professional support, then please contact your local GP or feel free to contact the Manchester Mind who are free to talk to you and offer guidance.

Telephone: 0161 769 5732
Email: info@manchestermind.org
Address: Manchester Mind, Zion CHRC, 339 Stertford Road, Hulme, Manchester, M15 4ZY
Website: manchestermind.org

Opening hours for a face to face consultation are:
Monday to Friday: 09:00am – 17:00pm
Saturday and Sunday: Closed

Thank you for taking part in this research project!
Morality of Offenders: Investigating Morality of Individuals Who Commit Crime

Appendices 22 – Normality and Variance Tests

22.1. Self-Reporting of Previous Criminal Behaviour

Assumption of the data was presumed due to the Central Limits Theorem (CLT). Nevertheless, a Kolmogorov-Smirnov test for normality was run indicating assumptions of normality to be broken in some places. Scores for those who self-reported participating in past criminal behaviour(s), did not appear to achieve normality within the Harm/Care foundation, $D(141) = .095$, $p = .003$, and the Fairness/Reciprocity foundation, $D(141) = .132$, $p = .001$. While scores for those who did not indicate to have participated in past criminal behaviour(s), also failed to reach normality within the Fairness/Reciprocity foundation, $D(43) = .140$, $p = .035$. However, observation of the following histograms and Q-Q Plots, suggested normality to achieved.

Homogeneity of variance for the Harm/Care, $F(1, 182) = .182$, $p = .670$, Fairness/Reciprocity, $F(1, 182) = .034$, $p = .854$, In-group/Loyalty, $F(1, 182) = 2.266$, $p = .134$, Authority/Respect, $F(1, 182) = .078$, $p = .781$ and Purity/Sanctity, $F(1, 182) = .449$, $p = .504$, foundations, was achieved with for all moral foundations.
2.2. Crime Categorised by Type of Offence

Normality was presumed due to CLT but Kolmogrov Smirnov tests still run. Assumptions of normality did appear broken within the Harm/Care foundation for driving offences, $D (242) = .108$, $p = .001$, minor offences, $D (111) = .108$, $p = .001$ and the financial/non-personal offences, $D (134) = .117$, $p = .001$. Within the Fairness/Reciprocity foundation, driving offences, $D (242) = .139$, $p = .001$, minor offences, $D (111) = .106$, $p = .004$, financial/non-personal offences, $D (134) = .155$, $p = .001$ and violent/personal offences, $D (490) = .158$, $p = .004$, were significant. In the In-group/Loyalty foundation driving offences, $D (242) = .072$, $p = .004$, violent/personal crimes, $D (49) = .179$, $p = .001$, and cyber-crimes, $D (39) = .150$, $p = .026$, broke assumptions of normality. Additionally, in the Authority/Respect foundation driving, $D (242) = .091$, $p = .001$, drugs/alcohol, $D (58) = .135$, $p = .10$, minor, $D (111) = .121$, $p = .001$, and financial/non-personal, $D (134) = .103$, $p = .001$, all were significant. Finally, in the Purity/Sanctity foundation drug/alcohol offences, $D (58) = .126$, $p = .022$, minor offences, $D (111) = .096$, $p = .013$, violent/personal offences, $D (49) = .137$, $p = .022$, and cyber-crimes, $D (39) = .150$, $p = .027$, all appeared to breach assumptions of normality. Nonetheless, upon interpretation of Q-Q plots (below), histograms and values skewness and kurtosis, normality of the data was presumed.

Homogeneity of variance was also tested for using the Levene’s test. Interpretation of the results showed homogeneity of variance to be achieved across the data with none of the results being at the significance level.
### 22.3. Crime Categorised by Severity of Offence

The Kolmogorov-Smirnov test was run to test for normality despite reliance on CLT as samples sizes were above 30. Only the serious offences within the Harm/Care foundation appeared to demonstrate assumptions of normality while the rest of the results appeared significant and showed assumptions to be broken:

#### Results of Kolmogorov-Smirnov Tests for Severity of Offence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Moral Foundation</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>Statistic</th>
<th>Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Harm/Care</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minor offences</td>
<td>324</td>
<td>.096</td>
<td>.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle level</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>.114</td>
<td>.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serious offences</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>.088</td>
<td>.068</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fairness/Reciprocity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minor offences</td>
<td>324</td>
<td>.132</td>
<td>.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle level</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>.142</td>
<td>.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serious offences</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>.169</td>
<td>.001</td>
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<tr>
<td>In-group/Loyalty</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minor offences</td>
<td>324</td>
<td>.066</td>
<td>.002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Authority/Respect</td>
<td>Minor offences</td>
<td>Middle level offences</td>
<td>Serious offences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>324</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.091</td>
<td>.120</td>
<td>.103</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.001</td>
<td>.001</td>
<td>.016</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Purity/Sanctity</th>
<th>Minor offences</th>
<th>Middle level offences</th>
<th>Serious offences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>324</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.057</td>
<td>.121</td>
<td>.112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.012</td>
<td>.001</td>
<td>.005</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Significant results highlighted in bold

Despite this, upon very strict observation of Q-Q Plots, histograms, values of skewness and kurtosis, it was concluded that the data be normally distributed. In addition, homogeneity of variance for the Harm/Care, \( F(2, 587) = .143, p = .892 \), Fairness/Reciprocity, \( F(2, 587) = .654, p = .849 \), In-group/Loyalty, \( F(2, 587) = .127, p = .853 \), Authority/Respect, \( F(2, 587) = .679, p = .453 \), and Purity/Sanctity, \( F(2, 587) = 1.579, p = .309 \), foundations, was achieved with none of the results indicating to be of any significance.
22.4. Age

Normality of the age groups can be assumed due to CLT; however, the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test was still run. On the whole, the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test demonstrated normality to be achieved but some results indicated assumptions normality to be broken. Normality for the Harm/Care foundation for aged 18-24, $D(57) = .145$, $p= .004$, and the 45-65 or over, $D(54) = .130$, $p= .024$, appeared to be significant. Additionally, normality for aged 18-24, $D(57) = .135$, $p= .011$, aged 25-44, $D(72) = .105$, $p= .46$, and the 45-65 or over, $D(54) = .203$, $p= .001$, within the Fairness/Reciprocity foundation all appeared to be significant. Nevertheless, due to awareness of the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test sometimes indicating significance due to minor differences in scores (Field, 2013), after careful reflection of other materials like histogram and Q-Q Plots, it was decided that distribution of the data was normal. Homogeneity of variance was also tested for using the Levene’s test. Homogeneity of variance was achieved across the sample with none of the results being at the significance level.

22.5. Religion

Assuming normality of the data using CLT this time could not be done as some of the sample sizes fall below 30. Therefore, the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test was run which demonstrated a violation of normality in some places. Within the Fairness/Reciprocity foundation, normality was broken in the Christian group, $D (67) = .321$, $p= .006$, the Non-religious group, $D (77) = .141$, $p= .001$, and the Other group, $D (6) = .381$, $p= .007$. Normality was also violated in the Purity/Sanctity foundation for the Muslim group, $D (16) = .257$, $P= .006$. However, as already stressed previously with the interpretation of results, normality can sometimes appear to be broken due to slight differences and therefore normality should always be assessed along with visual representations of the data (Field, 2013). Consideration of histograms and Q-Q Plots (below) led to the data being presumed normally distributed.
Homogeneity of variance was also achieved as the Harm/Care, \( F (4, 178) = 1.219, p = .304 \), Fairness/Reciprocity, \( F (4, 178) = .654, p = .625 \), In-group/Loyalty, \( F (4, 178) = .312, p = .870 \), Authority/Respect, \( F (4, 178) = 2.113, p = .081 \), and Purity/Sanctity, \( F (4, 178) = 1.184, p = .319 \), foundations all appeared to be non-significant.

### 22.6. Employment

Tests for normality using the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test showed normality to be met for the majority of the groups and foundations. However, normality was not met for either the Employed, \( D (113) = .096, p = .012 \), Unemployed, \( D (11) = .257, p = .040 \), or the Student group, \( D (59) = .138, p = .007 \), with the Harm/Care foundation. Neither was normality achieved for the Employed group within the Fairness/Reciprocity foundation, \( D (113) = .142, p = .001 \). Despite results suggesting significance, examination of Q-Q Plots, histograms, values of skewness and kurtosis once again indicated the data to be normally distributed.

Homogeneity of variance for the; Harm/Care, \( F (2, 180) = 1.088, p = .339 \), Fairness/Reciprocity, \( F (2, 180) = 2.955, p = .055 \), In-group/Loyalty, \( F (2, 180) = 1.185, p = .308 \), Authority/Respect, \( F (2, 180) = .096, p = .909 \), and Purity/Sanctity, \( F (2, 180) = .554, p = .576 \), foundations, all appeared to be non-significant.
### Appendices 23 – Moral Foundation Scores for Each Offence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Crime</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Harm/Care</th>
<th>Fairness/Reciprocity</th>
<th>In-group/Loyalty</th>
<th>Authority/Respect</th>
<th>Purity/Sanctity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>S.D.</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>S.D.</td>
<td>Mean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arson</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.08</td>
<td>0.353</td>
<td>4.08</td>
<td>0.353</td>
<td>2.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GBH</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.72</td>
<td>0.509</td>
<td>3.88</td>
<td>0.535</td>
<td>2.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cyber-stalking</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.44</td>
<td>0.254</td>
<td>3.38</td>
<td>0.962</td>
<td>2.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possession of weapon</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3.72</td>
<td>0.559</td>
<td>3.79</td>
<td>0.309</td>
<td>2.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speeding</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>3.54</td>
<td>0.794</td>
<td>3.58</td>
<td>0.797</td>
<td>2.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assault</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>3.61</td>
<td>0.716</td>
<td>3.58</td>
<td>0.730</td>
<td>2.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perverting the course of justice</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3.80</td>
<td>0.767</td>
<td>3.63</td>
<td>0.988</td>
<td>2.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Production illicit substances</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.88</td>
<td>0.535</td>
<td>2.83</td>
<td>0.833</td>
<td>1.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Driving whilst not wearing a seat-belt</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>3.52</td>
<td>0.726</td>
<td>3.52</td>
<td>0.740</td>
<td>2.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fraud</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3.41</td>
<td>0.772</td>
<td>3.41</td>
<td>0.911</td>
<td>2.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Handling stolen goods</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>3.36</td>
<td>0.600</td>
<td>3.34</td>
<td>0.571</td>
<td>2.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burglary</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criminal damage</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3.43</td>
<td>0.657</td>
<td>3.55</td>
<td>0.458</td>
<td>2.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robbery</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.50</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Driving whilst using a mobile phone</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>3.62</td>
<td>0.708</td>
<td>3.69</td>
<td>0.613</td>
<td>2.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoplifting</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>3.60</td>
<td>0.668</td>
<td>3.62</td>
<td>0.639</td>
<td>2.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Software piracy</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>3.49</td>
<td>0.729</td>
<td>3.58</td>
<td>0.683</td>
<td>2.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drunk and disorderly</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>3.60</td>
<td>0.688</td>
<td>3.65</td>
<td>0.652</td>
<td>2.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>each of bail</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4.38</td>
<td>0.509</td>
<td>3.88</td>
<td>0.192</td>
<td>2.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Driving whilst under the influence</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>3.61</td>
<td>0.644</td>
<td>3.65</td>
<td>0.508</td>
<td>2.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theft</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3.51</td>
<td>0.763</td>
<td>3.48</td>
<td>0.782</td>
<td>2.20</td>
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<tr>
<td>Parking fine</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>3.67</td>
<td>0.729</td>
<td>3.69</td>
<td>0.706</td>
<td>2.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Computer hacking</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.25</td>
<td>0.353</td>
<td>3.33</td>
<td>0.471</td>
<td>2.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cycling on pavement</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>3.60</td>
<td>0.698</td>
<td>3.65</td>
<td>0.658</td>
<td>2.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possession illicit substances</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>3.49</td>
<td>0.820</td>
<td>3.57</td>
<td>0.760</td>
<td>2.10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendices 24 – Categorising Crime into Offence Type

- Parking fine: Fine
- Speeding: Fine – points on licence
- Driving while wearing no seat-belt: Fine – points on licence
- Using a mobile phone whilst driving: Fine – points on licence
  - Driving offences
- Driving whilst under the influence: Fine – 6 months imprisonment
- Production of illicit substances: Up to 14 years imprisonment
- Possession of illicit substances: Fine – 7 years imprisonment
- Cycling on a pavement: Fine
- Breach of bail: Up to 12 months imprisonment
- Being drunk and disorderly: Fine – community order
  - Minor offences
- Theft: Up to 7 years imprisonment
- Shoplifting: 6 months – 3 years imprisonment
- Fraud: 11 weeks – 10 years imprisonment
- Perverting the course of justice: Up to life imprisonment
- Handling stolen goods: Up to 14 years imprisonment
- Arson: Up to life imprisonment
- Robbery: Up to 12 years imprisonment
- Criminal damage: 3 months – 14 years imprisonment
- Assault: Fine – 2 years imprisonment
- Burglary: 26 weeks – 14 years imprisonment
- Possession of a weapon: 6 months – 5 years imprisonment
- Grievous Bodily Harm: Up to life imprisonment
  - Violent/Personal crime
- Cyber-stalking: 5 years – 10 years imprisonment
- Computer hacking: Up to 12 months imprisonment
- Software piracy: Up to 10 years imprisonment
  - Cyber crimes
Appendices 25 – Categorising Crime into Offence Severity

- Driving whilst under the influence → Fine – 6 months imprisonment
- Speeding → Fine – points on licence
- Driving while wearing no seat-belt → Fine – points on licence
- Using a mobile phone whilst driving → Fine – points on licence
- Parking fine → Fine
- Cycling on a pavement → Fine

- Possession of illicit substances → Fine – 7 years imprisonment
- Breach of bail → Up to 12 months imprisonment
- Being drunk and disorderly → Fine – community order
- Computer hacking → Up to 12 months imprisonment
- Theft → Up to 7 years imprisonment
- Shoplifting → 6 months – 3 years imprisonment
- Assault → Fine – 2 years imprisonment
- Possession of a weapon → 6 months – 4 years imprisonment

- Production of illicit substances → Up to 14 years imprisonment
- Grievous Bodily Harm → Up to life imprisonment
- Arson → Up to life imprisonment
- Robbery → Up to 12 years imprisonment
- Criminal damage → 3 months – 14 years imprisonment
- Fraud → 12 weeks – 10 years imprisonment
- Burglary → 26 weeks – 14 years imprisonment
- Perverting the course of justice → Up to life imprisonment
- Cyber-stalking → 5 years – 10 years imprisonment
- Software piracy → Up to 10 years imprisonment
- Handling stolen goods → Up to 14 years
## Appendices 26 – ANOVA Results

### 26.1. ANOVA Results for Crime Categorised by Type

*One-Way Analysis of Variance of Different Offence Types against the Five Moral Foundations*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Moral Foundation</th>
<th>Between Groups</th>
<th>Within Groups</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>df</td>
<td>SS</td>
<td>MS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harm/Care</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.148</td>
<td>.287</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>494</td>
<td>258.369</td>
<td>.523</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
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<td>259.518</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fairness/Reciprocity</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>.649</td>
<td>.162</td>
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<td></td>
<td>494</td>
<td>230.097</td>
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<td>Total</td>
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<td>230.746</td>
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<tr>
<td>In-group/Loyalty</td>
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<td>1.412</td>
<td>.353</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>494</td>
<td>345.173</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
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<td>346.584</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Authority/Respect</td>
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<td>4.689</td>
<td>1.172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>494</td>
<td>419.006</td>
<td>.848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Between Groups</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purity/Sanctity</td>
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<td>Between Groups</td>
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<td>Within Groups</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>498</td>
<td>596.195</td>
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</table>
### 26.2. ANOVA Results for Crime Categorised by Severity

*One-Way Analysis of Variance of Different Offence Severities against the Five Moral Foundations*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Moral Foundation</th>
<th>ANOVA</th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
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<td>df</td>
<td>SS</td>
<td>MS</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harm/Care</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Between Groups</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.146</td>
<td>.573</td>
<td>1.122</td>
<td>.326</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within Groups</td>
<td>587</td>
<td>299.930</td>
<td>.511</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>589</td>
<td>301.076</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fairness/Reciprocity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Between Groups</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.195</td>
<td>.598</td>
<td>1.286</td>
<td>.277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within Groups</td>
<td>587</td>
<td>272.680</td>
<td>.465</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>589</td>
<td>273.876</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In-group/Loyalty</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Between Groups</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.680</td>
<td>.340</td>
<td>.475</td>
<td>.622</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within Groups</td>
<td>587</td>
<td>420.523</td>
<td>.716</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>589</td>
<td>421.203</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Authority/Respect</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Between Groups</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.447</td>
<td>.723</td>
<td>.880</td>
<td>.415</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within Groups</td>
<td>587</td>
<td>482.553</td>
<td>.822</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>589</td>
<td>483.999</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purity/Sanctity</td>
<td>Between Groups</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.069</td>
<td>1.035</td>
<td>.880</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within Groups</td>
<td>587</td>
<td>690.394</td>
<td>1.176</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>589</td>
<td>692.463</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendices 27 - Independent T-Test Results

27.1. Independent T-Test Results for Those Who Did and Did Not Self-Report Past Criminal Behaviour

Results of the Parametric Independent Sample T-Test for moral foundation scores between those who and did not self-report participating in past criminal behaviour did not show any significant difference between the two groups:

Results of Independent Samples T-Test for gender scores

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Moral Foundation</th>
<th>Mean Difference</th>
<th>Std. Error</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Harm/Care</td>
<td>-.24693</td>
<td>.13330</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>-1.853</td>
<td>.066</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Equal variances assumed</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fairness/Reciprocity</td>
<td>-.20757</td>
<td>.12940</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>-1.604</td>
<td>.812</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Equal variances assumed</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In-group/Loyalty</td>
<td>-.07598</td>
<td>.16062</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>-.473</td>
<td>.133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Authority/Respect</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equal variances assumed</td>
<td>.02922</td>
<td>.16736</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>.175</td>
<td>.781</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Purity/Sanctity

| Equal variances assumed | -.30092 | .18851 | 182 | -1.596 | .494 |
### 27.2. Independent T-Test Results for Gender

Results of the Parametric Independent Sample T-Test for moral foundation scores based on gender did not show any significant difference in scores:

**Results of Independent Samples T-Test for gender scores**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Moral Foundation</th>
<th>Mean Difference</th>
<th>Std. Error</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>Sig</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fairness/Reciprocity</td>
<td>Equal variances assumed</td>
<td>.10633</td>
<td>.11307</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>.940</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In-group/Loyalty</td>
<td>Equal variances assumed</td>
<td>.12988</td>
<td>.14531</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>.894</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Authority/Respect</td>
<td>Equal variances assumed</td>
<td>.15675</td>
<td>.15129</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>1.036</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendices 28 – Reflective Journal

23/03 Ethical Approval has now been given – I can now start collecting some data. I have had ~100 questionnaires printed and also a follow-up questionnaire that I need to confirm + distribute on social media. Hopefully I will get a good amount of responses.

25/03 Questionnaires given to family + close friends. More also organized to questionnaires to be handed out at UCP.

26/03 Questionnaires have been given to some students + staff at UCO. More have been given to the pharmacy, so they have also agreed.

28/03 Questionnaires are now online. I’ve created it on Survey Monkey and a link will be emailed to people. I’ve also started on Facebook groups related to any crime + anticrime-related groups for a good sample. (At least 100+). I hope to get some completed.

01/04 I have typed up the questionaire into its electronic copy for Survey Monkey. All I have to do is pay for the upgraded version so I can begin to send it to people. Not much has been collected over the weekend due to upcoming holidays.

03/04 I’ve started on some social media, Facebook, email + Facebook groups related to any crime + anticrime-related groups for a good sample. (At least 100+). I hope to get some completed.

05/04 The electronic survey is now online. I’ve shared it on Facebook, email + Facebook groups related to any crime + anticrime-related groups. I hope to get some completed.

I have sent the survey to UCO staff + students. The sample seems to be going quite nicely. I’ve also had some back from the pharmacy.

I have continued to rewrite any sections for the target + also enough so the data collection. Some questionnaires I have now entered into SPSS.

I’ve emailed Colla + she has kindly sent me questionnaire around fudged-field unit. The sample size has now jumped greatly (interested) I hope it will.

Continue + plan to start to get a idea of any findings. I can now test people readily for an interview.

Plan to finish webwork – finish research literature section. The sample size is still also increasing, so I am being forced to update results.

I’ve spent the break holiday doing work. I’ve finished the literature sections + started to analyze any little data. I’ll also keep + continue with the research method daily and hopefully get it done soon.
10/06 I have had a meeting with supervisors today where the data collected was presented. I was initially very worried and concerned, but now I feel much better. The questionnaire will be rephrased in the next letter which should help to improve the responses of the parents. The next meeting will be next week and hopefully the results will be improved.

20/06 I have been sending out letters to parents who have not responded yet. Some have commented that they are very busy and cannot respond, but I have sent them a copy of the questionnaire for their convenience. I hope that this will encourage more responses.

11/06 More new ideas have been developed and I am very pleased with the progress. I have also made some suggestions for the next meeting, which should help to improve the results.

23/06 I have spent the weekend analysing all the data and the results are very interesting. After meeting with the supervisor I have made some slight changes to the questionnaire. I have also added some new categories to improve the responses. I hope that these changes will help to improve the results further.

All the data collected was presented to the supervisors today where the results were discussed. I have also added some new categories to the questionnaire, which should help to improve the responses.

31/06 Again I have worked on the analysis of the questionnaires and have added some new categories to the questionnaire. I am very pleased with the results so far.

I have rearranged part of the analysis of the questionnaires and have added some new categories to the questionnaire. I hope that these changes will help to improve the responses.

01/07 I have spent the weekend analysing all the data. I have also added some new categories to the questionnaire. I hope that these changes will help to improve the responses.

06/07 Today was a supervisory meeting. The meeting was very positive. I have made some slight changes to the questionnaire, which should help to improve the responses. I hope that these changes will make the results more accurate.

*More reflective entries can be made available on request*