**Assessing Rehabilitative Attitudes during the COVID-19 Pandemic: A Natural Comparative Experiment**

**Abstract**

The present study examined rehabilitative attitudes held by students of criminology and criminal justice towards convicted offenders during the COVID-19 pandemic, in order to assess the importance of feeling and knowledge in shaping attitudes. Specifically, the aim of the study was to examine the effects of isolation and knowledge acquired in the course of one’s studies, on the shaping of rehabilitative attitudes toward convicted offenders. A mixed sample of N=238 students from the USA and Israel was surveyed in order to ascertain the effect of cultural differences, isolation, knowledge, and some demographic variables on attitudes. Most of the respondents reported being affected by the isolation. The lockdown and isolation were more difficult for the American students compared with the Israeli students. It was also found that the Israeli students had significantly less pro-rehabilitation attitudes than the American students. The research findings support the hypothesis that affective component is related to attitude. Students who reported that the isolation impacted them mentally tended to exhibit pro-rehabilitation attitudes. Knowledge was also found to be correlated to pro-rehabilitation attitudes. The present research validated the importance of both feeling and knowledge components in the examination of attitudes vis-à-vis rehabilitation of offenders.

**Introduction**

The importance of an attitudinal research study derives from its ability to influence and determine policy. Attitudes are essentially approaches to the performance of actions, leading individuals to behave in a certain manner vis-à-vis the relevant objects. This is especially true with respect to the examination of punitive and/or remedial attitudes, which have the power to shape criminal justice policy in terms of the response to and treatment of lawbreakers.

A valid test of attitudes must therefore include three components: knowledge (cognitive), feeling (affective) and action; for a change in attitude constitutes a change in one or all of the three components (Hornik, 1988). In light of this, particular importance is attached to testing the effect of each of the components on remedial attitudes. In terms of the affective component, for example, a person's attitude is influenced by his experience and by the constellation of positive and negative feelings involved in that experience. This relates not only to acquired knowledge but to personal exposure and experience as well (Hornik, 1988; see also Otto, 2021). In regards to the cognitive component, support for its importance in consolidating attitudes was found in a research study that examined attitudes towards people with intellectual limitations. Morin et al. (2013) found that participants who demonstrated knowledge regarding the various difficulties faced by individuals with such limitations displayed more positive attitudes towards those individuals.

Additional support for the importance of the cognitive component was found in research conducted by Lalo & Einat (2011), which showed that the attitude of students studying criminology, criminal justice and sentencing towards penalization was associated with the level of knowledge acquired by them in the course of their studies. Despite the importance of the cognitive component, it is limited in terms of experience and in most cases does not involve a personal involvement that determines the affective component.

Research conducted on punitive attitudes in various parts of the world have succeeded in confirming the relationship between demographic statistics – such as gender, age, ethnicity, level of education and political affiliation – and punitive attitudes (Applegate et al., 1997; Gideon & Hsiao, 2012; Gideon & Loveland, 2011; Gideon & Sherman, 2014; Kuhn, 1993; Maruna & King, 2009, 2013). However, these studies are limited in terms of their ability to test the relationship between the cognitive and affective components in determining attitudes.

The present research attempts to bridge the gap in previous studies by using a natural situation that compelled individuals to experience social isolation. The COVID-19 pandemic, which made an appearance worldwide in late 2019, forced people to remain housebound, cutting them off from their daily routines and from most of their social contacts – an experience that enabled the contribution of the affective component towards punishment to be measured. Accordingly, the present research examines the attitudes of students of criminology and criminal justice towards the penalization of criminals in the wake of COVID-19, the aim being to see whether the experience of isolation in addition to the knowledge acquired by them in the framework of their studies could contribute to the shaping of attitudes that are less punitive (e.g., incarceration) and more remedial.

**Social Responses to Crime and Punitive Attitudes**

The matter of the appropriate response to lawbreakers is age-old, revolving around the dilemma inherent in deciding on the more effective way to deal with crime: commensurate punishment or rehabilitation. The literature addressing the issue is extensive (Cornwell, 2006; Gromet & Darley, 2009), dealing in each case differently with the question of the criminal's mindset in deciding to commit a crime. Free choice and rationalization are attributed to the offender in advocating commensurate punishment, vs. limited choice and determinism in advocating rehabilitation (Lernau, 2016).

Recently, a change is being witnessed in Israel in all matters relating to policy and practice associated with the penalization of criminals. From a balance between strict punishment and rehabilitation, which prevailed up to the first decade of the 2000s, the scale is now tipped in favor of the remedial model (Lernau, 2016; Lernau & Oz, 2019). This is evident, among other things, in the lesser numbers of prisoners serving sentences in Israeli prisons and in the shift to rehabilitative alternatives.

A number of factors contributing to the above change may be noted. One example is the Public Committee for Examination of Punitive Policy and Treatment towards Criminals, 2015, which examined the issues of punishment and treatment and determined that incarceration should be reduced and prioritization given to rehabilitation alternatives. Another example is Amendment 113 to the Penal Law of 2012 which, according to researchers such as Lernau & Sharon (2012), cites treatment and rehabilitation as a significant aim in addressing crime (Lernau, 2016).

As in the case of Israel's criminal justice system, other western countries also acknowledge the importance of rehabilitation over punitive practices, an ideology that assumes central stage in by many penologists and correctional scholars advocating for the adoption of such rehabilitative policies (Butler et al., 2020; Cullen et al., 2020; Garland, 2012). Such shift in ideology may be explained, among other things, on the basis of empirical and evidence-based studies carried out throughout the world, that demonstrate the effectiveness of rehabilitation programs in lessening recidivism (Andersen & Telle, 2022; Peled-Laskov et al., 2019). In the USA, for example, claims that the mass imprisonment system had reached epidemic proportions (Druker, 2019) led to a search for rehabilitation alternatives as a solution to the problem of crime (Maruna & Ward, 2007).

Public opinion in democratic countries has a profound effect on potential changes in punitive policy (Darley et al., 2000). The adoption of a harsh punitive policy, including use of incarceration and long-term sentences, gains legitimacy especially during periods in which societies feel threatened in the face of increase in crime incidences (Hensley et al., 2007; Mandracchia et al., 2012) or senses, perhaps for no objective reason, rising crime rates (Lernau & Sharon, 2012). On the other hand, during relatively tranquil periods, existing concepts regarding penalization could give way to the incorporation of rehabilitative therapy, comprising extensive use of remedial measures within the community. An approach that advocates rehabilitation instead of punishment could be justified by the public based on the claim that criminals are driven by biological, psychological and social forces that are beyond their control (Applegate et al., 1997).

Apart from the attributed and expected influence that public opinion has on punitive policy, the relationship between attitudes and behavior must also be taken into account (Conner et al., 2021; Kroesen et al., 2017) when considering the potential effect of attitudes on predicting the behavior of those subjected to the opinion/s (Ajzen & Fishbein, 2005). Advocating punitive action with respect to criminals and expressing reservations regarding their conduct could have implications in terms of behavior towards them. According to research, where importance is attached to social acceptance of criminals as part of the process of their desistance from crime (McNeill, 2016), the public is seen to play an important part in the failure of paroled prisoners in reintegration. Negative labelling and a public view of prisoners as being incorrigible and predisposed to criminal activity led to their being treated reservedly or subjected to alienation (Maruna & LeBel, 2003; Pager, 2003; Pager & Quillian, 2005).

An awareness of the importance of public attitude surveys with regard to appropriate policy towards the punishment of criminals has led researchers in many parts of the world to perform such surveys (Applegate et al., 1997; Gideon & Hsiao, 2012; Gideon & Loveland, 2011; Maruna & King, 2013; Sparks, 2021). Survey content has addressed a range of punitive issues, such as public opinion regarding the severity and aims of punishment (Applegate et al., 1997; Cullen et al., 2000; Einat & Herzog, 2011; Hear & Wheelock, 2016; Sandys & MaGarrell, 1994), as well as the type of punishment (Oswald et al., 2002). Other surveys have also dealt with the relationship between attitudes to punishment and socio-demographic variables such as age, gender, religion, profession and education (Lalo & Einat, 2011; Applegate et al., 2000).

A review of the literature shows that studies that addressed the correlation between public opinion regarding punitive policy and gender (Galleguillos, 2022; Golebiowska, 1999) found that women tended more than men to advocate the rehabilitation model over harsh punitive reactions such as long-term incarceration. In regard to the effect of age on attitude, research showed that youths were relatively less supportive for punishment of offenders than their elders (Kuhn, 1993). In terms of the relationship between religious observance and opinions on punishment, a higher probability of witnessing attitudes calling for strict punishment was found among those defining themselves as religious than among those claiming to be atheists (Cullen et al. 2000; Gideon & Loveland, 2011). Another group of researchers examined the attitude towards punishment on the part of crime victims (Applegate et al., 2002; Gideon & Sherman, 2014), albeit no clear-cut findings were obtained. Additional research studies have attempted to examine factors that could contribute to adopting stricter attitudes towards punishment. Intravia (2019), for example, found that viewing contents in favor of punishment led to increased support of that alternative.

A research study conducted in 2007 with the aim of analyzing the attitudes held by representatives of various law enforcement agencies towards punishment of offenders found that prison staff upheld stricter punitive attitudes compared with individuals who were not employed by law enforcement or correctional agencies (Kjelsberg et al., 2007).

The relationship between education and attitudes towards punishment of offenders has also been examined in a number of studies. A significant correlation between level of education and attitudes towards punishment was found: the higher the level of education, the greater the support for the rehabilitation alternative (Kuhn, 1993). A possible explanation for this finding is that the level of education was found to be in inverse proportion to stereotypical attitudes (Gideon & Hsiao, 2012; Gideon & Sherman, 2014). The type of education also appears to be influential: a study carried out by Lalo & Einat (2011) compared the attitudes towards punishment of offenders held by students of law and criminology who were reaching the end of their studies and were ready for the job market, vis-à-vis the attitudes of students in the field of biomedical engineering, who were not familiar with the world of crime, punishment and law. It was found that the students of law and criminology held attitudes that were significantly less strict than those of the students of biomedical engineering. This finding could attest to a correlation between knowledge and attitude, the attitude of the criminology students being moderated by their concrete knowledge of the law and their greater exposure to the effects of incarceration than that of their counterparts in other fields.

**Effects of Isolation on Mental State**

The COVID-19 pandemic disrupted the lives of most of the world's population due to the prescribed lockdowns. The result was a darkened mental state on the part of those forced into social isolation. A research study, for example, carried out in Italy based on an online survey of 2,291 participants reported a drop in quality of sleep among 57% of the subjects, with about one-third reporting high levels of anxiety, some 42% reporting high distress levels, and approximately 8% reporting post-traumatic stress symptoms (Casagrande et al., 2020).

Many additional studies from other parts of the world that examined the effect of isolation during the pandemic on mental condition report negative outcomes in terms of mental health indices, especially levels of anxiety and depression among young individuals who had been in isolation for extended periods of time. One example is a study conducted in Turkey that examined 754 male and female subjects aged 12 to 18 and found that the closure of schools and confinement to the home during the pandemic was associated with a heightened sense of loneliness and higher levels of anxiety. These effects were felt to a much greater extent among the girls as compared to the boys (Kilincel et al., 2021). Similar findings emerged from research conducted by Zhu et al. (2021), which examined the effect of lockdown on a sample of 992 residents from a total of 23 districts in China. The study found high levels of anxiety among those below the age of 18. In addition, the researchers found a correlation between the level of education of the subjects and their reaction to isolation: those with lower levels of education reported much higher levels of anxiety, akin to individuals suffering from chronic diseases (Zhu et al., 2021). An additional descriptive research study that examined the relationship between isolation and mental state focused on the adult population in Turkey; it found that adult women and single women were affected to a greater extent by the isolation, reporting states of boredom, fatigue and distress, phenomena that were associated with higher levels of anxiety and depression (Yildirim et al., 2021).

A nationwide study that surveyed 4,335 adults in Germany, further affirmed the correlation between isolation and low mental health indices. The study, carried out by Benke et al. (2020), found that increased severity of the lockdown, including restrictions on mobility, resulted in limited social contacts, adversely affecting mental health indices: alienation, anxiety and depression. A study in India that examined 121 children and adults also found a significant statistical correlation between individuals who were in isolation and higher levels of mental distress, feelings of helplessness, fears and exaggerated worry (Saurabh & Ranjan, 2020). Similar findings were reported in a cross-sectional research study of a sample of 1,837 participants carried out by Chen et al. (2021). The study measured the extent of the participants' anxiety by means of a State-Trait Anxiety Inventory (STAI), comparing the anxiety levels of those who were in isolation with the levels of those who were not in isolation during the lockdown. The results of the study showed that the time spent in isolation was in statistically significant correlation with higher levels of anxiety. In addition, it was found that men in isolation were more affected, showing higher levels of anxiety as a result of the pandemic than women in isolation.

Based on the findings of the above studies it may be assumed that time spent in isolation, typified by social distancing or severance, and associated with high levels of anxiety, depression and distress, would influence the level of support expressed by the research subjects for punitive measures (i.e., incarceration and social isolation) or rehabilitation. This is based on the premise that isolation would serve to replicate the conditions of incarceration, providing a unique opportunity to examine the affective (feeling) component of attitude and the manner in which it influences support for punishment or rehabilitation.

**Method**

**Participants**

A total of 238 students of criminology and criminal justice took part in the study, though the statistical analysis was ultimately conducted for only 192 students who answered all the survey questions. Given the fact that the intercultural variable in the context of attitudes towards punishment has been subjected to relatively less scrutiny in previous research studies, the original plan was to compare attitudes held by American and Israeli students with a view to studying cultural differences. Although the plan was disrupted by the COVID-19 pandemic, a unique opportunity arose to examine the impact of forced social isolation on the feelings of students (both American and Israeli) and how these feelings influence their attitude towards punishment of offenders.

The majority of the participants (82.3%, Israeli) were students in academic colleges in Israel. The rest (17.7%, American) were from colleges in the USA. Most of the respondents were women (72.3%) and most, men and women, were single (65.1%). Slightly less than 50% of the sample (47.4%) were second-year students, and slightly more than one-third (35.2%) were in their first year of studies. The remaining 17.4% were in their final year of studies.

**Tools and Procedures**

The research made use of the closed attitudinal questionnaire developed by Wang & Thurstone (1967) due to its focus on examining attitudes towards punishment of offenders, its ability to match the attitudes to the subject of the research, and its capacity for examining correlations and/or impacts in terms of attitudes towards punishment of offenders and a range of research variables, as well as correlations between the variables themselves (Roberts & Stalans, 1998). The questionnaire included a total of 31 items addressing the aims of criminal punishment, the necessity for resorting to it and its justification. The questionnaire also included nuanced statements, such as: "Where possible, serving an active prison term should be avoided" (suggesting rehabilitation as an alternative); or "No mercy or leniency should be shown for a prisoner convicted by law" (suggesting commensurate punishment as an alternative). In the present research we focused on the pro-rehabilitation attitudes of the respondents (the inverse of pro-punishment).

The attitudinal questionnaire also made use of the Likert scale, enabling the respondents to grade a single answer to each of the 31 items, ranging from "strongly disagree" (0) to "strongly agree" (5). The punitive attitude index was calculated using the aggregation of answers representing the overall trend in the attitude of the participant to rehabilitation. The rehabilitation index ranged from a minimum value of 31 to a maximum value of 186.

The Wang & Thurstone (1967) questionnaire was found to be structurally valid and to have a high level of reliability of 0.69-0.76 (Zalency & Kirsch, 1989). The questionnaire was found to have a higher level of reliability in the framework of the present research (Cronbach alpha = 0.872).

In addition to the attitudinal questionnaire, use was made of a self-reporting questionnaire, including socio-demographic questions on gender, marital status, number of children, age, nationality, religion, religious observance, and area of study, as well as questions regarding the COVID-19 lockdown. Questions on location during the lockdown and related emotions served as an index for examining the affective (feeling) component of attitude and included content such as: "How much time did you spend in isolation?"; "How did isolation affect you?"; "What emotions did you experience during isolation?"; "To what extent did the experience of isolation influence your attitude towards incarceration of criminals?"

In order to gain insight into the component of knowledge and its effect on attitudes towards punishment, the subjects were requested to refer to some 20 claims in connection with convicted felons and to state alongside each claim whether it was correct or not (see Gideon & Sherman, 2014). These included, for example: "All convicted criminals are dangerous people"; "All convicted criminals are violent". The questions served to examine the level of knowledge on the part of the participants, assuming that knowledge of a high level was acquired from the field of criminology (in subjects related to law, punishment and reasons for criminal activity) and from stereotypical concepts.

The students were sampled by means of an invitation to participate in an online survey using Qualtrics software. The invitation, with attached link to the survey, was sent via email and online learning systems to students undertaking courses in the field of criminal justice and criminology in institutions where the researchers themselves taught (e.g., mixture of public and private colleges spread in different geographical locations). Initially over 300 invitations were sent to participate in the survey. The relatively low number of responses was associated with the period in which the survey was to be carried out, namely, the COVID-19 pandemic, typified by a drop in academic activity among a large number of students in general, and American students in particular.

**Findings**

The research was carried out by means of an online survey during the period July-August 2020. Some 19% of the entries were not found to be suitable for analysis owing to the large number of missing variables or incompletion of the survey. Accordingly, only 192 survey replies were analyzed for the purpose of the research.

More than one-fifth of the sample (23.5%) reported that they had been in isolation at home during the lockdown for periods ranging from nine weeks to more than 12 weeks; 17.2% reported spending time ranging from five to eight weeks in isolation; and 36.7% reported shorter periods of isolation, ranging from one week to one month. Only 22.5% reported isolation of less than one week. In this context it is important to note that more than half of the respondents (55.8%) stated that the forced isolation at home during the pandemic had affected them mentally. A total of 23.5% of the respondents reported that the experience of isolation had caused them to change their view on house arrest, while 13.5% stated that isolation had led them to change their minds regarding imprisonment.

About 80% of the respondents in the present study reported that social isolation had affected them to a great to very great extent. About 28% reported experiencing loneliness, 22% reported feeling melancholy and helplessness, 19% reported feelings of anxiety, and about 17% stated feelings of depression. Significant differences were found between the Israeli and American students in all matters concerning the reported effects of isolation on mental states (the affective component). Thus, significant statistical differences were found between the groups with respect to anxiety, loneliness, depression, and melancholy. The findings are presented in Figure 1.

**Figure 1. Emotional Differences in the Wake of Isolation – Comparison of Israeli and American Students**

\*\*

\*\*\*

\*\*\*

\*\*\*

Anxiety

Loneliness

Depression

Melancholy

Hope

Calmness

Hopelessness

Negative emotions

Positive emotions

American students

Israeli students

\*\*\* P ≤ 0.01; \*\* P ≤ 0.05; Statistical significance was tested following Bonferroni correction for multiple comparisons

It may be seen from Fig. 1 that isolation had a more negative effect on American students, with the majority reporting feelings of anxiety and loneliness. Half the American students reported depression and melancholy (statistically significant differences) and somewhat less than half reported hopelessness. Among the Israeli students about one-quarter reported feelings of loneliness (27.2%), hopelessness (24.1%) and melancholy (22.8%). About 15% of Israeli students surveyed reported anxiety (14.6%) and depression (15.2%). In both the groups a low percentage reported feelings of calmness and hope, with no significant difference between them.

As stated, the level of punitiveness was measured by means of the attitudinal questionnaire developed by Wang & Thurstone (1967). As in the case of punitiveness, the rehabilitation level in the present sample was found to be average to high (mean = 118.30, standard deviation = 17.32). These findings indicated that in general the participants in the present research tended towards support of rehabilitation. Significant differences were found between the Israeli and American students, with the American students exhibiting pro-rehabilitation attitudes on a higher level as compared to the Israeli students (T-test = 4.635; p<0.001), a finding that is also supported by the multivariable models presented below. An additional significant difference in the extent of punitiveness was found in the multivariable model between the genders, with the women exhibiting pro-rehabilitative attitudes to a greater extent than the men. In this context it should be noted that no statistically significant differences were found between the level of knowledge of the Israeli and American students (knowledge component).

In the first stage, Model 1, we examined the effect of age, gender, marital status, group (Israeli/American) and knowledge of the students on attitudes towards rehabilitation. In this model it was found that the older students displayed pro-rehabilitation attitudes to a greater extent. In addition, the regression findings in this model point to the fact that the men held less pro-rehabilitation attitudes than the women. It was also found that the American students held less punitive attitudes compared with the Israeli students. The knowledge component was also found to be a predictor of statistical significance, with knowledge positively correlated to rehabilitative attitudes: the higher the level of knowledge, the greater the support for rehabilitation.

In the second stage, Model 2, to the regression equation was added – in addition to the variables of age, gender, marital status, group and knowledge – a variable that examined the effect of isolation and lockdown on attitudes towards incarceration. In this model it was found that students who stated that the isolation/lockdown had influenced their attitudes towards incarceration reported pro-rehabilitation (less punitive) attitudes to a greater extent than students who reported that isolation/lockdown did not have an impact on their attitudes towards incarceration (reference group).

In the third stage, Model 3, we incorporated an additional regression equation, namely, the effect of isolation and distancing on the general mental state of the respondents. The findings of the regression attest to the fact that respondents who reported being affected mentally by the isolation and distancing showed higher levels of support for rehabilitation. This finding reinforces the hypothesis regarding the importance of the affective component in determining attitude. Findings of the three regression models presented in Table 1.

**Table 1. Hierarchical Regression for Examining Rehabilitative Attitudes**

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Variable** | **Model 1** | **Model 2** | **Model 3** |
|  | *B (SE)* | *β* | *B (SE)* | *β* | *B (SE)* | *β* |
| Constant | 2.656\*\* |  | 2.647\*\* |  | 2.518\*\* |  |
| Age | 0.02 (0.005) | 0.28\*\* | 0.01 (0.005) | 0.24\*\* | 0.01 (0.005) | 0.24\*\* |
| Gender (reference group – women)  | -0.18 (0.09) | -0.15\* | -0.19 (0.09) | -0.15\* | -0.19 (0.09) | -0.15\* |
| Marital status (reference group – married)  | 0.09 (0.10) | 0.08 | 0.07 (0.10) | 0.06 | 0.07 (0.10) | 0.06 |
| Group (reference group – Israeli)  | 0.53 (0.11) | 0.36\*\* | 0.51 (0.11) | 0.35\*\* | 0.51 (0.11) | 0.35\*\* |
| Knowledge | 0.09 (0.03) | 0.22\*\* | 0.09 (0.03) | 0.23\*\* | 0.09 (0.03) | 0.23\*\* |
| Effect of isolation and lockdown on attitude towards incarceration/ detention (reference group – no change) | – | – | 0.18 (0.09) | 0.14\* | 0.16 (0.09) | 0.12\*\* |
| Effect of isolation and lockdown (reference group – no effect) | – | – | – | – | 0.10 (0.17) | 0.12\*\* |
| *R2* |  0.17 | 0.19 | 0.20 |
| ***F for change in R2*** | 7.30P = 0.001 | 4.02P = 0.047 | 3.51P = 0.032 |
| ***Model significance*** | P < 0.001 | P < 0.001 | P < 0.001 |

 \*\* P ≤ 0.01; \* P ≤ 0.05; # P = 0.055

**Discussion**

COVID-19 has left its mark on the entire world, forcing millions to experience social severance and isolation for varying periods of time. The pandemic offered an opportunity to utilize a natural experiment, testing the effects of social isolation on attitudes towards punishment and rehabilitation of criminals. The conditions forced on individuals provided a basis for examining the affective component of attitudes, according to which people express their opinion in light of their own experience of isolation and social separation.. In the case of the present research, our aim was to see whether the affective (feeling) component in the context of social severance and isolation contributed to increased support of rehabilitation and diminished support of punitive incarceration.

The results of the research join those of previous studies (Casagrande et al., 2020; Kilincel et al., 2020; Yildirim et al., 2021; Zhu et al., 2021) in finding that isolation had an adverse effect on the mental state of individuals. On the whole, without treating the Israeli and American students separately, most of the respondents in the present study reported that social isolation affected them to a “great” or to “very great” extent. About one-quarter of the respondents reported feelings of loneliness, melancholy and hopelessness; about one-fifth reported anxiety or depression. These findings are in line with those of previous findings such as the one obtained in Germany (Benke et al., 2020).

The findings of the present research support the hypothesis of a correlation between the affective (feeling) component and attitude. Specifically, the findings of the multivariable regression point to the fact that the students who reported being affected by the isolation and distancing tended more towards rehabilitation and less towards incarceration. In this context, it may be said that the time spent in isolation exposed the respondents to feelings that are experienced by prisoners and detainees in general, and to the pains of imprisonment in particular. It is possible that these feelings contributed to their adopting pro-rehabilitation attitudes.

The knowledge component was also found to be in positive correlation with pro-rehabilitation attitudes, such that respondents with a greater knowledge of the field of law, punishment and reasons for criminal activity tended more to be in favor of rehabilitation than those who exhibited less knowledge of that field. This finding is in line with the findings of previous studies performed in other parts of the world which examined the effect of the knowledge component on support for punitive measures and/or rehabilitation (Gideon & Hsiao, 2012; Gideon & Loveland, 2011; Gideon & Sherman, 2014). In models tested by means of the regression equations it was found that among the Israeli students there were significantly less pro-rehabilitation attitudes as compared with the American students. In addition, the findings of the regression, unlike those of previous studies (Kuhn, 1993), attest to the fact that the older students tended to be more pro-rehabilitation than the younger students. It is very possible that this finding is associated with the fact that the older students were more knowledgeable, making them less pro-punishment.

The findings of the present research allow a unique means of examining the formulation of opinions in general, and that of opinions relating to rehabilitation vs. punishment in particular. Individuals who exhibit knowledge in the field of law, penalization and the reasons for criminal activity tend to be less pro-punishment and more pro-rehabilitation owing to their ability to understand the factors involved in lawbreaking and the importance of rehabilitation over punishment. In addition, those who have experienced the pains of imprisonment can be seen to have developed an empathy for a person sentenced to incarceration, with the attendant restrictions involving exclusion from society. Such insights could tip the scales in favor of rehabilitation, with its focus on the integration of lawbreakers into normative society.

The present research highlighted the importance of the knowledge and affective (feeling) components on attitudes towards the rehabilitation of offenders, and its findings indicate that pro-rehabilitation attitudes derive from both knowledge and feeling. These components can influence not only the attitudes themselves but also behavior towards offenders who are undergoing rehabilitation. The ability on the part of the public to recognize the challenges that prisoners face enables them to accept the prisoners back into society, while acknowledging rehabilitation as an essential step in achieving a long-term change in the offender (McNeill, 2016).

Another interesting finding emerging from the statistical analyses and regression equations attests to the fact that the lockdown experience was more difficult for the American students than the Israeli ones (Figure 1), with significant statistical differences being found between the group with respect to emotions such as melancholy, loneliness, anxiety and depression – characteristics that typify the pains of imprisonment. It is entirely possible that these emotions intensified empathy among the American students, causing them to express greater support for rehabilitation, averting from the idea of incarceration. Another explanation for the findings showing higher support for rehabilitation on the part of the American students vis-à-vis the Israeli students relates to rehabilitation policy in Israel, which is at times perceived by many Israelis’ as being excessively lenient. Whereas this has muddied public faith in the law enforcement system in the country, the strict policy in the USA – mandatory minimum sentences and the abolishment of parole, manifested in harsh prison sentences and mass incarceration – has resulted in a lack of public faith there in the possibility of deterrence inherent in a punitive approach.

**Limitations of the Research and Further Study**

As the present research rests on a non-probability sample of students who volunteered to participate in the study, the results of the research do not necessarily encompass the entire student population studying for a bachelor's degree in criminal justice and/or criminology. It is also important to emphasize that the research was conducted during the COVID-19 pandemic, which also influenced the low rate of response to the survey. This is in light of the fact that many students who spent time in isolation experienced feelings of languor and loneliness.

In addition, it is entirely possible to express reservations about the findings of the research and state that every research that is descriptive in nature is limiting with respect to the inner validity of its findings. For example, in the finding relating the experience of isolation with the tendency to a pro-rehabilitation attitude, it is possible that the participants were relatively more sensitive to start with. This limitation is associated with the fact that it is not possible at the outset to determine with conviction that the comparative groups possess identical characteristics. In order to reduce this threat variables in the different models, such as age, gender and marital status, were controlled owing to their potential impact on the variable being measured, namely, pro-punishment and pro-rehabilitation attitudes towards offenders.

Notwithstanding the above, the present research provides a unique insight into the possible contribution of the affective component on the determination of attitudes in general, and attitudes towards rehabilitation and punishment in particular. In addition, the research examines the relationship between the affective (feeling) and knowledge components on the one hand, and pro-rehabilitation attitudes on the other. Accordingly, future studies will be required to expand the examination of these components and their effect on attitudes in order to gain a better understanding of the factors that influence attitudes and, in turn, formulate public opinion and policy supporting rehabilitation of criminals.

**References**

Ajzen, I., & Fishbein, M. (2005). The influence of attitudes on behavior. In D. Albarracin,

 B.T. Johnson, & M. P. Zanna (Eds.), *The handbook of attitudes* (pp. 173-221).

 Erlbaum.

Andersen, S. N., & Telle, K. (2022). Better out than in? The effect on recidivism of replacing incarceration with electronic monitoring in Norway. *European Journal of Criminology*, *19*(1), 55-76. https://doi.org/10.1177/1477370819887515

Applegate B. K., Cullen F. T., Fisher B. S. (1997). Public support for correctional treatment: The continuing appeal of the rehabilitative ideal. *Prison Journal, 77*, 237–258.

 https://doi.org/10.1177/0032855597077003002

Applegate, K. A., Cullen, T. F. & Fisher, S. B. (2002). Public views toward crime and

 correctional policies: Is there a gender gap. *Journal of Criminal Justice, 30* (2), 89-100.

 https://doi.org/10.1016/S0047-2352(01)00127-1

Benke, C., Autenrieth, L. K., Asselmann, E., & Pané-Farré, C. A. (2020). Lockdown,

 quarantine measures, and social distancing: Associations with depression, anxiety and

 distress at the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic among adults from Germany.

 *Psychiatry Research*, *293*, 113462, 1-9. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.psychres.2020.113462

Butler, L. C., Cullen, F. T., Burton, A. L., Thielo, A. J., & Burton, J, (2020). Redemption at

 a correctional turning point: Public support for rehabilitation ceremonies. *Federal*

 *Probation*,  *84*, 38.

Casagrande, M., Favieri, F., Tambelli, R., & Forte, G. (2020). The enemy who sealed the world:

 effects quarantine due to the COVID-19 on sleep quality, anxiety, and psychological distress

 in the Italian population. *Sleep Medicine*, *75*, 12-20.

 https://doi.org/10.1016/j.sleep.2020.05.011

Chen, L., Zhao, H., Razin, D., Song, T., Wu, Y., Ma, X., & Yan, L. (2021). Anxiety levels

 during a second local COVID-19 pandemic breakout among quarantined people: A cross

 sectional survey in China. *Journal of Psychiatric Research*, *135*, 37-46.

 https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jpsychires.2020.12.067

Conner, M., Wilding, S., van Harreveld, F., & Dalege, J. (2021). Cognitive-affective

 inconsistency and ambivalence: Impact on the overall attitude–behavior relationship.

 *Personality & Social Psychology Bulletin, 47*(4), 673–687. https://doi-

 org.ezproxy.aac.ac.il/10.1177/0146167220945900

Cornwell, D. J. (2006). *Criminal punishment and restorative justice: Past, present*

 *and future perspectives.* Waterside Press.

Cullen, F. T., Fisher, B. S., & Applegate, B. K. (2000). Public opinion about punishment and

 corrections. *Crime and justice, 27*, 1-79.‏ https://doi.org/10.1086/652198

Cullen, F. T., Lee, H., Butler, L. C., & Thielo, A. J. (2020). Rehabilitation and redemption:

 Building a new correction. In: C. Chouhy, J.C. Cochran & C.L. Jonson, (Eds.), *Criminal*

 *justice theory* (pp. 309-335). Routledge.

Darley, J. M., Carlsmith, K. M., & Robinson, P. H. (2000). Incapacitation and just deserts as

 motives for punishment. *Law and human behavior*, *24*(6), 659-683.

 https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1005552203727

Druker, E. (2019). Mass incarceration in the United States: From punishment to public health. *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Criminology and Criminal Justice*.

Einat, T., & Herzog, S. (2011). A new perspective for delinquency: Culture conflict

 measured by seriousness perceptions. *International Journal of Offender Therapy*

 *and Comparative Criminology*, *55*(7), 1072-1095.

 https://doi.org/10.1177/0306624X10380553

Galleguillos, S. (2022). Digilantism, discrimination, and punitive attitudes: A digital

 vigilantism model. *Crime, Media, Culture*, *18*(3), 353-374.

 https://doi.org/10.1177/17416590211017937

Garland, D. (2012). *The culture of control: Crime and social order in contemporary society*.

 University of Chicago press.

Gideon, L., & Hsiao, Y.G. (2012). Stereotype and age in the prediction Taiwanese public

 support of rehabilitation. *Asian Journal of Criminology, 7*(4),

 309-326. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11417-011-9120-0

Gideon, L., & Loveland, N. (2011). Public attitudes toward rehabilitation and reintegration:

 How supportive are people of getting tough on crime policies and the second chance act?

 In L. Gideon, & H. E., Sung (eds.), *Rethinking corrections: Rehabilitation, reentry, and*

 *reintegration* (pp. 19-36). Sage.

Gideon, L., & Sherman, A. (2014). The role of social distress, political affiliation and education

 in measuring punitive attitudes: Israel as a case study. *International Journal of Criminal*

 *Justice Review, 24*(2), 151-171. https://doi.org/10.1177/1057567714536033

Golebiowska, E. A. (1999). Gender gap in political tolerance. *Political Behavior*, *21*(1), 43-66.

 https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1023396429500

Gromet, D. M., & Darley, J. M. (2009). Punishment and beyond: Achieving justice through the

 satisfaction of multiple goals. *Law & Society Review, 43*(1), 1–38. https://www-jstor-

 org.ezproxy.aac.ac.il/stable/29734169

Hear, O. M., & Wheelock, D. (2016). Public attitudes toward punishment, rehabilitation, and

 reform: Lessons from the Marquette Law School Poll. *Federal Sentencing Reporter,*

 *29*(1), 47–51. https://www-jstor-org.ezproxy.aac.ac.il/stable/26377030

Hensley, C., Koscheski, M., & Tewksbury, R. (2007). Examining criminology majors’ and

 non‐majors’ attitudes toward inmate programs, services, and amenities. *Criminal Justice*

 *Studies, 20*(3), 217-230.‏ <https://doi.org/10.1080/14786010701617631>

Hornik, Y. (1988). Surveys and public opinion polls. The Open University Publishers (in Hebrew)

Intravia, J. (2019). Investigating the influence of social media consumption on punitive

 attitudes among a sample of U. S university students. *International Journal of Offender*

 *Therapy and Comparative Criminology, 63*(2), 309-333. https://doi-

 org.ezproxy.aac.ac.il/10.1177/0306624X18786610

Kılınçel, Ş., Kılınçel, O., Muratdağı, G., Aydın, A., & Usta, M. B. (2021). Factors affecting

 the anxiety levels of adolescents in home‐quarantine during COVID‐19 pandemic in

 Turkey.  *Asia‐Pacific Psychiatry*, *13*(2), e12406. https://doi.org/10.1111/appy.12406

Kjelsberg, E., Skoglund, T. H., & Rustad, A. B. (2007). Attitudes towards prisoners, as

 reported by prison inmates, prison employees and college students. *BMC Public*

 *Health, 7* (71), 1-9. https://doi.org/10.1186/1471-2458-7-71

Kroesen, M., Handy, S., & Chorus, C. (2017). Do attitudes cause behavior or vice versa? An

 alternative conceptualization of the attitude-behavior relationship in travel behavior

 modeling. *Transportation Research Part A, 101*, 190–202. https://doi-

 org.ezproxy.aac.ac.il/10.1016/j.tra.2017.05.013

Kuhn, A. (1993). Attitudes towards punishment. In A. Alvazzi Del Frate, U., Zverkic, & J. J. M. En Van Dijk (eds.), *Understanding crime: Experiences of crime and crime control* (271-292). United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research

 Institute.

Lalo, M., & Einat. T. (2011). To Punish or Not to Punish – Students' Attitudes Towards Punishment of Criminals. *Offences and Punishment in Israel: Description and Implementation. Insight into the Prison, 14,* 199-213 (in Hebrew).

Lernau, H. (2016). *Criminality and Law Enforcement: Description, Policy and Critique.*Pardes Publishers (in Hebrew).

Lernau, H., & Oz, A. (2019). Criminal Law Enforcement in Israel in the Past Decade: Can Winds of Change be Discerned? *Hasenigor, 249,* 4-13 (in Hebrew).

Lernau, H. & Sharon, Y. (2012). Eight Ethical Decisions in Enactment of the Judicial Discretion in Punishment Law. *Hasenigor, 183,* 14-21 (in Hebrew).

McNeill, F. (2016). Desistance and criminal justice in Scotland. In H. Croall, G. Mooney, & R. Munro (eds), *Crime, Justice and Society in Scotland* (pp. 200-216). Routledge.

[Mandracchia](https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Jon_Mandracchia), J. T., [Shaw](https://www.researchgate.net/scientific-contributions/2163797784_Lucas_B_Shaw), L .B., & [Morgan](https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Robert_Morgan15), R. D. (2012). What’s with the attitude?

 Changing attitudes about criminal justice issues. *Criminal Justice and Behavior, 40 (*1)*,* 95-113. https://doi.org/10.1177/0093854812459474

Maruna, S. (2011). Reentry as a rite of passage. *Punishment & Society*, *13*(1), 3-28.

 https://doi.org/10.1177/1462474510385641

Maruna, S., & King, A. (2009). Once a criminal, always a criminal? ‘Redeemability’and the

 psychology of punitive public attitudes. *European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research*, *15*(1), 7-24. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10610-008-9088-1

Maruna, S., & King, A. (2013). Public opinion and community penalties. In: A. Bottoms, S.

 Rex & G. Robinson (Eds.)*, Alternatives to prison* (pp. 101-130). Routledge.

Maruna, S., & LeBel, T. (2003). Welcome home? Examining the “reentry court” concept from a strengths-based perspective. *Western Criminology Review*, *4*(2), 91-107.

Maruna, S., & Ward, T. (2007). *Rehabilitation*. Routledge.

Morin, D., Crocker, A. G., Beaulieu‐Bergeron, R., & Caron, J. (2013). Validation of the attitudes toward intellectual disability–ATTID questionnaire. *Journal of Intellectual Disability Research*, *57*(3), 268-278. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1365-2788.2012.01559.x

Oswald, M. E., Hupfeld, J., Klug, S. C., & Gabriel, U. (2002). Lay-perspectives on criminal

 deviance, goals of punishment, and punitivity. *Social Justice Research, 15*(2), 85-98.‏

 https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1019928721720

Otto, D. (2021). Driven by emotions! The effect of attitudes on intention and behaviour regarding open educational resources (OER). *Journal of Interactive Media in Education*, *2021*(1) 1-14. https://doi.org/10.5334/jime.606

Pager, D. (2003). The mark of a criminal record. *American journal of sociology*, *108*(5), 937-975.

Pager, D., & Quillian, L. (2005). Walking the talk? What employers say versus what they do.

 *American Sociological Review*, *70*(3), 355-380. https://doi.org/10.1177/000312240507000301

Peled-Laskov, R., Shoham, E., & Cojocaru, L. (2019). Work-related intervention programs:

 Desistance from criminality and occupational integration among released prisoners on parole. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology, 63*(13), 1–27*.*<https://doi.org/10.1177/0306624X19845762>

Penal Law (Amendment 113), 2012. Extracted from (in Hebrew): http://fs.knesset.gov.il/%5C18%5Claw%5C18\_lsr\_300113.pdf

Public Committee for Examination of Punitive Policy and Treatment towards Criminals (2015), Final Report November. Din VeHeshbon. Extracted from (in Hebrew):

https://www.aac.ac.il/sham content/uploads/sites/23/2019/07/%D7%93%D7%95%D7%97- %D7%A1%D7%95%D7%A4%D7%99-%D7%97%D7%AA%D7%95%D7%9D- %D7%A0%D7%95%D7%91%D7%9E%D7%91%D7%A8.pdf

Roberts, J. V., & Stalans, L. J. (1998). Crime, criminal justice, and public opinion. *The*

 *handbook of crime and punishment,* 31-57.‏

Sandys, M., & McGarrel, F. E. (1994). Attitudes toward capital punishment among Indiana

 legislators: Diminished support in light of alternative sentencing options. *Justice*

 *Quarterly, 11*(4), 651-677. https://doi.org/10.1080/07418829400092471

Saurabh, K., & Ranjan, S. (2020). Compliance and psychological impact of quarantine in

 children and adolescents due to Covid-19 pandemic. *The Indian Journal of Pediatrics*,

 *87*(7), 532-536. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12098-020-03347-3

Wang, C. K. A., & Thurstone, L. L. (1967). Attitude toward punishment of criminals. In: M.

 E. Show & J. M. Wright (Eds.), *Scales for the measurement of attitudes*. McGraw Hill.

Yildirim, H., Işik, K., & Aylaz, R. (2021). The effect of anxiety levels of elderly people in quarantine on depression during covid-19 pandemic. *Social Work in Public Health*, *36*(2), 194-204. https://doi.org/10.1080/19371918.2020.1868372

Zalency, M. D., & Kirsch, M. P. (1989). The effect of similarity on performance ratings and interrater agreement. *Human Relations, 42*(1), 81-96.

 https://doi.org/10.1177/001872678904200105

Zhu, J., Su, L., Zhou, Y., Qiao, J., & Hu, W. (2021). The effect of nationwide quarantine on anxiety levels during the COVID‐19 outbreak in China. *Brain and Behavior*, *11*(1), 19-38. https://doi.org/10.1002/brb3.1938