The Role of Social Perceptions, Beliefs, and Emotions on Support for Punitive Action toward Drug Dealers and Users

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Public attitudes toward drug sellers/pushers and users have generally been negative (i.e. Bryan, Moran, Farrell, & O'Brien, 2000; McCorkle, 1993; World Health Organization, 2003) and there is significant support for their harsh punishment (McCorkle, 1993). However, research in punitiveness has not extensively explored the impact of social perceptions (i.e. perceived support for the president, perceived endorsement of harsher measures, beliefs on the country's state vis-à-vis the drug trade, and perceived relationship between drugs and crime), emotions (i.e. hope, compassion, anger, hatred, and fear), and other cognitive factors (i.e. dehumanization and redeemability) on people's punitiveness toward drug sellers/pushers and users. To address this dearth, two online surveys conducted with differing target objects (viz. drug sellers/pushers vs. drug users) were answered by a total of 436 participants. Hierarchical regression analyses indicate that, when the target objects were drug sellers/pushers, support for punitive action was positively influenced by personal support for the president, perceived endorsement by the president of harsher measures, perceived relationship between drugs and crime, anger and hatred but negatively affected by compassion and redeemability. When punitiveness toward drug users was the issue, the significant predictors were personal support for the president, perceived relationship between drugs and crime, and hatred. Compassion, however, had a negative impact on punitiveness toward drug users. Implications on punitiveness research were discussed.

Keywords: Punitiveness, emotions, social perceptions, dehumanization, redeemability

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The current socio-political climate in the Philippines can be described as a divide between different groups on various issues. The sentiments of groups and individuals on these issues can be seen in full report and expression in social media, television, and print. At the fore of these issues is the drug trade and the actions taken by the current administration geared toward its eradication.

During the election period, then presidential-candidate and current President Rodrigo Roa-Duterte campaigned for the cessation of the drug trade and harsher treatment toward those who use and sell it, even to the point of advocating their death ("Philippines president Rodrigo Duterte urges people to kill drug addicts," 2016). Furthermore, various groups and individuals like the OFWs (Quilao, 2016), security council of the ARMM (Unson, 2016), and Senator Pacquiao (Azzi, 2016) have indicated support for the ongoing surrender and arrest of suspected drug users and dealers, while others have withdrawn theirs (i.e. Communist Party of the Philippines, "CPP no longer supports Duterte's war on drugs," 2016). There even appears to be some indication of support for the killings of suspected drug users and dealers (Cerojano, 2016). All of these are in light of a recent survey reporting that the president has a 91% trust rating, implying a significant level of support from the people ("Pulse Asia: Rody enjoys 91% trust rating," 2016).

Noteworthy, given the current socio-political climate, are people's negative attitudes toward those involved in drugs. Past research across various countries has shown that the public generally holds negative attitudes toward illegal drugs, drug users, and drug dealers (i.e. Bryan, Moran, Farrell, & O'Brien, 2000; McCorkle, 1993; World Health Organization, 2003). Attitudes toward those involved in the drug trade have been particularly punitive (McCorkle, 1993). However, there are notable differentials among categories involved in the drug trade. For instance, drug users are a stigmatized population (Simmonds & Coomber, 2009) whose sentencing is more lenient compared to that of drug dealers (Diamond & Stalans, 1989).

In general, however, current societal views toward any involvement in drugs appear quite severe, and there are many contributory factors to this perspective. However, past research has not yet extensively explored how other social cognitive and affective factors may impact punitiveness. It is hypothesized that social information gathered from various media indicating perceived imperatives and collective social support may play a major role in fueling hostility against those involved in drugs. In addition, the individual's own beliefs and emotions may also significantly impact present punitive attitudes. It is the goal of this study to explore how contextual information in the form of perceived imperatives and support vis-à-vis an individual's own beliefs and emotions on drug users and dealers influence punitive attitudes and behaviors.

Research on Punitive Attitudes

Research on public punitive attitudes has had a long history. Yet construct definition is contentious, diverse and a continuing effort. Adriaenssen and Aertsen (2014) note that there are four general ways in which punitive attitudes have been conceptualized: (1) motivation or goal (i.e. retribution, incapacitation, or deterrence), (2) type of sanction (i.e. imprisonment, death penalty, fines, community service, etc.), (3) sanction intensity, and (4) government/legal policies (i.e. lowering the age of criminal responsibility). Synthesizing these views, they defined punitive attitudes as, "an attitude towards the goals of punishment, specified forms of penal sanctions, the intensity of penal sanctions and specific sentencing policies (Adriaenssen & Aertsen, 2014, p. 95)."

The literature has explored how various demographic, cognitive, affective, and behavioral factors may be linked to punitiveness. Looking at the role of demographic factors, age was found to have conflicting effects. Some studies show positive associations between age and punitiveness (e.g. Johnson, 2001; Payne, Gainey, Triplett, & Danner, 2004; Spiranovic, Roberts, & Indermaur, 2012), while others found just the opposite (e.g. Butter, Hermanns, & Menger, 2013; Langworthy & Whitehead,

1986). The same mixed results on gender effects (see Adriaenssen & Aertsen, 2014), socio-economic status (Roberts & Indermaur, 2007) and personal experience of victimization (Maruna & King, 2009) on punitive attitudes have been found. Greater educational attainment, on the other hand, has been associated with lower punitiveness (Butter et al., 2013; Johnson, 2001; King & Maruna, 2009; Payne et al., 2004; Roberts & Indermaur, 2007; Spiranovic et al., 2012). Reviewing the literature, Adriaenssen and Aertsen (2014) noted that the predictive ability of demographic factors on punitive attitudes account for less than other factors.

Cognitive Factors

Our various beliefs, attitudes, and perceptions of the self, others, and society greatly influence our support for policies or actions that may or may not be punitive. Self-perceptions such as subjective perceptions of victimization predict punitiveness (Butter et al., 2013). Our perception of a person's perceived criminal intent (Ask & Pina, 2011) as well as that of their being perceived as threats (King & Wheelock, 2007; Rucker, Polifroni, Tetlock, & Scott, 2004), (un-)"redeemability" (Maruna & King, 2009), and internal attribution of responsibility (Carroll, Perkowitz, Lurigio, & Weaver, 1987; Hartnagel & Templeton, 2012) have been associated with greater punitive attitudes. Finally, our perception that society has high crime levels (Pfeiffer, Windzio, & Kleimann, 2005; Spiranovic et al., 2012) and that particular norm violations are not being punished increase punitiveness (Tetlock et al., 2007).

Attitudes also influence levels of punitiveness. Racism (Green, Staerklé, & Sears, 2006; Devon Johnson, 2001), and political conservatism (Johnson, 2009; Devon Johnson, 2001; A. King & Maruna, 2009; Tetlock et al., 2007) predict punitive attitudes, whereas liberal attitudes predict the opposite (Aharoni & Fridlund, 2012; Langworthy & Whitehead, 1986; Payne et al., 2004). Other factors such as essentialist beliefs on social class (Kraus & Keltner, 2013), fundamentalism (Evans & Adams, 2003), and punishment and deterrence rationales for sentencing (Payne et al., 2004) also facilitate the said outcome.

Affective Factors

Emotions that have been studied for their influence toward punitiveness include anger, fear, compassion, trait empathy, and sadness. Anger has been shown to positively predict punitive attitudes (Ask & Pina, 2011; Gault & Sabini, 2000; Johnson, 2009). One mediated mechanism by which anger can increase punitiveness is through the perception of greater intentionality, which then leads to greater punitive attitudes (Ask & Pina, 2011). On the other hand, fear – specifically fear of crime – has also been found to be positively associated with punitiveness (Costelloe, Chiricos, & Gertz, 2009; Evans & Adams, 2003; Hartnagel & Templeton, 2012; Johnson, 2009, 2001; Langworthy & Whitehead, 1986; Maruna & King, 2009; Pfeiffer et al., 2005; Spiranovic et al., 2012).

Positive emotions such as compassion, defined as "feelings of concern for another's wellbeing" (Shiota, Keltner, & John, 2006, p. 64), predict lower levels of punitive attitudes (Condon & DeSteno, 2011), whereas trait empathy predicts reparation-oriented policies (Gault & Sabini, 2000). Sadness, on the other hand, was not shown to have a predictive ability on punitiveness (Ask & Pina, 2011). However, there appears to be a dearth of research in this area. Other emotions such as hatred, hope, and guilt need to be considered in future research to ascertain their influence toward punitiveness.

Dehumanization

Dehumanization is defined as, "perceiving a person or group as lacking in humanness" (Haslam & Loughnan, 2014, p. 401). In his review, Haslam (2006) defines "humanness" in two dimensions—human uniqueness and human nature. Human uniqueness focuses on characteristics found only in humans (i.e. civility, refinement, moral sensibility, rationality/logic, maturity, etc.) and individuals or groups dehumanized in this dimension are usually likened to animals or attributed with animalistic characteristics. Human nature, on the other hand, relates facets such as emotional responsiveness, interpersonal warmth, cognitive openness, agency/individuality, and depth. When

individuals or groups are dehumanized in this dimension, machinelike characteristics are usually attributed to them. In the area of offender research, dehumanization has been associated with support for social exclusion and ill-treatment through the mediating effect of perceptions of threat (Viki, Fullerton, Raggett, Tait, & Wiltshire, 2012), support for sex offender registration (Stevenson, Malik, Totton, & Reeves, 2015), and greater punitiveness in terms of prison time and sentencing (Bastian, Denson, & Haslam, 2013).

In summary, these socio-psychological constructs (i.e. demographics, cognitive, affective, and dehumanization factors) influence punitiveness. Studies show that proximal factors (i.e. demographics, perceptions, cognitions and affect) can have an impact on people's punitive attitudes toward offenders. However, more social factors such as dehumanization and social perceptions can also greatly influence support for punitive measures. Thus, an approach focusing on how the individual thinks and feels toward the offender (i.e. cognitions, beliefs, and emotions), the beliefs regarding the state of his/her society, and the perceived endorsement of punitiveness by influential figures may present a more comprehensive determination of factors influencing punitiveness.

The current study presents an exploratory approach to the study of punitiveness, focusing primarily on the present phenomenon of negative and hostile attitudes toward drug dealers and users in the Philippines. It takes into account the research that has been done on punitive attitudes, and presents a conceptual framework indicating the hypothesized relationship of various factors toward punitiveness (see Figure 1). The framework starts with the four demographic factors that have been found to be possibly associated with punitiveness, followed by a first layer of cognitive factors, and then by affective factors and a second layer of cognitive factors, impacting on support for punitive actions.
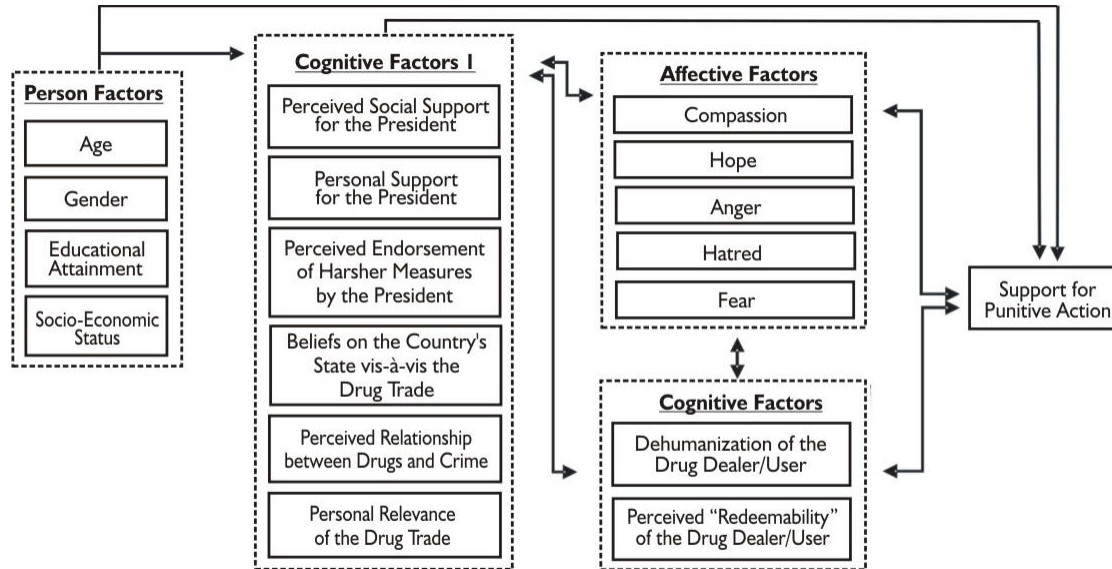
Figure 1. Conceptual Framework

Jussim's (1991) reflection-construction model, posits that our social beliefs, as well as the actions and attributes of the target object we are observing, influence our subsequent judgments. Furthermore, his model takes into account how social reality (i.e. our social perception of the environment) can influence how we judge particular individuals or events we have perceived.

In our study, the first level of cognitive factors are those involving the possible beliefs and perceptions of the individual's social reality as contextualized in the variables of support for the president (viz. perceived collective and personal support), perceived endorsement of harsher measures, beliefs on the country's state vis-à-vis the drug trade, the relationship between drugs and crime, and the relevance of the drug trade to the individual. The second level of cognitive factors involve beliefs, which can be thought of as judgments—of humanity (i.e. dehumanization) and "redeemability"—on specific target objects, drug dealer or user. The affective factors include emotions elicited by drug dealers and users such as compassion, hope, fear, anger, and hatred. These factors, cognitive and affective, are then expected to influence a behavioral tendency to support punitive action against social "deviants" such as drug dealers and users.

METHODOLOGY

The study utilized an online survey to obtain data from participants across the nation on their thoughts, feelings and punitiveness towards drug users or drug dealers. Two links opening two different versions of the online survey were sent through the researchers' academic contacts in Metro Manila, Cebu and Cagayan de Oro for dissemination to their own contacts in the area. One version focused on drug dealers, whereas the other focused on drug users as target objects.

Participants

The sample for the study was composed of 436 participants. Two hundred nineteen (219) participants responded to the questionnaire with "Drug Sellers/Pushers" as target object, whereas 217 participants responded to the questionnaire with

"Drug User" as target object. The sample was composed of 271 females (62.2%) and 165 males (37.8%) with a mean age of 19.6 years (sd = 2.17). In terms of educational background, the majority of the participants were either still in college or had already obtained their bachelor's degree (n = 431; 98.9%). A very small proportion were graduate school educated (n = 5; 1.1%).

Measures

Several researcher-constructed as well as adapted measures were used in the study. The first set of measures focused on cognitive factors such as support for the president (viz. perceived collective and personal support), perceived endorsement by the president of harsher measures, beliefs on the country's state vis-à-vis the drug trade, relationship between drugs and crime, personal relevance of the drug trade issue to the individual, judgments of humanity (i.e. dehumanization) and perceived "redeemability" of the drug user/dealer. The second set of measures focused on affective factors such as compassion, hope, fear, anger, and hatred. The last measure involved support for punitive action against drug dealers and users. The items for each scale were evaluated by the authors and graduate student members of the Social and Political Psychology Laboratory for face and content validity.

Perceived support. Perceived collective support for the president and personal support were respectively measured using a global item on a 6-point Likert (1 = *not supportive at all*; 6 = *extremely supportive*).

Perceived endorsement. Perceived endorsement by the president of harsher measures against drug dealers and users was measured using a researcher-constructed 5-item scale on a 6-point Likert (1 = *not supportive at all*; 6 = *extremely supportive*).

Beliefs on the country's state. A researcher-constructed measure gauged the individual's belief of the Philippine's state vis-à-vis the drug trade. It is a 9-item, 6-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree*; 6 = *strongly agree*), that has items focusing on the

presence and pervasiveness of drugs and the drug trade across different social strata. The higher the score, the more negative the perception is of the country's state.

Relationship between drugs and crime. An individual's belief about the relationship between drugs and criminality was measured using a 6-item scale on a 6-point Likert (1 = *strongly disagree*; 6 = *strongly agree*). The higher the score, the more the individual believes that drugs and crime are inexorably related.

Relevance of the drug trade. Personal relevance of the issue of drugs to the individual was measured using subjective items. The 4-item, 6-point Likert subjective measure of relevance (1 = *strongly disagree*; 6 = *strongly agree*), measured how involved the individual is on the issue of drugs.

Dehumanization. The construct of dehumanization was measured using an 8-item scale adapted by Bastian et al. (2013) from a validated scale of Bastian and Haslam (2010). The scale was adapted to fit the target objects of the study and is composed of two dimensions, denial of Human Nature and Human Uniqueness, each comprising of four items on a 6-point Likert (1 = *strongly disagree*; 6 = *strongly agree*).

Redeemability. The belief on whether drug dealers and users can still turn their lives around was measured using a 4-item scale by Maruna and King (2009). The 6-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree*; 6 = *strongly agree*) was adapted to focus on the target objects of this study—drug dealers and users.

Affective factors. Emotions such as compassion, hope, fear, anger, and hatred were measured using mostly researcher-constructed items. Compassion was measured using four items, two of which were adapted from the compassion subscale of Shiota et al. (2006) and two additional items constructed by the researcher. Hope regarding the end of the drug trade was measured using a 3-item scale with one item adapted from hopelessness scale of Beck, Weissman, Lester, and Trexler (1974) and two adapted from Cohen-Chen, Halperin, Crisp, and Gross (2014). Fear was measured using a 3-item scale with one item

adapted from a study by Kuppens and Yzerbyt (2012). Anger was measured by two items based on definitions provided by the appraisal work of Halperin and Gross (2011), whereas hatred was measured using two items based on the definition provided by the appraisal work of Halperin (2008). All emotion items were judged on a 6-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree*; 6 = *strongly agree*).

Support for Punitive Actions. The measure utilized to capture support for punitive actions was based on the work of Costelloe et al. (2009) on support for punitive policies. Five items were taken from Costelloe et al.'s (2009) scale. Two additional items were researcher-constructed. All items were to be responded to on a 6-point Likert scale (1 = *low level of support*; 6 = *high level of support*).

RESULTS

Reliabilities and Item Analysis

Reliability analysis of the scales utilized for the study indicates modest reliability coefficients. Some items had to be dropped from a few of the scales, however, in order to increase reliability (refer to Table 1 for the specific reliability coefficients and to see the number of items that had to be dropped from which scales to increase reliability). The dependent variable for this study, support for punitive action, had a reliability coefficient of .87. Mean scores were then calculated for each scale for descriptive and comparative analyses.

Table 1. Scale Reliabilities

Scale	No. of Items	Final No. of Items	Reliability (Cronbach's Alpha)
Perceived Social Support for the President	1	1	-
Personal Support for the President	1	1	-
Perceived Endorsement by the President of Harsher Measures	5	5	.95
Beliefs on the Country's State vis-à-vis the Drug Trade	9	7	.86
Perceived Relationship between Drugs and Crime	6	6	.88
Personal Relevance of the Drug Trade	4	3	.83
Dehumanization			
Denial of Human Nature	4	2	.68
Denial of Human Uniqueness	4	2	.66
Redeemability	4	2	.61
Emotions			
Hatred	2	2	.74
Anger	2	2	.65
Fear	3	3	.89
Hope	3	2	.54
Compassion	4	4	.79
Support for Punitive Action	7	7	.87

Social Perceptions and Perceived Support: Means and Group Comparisons

The first cluster of cognitive variables of the study pertained to social perceptions and perceived support. In terms of social perceptions, participants perceived that the president endorsed harsher measures in order to curtail drug trade and use in the Philippines (M = 4.13, sd = 1.58); participants had a negative perception on the state of the country vis-à-vis the drug trade (M = 4.48, sd = 0.81) and believed that drugs and crime were slightly related to each other (M = 3.88, sd = 1.04). Participants also reported that the issue of drug trade in the Philippines was to some extent personally relevant to them (M = 3.66, sd = 1.07) and were not necessarily hopeful regarding its end (M = 3.43, sd = 1.15). In relation to these social perceptions, the participants perceived that various groups and personalities in Philippine society supported the president to some extent (M = 4.23, sd = 1.02,), although their own personal support did not necessarily mirror that perception (M = 2.90, sd = 1.43).

The cluster of variables on emotion, dehumanization, and redeemability had different, specific target objects. One group of participants responded to a "Drug Seller/Pusher" target object while the second group responded to a "Drug User" target object. Comparisons between the responses to both target objects were performed on the variables of Dehumanization – Denial of Human Nature, Dehumanization – Denial of Human Uniqueness, Hatred, Anger, Fear, Compassion, Redeemability, and Support for Punitive Action.

Results of the series of t-tests indicate that participants denied the human nature of both drug sellers/pushers (M = 4.13, sd = 1.13) and users (M = 4.04, sd = 1.12), and did not significantly differ in their assessments, $t(434) = 0.82$, p > .05. They differed, however, in their denial of human uniqueness, with drug pushers/sellers (M = 3.67, sd = 1.10) being seen as having slightly more animal-like and less sophisticated characteristics compared to drug users (M = 3.35, sd = 1.10), $t(434) = 3.02$, p < .01. In terms of the emotions participants felt toward drug

sellers/pushers and users, results indicate that they felt slightly more negative emotions toward the former compared to the latter. This means that slightly higher levels of anger and fear were felt toward drug sellers/pushers than toward drug users. The exception to this is their feeling of hatred because even though their scores significantly differed (i.e., users seemed less hated compared to pushers), the overall level was relatively low, meaning they did not truly hate drug-users or pushers. Furthermore, participants felt a higher level of compassion toward drug users than drug sellers/users, but did not differ in their, generally, above average perception of the redeemability of the two groups. In other words, both users and pushers were seen as still redeemable, on the average. Finally, participants, as a whole, did not support punitive measures toward drug sellers/pushers and users, even though scores significantly differed between the two, with less punitive action being supported for drug users, compared to pushers (see Table 2).

Table 2. Comparison of means for drug sellers versus users.

Variable	Target Object		t(df)=t-value	Significance
	Drug Seller/ Pusher (n = 219) Mean (sd)	Drug User (n = 217) Mean (sd)		
Dehumanization				
Denial of Human Nature	4.13 (1.13)	4.04 (1.13)	t(434)= 0.82	.41
Denial of Human Uniqueness	3.67 (1.10)	3.35 (1.10)	t(434)= 3.02	.00
Emotions	3.32 (1.17)	2.82 (1.13)	t(434)= 4.53	.00
Hatred	4.35 (0.94)	4.02 (0.99)	t(434)= 3.58	.00
Anger	4.41 (1.07)	3.99 (1.14)	t(434)= 3.96	.00
Fear	4.01 (1.00)	4.51 (0.83)	t(434)= -5.66	.00
Compassion				
	3.95 (1.28)	4.15 (1.15)	t(434)= -1.68	.09
Redeemability				
Support for Punitive Action	3.40 (1.09)	2.92 (1.09)	t(434)= 4.58	.00

Contribution of the various factors to punitiveness

To determine which among the identified variables best predicts support for punitive action, hierarchical regression analyses were performed with two target objects: Drug Seller/Pusher and Drug User. For both hierarchical regressions, the first block of predictors was composed of Age, Gender, Education, and Socio-Economic Status. The second block entered was composed of the first layer of cognitive factors: Perceived Social Support for the President, Personal Support for the President, Perceived Endorsement of Harsher Measures by the President, Beliefs on the Country's State vis-à-vis the Drug Trade, Perceived Relationship between Drugs and Crime, and Personal Relevance of the Drug Trade. The third block was composed of emotions such as compassion, hope, anger, hatred, and fear. The final block of predictors was composed of the final layer of cognitive factors: Dehumanization (viz. Denial of Human Nature and Human Uniqueness) and Perceived Redeemability.

Generally, assumptions for utilizing hierarchical multiple regression for analyses were met. The distribution of the independent and dependent variables for the drug seller/pusher (Skewness $_{\text{Range of Values}}$ = -.67 to 2.74; Kurtosis $_{\text{Range of Values}}$ = -1.78 to 15.06) and user (Skewness $_{\text{Range of Values}}$ = -.70 to 3.40; Kurtosis $_{\text{Range of Values}}$ = -1.74 to 17.42) groups were more or less normal (i.e. below the absolute value of 2) except for Age – as most of the participants were college students. With regard to regression diagnostics, variance inflation factors (VIFs) for both the groups' regression analyses were below 10 indicative of little to no collinearity issues. Upon visual inspection, the residuals appeared homoscedastic, linear, and normal, as seen in the Scatter Plots and Q-Q Plots (see Figure 2). Durbin-Watson statistics for both groups also indicated independence of residuals (Durbin-Watson $_{\text{Drug Seller}}$ = 1.90; Durbin-Watson $_{\text{Drug User}}$ = 2.14). Although, case-wise diagnostics indicated that an outlier was detected for both groups (i.e. Drug Seller/Pusher = Case 163 and Drug Seller = Case 209), these were not removed as Cook's Distance values for both outliers were below 1 (i.e. Cook's D $_{163}$ = .79; Cook's D $_{209}$ = .06) indicating low effect on the models they were included in (Cook & Weisberg, 1982 as cited in Field, 2005; Stevens, 1992 as cited in Field, 2005).
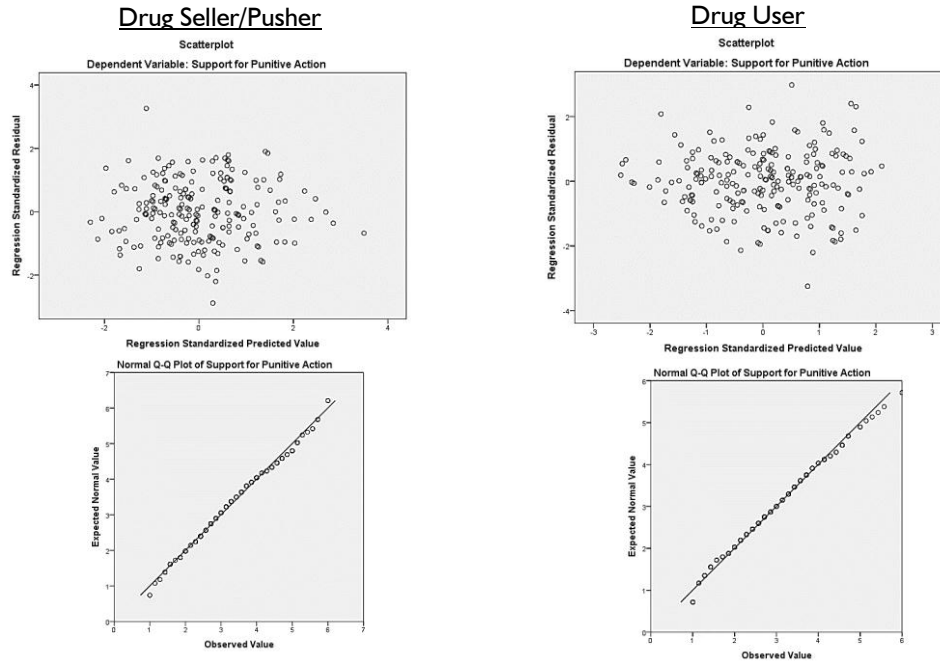
Drug Seller/Pusher

Drug User

Figure 2. Scatter and Q-Q Plots for Drug Seller/Pusher and Drug User Groups.

The first hierarchical regression analysis target object was the drug seller/pusher. Results of the final regression model indicate that the predictors explained 55% of the variance (R^2 = .55, $F_{(18,200)}$ = 13.55, $p<.01$). Personal Support for the President Actions and Policies (β = .14, $p<.05$), Perceived Endorsement by the President of Harsher Measures (β = .11, $p<.05$), Perceived Relationship between Drugs and Crime (β = .15, $p<.05$), Anger (β = .21, $p<.05$), and Hatred (β = .17, $p<.05$) toward drug sellers/pushers predicted support for more punitive action toward drug sellers/pushers with anger accounting for the most variance. On the other hand, compassion (β = -.27, $p<.01$) and perceived redeemability (β = -.16, $p<.05$) predicted lesser support for punitive action toward drug sellers/pushers, with compassion being the strongest predictor in the final model (see Table 3).

The second hierarchical regression analysis target object was the drug user. Results of the final regression model indicate that the predictors explained 57% of the variance (R^2 = .57, $F_{(18,198)}$ = 14.41, $p<.01$). Personal Support for the President's Actions and Policies (β = .23, $p<.01$), Perceived Relationship between Drugs and Crime (β = .37, $p<.01$), and Hatred (β = .17, $p<.05$) predicted greater punitiveness toward drug users. Only compassion (β = -.16, $p<.01$) predicted lesser support for punitive action against drug users. The strongest predictor for this model was the Perceived Relationship between Drugs and Crime (see Table 4).

Table 3. Punitiveness toward the Drug Seller/Pusher

Variable	Model 1 β	Model 2 β	Model 3 β	Model 4 β	95% CI (Model 4)
(Constant)	(3.02)	(-.50)	(.26)	(1.08)	[-.72, 2.87]
Age	.05	.09	.07	.08	[-.01, .10]
Gender	.17*	.14*	.06	.05	[-.12, .34]
Education	.00	-.02	.01	.01	[-.19, .22]
Socio-Economic Status	-.07	.01	-.01	-.02	[-.09, .06]
Perceived Social Support for the President		-.02	.01	.01	[-.10, .13]
Personal Support for the President		.24**	.18*	.14*	[.02, .20]
Perceived Endorsement of Harsher Measures by the President		.08	.11*	.11*	[.01, .15]
Beliefs on the Country's State vis-à-vis the Drug Trade		.04	.05	.04	[-.11, .23]
Perceived Relationship between Drugs and Crime		.40**	.15*	.15*	[.01, .34]
Personal Relevance of the Drug Trade		.00	.06	.06	[-.05, .16]
Emotions					
Compassion			-.28*	-.27**	[-.43, -.17]
Hope			.03	.01	[-.09, .11]
Anger			.19*	.21*	[.09, .40]
Hatred			.22*	.17*	[.01, .31]
Fear			-.03	-.05	[-.22, .11]
Dehumanization					
Denial of Human Nature				-.02	[-.13, .09]
Denial of Human Uniqueness				.02	[-.10, .13]
Redeemability (Perceived)				-.16*	[-.24, -.04]
F	1.84	11.49**	15.34**	13.55**	
R^2	.03	.36	.53	.55	
Adj R^2	.02	.33	.50	.51	

Note: Dependent variable is Support for Punitive Action. *p<.05 **p<.01

Table 4. Punitiveness toward the Drug User

Variable	Model 1 β	Model 2 β	Model 3 β	Model 4 β	95% CI (Model 4)
(Constant)	(4.09)	(.34)	(.77)	(1.21)	[-.37, 2.80]
Age	-.03	.12*	.09	.09	[-.01, .09]
Gender	.03	.05	.04	.04	[-.13, .31]
Education	-.05	.03	.03	.03	[-.14, .26]
Socio-Economic Status	-.15*	-.12*	-.08	-.08	[-.15, .02]
Perceived Social Support for the President		-.05	-.06	-.06	[-.16, .05]
Personal Support for the President		.27**	.25**	.23**	[.08, .26]
Perceived Endorsement of Harsher Measures by the President		-.06	-.05	-.04	[-.10, .04]
Beliefs on the Country's State vis-à-vis the Drug Trade		-.05	-.04	-.04	[-.21, .12]
Perceived Relationship between Drugs and Crime		.57**	.36**	.37**	[.19, .54]
Personal Relevance of the Drug Trade		.01	.09	.08	[-.03, .20]
Emotions					
Compassion			-.17	-.16*	[-.37, -.06]
Hope			.06	.05	[-.05, .14]
Anger			.03	.06	[-.10, .22]
Hatred			.16*	.17*	[.04, .30]
Fear			.08	.06	[-.10, .22]
Dehumanization					
Denial of Human Nature				.00	[-.10, .11]
Denial of Human Uniqueness				-.07	[-.19, .05]
Redeemability (Perceived)				-.08	[-.18, .03]
F	1.42	20.09**	17.01**	14.41**	
R^2	.03	.49	.56	.57	
Adj R^2	.01	.47	.53	.53	

Note: Dependent variable is Support for Punitive Action. *p<.05 **p<.01

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The general objective of the study was to determine the impact of various cognitive and affective constructs pertaining to relevance (i.e. personal relevance of the drug trade), support (i.e. personal support for the president), social perceptions (i.e. perceived collective support for the president, perceived endorsement by the president of harsher measures, beliefs on the country's state vis-à-vis the drug trade, and perceived relationship between drugs and crime), affect (i.e. anger, hatred, fear, hope, and compassion), and attributions toward drug sellers/pushers vis-à-vis users (i.e. dehumanization and redeemability) on support for punitive action.

Results indicated that in general people feel more negative emotions and attribute animal-like qualities toward drug sellers/pushers more than towards drug users. People, in general, expressed lower support for punitive action, but were inclined to be even less punitive toward drug users compared to drug sellers/pushers. The variables that predict punitiveness toward drug sellers/pushers were personal support for the president's actions and policies as well as perceived endorsement of harsher measures, perceived relationship between drugs and crime, hatred, and anger. On the other hand, compassion and perceived redeemability appeared to counterbalance this by toning down support for punitive action.

In the case of drug users, similarly, personal support for the president's actions, hatred, and compassion affected punitiveness in the same manner that the case of drug sellers/pushers did. However, redeemability was no longer a significant contributor to decreased punitiveness, perhaps because drug users were not seen to need as much redemption as drug dealers. However, an additional predictor came into significance for the model for drug users—belief in the relationship between drugs and crime. This means that a greater belief in the association and causation of crime by drugs predicted punitiveness, even toward users.

The results of the study concur with past research on three points. First, review of prior research on demographic factors such as age, gender, education, and socio-economic status indicate little contribution to punitiveness (Adriaenssen & Aertsen, 2014), as also seen in this study. Punitiveness does not appear to be a function of the age, gender, education or socio-economic status of the social perceiver. However, it may be prudent to explore the impact of other demographic factors on punitiveness such as locality (i.e. urban vs. rural, depressed vs. non-depressed communities, etc.) and characteristics of educational institutions (i.e. sectarian vs. non-sectarian, private vs. public) as these have not been included in the present study. Furthermore, the participants included in the study are largely college students. Collecting responses for a more diverse sample composed of adults may offer significantly different insights into punitiveness.

Second, on affective factors such as anger (Ask & Pina, 2011; Gault & Sabini, 2000; D. Johnson, 2009) and compassion (Condon & DeSteno, 2011), previous studies indicate that they predict punitiveness differently. Anger's behavioral tendency is approach and aggression motivating. And, when this is directed toward drug sellers/pushers, in lieu of direct contact, supporting punitive action—which in many cases can be violent and aggressive—provides an avenue for satisfying the behavioral tendency that was elicited. On the other hand, compassion's behavioral tendency is manifest in a manner opposite to anger, pushing the individual to help and increase the well-being of the target—in this case, the drug sellers/pushers and users. Third, perceived redeemability, at least for the model on drug pushers/sellers, predicts lesser support for punitive action, as prior research by Maruna and King (2009) has found. The perception that a stigmatized individual such as a drug seller/pusher can change for the better may stave off the motivation to punish or endorse harsh measures.

On the other hand, the study's results in terms of perceived crime levels (operationalized in this study as beliefs on the country's state vis-à-vis the drug trade) and dehumanization do not confirm findings of past empirical work. These constructs were not significant in the regression analysis, indicating no significant contributions to punitiveness. A possible explanation for this may be, at least for the beliefs regarding the country's state vis-à-vis the drug trade, that proximal factors such as perceptions and attributions on the drug sellers/pushers themselves may weigh more in endorsements of punitive action rather than abstract and more macro-level variables like a perception of the country's state.

On the other hand, for dehumanization, the scores were middling to above average, indicating that participants did not really greatly deny the human nature and uniqueness of drug sellers/pushers and users enough for it to matter in explaining support for punitive action. The other variables included may be more proximal in pushing punitive action tendencies than dehumanization. Furthermore, the construct of dehumanization, as operationalized in the works and scales of Haslam (2006) as well as that of Haslam, Loughnan, and Sun (2011) may not be in synchrony with operationalizations of the construct in the Philippine context. The scale for dehumanization utilizes attributes such as (the lack of) warmth, intelligence, restraint, and sophistication in order to attribute dehumanization, which may not be the attributes Filipinos use to dehumanize particular groups or individuals in society. Further work on this may need to be done in order to flesh out and improve on the scale's adaptability in the Philippine context. The Cronbach's alphas for the scale, while reliable, were still on the low side, possibly indicative of operationalization issues as noted above. Perhaps using another measure that captures its more overt expression such as that of the "Ascent Measure of Blatant Dehumanization" by Kteily, Bruneau, Waytz, and Cotterill (2015) may improve operationalization and measurement issues.

Moving from the concurrence as well as differences in comparison to past empirical work, the current study's inclusion of social perception variables such as the significant predictors of perceived endorsement by the president of harsher measures, and beliefs on the relationship between drugs and crime as well as personal support for the president's actions and policies, are important contributions to the work regarding punitiveness. Past psychological work on support for punitive action did not really focus on what the individual perceived in his or her society and how those perceptions might be facilitative of punitiveness. In this study, perceived endorsements of harsher measures by a leader such as the president and personal support for that leader contributed to increased punitiveness. This indicates that people may look toward political, social, religious, and spiritual leaders in forming their own judgments regarding particular deviant individuals in society. Hence, what is perceived to be endorsed by leaders and perceived leading figures in society matter in the formation of our judgments and punitiveness toward certain stigmatized groups.

Another important factor, as mentioned, is the belief regarding the association of drugs and crime. When focusing on a particular target object such as drug sellers/pushers or users, it is important to note what accompanying beliefs may belie attitudes toward them. In this case, the perceived association or even causality between drugs and crime facilitate punitive behavior on those associated with drugs. Individuals may be driven to support punitive action due to the significant threat that the drugs-crime tandem poses. In an effort to protect oneself as well as society from crimes perceived to be caused by those who trade or use drugs, the endorsement of punitive action may be seen as a means of discouraging drug-induced criminality due to the significant adverse consequences posed by the punitive policies. Such punitiveness may also lead to the individual's feelings of increased personal security from the perceived threats.

The inclusion of these social perception variables into a model predicting support for punitive action is an important step toward better understanding how our punitiveness can be facilitated by how we view our society and its leaders. Furthermore, the inclusion of affect in the model enhances the holistic view of the phenomena in the context of looking at drug sellers/pushers and users. The results of this study indicate that social perception variables as well as affect figure heavily in facilitating or hindering support for punitive action. Social perception variables such as beliefs on the relationship between drugs and crime as well as the perceived endorsement of harsher measures by the president predict punitiveness. Affect such as compassion, however, may greatly decrease support for such punitive action. Underscoring these relationships is the individual's own agency through supporting the president's actions and policies, which was found to predict punitiveness as well. Finally, the perception of redeemability, in the case of drug sellers/pushers, was found to predict lesser punitiveness due to the possibility of change for the better in the persons of interest.

The non-significance of past factors found to be predictive of punitiveness such as dehumanization emphasizes the need to look into how these variables might be conceptualized and operationalized in a different culture. A cultural analysis as well as the inclusion of cultural variables into the model of punitiveness may be an exciting area to work on for future punitiveness research. Further work may also be done in terms of how other individual characteristics such as traits, right-wing affiliations, or even religiosity may impact punitiveness. Finally, it may also be important to look into how other variables such as trust, global as well as toward specific groups and/or individuals, figure into predicting punitiveness.

On the whole, the study's results and its implications veer a scientific eye not only toward the individual but also on how the individual perceives his or her social reality. The study has found important implications on how social leaders and realities greatly influence our behavioral tendencies toward social others. Underscored, also, is how our emotions toward particular social

others facilitate or hinder the support of harsh measures toward them. How we perceive and feel about the world and the people in it figure importantly in our eventual social behaviors.

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