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The Effect of Personal Theories about the Causes of Crime on Discretionary Responses to Criminals

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THE EFFECTS OF PERSONAL THEORIES ABOUT THE CAUSES
OF CRIME ON DISCRETIONARY RESPONSES TO CRIMINALS

by

William Thomas Perkowitz

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School
of Loyola University of Chicago in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts

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1984

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VITA

William Thomas Perkowitz was born to William Michael and Barbara Susan (Meyers) Perkowitz on June 21, 1954 in Evanston, Illinois. He received his elementary education at Our Lady of Perpetual Help grammar school in Glenview, Illinois and graduated from Loyola Academy high school in Wilmette, Illinois in June, 1972.

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His legal education began at the University of Nebraska College of Law in Lincoln, Nebraska as a member of the Psychology-Law Graduate Training Program in 1977. At the University of Nebraska he received a Woods Memorial Scholarship and a Regents Tuition Fellowship. At the School of Law he was a staff researcher for the Law Student Research Service, the Treasurer of the Student Bar Association and the representative of the School of Law to the American Bar Association Section of Criminal Justice. In the Depart-

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In the fall of 1978 he transferred into the Department of Psychology and the School of Law at Loyola University of Chicago. While studying at Loyola University of Chicago he was a consultant in law and psychology to the Westinghouse Evaluation Institute in Evanston, Illinois, a program evaluator for the Street Law Project at the School of Law, and a Graduate Research Assistant in the Department of Psychology under a federally funded grant studying the psychology of the parole decision-making process. He also spent a year as a Graduate Teaching Assistant in the Department of Psychology. He spent the summer of 1979 studying international and comparative law at Magdalen College of Oxford University in Oxford, England.

He received his Juris Doctor degree from the Loyola University School of Law in May of 1981 and was admitted to the California Bar Association in June of 1982.

His publications in the fields of psychology and law include "Consequences of Responsiveness in Dyadic Interaction: Effects of Probability of Response and Proportion of Content-Related Responses on Interpersonal Attraction," co-

authored with Dr. Deborah Davis and published in the Journal of Personality and Social Psychology in January of 1979; "National Evaluation Program, Phase I Assessment of Shoplifting and Employee Theft Programs. Final Report--Programs and Strategies," coauthored with several others and published by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice in November of 1979, "Proposal for Identification of Variables Associated with the Maintenance of Non-Smoking in Ex-Smokers" coauthored with several others with the research grant awarded by the National Heart, Lung and Blood Institute in October of 1980.

His presentations include "Effects of probability of response and proportion of content-related responses on interpersonal attraction" with Dr. Deborah Davis at the American Psychological Association Annual Convention in San Francisco in August of 1977, "Expert and non-expert decisions: Are juries expert enough?" with Dr. John S. Carroll at the American Society of Criminology Meeting in San Francisco in November of 1980; and "Effects of personal theories about the causes of crime on discretionary responses to criminals" with Dr. John S. Carroll at the American Psychology Law Society meeting in Cambridge Massachusetts in October, 1981.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

For many centuries our English system of criminal jurisprudence stressed the guilt determination process over the sentencing process and the sentence which followed a guilty verdict. In many cases the sentencing problem was resolved by the accused's failure to survive the ordeals which comprised the guilt determination process. The punishment for the convicted felon who survived was typically severe and could involve death for seemingly minor offenses such as pickpocketing.

During the twentieth century a growing social revolution with the death penalty coupled with the idea that convicted criminals could be rehabilitated into law-abiding citizens produced changes in the sentencing process. Judges and criminal justice authorities were granted a broad latitude of discretion to tailor the sentence to the situation and needs of the offender, within certain legislative and constitutionally imposed standards. The original sentence of the judge was in many cases inconclusive or indeterminate, because prison administrators and parole boards could

further modify the sentences depending on the behavior of the offender over the time of his incarceration or parole. Sentencing was not merely a decision, but an ongoing process.

The perceived ineffectiveness of this individualized exercise of discretion in the sentencing process and the continued ranking of crime as one of the primary concerns of the general public created political pressure for changes which have recently emerged in the courtroom. Most clearly manifest of these changes are the current trends toward determinate sentencing and sentencing guidelines as means of improving the exercise of judicial discretion. These changes represents a reaction to two specific problems with the exercise of a highly individualized sentencing process: (1) Inconsistency or disparity, in that similar cases are treated differently by different decisionmakers (e.g., Frankel, 1973; Diamond, 1981), and (2) Ineffectiveness, in that the goals of rehabilitation of offenders and protection of the public have not been well achieved by current practices (e.g., Martinsen, 1974).

Perhaps under the belief that the cure must fit the cause, the sentencing process has been intimately connected with the problem of the origins of the criminal act. Cer-

tain causes like duress and undue influence lead otherwise criminal acts to be defined as non-criminal. Other causes influence the sentencing decision importantly, but in a less formal way. Assuming otherwise identical facts, we would expect a criminal act motivated by utter poverty to be treated differently than one motivated by sheer greed, or would we? Are these meaningful categories for understanding the causes of crime as they relate to the sentencing process?

Both legal scholars and social scientists have long recognized that sentencing of offenders is to a large extent determined by the individual perceptions and attitudes of the judge. As early as 1938 Gaudet (Gaudet, 1938) studied the individual differences in sentencing tendencies of judges and concluded that "social attitudes" and the personality of the judge had a primary influence on sentencing. In a 1940 article in the Boston University Law Review, McGuire and Holtzoff (McGuire and Holtzoff, 1940) argued that differences in sentencing were substantially due to "diverse attitudes" among judges, and that severity of sentences depended largely on the personality of the judge.

More recent studies have reached similar conclusions. Hogarth (1971), for example, studied sentencing by magis-

trates in Ontario, Canada using multivariate techniques and reached the conclusion that while only nine percent of the variation in sentencing could be accounted for by objectively defined facts of the case, fifty percent of the variation could be accounted for by background characteristics of the judge. Similar sources of disparity have been found in the United States (Frankel, 1973; Partridge and Eldridge, 1974; Diamond and Herhold, 1981).

This disparity in sentencing has been found to arise in part from differences in goals or objectives in sentencing. A judge who wants to punish an offender is expected to produce a different sentence than another judge who seeks to rehabilitate the offender. These differences in goals may arise from certain personality or ideological differences among decisionmakers, or they may arise from differences in evaluating the facts and information available in the decisionmaking context. In any case, the need for empirical data in a systematic assessment of sentencing goals is recognized by criminologists as a necessary precursor to the understanding and structuring of judicial discretion (Hood and Sparks, 1971; Forst and Wellford, 1981).

In this research we will examine the way in which an attribution theory based analysis of the causes of crime as

well as certain personality characteristics systematically relate to sentencing goals. We propose that sentencing goals are part of a coherent set of beliefs about what "causes" people to commit crimes and how to "correct" these causes. Thus, adherence to a particular sentencing goal arises because a judge believes this approach will address the real problem of the causes of crime, just as a doctor prescribes medicine to cure disease when possible, in preference to merely relieving symptoms. Theoretically, the present study is an attempt to put intuitive relationships among attributions of crime causation and sentencing goals into an conceptual framework worthy of future study. Methodologically the present study is pilot work aimed at developing a questionnaire which can be used to reliably assess individual differences in sentencing goals, attributions of crime causation and the relationships among these sets of attitudes.

Sentencing Goals .

Attitudes toward the disposition of offenders have been characterized as "penal philosophies" (Hogarth, 1971), "purposes of punishment," (LaFave, 1972), and "sentencing goals" (Forst and Wellford, 1981). Judges, for example, will differ on the degree to which they adhere to punish-

ment, rehabilitation, incapacitation, or deterrence as the goals of their sentencing decisions. There is substantial evidence that preference for a particular goal will strongly determine the actual sentence imposed. McFatter (1978) asked subjects to sentence offenders based on one of three sentencing goals and found that a general deterrence orientation produced very harsh sentences, while a rehabilitation orientation produced longer sentences for petty crimes, but shorter sentences for serious crimes than did a punishment orientation. Over 75% of 264 federal judges surveyed by Richardson (1980) believed that the goals of deterrence and incapacitation made sentences more severe, and the goal of rehabilitation made sentences more lenient.

A review of the criminological and social psychological literature suggests that as many as eight theoretically distinct sentencing goals may underlie sentencing decisions:

Rehabilitation - The attempt to give new training to a malleable offender and convert the offender into a useful and productive citizen.

Punishment (also called retribution or "just deserts") - The attempt to hurt the offender in order to maintain the morality of the social order, regardless of whether this is helpful to the offender.

Incapacitation - The attempt to protect society for a period of time by removing the offender from the community into prison.

Individual Deterrence - The attempt to choose the particular sentence most likely to deter the offender from repetitive criminal acts.

General Deterrence - The attempt to sentence an offender in order to discourage similar acts by others in the general public.

Education - The attempt to demonstrate to the public what is socially defined as improper behavior.

Improvement of the Criminal Justice System - The attempt to minimize crime through increased efficiency or quality in the administration of justice.

Security of the Criminal Justice System - The attempt to sentence offenders in order to demonstrate that the criminal justice system is strong, fair and stable.

Attributions of Crime Causation

We hypothesize that the above sentencing goals are directed at presumed causes of crime. In short, a judge's

beliefs regarding the causes of a crime will suggest whether one or another goal, or some combination of goals, is the most effective strategy to use in responding to the crime. Causal analysis also underlies many formal variables in the sentencing process, including concepts of mens rea (intentionality), excuse and mitigation.

Social psychologists have studied ideas about crime causation in both the public and among expert criminal justice decision makers. Major causes of crime mentioned in public opinion polls include: (a) parental upbringing and the breakdown of family life, (b) bad environment, (c) leniency in the laws and the criminal justice system, (d) drugs, (e) mental illness, (f) permissiveness in society, and (g) poverty and unemployment (Erskine, 1974). Carroll (1978) found that parole board members attribute the causes of crime to a variety of factors not dissimilar to those found in the public opinion polls. Seventy-five percent of crimes were attributed to ten causes: (a) drug abuse problem, (b) alcohol abuse problem, (c) greed, (d) need for money, (e) victim precipitation, (f) drunk at time of crime, (g) influence of associates, (h) lack of control, (i) mental problems, and (j) domestic problems.

Scientific criminological theories typically focus

either on the biological or psychological abnormalities of the offender or on factors in the environment or social milieu of the offender which promote crime (Schrag, 1971). For example, contrast a psychiatric view that criminal behavior is the product of an underlying mental condition with a sociological view that criminal behavior is a product of differential association with criminal role models.

Attribution theory, a more general theoretical framework originating with the work of Heider (1958), suggests that the causes of crime offered by the public, criminal justice experts, and social scientists can be organized in a three dimensional framework which distinguishes: (1) causes internal to the offender versus external causes in the environment; (2) stable or long-term causes versus unstable or short-term causes; and, (3) intentional or controllable causes versus unintentional or uncontrollable causes (Weiner, 1974; Carroll, 1979). Variations in these dimensions tend to produce concomitant variations in subsequent judgments.

According to the logic of attribution theory, when a judge or other criminal justice decisionmaker is confronted with an offender, his or her evaluations and judgments of the offender, most importantly the sentencing decision, will

be guided by conclusions as to the causes which underlie the offense. In our framework we propose that these causal analyses in some systematic fashion are predictive of the goals for disposition of the offender.

The most striking parallel between attribution theory and the criminal justice system is the concept of intentionality as a causal element. In the criminal justice system, intentionality plays a major role in both the determination of guilt and the determination of the sentence. Culpability for crimes is classified according to dimensions of intentionality: a criminal act may be done intentionally, with knowledge, recklessly, negligently, or through ignorance or mistake. One or more of these dimensions of intentionality will be required for conviction of a crime as specifically stipulated in the criminal statutes. In this manner a formal causal analysis of the offender's act will directly influence the determination of guilt and the sentence imposed. Attribution theory attempts to reorganize this important causal analysis in a more cognitive or intuitive framework, and suggests that sentences and sentencing goals will be structured in a framework largely determined by causal attributions associated with the crime.

Some of the relationships between the attribution

dimensions and sentencing goals can be suggested. Carroll and Payne (1977), for example, produced evidence that attributions of crime to internal factors, particularly internal-intentional factors, leads to a more negative evaluation of the offender and a more punitive correctional orientation. Attribution of crime to more stable causes produces greater expectancies of recidivism and should produce an increased emphasis on incapacitation of individual offenders (Carroll and Payne, 1977; Carroll, 1978).

Additional Measures

Intuitively it appears likely that the relationships between attributions of crime causation and sentencing goals are not independent of more general characteristics of an individual. For this reason, shortened versions of several standardized and widely accepted personality and attitude measures which have been utilized in previous research on punishment of hypothetical offenders are included in the present research. The additional measures assessed Locus of Control (Collins, 1974), Stage of Moral Development (Rest, 1979), Radicalism-Conservatism (Comrey and Newmeyer, 1965), and Dogmatism (Rokeach, 1956).

The Locus of Control scale (Collins, 1974) is expected to correlate highly with the attributions of crime

causation. "Locus of Control" refers to the perceived source of motivation for a given behavior, in our research the criminal act. The motivation may originate from factors internal or external to the person being judged, the offender. Examples of internal factors include greed, mental problems, recklessness, alcohol and drug intoxication. Examples of external factors include parental upbringing, bad environment, criminal associates, leniency in the criminal justice system, etc.

Locus of Control judgments are thought to reflect the decisionmaker's determination as to whether outcomes in his own life are due more to his own effort (internal factors) or more due to things over which he has no control (external factors). If the decisionmaker views his own behaviors to be more the result of his own efforts, he would theoretically also be more likely to conclude that the defendant's acts were the result of the defendant's own efforts. There is evidence that crimes attributed to internal sources (i.e. offender-originated) lead the decision maker to have a more punitive sentencing goal orientation toward the offender (Sosis, 1974). Similarly, if the Locus of Control scale indicates that the decisionmaker perceives his own behaviors to be more the result of external factors, we would expect a

more externally oriented evaluation of the causes of a defendant's act.

The decision to include a moral development scale (Rest, 1979) was based on the legal socialization research of Tapp (e.g. Tapp and Kohlberg, 1977) and others which indicate a strong correlation between stages of moral development and attitudes toward rules and laws.

At the lower levels of moral development (Kohlberg's stages 1 and 2) behavioral judgements are simplistic and rule oriented. You disobey, you are wrong, and you are punished. Scores at the the lower levels of the Rest (1979) moral development scales would be expected to correlate more highly with a punitive sentencing orientation toward the defendant.

Although we might expect lower levels of moral development to be associated with a punitive orientation, the relationship of higher levels of moral development to sentencing goals is not clear. Higher levels of moral development lead to more complex analysis which may bear some consistent relationship to the the attribution dimensions. This more complex causal analysis suggests that the specific nature of the crime would be more determinative of the sentencing goal than any simple rules of the decisionmaker.

Under such a rationale we might not expect higher levels of moral development to be significantly associated with any particular or consistent causal attributions or sentencing goals.

Miller's (1973) thesis that views of the criminal justice system are based on more general ideological beliefs led to inclusion of the Comrey and Newmeyer (1965) Radicalism-Conservatism scale. The Radicalism-Conservatism scale includes items relating to thirteen subject areas on which radical and conservative opinions are thought to differ (e.g. pacifism, welfarism, unionism, moral censorship, treatment of criminals). The radicalism-conservatism items should specifically test for a relationship between these broad socio-political factors and any specific sentencing goal orientation, particularly the hypothesis that conservatism leads to increased severity in sentencing disposition.

Finally, the extensive body of research on the relationship of authoritarianism to attitudes toward crime (e.g., Mitchell and Byrne, 1973; Hagan, 1975) suggested that inclusion of the Rokeach (1956) Dogmatism scale would help to characterize individual differences among sentencing goals. The dogmatism score of an individual theoretically reflects the open- and closed- mindedness of belief systems.

Higher dogmatism scores could reflect a tendency toward a more simple causal structure and clearer implications for sentencing goals, and may also indicate a punitive or incapacitative orientation.

In addition to the sentencing goal, attribution, and personality data, background demographic information on the subjects in the sample was also obtained, including age, sex, level of education, parents' level of education, marital status, race, academic major, and prior victimization.

In summary, this study is concerned with relationships among three sets of variables: (1) attributions or causal analysis of criminal acts; (2) certain personality and demographic characteristics of the decisionmakers; and (3) sentencing goals for the disposition of convicted criminals. The attribution, personality and demographic scales which emerge will be compared with the sentencing goals to see if any predictive relationships emerge. For example, our most likely prediction might be that a conservative, dogmatic person (personality characteristics), with prior personal criminal victimization experience (demographic characteristic) judging a criminal act to be motivated by greed and malice (attribution factors) would be more inclined toward a punitive sentencing goal.

CHAPTER II

METHOD

Subjects

A total of 730 students were successfully solicited in classes at four Chicago area law schools and three Chicago area criminology programs to complete a questionnaire at home and return it by mail for pay. Three hundred and thirty four students (45.7%) did not return questionnaires and twelve others (1.7%) returned questionnaires that were excluded from the analysis due to substantially incomplete responses. Thus, 384 (52.6%) students returned usable questionnaires. Of these respondents, 43.2% were female and 56.8% were male. Academically, 35.4% were law students; 46.1% were undergraduate criminal justice majors; and 18.5% were undergraduates enrolled in criminal justice classes. A summary of demographic characteristics of the sample is included in Appendix A.

Materials

The questionnaire, titled "Attitudes Toward Crime Survey," included a total of 290 questions and took approx-

imately one and one-half to two hours to complete. The entire questionnaire was comprised of three sub-questionnaires or forms with alternate orders among forms and both forward and reverse random orders within forms to counterbalance any potential order effects. Each form included a detailed cover sheet with instructions on how to properly record responses.

The first form, titled "Attitudes Toward Crime Survey - Crime Items - Forms A and B" included 160 attribution and sentencing goal items and is reproduced in Appendix B. Attributions of crime causation items were initially selected from a large pool of items written to reflect each of the dimensions under study. General questionnaire development procedures were followed, and items from the pool were selected on the basis of their clarity, concreteness, and representativeness.

The final form of the questionnaire included 56 attribution items spread evenly across 8 categories resulting from factorial combinations of internal vs. external, stable vs. unstable, and intentional vs. unintentional attribution dimensions. Similarly, 104 sentencing goal items were selected from a larger pool of items and were divided evenly across the eight categories of sentencing goals.

In an attempt to help clarify relationships among the sentencing goals and attribution factors which might emerge from the data, the sentencing goal items included items designed to reflect the way attributions of crime causation relate to current performance of the criminal justice system in sentencing as well as to more abstract "goals" for what the system should be striving to do.

Responses to the attribution and sentencing goal items were indicated on Opscan Sheets according to a seven-point Likert scale ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree.

The second form was titled "Attitudes Toward Crime Survey - Background Information - Form X" and is reproduced in Appendix C. This form included 19 items from the Comrey and Newmeyer (1965) Radicalism-Conservatism scale; 16 items from the Rokeach (1956) Dogmatism scale; and 20 items from the Collins (1974) Locus of Control scale. Because of the overall length of the questionnaire, shortened versions of these scales were used. Items were selected to provide an approximately even distribution of the highest loading questions on each of the factors or dimensions from each of the scales. Form X also contained demographic information, including age, sex, level of education, mother's and fa-

ther's level of education, marital status, race, academic major, and victimization scales for personal and property crimes. Responses to all but the demographic questions on Form X were obtained using the same Likert format as used for the attribution and sentencing goal items.

The third form, reproduced in Appendix D, was titled "Opinions About Social Problems" and included three of the six stories from the Rest (1979) Moral Development Test: "Heinz and the Drug," "Student Take-over," and "Escaped Prisoner." Responses were indicated directly on the form according to the standardized format of the test. Research indicates that shortened versions of the test correlate highly with the overall test (Rest, 1979).

Procedure

The three forms of the questionnaire were inserted with Opscan Sheets and #2 lead pencils in large preaddressed and postage paid envelopes. Each envelope and Opscan sheet was coded with a predetermined number indicating order of forms and questions within forms. In addition to a cover sheet describing the "Attitudes Toward Crime Survey" and indicating how to return the completed questionnaires, the subjects received legal-sized envelopes to address for mail-

ing of their compensation.

Cooperation in distributing the questionnaire was solicited from professors in local law schools and criminology programs. Cooperating professors were asked to briefly identify the test administrators and the purpose of the visit at the beginning of a class session and to allow five to ten minutes for the solicitation of subjects and distribution of the questionnaires.

Graduate students in the Applied Social Psychology program at Loyola University of Chicago who administered the questionnaires described them as preliminary forms of an instrument designed to assess attitudes of professionals in the criminal justice system toward crime and the disposition of offenders. The students were offered a small amount of money for their assistance in testing and developing the instrument. The forms, length, and content of the questionnaire were briefly described. At first, subjects were solicited at \$2.00 but the pay was later increased to \$4.00 to encourage a greater response rate. Within one week after return of the questionnaires the subjects were mailed their pay.

Data obtained from the Opscan sheets were machine coded on data cards and the data obtained from the Moral

Development test was scored and coded on data cards individually. A computer program was written to put data from all forms in like order, and missing values were replaced with means for each item.

CHAPTER III

RESULTS

Data from the 160 combined sentencing goal and attribution items (Forms A and B) were initially factor analyzed as a group using orthogonal rotation. By eliminating items with final communality estimates below .1 in this initial analysis, we attempted to eliminate the least predictive of the newly written items from further analysis and thereby reduce the overall variability in the subsequent analysis. Data from a first group of 47 remaining attribution items and a second group of 87 remaining sentencing goal items were then individually factor analysed.

Sentencing Goal Factors

The sentencing goal factors were determined by first examining preliminary eigen values for the first six potential factors in the unrotated solution. These eigenvalues: 9.35, 7.73, 4.60, 2.49, 2.19, and 1.96, were compared with the marginal change in percent of variance accounted for by each potential factor and the number of items loading on the factors. After this comparison, and after an examination of multiple n-factor solutions, a three factor solution was

selected for orthogonal rotation. The three factors respectively accounted for 44.1%, 36.1%, and 19.8% of the variance in the rotated solution.

This factor analysis of the sentencing goal factors indicated that subjects had three major categories of sentencing goals for the disposition of criminal offenders, the first of which initially may not seem like a sentencing goal. These three factors were labeled: (1) Satisfactory Performance - an attitude that the criminal justice system does its job reasonably well, is trying hard, and seeks improvement; (2) Punishment - an attitude that the criminal justice system is too lenient with criminals and that increased penalties will produce fewer crimes; and (3) Rehabilitation - an attitude that more and better rehabilitation programs, diversion, and scientific research will result in fewer crimes. The columns of Table 1 indicate the original sentencing goal category of the item, the items, factor loadings, means, and standard deviations. Summary variables for each of the three factors were constructed from additive combinations of the items loading on each factor in the table for later use as dependent variables in multiple regression analyses. The cutoff point for item inclusion was a minimum factor loading of .5, however this cutoff was lowered to .45 for the third factor because of the close

TABLE 1 - SENTENCING GOAL FACTORS
Goal Category, Items, Factor Loadings, Means, Standard Deviations

GOAL CATEGORY	ITEM	FACTOR LOADINGS (FACTORS)			MEANS	S.D.
		1	2	3		
<u>FACTOR 1 - SATISFACTORY PERFORMANCE</u>						
CJS Security	The criminal justice system works reasonably well the way it is now.	.61	-.04	-.13	2.88	1.49
Ind. Deterrence	The criminal justice system presently devotes much of its energy to preventing people from repetitive criminal acts.	.57	-.04	-.09	3.37	1.57
CJS Improvement	The criminal justice system is constantly finding better ways to combat crime.	.56	.02	.03	3.47	1.39
Rehabilitation	The criminal justice system is trying hard to find better ways to rehabilitate criminals.	.53	.08	-.04	4.08	1.35
CJS Improvement	Police, courts, and corrections are constantly seeking ways to improve.	.53	.06	.02	3.95	1.52
Ind. Deterrence	Police, courts, and correction systems attempt to show each criminal the futility of criminal behavior.	.53	.12	.04	3.82	1.54
<u>FACTOR 2 - PUNISHMENT</u>						
Punishment	Many new correctional procedures are too lenient.	-.04	.67	-.11	4.72	1.41
Punishment	Most of those who advocate lenient treatment of criminals do not attach sufficient weight to the seriousness of the crimes they commit.	.06	.66	.01	4.69	1.57
Incapacitation	More emphasis should be placed on keeping criminals behind bars.	.09	.62	-.32	3.95	1.66
Ind. Deterrence	Authorities should adopt a "get tough" attitude with repeat offenders.	-.05	.59	-.06	5.54	1.37
Gen. Deterrence	If lawmakers would make tougher laws against crime we wouldn't have so many criminals.	.10	.57	-.08	4.00	1.71
Punishment	Criminals should be punished for their crimes in order to make them repay their debt to society.	.09	.56	-.19	4.89	1.53
<u>FACTOR 3 - REHABILITATION</u>						
Rehabilitation	More and better rehabilitation programs for prisoners should be developed.	.11	-.13	.64	5.56	1.34
Rehabilitation	If judges would divert more people from prisons into rehabilitation programs there would be less crime.	.12	-.28	.57	3.97	1.54
Rehabilitation	The current trend in diverting people from prison to rehabilitation programs should be continued.	.07	-.39	.56	5.09	1.41
Rehabilitation	We're wrong to think the only thing we can do for criminals is throw them in jail.	.02	-.31	.49	5.60	1.41
Improvement	If social scientists and lawmakers would get together more often we would have an improved criminal justice system.	.07	-.01	.48	4.75	1.43

proximity of two items loading at .49 and .48 to the cutoff point and because only three items were above the .5 cutoff.

Attribution Factors

The factor analytic process by which the sentencing goal factors were selected was repeated for the attribution factor analysis and all other factor analyses in the study. In this analysis, the unrotated sentencing goal factors indicated preliminary eigen values of 5.81, 4.21, 2.12, 1.75, 1.72, and 1.62, for the first six factors. Again, based on the marginal change in percent of variance accounted for, the number of items loading on the factors, and after an examination of multiple n-factor solutions, the first three factors were selected for rotation. The preliminary examination of multiple n-factor solutions greater than three factors indicated that "insanity" and "drugs" might have emerged as additional causal factors, however the relatively small percentage of variance accounted for by these factors in the solutions indicated that subsequent analyses would be necessary to clarify their significance. In the rotated solution the three factors which were included accounted for 51.0%, 35.3% and 13.7% of the variance respectively.

The results of the factor analysis of items reflec-

ting attributions of the causes of crime indicated that subjects generally attributed crime to three groups of causal factors. These three factors were labeled: (1) Social Causation - crime comes from family problems, criminal associates, and drugs; (2) Economic Causation - crime comes from social conditions of poverty and inequality; and (3) Individual Causation - crime comes from lazy, irresponsible, and uncaring individuals.

Table 2 indicates the attribution categories from which the items were originally constructed and the items, factor loadings, means, and standard deviations for each of the items which loaded highest on each of the factors. Summary variables for each factor were constructed from additive combinations of the items indicated in Table 2. These factors were not quite as strong as the sentencing goal factors, so items with factor loadings above .4 were included in the additive combinations. These additively combined summary variables were used as both predictors and dependent variables in subsequent multiple regression analyses. In terms of the attribution dimensions from which the items were originally constructed, Social Causation is generally unintentional; Economic Causation is generally external; and Individual Causation is generally internal, stable,

TABLE 2 - ATTRIBUTION FACTORS
 Attribution Category, Items, Factor Loadings, Means, Standard Deviations

ATTRIBUTION CATEGORIES*			ITEM	FACTOR LOADINGS (FACTORS)			MEANS	S.D.
<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>		1	2	3		
			<u>FACTOR 1 - SOCIAL CAUSATION</u>					
E	S	U	At the root of much crime are early family problems.	.55	.05	-.14	5.05	1.29
E	U	U	Drugs are a factor in many crimes.	.51	.01	.07	5.06	1.46
E	U	U	People learn to be criminal from associating with people who are criminal.	.45	.04	.16	5.08	1.18
E	U	U	Drugs and alcohol cause crime because people can no longer control their behavior.	.45	.20	.08	4.00	1.54
E	U	U	Who a person associates with has an influence on whether he will commit a crime.	.44	-.01	.14	5.52	1.05
E	S	U	Many people who become criminals were neglected by their parents.	.43	-.02	-.02	4.52	1.41
			<u>FACTOR 2 - ECONOMIC CAUSATION</u>					
E	S	U	Poverty and inequality in society are responsible for much of crime.	.25	.62	-.10	4.15	1.62
E	S	U	Many crimes are more the result of flaws in society than any basic criminality in the offender.	-.15	.58	-.14	3.97	1.79
E	U	U	People who commit crimes are usually forced to by the situations they find themselves in.	-.05	.55	.03	3.97	1.79
E	S	U	Equitable distribution of wealth in society is the only way we can expect to eliminate crime.	-.09	.51	.06	2.95	1.59
E	U	I	People need to survive, and sometimes crime is the only alternative.	.12	.48	-.11	4.55	1.79
			<u>FACTOR 3 - INDIVIDUAL CAUSATION</u>					
I	S	I	People who are too lazy turn to crime.	.20	-.05	.60	3.59	1.54
I	S	I	Most criminals deliberately choose to prey on society.	.05	-.17	.49	3.91	1.55
I	S	I	Criminals are people who don't care about the rights of others or their responsibility to society.	.25	-.28	.44	4.60	1.56
I	S	I	Once a criminal, always a criminal.	-.02	-.06	.42	2.38	1.48
E	S	U	On the whole, welfare measures such as unemployment insurance and social assistance have made crime worse.	.05	.09	.40	3.73	1.57

* Attribution Categories: 1: I = Internal, E = External
 2: S = Stable, U = Unstable
 3: I = Intentional, U = Unintentional

and intentional. The variations in attribution categories within each factor may be due in part to ambiguities as to the causes of crime in the statements themselves.

Locus of Control Factors

The Collins (1974) Internal-External Locus of Control Scale produces four dimensions or factors under which subjects interpret the control they have over their lives. Factor analysis of the twenty items included from the Collins scale indicated the same four factors as in the Collins analysis, but in slightly different order. These four factors in the present order were: (1) Difficult-Easy World - life is largely a matter of luck and uncontrollable forces; (2) Predictable-Unpredictable World - effort and not chance determines events; (3) Politically Responsive-Unresponsive World - individuals can influence government decisions and world events; and (4) Just-Unjust World - people get what they deserve.

In the orthogonally rotated solution the factors accounted for 40.9%, 29.8%, 17.5%, and 11.7% of the variance respectively. The identity of factors is interpreted as indicating substantial continuity with the original 47 item scale. As in the previous factor analysis, a factor loading cutoff point for item inclusion of .4 was selected, and

additive combinations of items loading at or above .4 on each factor were used to construct summary variables for later use as predictors in the multiple regression analyses. Table 3 describes the Locus of Control factors.

Radicalism-Conservatism Factors

The Comrey and Newmeyer (1965) Radicalism-Conservatism Scale consists of two parallel forms of thirty items each intended to be additively combined to yield a single radicalism-conservatism score. This overall score is considered to be composed of five second-order factors. A total of nineteen items from both forms were included in the Attitudes Toward Crime Survey - Form X, with no attempt to selectively include or reproduce the second order factors from the Comrey and Newmeyer scale.

Factor analysis of the nineteen items from the Radicalism-Conservatism Scale indicated preliminary eigen values of 3.55, 3.20, 1.70, 1.11, 1.05, and 0.95. Based on the selection criteria specified in the above factor analyses, the first three factors in this analysis were selected for orthogonal rotation. These three rotated factors accounted for 52.9%, 28.4%, and 18.7% of the variance respectively. Items loading on each of the three factors greater than .4 were additively combined into three summary variab

TABLE 3 - LOCUS OF CONTROL FACTORS
Items, Factor Loadings, Means, Standard Deviations

ITEM	FACTOR LOADINGS				MEANS	S.D.
	(FACTORS)					
	1	2	3	4		
<u>FACTOR 1 - DIFFICULT-EASY WORLD</u>						
It is not always wise to plan too far ahead because many things turn out to be a matter of good or bad fortune anyhow.	.53	-.00	-.08	.03	3.12	1.48
Without the right breaks one can not be an effective leader.	.51	-.19	-.08	-.03	3.45	1.54
Most people don't realize the extent to which their lives are controlled by accidental happenings.	.41	-.09	-.06	.07	4.35	1.35
As far as world affairs are concerned, most of us are victims of forces we can neither understand nor control.	.41	.14	-.31	.16	4.43	1.66
<u>FACTOR 2 - PREDICTABLE-UNPREDICTABLE WORLD</u>						
There is really no such thing as luck.	.03	.69	.05	-.06	3.00	1.47
In my case getting what I want has little or nothing to do with luck.	-.17	.51	-.04	.20	4.33	1.57
Becoming a success is a matter of hard work, luck has little or nothing to do with it.	-.09	.46	.04	.29	4.39	1.69
<u>FACTOR 3 - POLITICALLY RESPONSIVE-UNRESPONSIVE WORLD</u>						
The average person can have an influence in government decision.	-.20	-.12	.57	-.01	4.38	1.58
With enough effort we can wipe out political corruption.	.02	.11	.48	.06	3.92	1.75
By taking an active part in political and social affairs the people can control world events.	-.01	-.04	.47	.14	4.36	1.42
<u>FACTOR 4 - JUST-UNJUST WORLD</u>						
Capable people who fail to become leaders have not taken advantage of their opportunities.	.07	.01	-.02	.53	3.91	1.67
Peoples misfortunes result from the mistakes they make.	.02	.07	-.05	.47	3.95	1.34
In the long run, the bad things that happen to us are balanced by the good ones.	-.15	.02	.07	.42	4.57	1.43

les for later use as predictors in the multiple regression analysis. These items are reproduced, along with their summary statistics, in Table 4.

The radicalism-conservatism factors which resulted from this analysis were labeled: (1) Moral Conservatism - restriction should be placed on objectionable books, sexual relations, and pornography; (2) Punitiveness - sentences are too light, criminals should be punished severely; and (3) Welfarism - the government should meet basic human needs of its citizens and go into debt if necessary to do so. The Punitiveness and Welfarism factors were directly analogous to the "punitiveness" and "welfare-state" second-order factors from the Comrey and Newmeyer (1965) scale. The Moral Conservatism factor was composed of items from the "nationalism", "religion", and "racial tolerance" second order factors.

The punitiveness factor from the Radicalism-Conservatism scale was found to be substantially identical ($r=.64$) with the Punishment factor from the sentencing goal factor analysis. The clear redundancy of the measurement reduced the interpretability of preliminary regression analysis and the Radicalism-Conservatism punitiveness factor was not included in subsequent analyses.

TABLE 4 - RADICALISM-CONSERVATISM FACTORS
 Items, Factor Loadings, Means, Standard Deviations

ITEM	FACTOR LOADINGS			MEANS	S.D.
	(FACTORS)				
	1	2	3		
<u>FACTOR 1 - MORAL CONSERVATISM</u>					
Every city should ban the sale of objectionable books.	.60	.16	.08	2.66	1.52
A woman who has sex with a man for money should go to jail.	.59	.06	-.11	2.64	1.50
If a man is showing a sex movie to friends in his own home, the police should stop it.	.58	.00	.00	1.52	1.57
Motion pictures which offend any sizable religious group should be banned.	.58	.08	.21	1.85	1.20
It should be against the law to do anything the bible says is wrong.	.56	.16	.09	2.38	1.51
More restrictions should be imposed to prevent young people from having sexual relations before marriage.	.44	.16	.01	3.13	1.14
Birth control devices should be made available to anybody who wants to use them.	-.46	.11	.26	5.70	1.54
Marriages by persons of different races should be soically acceptable.	-.46	-.18	.29	5.65	1.52
<u>FACTOR 2 - PUNITIVENESS</u>					
In our country, the sentences handed out to criminals are usually too light.	.09	.69	-.05	5.00	1.52
Our laws give too much protection to criminals.	.15	.65	-.02	4.21	1.75
A mentally ill man who attacks and kills a little girl should be executed.	.23	.45	-.03	3.04	1.78
Teenage hoodlums should be punished severely.	.13	.44	-.03	4.00	1.57
<u>FACTOR 3 - WELFARISM</u>					
The government should guarantee every citizen enough to eat.	-.07	-.11	.62	4.97	1.70
If the government must go deeper into debt to help people it should do so.	.17	-.20	.61	3.78	1.77

Dogmatism Factors

Form "E" of the Rokeach (1956) Dogmatism scale contains 40 items intended to be additively combined to give a single dogmatism score. Sixteen of these items were included in Form "X" of the Attitudes Toward Crime Survey. A factor analysis of these items produced initial eigen values of 3.04, 1.51, 1.17, 1.12, 1.02, and 0.98. Based on the criteria specified in the prior factor analysis, it was decided to retain two factors from this analysis, accounting for 75.4% and 24.6% of the rotated variance, respectively.

Thus, our factor analysis of the items from the Rokeach (1956) Dogmatism scale indicated two factors: (1) Dogmatism - there is only one correct view and we should not compromise our beliefs; and (2) Helplessness - there is not enough time to deal with a fearful future. As in the prior factor analysis, items loading highly on these factors were additively combined into summary variables for further analysis. To enhance interpretability of the results the factor loading cutoff point for item inclusion was lowered from .4 to .35 for the second factor (only two items passed the .4 cutoff). Table 5 indicates the Dogmatism factor items, their factor loadings, means, and standard deviations.

TABLE 5 - DOGMATISM FACTORS
Items, Factor Loadings, Means, Standard Deviations

ITEM	FACTOR LOADINGS (FACTORS)		MEANS	S.D.
	1	2		
<u>FACTOR 1 - DOGMATISM</u>				
Of all the different philosophies in the world there is probably only one which is correct.	.64	.08	2.14	1.34
There are two kinds of people in this world, those who are for the truth and those who are against it.	.58	.12	2.79	1.53
When it comes to differences of opinion, we must be careful not to compromise with those who believe differently from the way we do.	.47	-.01	2.87	1.67
The United States and Russia have just about notheing in common.	.44	.03	2.30	1.30
The present is too full of unhappiness, it is only the future that counts.	.44	-.05	2.28	1.22
<u>FACTOR 2 - HELPLESSNESS</u>				
There is so much to do and so little time to do it.	-.04	.56	4.15	1.66
It is only natural for a person to be fearful of the future.	.12	.46	4.60	1.55
Man on his own is a helpless and miserable creature.	.27	.35	3.43	1.41

Moral Development

According to the standard procedures associated with the Rest (1979) Moral Development scale, a "Principled Morality Score" was constructed for each subject by adding together scores from levels 5A, 5B, and 6 of the scale for each of the three stories: "Heinz and the Drug," "Student Take-Over," and "Escaped Prisoner." Principled Morality Scores in the sample ranged from 0 to 26, with a mean of 12.5 and a standard deviation of 5.32.

Relationships Among the Measures

In order to examine the manner in which the personality characteristics and perceptions as to the causes of crime relate to specific sentencing goals, the scores on the three sentencing goal factors were each compared to (regressed against) the attribution factors, personality scores, and demographic variables using multiple regression. A second multiple regression was used in order to compare the personality scores and demographic variables to the attribution factors alone. These analysis would be expected to result in a general framework for understanding the way in which attributions of crime causation would predict a particular sentencing goal.

The results of the first multiple regression analysis indicated that subjects tended to believe in Satisfactory Performance of the criminal justice system if they were less educated, had fewer crime victimization experiences, and were at a lower level of moral development. Subjects believed in Punishment if they believed in Individual Causation, were younger, at a lower level of moral development, believed in a Just World, and did not believe in Welfarism. Subjects believed in Rehabilitation if they believed in Economic Causation, Social Causation, did not believe in Individual Causation, were older, higher in moral development, and believed in Welfarism. The results of this multiple regression appear to indicate that the attributions of crime causation, in addition to several of the personality and demographic variables, bear some consistent relationships to sentencing goals.

Some of the variables worked better than others. The demographic and personality scales which were not significantly predictive of any of the sentencing goal factors included: Moral Conservatism, Difficult-Easy World, Politically Responsive-Unresponsive World, Dogmatism, Helplessness, parents' education, marital status, race, academic program, sex, and personally estimated knowledge of the

criminal justice system. Statistically significant ($p < .01$) beta coefficients and multiple-R scores from these analyses are presented in Table 6.

In the second multiple regression run we attempted to see the manner in which the personality and demographic summary variables were predictive of each of the three attribution factors. As evidenced by the lower multiple-R scores, the predictive relationships for the attribution factors were not as strong as those of the sentencing goal factors.

Subjects' belief in Social Causation was significantly predicted only by the Just-Unjust World and Difficult Easy World factors from the Internal-External scale. That is, subjects who believe in Social Causation tend to also believe that life is difficult and people get what they deserve in the end. People who believe in Economic Causation tend to strongly believe in the concept of Welfarism, that the government should provide a certain minimum standard of living regardless of ability to pay. It is interesting to note that the only other significant predictor of Economic Causation was status as a law student; law students significantly disagreed with the concept of economic causation. Individual Causation, in contrast to Economic Causation,

tion, was negatively predicted by the Welfarism factor. That is, people who think crime is caused by greedy individuals disagree with welfarism, and people who think crime is caused by general economic conditions agree with welfarism. Individual Causation was also significantly predicted by the Just-Unjust World factor and the Moral Conservatism factor, such that we might infer that self-righteous people with strict moral attitudes believe that crime originates from greedy individuals who accordingly must be punished. The statistically significant ($p < .01$) beta coefficients and multiple-R scores from this analysis are presented in Table 7.

A summary of the correlations among the attribution factors and sentencing goals is presented in summary form in Table 8. Simple correlation coefficients for all summary variables and demographic variables were constructed and are presented in their entirety in Appendix E.

TABLE 6 - MULTIPLE REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF ATTRIBUTION FACTORS,
 DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES AND PERSONALITY VARIABLES ON SENTENCING GOALS
 Statistically significant ($p < .01$) beta coefficients and multiple-R scores

<u>PREDICTORS</u>	<u>SENTENCING GOAL FACTORS</u>		
	SATISFACTORY PERFORMANCE	PUNISHMENT	REHABILITATION
SOCIAL CAUSATION			.19
ECONOMIC CAUSATION			.23
INDIVIDUAL CAUSATION		.57	-.19
EDUCATION LEVEL	-.20		
AGE		-.11	.15
PRIOR VICTIMIZATION	-.15		
MORAL DEVELOPMENT	-.12	-.20	.13
WELFARISM		-.16	.39
JUST-UNJUST WORLD		.14	
MULTIPLE-R	.279	.652	.562

TABLE 7 - MULTIPLE REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF DEMOGRAPHIC
AND PERSONALITY VARIABLES ON ATTRIBUTION FACTORS

Statistically significant ($P < .01$) beta coefficients and multiple-R scores

<u>PREDICTORS</u>	<u>ATTRIBUTION FACTORS</u>		
	SOCIAL CAUSATION	ECONOMIC CAUSATION	INDIVIDUAL CAUSATION
LAW STUDENT		-.15	
WELFARISM		.31	-.18
JUST-UNJUST WORLD	.17		.14
DIFFICULT-EASY WORLD	.20		
MORAL CONSERVATISM			.26
MULTIPLE-R	.269	.397	.346

TABLE 8 - SIMPLE CORRELATIONS
 ATTRIBUTION AND SENTENCING GOAL FACTORS

ATTRIBUTION FACTORS	<u>SENTENCING GOAL FACTORS</u>		
	SATISFACTORY PERFORMANCE	PUNISHMENT	REHABILITATION
SOCIAL CAUSATION	.124	.158	.190
↓ .223			
ECONOMIC CAUSATION	.035	-.102	.337
↓ -.162			
INDIVIDUAL CAUSATION	.053	.571	-.308
	↓ .072	↓ .478	↓ .308
	↓ .035		

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION

Sentencing goals, which presumably guide judges in their determination of sentences imposed on defendants, as well as many other discretionary responses to criminals, appear strongly related to attributions about the causes of crime. Our results suggest that if a decisionmaker views any of a wide range of external/unintentional factors, including family problems, drugs, criminal associates, poverty, or social inequality as a significant cause of the criminal act, the judge will have a rehabilitative orientation toward the offender. We might expect this rehabilitative orientation to result in less severe sentences as well as an inclination toward diversion and rehabilitation programs.

On the other hand, if a decisionmaker views the criminal act as a result of internal/intentional factors, such as laziness, greed, or deliberate lack of consideration for others, the response of the decisionmaker would be expected to be much different. Our results suggest the judge will be inclined toward a severe response along the lines of punishment, deterrence, and/or incapacitation. The

nature of these relationships may be clarified by relating the data back to the theoretical constructs from which the items were constructed.

Sentencing Goal Theory

The results of the factor analysis of sentencing goals were generally unexpected. What happened to our original eight theoretical categories of sentencing goals? Our factor analysis of the items constructed to evenly reflect each of these categories resulted in only three factors, only two of which related back to the original categories.

The Satisfactory Performance factor was quite unexpected. It does not correspond to any of the original eight theoretical categories of sentencing goals from which the items were originally constructed. It is uncorrelated with either the Punishment or Rehabilitation factors ($r=.072$, $r=.035$, respectively), and is not significantly related to any of the crime causation factors ($r=.12$, $r=.03$, $r=.05$, respectively).

One interpretation of this Satisfactory Performance factor is that the major sentencing goal in this study (in terms of percentage variance accounted for in the factor

analysis) is not related to judgements of the causes of crime. Another interpretation is that two of the original eight categories of sentencing goals "Improvement of the Criminal Justice System" and "Security of the Criminal Justice System" may not have been will operationalized as sentencing goals in the original construction of the items. A third potential explanation for the results is that the factor resulted from inclusion of a number of sentencing goals items having been written to reflect the current performance of the criminal justice system, rather than goals for sentencing offenders.

This factor appears to be basically a general performance evaluation of the criminal justice system, a cohesive set of beliefs apparently more strongly held than any particular sentencing goal. Our interpretation of this factor is that a general good/bad orientation toward the criminal justice system certainly exists, but is theoretically and conceptually quite distinct from specific sentencing goals. Although relevant to understanding our results, the factor does not appear useful in analysing our theoretical framework of sentencing goals.

A theoretical exclusion of the Satisfactory Performance factor from our interpretation of the data leaves us

with two sentencing goals which stand in sharp contrast to each other ($r=-.478$), punishment and rehabilitation. The punishment versus rehabilitation dichotomy has a well established place in criminological thought and literature, and the emergence of punishment and rehabilitation as significant factors in the sentencing goal factor analysis is not surprising. However, it is surprising that none of the other six potential sentencing goals survived the factor analysis.

There are several potential explanations for such a result. Initially, their absence suggests that the goals underlying sentencing decisions may be more simple than our original eight categories would seem to indicate. The results here suggest that individual deterrence, general deterrence, and incapacitation tend to merge under a more general punitive orientation. It may be that, although these dimensions are objectively distinguishable (e.g., the distinctions between individual deterrence and mere punishment), from a subjective perspective they do not function as operationally distinct concepts. Another possible explanation is that those who believe in one "punitive" goal tend to believe in others. In short, the goals are theoretically distinct but empirically covary. A collapsing of punitive-

type goals was also found by Hogarth (1971) and Forst and Wellford (1981). Still another potential explanation might be a lack of validity in the measures. The scales used may not have accurately reflected the theoretical distinctions we were attempting to reflect in item construction.

From another perspective, the simplicity of the punishment versus rehabilitation dichotomy seems to conflict with data collected from expert criminal justice decision-makers. The judges and prosecutors interviewed by Richardson (1980) responded that a wide range of sentencing goals are important to their decisions and that differences among these goals would produce different decisions. Along these lines, a noted criminal justice expert, LaFave (1972) has suggested that many judges may utilize a "collusive" theory of sentencing goals, whereby the various sentencing goals are intellectually combined through an unclear process to reach the most appropriate sentence for an individual defendant. Further support for a broader theoretical perspective of sentencing goals comes from a laboratory study by McFatter (1978) which produced substantial differences in sentencing decisions between subjects assigned punitive and general deterrence sentencing goals across a broad range of crimes.

The analysis here, then, should not be interpreted as evidence that such distinctions among sentencing goals do not exist or are not meaningful, but rather that these sentencing goals are finer details that color the fundamental distinction between punishment and rehabilitation as sentencing goals. Judges and other expert decisionmakers in the criminal justice system might be expected to make finer distinctions among these sentencing goals. Further research should help to define and clarify these other important sentencing goals and the factors which tend to result in their increased significance in sentencing decisions.

Additional research on the impact of the punishment versus rehabilitation sentencing goal orientation on sentencing decisions is also appropriate. To the extent that such broad orientations are consistently manifest in sentencing decisions, such processes may be subject to additional scrutiny for conformity with prevailing judicial or political policies. Turning from an understanding of decisionmakers to an understanding of specific sentences, punishment and rehabilitative sentencing goals, along with other sentencing goals, would be included in a more specific evaluation including offender variables, crime causation variables, and specific dispositional alternatives.

Attribution Theory and The Causes of Crime

A closer examination of the attribution factors which emerged from the factor analysis, along with a very brief review of criminological theory, indicates that the three factors which emerged from the factor analysis consistently covary according to the three attributional dimensions from which the items were constructed while simultaneously encompassing mainstream schools of criminological thought.

The Social Causation factor was perhaps first labeled by Gabriel Tarde (1912) as the "Social Imitation" theory of crime causation. A more recent example is the "differential association" theory of Edwin Sutherland (1949). Another similar concept is Robert Merton's (1957) notion of social "Anomy" or social disintegration as a source of crime. Thus, this Social Causation factor includes a cohesive group of theories which focus on crime as originating from social disintegration of individuals and small groups through family problems, criminal associates, and related social processes.

The Social Causation factor and these theories consistently view crime as external, unstable and unintentional in attributional terms, and these consistent attributions generally tend to suggest that a rehabilitative orientation

would be the most desirable and productive sentencing goal.

The second crime causation factor, Economic Causation, seems to parallel a group of criminological theories most generally referred to as the "ecological" theories of crime causation (e.g. Shevky and Bell, 1955; Quinney, 1964). Also known as "cartographic" or "areal" view of crime causation, these theories locate the origins of crime in very broad and widespread social flaws, usually poverty, unemployment, and related social ills.

These attributions of crime causation, like the Social Causation factor, are consistently external and unintentional, although the stability of this factor is unclear. Here again, we find an external, unintentional factor suggesting a rehabilitative sentencing goal for the disposition of the offender as most appropriate.

The third factor, Individual Causation, is attributionally quite the opposite of the other two factors. Individual Causation is internal and intentional, while Social Causation and Economic Causation are external and unintentional. In the criminological literature, individualistic theories of crime causation are perhaps the most well established, particularly as developed in the works of

philosopher Jeremy Bentham (1923) and criminologist Cesare Beccaria (trans., 1968) in the eighteenth century. These theories view crime as originating in the minds of utilitarian hedonists who balance the pros and cons of crime and make deliberate choices based on individual motives for personal gain. The positive school of criminology (Lombroso, 1911) and the more recent economic-gain theories of crime (Becker, 1968) are quite similar. While Economic and Social Causation tend to result in the belief that rehabilitation is the most appropriate sentencing goal, Individual Causation is very strongly connected with the notion that severe punishment, incapacitation, and deterrence motivations should guide imposition of the sentence.

The way in which these attribution factors tend to encompass such a broad range of criminological theories may have implications for criminological theory. First, we might ask how does our data fit these theories, or vice versa. Generally, each of the traditional criminological theories mentioned in the above review seems appropriate for understanding only one of several apparent and different dimensions of crime causation--pieces of a broader puzzle in need of completion. An attributional perspective on crime causation theories does a good job of clarifying the puzzle without specifying a complete solution. Similarly, other

formal "multicausal" criminological theories exist (e.g. Glueck, 1968), but as yet are neither well developed nor well researched in criminological circles. Our attributionally-based data strongly suggests that a clarification of crime causation theories is in order.

Like the factor analysis of the sentencing goal items, the factor analysis of items reflecting attributions of crime causation should not be taken as a complete explanation of crime causation factors. Consider insanity, for example, as a generally acknowledged cause of at least some criminal behavior. Although a potential insanity factor accounted for too little variance to be included in our factor structure, our data suggest that more attention toward inclusion of items specifically reflecting attitudes toward insanity could produce a sufficiently cohesive factor for further analysis. Insanity as a cause of crime fits none of the Social, Economic, or Individual causation factors from a criminological (substantive) or attributional perspective. It is attributionally similar to Individual Causation in that they are both viewed as internal factors, but Insanity is also similar to Economic and Social Causation in that they would all be classified attributionally as unintentional crimes. Do internal-unintentional attribu-

tions lead toward punishment or rehabilitation as the most appropriate sentencing goal, or perhaps even a more specific goal such as incapacitation? We might also ask more precisely what is the effect of variations of stability of causal factors on sentencing goals.

From a more pragmatic perspective, we might be inclined to ask which of the available theories is most appropriate for the study and understanding of actual sentencing decisions. Or, we might ask in what ways do criminological theories correspond and differ from actual decisionmaking and decisionmaking theories applied in criminological contexts. If our ultimate goals are to alter judicial decisionmaking to increase effectiveness and to decrease disparity, these distinctions must be more clearly understood.

A Comment on Personality and Demographic Variables

Most of the demographic and personality variables did not emerge as statistically significant predictors of the sentencing goal factors. Those that were significant appear to cluster in two groups that are only vaguely defined by the available data. The first group includes subjects at higher levels of moral development who believe in welfarism. These subjects tended toward rehabilitation as a sentencing

goal. The second group includes subjects who scored at lower levels of moral development, were morally conservative, and disagreed with welfarism. These subjects tended toward a punitive orientation toward offenders.

From these results and the work of others who have studied the influence of ideology on attitudes toward criminals (e.g., Miller, 1973) it appears that in the general public there are broad biases toward rehabilitation or punishment, and similar preferences may also influence actual sentencing decisions. The utility of these and other general ideological, demographic, or personality measures in controlling disparity in sentencing would be in their ability to distinguish significant biases in expert or potential expert criminal justice decisionmakers. These analyses, along with the more specific analysis of offender and crime specific variables suggested above, would seem to be the best way to understand the cognitive processes which lead to a specific sentencing decision.

Conclusion

The problems of disparity and ineffectiveness in expert criminal justice decisionmaking were addressed through a study of the manner in which perceptions as to the

causes of crime and certain personality characteristics relate to sentencing goals for offenders.

In the general context of criminal justice decision-making it appears that certain combinations of personality characteristics and causal attributions influence the decisionmaker toward either more punitive (more severe) or more rehabilitative (more lenient) sentencing orientations.

If we generally extrapolate from perceptions as to the cause of the crime to sentencing goals (more generally, dispositional preferences) for the offender, our results suggest that the response to a crime attributed to internal/intentional factors (e.g., selfishness, greed, lack of concern for others) would be strongly influenced by a goal to punish the offender. In a judicial context this could be more severe sentences imposed (e.g., longer prison term, prison term more likely to be imposed). Responses to crimes attributed to external/unintentional factors influence the decisionmaker toward a more rehabilitative orientation. A rehabilitative sentencing goal would be associated with less severe sentences being imposed (e.g., conviction of a lesser offense, shorter prison term or probation in lieu of a prison term).

These general conclusions are based on data acquired

from questionnaires administered to criminal justice and law students. The utility of the general attributional framework presented here depends on the extent to which expert decisionmakers utilize a similar framework when confronted with individual decisionmaking tasks. At the very least, it seems apparent that future research on decisionmaking in the criminal justice system would find it useful to collect data on case-specific causal attributions and dispositional decisions.

These results also suggest the outlines of an approach which might be useful in reducing disparity in sentencing and other forms of expert criminal justice decisionmaking. The first step might be, in the selection and evaluation process, to specifically look for anomalies in personality characteristics and attributional biases which might influence later decisionmaking. Judges and others who manifest strong biases in conflict with stated policies could be identified and the problems addressed on a case-specific basis.

A more ambitious step might be to alter decisionmaking policy and procedure (e.g., sentencing guidelines) to formally integrate and collect data on a broad range of specific causal conclusions (among other data) and the cor-

responding expert decisions. Such data would included the specific factual cause, certain personality measures of the decisionmaker, other pertinent crime specific data available to the decisionmaker, the decisonmaking options available to the expert and longitudinal data on outcome effectiveness.

Sentencing and other policy guidelines, which attempt to identify and implement policies of goal priorities, might be continually refined through the integration and analysis of such measures to increase uniformity and decrease disparities in criminal justice decisonmaking.

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APPENDIX A

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE

384 SUBJECTS

AGE

Under 18	1	.3 %
18 to 20	126	32.8 %
21 to 23	129	33.6 %
24 to 26	51	13.3 %
27 to 30	24	6.3 %
31 to 35	19	4.9 %
36 to 40	6	1.6 %
41 to 45	2	.5 %
Over 45	1	.3 %
Missing	25	6.5 %

SEX

Male	204	53.1 %
Female	152	39.6 %
Missing	28	7.3 %

RACE

Minority	105	27.3 %
Caucasian	279	72.7 %

MARITAL STATUS

Never Married	304	79.2 %
Currently Married	61	15.9 %
Divorced	19	4.9 %

SUBJECT'S EDUCATION

Freshman	51	13.3 %
Sophomore	67	17.4 %
Junior	46	12.0 %
Senior	53	13.8 %
1st Year Law	60	15.6 %
2nd Year Law	48	12.5 %
3rd Year Law	19	4.9 %
Over This	17	4.4 %
Missing	23	6.0 %

CURRENT EDUCATIONAL STATUS

Undergraduate		
Criminal Justice	177	46.1 %
Law Student	136	35.4 %
Other	71	18.5 %

FATHER'S FORMAL EDUCATION

Grammar School	36	9.4 %
Some High School	42	11.2 %
Finish High School	80	20.8 %
Some College	86	22.4 %
College Degree	58	15.1 %
Beyond 4 Years	59	15.4 %
Missing	22	5.7 %

MOTHER'S FORMAL EDUCATION

Grammar School	39	10.2 %
Some High School	33	8.6 %
Finish High School	130	33.9 %
Some College	81	21.1 %
College Degree	50	13.0 %
Beyond 4 Years	30	7.8 %
Missing	21	5.5 %

APPENDIX B

ATTITUDES TOWARD CRIME SURVEY

Introduction

The Attitudes Toward Crime Survey contains about 290 items. It should take 1½ to 2 hours to complete.

The questions are divided into three question sets, labeled "Crime Items," "Opinions about Social Problems," and "Background Information." Each question set includes its own instructions. Please be sure to complete the three sets in the order in which you find them in your envelope. There is no need to complete all three forms at one sitting, but please make sure to complete them in the proper order. Please use the #2 pencil provided in your envelope to indicate your responses in the manner described in the instructions for each question set. When you have completed all three forms please put all forms and answer sheets in the accompanying envelope, and return them at the designated time and place. Please do not fold or staple the answer sheets.

If you are interested in receiving results of the questionnaire, indicate your name and address on a separate sheet of paper and insert this into the envelope when returning the survey.

You will be paid \$4.00 upon return of the completed survey.

Thank you for participating!

HOW TO RETURN YOUR COMPLETED QUESTIONNAIRE

Please put your name and address on the enclosed small envelope. When you have completed the questionnaire, put all the materials in the large envelope, seal it, and drop it in any mailbox.

When we receive your completed questionnaire, we'll promptly send you \$4.00 for your assistance. If you'd also like a copy of the results of the study, please put your name and address on a separate sheet of paper and enclose it also.

Please return the materials to us within the next 10 days.

Thank you very much!

ATTITUDES TOWARDS CRIME SURVEY

CRIME ITEMS

FORMS A and B

This set consists of 160 multiple-choice rating scales. The items are divided into two groups labeled as "A" items or "B" items. When answering the questions, please be sure to use the answer sheet labeled "A" or "B" which corresponds to the question set.

Please use the #2 pencil provided in your envelope to indicate your responses. Blacken in the entire box which corresponds to your choice on the answer sheet. Do not fill in the identifying information at the top of the answer sheet. Indicate your answers on the scales ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree according to the following diagram:

strongly disagree	disagree	mildly disagree	neutral	mildly agree	agree	strongly agree	cannot respond
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	10

For these questions, do not enter any mark into boxes numbered 8 or 9. Check box 10 if you do not understand or cannot answer the question. Use 10 as little as you can, only for questions you have serious problems interpreting or responding to. Please make sure that you fill in completely the box that represents your chosen response.

When you have completed this form, please return the questions and the answer sheet to the folder and proceed to any forms which may be remaining.

ATTITUDES TOWARD CRIME

Form A Page 1

- 1A. A lot of money is wasted trying to improve the criminal justice system.
- 2A. Neither the threat nor the application of penalties is a deterrent to potential offenders.
- 3A. Most inmates of penal institutions would be reformed if they took advantage of the vocational and occupational facilities which now exist.
- 4A. Some people commit crimes because of situational pressure from their delinquent peers.
- 5A. Many violent crimes are an expression of resentment toward people that offenders have come in contact with.
- 6A. Criminals should be punished for their crime in order to require them to repay their debt to society.
- 7A. Equitable distribution of wealth in society is about the only way we can expect to eliminate crime.
- 8A. A great deal of effort is presently being directed toward discouraging recidivism.
- 9A. People who commit crimes are usually forced to by the situations they find themselves in.
- 10A. One of the goals of the legal system is to evolve as society evolves.
- 11A. Many simple burglaries are done by people under the belief that the crime will solve much broader problems with their life.
- 12A. The criminal court's main function should be to instill respect for law and order.
- 13A. Criminals are being mollycoddled by the correctional agencies.
- 14A. As the unemployment figure gets higher, the crime rate goes up.
- 15A. The criminal justice system punishes criminals equitably according to the gravity of their crimes.
- 16A. Many programs in corrections that are sponsored by the federal government try to promote new ways of combatting crime.
- 17A. There should be more discipline in penal institutions.
- 18A. It is the criminal who chooses and is ultimately responsible for his criminal behavior.
- 19A. People who commit crimes are usually lacking in intelligence.
- 20A. Police, courts, and prisons are constantly seeking ways to improve.
- 21A. Crimes are often due to unpredictable factors acting on the individual.
- 22A. As a basic and fundamental goal, the criminal justice system should attempt to eliminate recidivism.

Form A Page 2

- 23A. It's high time for basic changes in the criminal justice system.
- 24A. When people are high on drugs or alcohol, they are more likely to commit crime.
- 25A. One of the major purposes of the criminal justice system is to keep those who are dangerous separate from others.
- 26A. The criminal justice system is constantly finding better ways to combat crime.
- 27A. Drugs are a factor in many crimes.
- 28A. Convicted criminals generally receive appropriate punishment for the crime they have committed.
- 29A. More emphasis should be placed on keeping criminals behind bars.
- 30A. Many crimes are more the result of flaws in society than any basic criminality in the offender.
- 31A. The main objective in the sentencing of offenders should be to deter potential offenders from committing crime.
- 32A. The various agencies of our legal system support one another.
- 33A. Chance opportunity more often plays a part in crime than careful planning.
- 34A. More serious crimes get more punishment.
- 35A. Most of those who advocate lenient treatment of criminals do not attach sufficient weight to the seriousness of the crimes they commit.
- 36A. The criminal justice system works reasonably well the way it is now.
- 37A. Our system is organized around exacting a payment from those who break the law.
- 38A. The sentence of the court should always express an emphatic denunciation by the community of the crime.
- 39A. Police, courts, and correction systems attempt to show each criminal the futility of criminal behavior.
- 40A. Usually there are psychological problems at the root of criminal behavior.
- 41A. Law enforcement agencies try to present criminals as bad people so that others will not imitate them.
- 42A. People who commit crimes have poor self-control.
- 43A. Alcoholism is a cause of crime that should be treated, not punished.
- 44A. The criminal justice system perpetuates itself at the expense of dealing with crime.
- 45A. In sentencing, the courts should try to uphold the moral standards of decent people.
- 46A. Most criminals wind up in prison where they cannot do any harm.

- 47A. Many people who commit crimes don't just commit one, and the criminal justice system should be directing more of its attention to these people.
- 48A. There are a number of people in prison who don't deserve to be there.
- 49A. The mood of the criminal often influences his decisions about criminal behavior.
- 50A. More and better rehabilitation programs for prisoners should be developed.
- 51A. Where justice is weak, crime tends to become rampant.
- 52A. By seeing how criminals are punished, many are discouraged from ever attempting a crime.
- 53A. The primary concern in a judge's mind should be to determine the proper length of incarceration.
- 54A. Among their other goals, the various organizations in the criminal justice system try to work together smoothly.
- 55A. Laws are there to discourage people from getting into criminal activities in the first place.
- 56A. Judges and prosecutors are largely concerned with ways to make convicted criminals become productive members of society.
- 57A. Criminals often find that they can make a better living in crime than at an honest job.
- 58A. In planning their activities, criminals take into account the leniency of the criminal justice system.
- 59A. Our system is not doing enough in the way of discouraging people from committing crimes.
- 60A. Judges often impose harsh sentences to deter others from committing crimes.
- 61A. If lawmakers would make tougher laws against crime we wouldn't have so many criminals.
- 62A. At the root of much crime are early family problems.
- 63A. Only by increased attention to alternative ways of doing its job will the criminal justice system ever work.
- 64A. Many poor people commit crimes on impulse.
- 65A. The way our laws are enforced is sufficient to discourage people from committing crimes.
- 66A. Who a person associates with has an influence on whether he will commit a crime.
- 67A. If social scientists and lawmakers would get together more often we would have an improved criminal justice system.
- 68A. Most criminal procedures are designed with retaliation in mind.

- 69A. The most important single consideration in determining the sentence to impose should be the nature and gravity of the crime.
- 70A. People learn to be criminal from associating with people who are criminal.
- 71A. People get into trouble with the law when they don't have enough worthwhile activities to keep them busy.
- 72A. Many new correctional procedures are too lenient.
- 73A. The current trend in diverting people from prison to rehabilitation programs should be continued.
- 74A. We need to hold criminals up to public scorn.
- 75A. We're wrong to think the only thing we can do for criminals is throw them in jail.
- 76A. Drugs and alcohol cause crime because people can no longer control their behavior.
- 77A. Even in the best organized societies, some people will be criminals.
- 78A. Great emphasis has been placed on incapacitation as a solution to criminal problems.
- 79A. A person becomes a criminal when the criminal justice system labels the person a criminal.
- 80A. It is important for our legal system to appear strong and fair.
- 1B. Many people plan their criminal activities quite thoroughly. Form B Page 1
- 2B. Law enforcement officials work hard to maintain a strong criminal justice system.
- 3B. Criminals are people who don't care about the rights of others or their responsibility to society.
- 4B. A major goal of the criminal justice system should be to separate criminals from everybody else.
- 5B. The majority of potential offenders are deterred by the threat of punishment.
- 6B. Considerably more public money should be spent in providing treatment facilities for offenders.
- 7B. People who are too lazy to work turn to crime.
- 8B. Nowadays courts are just trying to put convicted criminals away in prison.
- 9B. The deterioration of religious values in a general way is responsible for much of our crime.
- 10B. When judges decide what to do with a convicted offender, they are generally trying to decide on an appropriate punishment.
- 11B. Many criminals don't have enough moral training to stay out of trouble.

- 12B. Prison administrators are devoted to making prisons work better.
- 13B. Once a criminal, always a criminal.
- 14B. Drugs are a factor in many crimes.
- 15B. One of the worst things a person can be called in society is an "ex-con."
- 16B. Authorities should adopt a "cat-tough" attitude with repeat offenders.
- 17B. If people weren't pushed into the cities there would be a lot less crime.
- 18B. Sometimes people do things for reasons they can't explain.
- 19B. Most people don't think the courts and correctional institutions are overly influenced by political concerns.
- 20B. Most people working in criminal justice just try to maintain the status quo.
- 21B. Crimes are frequently the result of sudden emotional instability.
- 22B. People need to survive, and sometimes crime is the only alternative.
- 23B. One good thing about our legal system is that it tries to keep criminals behind bars.
- 24B. Prevention is the major goal of the criminal justice system.
- 25B. We need to make people realize the good the criminal justice system is doing.
- 26B. A fundamental goal of the criminal justice system is to punish those who violate the criminal code.
- 27B. Emotional problems which are intense but of brief duration can be found underlying many murders and other crimes against the person.
- 28B. Many people who become criminals were neglected by their parents.
- 29B. Our legal system changes effectively with the times.
- 30B. If an easy opportunity arose for someone to commit a crime with little effort and a low probability of being caught, most people would commit the crime.
- 31B. The criminal law needs to improve its public image.
- 32B. Our inadequate criminal justice system is largely responsible for high crime rates.
- 33B. A person with a criminal record has a hard time finding a respectable place in society.
- 34B. The criminal justice system is trying hard to find better ways to rehabilitate criminals.
- 35B. Popular films and television programs which include violence can increase the likelihood that a person watching them will commit a crime.
- 36B. Usually people who become criminals develop a "criminal mentality" early in life.

- 37B. Most criminals deliberately choose to prey upon society.
- 38B. Convicted criminals are effectively kept off the streets.
- 39B. It is not possible to prepare offenders in prisons for life in free society.
- 40B. One good thing about our legal system is that it keeps criminals behind bars.
- 41B. The main value of probation lies in the provision for control and surveillance over the offender while he is at liberty.
- 42B. The criminal justice system effectively rehabilitates those people who can be reached.
- 43B. Rehabilitation is a significant part of the criminal justice system's correctional philosophy.
- 44B. Crime is often the product of social forces acting on the individual.
- 45B. The failure to punish crime amounts to giving a license to commit it.
- 46B. Our system is effective at isolating people who are dangerous to society.
- 47B. Educating the public about the law is a principal goal of the criminal justice system.
- 48B. The criminal justice system does a good job of discouraging repetitive criminal acts.
- 49B. If Government could provide more meaningful work for people, much of our crime problem would be solved.
- 50B. Not enough resources are devoted to prevention of crime through education.
- 51B. The courts do not place sufficient emphasis on the need for deterring individuals from repetitive criminal acts.
- 52B. The criminal justice system is placing too much emphasis on expensive and unworkable alternatives to prison.
- 53B. Prisons are more likely to confirm an offender in crime than to rehabilitate him.
- 54B. Our present prison system is a breeding place for crime.
- 55B. The sentence imposed by the court is a significant force in sharpening the public's sense of right and wrong.
- 56B. Our current system is not concerned with keeping the public aware of their rights and obligations under the law.
- 57B. An important goal of the criminal justice system is to discourage and prevent convicted criminals from committing future criminal acts.
- 58B. If judges would divert more people from prisons into rehabilitation programs there would be less crime.

- 59B. The courts should impose some form of punishment in every case where the criminal law has been broken.
- 60B. Most criminals who go to prison just serve their time and go right back to whatever they were doing before.
- 61B. Poverty and inequality in society are responsible for much of crime.
- 62B. On the whole, welfare measures such as unemployment insurance and social assistance have made crime worse.
- 63B. The criminal justice system tries to prevent corruption among its own members.
- 64B. The criminal justice system does a good job of separating criminals from society.
- 65B. More effort needs to be put on anti-recidivist measures if we are to eliminate crime.
- 66B. The criminal justice system puts a great deal of effort into upholding public morals.
- 67B. Once a criminal has been convicted and punished, he is substantially less likely to commit a similar crime in the future.
- 68B. People commit crimes because they usually can get away with it.
- 69B. Sentences imposed in criminal courts should reflect the revulsion felt by the majority of citizens to crime.
- 70B. The criminal justice system presently devotes much of its energy to preventing people from committing repetitive criminal acts.
- 71B. Sometimes home and work pressure combine to make a sudden impulse for a crime much more likely.
- 72B. The social stigma attached to criminals helps keep people from breaking the law.
- 73B. The criminal justice system tries to discourage much crime before it is even initiated.
- 74B. The habitual offender is suffering from a basic personality disorder.
- 75B. Poverty is often a major factor in crime.
- 76B. Habitual criminals probably have different genes than everyone else.
- 77B. Our system punishes people so that others will learn not to commit crimes.
- 78B. Criminals should be punished for their crimes whether or not the punishment benefits the criminal.
- 79B. Better educational opportunities for the disadvantaged would eventually lead to a reduction in crime.
- 80B. In the long run, trying to rehabilitate offenders makes the most sense.

APPENDIX C

ATTITUDES TOWARD CRIME SURVEY

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

FORM X

This set consists of 72 multiple-choice rating scales. The items on this questionnaire concern your background, your experience with crime, and your attitudes toward a variety of general social issues. Be sure to use the answer sheet marked Form X for this question sheet. 55 of the questions are to be answered on the seven point rating scales ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree according to the following diagram:

strongly disagree	disagree	mildly disagree	neutral	mildly agree	agree	strongly agree
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

For these questions, do not enter any mark into boxes numbered 8, 9, or 10. For the remaining items, there is a response scale presented directly after each item. Answer these items on the answer sheet using the response scale for that item.

Use the #2 pencil provided in your envelope to indicate your responses. Blacken in the entire box which corresponds to your choice on the answer sheet. Do not fill in the identifying information at the top of the answer sheet.

When you have completed this form, please return the questions and the answer sheet to the envelope and proceed to any forms which may be remaining.

BACKGROUND AND ATTITUDES

Page 1

1. Your Sex.

Male	Female
1	2

2. Your age.

Under 18	18-20	21-23	24-26	27-30	31-35	36-40	41-45	46-50	over 50
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

3. Your marital status.

Single	Married	Separated	Divorced	Widowed
1	2	3	4	5

4. Your ethnic background.

Hispanic	Native Am.	Black	White	Asian or Pacific Islander
1	2	3	4	5

5. Your father's final level of formal education.

Grammar School	Some High school	Completed high school	Some college	College degree	Beyond college
1	2	3	4	5	6

6. Your mother's final level of formal education.

Grammar school	Some high school	Completed high school	Some college	College degree	Beyond college
1	2	3	4	5	6

7. Your present level of education.

Undergraduate				Graduate/Professional School				
Freshman	Sophomore	Junior	Senior	1st yr.	2nd yr.	3rd yr.	4th yr.	over 4th
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

8. Your undergraduate degree/or major.

Criminal justice	Psychology	Sociology/Anthropology	History/Political Science	Theater/Musical Art
1	2	3	4	5
Engineering	Marketing/Business	Science/Math	Other	Undecided
6	7	8	9	10

9. Your current or anticipated graduate degree/or program.

Criminal justice	Psychology	Sociology/Anthropology	History/Political Science	Law	Other
1	2	3	4	5	6

Undecided	Don't intend to go
7	8

Page 2

When is the most recent time you or your family have been victimized by crime in any of the following categories:

	Within the last year	1-5 years ago	5-10 years ago	More than 10 years ago	Never
10. Minor crime against person.	1	2	3	4	5
11. Serious crime against person.	1	2	3	4	5
12. Minor crime against property.	1	2	3	4	5
13. Serious crime against property.	1	2	3	4	5

In comparison to people in general, how much knowledge do you believe you have of the following aspects of the criminal justice system.

	<u>Very little</u>		<u>Average</u>			<u>Very much</u>	
14. Police	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15. Courts	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
16. Prisons	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
17. Criminal Law	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Page 3

18. The average man today is getting less than his rightful share of our national wealth.
19. Teenage hoodlums should be punished severely.
20. Birth control devices should be made readily available to anyone who wants to use them.
21. The government should guarantee every citizen enough to eat.
22. Every city should prevent the sale of objectionable books.
23. Greater decentralization of power would be better for this country.
24. Our laws give too much protection to criminals.
25. More restrictions should be imposed to prevent young people from having sexual relations before marriage.
26. Many large unions have officers with criminal records.
27. It should be against the law to do anything which the Bible says is wrong.
28. The United States should work peacefully for a strong world government.
29. A woman who has sexual relations with a man for money should go to jail.
30. If the government must go deeper in debt to help people, it should do so.
31. Under no circumstances should our country use nuclear bombs against anybody.
32. Motion pictures which offend any sizeable religious group should be banned.
33. In our country, the sentences handed out to criminals are usually too light.
34. A mentally ill man who attacks and kills a little girl should be executed.
35. Marriages between persons of different races should be socially acceptable.
36. If a man is showing a sex movie to friends in his own home, the police should stop it.
37. The United States and Russia have just about nothing in common.
38. The main thing in life is for a person to want to do something important.
39. In times like these, a person must be pretty selfish if he considers primarily his own happiness.
40. When it comes to differences of opinion in religion we must be careful not to compromise with those who believe differently from the way we do.
41. Man on his own is a helpless and miserable creature.
42. In the history of mankind there have probably been just a handful of really great thinkers.

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43. It is only natural for a person to be rather fearful of the future.
44. There are two kinds of people in this world: those who are for the truth and those who are against the truth.
45. In a heated discussion I generally become so absorbed in what I am going to say that I forget to listen to what others are saying.
46. It is often desirable to reserve judgement about what's going on until one has had a chance to hear the opinions of those one respects.
47. The present is all too often full of unhappiness. It is only the future that counts.
48. There is so much to be done and so little time to do it.
49. A group which tolerates too many differences of opinion among its members cannot exist for long.
50. Even though freedom of speech for all groups is a worthwhile goal, it is unfortunately necessary to restrict the freedom of certain political groups.
51. Of all the different philosophies which exist in this world, there is probably only one which is correct.
52. Most people just don't give a "damn" for others.
53. Capable people who fail to become leaders have not taken advantage of their opportunities.
54. In the long run the bad things that happen to us are balanced by the good ones.
55. Most people don't realize the extent to which their lives are controlled by accidental happenings.
56. There will always be wars, no matter how hard people try to prevent them.
57. People's misfortunes result from the mistakes they make.
58. By taking an active part in political and social affairs the people can control world events.
59. Unfortunately, an individual's worth often passes unrecognized no matter how hard he tries.
60. As far as world affairs are concerned, most of us are the victims of forces we can neither understand, nor control.
61. In my case getting what I want has little or nothing to do with luck.
62. Many of the unhappy things in people's lives are partly due to bad luck.
63. The average citizen can have an influence in government decision.
64. It is not always wise to plan too far ahead because many things turn out to be a matter of good or bad fortune anyhow.

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65. This world is run by a few people in power, and there is not much the little guy can do about it.
66. Without the right breaks one cannot be an effective leader.
67. With enough effort we can wipe out political corruption.
68. Who gets to be boss often depends on who was lucky enough to be in the right place first.
69. In the long run people get what they deserve in this world.
70. There is really no such thing as "luck."
71. Sometimes I feel that I don't have enough control over the direction my life is taking.
72. Becoming a success is a matter of hard work, luck has little or nothing to do with it.

APPENDIX D

OPINIONS ABOUT SOCIAL PROBLEMS

This questionnaire is aimed at understanding how people think about social problems. Different people often have different opinions about questions of right and wrong. There are no "right" answers in the way that there are right answers to math problems. We would like you to tell us what you think about several problem stories. Here is a story as an example.

Frank Jones has been thinking about buying a car. He is married, has two small children and earns an average income. The car he buys will be his family's only car. It will be used mostly to get to work and drive around town, but sometimes for vacation trips also. In trying to decide what car to buy, Frank Jones realized that there were a lot of questions to consider. Below there is a list of some of these questions.

If you were Frank Jones, how important would each of these questions be in deciding what car to buy?

Instructions for Part A: (Sample Question)

On the left hand side check one of the spaces by each statement of a consideration. (For instance, if you think that statement #1 is not important in making a decision about buying a car, check the space on the right.)

IMPORTANCE:

Great Much Some Little No

Great	Much	Some	Little	No	
				✓	1. Whether the car dealer was in the same block as where Frank lives. (Note that in this sample, the person taking the questionnaire did not think this was important in making a decision.)
✓					2. Would a <u>used</u> car be more economical in the long run than a <u>new</u> car. (Note that a check was put in the far left space to indicate the opinion that this is an important issue in making a decision about buying a car.)
		✓			3. Whether the color was green, Frank's favorite color.
				✓	4. Whether the cubic inch displacement was at least 200. (Note that if you are unsure about what "cubic inch displacement" means, then mark it "no importance.")
✓					5. Would a large, roomy car be better than a compact car.
				✓	6. Whether the front connibilities were differential. (Note that if a statement sounds like gibberish or nonsense to you, mark it "no importance.")

Instructions for Part B: (Sample Question)

From the list of questions above, select the most important of the whole group. Put the number of the most important question on the top line below. Do likewise for your 2nd, 3rd and 4th most important choices. (Note that the top choices in this case will come from the statements that were checked on the far left-hand side--statements #2 and #5 were thought to be very important. In deciding what is the most important, a person would re-read #2 and #5, and then pick one of them as the most important, then put the other one as "second most important," and so on.)

<u>MOST</u>	<u>SECOND MOST IMPORTANT</u>	<u>THIRD MOST IMPORTANT</u>	<u>FOURTH MOST IMPORTANT</u>
<u>5</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>

HEINZ AND THE DRUG

In Europe a woman was near death from a special kind of cancer. There was one drug that the doctors thought might save her. It was a form of radium that a druggist in the same town had recently discovered. The drug was expensive to make, but the druggist was charging ten times what the drug cost to make. He paid \$200 for the radium and charged \$2000 for a small dose of the drug. The sick woman's husband, Heinz, went to everyone he knew to borrow the money, but he could only get together about \$1000, which is half of what it cost. He told the druggist that his wife was dying, and asked him to sell it cheaper or let him pay later. But the druggist said, "No, I discovered the drug and I'm going to make money from it." So Heinz got desperate and began to think about breaking into the man's store to steal the drug for his wife.

Should Heinz steal the drug? (Check one)

_____ Should steal it _____ Can't decide _____ Should not steal it

IMPORTANCE:

Great	Much	Some	Little	No	
					1. Whether a community's laws are going to be upheld.
					2. Isn't it only natural for a loving husband to care so much for his wife that he'd steal?
					3. Is Heinz willing to risk getting shot as a burglar or going to jail for the chance that stealing the drug might help?
					4. Whether Heinz is a professional wrestler, or has considerable influence with professional wrestlers.
					5. Whether Heinz is stealing for himself or doing this solely to help someone else.
					6. Whether the druggist's rights to his invention have to be respected.
					7. Whether the essence of living is more encompassing than the termination of dying, socially and individually.
					8. What values are going to be the basis for governing how people act towards each other.
					9. Whether the druggist is going to be allowed to hide behind a worthless law which only protects the rich anyhow.
					10. Whether the law in this case is getting in the way of the most basic claim of any member of society.
					11. Whether the druggist deserves to be robbed for being so greedy and cruel.
					12. Would stealing in such a case bring about more total good for the whole society or not.

From the list of questions above, select the four most important:

Most important _____

Second Most Important _____

Third Most Important _____

Fourth Most Important _____

STUDENT TAKE-OVER

At Harvard University a group of students, called the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), believe that the University should not have an army ROTC program. SDS students are against the war in Viet Nam, and the army training program helps send men to fight in Viet Nam. The SDS students demanded that Harvard end the army ROTC training program as a university course. This would mean that Harvard students could not get army training as part of their regular course work and not get credit for it towards their degrees.

Agreeing with the SDS students, the Harvard professors voted to end the ROTC program as a university course. But the President of the University stated that he wanted to keep the army program on campus as a course. The SDS students felt that the President was not going to pay attention to the faculty vote or to their demands.

So, one day last April, two hundred SDS students walked into the university's administration building, and told everyone else to get out. They said they were doing this to force Harvard to get rid of the army training program as a course.

Should the students have taken over the administration building? (Check one)

Yes, they should take it over Can't decide No, they shouldn't take it over

IMPORTANCE:

Great	Much	Some	Little	No	
					1. Are the students doing this to really help other people or are they doing it just for kicks?
					2. Do the students have any right to take over property that doesn't belong to them?
					3. Do the students realize that they might be arrested and fined, and even expelled from school?
					4. Would taking over the building in the long run benefit more people to a greater extent?
					5. Whether the president stayed within the limits of his authority in ignoring the faculty vote.
					6. Will the takeover anger the public and give all students a bad name?
					7. Is taking over a building consistent with principles of justice?
					8. Would allowing one student take-over encourage many other student take-overs?
					9. Did the president bring this misunderstanding on himself by being so unreasonable and uncooperative?
					10. Whether running the university ought to be in the hands of a few administrators or in the hands of all the people.
					11. Are the students following principles which they believe are above the law?
					12. Whether or not university decisions ought to be respected by students.

From the list of questions above, select the four most important:

Most Important _____

Second Most Important _____

Third Most Important _____

Fourth Most Important _____

ESCAPED PRISONER

A man had been sentenced to prison for 10 years. After one year, however, he escaped from prison, moved to a new area of the country, and took on the name of Thompson. For 8 years he worked hard, and gradually he saved enough money to buy his own business. He was fair to his customers, gave his employees top wages, and gave most of his own profits to charity. Then one day, Mrs. Jones, an old neighbor, recognized him as the man who had escaped from prison 8 years before, and whom the police had been looking for.

Should Mrs. Jones report Mr. Thompson to the police and have him sent back to prison?
(Check one)

Should report him Can't decide Should not report him

IMPORTANCE:

Great	Much	Some	Little	No	
					1. Hasn't Mr. Thompson been good enough for such a long time to prove he isn't a bad person?
					2. Everytime someone escapes punishment for a crime, doesn't that just encourage more crime?
					3. Wouldn't we be better off without prisons and the oppression of our legal systems?
					4. Has Mr. Thompson really paid his debt to society?
					5. Would society be failing what Mr. Thompson should fairly expect?
					6. What benefits would prisons be apart from society, especially for a charitable man?
					7. How could anyone be so cruel and heartless as to send Mr. Thompson to prison?
					8. Would it be fair to all the prisoners who had to serve out their full sentences if Mr. Thompson was let off?
					9. Was Mrs. Jones a good friend of Mr. Thompson?
					10. Wouldn't it be a citizen's duty to report an escaped criminal, regardless of the circumstances?
					11. How would the will of the people and the public good best be served?
					12. Would going to prison do any good for Mr. Thompson or protect anybody?

From the list of questions above, select the four most important:

Most Important _____

Second Most Important _____

Third Most Important _____

Fourth Most Important _____

APPENDIX E

	--Sentencing Goal Factors--			---Attribution Factors---			-----Locus of Control Factors-----				Radical/Conservatism		----Dogmatism----		Principled Morality
	Satisfac- tory Per- formance	Punish- ment	Rehabil- itation	Social Caus- ation	Economic Caus- ation	Individual Caus- ation	Difficult -Easy World	Predict. -Unpred. World	Respons. -Unresp. World	Just -Unjust World	Moral Conser- vatism	Welfarism	Dogmatism	Help- lessness	
Satisfactory Perf.		.072	.035	.124	.035	.053	.047	-.040	.061	.112	.145	.007	.157	.01	-.193
Punishment			-.478	.158	-.102	.571	.144	.041	-.129	.257	.246	-.273	.205	.15	-.306
Rehabilitation				.190	.337	-.284	.053	.014	.181	-.006	-.123	.393	-.097	.011	.178
Social Causation					.223	.205	.204	-.024	.056	.196	.102	.023	.063	.101	-.053
Economic Causation						-.162	.205	.042	.063	.089	-.015	.312	.160	.112	-.100
Individual Causation							.052	.066	-.005	.182	.258	-.188	.228	.067	-.196
Difficult-Easy World								-.126	-.271	.106	.184	.042	.250	.271	-.100
Predict-UnPred. World									-.010	.178	.002	-.026	.139	.076	-.062
Pol. Res-Unres. World										.055	-.140	.107	-.185	-.033	.141
Just-Unjust World											.161	-.012	.149	.150	-.123
Moral Conservatism												-.015	.530	.074	-.194
Welfarism													-.022	.083	.075
Dogmatism														.177	-.241
Helplessness															-.144
Principled Morality															

APPENDIX E - SUMMARY VARIABLES, SIMPLE CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS

APPROVAL SHEET

The thesis submitted by William T. Perkowitz has been read and approved by the following committee:


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The final copies have been examined by the director of the thesis and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated and that the thesis is now given final approval by the Committee with reference to content and form.

The thesis is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

4-17-84
Date


Dr. John S. Carroll