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SENTENCING GOALS, CAUSAL ATTRIBUTIONS,
IDEOLOGY, AND PERSONALITY

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Sentencing Goals, Causal Attributions, Ideology, and Personality

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It is generally accepted that decisionmakers in the criminal justice system (e.g., judges, parole boards, probation officers) have a great deal of discretion in order to tailor correctional resources to individual offenders. However, this discretion has apparently created the conditions for widespread disparity in that similar cases are treated differently by different decisionmakers. The recent policy movement toward determinate sentencing is a response to a decade of reports of judicial sentencing disparity (e.g., Frankel, 1973; Partridge & Eldridge, 1974). For example, in his study of Canadian judges, Hogarth (1971) concluded that, "one can explain more about sentencing by knowing a few things about a judge than by knowing a great deal about the facts of the case" (p. 350). Similar results were well-known even thirty years earlier (Gaudet, 1938; McGuire & Holtzoff, 1940).

The major purpose of this paper is to develop a framework for understanding individual differences among criminal justice decisionmakers and the implications of these differences for sentencing decisions. Research has generated dozens of individual differences associated with criminal justice decisions and decisionmakers (e.g., Brodsky & Smitherman, 1983). Continued

proliferation seems inevitable. The goal of this paper is to cut through this complexity by establishing a manageable number of underlying dimensions, attitudes, or "resonances" (Alker & Poppen, 1973) that integrate many types of individual difference variables. Additionally, we propose a causal structure for these resonances building from more fundamental and general attitudes about society and people toward more specific attitudes about crime and sentencing.

Individual Difference Variables

Research on sentencing reveals several types of individual differences that are thought to generate or predict variation in sentences, including: (a) sentencing goals or penal philosophies, (b) attributions about the causes of crime, (c) ideology, and (d) personality. In this section we review selected evidence for the nature and importance of these types of variables. The following section presents a framework for organizing these variables. Two studies are then described that explore the proposed framework.

Sentencing Goals. Sentencing goals or penal philosophies are the purposes sought by the sentencer or the strategy for crime control that is favored. Five sentencing goals are typically identified in the legal literature (e.g., Diamond & Herhold, 1981; Forst & Wellford, 1981; Hogarth, 1971; McFatter, 1982): (1) punishment, retribution, or just deserts; (2) rehabilitation; (3) incapacitation or protecting the community by removing the offender from society; (4) general deterrence, or discouraging crime by punishing some "examples"; and (5) special deterrence, or discouraging the punished offender from committing future crimes.

Individual decision makers have consistent preferences among sentencing goals. Hogarth (1971, p. 289) stated, "There was a significant minority of

magistrates who always gave maximum weight to reformation and little, if any, to the other purposes even in cases of long terms of imprisonment in the penitentiary. On the other hand, a significant minority of magistrates consistently gave great weight to punishment, regardless of the type of disposition imposed." Forst and Wellford (1981) found substantial dissensus among judges in the goals advocated for ten hypothetical cases. In no case could 60% of the judges agree on the most important goal.

Goal preferences are strongly related to sentences. Hogarth (1971) found that judges advocating punitive goals used fines and incarceration more frequently, probation less frequently, gave harsher sentences and preferred incarcerating offenders in more punitive institutions. Forst and Wellford (1981) found that judges favoring incapacitation gave the longest sentences, a result replicating Hogarth (1971, p. 332), and also found that judges favoring rehabilitation gave more supervised time. McFatter (1978) assigned college students to sentence ten hypothetical criminals according to one of three goals: retribution, general deterrence, or rehabilitation. Deterrence consistently produced the longest sentences. However, the relative severity of sentence produced by the retribution and rehabilitation orientations depended upon the crime. For serious crimes, longer sentences were given by retribution-oriented subjects. However, for mild crimes, equal or longer sentences were given by rehabilitation-oriented subjects. Similar results were found by Hogarth (1971) and Wheeler et al (1968). Dembo (1972) found punitive and reintegrative probation officers had different rates of returning clients as technical parole violators.

Attributions of Crime Causation. A number of studies have asked laypeople and experts why crime occurs or why a specific crime occurred. Major causes

of crime that have been mentioned in public opinion polls include: (a) parental upbringing and the breakdown of family life, (b) bad environment, (c) leniency in the laws and criminal justice system, (d) drugs, (e) mental illness, (f) permissiveness in society, and (g) poverty/unemployment (Erskine, 1974). Canadian magistrates most frequently named the poor quality of family life and the declining morality of society as causes of crime. Poverty, alcoholism and other socioeconomic factors were less frequently mentioned (Hogarth, 1971). Such requests for "what causes crime" apparently produce root causes. More specific and immediate causes are generated when asking about a specific offender. Carroll (1979) had parole board members attribute the causes of crime in actual parole cases. 75% 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.

Hogarth (1971) found that judge's individual penal philosophies were related to their beliefs about the causes of crime. Those espousing rehabilitation attributed crime more to socioeconomic factors and believed many or most offenders are mentally ill. Those low on rehabilitation (and high on punishment) tended to see crime as due to lack of intelligence and alcoholism, downgraded socioeconomic causes, and believed few offenders are mentally ill. This is consistent with the relationship between attributions and sentences in individual cases (Carroll, 1978; Carroll et al., 1982; Diamond and Herhold, 1981).

Ideology. Sociopolitical ideologies are associated with different viewpoints about the causes of criminal behavior and suggestions for

combatting crime. Miller (1973) expressed these ideologies very clearly. The conservative political right holds the view that the most serious crime is committed by people who lack self-control and moral conscience. The control of crime demands that fear be the impetus for self-control instilled by the severe punishment of criminals. When criminals are not punished, such as when society's liberal values encourage the defiance of legal authority and leniency in the criminal justice system, crime increases. In contrast, the liberal political left holds social conditions of inequality and discrimination at fault for crime. Criminals are victims of the system, and they are further victimized because law enforcement is selective in punishing the crimes committed by the poor but ignoring the crimes of the rich. Liberals advocate system reform and rehabilitation of persons who have been victimized by social and economic misfortune.

Personality. Numerous personality measures have been related to variations in sentences. Probably the most heavily researched is Authoritarianism: authoritarians are usually found to have a more punitive attitude toward crime and to give harsher sentences (Hagan, 1975; Mitchell & Byrne, 1973). Using a different personality measure, Rotter's (1966) Locus of Control Scale, Sosis (1974) found internals were more punitive than externals, presumably because they blamed offenders for choosing to commit crimes. Many other personality measures such as cognitive complexity (Hogarth, 1971) have been related to sentences.

Organizing Framework

These types of variables represent many overlapping concepts and theories. We can begin to organize them by using Alker and Poppen's (1973) concept of "resonances." They found that ideology and personality variables

tend to cluster into consistent bundles. One resonance is a normative or "right-wing" philosophy combining political conservatism with personality measures of Dogmatism and Locus of Control. A second resonance is a humanistic or "left-wing" philosophy combining political liberalism with the Principled Morality Stage of moral development. These patterns of political and moral beliefs have been repeatedly observed (Eysenck, 1971; Ferguson, 1939). In essence, the organizing framework will expand the concept of resonances to include attributions for the causes of crime and sentencing goals.

Despite the diverse theoretical (and disciplinary) sources of these variables, in structure they are all attitudes. For example, Emler, Renwick, and Malone (1983) argued that political orientation and moral stage are overlapping domains, in contrast to Kohlberg's (1976) contention that moral stage is a structure that must underly political content. All these variables are measured by endorsement of attitude statements on rating scales. An item such as "People should be severely punished for their misdeeds" could easily be one item in a scale to measure personality (Authoritarian), ideology (Conservative), attributions (Internal crime causation), or sentencing goals (Punishment). It should not be surprising if these diversely-labeled individual difference variables have substantial overlap.

We further propose a dynamic structure among these attitudes. They can be causally ordered by using concepts from attitude theory (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980) and the attributional analysis of sentencing decisions (Carroll, 1978, 1979; Diamond & Herhold, 1981). According to Ajzen and Fishbein, behavior arises from striving for desired goals and knowledge of how those goals can be achieved. Personality and demographic variables are considered external

variables, i.e., they affect behavioral intentions only by influencing goals and knowledge or by being associated with those experiences that bring about goals and knowledge. Attribution research on sentencing shows that attributions precede goal evocation, which in turn leads to sentencing decisions (Carroll, 1978). In an analogous argument, Brickman et al. (1982) showed that alternative strategies for helping people arise from different patterns of attributions of responsibility for problems and their solutions. These concepts suggest an ordering of variables beginning with characteristics that are more general and fundamental (Demographics, Personality), which then lead to intermediate-level attitudes that are less general and acquired later (Ideology). These variables then contribute to specific attitudes and values that are closely related to the sentencing context (Attributions about crime and Sentencing Goals).

Insert Figure 1

Figure 1 portrays within each resonance this causal ordering of variables from general to specific. Attributions about the causes of crime are derived from a person's preexisting knowledge of crime, criminals, and society provided by ideology, fed by needs and motives, and learned or developed in a social context. Belief that crime is due to social inequalities, for example, amounts to a partial theory of society consistent with left-wing political ideology, and (speculating heavily) with personality types characterized by high empathy, willingness to take a more complex view of the world, particular parental patterns of discipline, and so forth. These attributional "diagnoses" then suggest compatible sentencing goals (cf. Carroll, et al.,

1982). For example, rehabilitation is based on the premise that something has gone awry in the person's social history to cause criminal behavior and that the provision of training, greater opportunities and more favorable setting will encourage noncriminal behavior. Those who do not see the potential for change advocate the utilitarian goal of incapacitation based on the assumption that something about this person is irrevocably criminal.

Although we expect a great deal of consistency or "resonances" in various categories of attitudes and judgments about criminals, it will be difficult to establish causal precedence among variables that reinforce each other. For example, punishment-oriented judges believe that community resources are inadequate and that punishment is "good for offenders." Rehabilitation-oriented judges believe there are effective community resources (Hogarth, 1971; Forst & Wellford, 1981). Hogarth interprets this to mean that judges bring their beliefs about the effectiveness of sentencing options into line with their desired sentencing decision. Forst and Wellford assume the opposite, that judges' sentencing goals are responsive to the perceived effectiveness of available options. Batson et al. (1979) provide evidence supporting the latter view. Clearly, both may occur (Staw, 1975).

Whatever a person's beliefs regarding crime, their behavior in sentencing is unlikely to change their beliefs. Instead, by focusing on different information, sentencers can justify very different analyses of the same case. There is thus a confirmatory bias that restricts learning from experience (Einhorn, 1980). Hogarth (1971) found that judges favoring rehabilitation rely more on the recommendations of probation officers, consider more factors about the offender, and focus on the offender's attitude, lack of premeditation, and need for treatment. Judges favoring more punitive goals

consider more factors about the offense and criminal record and focus on culpability for the offense. Rehabilitation-oriented judges "tended to minimize the severity of the crime, found an element of remorse in the offender's attitude toward his offense, and found a great deal of pathology in the personal history and background of the offender" whereas those favoring deterrence and punishment "did not see offenders as having serious problems in their family or personal lives," saw "negative attitudes toward authority, and little remorse" (p. 376). Further, by associating with judges similar to themselves, judges fall prone to false consensus effects (Ross, 1977). Indeed, judges tend to believe that most other judges agree with them regarding sentencing goals: punitive judges think most judges are punitive, rehabilitative judges think most judges are rehabilitative, and so forth (Hogarth, 1971, p. 184).

Overview of Research

The present research is directed at creating measures of individual difference variables and demonstrating that they are related to one another (resonances). We have not attempted to use all possible measures nor to test causal relationships. The results will have implications for the nature and importance of individual differences in sentencing, for the theories underlying the framework, and for attempts to reduce disparity in sentencing.

In Study 1, a lengthy questionnaire containing measures of sentencing goals, attributions, ideology, and personality was administered to law and criminology students. Factor analysis was used to derive measures of each type of variable and analyses were conducted to identify resonances. Particular attention was directed at predictors of sentencing goals and of attributions. In Study 2, shortened scales directed at the resonances found

in Study 1 were administered to probation officers to determine the utility of these analyses with actual criminal justice decision makers.

STUDY 1

The major purpose of Study 1 is to develop measures of sentencing goals and attributions for crime, and to relate these to each other and to measures of ideology, personality, and demographics.

Items measuring sentencing goals and attributions were developed on the basis of a conceptual analysis of goals and causes. Goals were enumerated as punishment, rehabilitation, incapacitation, general deterrence, special deterrence, educating the public about improper behavior, improving the criminal justice system by making it more efficient and just, and enhancing the security of the system by demonstrating its strength and stability. Items were written for each goal in three contexts: what the criminal justice system is doing now, what it is trying to do, and what it should be doing. Attributions were classified according to Weiner (1974, 1979) and Carroll (1978, 1979) on three dimensions: 1) internal to the offender, e.g., a personality disorder vs. external to the offender, e.g., a poverty environment; 2) stable over time or long-term, e.g., the offender's intelligence vs. unstable or temporary, e.g., an impulse or victim provocation; and 3) intentional vs. unintentional, or the degree of mens rea or choice in the act. Combinations of the endpoints of these dimensions define eight possible cause types; items were written to fit each type.

The questionnaire also contained measures of ideology, personality, and demographics. Ideology was measured using the Radicalism-Conservatism scale (Comrey & Newmeyer, 1965). Three personality measures were used that have

been linked to the concept of sentencing: (1) Locus of Control, measured with items from Collins (1974); (2) Moral Development, measured with items from Rest (1979); and (3) Authoritarianism, measured with the Dogmatism scale (Rokeach, 1956). Demographic information was collected on age, sex, education, marital status, race, and parents' education, as well as academic major and crime victimization experiences.

Method

Subjects

A total of 730 students in classes at four Chicago-area law schools and three Chicago-area undergraduate criminology programs were solicited to complete a questionnaire at home and return it by mail for pay. 334 students (46%) did not return questionnaires, and twelve others (2%) returned questionnaires that were excluded from the analysis due to substantially incomplete responses. This left a sample of 384 students who returned usable questionnaires. 43.2% of these respondents were female and 56.8% were male. 35.4% were law students, 46.1% were undergraduate criminal justice majors, and 18.5% were undergraduates enrolled in criminal justice classes.

Materials

The questionnaire, titled "Attitudes Toward Crime Survey," included a total of 290 questions and took approximately one and one-half to two hours to complete. The entire questionnaire consisted of three sub-questionnaires or forms. Alternate orders among forms and forward and reverse random orders within forms were used to counterbalance potential order effects. Each form included a detailed cover sheet with instructions on how to record responses.

The first form, titled "Attitudes Toward Crime Survey - Crime Items - Forms A and B" included 160 attribution and sentencing goal items. Attributions of crime causation items were initially selected from a large pool of items written to reflect each of the dimensions under study. The final questionnaire included 56 attribution items spread evenly across eight 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. These sentencing goal items were further divided into three types: items directed at what the criminal justice system is doing now, what the system is trying to do, and what the system should be doing. Responses were given on seven-point Likert scales ranging from strongly disagree (=1) to strongly agree (=7).

The second form was titled "Attitudes Toward Crime Survey - Background Information Form X." 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, items from each scale 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. Responses to these items were on the same Likert scales used for the crime items. Form X also contained demographic information: age, sex, level of education, mother's and father's level of education, marital status, race, academic major, and victimization scales for personal and property crimes.

The third form 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." These were selected because of their manifest criminal behavior content. Responses were indicated directly on the form according to the standardized format of the test. Using standard procedures (Rest, 1979), a "Principled Morality Score" was constructed for each subject by summing scores from levels 5A, 5B, and 6 across the three stories.

Procedure

Cooperation in distributing the questionnaire was solicited from professors in law schools and criminology programs. Test administrators described the questionnaire as the preliminary form 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. Subjects were given the forms along with Opscan sheets and #2 lead pencils in preaddressed and stamped envelopes. They were instructed to complete the forms at home and return them to us by mail. Within one week after return of the questionnaires the subjects were mailed their pay.

Results

Scale Construction

Each individual difference variable was separately factor analyzed. These analyses were of particular importance for the newly-written goal and attribution items having uncertain factor structure. Scales were developed from the resultant factors and used in analyses to identify resonances and to predict goals and attributions.

Sentencing Goals. Sentencing goal items were factor analyzed to reveal item clusters. The sentencing goal factors were determined by examining preliminary eigen values and rotated factor loadings for one-factor to eight-factor solutions.¹ Using criteria of interpretability and marginal change in explained variance, the three-factor solution was selected as the most meaningful representation of sentencing goals. These three factors were labeled: (1) Satisfactory Performance - the criminal justice system does its job reasonably well, is trying hard, and seeks improvement; (2) Punishment - the criminal justice system is too lenient with criminals and increased penalties will produce fewer crimes; and (3) Rehabilitation - more and better rehabilitation programs, diversion, and scientific research will result in fewer crimes. Table 1 presents the highest-loading items for the three factors. For later use as dependent variables in multiple regression analyses, summary variables for each of the three factors were constructed by adding the scores of those items loading above .5 on factors 1 and 2, and above .45 for factor 3.

Insert Table 1

Attribution. The factor analytic process by which the sentencing goal factors were selected was repeated for the attribution items. 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-factor solutions, the first three factors were selected for rotation. There were, however, secondary factors interpretable as "insanity" and "drugs" that were not included because they accounted for little additional variance.

The three attribution factors were labeled: (1) Social Causation - crime comes from family problems, criminal associates, and drugs; (2) Economic Causation - crime comes from societal conditions of poverty and inequality; and (3) Individual Causation - crime comes from lazy, irresponsible, and uncaring individuals (see Table 2). Summary variables for each factor were constructed from additive combinations of the items loading above .4 on each factor for use in subsequent multiple regression analyses. In terms of the attribution dimensions from which the items were originally constructed, Social Causation is external, unstable, and unintentional; Economic Causation is external, stable, and unintentional; and Individual Causation is internal, stable, and intentional.

Insert Table 2

Locus of Control. Factor analysis of the twenty items reproduced the same four factors from Collins (1974): (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. Additive combinations of items loading above .4 on each factor were used to construct summary variables for later use.

Radicalism-Conservatism. Factor analysis of the nineteen items revealed three interpretable factors. These factors 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. Summary scores were constructed by adding items loading above .4 on each factor.

Dogmatism. Factor analysis of the sixteen items produced 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. Items loading above .4 on factor 1 and above .35 on factor 2 were additively combined into summary variables for further analysis.

Resonances

Factor analyses of the goal variables (Satisfactory Performance, Punishment, Rehabilitation), attribution variables (Individual, Social,

Economic), ideology variables (Moral Conservatism, Punitiveness, Welfarism), and personality variables (Difficult-Easy World, Predictable-Unpredictable World, Responsive-Unresponsive World, Just-Unjust World, Dogmatism, Helplessness, Moral Stage) revealed three factors accounting for 43.1% of the variance. The first factor included Rehabilitation, Economic Causation, and Welfarism loading positively above .4, and Punishment, Individual Causation, and Punitiveness loading negatively above .4. No other variables loaded above .2. The second factor included Punishment, Social Causation, Individual Causation, and Just World loading above .4. Punitiveness was the only other variable to load above .3. The third factor included Moral Conservatism and Dogmatism loading above .5, and Difficult-Easy World and Responsive-Unresponsive World loading between .3 and .4 (the latter loading negatively).

The first two factors are particularly interesting because they represent a mixture of sentencing goals, attributions, ideology and personality variables. The first seems to contrast a liberal, rehabilitation-oriented viewpoint with a punitive focus on the offender. It could be summarized as "We must help, not hurt, the criminal who is a victim of society." The second factor is primarily a punitive stance that blames the criminal and advocates a harsh justice in a "Just World." However, the Social Causation items are also found on this factor which is difficult to interpret. Perhaps the people who blame the individual for crime see social causes such as drugs, criminal associates, and family neglect as themselves the responsibility of the individual.

The third factor linking Moral Conservatism, Dogmatism, and two pessimistic IE factors, seems to represent a very closed view of the world not

strongly related to the sentencing and attribution items.

Predictors of Sentencing Goals

In order to examine our hypothesis that sentencing goals are determined by attributions, ideology, and personality characteristics, the scores on the three sentencing goal factors were each regressed onto all other types of individual difference variables (attribution factors, ideology, personality scores, and demographic summary variables) using step-wise multiple regression. Because of the large number of predictor variables and the tendency of step-wise analyses to capitalize on chance, only variables that entered as predictors at $p \leq .01$ or better were considered significant. Table 3 presents the results of this analysis. 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. The Punitiveness factor was so similar to the Punishment goal ($r = .64$) that it prevented more meaningful analyses and was dropped from these analyses. 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 Environmental Causation or Social Causation, did not believe in Individual Causation, were older, higher in moral development, and believed in Welfarism. Thus, the attributions of crime causation and several of the personality and demographic variables have a significant impact as predictors of sentencing goals. This supports the concept of resonances encompassing different classes of variables. In contrast to the previous factor analysis, these analyses link Social Causation to Rehabilitation rather than to Punishment.

Insert Table 3 here

Predictors of Attribution Factors

In the second multiple regression analysis we used ideology, personality and demographic variables to predict each of the three attribution factors. Table 3 also presents these results. Subjects' belief in Social Causation was significantly predicted only by the Just-Unjust World and Difficult-Easy World factors. 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 believe strongly 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, was negatively predicted by the Welfarism factor. In short, 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: people with strict moral attitudes believe that crime originates from greedy individuals who deserve to be punished.

Discussion

Our results strongly demonstrate that sentencing goals, attributions about the causes of crime, and measures of personality and ideology are closely related. The results further suggest that many conceptually distinct goals and attributions empirically cluster into only two or three orientations. We will first discuss the factors that emerged among sentencing goals and attributions, and then discuss the resonances that were found.

Sentencing Goals

Factor analysis of items reflecting eight sentencing goals produced only three factors, one of which was unexpected and represents an overall evaluation of the criminal justice system. This evaluation appears not to be a goal at all, and is uncorrelated with the other two goals ($r = .08, .01$) or with the crime causation factors ($r = .12, .01, .05$). It resulted from the inclusion of a broad range of statements about what the criminal justice system is doing and what it is trying to do. It seems logical that we found those people with more education, more crime victimization experiences, and higher levels of moral development to be less satisfied with the performance of the criminal justice system.

The remaining items cluster into two sentencing goal factors that focus on punishment and rehabilitation, respectively. This is consistent with other research that has found measures of sentencing goals to be correlated: those advocating "tough" treatment of criminals believe that such responses simultaneously provide just punishment, deter criminals, and protect society (Forst & Wellford, 1981; Hogarth, 1971). The punishment and rehabilitation factors are negatively correlated ($r = -.42$).

However, we must recognize that finer distinctions among goals are not only possible conceptually, but also that some research has found differences among goals such as punishment and deterrence (McFatter, 1978). We may resolve this in two ways. First, the finer distinctions may arise from different cases engendering different mixtures of goals even when the same judges who advocate punishment also advocate deterrence (i.e., individual cases engender finer distinctions than do individual judges). There is evidence that different cases evoke different goals (Forst & Wellford, 1981; Hogarth, 1971; McFatter, 1982). Second, it may be that there are large differences between the two goal clusters we found, and smaller differences between other goals within these clusters. Those smaller differences are simply more subtle. It may be, of course, that real judges or other more experienced criminal justice personnel would make more of these distinctions among goals. Study 2 provides some evidence relevant to this issue.

Causes of Crime

The items tapping causes of crime, initially constructed from three attributional dimensions creating eight types of causes, cluster together into three clear factors: Individual, Social, and Economic causes. Scores on these factors correlate only slightly (all r values are under .2). Each represents a different causal locus or behavioral mechanism underlying crime, and each is clearly related to well-established criminological theories. In Nettler's (1982) recent book, "Explaining Criminals," the three chapters devoted to kinds of causes exactly parallel these three factors: "Constitutions" (Individuals), "Lessons" (Social-Learning), and "Environments" (Economic).

Individual Causation portrays crime as the result of criminals--people who prey on others. In essence, this represents the Classic School of Criminology developed in the eighteenth century by Bentham (1923) and Beccaria (1968). Criminals are viewed as utilitarian hedonists who balance the costs and benefits of crime and noncriminal activities (Economists have updated this view, Becker, 1968). The response to criminals is to increase the costs of crime (deterrence), protect society (Incapacitation if deterrence fails), and preserve the moral fabric of society (just deserts or retribution).

The Social Causation factor identifies crime as an outgrowth of personal contacts between people. Broken families, criminal associates, and the drug culture represent the social relationships that produce crime. This factor encompasses the widely-respected theory of Differential Association (Sutherland, 1949) as well as the earlier Social Imitation Theory (Tarde, 1912) and Merton's (1957) notion of Anomy or Social disintegration as the source of criminal behavior. From this viewpoint, the response to criminals is rehabilitation: they must be removed from their faulty social contacts and taught proper behaviors.

The Economic Causation factor locates the causes of crime in broad social conditions such as poverty, unemployment, and discrimination. These are known as Ecological, Cartographic, or Areal theories (Shevsky & Bell, 1955; Quinney, 1964). The natural response to crime in this view is to fix the system and rehabilitate those who have been its victims. Thus, it is not surprising that the best predictor of scores on Economic Causation is belief in Welfarism--the power and responsibility of government to help people.

Presumably, these causal beliefs represent coherent alternative viewpoints advocated not only by the lay public, but also by criminologists. The "real"

causes of crime are undoubtedly a complex mixture of all three. As yet, our multicausal theories of crime offer little more than lists of these causes (e.g., Glueck & Glueck, 1968). Attribution theory helps organize and classify these sub-theories of criminogenesis, but should not be confused with a theory of crime.

Resonances

Alker and Poppen's (1973) description of resonances between ideology and personality received strong support and extension. We also found normative and humanistic clusters. First, advocacy of rehabilitation and belief in Economic causation are both strongly related to belief in Welfarism ($r = .39$ and $.31$). Rehabilitation and Economic Causation correlate $r = .34$. This triad seems to reflect the ideological Left: the government, not the person, is blamed for crime and the government should help people. The only personality measure that predicts either Rehabilitation or Economic causation is a weak relationship to higher levels of moral reasoning.

Second, advocacy of Punishment and belief in Individual Causation seem to relate closely to personality and moral ideology (rather than political ideology) consistent with the ideological Right. Those high in Moral Conservatism believe in Individual Causation ($r = .26$). Those who believe in a Just World also advocate Punishment ($r = .26$) and believe in Individual Causation ($r = .18$). Although these groupings are rough, it appears that beliefs associated with Punishment reflect the Authoritarian syndrome with heavy moral overtones; whereas the Rehabilitation grouping is a more conscious political orientation. The pattern quite closely corresponds to Miller's (1973) analysis of ideology and criminal justice policy.

STUDY 2

The major purpose of Study 2 was to extend the results of Study 1 to a population that was more demonstrably expert about crime and that had responsibility within the criminal justice system. The second purpose was to include a more traditional F-scale measure of Authoritarianism which has been widely used in criminal justice research (e.g., Mitchell & Byrne, 1973).

A final reason to conduct Study 2 was to test whether the collapsing of goal items into a Punitive or Tough orientation was due to poor item construction. A careful examination of the goal items from Study 1 suggested that some of the Incapacitation items were not clearly written and could represent a mixture of goals, resulting in a failure to separate this goal from others. To correct this possible flaw, several new Incapacitation items were written.

Method

Brief questionnaires were distributed attached to weekly paychecks of all 215 Probation Officers and Supervisors of the Cook County Chicago Probation Department. Stamped, self-addressed envelopes were included to return the completed questionnaires. 101 of the 215 questionnaires (47%) were returned.

The questionnaire consisted of 35 questions: 12 goal items, 12 items measuring causes of crime, and 11 measuring ideology/personality. Four different item orders were constructed from two random orders forward and

reverse. All questions were answered on a seven-point Likert scale from strongly disagree (=1) to strongly agree (=7).

The goal questions included the four highest loading items from the Rehabilitation Scale (Table 1), those four of the six items from the Punishment Scale (Table 1) most directly concerned with punishment, and four newly constructed items aimed at Incapacitation: "The purpose of prison is to keep dangerous people off the streets," "Prison sentences should be based on protecting the community from those who will commit more crime," "Crime can be prevented by putting repeat offenders in prison where they can do no harm" and "Prisons should only release criminals when they are sure there is no risk to the community."

The causes of crime questions included the four highest loading items from each of the three factors (Social, Economic, and Individual) in Table 2. The ideology/personality questions included a three-item Just World scale and a two-item Welfarism Scale drawn from the results of Study 1, and a six-item F-scale using all four items from Lane (1955), three of which are on the six-item scale of Janowitz and Marvick (1953), and two of the three remaining items from the latter scale (dropping only "Women should stay out of politics").

Results

Scale Construction

Sentencing Goals. The 12 goal questions were designed to represent three goals: Punishment, Incapacitation, and Rehabilitation. Additive scales for these goals each have good reliability ($\alpha = .61, .65, \text{ and } .61$, respectively). However, correlations among the scales show that Punishment and Incapacitation correlate $r = .54$ ($p < .001$), nearly at the level of their

reliability. They correlate $r = .21$ ($p < .05$) and $r = -.04$ (n.s.) with Rehabilitation. In short, it appears that there may be only two empirically-distinct goals.

A new factor analysis of the 12 items was ambiguous regarding whether two or three factors best represent the goals. Two factors account for 44% of the variance and clearly divide the Rehabilitative items from all others, as occurred in Study 1. The third factor accounts for an additional 10% of the variance (eigen value = 1.2) and results in splitting the non-rehabilitative items into two factors: (1) Get Tough--items mentioning the words "tough" or "lenient" and the tough-sounding item "Prisons should only release criminals when they are sure there is no risk to the community"; and (2) Prison is useful--three items about keeping dangerous or repeat offenders off the streets and "Criminals should be punished for their crime in order to make them repay their debt to society." However, three of the four Get Tough items load above .3 on the Prison is Useful factor, and three of the four Prison is Useful items load above .2 on Get Tough. These data therefore suggest that there is little if any need for a third factor and that, empirically, the tougher goals do not split into Punishment and Incapacitation but rather into a general predisposition to Get Tough and a more thoughtful appreciation of the utility of prison. We therefore decided to retain the two-factor solution with a four-item Rehabilitation scale and a seven-item Punishment scale, dropping one item that loaded below .3 in the two-factor solution ("If lawmakers would make tougher laws against crime, we wouldn't have so many criminals").

Attributions. The 12 causes of crime questions were designed to represent three causal loci: Social interactions, broad Economic conditions, and

Individual criminal characteristics. Additive scales for these causes did not have as high reliabilities as did the goal questions ($\alpha = .34, .57, \text{ and } .62$ respectively), with the Social items particularly low. Moderate correlations existed among the scales: Social correlated $r = .26$ ($p < .01$) with Economic and $r = .15$ ($p < .10$) with Individual, and Economic correlated $r = -.24$ ($p < .01$) with Individual.

A new factor analysis of the 12 items suggested three highly interpretable factors accounting for 49% of the variance: (1) Drug—the two items mentioning drugs load above .5 and no other items load above .4; (2) Economic—three of the four Economic items load above .4 (two are above .6) while the last item loads .27. Apparently, "Equitable distribution of wealth in society is the only way we can expect to eliminate crime" is too extreme for this population; and (3) Individual—all four Individual items load above .4 (two are above .6) and they are joined by one of the Social items, "People learn to be criminal from associating with people who are criminal." This item loads above .5. Apparently, students feel that associating with criminals reflects a criminogenic social milieu along with drugs and family neglect, but Probation Officers strongly attach criminal associates to criminal types.

Personality and ideology. The 11 personality and ideology items were aimed at three concepts: F-scale, Just World subscale of the IE scale, and Welfarism. The F-scale has a very low reliability ($\alpha = .22$), however, items were selected to span the subareas of the Authoritarianism Syndrome and are thus meant to be valid and not necessarily internally consistent. The Just World subscale also had a low reliability ($\alpha = .18$). Removing the item "Capable people who fail to become leaders have not taken advantage of

their opportunities" raises alpha to .42. The removed item sounds more like an F-scale item and indeed loads on factors with other F-scale items if all 11 items are factor analyzed together. The two-item Welfarism scale produced good reliability (alpha = .59).

Resonances

Factor analysis of the goal variables (Punishment and Rehabilitation), attribution variables (Individual, Economic, and Drug), ideology (Welfare), and personality (F-scale and Just World) revealed two factors explaining 52.9% of the variance. The first factor included the following variables loading at .4 or more: Punishment, Individual causation, F-scale and Just World. No other variables loaded above .35. The second factor included Rehabilitation, Economic causation, Drug causation, and Welfarism loading above .4. No other variables loaded above .15.

A parallel factor analysis using the scales developed in Study 1 revealed similar results, with Punishment and Incapacitation loading strongly on the first factor along with Individual causation, F-scale, and Just World, and Economic and Social causes loading on the second factor along with Rehabilitation and Welfarism. Thus, although Study 2 utilized fewer subjects and shorter scales, the results are highly supportive of the resonances found in Study 1.

Predictors of Sentencing Goals

Analogously to Study 1, sentencing goals were regressed onto the causes of crime, personality/ideology measure, and age and education level. The results are presented in Table 4. Advocacy of Punishment was predicted by belief in Individual Cause, higher F-scores, and being older. This provides a very consistent portrayal of conservatism. It is interesting that in this more

diverse population, older people are more conservative (cf. Feather, 1979), whereas among the students of Study 1, it was the reverse.

Insert Table 4

Advocacy of Rehabilitation was predicted by a belief in Drug and Economic causation and a denial of Individual causation, along with a belief in Welfarism. This is very closely parallel to the results of Study 1.

Predictors of Attribution Factors

As shown in Table 4, belief in Drugs as a cause of crime was predicted by being older and belief in Welfarism. Belief in Economic causation was predicted only by belief in Welfarism. Welfarism again emerges as a key element associated with the liberal resonance. In contrast, Individual causation was espoused by those with higher F scores, those believing in a Just World, and older persons. The conservative ideological resonance thus emerges as authoritartianism, belief in a Just World where people get what they deserve, belief in Individual factors causing crime, and advocacy of Punishment.

Discussion

The results of Study 2 strengthen and clarify what emerged from Study 1. Among expert decision makers in the criminal justice system, there is again a fusion of sentencing goals into two orientations: punishment and rehabilitation. There were some indications that the punishment orientation might divide into a general tendency toward harsh sentences and an

appreciation of the usefulness of prison, somewhat like Retribution vs. Utilitarianism (e.g., Diamond & Herhold, 1981). However, this distinction received minimal support.

In contrast to the similarity of goal factors between students and probation officers, the relationships among causes of crime were somewhat different. Students conceptually link interpersonal or social factors such as family, drugs, and criminal associates. Probation officers create a separate Drug factor (note that students did exhibit a weak Drug factor as well) and link criminal associates with the Individual cause factor. Perhaps they believe that only criminal types associate with criminals. The single item of family problems does not link with any factor for the officers. However, the overall content of Economic and Individual causes is quite consistent across the two studies. We should note that the comparison of these two groups of subjects probably understates the range of possible differences since law and criminology students are more sophisticated than most students on these issues and probation officers are less sophisticated than other more professionalized criminal justice groups such as judges.

The analyses of the resonances among goals, causes, personality and ideology measures reveal results consistent with Study 1 that are even more coherent despite the smaller number of subjects. The resonance of conservative ideology and authoritarian personality emerges clearly. Punishment, belief in Individual causation, and F scores closely intertwine. Belief in a Just World seems also associated with this grouping, and older subjects are more likely to endorse this moralistic position. The resonance of liberal ideology also emerges in the advocacy of Rehabilitation, belief in Economic causes of crime, and belief in Welfarism--the responsibility of

government for its people (both victims and perpetrators). Belief in Drug causation seems to join this liberal orientation, although older subjects tend to espouse Drugs more strongly as a cause of crime.

Implications

These results have important implications for theories of individual differences in sentencing, for attribution theory, and for attempts to reduce sentencing disparity. First, our research presents a set of broad and coherent connections (resonances) underlying a diverse set of individual difference variables relevant to sentencing. This framework therefore offers a useful and parsimonious means for organizing the many piecemeal studies that continue to proliferate. Although the framework does not claim to encompass all individual differences, it does include a broad set of attitudinally-based measures.²

Second, it is important to recognize the central role of causal reasoning in the translation of beliefs into sentencing recommendations. Cases are dealt with by creating plausible stories (Pennington, & Hastie, 1981) or evoking categorical diagnoses (Carroll et al., 1982) that contain causal links among the crime, criminal record, and background knowledge of the offender. These diagnoses suggest prognoses and treatment plans. Hence, causal reasoning seems central to the process of sentencing (Carroll & Weiner, 1982).

Finally, attempts to reduce disparity in sentencing may founder on deeply-rooted differences among people. Resonances comprise many mutually-supporting beliefs that "resonate" with vertical and horizontal integration (Bem, 1970). One could not turn a punishment-oriented person into a rehabilitation-oriented person without considering the beliefs supportive of

that goal. Thus, disparity is unlikely to go away at the first intervention. As Galegher and Carroll (1983) point out, sentencing guidelines have been unsuccessful at reducing disparity in judicial sentences in several jurisdictions. Successful implementation of such disparity-reducing interventions requires commitment on the part of the decision makers and a structure that relates the innovation to a clear set of agreed-upon policy goals. The investigation of resonances lays the groundwork for policy discussion by describing the consistent viewpoints of different segments of the criminal justice community. Such discussion will enhance policy formulation which in turn will improve the possibility of successful interventions to reduce disparity.

Footnotes

1. To detect items with low communality estimates, and to reduce the overall number of items to be included in the primary analyses, data from the 160 combined sentencing goal and attribution items (Forms A and B) were initially factor analyzed using orthogonal rotation with a minimum eigen value cutoff of 1.0. Nineteen factors emerged from this analysis. Items with final communality estimates below .1 were excluded from further analysis, leaving 47 attribution items and 87 sentencing goal items.

2. Resonances extend beyond the domain of criminal justice, for example, to the concept of Theory X and Theory Y managers (McGregor, 1960; Schein, 1980). Theory X managers have the conservative belief that workers are lazy and selfish and must be controlled by outside incentives. Theory Y managers have the liberal and more complex view that workers have many kinds of motives and are primarily self-motivated. These assumptions about human nature influence managerial behavior in much the same way that ideology and beliefs about the causes of crime relate to sentencing goals and sentences.

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FIGURE 1

FRAMEWORK FOR INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES IN SENTENCING

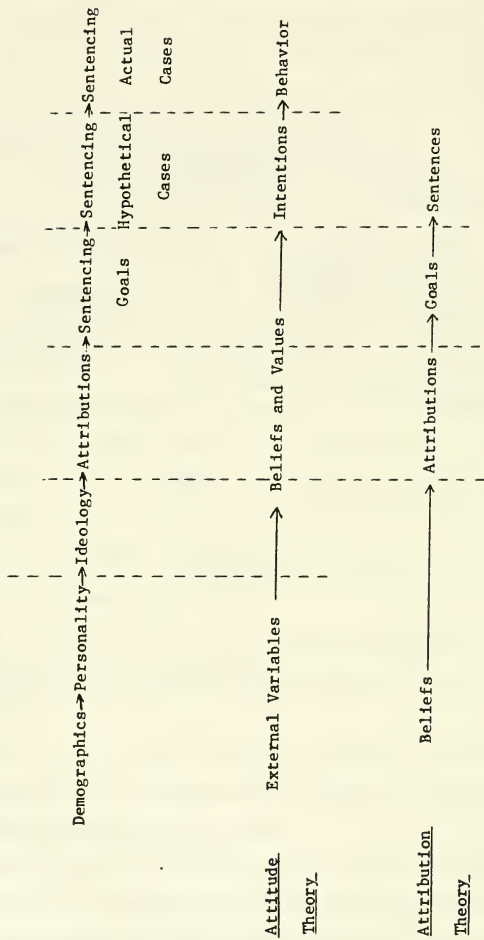


TABLE 1

Sentencing Goal Items, Factor Loadings,
Means, and Standard Deviations

Item	FACTOR LOADINGS			Mean	S.D.
	1	2	3		
The criminal justice system works reasonably well the way it is now	.61	-.04	-.13	2.88	1.49
The criminal justice system presently devotes much of its energy to preventing people from repetitive criminal acts	.57	-.04	-.09	3.37	1.57
The criminal justice system is constantly finding better ways to combat crime	.56	.02	.03	3.47	1.39
The criminal justice system is trying hard to find better ways to rehabilitate criminals	.53	.08	-.04	4.08	1.35
Police, courts, and corrections are constantly seeking ways to improve	.53	.06	.02	3.95	1.52
Police, courts, and correction systems attempt to show each criminal the futility of criminal behavior	.53	.12	.04	3.82	1.54
Many new correctional procedures are too lenient	-.04	.67	-.11	4.72	1.41
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
More emphasis should be placed on keeping criminals behind bars	.09	.62	-.32	3.95	1.66
Authorities should adopt a "get tough" attitude with repeat offenders	-.05	.59	-.06	5.54	1.37
If lawmakers would make tougher laws against crime, we wouldn't have so many criminals	.10	.57	-.08	4.00	1.71
Criminals should be punished for their crimes in order to make them repay their debt to society	.09	.56	-.19	4.89	1.53

TABLE 1 (continued)

Item	FACTOR LOADINGS			Mean	S.D.
	1	2	3		
More and better rehabilitation programs for prisoners should be developed	.11	-.13	.64	5.56	1.34
If judges would divert more people from prisons into rehabilitation programs there would be less crime	.12	-.28	.57	3.97	1.54
The current trend in diverting people from prison to rehabilitation programs should be continued	.07	-.39	.56	5.09	1.41
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
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

TABLE 2

Attribution Items, Factor Loadings,
Means and Standard Deviations

Item	FACTOR LOADINGS			Mean	S.D.
	1	2	3		
At the root of much crime are early family problems	.55	.05	-.14	5.05	1.29
Drugs are a factor in many crimes	.51	.01	.07	5.06	1.46
People learn to be criminal from associating with people who are criminal	.45	.04	.16	5.08	1.18
Drugs and alcohol cause crime because people can no longer control their behavior	.45	.20	.08	4.00	1.54
o a person associates with has an influence on whether he will commit a crime	.44	-.01	.14	5.52	1.05
Many people who become criminals were neglected by their parents	.43	-.02	-.02	4.52	1.41
Poverty and inequality in society are responsible for much of crime	.25	.62	-.10	4.15	1.62
Many crimes are more the result of flaws in society than any basic criminality in the offender	-.15	.58	-.14	3.97	1.79
People who commit crimes are usually forced to by the situations they find themselves in	-.05	.55	.03	3.97	1.79
Equitable distribution of wealth in society is the only way we can expect to eliminate crime	-.09	.51	.06	2.95	1.59
People need to survive, and sometimes crime is the only alternative	.12	.48	-.11	4.55	1.79

TABLE 2 (continued)

Item	FACTOR LOADINGS			Mean	S.D.
	1	2	3		
People who are too lazy turn to crime	.20	-.05	.60	3.58	1.54
Most criminals deliberately choose to prey on society	.05	-.17	.49	3.91	1.55
Criminals are people who don't care about the rights of others or their responsibility to society	.25	-.28	.44	4.60	1.56
Once a criminal, always a criminal	-.02	-.06	.42	2.38	1.48
On the whole, welfare measures such as unemployment insurance and social assistance have made crime worse	.05	.09	.40	3.73	1.57

TABLE 3

Multiple Regression Analyses of Sentencing Goal
and Attribution Factors (Study 1)

Predictors	Sentencing Goals			Attributions		
	Performance	Punish	Rehabilitate	Individual	Social	Economic
Individual		.57	-.19			
Social			.19			
Economic			.23			
Just-Unjust World		.14		.14	.17	
Difficult- Easy World					.20	
Moral Conservativism				.26		
Welfarism		-.16	.39	-.18		.31
Moral Development	-.12	-.20	.13			
Age		-.11	.15			
Education Level	-.20					
Law Student						-.15
Prior Victimization	-.15					
Multiple R	.28	.65	.56	.35	.27	.40

Note: All coefficients are significant at $p < .01$

TABLE 4

Multiple Regression Analyses of Sentencing Goal
and Attribution Factors (Study 2)

Predictors	Sentencing Goals		Attributions		
	Punish	Rehabilitate	Individual	Social	Economic
Individual	.33***	-.37***			
Economic		.31***			
Drug		.21*			
F-Scale	.33***		.30**		
Just-Unjust World			.40***		
Welfarism		.15†		.24*	.18†
Age	.16†		.15†		.30**
Multiple R	.59	.66	.56	.24	.35

† $p < .10$ * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

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