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SPECIFYING PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR REHABILITATION: A FACTORIAL SURVEY APPROACH

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ABSTRACT

Several researchers have made significant advances in identifying the factors that shape treatment attitudes. These characteristics, however, often have been examined in isolation, without considering contextual features that likely influence citizens' opinions. Further, only preliminary evidence is available on how the attributes of the criminal, the crime, and the provision of treatment can shape public perceptions. The main focus of this research, therefore, is on identifying the conditions under which public support for rehabilitation varies.

Data for this study were collected through a mail survey of Ohio residents. Within the questionnaire, items were included that assessed demographic, experiential, and attitudinal information on each respondent. To assess the potential influence of offender, offense, and treatment characteristics on support for rehabilitation, several variables were combined to create a factorial vignette. This method allowed the researcher to determine the independent effects of each factor on support for rehabilitation. The respondents were asked to express their agreement or disagreement with five statements following the vignette. Additional items were included elsewhere in the survey instrument that assessed the respondents' global attitudes toward treatment.

The respondents largely supported rehabilitation for

the offender described in the vignette. Assessing more global attitudes, a substantial minority of the respondents believed that rehabilitation should be the main emphasis in most prisons, and support for correctional treatment was substantial across ten items that asked about particular rehabilitation policies.

Further analysis of the vignettes revealed few correlates of support for treatment. Age and adherence to a doctrine of forgiving sinners were positively related to support for rehabilitation. Conversely, conservatism and belief in a vengeful God were negatively related to support. Support for treatment likewise was reduced when the vignette described an offender who had committed a more harmful offense, who had a more serious prior record, or who had a serious drug habit, or when the offender was sentenced to intensive supervision probation. These variables were able to explain only 18 percent of the variation in attitudes toward rehabilitation. The implications of these findings are discussed.

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Many individuals have played key roles in the educational experience that underlies this report, and so, I would like to share my accomplishment with them. First, I wish to acknowledge my debt to the numerous people who have influenced my life in many, often small, but tremendously meaningful ways. My friends, family members, acquaintances, and even enemies have helped to make me who I am. Were it not for the interactions that we have shared, I might never have reached this point. For the influence they have had on my personal development, I wish to express my gratitude.

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CHAPTER 1

PUBLIC ATTITUDES TOWARD REHABILITATION IN CONTEXT

Because of the important role that public opinion plays regarding decisions about punishment and sentencing policy, it is critical that we have an accurate appraisal of the public's views. Recently, there has been a movement toward decreasing amenities for prisoners ("Alabama Prisoners" 1995), the re-implementation of chain gangs ("Alabama Prisoners" 1995; Cohen 1995; Gavzer 1995), long sentences for habitual offenders (Turner, Sundt, Applegate, and Cullen 1995), and other punitive measures. Often, policy makers suggest that these policies are implemented in accordance with the public will.

Such assertions are potentially problematic because it is unclear that citizens want only to punish offenders. Research has demonstrated that the public is punitive toward criminals. Other studies confirm, however, that most citizens believe rehabilitation is an important goal of corrections, and that they support efforts to reduce recidivism through treatment. Given a renewed interest in rehabilitation by leading policy makers ("Reno Urges Treatment" 1993; Huskey 1995), it is critical that we assess the potential complexity of public attitudes toward this issue.

Below, I begin by discussing the importance of studying

public opinion and attitudes toward rehabilitation in particular. I then provide a context for public attitudes, briefly discussing the history of rehabilitative ideology in the United States--its rise during the Jacksonian and Progressive eras and its reported decline in the 1960s and 1970s. As noted, some research suggests that the public endorses punitive handling of criminal offenders. This literature will be reviewed. Several arguments have been raised against the conclusions of these studies, questioning whether the public is truly as punitive as some reports might suggest. I will review the evidence which indicates that the public is not monolithically punitive, but instead maintains a moderate level of support for rehabilitation. These studies tend to show that citizens are willing to punish criminals, but that they also desire effective treatments that can help offenders avoid future criminal involvement.

Still, the available studies on rehabilitation attitudes are limited. They have used mostly broad approaches to assess what are likely complex issues. In contrast, the research on public punitiveness toward crime has examined in more detail how various subgroups of the population feel about criminal punishment and what characteristics of offenders and their offenses significantly affect the sanctions that the public believes are appropriate. These studies confirm the complexity of

public attitudes toward punishment. Because rehabilitation is negatively, although not perfectly, related to punitiveness, what these results tell us about public attitudes may suggest a need for more detailed analyses of opinions on rehabilitation.

In light of the limitations of past research, this dissertation attempts to advance existing knowledge by probing how several factors may structure support for rehabilitation. The potential influence of characteristics of respondents, offenders, treatments, and offenses will be explored. In addition, a closely related issue will be examined in a more limited way: the difference between global and specific attitudes toward rehabilitation.

Public Opinion and Public Policy

Erikson, Luttbeg, and Tedin (1980:3) observe that "public opinion as a concept derives its importance from its use as a standard for judging the popularity of government decisions." They further note the significant role that citizens' attitudes play in guiding policy making on particular issues. A wide variety of other uses of public opinion polls and surveys have also been noted (see Bradburn and Sudman 1988:Chapter 3), but most commentators agree that the study of public opinion is most strongly justified by its relevance to public policy.

When politicians' and citizens' views coincide,

politicians are likely to behave in a manner consistent with what citizens want. When they diverge, however, we must consider why lawmakers might act in accordance with public rather than personal desires. Erikson et al. (1980) observe that two conditions are required for policy makers to be responsive to the public. First, some incentive must exist that encourages a choice of public over personal preferences. Second, policy makers must have knowledge of public opinion.

The incentive for policy makers may be manifest several ways. Although many variations exist on what is considered "democratic" government, Monroe (1975:4) observes that "the key element in the concept of democracy, one which seems common to most uses of the term, is the notion that governments must take into account the wishes of the population and that the root of political power is the people themselves." Thus, by definition, a democratic system of government requires that consideration be given to the public will.

Officials also may be motivated by political self-interest--a desire to retain their positions. Monroe (1975) notes that a candidate's stand on any particular issue is only minimally related to whether the person is elected, and few officials keep all of their campaign promises once they are in office. Still, representatives who stray too far from the preferences of the public clearly are vulnerable to

challenges by competing candidates. Appointed officials too are restricted by public attitudes. The case of Jocelyn Elders, the former U. S. Surgeon General, provides a poignant example. After advocating that youth sex-education programs include discussions of masturbation, a proposal that was perceived to be widely unpopular, she was quickly encouraged to resign.

Erikson et al.'s (1980) second condition required for policy makers to respond to public opinion is knowledge of that opinion. In a classic study of public opinion and the voting behavior of congressmen, Cnudde and McCrone (1966) found that the largest effect of public attitudes on representatives was through the representatives' perceptions of the public will. It is not what the public believes that affects policy decisions, but what policy makers <u>think</u> the public believes. In this light, it becomes important to examine how officials obtain information about public desires.

Several sources may be used by policy makers to gauge public opinion. Bradburn and Sudman (1988) observe that congressmen often use opinion polls of their constituents, or they examine the results of national polls. They may also become informed through correspondence or direct contact with citizens. According to Johnson and Huff's (1987) research, policy makers in government administrative agencies also attend to public concerns. Although they most

often gauged citizens' attitudes through contact with interested groups or individuals, advisory groups, public hearings, and the media, they also used polls and surveys.

The quality of knowledge that is provided by these sources, however, typically is very poor. Personal contacts, media reports, and correspondence are likely to portray only the views of the most vocal and interested citizens or groups, which may not lead to sound social policies (Johnson and Huff 1987). The polls conducted by congressional staff often contain questions that are worded in a confusing or biased manner, and the return rates on these surveys are often less than 20 percent (Bradburn and Sudman 1988). Even the national polls, conducted by respected polling agencies, are problematic because they tend to oversimplify what are potentially complex issues.

In matters of correctional reform and offender rehabilitation, it is particularly important to seek an accurate appraisal of public views for three reasons. First, as I will discuss in more detail below, research has consistently shown that policy makers overestimate the punitiveness of public attitudes toward criminals (Gottfredson and Taylor 1984; Gottfredson, Warner, and Taylor 1988; Johnson and Huff 1987; Riley and Rose 1980). Thus, policies may be based on inaccurate perceptions of public preferences.

Second, rehabilitation is an important component of

criminal justice. As a justification for intervening with offenders, it provides a humanizing influence on the penal process that is not found in any other correctional philosophy (Cullen and Gilbert 1982). Thus, it helps to balance calls for ever harsher punishments with a concern for the well-being of all citizens, offenders included. Moreover, treatment programs can effectively reduce recidivism. The methods of intervention encompassed by the term "rehabilitation" include such diverse approaches as vocational training, education, work, and myriad techniques of psychological counseling. All of these strategies, however, share the goal of changing offenders or their life circumstances to reduce the chances that they will reoffend (see Palmer 1992). Programs vary in the extent to which they successfully treat offenders, but reviews of evaluation studies indicate that, overall, rehabilitative approaches result in lower recidivism rates than punitive measures or doing nothing (Andrews, Zinger, Hoge, Bonta, Gendreau, and Cullen 1990a; Garrett 1985; Gendreau and Ross 1987; Lipsey 1992; more generally see Palmer 1994).

Third, the available research on attitudes toward rehabilitation fails to probe the conditions under which treatment is supported by the public. Therefore, correctional policy makers cannot act on public opinion because the available indicators of citizens' attitudes are limited. Erikson et al.'s (1980) second condition for

responsive policy making has not yet been fulfilled: policy makers do not fully know what the public thinks about the rehabilitation of offenders. A more detailed analysis, therefore, is necessary to accurately inform correctional policy decisions.

Attacking Rehabilitation: Is Treatment Dead?

The Dominance of Rehabilitation

In various forms, the rehabilitative ideal has a long history of prominence in American criminal justice policy. During the Jacksonian era, penologists recommended social isolation as the most appropriate approach to the reformation of criminals. American society was under a great deal of strain from rapid immigration and urbanization, and the resultant disorder was seen as the root of criminality. Reformers believed that if offenders could be isolated in an orderly atmosphere, rehabilitation could be achieved (Cullen and Gilbert 1982).

A new conception of rehabilitation was ushered in during the Progressive era. Armed with the knowledge that the Jacksonian approach had been unsuccessful, the Progressives sought to individualize treatment and to encourage active participation by offenders in the reformation process. Indeterminate sentences were advocated for their ability to fit the needs of individual offenders.

The Progressives encouraged the expansion of parole; by tying an offender's release to his or her progress in treatment, responsibility for reformation was placed in the offender's own hands. A separate court system was developed for juveniles, reflecting the notion that youths needed special handling separate from adults. Finally, the Progressives embraced the use of probation as a means to further individualize offenders' sanctions (Rothman 1980).

The prominence of rehabilitation and the implementation of these innovations were driven largely by the Progressives' belief that the government could be relied on to ameliorate social problems through benevolent action (Cullen and Gilbert 1982). This faith in the state extended to several realms of society, including the regulation of private business practices and the management of the various urban social problems of this era (Cullen and Gilbert 1982). For those interested in controlling crime, the reformist orientation of the Progressives indicated optimism that offenders could be rehabilitated. And the state had the capacity to effectively address this vast social issue.

The Decline of the Rehabilitative Ideal

The rehabilitative ideal remained dominant until the late 1960s, but then its popularity began to decline (Allen 1981; Bayer 1981). This decline was largely due to attacks mounted by two groups. One camp, made up of politically

conservative thinkers, was concerned by what it saw as a breakdown in the social order (Cullen and Gilbert 1982). The legitimacy of society's order had been questioned by the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s. Protestors condemned United States officials for involvement in the Vietnam war. Women demanded rights equal to those of men, including the right to leave the home and seek jobs in the community. Riots broke out in several major cities. The rate of street crime was rising. In the view of this camp, these were not isolated incidents (Bayer 1981; Cullen and Gilbert 1982). The inability of society to control its citizens had degraded into a situation of lawlessness and social decay.

The solution to this crisis was a demand for "law and order" (Finckenauer 1978). At the heart of this approach was a call to abandon rehabilitation as a guiding philosophy for criminal sentencing. From the perspective of conservatives, rehabilitation was fundamentally flawed because a correctional system based on treatment was too permissive and coddled criminals (Cullen and Gilbert 1982). The uncertainty of severe penalties introduced by indeterminate sentencing undermined the deterrent capacity of punishment, and soft judges and parole boards shortchanged incapacitation by giving offenders short sentences or releasing them early (van den Haag 1982; Wilson 1975). For conservatives, it was clear that under the

philosophy of rehabilitation, crime paid (Cullen and Gilbert 1982; van den Haag 1982).

Conservatives may have become more vocal in their opposition to rehabilitation during this time, but they had never favored a system grounded on theories of treating offenders. What made this period distinct, however, was that liberals joined the call to dismantle rehabilitation. Facing the same signs of social upheaval as conservatives, this group of more liberal thinkers interpreted them quite differently. What liberals saw laid bare by demonstrations, riots, and political fiascos were abuses of authority, corrupt government, and immoral state activities. "The social context worked to sensitize liberals to the proclivity of the state to exploit or otherwise neglect its deviant and dependent populations" (Cullen, Golden, and Cullen 1983:2). What for conservatives had meant a need for greater social control, liberals interpreted as indications that the government was abusing its power and could not be trusted (Bayer 1981; Cullen and Gilbert 1982).

Despite differences in the interpretation of social occurrences, many liberals agreed with the conservative view that rehabilitation could not continue as the guiding philosophy for the handling of offenders (Cullen and Gilbert 1982). For liberals, however, rehabilitation was fundamentally flawed because it allowed and encouraged unjust treatment of criminals by a corrupted government.

These commentators rallied against a system that permitted the state to enforce therapy in the name of rehabilitation, sometimes involving extreme methods (e.g., psychosurgery, drug therapies, electric shocks). Although such interventions might be effective, liberals strongly questioned the humanity of these techniques (Allen 1981).

This group also expressed unease about the way rehabilitative techniques could be, and had been, used to serve unintended social ends (Allen 1981; Rothman 1980). In particular, parole release decisions were coopted by administrative concerns. Whether an offender conformed to prison rules often held more sway with parole boards than did the offender's reformation (Rothman 1980). Further, indeterminate sentences, which had been proposed as a means to tailor each offender's treatment to his or her individual needs, allowed judges wide discretion that often led to unequal sentences for offenders convicted of similar crimes.

In the face of what appeared to be an unjust philosophy, many liberals argued that justice should guide penal practice (American Friends Service Committee Working Party 1971; von Hirsch 1976). The objective of this reform was to constrain state power, which had been abused by judges and parole boards ostensibly in pursuit of rehabilitation. Under a philosophy of just deserts, sentences were to be determinate and should be legislatively fixed. They also were to become shorter since there was no

need to hold an offender until he or she was "cured." The Committee for the Study of Incarceration, in fact, recommended that few punishments should exceed three years in prison (von Hirsch 1976). Correctional officials could not be trusted to act benevolently under the ideal of rehabilitation, but many reformers believed that a just deserts model would lead the way to a more humane penal system by limiting the ability of the state to intrude into the lives of offenders (see, for example, Gaylin and Rothman 1976).

The Rise of Punitive Policies

As Cullen and Gilbert (1982) observe, the justice model did not provide any strong argument against the escalating punitiveness of conservative policies. Both the law and order approach of conservatives and the liberal justice model agreed that offenders deserved to be punished and that the severity of punishment should be regulated by the seriousness of the crime committed. "Having already agreed with conservatives that punishing criminals is the fully legitimate purpose of the criminal justice system, they [liberals] are left with little basis on which to challenge the logic or moral justification of proposals to get tough" (Cullen and Gilbert 1982:255). They can only debate over the particular amount of punishment that is deserved. Moreover, once rehabilitation is no longer a valid goal,

considerations of how best to protect the public can be structured only on the conservative call for harsher, more certain penalties.

Although a few writers continued to voice support for rehabilitation (Gottfredson 1979; Halleck and Witte 1977; Palmer 1975; Shawver and Sanders 1977), in the end warnings about the "poverty of the justice model" were not heeded. The offspring of the strange marriage of liberals and conservatives in the attack on rehabilitation was a movement toward consistently tougher punishments for offenders (Finckenauer 1982; Finkel, Maloney, Valbuena, and Groscup 1996; Gordon 1990; Greenberg and Humphries 1980; Macallair 1993; Scheingold 1984).

The most dramatic manifestation of the belief in escalating punishments to reduce crime is the record incarceration rate in the United States. Beck and Gilliard (1995) report that 501,886 inmates were incarcerated in federal and state prisons and local jails in 1980. By 1993, this number had jumped to 1,364,686, an increase of 171.9 percent. Perhaps more telling, the incarceration rate per 100,000 citizens more than doubled during this same period--climbing from 221 to 529. Showing a tremendous potential to add to this population explosion (Greenwood, Rydell, Abrahamse, Caulkins, Chiesa, Model, and Klein 1994), mandatory life sentences for three-time felons have gained unprecedented popularity among legislators in the past three

years (Turner, Sundt, Applegate, and Cullen 1995). Moreover, Gordon (1990) shows that policy makers also have gotten tough on crime by reinstating determinate sentencing (see also Greenberg and Humphries 1980), by narrowing defendants' rights, and by applying greater restrictions and surveillance to offenders sentenced to the community.

The Punitive Public?

In the representative democracy of the United States, where policy makers ostensibly are accountable to public preferences, we must ask whether the punitive developments of the criminal justice system are consistent with the will of the citizenry. Some research suggests that the public has become more punitive in its approach to criminals over the past 25 years. In this section, I present findings on the public's attitudes toward criminal courts, capital punishment, and other correctional practices and show how these data imply that the public seeks harsh punishments for criminal offenders. I also review several studies which indicate that the public may adhere to the more punitive justifications of punishment.

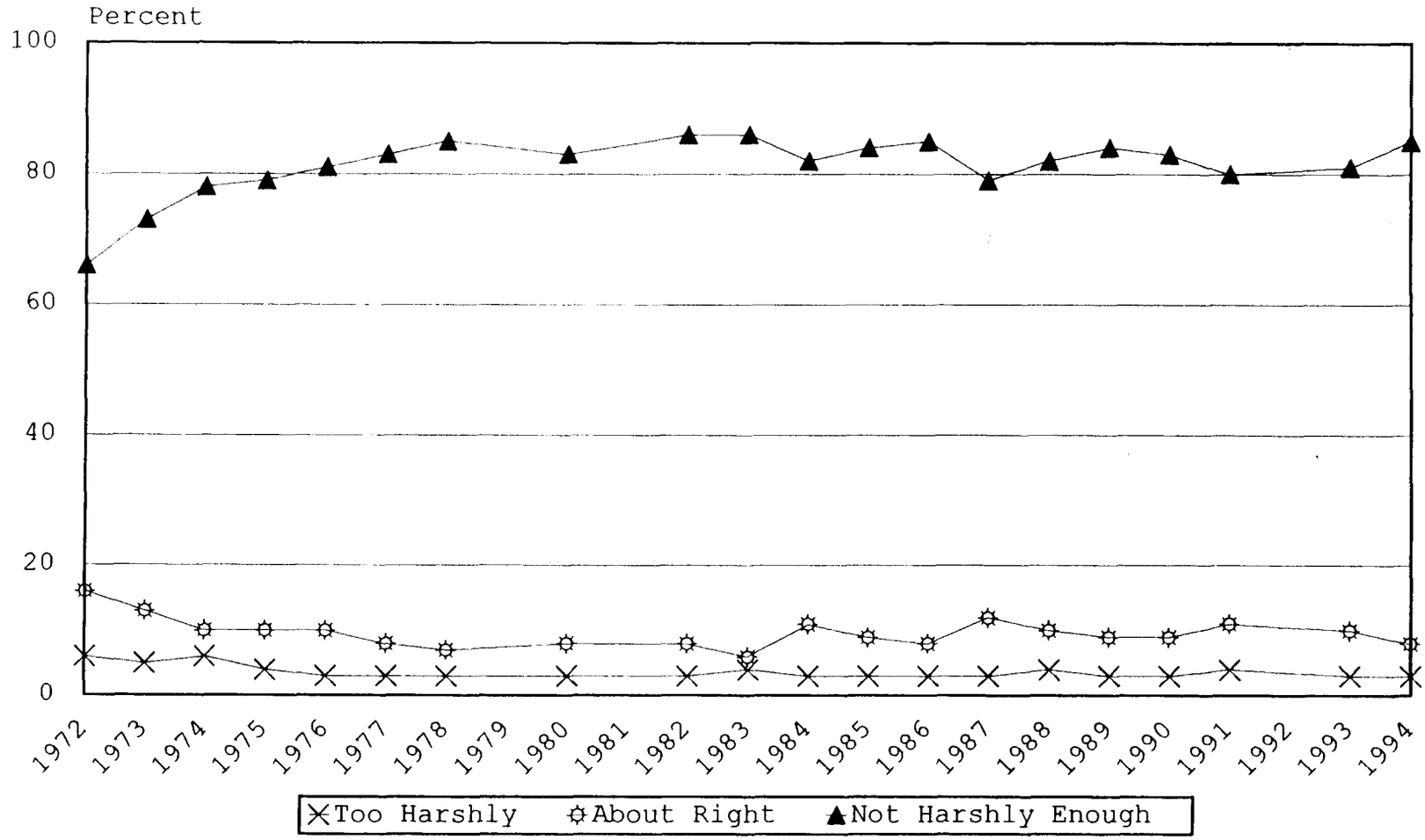
Indications of Public Punitiveness

For over two decades, the National Opinion Research Center (NORC) has asked the following question in its General Social Survey: "In general, do you think the courts

in this area deal too harshly or not harshly enough with criminals?" (Parisi, Gottfredson, Hindelang, and Flanagan 1979:321). Other researchers have reviewed the responses to this question over time, noting the consistently punitive stance of the American public (Smith 1990; Stinchcombe, Adams, Heimer, Scheppele, Smith, and Taylor 1980; Warr 1995). Figure 1.1 shows that the distribution of responses remains fairly stable for each year that data are available from 1972 to 1994. A rise in the percentage responding "not harshly enough" can be noted between 1972, when 66 percent provided this response, and 1978, when this percentage reached 85 percent. For the remainder of the series, however, approximately four out of five respondents each year thought that the courts in their area were too lenient in handling offenders. Furthermore, in any given year across the entire time span, no more than six percent believed that the courts were too harsh.

Other surveys of the public also have shown that citizens favor harsher courts. For example, 78 percent of those responding to a 1982 survey that asked whether "the juvenile courts are too lenient on juveniles found guilty of serious crimes" either agreed strongly or agreed somewhat with this statement (McGarrell and Flanagan 1985:192). Cullen, Golden, and Cullen (1983) report similar results for a sample of Illinois residents who also were asked about juvenile courts. More generally, a poll taken in 1984

Figure 1.1 Percentage Distribution of Responses to the NORC's question: "In general do you think the courts in this area deal too harshly or not harshly enough with criminals?"



Sources: Parisi, Gottfredson, Hindelang, and Flanagan (1979) and Warr (1995)

revealed that 72 percent of the citizens surveyed thought that "most judges are not harsh enough on criminals" (Jamieson and Flanagan 1987:88), and 73 percent of Ohioans ("Poll Shows" 1985) and Coloradans (Mande and Crouch 1984) agreed that judges' sentences are too soft. The American public also seems to be united on the reason that the courts should be tougher. Citizens believe that the leniency of the courts has contributed to violence in the United States (Toufexis 1989) and that stiffer sentences will help to reduce the crime rate (Flanagan and McGarrell 1986:151).

Despite differences in the way these questions have been posed, they show a striking similarity: each survey suggests that Americans desire stiffer criminal sentences than what they believe the courts currently are handing down. This conclusion holds whether the public is queried about judges in general, juvenile courts, or courts in a respondent's own community. As I noted in the previous section, criminal sanctioning has become increasingly harsh over the past two decades. Even so, the results presented here appear to show that the public's thirst for escalating punishments still is not satisfied.

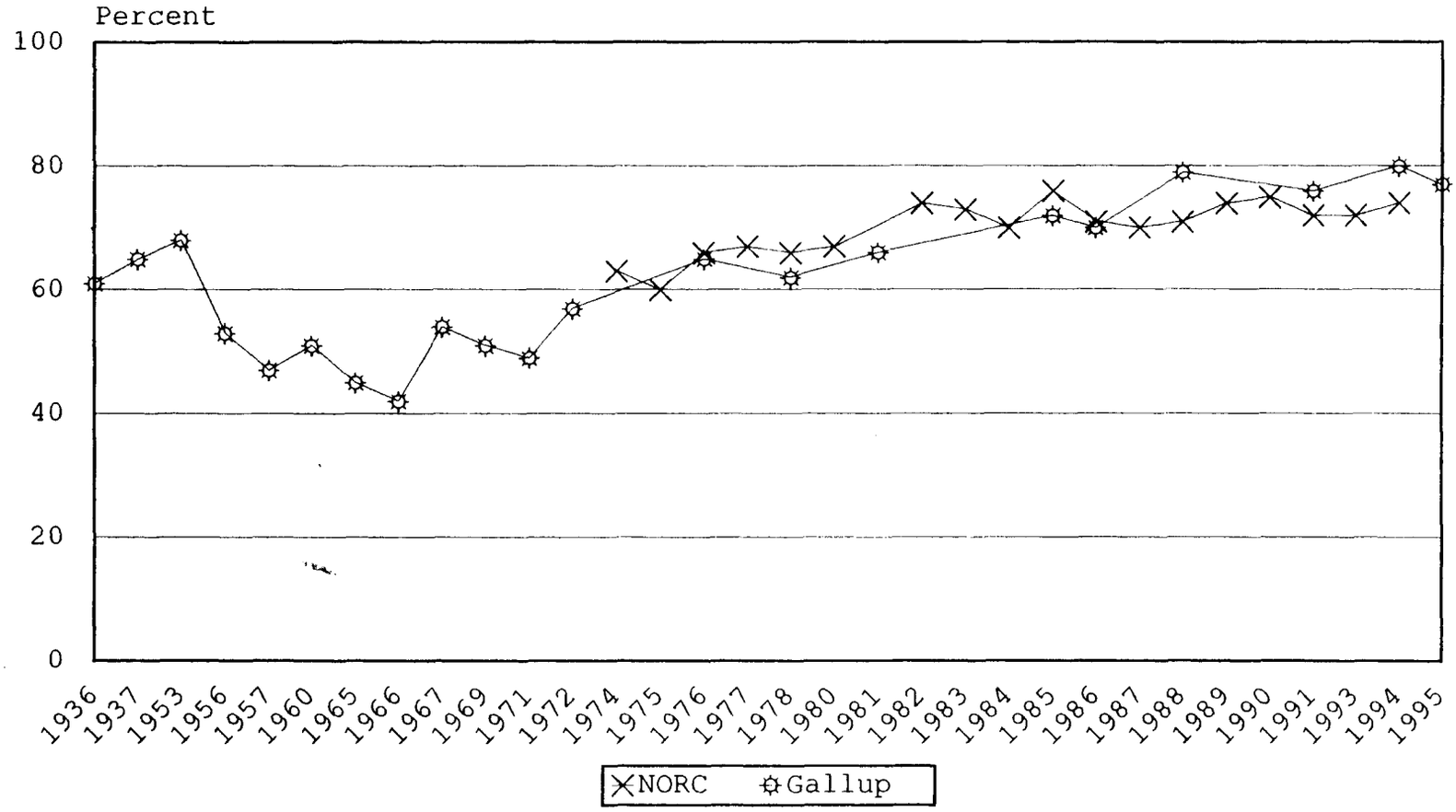
Another method of tapping public punitiveness is to observe attitudes toward particular sentences. One long-standing indicator of public sentiments is support for the death penalty. Because the death penalty is arguably the harshest sanction that can be imposed on an offender, the

extent to which the public supports its use can indicate the punitiveness that citizens feel toward offenders (see Stinchcombe et al. 1980).

In addition to the courts question reviewed above, the NORC General Social Survey also has included a question on capital punishment. Unlike the question on the leniency of criminal courts, the distribution of responses to the death penalty item has been somewhat dynamic (see Figure 1.2). In 1972, when citizens were asked, "Are you in favor of the death penalty for persons convicted of murder?" 53 percent responded "yes" (Warr 1995:307). This percentage rose to 60 in 1973, and in 1974 when NORC changed the question to "Do you favor or oppose the death penalty for persons convicted of murder?" 63 percent said that they favored the penalty (Warr 1995:308). As shown in Figure 1.2, support for capital punishment continued to rise unsteadily into the 1980s and has remained above 70 percent throughout the 1990s (also see Thomas 1994; "Poll Shows" 1985).

Another organization also has assessed national opinions toward the death penalty on a regular basis. The Gallup Organization's question has been revised five times since 1936 when the public was first queried about capital punishment (see Warr 1995:308-09), thus concerns might be raised about the comparability of results over time. Importantly, there are no obvious "blips" in support for capital punishment that might be attributed to changes in

Figure 1.2 Percentage of Respondents Stating that they Favor the Death Penalty: NORC and Gallup National Surveys



Note: Years in which neither organization reported data on capital punishment attitudes have been excluded from the horizontal axis.

Sources: Moore (1995) and Warr (1995)

question wording. Further, the findings of the Gallup polls confirm the pattern noted in the NORC surveys between 1972 and 1994. Finally, Gallup provides a longer series of observations than are available elsewhere. Gallup's polls extend from 1936 through 1995.

Figure 1.2 shows the distribution of responses to Gallup's various questions about death penalty support for the available years from 1936 to 1995. The most notable feature of this series is a slump in support for capital punishment during the 1960s. Beginning in the late 1950s and extending through the 1960s, those respondents favoring capital punishment comprised only approximately 50 percent of the sample. The 1970s, however, saw the beginnings of an increase in support for capital punishment that extended into the 1980s and, as noted in the NORC data, leveled off but has not declined in the first half of the 1990s.

While these data show that the public favors a punitive response toward convicted murderers, it is noteworthy that a substantial proportion of citizens feel that the death penalty also is appropriate for other types of offenders. In 1978, 32 percent favored capital punishment for rape, 37 percent for hijacking, and 36 percent for treason (Flanagan, Hindelang, and Gottfredson 1980:294-95). A decade later, the level of support for executing rapists had risen to 51 percent, for hijackers 49 percent, and 63 and 42 percent of respondents favored capital punishment for those who attempt

to assassinate the president and those who spy during peacetime, respectively (Flanagan and Maguire 1990:168). Additionally, and coincident with growing concerns over drug problems in the United States (see Maguire and Flanagan 1991:175), 72.7 percent of the citizens who were asked either strongly favored or favored mandatory death sentences for major drug traffickers (Maguire, Pastore, and Flanagan 1993:208).

In addition to opinions of courts and capital sentencing, data on a variety of other topics also suggest that the public is punitively oriented. For example, the participants in Doble and Klein's (1989) focus groups expressed a desire for prisons to be harsher. Based on a belief that many inmates "sit idle all day, in air-conditioned rooms, watching color TV or movies on a VCR," the respondents felt that offenders have too many amenities (p. 17).

The results of numerous polls show that citizens oppose practices that might allow criminals to receive lesser sentences or escape punishment altogether. Legislatively fixed sentences are overwhelmingly favored (Parisi et al. 1979:322). Most people embrace making parole more difficult, especially for violent offenders (Brown, Flanagan, and McLeod 1984:268; Maguire and Flanagan 1991:188; Maguire and Pastore 1995:172) and for those who have been paroled before (Brown et al. 1984:268). A

substantial proportion of citizens disapprove of plea bargaining (Cohen and Doob 1989-90; McGarrell and Flanagan 1985:229; Maguire and Flanagan 1991:188; Maguire and Pastore 1995:172). A majority of citizens feel that inmates should serve their full sentences (Cullen, Clark, and Wozniak 1985), and over three-quarters of the respondents to Skovron, Scott, and Cullen's (1988) survey opposed shortening prison sentences to reduce crowding. The overarching sentiment portrayed by these findings, that offenders should not escape their due punishment, is perhaps most clearly expressed in a 1989 poll reported in Maguire and Flanagan (1991:191). This national poll asked whether respondents were more worried about "letting criminals off too easy" or possible abuses of Constitutional rights. Only 16 percent were more concerned about the due process rights of the accused, whereas 79 percent were worried that criminals might not get stiff enough sentences.

Not only do people oppose possible subversion of existing sentences by systemic or due process considerations, the public also appears to favor escalating sentences. In particular, 79 percent of the respondents to a Time/CNN poll favored "tougher criminal penalties for juvenile offenders" (Toufexis 1989:57). Further, a majority of citizens would like to see first-time juvenile offenders treated the same as adults, and approval of this approach reaches 83 percent when the youth is a repeat offender

(Maguire and Pastore 1995:180). More generally, over 40 percent of the respondents in each of two studies endorsed longer prison sentences for offenders (Doble, Immerwahr, and Richardson 1991; Doble and Klein 1989), and most citizens would approve of building more prisons for this purpose, even if it required increasing taxes (Brown et al. 1984:269, 270; Maguire and Pastore 1995:178; "Poll Shows" 1985; "Tax Increase" 1988). Most recently, attention has focused on public perceptions of three-strikes-and-you're-out laws. In general, these policies seek to impose life sentences on offenders who are convicted of three serious crimes (Turner et al. 1995). Approval ratings of these proposals have reached up to 90 percent in one poll ("This is What You Thought" 1994) and typically are over 75 percent (Applegate, Cullen, Turner, and Sundt 1996; Maguire and Pastore 1995:169, 176; "More in O.C." 1994).

Justifications for Punishment

The underlying assumption of the data presented thus far is that the public is expressing its desire to "get tough." More direct assessments of the justifications for punishment supported by the public have been conducted. Before reviewing these studies, however, I briefly summarize the main aims of sentencing: rehabilitation, retribution, deterrence (both general and specific), and incapacitation. Additional goals also have been noted, and retribution in

particular might include several distinct concepts (see Finckenauer 1988; Walker 1985), but these justifications seem to be the most widely discussed in regard to public preferences.

Sykes and Cullen (1992) offer a summary of the main justifications for punishment. Under retribution, they note, "offenders [are] punished to balance the moral order" (p. 425). The sanction is not intended to control crime in any way, but is simply what the offender deserves according to the crime committed.

The remaining goals of punishment, however, do seek a reduction in the crime rate. A deterrence justification seeks to "reduce crime by insuring that it does not pay" (Sykes and Cullen 1992:425). That is, punishments are to be delivered such that they outweigh the potential benefits of criminal activity. Murphy (1995) provides an example which illustrates the distinction between general and specific deterrence:

> I have never been punished for cheating on my taxes. However, since I know that Jones has been punished for this, I am afraid to cheat on my taxes and thus obey the law in this area. This is an example of general deterrence. If Jones never cheats again because of a fear of being punished again, this is an example of special [or specific] deterrence (p. 2).

The rate of crimes also might be reduced if potential offenders were isolated from society. This is the goal of incapacitation. An offender is subjected to restrictive measures such as prison or the death penalty "so as to

prevent those crimes that would have been committed had the offender been free in the community" (Sykes and Cullen 1992:425).

Finally, rehabilitation as the purpose of state intervention seeks--through education or counseling--to address those factors in an offender's life that engender criminal activity. As noted above, the intention is to change offenders and their ability to conform their behavior to the law.

Clearly, endorsement of incapacitation or deterrence could be interpreted as evidence of punitiveness. These justifications are without bounds in the amount of punishment that could be imposed. Theoretically, extreme penalties would be a greater threat to individuals contemplating crimes and would be the most likely to deter an individual from recidivating.[1] Life-long imprisonment and execution also would be more effective means of incapacitation than, for example, probation or community service.

Rehabilitation, on the other hand, bears no obligation to punish an offender. The restoration of a criminal's

[1] Becarria (1963 [1764]) has argued that individuals might be encouraged to commit more serious offenses (e.g., murder) in order to avoid detection for a less serious offense (e.g., robbery) if the penalties for each crime are substantially the same. In this sense, a harsh penalty could actually encourage crime. What I am referring to, however, is a more general tendency to increase the punishments accorded offenders for <u>all</u> crimes.

ability to be a productive member of society may be achieved through any number of procedures; punishment is but one. In fact, the psychological literature on behavior change suggests that for an intervention to be effective, reinforcement of appropriate behavior should far exceed the infliction of sanctions (see Gendreau 1996). In this sense, then, support for rehabilitation would be an indication of non-punitiveness. More will be said later on the relationship between punitiveness and attitudes toward rehabilitation.

Perhaps the most difficult goal to interpret is retribution. It potentially has aspects that are decidedly against punitive orientations. Those espousing the just deserts model in the 1970s most clearly elaborated the position that retribution should place limits on both the intentional and the unintentional infliction of harm on offenders (see American Friends Service Committee Working Party 1971; Rothman 1980; von Hirsch 1976). Based on the research presented thus far, however, it appears that the public believes that offenders are currently getting less punishment than they deserve. Further, retribution seeks a punitive response to crime--whether for restoration of the social contract, vengeance, or other aims--and the endorsement of retribution as a correctional goal has been shown to be related to support for harsher courts (Hough, Lewis, and Walker 1988), longer sentences (McFatter 1978),

and capital punishment (Bohm 1987; Thomas 1977; Tyler and Weber 1982; Zeisel and Gallup 1989; and see Finckenauer 1988). Therefore, favoring retribution also seems consistent with a punitive stance toward criminals (see also Farnworth, Frazier, and Neuberger 1988:478; Cullen, Cullen, and Wozniak 1988:note 1).

Having established that retribution, incapacitation, and deterrence all may indicate a sense of punitiveness, I can return to the question of whether the public supports these goals. Roberts (1992, p.143) has noted a lack of consistency across surveys in the way researchers have posed questions about the goals of the criminal justice system. This situation makes summarizing public sentiments difficult. Still, several general observations are possible.

First, the public seems to embrace retribution variously as a goal of sentencing, prison, intensive supervision probation, and juvenile justice. From 1969 to 1982, Louis Harris has asked the public five times what they believed the main emphasis of prisons was and what they believed it should be (see Brown et al. 1984:262; Hindelang et al. 1975:218; McGarrell and Flanagan 1985:233; and see Innes 1993). In 1968, thirteen percent of Americans said that punishment was the main emphasis of prisons, and only

seven percent responded that they felt it should be.[2] The percentage indicating that punishment was the main aim rose to 21 percent by 1982, and the percentage reporting that they believed punishment should be the main emphasis increased each year (1970, 1978, 1981, and 1982) to a high of 19 percent in 1982.

These percentages may seem small, but it is important to note the steady increase in support for retribution. Also, several other surveys have indicated substantially greater levels of support. Over 91 percent of Riley and Rose's (1980) public sample thought that punishment should be a goal of the state correctional system. Likewise, the largest portion of respondents to a 1981 Texas poll indicated that punishment was the most important function of prisons, and in 1982 80 percent said that it was very important (Cullen, Clark, and Wozniak 1985). When Hough et al. (1988:212) asked a sample of British citizens what they thought "should be the main aims of the courts when sentencing someone for a crime like burglary or robbery," the largest percentage (44 percent) chose "retribution." Warr and Stafford (1984) report similar results for a sample of Americans asked about the most important goal of prison, 79 percent of Senese's (1992) Indiana residents said

[2] In several surveys, punishment is juxtaposed against deterrence, incapacitation, and rehabilitation. In these cases, it is assumed that "punishment" therefore refers to retributive sentiments.

retribution should be the purpose of punishment, and Cullen et al. (1983:9) report that 84.7 percent of those responding to their survey agreed with the statement that "most juveniles who commit crimes know fully well what they are doing and thus deserve to be punished for their offenses."

A second general characterization that might be made of public attitudes toward the justification of punishment is that citizens do not reject utilitarian concerns. Indicating possible punitive sentiments, the public seems to favor deterrence, and at least one poll shows that incapacitation has gained popularity. In the Harris polls discussed above, only twelve percent of the respondents said that the goal "to protect society" (which seemingly would include both deterrence and incapacitation) should be the main emphasis of prisons in 1968. In 1978, 1981, and 1982, however, this group had grown to over 30 percent. Support for incapacitation and deterrence also rose in Texas. Between 1979 and 1980, the percentage of respondents saying that incapacitation was a very important function of prisons increased from 43 percent to 61 percent, and by 1982 83 percent chose deterrence as very important (Cullen, Clark, and Wozniak 1985). Further, deterrence (Hough et al. 1988) and incapacitation (Warr and Stafford 1984) were second in popularity to retribution in two studies, and the largest percentage of Senese's (1992) respondents indicated support for special (81 percent) and general (79 percent)

deterrence.

Third, public support for the only goal of corrections noted above that does not have a punitive component--rehabilitation--appears to have declined substantially over the past two decades. Although a slightly larger percentage of the public believed that rehabilitation was a goal of prisons in 1982 (30 percent) than in 1968 (25 percent), the proportion stating that it should be the main emphasis dropped from 73 percent to 44 percent (see Hindelang et al. 1975:218; McGarrell and Flanagan 1985:233). Combining data from several sources, Pettinico (1994) observed an even greater loss of popularity: 76 percent support in 1971, dropping to 25 percent in 1993.

Conclusions: Is the Public Punitive?

The public ostensibly has shifted away from rehabilitation toward more punitively oriented correctional philosophies (Flanagan and Caulfield 1984). Furthermore, national surveys appear to indicate that calls for harsher criminal sentencing have not declined and support for capital punishment has increased. Observing these trends, Pettinico (1994) has concluded:

> Simply put, Americans are fed up. They see crime rising all around them and, at the same time, they see a criminal justice system that, in their view, is far too lenient, lax, and forgiving. In response, the public is demanding a stress on retribution over rehabilitation, long prison terms over early release, increased use of the death penalty, and placing the safety of society over the happiness of the

> incarcerated...when it comes to criminals, it appears that the American people have run out of cheeks to turn (p. 32).

In contrast, however, several researchers have questioned such a pessimistic view of the public, contending that Americans are not yet ready to nail shut the coffin on rehabilitation. These arguments are presented in the following section.

The Tenacity of the Rehabilitative Ideal

Scholars have argued that much of the existing research on punitiveness has tended to simplify complex issues and has provided an inaccurate representation of public opinion (Johnson and Huff 1987; McCorkle 1993; Roberts 1992; Thomson and Ragona 1987; Zamble 1990). Researchers have most often oversimplified assessments of attitudes toward correctional options in two ways. First, surveys have tended to ask the public to assess criminals "as global, undifferentiated categories" (Thomson and Ragona 1987:339). For example, a poll that asks only whether sentences for criminals should be harsher necessarily requires respondents to equate violent and nonviolent criminals, males and females, and recidivists and first-time offenders, even though attitudes toward these groups may differ. Such a question might overestimate the punitiveness of the public because as Roberts (1992) notes, when respondents are not explicitly asked to consider different types of offenders, the

responses provided tend to be based on worst-case scenarios.

The second way that researchers have increased the apparent punitiveness of the public through oversimplification is by limiting the response categories available to respondents (Duffee 1980:194; Himelfarb 1990; Roberts 1992; Sandys and McGarrell 1995; Zamble 1990). When respondents are allowed to report only whether they would support capital punishment, their true preferences--for something less than the death penalty--may not be expressed. Citizens who choose prison over probation as an appropriate sentence for offenders might really prefer an intermediate sanction, but this will not be discovered unless respondents are afforded such options (see Doble et al. 1991; Doble and Klein 1989; Jacobs 1993). Further, when citizens are asked to chose the most important goal of corrections (or prisons), we are provided no information on their secondary preferences or on the relative priority that they might assign to each goal. As the research presented below demonstrates, looking only at respondents' primary goals provides only a limited picture of public preferences.

The research reported in the following section indicates that the impression of the public as monolithically punitive is much mistaken (see Flanagan and Caulfield 1984). In this section, I begin by reporting the evidence that challenges whether attitudes toward the criminal courts, capital punishment, and other criminal

justice policies truly indicate a punitive public. Next, research on attitudes toward rehabilitation is presented, showing that the public still supports offender treatment as a correctional goal. A separate discussion is presented for the goals of two special populations: crime victims and correctional policy makers. Finally, the section concludes with a discussion of the public's perceptions of the effectiveness of rehabilitation.

Public Support for Harsher Courts

I reviewed above a long-standing series of public opinion questions about two issues: the harshness of criminal courts and the death penalty. The courts item consistently showed that the public thought that court sentences were not harsh enough. Several recent studies, however, have challenged whether the public truly favors sentences that are tougher than those meted out by the courts.

For example, Zamble and Kalm (1990) asked a group of Canadian citizens whether they felt that the sentences given out by the courts were too lenient or too harsh. The responses were typical of this type of question: a large majority (88 percent) reported that the sentences were too lenient. Despite this result, when the researchers asked the respondents to sentence a set of hypothetical offenders, the punishments assigned closely resembled those typically

given by the courts. Thus, 82 percent of the respondents sentenced a convicted robber to prison, and 84 percent of actual robbery offenders received that sanction. Further, the average sentence lengths given in both cases were nearly identical (seven to twelve months for the public and six to twelve months for the courts). Other studies have shown similar concordance of attitudes and practices in the United States (Diamond and Stalans 1989; Rose and Prell 1955; Samuel and Moulds 1986), Canada (Roberts and Doob 1989), and Australia (Walker, Collins, and Wilson 1988). Moreover, at least two studies reveal that citizens are willing to accept lesser punishments than what they might prefer (Turner, Cullen, Applegate, and Sundt 1996; Walker, Hough, and Lewis 1988).

Thus, the public simultaneously demands harsher courts yet, in assigning hypothetical sentences, shows considerable agreement with court practices, a situation that Zamble (1990:16) calls "a profound contradiction." Roberts (1992; Roberts and Doob 1989), however, provides a possible explanation for the apparent disjunction in public attitudes: citizens are largely ignorant of actual sentencing practices and consistently underestimate penalties. Therefore, when citizens are asked whether the courts are too lenient, they respond based on their incorrect perceptions of the courts and indicate a desire for harsher sanctions. Regardless of the reason for the

discrepancy, the important point is that public attitudes toward the courts do not indicate overwhelming punitiveness.

Public Support for the Death Penalty

The conclusions drawn from death penalty polls also might be challenged. Bohm (1987) identifies three problems in interpreting much of the research on capital punishment attitudes. First, most people are uninformed about the death penalty. I have just discussed the effects of ignorance on the appearance of sentencing attitudes in general. A lack of knowledge about capital punishment in particular may be no less confounding. Second, because there were no executions in the United States between 1968 and 1977, capital punishment was not as salient an issue during that period. Finally, Bohm (1987:382) notes that it is unclear "what support for the death penalty actually means." Here he is referring to the discrepancy between support for capital punishment in abstract situations as opposed to more concrete conditions. For example, Bohm, Clark, and Aveni (1991:368) report that when respondents, who later were exposed to information about capital punishment, were asked, "which of the following statements best describes your position toward the death penalty for all persons convicted of first-degree murder?" only 28.3 percent expressed opposition (emphasis in the original). Similarly, just 28.0 percent opposed the death penalty for

some convicted murderers. In contrast, when the respondents were asked the more concrete question, "if asked to do it, could you pull the lever that would result in the death of an individual convicted of first-degree murder?" nearly half (47.2 percent) objected to execution (p. 368). Bohm, Vogel, and Maisto (1993) and Hindelang et al. (1977:325) report similar results.

In addition, Bowers (1993:163) asserts that people "will abandon the death penalty when presented with a harsh but meaningful alternative." In the 1985 Gallup poll that asked the public, "are you in favor of the death penalty for persons convicted of murder?" 72 percent said that they favored capital punishment. In contrast, when respondents were offered the alternative of "life imprisonment, with absolutely no possibility of parole," only 56 percent continued to favor execution (Flanagan and McGarrell 1986:187). Even more telling are the results of a study reported by Sandys and McGarrell (1995). These researchers first asked a sample of Indiana residents whether they supported capital punishment for first-degree murderers; 76 percent favored this sentence. When the respondents were confronted with the option of life without the possibility of parole, support dropped to 40 percent. The percentage of respondents favoring capital punishment declined even further, to 26 percent, when the alternative of life in prison without the possibility of parole plus work and

restitution to the victim's family was presented. These results exemplify the situation where public attitudes can appear to be more punitive than they really are because of the restricted response options available to the respondents. When these citizens were permitted only the ephemeral option of opposing the death penalty, support for capital punishment was high. Allowing them to choose more concrete alternatives, however, revealed that many of the respondents did not truly favor execution.

Other Domains of Apparent Punitiveness

Evidence challenging the notion that the public is solely punitive is not restricted to research on sentencing and the death penalty. Studies on other aspects of the criminal justice system also demonstrate public endorsement of a more reasoned response to crime. In particular, citizens are not wedded to the imprisonment of all offenders. They also approve of such non-incarcerative sanctions as intensive supervision probation (Senese 1992), halfway houses (Riley and Rose 1980), boot camps (Reichel and Gauthier 1990), electronically monitored house arrest (Brown and Elrod 1995), community adult rehabilitation centers (Gottfredson and Taylor 1984; Gottfredson et al. 1988), and restitution (Flanagan and Caulfield 1984). The popularity of these alternatives to prison is particularly high when they are applied to less serious offenders

(Barrum, Henningsen, and Young 1983; Immarigeon 1986; Riley and Rose 1980).

Further, several studies have revealed increased levels of support for non-incarcerative sanctions when respondents are provided information about alternatives to prison (Immarigeon 1986). The Public Agenda Foundation, for example, has conducted focus groups in three states in which participants have been asked to sentence a group of hypothetical offenders to either prison or probation (Doble et al. 1991; Doble and Klein 1989; Jacobs 1993). Typically, most of the citizens chose a sentence of incarceration. Following this "pre-test," the participants were shown a videotape describing the nature and cost of various intermediate sanctions. After learning about these alternatives to prison, many respondents resentenced the hypothetical offenders to one of the intermediate punishments.

In a similar regard, two recent studies have shown that when respondents are presented with a detailed description of an offender, their responses are far less punitive than when a "global" opinion question--one that does not ask respondents to consider specific offenders or specific situations--is posed. Looking first at global attitudes, Cumberland and Zamble (1992) report that 82 percent of their respondents thought the parole system was too lenient, and 87 percent said that too many violent offenders were being

released on parole. These sentiments are consistent with my earlier observation that people seem to oppose practices that might let criminals avoid their full punishment. However, when asked to decide on early release in particular situations, the respondents tended to approve of releasing offenders early. Citizens were most favorable toward parole for property offenders, but even for an offender convicted of aggravated assault, 58.2 percent endorsed early release.

Applegate, Cullen, Turner, and Sundt (1996) report similar results for attitudes toward three-strikes-and-you're-out laws. A global question--asking only whether citizens would approve of a law requiring life imprisonment for three-time offenders--produced approval rates as high as those found in the other studies cited above (88.5 percent). In contrast, when the respondents were asked to assign a punishment to a hypothetical offender described in a vignette, only 16.9 percent sought to impose a three-strikes type of sentence. This measure of more specific attitudes revealed that instead of life in prison, the largest proportion of the respondents favored incarcerating the offender for 5 to 15 years.

I noted above that several individuals who had participated in focus group discussions argued that prisons should be harder on inmates. As Doble and Klein (1989) point out, however, these respondents were not expressing a desire for draconian punishments. Rather, citizens wanted

offenders to be engaged in useful endeavors; they believed that inmates should "work hard in order to occupy their time, reduce expenses, and most important, to learn and internalize the work ethic shared by the rest of society" (Doble and Klein 1989:18).

What is not apparent is what form the public wants vocational programming to take. As observed by Morash and Anderson (1978:557), belief in the rehabilitative potential of hard work has been an enduring characteristic of American correctional practice "since the states assumed responsibility for punishing offenders." Furthermore, Cullen and Travis (1984) argue that expansion of employment opportunities for prison inmates might be acceptable to both liberals and conservatives. Such programs, they continue, would garner the most support if they promised "to rehabilitate inmates and hence to make society safer by transforming the wicked into productive citizens." In contrast, however, the "principle of least eligibility" maintains that the public will oppose programs or services for offenders that are not provided to law-abiding citizens (see Clear and Cole 1990:333). That is, "prisoners, because of their proved wrongful behavior, are the least eligible of all citizens for social benefits" (Clear and Cole 1990:333). Therefore, it is not clear whether the public will support the type of vocational activity that could lead to gainful employment for offenders after they have served their

sentences or only approves of menial labor aimed at keeping offenders occupied.

Public Support for Rehabilitation

The domain in which it has been demonstrated that the public is not unilaterally punitive that is most instructive for our purposes involves the research on attitudes toward correctional goals. As noted above, this research is difficult to summarize because of the inconsistent ways in which public support for punishment goals has been assessed. In addition, several researchers have noted other weaknesses in the literature.

First, when respondents are presented with a list of options, their responses may not accurately represent their support for particular goals. Instead, their answers may be based on the relative knowledge or understanding that they have of each philosophy (Roberts and Gebotys 1989). Alternatively, these choices may be biased by the social desirability of various justifications. Dillman (1978:62) observes that socially desirable answers are those that a respondent thinks conform "to dominant belief patterns among groups to which the respondent feels some identification or allegiance." Roberts and Gebotys (1989) argue that utilitarian goals might seem more civilized, and therefore more acceptable, than the baser justification of retribution.

Second, Johnson and Huff (1987) observe that individuals often are asked only to indicate the most important goal, or they are requested to select all goals that they feel are important without assigning priorities. As I noted above, this approach provides no information on the relative importance of each justification. Issues of secondary concern still may be quite meaningful to respondents, but these attitudes are not examined.

Third, researchers also are inconsistent with regard to the segment of the criminal justice system that is brought to the attention of respondents. While some have asked about the correctional system in general (Gottfredson and Taylor 1984; Gottfredson et al. 1988; Knowles 1987; Flanagan and Jamieson 1988:158-59; Roberts and Edwards 1989; Roberts and Gebotys 1989; Thomson and Ragona 1987), others focus on sentencing in the courts (Hough et al. 1988; McGarrell and Flanagan 1985; Roberts and Doob 1989; Steinhart 1988), the purpose of prisons (Barrum et al. 1983; Brown et al. 1984; Cullen, Clark, and Wozniak 1985; Cullen, Skovron, Scott, and Burton 1990; Hindelang et al. 1975:218; Johnson and Huff 1987; Langworthy and Whitehead 1986; Maguire and Flanagan 1991:198; McGarrell and Flanagan 1985:233; Riley and Rose 1980; Thomson and Ragona 1987; Warr and Stafford 1984), or the goals of various community-based corrections programs (Barrum et al. 1983; Brown and Elrod 1995; Cullen, Clark, and Wozniak 1985; Reichel and Gauthier 1990; Thomson and

Ragona 1987).

These observations notwithstanding, it seems clear that citizens often endorse punitive goals. Furthermore, the apparent decline in support for rehabilitation over the past two decades has led more than one author to ask, "Is rehabilitation dead?" (Cullen et al. 1988; Halleck and Witte 1977; Serrill 1975). Does this mean, however, that citizens no longer embrace rehabilitation as a goal of corrections? In various ways, the research continues to show that the public believes rehabilitation should be an integral part of correctional policy.

The most prevalent approach that researchers have taken to evaluate the public's position on rehabilitation has been to provide respondents with a list of goals and ask which one(s) is (are) important. Of 27 studies that have asked respondents to rate, rank, or choose rehabilitation compared to at least one other correctional goal, rehabilitation received the highest rating in at least one part of 20 studies. For example, I noted earlier the decline in the percentage of respondents choosing rehabilitation as the preferred emphasis in prisons in a series of Harris polls conducted between 1968 and 1982. Observing only the last one, in which support for rehabilitation had declined to 44 percent, it still was rated higher than protection of society (32 percent) or punishment (19 percent) (McGarrell and Flanagan 1985:233). More recently, a 1989 Gallup poll

asked whether it was more important to punish offenders or "get them started on the right road" (Maguire and Flanagan 1991:198). While 38 percent chose punishment, 48 percent said that rehabilitation was more important. The residents of two major Ohio cities also endorsed rehabilitation, choosing it as what should be the main emphasis of prisons more often (55 percent and 59 percent) than protection (35 and 30 percent) or punishment (6 and 7 percent) (Cullen et al. 1990). When Gottfredson et al. (1988) applied a different rating task, their results showed that the public felt that the rehabilitation of offenders was equal in importance to general deterrence and was more important than incapacitation or punishment; their mean rank order values were 3.75, 3.75, 2.0, and 1.0, respectively (with higher ranks indicating greater importance). Similarly high levels of support are reported by Barrum et al. (1983), Brown et al. (1984), Cullen, Clark, and Wozniak (1985), Gottfredson and Taylor (1984), Hindelang et al. (1975), Johnson and Huff (1987), Knowles (1987), Langworthy and Whitehead (1986), Reichel and Gauthier (1990), Riley and Rose (1980), Roberts and Edwards (1989), Steinhart (1988), and Thomson and Ragona (1987).

Even when rehabilitation is not selected as the primary purpose of corrections, citizens still regard it as an important secondary goal. For example, when asked about the immediate purpose of punishment, 40 percent of Thomson and

Ragona's (1987) respondents answered that it was to punish. The second largest proportion of respondents (29 percent), however, chose rehabilitation, placing treatment ahead of control, reparation, and "other." Warr and Stafford (1984) explicitly asked their respondents to indicate the first, second, and third most important reasons for sending an offender to prison from a list of six justifications. Although only 17 percent of those asked said that rehabilitation was the most important goal, 59 percent chose it as one of the top three. This level of approval was second only to retribution (66 percent). Further, special deterrence (25 percent) and rehabilitation (24 percent) were most often chosen as the second most important correctional goals. Other studies also indicate that rehabilitation is seen by citizens as somewhat less important than various punitive goals, but still is a prominent concern (Brown and Elrod 1995; Cullen, Clark, and Wozniak 1985; Flanagan and Jamieson 1988:158-59; Knowles 1987; Roberts and Gebotys 1989).

In addition to asking citizens to compare correctional goals, researchers also have presented the public with questions about specific types of rehabilitation, the perceived effectiveness of rehabilitation, and expansion of treatment programs. Further, several authors have developed multiple-item scales to measure support for rehabilitative ideology. The wide variety of methods employed in this

research makes explaining all relevant studies somewhat unwieldy. Fortunately, I do not need to reproduce the results of each individual study. The research here shows much the same result as when goals are pitted against each other; citizens endorse both punishment and treatment. A few examples will suffice to demonstrate this conclusion, and additional reports of the tenacity of rehabilitative ideology not discussed below are available (Cullen et al. 1990; Harris 1968; Hindelang et al. 1975; Johnson 1994; McGarrell and Flanagan 1985; Steinhart 1988).

In an early study reported by Duffee and Ritti (1977), 51 percent of those asked agreed that prison job training programs should be the best that they could be, even if it meant raising taxes. Similarly, Riley and Rose (1980) found that nearly all of their respondents (94.5 percent) favored an increased emphasis on vocational training for offenders, and over three-fourths (78.4 percent) approved of group therapy. In another study, 81.9 percent said that it would be irresponsible to stop trying to treat youthful offenders (Cullen et al. 1983).

Cullen and his colleagues (Cullen, Clark, Cullen, and Mathers 1985; Cullen et al. 1988) have developed multiple-item indexes to measure rehabilitation attitudes. In this regard, Cullen et al. (1988) provided respondents with a 19-item scale, and asked them to rate each statement from one (high support) to seven (low support). The overall mean

rating for the 19 items was 3.76. Even though the rating for a similar punishment scale was slightly more favorable (3.03), as Cullen et al. (1988) observe, rehabilitation was still more accepted than rejected.

An index also was developed by McCorkle (1993) using four items. McCorkle presented 397 Las Vegas residents with descriptions of six crimes, followed by four punitive and four rehabilitative statements. The author reports greater agreement with the punitive items, but also substantial approval of rehabilitation. For example, over 70 percent said that "more effort needs to be made to expand and improve programs that would give this offender the chance to change his life" (p. 246).

Support for Rehabilitation within Special Groups

Favorable attitudes toward rehabilitation are not limited to the general public. A study of burglary victims, a special segment of the population, also provides evidence of support for a treatment approach. Umbreit (1989) conducted face-to-face interviews with 50 victims, a group that might be expected to express more punitive sentiments than other citizens because of recent victimization experience (see Clear 1995). A major focus of the research was on the meaning of "fairness" to victims. Over 90 percent of the subjects expressed a concern "related to rehabilitation services for their offender, such as

counseling, family therapy, or educational assistance" (p. 53). Expressions like those of one victim apparently were not uncommon: "They need counseling and therapy rather than just the punishment of putting them away for awhile" (p. 53).

Perhaps even more unexpectedly, rehabilitation is endorsed by many correctional policy makers, including Attorney General Janet Reno ("Reno Urges Treatment" 1993). Although rehabilitative goals often are seen as secondary to concerns for maintaining surveillance or confinement of offenders, these officials, who have contributed to the hardening of American criminal justice, find rehabilitation to be an important part of correctional practice (Cullen, Bynum, Garrett, and Greene 1985; Cullen, Lutze, Link, and Wolfe 1989; Gottfredson and Taylor 1984; Gottfredson et al. 1988; Johnson and Huff 1987; Manfredi 1986; Robinson, Porporino, and Simourd 1993; Shamir and Drory 1982; Sluder and Reddington 1993; Welsh 1993). For example, a recent national study of 375 state and federal prison wardens asked the respondents to rank order rehabilitation, incapacitation, deterrence, and retribution for their importance as a goal of imprisonment (Cullen, Latessa, Burton, and Lombardo 1993). Incapacitation received the highest average rating (3.35, where 4 equaled the highest priority), but rehabilitation ranked second (2.51). In a similar study of the public, legislators, and other decision

making elites, Gottfredson and Taylor (1984:198) found that 73.2 percent of the public thought that "establishing community adult rehabilitation centers on a widespread basis" was a good or very good idea. Comparably, 66.7 percent of classification officers, 70.0 percent of state legislators, 76.6 percent of parole and probation officers, 80.6 percent of judges, 90.5 percent of public defenders, and 93.4 percent of other correctional policy makers also expressed support for this proposal.

Another striking finding regarding the correctional attitudes of elites is that they consistently underestimate public support for rehabilitation. In the study by Gottfredson and Taylor (1984), policy makers estimated that only 39.4 percent of the public would support community rehabilitation centers for adults--significantly less than the percentage who did favor this correctional approach ($p<.001$). Similarly, the legislators in Johnson and Huff's (1987:125) analysis thought that less than one fourth of the public would select "change their behavior" as the purpose of imprisonment for first-time incarcerates. The actual percentage was 75. Other studies likewise have found a strong yet inaccurate expectation by elites that "the public is predominantly punitive rather than interested in rehabilitative goals" (Riley and Rose 1980:354; Gottfredson et al. 1988).

Perceptions of Effectiveness

In the literature on public attitudes toward rehabilitation, two issues often have been combined: perceived effectiveness and support. It is possible that people may support rehabilitation, or favor it more strongly, because they believe it will effectively reduce crime. But the opposite causal ordering is also possible: adherence to rehabilitative ideology could increase one's belief in treatment efficacy. Furthermore, several researchers, in developing indexes of rehabilitation attitudes, have included items that address both issues (Cullen, Clark, Cullen, and Mathers 1985; Cullen et al. 1988; McCorkle 1993). The typically high reliability ratings of these scales attest that the concepts are closely related. Still, support for any measure may be distinct from perceptions of its effectiveness in reducing crime. Therefore, a separate comment on attitudes toward the efficacy of treatment is in order.

An early assessment of the perceived effectiveness of rehabilitation is presented by Harris (1968), who observed that five percent of those polled stated that correctional rehabilitation efforts had been very successful, and 49 percent responded "somewhat successful." These results were produced prior to the national clamor arising during the mid-1970s which claimed that "nothing works." Following this movement, and perhaps in part recognizing the

variability of treatment effects, researchers have asked the public somewhat more complex questions. Cullen et al. (1990), for example, asked citizens of Cincinnati and Columbus, Ohio how helpful they thought rehabilitation was for several different types of offenders. Aggregating the categories "very helpful" and "helpful," (versus "somewhat helpful" and "not helpful at all"), 21.4 percent of the Cincinnati respondents felt that treatment programs were effective for violent offenders, 84.4 percent for non-violent offenders, 60.3 percent for adult offenders, and 85.3 percent for juvenile offenders. The respective percentages were slightly lower for the sample of Columbus residents (17.6, 77.7, 57.3, and 74.0 percent), but still showed considerable confidence in the malleability of offenders.

The remaining studies of perceived effectiveness have asked respondents to express their agreement or disagreement with particular statements. The statements and percentages agreeing/disagreeing are presented in Table 1.1. As shown in the table, the proportion of people who believe in treatment efficacy varies widely. It may be possible to uncover the determinants of this variation, and more will be said on the correlates of perceived effectiveness in the following section.

Table 1.1 Assessments of Perceived Effectiveness of Rehabilitation.

Author(s) Statement	Percent Agree	Percent Disagree
Cullen et al. (1988)		
The only way to reduce crime in our society is to punish criminals, not try to rehabilitate them.	28.8	55.2
The only effective and humane cure to the crime problem in America is to make a concerted effort to rehabilitate criminals.	31.2	46.1
The rehabilitation of adult criminals just does not work.	27.6	44.8
The rehabilitation of prisoners has proven to be a failure.	43.2	22.6
One of the reasons why rehabilitation programs often fail with prisoners is because they are underfunded; if enough money were available, these programs would work.	22.1	46.1
Only those inmates who want to be rehabilitated can be.	76.1	12.3
Giving prisoners psychological counseling is the best way to rehabiliate them.	26.3	35.9
Giving prisoners vocational and educational training is the best way to rehabilitate them.	68.4	10.3
Cullen et al. (1983)		
The best way to stop juveniles from engaging in crime is to rehabilitate them, not to punish them.	47.4	
The rehabilitation of juveniles just does not work.	10.3	
The rehabilitation of adult criminals just does not work.	26.8	
The rehabilitation of prisoners has proven to be a failure.	39.0	

Table 1.1 Assessments of Perceived Effectiveness of Rehabilitation (continued).

Author(s) Statement	Percent Agree
Johnson (1994)	
The only way to reduce crime in our society is to try to rehabilitate criminals.	44.2
The main reason why rehabilitation programs often fail is because criminals cannot be rehabilitated.	28.9
The best policy for dealing with inmates is to provide vocational and educational training.[a]	68.1
The best policy for dealing with inmates is to provide psychological counseling.[a]	59.0
McCorkle (1993)	
This offender would probably benefit from the psychological counseling programs offered in prison.	68.0[b]
If this offender received educational and vocational training in prison, he probably would not commit crimes in the future.	48.6[b]

[a] Each of these statements was presented in opposition to making prisoners do "hard labor."
[b] These percentages refer to the responses combined across all six crimes. The proportion agreeing with each statement varied among the offenses.

Conclusion

As Cullen et al. (1988:310) conclude, "To be sure, the popularity of treatment ideology should not be exaggerated." Punishment often is a prominent concern for the public, and the backing of rehabilitation by citizens is not unequivocal. Still, "support for rehabilitation is not dead" (Cullen et al. 1988:310). At first, it may seem illogical for citizens to seek both punishment and rehabilitation. McClosky (1963:14; also see Hare 1963) argues, however, that ambivalence, holding "contradictory ideas simultaneously without bothering to resolve the potential conflict between them," is a stock characteristic of American ideology, and on an aggregate level, a democratic system of government cannot function without some measure of tolerance for different views (Williams 1961). In this context, public attitudes can be understood as a fundamental desire for retributive justice that is flexible enough to accommodate utilitarian concerns as well (see Innes 1993).

Sources of Support for Rehabilitation

I noted at the beginning of the previous section that the evidence showing the public to be punitive generally relied on simplistic assessments of complex issues. My intention was to challenge the conceptualization of U. S. citizens as exclusively punishment oriented. This

discussion was not meant to suggest, however, that researchers have failed to introduce complexity into analyses of attitudes toward punishment. Detailed studies have been undertaken, particularly in attempts to evaluate the extent of agreement among the public on appropriate penalties. These authors have examined whether various subgroups of the population (defined by demographics, experience, or attitudes) view punishment differently and have explored what aspects of the criminal event might influence evaluations. In contrast, the research on public assessment of rehabilitation has made few strides in this area. It is evident from the literature presented above that citizens' support for rehabilitation varies widely across studies. The sources of this variation, however, remain unclear. A more detailed analysis of attitudes is necessary to begin to demarcate the particular structure of public support for rehabilitation.

Despite the finding that the public tends to support both punitive and rehabilitative measures, rehabilitation has been presented as an opposing orientation to deterrence, incapacitation, and retribution in numerous studies (Barrum et al. 1983; Brown et al. 1984; Brown and Elrod 1995; Cullen, Clark, and Wozniak 1985; Flanagan and Jamieson 1988:158-59; Gottfredson and Taylor 1984; Hindelang et al. 1975; Johnson and Huff 1987; Knowles 1987; Langworthy and Whitehead 1986; Maguire and Flanagan 1991:198; McGarrell and

Flanagan 1985:233; Reichel and Gauthier 1990; Riley and Rose 1980; Roberts and Edwards 1989; Roberts and Gebotys 1989; Steinhart 1988; Thomson and Ragona 1987). In addition, researchers have reported significant negative relationships between these orientations (Cullen et al. 1985; Hough et al. 1988). These relationships, however, have been far from perfect. A brief review of the predictors of punitive sentiments, therefore, may provide a clue to how people's perceptions of rehabilitation might vary, but do not preclude independent assessment of the sources of support for correctional treatment. Furthermore, although studies of the correlates of support for rehabilitation are in short supply, they too will be reviewed prior to specifying the research questions to be addressed here.

Correlates of Punitiveness

Respondent Demographics. The most well-researched correlates of punitiveness are respondent demographic correlates. Table 1.2 displays the relationships between several measures of punitiveness and age, being White (versus other races), education, income, and being male (versus female). Because some systematic variation is apparent, the studies have been divided into assessments of capital punishment, sentencing (in which respondents typically are requested to give or evaluate a sentence for an offender), and "other" measures of punitiveness. The

Table 1.2 Correlates of Public Punitiveness

Author(s)	Age	White	Education	Income	Male	Republican	Democrat	Conservative	Fear	Victimization
CAPITAL PUNISHMENT										
Applegate et al. (1993)	N	+			N					
Barkan & Cohn (1994)	N		N		+			+	N	
Bohm (1991)	+	+	N	+	+	+				
Farnworth et al. (1996)	N	+		N	+					
Grasmick et al. (1993)	N	+	-	N	+		-			
Keil & Vito (1991)	+	+		+	+				+	+
Kelley and Braithwaite (1990)	N		-	N	+			+	N	
Sandys & McGarrell (1995)		N	N	+	+			+		
Skovron et al. (1989)	N	N	N	N	+					
Tyler & Weber (1982)	N	N	N	N	N			N	+	N
Zeisel & Gallup (1989)				+	+	+				
SENTENCING										
Applegate, Cullen, Link, et al. (1996)	N	N	N		N			N		
Applegate, Cullen, Turner, & Sundt (1996)	N	N	N	N	N			+		

+ Positive relationship
- Negative relationship
N No significant relationship

Table 1.2 Correlates of Public Punitiveness (continued)

Author(s)	Age	White	Education	Income	Male	Republican	Democrat	Conservative	Fear	Victimization
SENTENCING (CONT.)										
Blumstein & Cohen (1980)	+	+	-	+	+					N
Hawkins (1980)		-		N						
Hough & Moxon (1988)	+								+	
Jacoby & Cullen (1995)	+		-							
Miller, Rossi, & Simpson (1986)		-								
Miller, Rossi, & Simpson (1991)		-	-							
Osborne & Rappaport (1985)	N	N			N	N	N			
Ouimet & Coyle (1991)	N			N	N				N	N
Rossi, Simpson, & Miller (1985)	V	V	-	-	-					
Samuel & Moulds (1986)		+	+	+	-	N	N			
Snortum & Ashear (1972)	+		-							
Thomas et al. (1976)	V	V	-	-	-					
Walker et al. (1988)	V		-	-						
OTHER										
Cohn et al. (1991)	+		-		-				+	

+ Positive relationship
- Negative relationship
N No significant relationship
V Direction of relationship varied by crime

Table 1.2 Correlates of Public Punitiveness (continued)

Author(s)	Age	White	Education	Income	Male	Republican	Democrat	Conservative	Fear	Victimization
OTHER (CONT.)										
Farnworth et al. (1996)	-	-		+	-					
Grasmick et al. (1993)	N	N	-	N	N		-			
Grasmick et al. (1992)	N	N	-		N					
Grasmick & McGill (1994)	N		-		+		N			
Kelly and Braithwaite (1990)	N		-	N	-			+	N	
McCorkle (1993)	V	N	-	N	-			N	+	N
Singh & Jayewardene (1978)	+		N		N					
Stinchcombe et al. (1980)								+	N	N
Taylor & Kleinke (1992)					N					
Taylor et al. (1979)									N	N
Warr & Stafford (1984)	+		-							

+ Positive relationship
- Negative relationship
N No significant relationship
V Direction of relationship varied by crime

group labeled "other" includes studies of endorsement of retribution, unique questions, and multiple-issue indexes.

Several conclusions can be drawn from the research assessing the impact of demographic variables on punitiveness. First, a respondent's age often is not related to punitive attitudes, but when an association is observed, older respondents typically are more punitive than younger respondents. Only three studies diverge from this pattern. Thomas et al. (1976), Walker et al. (1988), and McCorkle (1993) report both negative relationships and positive relationships, depending on the crime under consideration. In addition, relationships are less often observed with age and capital punishment than with other measures of punitiveness.

Second, White respondents also are often more punitive, although this relationship is less consistent. Six of the studies included in Table 1.2 report positive relationships between being White and harsh attitudes toward offenders, whereas three reported negative relationships. In addition, Thomas et al. (1976) found that within a single sample the relationship varied depending on the crime in question.

Third, education is nearly always associated with greater leniency, and relationships are more often observed in studies of sentencing and other measures of punitiveness than in studies of capital punishment. The sole exception is Samuel and Moulds (1986) who report a positive

association between education and the harshness of the assigned sentence. Conversely, those with higher incomes usually endorse more severe punishments. Again, contrary evidence is available, with two studies reporting negative relationships (Thomas et al. 1976; Walker et al. 1988). Fourth, men are more likely to endorse capital punishment than are women. On the other hand, other measures of punitiveness more often reveal greater harshness among women, or there is no relationship with sex at all.

Following the above observations, the research on punitiveness and respondent demographics can be summarized as follows. The relationships are often inconsistent across studies, and sometimes they are inconsistent within a single sample. Although not shown in Table 1.2, when a relationship exists, the influence of demographic variables on punitiveness typically is small. The tradition of researching capital punishment separate from other sentences probably is appropriate since some respondent characteristics correlate differently with death penalty attitudes than with other measures of punitiveness. No significant associations are reported almost as often as significant relationships are reported. When significant associations are observed, older, White respondents with higher incomes and less education typically are the most punitive. Males are more likely to favor capital punishment, and females usually are more punitive on other

measures.

Respondent Beliefs and Experiences. Table 1.2 also includes four belief or experience correlates: political party (listed separately as Republican and Democrat), conservativism, fear of crime, and prior victimization. As indicated in the table, fewer studies have addressed these potential sources of support for punishment, and the existing studies can be summarized fairly succinctly. Republicans tend to be more punitive and Democrats less punitive than respondents with other political affiliations. Citizens with a more conservative ideology generally favor harsher sanctions than those who are more liberal. Fear is unrelated to punitiveness just as often as it leads to greater harshness. Victimization, which includes personal, property, vicarious, and unspecified victimizations, typically is not related to support for greater punishment, although Keil and Vito (1991) identified a significant indirect relationship of victimization through fear.

An additional correlate not shown in Table 1.2 bears notice. Contact with offenders may decrease punitiveness. In a review of research on intergroup relations, Stephan (1985) observes that individuals tend to attribute the positive behavior of outgroup members to external factors, thereby retaining biased attitudes. On the other hand, he reports that a majority of studies have confirmed that contact with members of a disliked group tends to reduce

hostilities and negative perceptions of the entire group (Stephan 1985). These findings suggest that people also may hold more favorable attitudes toward all offenders if they have interacted with criminals. Supportive evidence for this proposition is provided by Bynum, Greene, and Cullen (1986). Although their study was unable to assess the causal sequence of the relationship, the authors identified a significant association between contact with offenders and crime control ideology among legislators. Those who had worked in corrections were more likely to agree with a liberal ideology, and those who reported having talked with prisoners were less likely to align themselves with a set of ideologically conservative statements.

Religion also is not included in Table 1.2 because its relationship to punitiveness is more difficult to summarize in a table. A variety of measures have been used, but they generally tap two dimensions of religion. First, a group of studies have examined religious affiliation. Most often, respondents are asked to identify themselves as Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, or no affiliation. These studies typically reveal no relationship between religious denomination and support for harshness (Bohm 1991; McCorkle 1993; Osborne and Rappaport 1985; Samuel and Moulds 1986; Tyler and Weber 1982). Blumstein and Cohen's (1980) analysis, however, indicates that the respondents who reported no religious affiliation were significantly less

punitive than the remaining respondents. Also, Kelley and Braithwaite (1990) found that Australians who held Christian beliefs were more supportive of stiff sentences, but these beliefs were unrelated to capital punishment attitudes.

Grasmick, Davenport, Chamlin, and Bursik (1992) argue that the tendency against identifying significant relationships might be an artifact of combining fundamentalist/evangelical Protestants with more moderate or liberal Protestants in a single category. Their analysis provides some support for this contention, showing that fundamentalist/evangelical Protestants are significantly more likely to endorse a retributive orientation than are other religious groups. Similarly, Grasmick, Cochran, Bursik, and Kimpel (1993) report significantly greater endorsement of the death penalty for juveniles, the death penalty for adults, and stiffer criminal legislation among fundamentalists.

Importantly, these authors measured affiliation, but did not assess the extent to which the respondents held fundamentalist convictions. One domain of these beliefs has been referred to as "hellfire" to indicate adherence to a conception of a wrathful God who seeks to punish sinners for their transgressions (see Evans, Cullen, Dunaway, and Burton 1995). It is this facet of religious beliefs that seems likely to be related to punitive attitudes.

The second set of measures assess the strength of

religious faith. These studies also tend to show no significant relationship between religion and punitiveness (Applegate, Cullen, Link, Richards, and Lanza-Kaduce 1996; Barkan and Cohn 1994; Osbourne and Rappaport 1985; Grasmick et al. 1993). Two exceptions to this generalization, however, are presented by Grasmick et al. (1992), and one is provided by Kelley and Braithwaite (1990). First, Grasmick et al.'s respondents who expressed a greater tendency to interpret biblical scriptures literally were significantly more supportive of retribution; second, once biblical literalness was controlled, religious salience was negatively related to retributive attitudes. Regarding Kelley and Braithwaite's sample, those who reported that they attended church more often were less supportive of capital punishment. Thus, when researchers employ more detailed assessments of respondents' religious orientations, some interesting relationships are uncovered.

Features of the Crime. Almost invariably the apparent or rated seriousness of offenses is positively related to harsher responses to crime (Applegate, Wright, Dunaway, and Cullen 1993; Blumstein and Cohen 1980; Cullen, Clark, Link, Mathers, Niedospial, and Sheahan 1985; Doble et al. 1991; Doble and Klein 1989; Doob and Roberts 1988; Gibbons 1969; Hawkins 1980; Jacobs 1993; Jacoby and Cullen 1995; Ouimet and Coyle 1991; Samuel and Moulds 1986; Thomas, Cage, and Foster 1976; Walker, Collins, and Wilson 1988; Warr et al.

1983). Applegate, Cullen, Turner, and Sundt (1996) and Osborne and Rappaport (1985), however, provide two exceptions. Applegate and his colleagues assessed the influence of the mix of offenses for three-time male felons on support for a three-strikes type of sentence (life, 25 years to life, or 30 years in prison). Their results indicated that whether the offender was convicted of completed, rather than attempted, offenses had no effect on respondents' sentences. Further, whether the offender had committed only burglaries and whether he had been convicted of a homicide also were not influential. Similarly, Osborne and Rappaport presented their respondents with a description of a homicide and failed to find any significant relationship between judgments of appropriate sentence length and whether the vignette described a premeditated or non-premeditated murder.

Warr (1989) has shown that one dimension of the perceived seriousness of crimes is the amount of harm done to the victim. Looking more closely at this characteristic, the research consistently reports a positive relationship between harm and punitiveness (Applegate, Cullen, Link, Richards, and Lanza-Kaduce 1996; Doble et al. 1991; Doble and Klein 1989; Frank, Cullen, and Borntrager 1989; Jacobs 1993; Jacoby and Cullen 1995; Rossi, Simpson, and Miller 1985; Taylor and Kleinke 1992). Another determinant of perceived crime seriousness is the existence of a prior

record of offending (see Roberts 1996). This factor also typically raises the harshness of preferred reactions to crime (Applegate, Cullen, Link, Richards, and Lanza-Kaduce 1996; Blumstein and Cohen 1980; Cumberland and Zamble 1992; Doble et al. 1991; Doble and Klein 1989; Finkel et al. 1996; Miller, Rossi, and Simpson 1986, 1991; Rossi et al. 1985; Taylor and Kleinke 1992). In an exception to this pattern, Applegate et al. (1993:103) reported no significant relationship between support for capital punishment and whether the offender "had a prior record of criminal convictions."

Features of the Offender. Roberts and Doob (1989:507-08) report the results of a 1983 poll that asked respondents what kind of offender they had in mind when providing their views on sentencing: "Fewer than one-third chose 'all offenders' as the response. Fully 38 percent were thinking of violent criminals; only 3 percent were thinking of people convicted of minor offences involving property." The danger that this observation illuminates is that most of the respondents had particular types of offenders in mind, even though none had been specified. Each respondent, then, was completing a different rating task, which was based on his or her own conception of criminals.

Several studies have revealed significant deviations in punitiveness according to the characteristics of offenders. Citizens typically favor harsher sanctions for adults than

for juveniles (Hawkins 1980; Miller et al. 1986; Rossi et al. 1985; Warr et al. 1983), but among adult offenders, age generally is not a consideration (Applegate, Cullen, Link, Richards, and Lanza-Kaduce 1996; Applegate et al. 1993). Female offenders are treated less harshly (Rossi et al. 1985), but whether an offender is employed did not affect sentencing preferences in Rossi et al.'s (1985) study. Whether the offender was under the influence of drugs or under the influence of alcohol, even though introduced as possible mitigating factors, significantly increased punitiveness (Rossi et al. 1985).

The relationship of offender race to punitiveness is far from unequivocal. Race was unrelated to punishment attitudes in two studies (Snortum and Ashear 1972; Osborne and Rappaport 1985), Blacks were less harshly sentenced in one study (Miller, Rossi, and Simpson 1986), and citizens were more likely to favor a death sentence for Blacks in another study (Applegate et al. 1993). Finally, Rossi et al. (1985) reported that respondents were more punitive toward White offenders of property and victimless crimes but less punitive of Whites convicted of personal crimes.

It was noted above that many of these studies were undertaken in attempts to assess the extent of consensus among citizens regarding criminal punishment. The most ambitious effort of this kind to date was presented by Jacoby and Cullen (1995), who sought to test several models

of consensus offered by Rossi and Berk (1985, 1986). Rossi and Berk (1985:333) remark that "'error' and disagreement may be easily confused," and therefore attempt to provide a means of distinguishing the two. Jacoby and Cullen's analysis of a national data set indicates that public preferences for punishment are normatively structured. That is, there is considerable agreement regarding the rank ordering of punishments according to the seriousness of crimes. The authors also note that although respondent demographics were related to preferred punishments--a finding that might suggest particular segments of the population embrace different punishment norms--the effects of demographics were dwarfed by those of offense-related variables. Furthermore, offender characteristics added negligibly to the variance explained. No analysis of rehabilitation attitudes has approached this level of sophistication; however, some advances have been made regarding the correlates of support for rehabilitation.

Correlates of Support for Rehabilitation

Respondent Demographics. Sociologists typically agree that consensus is indicated by agreement among various subgroups with differing social experiences. Often, membership in a particular demographic group is used as an indicator of those experiences. Table 1.3 presents a summary of the relationships between support for

Table 1.3 Respondent Demographic and Experiential Correlates of Support for Rehabilitation

Author(s)	Age	White	Education	Income	Male	Property Victimization	Personal Vicimization	Mixed Victimization	Vicarious Vicimization
Cullen, Clark, Cullen & Mathers (1985)	-		N	N	-			N	
Cullen et al. (1983)[1]	-		+	N	-				
Johnson (1994)			N		N				
Langworthy & Whitehead (1986)	+	N	N	N	-			N	N
McCorkle (1993)	-[2]	-[3]	N	-[4]	N	-[5]	N		
Reichel & Gauthier (1990)	N			N	N				
Singh & Jayewardene (1978)[6]	-								
Warr & Stafford (1984)	-		+	N	N				

+ Positive relationship
- Negative relationship
N No significant relationship
[1] Relationships based on elite and public samples combined.
[2] Significant only for offenders convicted of burglary and drug possession.
[3] Significant for all included offenses except robbery.
[4] Significant only for drug sales.
[5] Significant only for burglary.
[6] No significance testing was conducted.

rehabilitation and several respondent demographic variables. Age is the most consistently related characteristic. In all but two studies, younger respondents are significantly more supportive of rehabilitation. Males, on the other hand, tend to favor rehabilitation less than females, although this relationship is more often insignificant. The remaining characteristics relate to support for rehabilitation in only limited ways. Education is positively associated with support in only two out of six studies; and White respondents and those with higher incomes are less supportive, but only in a single study and only in relation to particular crimes. Adding that even when these characteristics are related to support for rehabilitation, the associations have been weak, it is clear that demographic variables have been unable to explain much of the variation in attitudes toward treatment.

Other Respondent Characteristics. Experiential and attitudinal factors also might provide insight into public support for correctional treatment. As shown in Table 1.3, however, personal victimization, mixed victimization (property and personal combined), and vicarious victimization are unrelated to attitudes. Furthermore, having been the victim of a property crime was related only to views of rehabilitation for an offender convicted of burglary (McCorkle 1993). Table 1.4 also provides evidence of inconsistent relationships between rehabilitation support

Table 1.4 Respondent Attitudinal and Behavioral Correlates of Support for Rehabilitation

Author(s)	Liberalism	Religiosity	Crime Salience	Free-Will Orientation	Fear of Crime	Television Viewing
Barrille (1984)						-
Cullen, Clark, Cullen & Mathers (1985)			N	-		
Johnson (1994)		+				
Langworthy & Whitehead (1986)	+				-	
McCorkle (1993)	N				N	
Reichel & Gauthier (1990)	N					

+ Positive relationship
- Negative relationship
N No significant relationship

and liberalism and fear of crime. Also, Barrille (1984) reports a positive zero-order relationship between heavy television viewing and favoring punitive uses of prison over rehabilitative uses of prison. Once respondent demographic characteristics were considered, however, this relationship became insignificant. Finally, Table 1.4 shows that those who identify themselves as more religious and those who believe in a more deterministic model of human behavior tend to favor treatment.

The above results seem to suggest a fair amount of consensus among demographic groups regarding the importance of rehabilitation. However, this hypothesis has yet to be evaluated in any complex way. If diverse social experiences are unable to explain variations in support for rehabilitative ideology, perhaps turning our attention to what aspects of crimes might be related to rehabilitation attitudes will be more fruitful. The remaining factors that thus far seem to be related to support for rehabilitation can be grouped into three areas: offender characteristics, offense characteristics, and treatment characteristics.

Offender Characteristics. In an investigation of how citizens might want sentences to "fit the crime," Rossi et al. (1985) observe that offenders' social characteristics influenced punitiveness, but that these effects were slight. In contrast, the severity of the offense and prior criminal history variables explained much more of the variance in

judgments of deserved punishments (also see Jacoby and Cullen 1995). What is left unclear by this analysis is whether an offender's characteristics also would be relatively unimportant to attitudes toward rehabilitation, a goal which requires that attention be given to individual differences.

The evidence available from the rehabilitation literature is limited and focuses exclusively on opinions differentiating treatment for juveniles from treatment for adults, but it suggests that an offender's personal characteristics might be very influential in specifying attitudes toward rehabilitation. For example, Cullen et al. (1983:8) reported that 64.4 percent of the public agreed with the statement, "while I believe that adult criminals know what they are doing and deserve to be punished, I still support the use of rehabilitation with juvenile offenders." Given that this statement includes three separate issues with which respondents might have agreed, it is difficult to draw any firm conclusions about the results. When the statement is taken as a whole, however, the findings suggest that the public may be more supportive of rehabilitation for juvenile than adult offenders. This interpretation is bolstered by additional evidence provided by Steinhart (1988:6), who asked citizens to respond to the statement, "the justice system should provide more sentencing options, like counseling and vocational programs, to juveniles than

to adults." Nearly 70 percent agreed.

In addition, perceptions of effectiveness appear to be linked to the youthfulness of offenders. As shown in Table 1.1, Cullen et al. (1983) asked citizens whether they thought treatment worked for juveniles and for adults. Nearly 17 percent more respondents believed that treatment of adults was ineffective compared to treatment of juveniles. Similarly, Cullen et al. (1990) found a difference of 15 percentage points between those believing that treatment of adults and juveniles was helpful (see Table 1.1). Cullen, Bynum, Garrett, and Greene (1985) produced an even wider discrepancy in a survey of Indiana legislators: 41.4 percent thought that adults were untreatable, but only 12.0 percent believed that rehabilitation of juveniles did not work. Although the effect of an offender's youthfulness has been assessed only in isolation, these results suggest that individual offender characteristics may be a more influential consideration for rehabilitation than for punishment.

Offense Characteristics. The level of support for rehabilitation also seems to vary depending on the type of offense presented to respondents. Indeed, rather than selecting a particular goal, five percent of the respondents to Thomson and Ragona's (1987) survey said that the immediate purpose of sentencing depended on the crime. In 1986, the Canadian Sentencing Commission asked citizens to

state which of seven purposes of sentencing were relevant for major crimes and for minor crimes (reported in Roberts and Doob 1989). When asked about major crimes, only 7 percent of the respondents chose rehabilitation, giving it a ranking of the fourth most chosen response. For minor crimes, however, the percentage more than doubled to 16 percent. In a similar analysis, Roberts and Gebotys (1989) presented respondents with brief descriptions of two low seriousness offenses (minor assault and auto theft) and two high seriousness offenses (sexual assault and manslaughter). The respondents were asked to rate the likelihood that the offender would be rehabilitated and to rank the importance of four sentencing goals (retribution, deterrence, rehabilitation, and incapacitation). Although no significant differences were observed between the mean importance ratings of rehabilitation for the two levels of seriousness, the respondents were significantly more confident that treatment would be effective for the offenders convicted of minor assault and auto theft ($p < .01$).

Two studies suggest that public opinions of rehabilitation may be tied to considerations of harm and criminal history. In the same survey that Cullen et al. (1990) asked about perceptions of how helpful treatment was for juvenile and adult offenders, the authors also probed for differences by the harmfulness of crime. In both the

Cincinnati and Columbus samples, more than 60 percent more respondents thought that rehabilitation would be helpful or very helpful for non-violent offenders than for violent offenders. Furthermore, Johnson and Huff's (1987) respondents made a distinction in the importance of rehabilitation for first time and repeat offenders. I noted above that 75 percent of the public sample in this study thought that changing an offender's behavior should be the main purpose of prison for first-offenders. This percentage dropped to 30, however, when the respondents were asked to consider offenders who had prior records.

The most detailed existing analysis of the effects of crimes on rehabilitation attitudes has been presented by McCorkle (1993). In reference to six "common crimes," McCorkle asked participants to respond to four statements which were then combined into a single index. The mean ratings on this index varied only slightly among the individual offenses (and no tests for significant differences were conducted). Perhaps more importantly, however, additional analyses revealed that the type of crime rated interacted with the influence of respondent characteristics on support for rehabilitation (see Table 1.3), and perceptions of treatment effectiveness varied across offenses (see Table 1.1). These results illustrate the potential complexity of rehabilitation attitude structures.

Treatment Characteristics. The research on attitudes and the characteristics of treatment may be usefully subdivided into studies of types of treatment and studies of rehabilitation in different locations. The evidence suggesting differences in support for different types of treatment programs is more direct than for other areas. Vocational and educational programs most often are viewed far more favorably by the public than are psychological treatment programs. Johnson (1994:43) asked Kentucky residents separately whether they favored hard labor or psychological counseling and hard labor or educational and vocational programming as the "best policy for dealing with inmates." Fifty-nine percent favored psychological treatment and 68 percent preferred educational services compared to hard labor.

Similarly, citizens seem to believe that training programs can more effectively bring about reformation. Twenty-six percent of Illinois residents agreed that "giving prisoners psychological counseling is the best way to rehabilitate them" (Cullen et al. 1988:309). When presented with a similar question that asked about "vocational and educational training," agreement rose to over 68 percent (p. 309). Johnson (1994) observed similar results when these two statements were juxtaposed: 44 percent endorsed the use of vocational and educational programs, whereas only 34 percent chose psychological services (the remainder were

undecided). Cullen et al. (1990) report similar findings from a survey of Ohio residents when respondents were asked what was the best policy for dealing with prison inmates.

McCorkle (1993) provides one notable exception to this pattern. His items are reproduced in Table 1.1, along with the percent agreeing with each statement. As shown, almost 20 percent fewer respondents agreed that the offender would not recidivate if he received educational and vocational services than agreed that psychological counseling would probably be beneficial for the offender. This difference is likely due to the demands implicit in the wording of the two items. Desistence from offending is a much taller order for any type of program than is simply providing some benefit.

Although the evidence is quite equivocal, the public may think that rehabilitation is a more appropriate undertaking in community settings than in prisons. Thomson and Ragona (1987) asked respondents to choose the purpose of sentencing separately for prison and probation. Forty-seven percent chose rehabilitation as the purpose of probation, but only 31 percent thought that it should be the goal of a prison sentence. These results suggest that support for treatment may differ by the location in which it is provided. Conversely, two other studies have reported little or no difference in the importance accorded to rehabilitation for prison versus community-based sanctions (Barrum et al. 1983; Cullen, Clark, and Wozniak 1985).

Research Strategy and Hypotheses

Complexity

The most pressing issue concerning public attitudes toward rehabilitation is the lack of specificity in the existing research. As I have shown, several researchers have made significant advances in identifying the factors that shape treatment attitudes. These studies suggest that support may vary based on membership in different social or demographic groups, or on differences in the circumstances surrounding a criminal offense. However, the relationships reported above have been observed by collating results across numerous studies rather than in a single project. Thus, the conclusions drawn here may be confounded by unmeasured variations in the characteristics of the individual samples. In addition, researchers often have examined these characteristics in isolation, without considering contextual features that likely influence citizens' attitudes. Further, only preliminary evidence is available on how the features of the criminal, the crime, and the provision of treatment can shape public perceptions. Many characteristics have been left unexamined, and others lack detail. The main focus of this research, therefore, is on identifying the conditions under which public support for rehabilitation varies. The hypotheses to be addressed in this area can be divided into four groups.

Respondent Characteristics. Although the results are not fully consistent, previous studies have shown that various subgroups of the population are more supportive of rehabilitation than are other segments. Due to the inverse relationship between punitive and rehabilitative attitudes, it seems likely that the correlates of punitiveness are the opposite for opinions of rehabilitation. The following hypotheses were derived from the research on support for rehabilitation as well as studies of punitiveness.

1. Support for rehabilitation will be inversely related to respondents' age.
2. Support for rehabilitation will be positively related to the level of education attained by respondents.
3. Support for rehabilitation will be inversely related to respondents' income.
4. Male respondents will be less supportive of rehabilitation than female respondents.
5. Republicans will be less supportive of rehabilitation than Democrats.
6. Support for rehabilitation will be inversely related to political conservativism.
7. Support for rehabilitation will be positively related to having had contact with offenders.
8. Support for rehabilitation will be positively related to respondents' religious identity

salience.

9. Support for rehabilitation will be inversely related to holding "hellfire" religious beliefs.

10. Support for rehabilitation will be inversely related to embracing a literal interpretation of the Bible.

In addition, it seems likely that a fourth dimension of religious attitudes might be salient to support for rehabilitation. Christian religions maintain that people should forgive those who sin against them and that sinners can be saved. To the extent that one embraces this principle of compassion, he or she may also believe in the importance of reforming criminal offenders.

11. Support for rehabilitation will be positively related to a religious belief that sinners should be forgiven.

Although the evidence is equivocal, I propose that relationships may exist between prior victimization experience and rehabilitation attitudes, and between fear of crime and support for rehabilitation.

12. Support for rehabilitation will be negatively related to prior victimization experience.

13. Support for rehabilitation will be negatively related to fear of crime.

Offender Characteristics. To date, research has not systematically probed how support for rehabilitation varies

by an offender's race, sex, employment status, or drug or alcohol use. The findings from studies of punitiveness suggest that these features may have a significant impact on public reactions to criminals. Two comments are in order. First, although the punitiveness literature has failed to identify a relationship between preferences for harshness and an offender's employment status, it may still be related to rehabilitation attitudes. In particular, offenders who are unemployed may be seen as more deserving or more in need of vocational or educational services than those who are employed. Moreover, ideas about the reformative value of work often characterize correctional practices (see Cullen and Travis 1984; Morash and Anderson 1978).

Second, Rossi et al. (1985) report that their respondents expressed significantly more punitive attitudes toward offenders who were under the influence of drugs or alcohol at the time of their offenses; thus we might expect inverse relationships with support for rehabilitation. On the other hand, the theoretical expectation of a treatment perspective would be for greater support for providing treatment to those offenders with a clearly identifiable problem such as substance abuse. The discrepancy may lie in how this characteristic is presented: as a chronic problem or as a feature of the immediate situation of the offense. In other words, citizens may support treatment for those who have a substance abuse problem, but not necessarily favor

extending services to offenders who were drunk or high when they committed their crimes but who do not have any long-standing problems. The research has shown that people hold more punitive attitudes toward drug users but has not yet looked at public opinions on treating drug abusers.

Additionally, studies have examined in only a preliminary way how support for treatment varies for offenders of different ages. The public appears to be more supportive of rehabilitation for juveniles, but it is not known whether this is true for all types of offenses.

With these observations in mind, the following hypotheses are offered:

14. Support for rehabilitation will be greater for juvenile offenders than for adult offenders.
15. Support for rehabilitation will be greater for offenders who abuse drugs than for those who do not have substance abuse problems.
16. Support for rehabilitation will be greater for female offenders than for male offenders.
17. Support for rehabilitation will be greater for unemployed offenders than for employed offenders.

As noted above, the punitiveness literature has produced equivocal evidence on the effects of an offender's race. Still, citizens may see White offenders as more redeemable than Black offenders:

18. Support for rehabilitation will be greater for

White offenders than for Black offenders.

Offense Characteristics. It appears that more serious crimes garner greater punitiveness and less support for rehabilitation. However, seriousness has been operationalized fairly loosely given developments in our knowledge of what "seriousness" means to the public (see, for example, Warr 1989; Finkel et al. 1996; Roberts 1996). Analysis of this issue should include a description of the crime, the amount of harm done by the offender, and the frequency of offending. Based on existing knowledge, I expect:

19. Support for rehabilitation will be inversely related to the amount of harm inflicted by the offender.
20. Support for rehabilitation will be inversely related to the seriousness of an offender's criminal history.

Treatment Characteristics. It seems fairly clear that the public is more favorable toward educational/vocational programs than psychological programs; however, the independent effects of treatment type have not been assessed. Furthermore, it is less obvious whether the public will support educational or job training programs that are likely to make offenders employable in today's changing occupational structure. Education leading to a college degree may garner less support due to beliefs that

criminals should not obtain services that are not available to law-abiding citizens. Similarly, citizens may object to training offenders for desirable, sought-after jobs. Alternatively, the expected benefits of providing offenders with useful job skills and higher education might increase support. Attitudes also may vary depending upon the type of psychological counseling provided. Those techniques that are more clearly linked to behavioral outcomes may garner greater support. Furthermore, it is unclear how the location of treatment affects attitudes when other characteristics also are considered, but given the public's desire for punishment and rehabilitation, support may be greater when offenders are subjected to close supervision in the community.

21. Support will be greater for educational treatment programs than for psychological treatment programs.
22. Support will be greater for vocational programs than for psychological treatment programs.
23. Support for educational programming will be greater when the program provides higher levels of education.
24. Support for vocational programming will be greater when the program provides higher-level job skills.
25. Support for psychological counseling will be greater for cognitive-behavioral programs than for

psychoanalytic programs.

26. Support for rehabilitation will be greater for offenders sentenced to the community than for offenders sentenced to prison.

27. Support for rehabilitation will be greater for offenders sentenced to intensively supervised community programs than to more loosely supervised community programs.

Global and Specific Attitudes

In addition to the lack of specificity in tapping support for rehabilitation, several related issues surrounding correctional treatment attitudes are evident. One of these will be examined in a more limited way. Research on punishment has shown that when questions tap specific attitudes, the responses reveal more leniency than when global attitudes are assessed. Consistent with these findings, support for rehabilitation may be higher in specific situations than in more general ones. Alternatively, respondents may tend to favor whatever proposal is assessed globally, regardless of the sentiments that are being tapped. In this case, support for rehabilitation, like punitiveness, might be lower in specific situations.

These possibilities await empirical examination. Based on the relationship of punitive and rehabilitative

attitudes, however, it seems more likely that:

28. Assessments of specific attitudes toward rehabilitation will show greater support than will assessments of global attitudes toward rehabilitation.

CHAPTER 2

METHODS

The last chapter reviewed the literature on support for rehabilitation and outlined the hypotheses to be tested in this study. This review revealed a number of correlates of support. It is clear, however, that the existing research often has been limited to assessments of bivariate relationships, especially when the characteristics of the crime, criminal, or treatment are considered.

This chapter discusses the methodology used to examine these factors in a single, multivariate analysis. In this way, the influence of each characteristic can be determined within the context of all other factors. I also detail the approach employed to explore any differences between global and specific attitudes toward rehabilitation.

In this regard, the chapter begins with a discussion of the sample that was drawn and the procedure used for collecting the data. To determine the independent effects of crime, criminal, and treatment features on respondents' attitudes toward rehabilitation, these characteristics were combined into vignettes. The particular method of constructing the vignettes, a factorial design survey, is described below. I also indicate how each variable was operationalized, and provide justifications for these choices. Following the presentation of the vignette

variables, I discuss the scale to be used as the dependent variable in these analyses. Next, the additional variables required to tap global attitudes are presented. The chapter closes with a discussion of the reliabilities for each of the constructed indexes.

Sample

The data used to test the hypotheses provided above were collected by means of a mail survey distributed to 1,000 Ohio residents. According to 1990 census data, Ohio covers 40,953 square miles and has a population of 11,021,419 people (U. S. Bureau of the Census 1994). Over 86 percent of these residents are White, 51.8 percent are female, and more than 75 percent have completed high school.

The suitability of Ohio as a research site is bolstered by its similarity to the United States as a whole. Tuchfarber (1988:15) has observed that Ohio is "a social and political microcosm of the nation" in many ways. The similarities include percent of urban and rural areas, percent of the population that is African-American, median age, per capita income, percent living below the poverty level, and the unemployment rate (Tuchfarber 1988). In addition, Tuchfarber (1988) has shown that the "ebb and flow" of political party identification in Ohio tends to reflect national trends. Of course, these observations should not be taken too far; areas certainly exist across

the United States that are quite unlike the national norm in meaningful ways. Still, the evidence extended by Tuchfarber (1988) shows that Ohio is similar to the United States on several variables. Although the results generated from an Ohio sample are not empirically generalizable to the U. S., they may be suggestive of what might be expected nationally.

The chosen sample size of 1,000 was based on two considerations. First, with a return rate of at least 50 percent, a sample of 1,000 would provide an estimated sampling variation of less than plus or minus four percent for any particular item. This factor, however, must be regarded only as a general guide since many of the issues to be addressed by this dissertation are not based on distributions of single characteristics. The second concern will be discussed in more detail below, but a brief comment can be offered here. Respondents were asked to judge vignettes as a major part of this project. A sample of 1,000 ensured adequate statistical power to analyze the influence of the variables included in the vignettes and the respondent demographics on support for rehabilitation.

The sample was drawn by Survey Sampling, Incorporated, a service that maintains a database of residents listed in all Ohio telephone directories. Samples are drawn from this database by a computer, which begins with a random starting point and selects every nth case to reach the desired sample size. The listings included in the database are updated

twice per year, and have a reported working telephone rate of over 85 percent.

Data Collection Procedure

Choosing a Mail Survey

There are three ways in which survey data, such as those required for this project, are collected from respondents: personal interviews, telephone surveys, and mail surveys (Fowler 1988). Personal interviews are seldom used and are not suitable for this project. Although interviews typically produce high response rates and allow researchers to probe respondents for detailed answers, they are prohibitively expensive and time-consuming (Fowler 1988:70). These concerns are particularly relevant to any study that seeks to cover a wide geographical area since interviewers would be required to travel long distances to reach each potential respondent.

For this project, then, I had to choose between a mail survey and a telephone survey. Telephone interviews tend to have several advantages over mail surveys of the public. First, they often can be completed in a much shorter amount of time (Dillman 1978; Fowler 1988; Farnworth, Bennett, and West 1996). Second, telephone interviews usually produce higher rates of response (Dillman 1978; Fowler 1988; Farnworth et al. 1996). Third, in at least one study,

telephone interviews produced a sample of participants that was more representative of the population (Farnworth et al. 1996).

These advantages notwithstanding, mail surveys appear to be preferable for the present study. There are several reasons for this choice. First, Farnworth et al. (1996) report that in a comparison of mail and telephone surveys of punitiveness, the mail survey produced more punitive responses. These results persisted even when differences in the demographic representativeness of the approaches were considered. Therefore, a mail survey provides a conservative assessment of support for rehabilitation. Second, mail surveys can produce very high response rates. Dillman (1978) recommends a "total design method" for constructing and distributing surveys that has produced average response rates of 70 percent. Moreover, much is known about what induces the public to respond, and this knowledge can practically be applied to encourage a higher response rate (see Fox, Crask, and Kim 1988; Yammarino, Skinner, and Childers 1991).

Third, mail surveys allow respondents to complete the questionnaire at their leisure and to give careful consideration to their answers. Durham (1993) has criticized telephone surveys for demanding quick responses to complex issues. This comment is especially relevant to the present study since the central goal is to assess the

complexity of influences on support for rehabilitation. Although a mailed questionnaire cannot guarantee that respondents will give greater thought to their responses, they at least have the opportunity for reflection, which may increase the quality of the answers provided (Yankelovich 1991).

Distribution of the Questionnaire

Distribution of the surveys followed Dillman's (1978) total design method. As mentioned above, this method typically results in a high response rate, and the value of many of Dillman's techniques has been verified through meta-analyses of studies of survey distribution (Fox et al. 1988; Yammarino et al. 1991). The initial mailing was sent to all 1,000 members of the sample on May 28, 1996. It included a copy of the questionnaire, with the cover printed on light blue paper, and a business reply envelope. Accompanying these materials was a personalized letter from the project director requesting that the respondent complete and return the survey. The letter also emphasized the importance of the study and noted that the project is sponsored by the University of Cincinnati and the United States Department of Justice.

A reminder letter was sent to the entire sample one week later. After another two weeks, a replacement survey, accompanied by a reminder letter and return envelope, were

mailed to all those who had not yet responded. A final mailing was sent to all nonrespondents seven weeks after the initial mailing, and included all of the survey materials--questionnaire, return envelope, and cover letter. Copies of the questionnaire, entitled "The Future of Ohio Crime Policy: A Statewide Survey of Ohio Citizens," and each cover letter are provided in Appendix A.

Several additional aspects of this approach should be noted. First, to ensure the confidentiality of responses, a number was printed on the outside of the return envelope. When each number was received, it was removed from the mailing list. Second, each new letter took a slightly different approach to encourage responses. The mailings to nonrespondents became slightly more urgent with each follow-up. Third, the first three mailings were sent using first class postage, but to further emphasize the importance of the final mailing, it was sent by registered mail.

These attempts to encourage participation resulted in 559 completed or nearly completed questionnaires being returned. In addition, 67 questionnaires were returned by the United States Postal Service, unanswered, because the addressee had moved and left no forwarding address (or the forwarding order had expired). Finally, 38 surveys were returned unanswered because the intended respondent was deceased or was too ill to complete the questionnaire. The resulting response rate for those members of the sample who

received a survey and were capable of completing it was 62.4% (559/895).

Although this response rate is generally considered adequate (Babbie 1992), and I have enough cases to complete the proposed analyses, some concerns may be raised about the representativeness of the resulting sample. Table 2.1 presents the distribution of the respondents' demographic characteristics and compares them with census data. Typical of mailed surveys (Fowler 1988), our sample overrepresents individuals with higher educations, and thus, higher incomes. The sample also overrepresents males, Whites, and the older residents of Ohio.

These statistically significant differences indicate that this sample does not represent the population of Ohio in terms of demographics. It is important also to consider how these biases may affect the results of this study. I noted above the demographic correlates of both punitiveness and support for rehabilitation. The punitiveness literature suggests that older, White, wealthier respondents favor harshness. Likewise, the existing research on rehabilitation attitudes shows less support for treatment among these demographic groups. Conversely, males tend to be less punitive (except in regard to the use of capital punishment), and those who are more educated tend to favor rehabilitation and reject punitive approaches to crime. As noted, none of these relationships typically is strong. On

Table 2.1 Distribution of Respondents' Demographic Characteristics

Variable Characteristic	Sample	1990 Census
Sex (n=552)*		
Male	66.7%	48.2%
Female	33.3%	51.8%
Race (n=550)*		
White	92.5%	87.8%
Black	5.8%	10.6%
Other	1.6%	1.6%
Education (n=551)*		
No High School	3.4%	7.0%
High School, No Diploma	7.4%	17.0%
High School Graduate	33.2%	36.0%
Some College	27.9%	24.4%
College Graduate	15.2%	10.5%
Graduate Education	12.7%	5.1%
Household Income (n=525)*		
Less than $15,000	12.0%	25.1%
$15,000-24,999	20.2%	18.4%
$25,000-34,999	15.2%	16.8%
$35,000-49,999	22.3%	18.8%
$50,000-74,999	18.1%	14.1%
$75,000 or More	12.2%	6.9%
Mean Age (n=550)**	53.53	44.54

* Sample distribution is significantly different from population at $p \leq .05$ as indicated by a chi-square goodness-of-fit test.

** Sample distribution is significantly different from population at $p \leq .05$ as indicated by a t-test.

balance, therefore, it appears that the level of support for rehabilitation may be somewhat, but not greatly, attenuated in this sample.

Independent Variables

Respondent Characteristics

Testing hypotheses one through 13 required collection of data on several respondent demographic and attitudinal variables. The measures used for each characteristic are described below.

Age. Each respondent's age was not measured directly, but was computed later. Since some respondents might recall their birth date more easily than their age, I asked respondents to report the year in which they were born:

1. In what year were you born?

Education. Education previously has been operationalized several ways by researchers, including asking for the number of years of education the respondent has received and asking the respondent to assign himself or herself to a particular category of educational attainment. Although some detail is lost, the second method seems preferable. In some cases when a researcher asks for an exact count, the number of years of schooling reported by the respondents may provide ambiguous information about their educational achievements. For example, a respondent

who has completed high school without repeating any grades, but has no post-secondary education could report 12 years of schooling or 13, or more, if the individual has attended pre-school or kindergarten and chooses to count these years. The situation becomes even cloudier if any grades were repeated. Respondents may be unsure whether these years should be combined or counted separately. Further, respondents may not know how to report post-secondary education, especially if it has been completed on a part-time basis. Of course, each of these conditions could be explained in directions; however, the instructions would likely be too complex to be of any real help. Therefore, it seemed preferable to provide respondents with several categories from which they might choose. Furthermore, the categories suggested below, which were used previously by Applegate, Cullen, Link, Richards, and Lanza-Kaduce (1996) Applegate, Cullen, Barton, Richards, Lanza-Kaduce, and Link (1995), and Cao (1993), allow for comparisons with U. S. Census data to verify the representativeness of the sample:

1. What is the last year or grade of education that you completed?

   Never went to high school
   Went to high school but did not graduate
   Graduated from high school
   Finished one year of college (or post-high school training)
   Finished two years of college
   Finished three years of college
   Graduated from college
   Finished one or more years of graduate school

Income. In instances where income is a major variable

of interest, this issue has sometimes been assessed with numerous questions dealing with multiple aspects of wage earning. I am interested here only in examining each respondent's approximate household income. In this case, two general approaches have been employed in past research. Researchers have asked respondents either to report the actual dollar amount of their salaries or to indicate their incomes by selecting one of a set of categories. Sudman and Bradburn (1982) observe that although some information is lost with the second method, citizens are more likely to provide their income as a broad category than as a specific amount. In addition, it is important not to provide intervals that are so narrow that they tend to "tire or bor the respondent" (Sudman and Bradburn 1982:199). The categories that were provided to the respondents were identical to those reported by the U. S. Bureau of the Census, thus allowing comparisons to be made between the sample and Census data.

1. Now we would like to ask you about your family income. As we said above, this information is being collected for statistical purposes only and will remain strictly <u>confidential</u>. Would you please circle the letter below that best represents your total family income in 1995 before taxes?

   A. less than $15,000
   B. $15,000 to $24,999
   C. $25,000 to $34,999
   D. $35,000 to $49,999
   E. $50,000 to $74,999
   F. $75,000 or more

<u>Sex</u>. This measurement was straightforward:

1. What is your sex?

Male
Female

Race. This measurement also was straightforward.

1. What race do you consider yourself?

White
Black
Other

Political Party. To assess the above hypotheses, we must at the least determine who is a Republican and who is a Democrat. The remainder of Ohio residents can be subsumed under the category "independent." The following question is taken from Sudman and Bradburn (1982:127) and is nearly identical to that used by the National Opinion Research Center in its General Social Surveys (1988):

1. Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, Democrat, or Independent?

Strong Republican
Republican
Independent
Democrat
Strong Democrat

Political Conservatism. The following item was based on the question posed in the General Social Surveys (1988) of the NORC. It's format was modified to better fit a mail survey. Additionally, based on comments received in a pretest of the questionnaire, a nine-point scale was used instead of a seven-point scale. The final version of this question also is similar to an item used previously by the General Social Survey, Cao (1993), and Applegate and his

colleagues (Applegate et al. 1995; Applegate, Cullen, Link, Richards, and Lanza-Kaduce 1996) to examine general orientations toward liberalism or conservativism.

1. We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives. Think about a scale going from 1 to 9, with 1 meaning extremely liberal and 9 meaning extremely conservative. How would you rate your own political views?

Contact with Offenders. My intention, consistent with the suggestions of the social psychological literature, was to assess whether and to what extent the respondents had interacted in neutral situations with offenders. Of course, not all contact is equivalent. Thus, some consideration had to be given to what types of contact should be assessed. In this regard, Link and Cullen (1986) provide meaningful insight. The authors posited that chosen contact with outgroup members (mentally ill individuals in their study) might be related to attitudes toward that group in a different way than contact that was not chosen. Their findings, however, showed that individuals who had experienced either type of contact perceived mental patients as less dangerous. The following items thus capture contact with offenders in several possible situations. They are modified from items previously employed by Link and Cullen (1986) and by Bynum et al. (1985). In the analyses to follow, "contact" will refer to the number of items that each respondent marked "yes."

1. Have you ever visited any prisons or jails?

2. Have you ever worked for pay or done volunteer work with people who had broken the law?

3. Have you ever known someone who was on probation or who was in prison or jail?

Religious Identity Salience. The salience of one's religious beliefs might be measured in myriad ways; however, I used an index of four items provided by Grasmick et al. (1993). This scale has good face validity, and Grasmick et al. (1993) report a reliability (alpha) coefficient of .90, which was replicated with the present sample (see Table 2.2). The items that were included were as follows:

1. Religion is a very important part of my life.

2. I would describe myself as very religious.

3. Religion should influence how I live my life.

4. When I have decisions to make in my everyday life, I usually try to find out what God wants me to do.

Following each statement, the respondents were instructed to circle one of six points on a Likert scale, ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree. These response categories allow for examination of both direction and intensity of attitudes, and as Alwin (1992) shows, they provide more reliable responses than fewer categories. Although reliability continues to increase with additional response options beyond six categories, the increase is at a sharply diminishing rate (Alwin 1992). Further, with too many categories, individual respondents may tend to group their answers in one part of the attitude scale, creating bias across respondents (Alwin 1992).

Table 2.2 Reliability Coefficients for Multiple-Item Additive Indexes

Index	Number of Cases	Number of Items	Chronbach's Alpha
Religious Identity Salience	541	4	.90
Hellfire	513	4	.78
Biblical Literalness	537	2	.90
Religious Forgiveness	538	3	.78
Neighborhood Civility	553	5	.79
Vignette Rehabilitation	548	5	.87
Global Rehabilitation	544	10	.90

Two shortcomings of Likert-type responses should be noted. First, the research on Likert scales indicates that when individuals are visually presented with a set of items, their responses are biased toward the response category presented first (termed "primacy response bias") (Carp 1974; Chan 1991). Because the survey consistently presented "strongly disagree" in the left-most position, religious identity salience may have been underestimated. Second, and conversely, the research also provides evidence of acquiescence bias--a tendency to agree with whatever statement the researcher presents (Ray 1983). Although the extent of bias in either direction cannot be determined in the present study, it may be that the biases balanced each other, resulting in accurate measures of religious views.

Hellfire. Evans et al. (1995) provide a seven-item scale to assess this dimension of religiosity, with a reliability of .88. Including all of these items, as well as those required to examine the three other aspects of religious beliefs, might have introduced religious overtones into the survey. To help avoid this possibility, only four of Evans et al.'s items were included in the questionnaire. The first two items tap the extent to which people believe in the punitiveness of God. The remaining two items--the omnipotence of God and eternal life--are logically required if people are to suffer God's wrath. As shown in Table 2.2, these four items resulted in a reliability of .78.

1. After I do something wrong, I fear God's punishment.

2. People who are evil in this world will eventually suffer in Hell.

3. God knows everything a person does wrong.

4. There is life after death.

Respondents recorded the extent of their agreement with each item on a six-point Likert scale.

Biblical Literalness. Grasmick et al. (1992) provide a four-item scale of respondents' tendency to interpret the scriptures literally. Again, in an attempt to limit the number of religious items included in the survey, I used only the two items that refer most directly to interpretation of the Bible, with a resulting reliability of .90. Responses were gathered on six-point scales.

1. I believe the Bible is God's word and all it says is true.

2. I believe the miracles in the Bible actually happened just as the Bible says they did.

Religious Forgiveness. Douglas and Tenney (1989:208) define forgiveness by saying that "it means giving up resentment or claim to requital on account of an offense. The offense may be a deprivation of a person's property, rights, or honor; or it may be a violation of moral law." The importance of forgiving people for their sins is emphasized throughout the Bible, where three themes are apparent. First, forgiveness is required. Failure to forgive is a serious sin in itself (Matthew 18:34-35).

Also, one cannot obtain God's forgiveness without forgiving others (Matthew 6:14-15). Second, as long as the offender repents, forgiveness should be limitless (Luke 18:3-4). That is, someone who continues to commit sins should be forgiven each time if he or she is truly sorry. Third, immoral acts should be the object of condemnation, rather than the people who commit those acts (Matthew 5:39, 44).

The following items were intended to measure how strongly citizens' felt about these issues. They were written broadly, however, so that a respondent did not need to embrace Christianity to agree with the importance of religious forgiveness. Again, answers were recorded on six-point Likert scales.

1. In order to receive God's forgiveness, it is important that we forgive those who sin against us.
2. God teaches that even if someone has lived a life of crime, they should be forgiven for their offenses if they are truly sorry.
3. It is important to hate the sin but to love the sinner.

The reliability coefficient for the index created from these three items was .78 (see Table 2.2).

Fear of Crime. Frequently in the criminological literature, fear of crime is measured by the General Social Survey item: "Is there any area within a mile around your home where you are afraid to walk alone at night?" Those who have focused their attention on fear of crime, however,

note two problems with this measure. First, this item may confound feelings of trepidation about becoming a crime victim with perceptions of neighborhood safety (Cao and Cullen 1995; Ferraro and LaGrange 1987). Second, it does not directly assess whether the respondent has ever experienced fear of becoming a crime victim (Cao and Cullen 1995).

As shown previously in Table 2.4, only two studies of attitudes toward rehabilitation have examined the potential effects of fear on support. McCorkle (1993) used a measure very similar to the one included in the GSS. Langworthy and Whitehead (1986:581), on the other hand, analyzed an index of six items that asked the respondents to report their concerns "about being a victim of vandalism, burglary, street robbery, murder, or of being injured by a robber or burglar." Although this measure is more concrete than the GSS item and indicates whether people worry about becoming crime victims, it still does not directly address the extent to which the respondents fear crime. It may be that people's views about appropriate policies for dealing with offenders are influenced by whether they feel afraid of crime. In an effort to assess the extent to which the respondents had actually experienced fear of becoming crime victims, I replicated a question used previously by Cao and Cullen (1995):

1. At one time or another, most people have experienced fear about becoming the victim of a

crime. Think back to those time when you might have felt afraid or worried that you might be a crime victim. How many times have you felt afraid of crime in the last month?

The respondents were then afforded the response options "none," "once," "two or three," "four or five," and "more than five."

In an attempt to assess perceptions of neighborhood safety separately, a related group of items also were presented to the respondents. These items asked the respondents to indicate whether any of a set of incivil activities were a problem in their neighborhood. Although they are not direct measures of one's fear of becoming a crime victim, they do assess a more general sense of uneasiness about one's safety:

1. We would like to know if you think any of these things are a problem in your neighborhood. For each activity, we would like you to tell us if it is a "big problem," "some problem," or "not a problem."
   a. Groups of teenagers hanging out on the corners or in the streets;
   b. Vandalism--like kids breaking windows or writing on walls or things like that;
   c. Noisy neighbors--people who play loud music, have late parties, or have noisy neighbors;
   d. Garbage or litter on the streets or sidewalks;
   e. People who say insulting things or bother people as they walk down the street.

The responses to these items were combined to form an additive index with a reliability of .79 (see Table 2.2).

Victimization. Reflecting the operationalization of victimization used in previous investigations of punitiveness, this dissertation used an index composed of

both direct personal victimization experiences and vicarious victimization. These items were drawn from those used by Cao (1993) in his study of the correlates of protective gun ownership:

1. In the last 12 months, have any of the following crimes been committed against you personally or against any of your friends or relatives?
   a. Someone broke into your/their house;
   b. Someone stole property from your/their house or yard;
   c. Someone stole, broke into, or vandalized your/their car;
   d. Someone held you/them up on the street and robbed you/them;
   e. Someone threatened to beat you/them up or threatened you/them with a knife, gun, or other weapon;
   f. Someone actually beat you/them up (in a fight you/they didn't start).

Following each potential victimization, the respondents were asked to mark either "yes" or "no" for both themselves and their acquaintances. In the analyses reported below, a total victimization score was assigned to each respondent by summing the number of affirmative responses to the personal victimization portion. Vicarious victimization is not included in the analyses because 9 percent of the respondents failed to indicate whether their acquaintances had been victimized.[3]

[3] Equations also were computed that included the vicarious victimization index. The resultant models were substantively identical to those that excluded this variable.

Factorial Survey Design

Hypotheses 14 through 27 required that I determine the independent effects of numerous aspects of the criminal event on support for rehabilitation. One method of approaching this analysis would be to ask respondents directly whether they would be more supportive in each situation. Two problems, however, arise with this approach. First, attention is unnaturally drawn to particular factors to which people might not attend in actual situations. Consider, for example, eliciting attitudes toward different offenders in the following way: "would you support rehabilitation for someone who was Black?...what if the person was White instead?" This procedure would be repeated for each feature of the offender, offense, and treatment that were to be assessed. It seems questionable whether people typically make such blatant distinctions when considering real cases.

The second shortcoming of directly questioning respondents about what affects their attitudes follows logically from the first. In order to assess the unique effects of each feature of the crime, the criminal, and the treatment using such methods, each respondent would have to evaluate all possible permutations of these characteristics. Due to the large number of different combinations of features, this procedure could become a truly onerous demand with the addition of multiple characteristics. For example,

evaluating offenders of two races, ranging in age from 12 to 35 (in whole years), who had committed one of 20 different offenses, and had been arrested between zero and five times would result in 5,760 unique scenarios.

Fortunately, an alternative method has been developed by Rossi: the factorial survey (see Rossi and Nock 1982). Using this technique, respondents are asked to evaluate vignettes that include details about some object or event. As Rossi (1979) observes, the factorial survey approach is useful for examining any domain in which people are asked to make judgments about complex issues. Previously, factorial design methodology has been used to examine a variety of social phenomena: conceptions of mental illness (Thurman, Lam, and Rossi 1988), justice (Miller et al. 1986, 1991), crime seriousness (Rauma 1991), social status (Nock 1982), child abuse (Garrett 1982; O'Toole, O'Toole, Webster, and Lucal 1993), willingness to comply with tax laws (Thurman 1988), decisions to drink and drive (Thurman, Jackson, and Zhao 1993), and attitudes toward the death penalty (Applegate et al. 1993), immigration policies (Jasso 1988), and punishment (Applegate, Cullen, Turner, and Sundt 1996; Cullen and Jacoby 1995; Rossi et al. 1985). In the present study, offender characteristics, treatment characteristics, and crime characteristics were combined into a brief story or description.

According to Rossi (1979:179), "the critical feature of

the vignette technique is that the vignettes are created by a computer program that randomly assigns values to each of the vignette characteristics." The result of this procedure is a vignette in which the variables included are correlated only to the extent produced by sampling error (usually near zero). In this way, the independent effects of each variable on the respondents' judgments can be evaluated. Furthermore, many factors and levels within factors can be included, capturing more closely the complexity of the real world, because individual vignettes can be combined to produce a random sample of all possible permutations of the included characteristics. It is not necessary to rate all permutations, only this randomly drawn, representative sample of vignettes. As Rossi and Anderson (1982) have argued, by examining the relationships between the included dimensions and the respondents' judgments of the vignettes, the structures that underlie such judgments can be determined.

Factorial survey methodology is not without its potential problems. Hennessy, MacQueen, and Seals (1995) observe that because attributes are selected randomly, one attribute might contradict another. For example, children might be reported to be older than their parents. Such situations often can be avoided with careful design of the variables to be included. In addition, Vig-Write, the computer program used to generate the vignettes, can be

programmed to screen out illogical combinations (Weber, Sellers, and Rossi 1988).

Durham (1986) has noted a related problem. If the distribution of characteristics in the "universe" from which the computer makes its random selections does not match conventional experience, the judgments made by respondents will not reflect how they would respond to real situations. Their judgments could be generalized only to the "particular constellation of circumstances" comprising the vignette universe (Durham 1986:184). This potential limitation also can be addressed because "the factorial survey approach allows the survey designer to construct a universe of social objects to judge that is a very close reflection of the univariate characteristics of the real-world universe in question" (Simpson, Rossi, and Miller 1986:193). In other words, the probability that the computer will select any particular level within each dimension can be weighted to create a universe of vignettes that more accurately represents reality.

Finally, there is some concern about the appropriate method of analysis for factorial surveys. Most often, respondents are presented with packets of multiple (4, 8, 20, 50, or more) vignettes to judge. And often researchers have combined these packets and used the vignette as the unit of analysis (Elis and Simpson 1995; Jacoby and Cullen 1995; Rossi and Anderson 1982; Rossi et al. 1985; Shively

and Thurman 1993; Thurman 1988; Thurman, Lam, and Rossi 1988; Thurman, Jackson, and Zhao 1992). Thus, if 100 respondents each rated 50 vignettes, the effective sample size would be 5,000. Several authors, however, have raised concerns about this approach (Hennessy et al. 1995; Hox, Kreft, and Hermkens 1991; Jasso 1988, 1990; Rauma 1991). Hox et al.'s (1991) observation is typical: since judgments are likely to be more similar within respondents than across them, vignettes rated by the same respondent will have correlated error terms. Although the dimensions of the vignettes are (essentially) uncorrelated even when respondent sub-samples are combined, vignette judgments are nested within respondents. These authors proceed to show that a multiple-level model is more appropriate to the data (see also Jasso 1988, 1990; Rauma 1991).

An alternative to a complex hierarchical model has been provided by O'Toole et al. (1993). These researchers had respondents rate 28 vignettes. Twenty-four of them were constructed using the factorial survey method. The remaining four were identical across all respondents. The average rating given the four fixed vignettes for each respondent was then included in the analysis of the 24 factorial vignettes, thereby accounting for the rating tendencies of each individual respondent.

Whether this approach or the multiple-level model is more appropriate remains to be evaluated; however, this

method retains greater statistical power, and the resulting coefficients are more easily interpreted. Further, Hox et al. (1991) remark that hierarchical models produce results that are dependent on the variables included, and are therefore most appropriate for applications in which the salient variables have been well identified. On the other hand, the multiple-level method provides estimates of each respondent's own judgment structure, which could be an important consideration for small identifiable groups of respondents (see, for example, Jasso 1988).

Despite these concerns, the factorial survey is the most appropriate method for determining the underlying structure of complex judgments, such as those relating to support for rehabilitation. These vignettes were designed to minimize concerns about generalizability. Furthermore, calculations of statistical power indicated that each respondent needed only to rate one vignette in order that I might detect even small increments to the explained variance in support for rehabilitation, even assuming a relatively low response rate (see Cohen 1988).[4] Thus, as will be discussed in the next chapter, analyses of the vignettes can

[4] Statistical power is the probability of identifying a statistically significant relationship. Assuming a significance level of .01 and the ability to explain 10 percent of the variance in support for rehabilitation using a multiple regression analysis with 30 independent variables, 352 cases are necessary to attain power equal to .90. This calculation is based on the formulas and tables provided by Cohen (1988).

be accomplished with a straightforward application of ordinary least squares regression (OLS).

The manner in which each variable was included in the vignettes is presented below:

Offender age. Recall that this variable is intended to examine whether support for rehabilitation is greater for juveniles than for adults. This question might suggest that only two categories are necessary: an adult and a juvenile. At this time, however, imposing any categories would be purely arbitrary. Thus, I included age as a continuous variable, ranging from 15 to 34 years old. The choice of these particular ages was governed by the prevalence of individuals arrested at each age in 1994 (see U. S. Department of Justice [DOJ] 1995). Few youths below the age of 15 are arrested, and arrest rates decline substantially for those 35 and over. Moreover, the range of adult ages seemed to be sufficient to define an offender as "an adult."

Without weighting the probability of selecting any particular age, each age would have a five percent chance of being selected. To better reflect the distribution of ages among offenders actually arrested, however, I weighted the probability of selecting the offender's age in the vignettes. This weighting scheme was based on the distribution of offenders arrested in 1994 for any offense. Fifteen-year-old offenders and those age 21 through 24 each had a five percent chance of being selected. Sixteen to

twenty-year-olds had a six percent chance, and 25 to 34-year-olds had a four percent chance of being included in a vignette.[5] Appendix B provides the distribution of each vignette characteristic from the full mailed sample of 1,000 and the final sample of 559 returned questionnaires.

Offender race. Offender race was included as one indicator of an offender's personal characteristics that might influence rehabilitation attitudes. Offenders were described as either "White" or "Black." Furthermore, UCR data show that the ratio of arrests of White suspects to African-American suspects is approximately 17 to 8 (DOJ 1995). As with age, the vignettes were weighted accordingly.

Offender sex. Another personal attribute that was included in the vignettes was the offender's sex. The sex of the offender was indicated two ways. First, a first name was randomly selected by the computer: Gary or Lisa. Kasof's (1993) research showed that the public attributes similar levels of competence and attractiveness to these names. This point is important because it reduces any bias

[5] The Uniform Crime Report provides the following frequencies of arrests for offenders age 15 through 34, respectively: 428,967; 489,089; 510,640; 520,831; 505,122; 459,948; 433,449; 419,027; 420,909; 406,399; 352,271; 352,271; 352,271; 352,271; 352,271; 342,629; 342,629; 342,629; 342,629; 342,629 (DOJ 1995:227-28). The resulting proportion of arrests for each age are .053, .061, .063, .064, .063, .057, .054, .052, .052, .050, .044, .044, .044, .044, .044, .042, .042, .042, .042, and .042. Because the UCR presents five-year categories for offenders 25 and over, the average has been provided here.

introduced by the selection of particular stimulus names. Second, corresponding pronouns were used throughout the vignettes. Again, this characteristic was weighted based on UCR data, with a male to female ratio of four to one (DOJ 1995).

Crime. Below are presented the offenses that were included in the vignettes. For clarity, they have been divided into the following general classes: robbery, burglary, aggravated assault, larceny, motor vehicle theft, fraud, drug sales, and drug use. For example, all of the variations of burglaries are grouped under "burglary." Three criteria were used to determine what crimes should be included.

First, I felt it was important to select crimes that are well known to the public. The offenses listed below seem to be the type that are likely to be recognizable to citizens. Second, the crimes had to be types for which offenders are arrested fairly frequently. The included offenses are among the most frequent crimes for which individuals were arrested in 1994 (see DOJ 1995). Murder and arson, two other offenses that the public also would likely recognize, were not included because people infrequently commit and are arrested for these crimes. Finally, rape was excluded. Even though this offense is prevalent in the community, few rapists are arrested. Additionally, this offense would conflict with variations in

the sex of the offender, since rapists are almost exclusively male.

The third criteria for selecting offenses to be included was that they had to be potentially punishable by a sentence of either prison or probation. Because the vignettes also are designed to tap attitudes toward the location of treatment, this flexibility was necessary. Drunk driving, other assaults, vandalism, carrying a concealed weapon, liquor law violations, public drunkenness, and disorderly conduct are all more prevalent than robbery. They are not included, however, because these crimes are not punishable by incarceration (The Ohio Criminal Law Handbook 1995).

Regarding the particular offenses included within each category, three issues were considered. First, based on Warr's (1989) finding that harm is a component of perceived crime seriousness, several of the attributes within offenses were designed to assess the influence of different levels of harm, either financial or physical. Aside from the variations in the level of harm, attempts were made to standardize the wording of the vignettes within offenses. The goal was to help assure that differences in harm, rather than in wording, would be presented.

Second, some consideration was given to simplifying the vignettes. I am taking an important step toward specifying the offenses that respondents are to consider. Still, many

additional characteristics likely vary among individual criminal cases (e.g., victim-offender relationships, time of day, whether the crime was committed in an urban or suburban location), and these might affect people's judgments. Hopefully, an adequate compromise is being struck between presenting offenders as undifferentiated collectives and probing the minutiae of specific crimes.

Third, several of these descriptions were based on those used previously in the punitiveness literature. Some are identical to those of Jacoby and Cullen (1995) (marked *). Others are similar to their offenses, but have been altered somewhat (marked ‡). In addition, these descriptions are not substantially different from those included in the punitiveness vignettes employed by Rossi and his colleagues (Rossi et al. 1985; Miller et al. 1986, 1991).

Two final points regarding the offenses described below is in order. First, their selection into the vignettes was weighted to better reflect their actual distribution relative to each other. Based on the frequency of arrests reported in Uniform Crime Report data (DOJ 1995), I set the approximate relative probability of selecting an offense within each of the crime categories as follows: robbery, .05; burglary, .10; aggravated assault, .10; larceny, .30; motor vehicle theft, .05; fraud, .10; drug sales, .15; drug use, .15. As noted, this weighting will result in the

vignette universe being a better reflection of the real distribution of offenses.

Second, in a separate survey, 118 undergraduate university students rated the seriousness of each offense. This procedure allowed me to include the resulting seriousness scores in the analysis of the vignettes. I used a separate sample for this task because asking the same respondents to rate the vignettes and estimate the seriousness of the included crimes might bias the results.

Briefly, the respondents were presented with a list of the included offenses and were asked to rate the seriousness of each crime on a nine-point scale. They were instructed that "on this scale, one equals 'not serious at all' and nine equals 'extremely serious.'" In addition, each respondent was informed that if the crime fit "somewhere between the least serious and the most serious, [you should] give it a rating between one and nine depending on how serious the crime is in your opinion." This approach has been used previously by several researchers (Cullen, Link, and Polanzi 1982; Cullen, Link, Travis, and Wozniak 1985; Rossi, Waite, Bose, and Berk 1974; Travis, Cullen, Link, and Wozniak 1986; Warr 1989), and is not susceptible to the criticisms that have been launched against applying magnitude estimation techniques to assessments of crime seriousness (see Parton, Hansel, and Stratton 1991). A copy of the questionnaire used to collect the crime seriousness

scores is provided in Appendix C.

The included offenses are:

(Robbery)
did not have a weapon. He/she threatened to harm a victim unless the victim gave him/her money. The victim gave him/her $10 and was not harmed.*

threatened a victim with a weapon and demanded money. The victim gave him/her $10 and was not harmed.‡

threatened a victim with a weapon and demanded money. When the victim resisted, [name] used the weapon and took $10. The victim was wounded and was treated by a doctor but was not hospitalized.

threatened a victim with a weapon and demanded money. When the victim resisted, [name] used the weapon and took $10. The victim was wounded and had to be admitted to a hospital.

(Burglary)
broke into a home and stole $100.‡

broke into a home and stole $1,000.*

broke into a home and stole $10,000.‡

(Aggravated Assault)
injured a victim with a knife. The victim, however, did not need medical treatment.‡

injured a victim with a knife. As a result, the victim had to be treated by a doctor but was not hospitalized.‡

injured a victim with a knife. As a result, the victim had to be admitted to a hospital.‡

(Larceny)
stole property worth $500 from outside a building.*

stole property worth $1,000 from outside a building.*

stole property worth $10,000 from outside a building.*

(Motor Vehicle Theft)

stole a car worth $5,000.*

stole a car worth $10,000.‡

(Fraud)
knowingly wrote bad checks for a total of $500.

knowingly wrote bad checks for a total of $1,000.

(Drug Sales)
sold large amounts of cocaine to others so that they could resell it.‡

sold small amounts of cocaine to others for their own personal use.

(Drug Use)
used cocaine.*

Employment Status. Offenders' employment status was described such that it captured whether they were employed at the time of the offense, as well as information about employment history. Each offender was described one of three ways: "had been unemployed for a long time," "had been employed off and on for several years," or "had held a steady job for several years." These categories provide greater detail than those used by Rossi (Rossi et al. 1985; Miller et al. 1986, 1991) and are similar to Jacoby and Cullen's (1995). Data indicate that 64 percent of males and 74 percent of females incarcerated in Ohio were unemployed at the time they were arrested (Office of Criminal Justice Services 1995). Since information about sporadic employment is not available, however, the vignette universe will include equal proportions of the above three employment-status categories.

Substance Use. Three conditions of substance abuse

were included. The vignettes stated that the offender either "had a serious drug habit," "was under the influence of drugs when he/she committed the crime but did not have a drug habit," or "did not use drugs." These options established whether the offender used drugs and, if so, whether it was a long-standing problem.

Prior Record. The research presented above suggests that the existence of a prior record increases punitiveness. It is possible that the seriousness of an offender's record might further influence attitudes. To allow for examination of this possibility, I described the offender as having no prior convictions or having previously been convicted of a particular crime. Many of the offense descriptions were identical to those used for the current offense, but the two most prevalent misdemeanor offenses--drunk driving and other assaults--also were included. All of these offenses were rated for their seriousness, as described above; thus, seriousness scores can be applied.

This approach provides a more direct measure of seriousness than has previously been used in the punitiveness literature. Rossi et al. (1985; Miller et al. 1986, 1991) varied the severity of an offender's prior record by altering whether the person was arrested or convicted, the number of prior contacts, and whether the offender was sent to prison. For example, two of the possible descriptions were "the offender has been arrested

once but not sent to prison" and "the offender has been convicted twice and sent to prison once" (Rossi et al. 1985:65). In a similar way, Jacoby and Cullen (1995) described the number of previous convictions for violent offenses and property offenses, and the length and number of previous incarcerations, if any.

It remains unclear what features of an offender's criminal history affect attitudes. At this point, therefore, it seems preferable to investigate the influence of the seriousness of prior criminal behavior in a more straightforward way. The crimes that were included are provided below. Approximately two-thirds of the vignettes were intended to describe an offender with a prior record, and the probability of selecting each included offense was weighted based on UCR data as described above. The remaining one-third of the vignettes described first-time offenders.

> (No criminal history)
> He/She had never been convicted of a crime before.
>
> (Robbery)
> did not have a weapon. He/she threatened to harm a victim unless the victim gave him/her money. The victim gave him/her $10 and was not harmed.
>
> threatened a victim with a weapon and demanded money. The victim gave him/her $10 and was not harmed.
>
> threatened a victim with a weapon and demanded money. When the victim resisted, [name] used the weapon and took $10. The victim was wounded and was treated by a doctor but was not hospitalized.
>
> threatened a victim with a weapon and demanded

money. When the victim resisted, [name] used the weapon and took $10. The victim was wounded and had to be admitted to a hospital.

(Burglary)
broke into a home and stole $100.

broke into a home and stole $1,000.

broke into a home and stole $10,000.

(Aggravated Assault)
injured a victim with a knife. The victim, however, did not need medical treatment.

injured a victim with a knife. As a result, the victim had to be treated by a doctor but was not hospitalized.

injured a victim with a knife. As a result, the victim had to be admitted to a hospital.

(Larceny)
stole property worth $500 from outside a building.

stole property worth $1,000 from outside a building.

stole property worth $10,000 from outside a building.

(Motor Vehicle Theft)
stole a car worth $5,000.

stole a car worth $10,000.

(Fraud)
knowingly wrote bad checks for a total of $500.

knowingly wrote bad checks for a total of $1,000.

(Drug Sales)
sold large amounts of cocaine to others so that they could resell it.

sold small amounts of cocaine to others for their own personal use.

(Drug Use)
used cocaine.

(Other Assault)

intentionally shoved or pushed a victim. The victim fell but did not need medical treatment.

intentionally shoved or pushed a victim. The victim fell and had to be treated by a doctor but was not hospitalized.

(Drunk Driving)
drove a car while drunk and caused a traffic accident. No one was seriously hurt.

drove a car while drunk and caused a traffic accident. The driver of the other car was seriously hurt and had to be admitted to a hospital.

Sentence. Three sentences were be possible for each offender: prison, intensive supervision probation, and regular probation. A sentence length was not included because it is irrelevant to assessing the effects of treatment location, the main objective of including this variable. The sentences were phrased as follows: "prison," "intensive supervision probation, where he/she will continue to live in the community but must meet with a probation officer twice per week," "probation, where he/she will continue to live in the community but must meet with a probation officer once per month." The brief descriptions of the probation options seemed necessary because some people likely are not familiar with the meaning of "probation." As Champion (1996) observes, regular and intensive probation requirements vary widely among jurisdictions. The levels of supervision described here, however, are not atypical.

Treatment Program. Treatment was of three types:

psychological, educational, or vocational. Further, within each type, I presented variations on the particular mode of intervention. The psychological program descriptions represent cognitive-behavioral and psychoanalytic approaches:

> (cognitive-behavioral)
> a psychological treatment program that teaches offenders to give up criminal values and encourages good behavior through a system of rewards and punishments.
>
> (psychoanalytic)
> a psychological treatment program that helps offenders to resolve the emotional problems that caused them to commit their crimes.

These descriptions were based on the discussions of these theories presented in Lester, Braswell, and Van Voorhis (1992) and Gilliland, James, and Bower (1994).

The educational programs were intended to tap whether offenders are receiving (a) remedial services that would also be widely available to the public or (b) a college education that would not be provided free of cost to law-abiding citizens:

> (remedial education)
> an educational program that gives offenders the opportunity to learn how to read, write, and do basic math.
>
> (college education)
> an educational program that gives offenders the opportunity to earn a college degree.

The first vocational program described is one that will likely lead to meaningful employment for the offender:

> a program that gives offenders the opportunity to learn how to use and fix computers.

This particular occupation was chosen because (a) it does not require a formal education, but (b) is expected to "be among the fastest growing occupations through 2005" according to the U. S. Department of Labor [DOL] (1994). The DOL also reports that the bottom 10 percent of workers in this area earned 25,200 or less during 1992. As a new entrant to this field, the described offender would likely receive a starting salary in this range.

The second vocational program is not uncommon in correctional settings (Clear and Cole 1990) and may satisfy citizens desires for offenders to be occupied. The Department of Labor (1994) reports that manufacturing is not a growing occupation. Therefore, this program is less likely to lead to a gainful career for offenders.

> a program that gives offenders the opportunity to learn how to handle and assemble parts in a small factory.

Sample vignette

The following sample vignette shows how the variables were combined with constant text into a paragraph form to be rated by the respondents:

> Lisa, a 30 year old White female threatened a victim with a weapon and demanded money. The victim gave her $10 and was not harmed. After being convicted for this crime, the court discovered that Lisa had held a steady job for several years, and had a serious drug habit. Her prior record showed that she had been convicted once before for a crime in which she knowingly wrote bad checks for a total of $1,000.
>
> For her current offense, Lisa was sentenced to

> intensive supervision probation, where she will continue to live in the community but must meet with a probation officer twice per week. As a part of her sentence, Lisa is in a rehabilitation program. She is enrolled in a psychological treatment program that teaches offenders to give up criminal values and encourages good behavior through a system of rewards and punishments.

Of course, since the levels of each dimension are selected randomly and there are 1,080,000 possible permutations of these levels, the chances are small that any single vignette selected for the sample is identical to this example. Still, some of the text is identical among the vignettes. This text was added to increase the clarity and readability of the scenarios. In particular, the sentence, "as a part of his/her sentence, Gary/Lisa is in a rehabilitation program" preceded the description of the treatment program to help clarify that these rehabilitative efforts are not extraneous to the offender's sentencing experience.

Dependent Variable

Following the vignette, the respondents were asked to react to the description by indicating the extent to which they supported rehabilitation in the particular situation described. Only one study (McCorkle 1993) has assessed citizens' support for rehabilitation in reaction to particular offenders. Unfortunately, two of the items included in that index asked about different types of treatment, which would conflict with the information included in my vignettes. Thus, an existing scale of public

support for rehabilitation in specific situations was not available. The first item used here was modified from a measure used in a study of treatment attitudes conducted by Cullen et al. (1983). The remaining items were developed for the present project. The respondents were asked to express the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with each statement on a six-point Likert scale, with a resulting reliability coefficient for the index of .87:

1. I support the use of rehabilitation with [name].
2. Trying to rehabilitate [name] probably will lessen the chances that he/she will go back into crime.
3. If [name] successfully completes his/her rehabilitation program, he/she should have the opportunity to have his/her sentence reduced.
4. It is right to put people like [name] in programs that try to cure the particular problem that caused them to break the law.
5. This type of rehabilitation program should be expanded so that more offenders could be involved.

The first item covers general support for rehabilitation. The remaining four items tap attitudes toward specific aspects of treatment: the effectiveness of intervention, basing release decisions on progress in rehabilitation, individualizing sentences to fit treatment needs, and expanding treatment opportunities for offenders. In these and subsequent statements, the pronouns were made to match the sex of the offender described.

Measures of Global Attitudes

To test hypothesis 28, I needed to measure global support for rehabilitation which could be compared to the vignette analysis. When researchers have examined global and specific attitudes, these measures have been presented as a dichotomy. This need not be the case, however. It may be more fruitful to conceive of global and specific attitudes as opposite ends of a continuum, where one asks for undifferentiated, "top-of-the-head" opinions and the other probes responses in substantial detail. The most obvious choice to measure global attitudes is the question posed by Harris that has been mentioned several times before in this dissertation. Although other questions might provide more valid and reliable assessments of citizens' attitudes toward rehabilitation, it was selected for inclusion here because it has been used repeatedly to show people's preferences for the goals of prison:

1. Do you think the main emphasis in most prisons is on punishing the individual convicted of a crime, trying to rehabilitate the individual so that he might return to society as a productive citizen, or protecting society from future crime he might commit?

2. Now what do you think should be the main emphasis in most prisons--punishing the individual convicted of a crime, trying to rehabilitate the individual so that he might return to society as a productive citizen, or protecting society from future crimes he might commit?

Each question was presented to the respondents, and was followed by the response categories, "punish,"

"rehabilitate," "protect society," and "not sure." Notably, these response categories are not directly comparable with the six-point Likert scale that the respondents used to evaluate the vignettes.

Although no study has yet examined global and specific rehabilitation attitudes, several studies in other areas suggest that whether identical or divergent response scales are used is unrelated to the results produced. A limited number of previous research projects have provided identical response options for both global and specific attitude measures. Brandl, Frank, Worden, and Bynum (1994), for example, examined public satisfaction with the police, using 4-point Likert scales of both global and specific attitudes. Similarly, Vining and Ebreo (1992) measured global and specific environmental attitudes on identical 4-point scales. Conversely, several authors, studying various aspects of punitiveness, report using divergent response categories to assess these attitude domains (Applegate et al. 1996; Campbell, Peplau, and DeBro 1992; Cumberland and Zamble 1992. Zamble and Kalm (1990), for instance, queried a group of citizens about their global attitudes on the severity of criminal sentences using a 4-point scale (ranging from "much too lenient" to "much too harsh"). As an indication of specific attitudes toward punishment, however, they asked the respondents to provide sentences for a set of hypothetical offenders. The respondents were asked

to specify a type of punishment as well as its duration.

Regardless of whether the response scales were identical, in each study the respondents' global and specific attitudes were related but differed to some degree. There is no discernable pattern to the results produced by these two methods. Moreover, the divergent-response-scales approach allows the global items to resemble typical broad opinion poll-type questions and allows the specific items to probe people's views in greater detail.

Other researchers have posed questions that are not as detailed as the vignette analysis described above--a measure of very specific attitudes--but still ask respondents about their support for rehabilitation in particular contexts. Several such items were included in the questionnaire to tap attitudes that may be somewhat less global than those assessed by Harris's question. These statements were based on the features that were manipulated in the vignette; in this way, observations can be made about the effects of providing respondents with a broader context for their evaluations. The ten items below assessed variations in attitudes toward rehabilitation by offender age, offender sex, location of treatment, an offender's prior record, and the type of treatment provided.

1. It is important to try to rehabilitate juveniles who have committed crimes and are now in the correctional system.

2. It is important to try to rehabilitate adults who have committed crimes and are now in the

correctional system.

3. We should try to rehabilitate women who have broken the law.

4. We should try to rehabilitate men who have broken the law.

5. It is a good idea to provide treatment for offenders who are supervised by the courts and live in the community.

6. It is a good idea to provide treatment for offenders who are in prison.

7. Rehabilitation programs should be available even for offenders who have been involved in a lot of crime in their lives.

8. The best way to rehabilitate offenders is to try to help offenders change their values and to help them with the emotional problems that caused them to break the law.

9. The best way to rehabilitate offenders is to give them a good education.

10. The best way to rehabilitate offenders is to teach them a skill that they can use to get a job when they are released from prison.

Members of the sample responded to these items using the familiar six-point Likert scale described above. When combined, these statements produced an index with a reliability of .90 (see Table 2.2).

Concluding Comments

The first wave of the survey was distributed to the respondents on May 28, 1996. As noted, several follow-up mailings also were sent, with my data collection efforts ending on August 26, 1996. The following chapter reports the results of the survey.

CHAPTER 3

RESULTS

Chapter 2 detailed the methods that were used to collect the data for this dissertation. In this chapter, I discuss the results of this data collection effort. This discussion is divided into several sections, beginning with an examination of the level of public support for rehabilitation. The second portion of this chapter examines the relationship between support for rehabilitation and four sets of variables: the respondents' experiential, demographic, and attitudinal characteristics; offender characteristics; offense characteristics; and treatment characteristics. Following the separate examination of each group of correlates, a comprehensive yet parsimonious model of the influences on attitudes toward rehabilitation is developed. At this point, I also discuss whether these findings support or fail to support the first 27 hypotheses provided in Chapter 1.

In the final section of the results, I provide comparisons between the global and specific measures of support for treatment. Within this analysis, I examine any differences in the respondents' attitudes in a highly specific situation--the vignettes--in response to less specific conditions that still sought to tap variations in support by certain situational factors, and in response to

global assessments of the appropriate emphasis for prisons. The chapter concludes with an examination of the correlates of support for rehabilitation across these different items.

Support for Rehabilitation

Table 3.1 reports the level of support for rehabilitation that the respondents expressed in response to the vignettes. This table presents the percentage of people providing each response without regard for the variations that were introduced across the vignettes. In this way, we are able to examine the approximate average level of support.

As shown in the table, a majority of the respondents agreed at least slightly with each of the five statements. Over 88 percent agreed slightly, agreed, or agreed strongly with using rehabilitation on the hypothetical offender. Furthermore, nearly 87 percent of the respondents chose one of these three agree categories in response to the item regarding individualization of treatment. The respondents also indicated that they favored the expansion of treatment opportunities, and that they thought rehabilitation would reduce the likelihood of recidivism for the offender (see Table 3.1). The respondents were least supportive of basing decisions about the offender's sentence length on his or her progress in treatment. Even here, however, more than 55 percent of the respondents expressed agreement with this

Table 3.1 Overall Support for Rehabilitation in Response to the Vignettes

Item	Agree Strongly	Agree	Agree Slightly	Disagree Slightly	Disagree	Disagree Strongly	Mean
I support the use of rehabilitation with Gary/Lisa (n=551)	19.6%	50.6%	18.0%	4.0%	5.8%	2.0%	4.68
It is right to put people like Gary/Lisa in programs that try to cure the particular problem that caused them to break the law (n=552)	15.6%	50.0%	21.2%	4.9%	6.2%	2.2%	4.57
This type of rehabilitation program should be expanded so that more offenders could be involved (n=551)	14.2%	42.1%	27.2%	6.2%	7.1%	3.3%	4.40
Trying to rehabilitate Gary/Lisa will lessen the chances that he/she will go back into crime (n=551)	10.3%	40.1%	30.9%	7.1%	9.1%	2.5%	4.28

Table 3.1 Overall Support for Rehabilitation in Response to the Vignettes (continued)

Item	Agree Strongly	Agree	Agree Slightly	Disagree Slightly	Disagree	Disagree Strongly	Mean
If Gary/Lisa successfully completes his/her rehabilitation program, he/she should have the opportunity to have his/her sentence reduced (n=550)	6.9%	26.7%	22.2%	11.5%	20.7%	12.0%	3.52
Additive Rehabilitation Index (n=550 to 552)*	13.3%	41.9%	23.9%	6.7%	9.8%	4.4%	4.29

* Average percentages reported

aspect of rehabilitation.

Another way to summarize the responses to each item is to compute a mean score. To accomplish this, the responses are assigned numerical scores to indicate the extent of agreement expressed. In the following analyses, 1 equals "disagree strongly," 2 equals "disagree," 3 equals "disagree slightly," 4 equals "agree slightly," 5 equals "agree," and 6 equals "agree strongly." Although the computation of a mean from this ordinal scale involves dubious assumptions about the underlying distribution of attitudes, this practice is commonplace and provides a clear presentation of the distinctive levels of support for each item. These mean scores are provided in Table 3.1.

Reflecting the observations made about the percent of respondents choosing each categorical response, the means indicate the greatest level of support for the general measure of attitudes toward rehabilitation. In addition, the means of the expansion, individualization, and effectiveness items also indicate substantial levels of support for treatment. Finally, the mean of 3.51 for the early release statement reiterates the more even division of responses to this item.

The bottom of Table 3.1 reports the mean for the sum of the five rehabilitation items. As discussed earlier, this additive index is intended as a more comprehensive measure of public support for rehabilitative ideology. The mean of

4.29 is interpretable as approximately one-third of the way between "agree slightly" and "agree." Thus, it indicates that the respondents were largely favorable toward rehabilitative treatment for criminal offenders.

Correlates of Support for Rehabilitation

The above discussion shows that the sample expressed substantial support for rehabilitation. Even so, public attitudes toward treatment may be more or less favorable based on several characteristics. This section seeks to specify the conditions under which support for rehabilitation varies.

Most of the following analyses will be conducted through ordinary least squares regression (OLS). OLS is an appropriate technique for two reasons. First, as we have seen above, sufficient variation exists in this variable to warrant OLS. Second, although OLS assumes a continuous dependent variable, the 30-point index of support for rehabilitation is not a coarse categorization of the respondents' views. Davison and Sharma (1990:394) note that the debate over "the appropriateness of parametric statistics for ordinal data has ensued for nearly four decades." Bollen and Barb (1981), however, have shown that when as few as five categories are used to represent a continuous variable, very little distortion and error are introduced. Assuming that the true extent of agreement or

disagreement that a respondent feels toward a given statement--the underlying construct that the Likert scales are meant to assess--is continuous, construction of a 30-category rehabilitation index would likely cause minuscule distortion of the standard deviations and of the correlation coefficients among the variables in a multivariate analysis (see Bollen and Barb 1981:236). In further support of this argument, Davison and Sharma (1990) have shown that ordinal level data produce valid hypothesis tests in multiple regression analyses as long as the remaining assumptions of OLS are met.

Ordinary least squares has proven to be a robust procedure, capable of producing unbiased estimators except when OLS assumptions are radically violated (Blalock 1979; Hanushek and Jackson 1977). To determine more specifically whether OLS regression was an appropriate technique for the current data set, I examined possible violations of the several assumptions of OLS. First, an examination of a plot of the residuals against the predicted values of the dependent variable indicated that the two were unrelated. This plot suggests that the relationships between the dependent and independent variables are linear and that heteroskedasticity is not a problem. Second, the dependent variable, although not departing substantially from a normal distribution, is slightly negatively skewed. As evidence of this, note that the mean reported above was 4.29; the median

is 4.40. An appropriate correction for this situation is to square the dependent variable (Norusis 1993). This procedure did not substantially improve the normality of the variable, nor did it significantly improve the fit of any of the following models.

Third, given the large number of independent variables that will be entered into the regression equations, concerns might be raised about the extent to which these predictors are collinear. If a set of independent variables are highly interrelated, it is not possible to assess their independent influences on the dependent variable (Hanushek and Jackson 1977). An examination of a correlation matrix that includes all of the independent variables (provided in Appendix D) revealed that only two of the bivariate correlations exceed .70. These relationships are between the indexes for biblical literalness and hellfire, and biblical literalness and religious identity salience. By this criteria, then, collinearity does not appear to be a substantial problem.

To further assess potential problems with multicollinearity, I included collinearity diagnostic tests in each regression equation. These tests, which included variance inflation factors, tolerance tests, and a matrix of variance proportions, indicated that no significant problems with collinearity were present.

Respondent Characteristics

In the introduction, I noted that several respondent characteristics have been found to relate to attitudes toward rehabilitation or punitiveness. I argued, however, that these findings were suspect because they had not been assessed in a single study. Table 3.2 reports the results of a multiple regression analysis of support for rehabilitative ideology on respondent demographic, experiential, and attitudinal characteristics.

Although the coding of most of the variables is likely to be clear, two variables may require explanation beyond what was provided in Chapter 2. First, political party preference was recoded from a single variable with five categories into two dummy variables. The categories "strong Republican" and "Republican" were combined as were the categories "strong Democrat" and "Democrat." The remaining category, "independent," was used as the comparison category. Second, religious affiliation was recoded from a single variable with five categories into three dummy variables. Because few of the respondents indicated that they were Jewish or affiliated with a religion not listed ("other"), these categories were combined and used as the comparison category in the regression analyses.[6]

[6] Appendix E provides descriptive statistics for all of the variables used in the following analyses except for those already provided elsewhere (see Table 2.1 and Appendix B).

Table 3.2 Rehabilitation Index Regressed on Respondent Demographic, Experiential, and Attitudinal Variables

Variable	OLS Estimate	Beta	Standard Error	t-Statistic
Demographic				
Age	.0312	.1023	.0157	1.993*
Race (1=White 0=Non-White)	.9938	.0532	.8472	1.173
Sex (1=Male 0=Female)	.3248	.0307	.4926	.659
Education	-.0290	-.0120	.1279	-.227
Income	-.1868	-.0594	.1697	-1.101
Republican	-.6022	-.0583	.5628	-1.070
Democrat	1.0132	.0954	.5680	1.784
Protestant	.3791	.0379	.8958	.423
Catholic	-.2489	-.0219	.9534	-.261
No Religious Preference	.5344	.0343	1.0880	.491
Experiential				
Contact	-.0757	-.0145	.2412	-.314
Victimization	.1281	.0191	.3047	.420
Fear	.3062	.0712	.1942	1.577
Neighborhood Civility	.2364	.0946	.1143	2.068*
Attitudinal				
Conservativism	-.6209	-.1859	.1645	-3.775*
Religious Identity Salience	.0765	.0704	.0827	.924
Biblical Literalness	-.1131	-.0658	.1320	-.857
Hellfire	-.2046	-.1742	.0863	-2.370*
Religious Forgiveness	.3691	.2447	.0916	4.031*

N = 469 R^2 = .14 F = 4.971*

* $p \leq .05$

As shown in the table, respondents' age, perceptions of neighborhood civility, conservativism, hellfire religiosity, and belief in religious values of forgiveness were significantly related to support for rehabilitation. More specifically, those who scored higher on the religious forgiveness index, who perceived their neighborhoods to be civil, and who were older expressed more favorable attitudes toward treatment for the offender described in the vignette. Conversely, those respondents who identified themselves as more conservative and who embraced hellfire religious beliefs more strongly were significantly less favorable toward rehabilitation.

Also reported in Table 3.2 are results for the model as a whole. The strength of the relationship between these respondent characteristics and rehabilitation attitudes is moderate. The model is statistically significant and accounts for 14 percent of the variation in the rehabilitation index. Notably, 90 cases were deleted from this model because they had missing data on one or more of the included variables.

To investigate whether this listwise deletion procedure may have affected the resulting coefficients, I repeated the analysis after replacing the missing values of each variable with its mean.[7] Although this approach attenuates the

[7] Because replacing the values of dummy variables with their means would render them uninterpretable, any missing values on these variables were deleted listwise.

variance of each variable and creates data where none actually exist, it allowed me to retain 537 cases and did not alter the significance of the overall model. Further, the amount of variation explained increased by only one percent. This model, which is reported in Table 3.3, resulted in identical signs for all of the significant variables and produced nearly the same number of significant predictors. Perceptions of neighborhood civility, however, were no longer statistically significant.

It is not surprising that the relationship between neighborhood civility and rehabilitation support is volatile. A large majority of the respondents indicated that their neighborhoods were free of the types of problems assessed in the questionnaire. Thus, the distribution of the neighborhood civility index is substantially skewed and shows little variation. In addition, the bivariate relationship between the rehabilitation index and perceptions of neighborhood civility is not significant. Despite the above-noted shortcomings inherent in mean substitution of missing data, therefore, I have greater confidence in this model.

Offender Characteristics

Table 3.4 reports the results of regressing the rehabilitation support index on the offender characteristics that were varied in the vignettes. As shown, the

Table 3.3 Rehabilitation Index Regressed on Respondent Demographic, Experiential, and Attitudinal Variables: Mean Replacement of Missing Data†

Variable	OLS Estimate	Beta	Standard Error	t-Statistic
Demographic				
Age	.0296	.0985	.0142	2.075*
Race (1=White 0=Non-White)	1.1396	.0605	.7954	1.433
Sex (1=Male 0=Female)	.1397	.0133	.4524	.309
Education	-.0055	-.0023	.1173	-.047
Income	-.2202	-.0684	.1596	-1.380
Republican	-.8617	-.0838	.5181	-1.663
Democrat	.6696	.0628	.5234	1.279
Protestant	.6052	.0608	.8300	.729
Catholic	.0078	.0007	.8839	.009
No Religious Preference	.8328	.0552	.9928	.839
Experiential				
Contact	-.2258	-.0433	.2229	-1.013
Victimization	.1048	.0153	.2897	.362
Fear	.2694	.0635	.1786	1.509
Neighborhood Civility	.1816	.0756	.1018	1.785
Attitudinal				
Conservativism	-.6638	-.1999	.1517	-4.375*
Religious Identity Salience	.0846	.0788	.0770	1.099
Biblical Literalness	-.1190	-.0686	.1225	-.971
Hellfire	-.1835	-.1559	.0790	-2.322*
Religious Forgiveness	.3965	.2667	.0839	4.724*

N = 537 R^2 = .15 F = 5.848*

† Missing data replaced by means for all variables except dichotomous measures.
* $p \leq .05$

Table 3.4 Rehabilitation Index Regressed on Offender Characteristics

Variable	OLS Estimate	Beta	Standard Error	t-Statistic
Offender Age	.0054	.0062	.0370	.145
Offender Race (1=White 0=Black)	-.2452	-.0227	.4645	-.528
Offender Sex (1=Male 0=Female)	-.1396	-.0120	.4964	-.281
Sporadic Employment	-.2450	-.0227	.5265	-.465
Steady Employment	-.3154	-.0295	.5225	-.604
Drug Use, but No Habit	-1.1321	-.1042	.5311	-2.131*
Serious Drug Habit	-1.3677	-.1292	.5184	-2.638*

N = 550 R^2 = .003 F = 1.237

* p ≤ .05

respondents were significantly less favorable toward treatment when the vignette described an offender who used drugs or had a drug habit than when the vignette stated that the offender did not use drugs. No other offender characteristics influenced the respondents' attitudes; the respondents did not waiver in their support for rehabilitation according to the offender's age, race, sex, or history of employment. Furthermore, the overall model was not statistically significant.

Offense Characteristics

As indicated above, only two variables relating to the offense committed were included in the vignettes. One described the current offense, and the other described a prior offense, if the offender had a criminal history. I reported above that a separate sample was drawn to assess the perceived seriousness of the included offenses. I applied the mean seriousness ratings produced by that sample to the current set of offenses. In this way, I was able to assess the influence of the seriousness of the current and prior offenses on support for rehabilitation.

The results of regressing support for treatment on these two measures of offense seriousness are reported in the first part of Table 3.5--labeled "Model 1." This model is significant and explains one percent of the variation in the dependent variable. Within the model, only the

Table 3.5 Rehabilitation Index Regressed on Offense Characteristics

Variable	OLS Estimate	Beta	Standard Error	t-Statistic
Model 1				
Current Offense Seriousness	-.2237	-.0446	.2127	-1.052
Prior Offense Seriousness	-.2019	-.1118	.0766	-2.634*
N = 550 R^2 = .01 F = 4.011*				
Model 2				
Current Offense Most Harmful of Category	-1.8491	-.1718	.5356	-3.452*
Current Offense Least Harmful of Category	-.4937	-.0476	.5174	-.954
Prior Offense Seriousness	-.2030	-.1124	.0761	-2.666*
N = 550 R^2 = .03 F = 6.696*				

* $p \leq .05$

seriousness of the prior offense is significantly related to the rehabilitation index. As predicted, support is negatively related to the seriousness rating applied to the prior offense. Contrary to my expectations, however, the severity of the current offense is unrelated to the respondents' attitudes toward treatment.

Recall that the amount of harm done by an offender is positively related to punitiveness and is a component of perceived seriousness. As noted above, it was for this reason that I included variations in the level of harm within each type of offense. To further investigate the possibility of a relationship between treatment attitudes and perceived crime seriousness within offense categories, I recoded the current offense item into two dummy variables. These variables indicate whether the offense that was described was the most harmful of its type, the least harmful of its type, or something between these extremes (the comparison category). As shown in "Model 2" of Table 3.5, using this approach reveals that the harmfulness of the offense is negatively related to support for rehabilitation. Specifically, when the vignette described the most harmful of a particular category of offenses, the respondents expressed significantly less favorable attitudes toward treatment than when a less harmful offense was included. Moreover, this model provides a better fit to the data and explains two percent more of the variation in the dependent

variable than does Model 1.

Treatment Characteristics

This assessment departs from those used above in the statistical test employed. Because the independent variables--type of treatment and location of treatment--are both measured on a nominal level, regression analysis is inappropriate. In the situation of two nominal level independent variables and one interval level dependent variable, a proper assessment can be conducted using two-way analysis of variance (Blalock 1979).

The analysis, which was completed on the 550 cases for which there were no missing data, showed that the location of treatment significantly affected the level of support for rehabilitation that was expressed by the respondents ($F = 4.786$, with 2 degrees of freedom). Further investigation of the three possible locations of treatment revealed that when an offender received a sentence to intensive supervision probation, the extent of support for his or her rehabilitation was significantly lower ($p \leq .05$) than when the sentence was to prison or to regular probation. The main effect of the type of treatment, however, was not significantly related to support ($F = 0.534$, with 5 degrees of freedom). Furthermore, the interaction between the two independent variables was insignificant ($F = 1.463$, with 10 degrees of freedom) as was the overall model ($F = 1.592$,

with 17 degrees of freedom).

A Comprehensive Model

A grand model, which includes all of the variables indicating respondent, offender, offense, and treatment characteristics, is reported in Table 3.6.[8] Notably, the results are nearly identical to those that were produced by the separate models. A respondent's age, perceptions of neighborhood civility, conservativism, and hellfire and forgiveness religious values were significantly related to support for correctional treatment. The location of treatment, the seriousness of the offender's prior record, the harm caused by the current offense, and the offender's drug use also retained their significance. The only variable that showed a significant relationship in this grand model that had not previously been identified was the offender's age. The current analysis suggests that the respondents were more favorable toward treatment of older offenders (see Table 3.6).

As I noted above, I am seeking not only a model that is comprehensive, but also one that is parsimonious. Following the grand model, I constructed a model using only those

[8] The missing values of each variable, except for dummy variables, were replaced with the mean in the models reported here. I also computed the models, deleting the cases with missing values listwise. The substantive results were identical with the exception that an offender's drug use was not significant in the final model.

Table 3.6 Rehabilitation Index Regressed on Respondent, Offender, Offense, and Treatment Characteristics: Comprehensive Model

Variable	OLS Estimate	Beta	Standard Error	t-Statistic
Respondent Characteristics				
Age	.0320	.1068	.0142	2.264*
Race (1=White 0=Non-White)	1.3762	.0730	.7804	1.763
Sex (1=Male 0=Female)	.0878	.0084	.4472	.196
Education	-.0094	-.0040	.1153	-.082
Income	-.2425	-.0754	.1577	-1.538
Republican	-.6566	-.0639	.5092	-1.289
Democrat	.8217	.0771	.5122	1.604
Protestant	.3309	.0332	.8160	.406
Catholic	-.1908	-.0167	.8735	-.218
No Religious Preference	.5395	.0358	.9880	.546
Contact	-.2500	-.0479	.2214	-1.128
Victimization	.3232	.0471	.2891	1.118
Fear	.3232	.0762	.1760	1.836
Neighborhood Civility	.2197	.0915	.1006	2.185*
Conservativism	-.7071	-.2129	.1500	-4.712*
Religious Identity Salience	.0554	.0515	.0765	.723
Biblical Literalness	-.1232	-.0711	.1212	-1.017
Hellfire	-.1952	-.1658	.0779	-2.507*
Religious Forgiveness	.4442	.2988	.0843	5.270*

* $p \leq .05$

Table 3.6 Rehabilitation Index Regressed on Respondent, Offender, Offense, and Treatment Characteristics: Comprehensive Model (continued)

Variable	OLS Estimate	Beta	Standard Error	t-Statistic
Offender Characteristics				
Offender Age	.0730	.0851	.0351	2.083*
Offender Race (1=White 0=Black)	-.2779	-.0261	.4249	-.654
Offender Sex (1=Male 0=Female)	.0266	.0023	.4594	.058
Sporadic Employment	-.1078	-.0102	.4872	-.221
Steady Employment	.0412	.0039	.4857	.085
Drug Use, but No Habit	-.5272	-.0490	.4939	-1.067
Serious Drug Habit	-.9867	-.0946	.4785	-2.062*
Offense Characteristics				
Current Offense Most Harmful of Category	-1.9856	-.1870	.5003	-3.969*
Current Offense Least Harmful of Category	-.4284	-.0419	.4796	-.893
Prior Offense Seriousness	-.2142	-.1202	.0727	-2.947*
Treatment Characteristics				
Behavioral	.9726	.0768	.7035	1.383
Cognitive/Emotional	.9484	.0734	.6989	1.357
Remedial Education	.6840	.0154	.7146	.957
College Education	.1676	.0123	.7315	.229
Computer Vocational	.6534	.0500	.7108	.919
Community Based--ISP	-1.2853	-.1116	.4919	-2.613*
Community Based Probation	-.0828	-.0075	.4692	-.176

N = 537 R^2 = .20 F = 4.632*

* $p \leq .05$

variables that either were significant in the grand model or had been significant in one of the partial models presented earlier. I then repeated this process, retaining only the variables that had maintained their significance. This third model produced only significant predictors of support for rehabilitation and is reported in Table 3.7. Because the remaining variables consistently predicted variations in attitudes toward correctional treatment regardless of what other variables were included, confidence in the robustness of these predictors is increased.

In this parsimonious model, the independent variables are able to explain 18 percent of the variation in views on rehabilitation. Respondents who are older and adhere to a doctrine of forgiving sinners are more supportive. Conversely, those who are more conservative and who believe in a vengeful God (hellfire) tend to hold less favorable attitudes toward treatment. Support for treatment likewise is reduced when the offender commits an offense resulting in greater physical or financial harm, has a more serious prior record, or has a serious drug habit. Finally, the public views rehabilitation as least attractive when the offender is sentenced to intensive supervision probation, rather than prison or regular probation. Notably, the respondents' perceptions of neighborhood civility were not significant predictors of support in this reduced model.

A review of Tables 3.2 through 3.7 reveals that these

Table 3.7 Rehabilitation Index Regressed on Respondent, Offender, Offense, and Treatment Characteristics: Parsimonious Model

Variable	OLS Estimate	Beta	Standard Error	t-Statistic
Respondent Characteristics				
Age	.0382	.1261	.0118	3.233*
Conservativism	-.8295	-.2463	.1339	-6.195*
Hellfire	-.2044	-.1719	.0582	-3.512*
Religious Forgiveness	.4159	.2770	.0716	5.811*
Offender Characteristics				
Drug Use, but No Habit	-.7790	-.0719	.4806	-1.621
Serious Drug Habit	-1.0090	-.0960	.4633	-2.178*
Offense Characteristics				
Current Offense Most Harmful of Category	-2.0502	-.1917	.4878	-4.203*
Current Offense Least Harmful of Category	-.4578	-.0445	.4701	-.974
Prior Offense Seriousness	-.1862	-.1037	.0693	-2.685*
Treatment Characteristics				
Community Based--ISP	-1.5563	-.1338	.4782	-3.255*
Community Based--Probation	-.3186	-.0285	.4605	-.692

N = 559 R^2 = .18 F = 12.469*

* $p \leq .05$

characteristics are consistently related to rehabilitation attitudes, regardless of what other variables are considered. Not only did they remain significant throughout the variations of the comprehensive model, but they also were the variables that significantly predicted support for correctional treatment in each of the separate models discussed above. This consistency reinforces my confidence that these characteristics significantly--if not substantially--affect public support for rehabilitation.

The First 27 Hypotheses

Given the consistency of results across the various models, identifying whether the hypotheses are supported is straightforward. Of the hypothesized relationships between respondent characteristics and support for rehabilitation, only three are supported--hypotheses six, nine, and eleven. Conservativism, hellfire religious beliefs, and religious values of forgiveness were related to the respondents' attitudes as expected. On the other hand, although I predicted an inverse relationship between age and support for treatment, the opposite relationship was uncovered. The remaining respondent characteristics were not significantly related to rehabilitation attitudes, failing to support hypotheses 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 10, 12, and 13.

In a similar fashion, no support was uncovered for the hypothesized relationships between the offender's

characteristics and respondents' views of treatment. The only consistently significant relationship was between drug use and support, and this relationship was in the opposite direction of what was predicted.

Hypotheses 19 and 20, however, were supported by the results. The public tends to be less favorable toward rehabilitation for offenders who have committed the most harmful offenses and for those who have more serious prior records of offending.

Finally, no support was uncovered for the remaining seven hypotheses. The various modes of treatment did not significantly affect the respondents' attitudes (hypotheses 21, 22, 23, 24, and 25). Further, treatment in the community was not favored over treatment in prison (hypothesis 26). In fact, the respondents expressed significantly less support for the rehabilitation of offenders sentenced to intensive supervision probation, a group that I expected might garner the greatest level of support, than for offenders sentenced to prison or regular probation.

Global and Specific Attitudes

The final issue to be examined in this chapter is whether support for rehabilitation is higher in specific situations than in more general ones. The vignettes discussed above presented the respondents with a detailed

situation to evaluate. Thus, they serve as the measure of the respondents' specific attitudes. In this section, I compare the results obtained in response to the vignettes to two assessments of global attitudes. As noted above, the first way that I tapped global support for treatment was by asking the respondents what they thought should be the main aim of prisons. Second, the respondents were asked to report the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with 10 statements about particular rehabilitation policies.

Below, I begin by presenting the level of support for rehabilitation that the sample expressed in response to the global items. I then compare the extent of global support to that of specific support. The chapter closes with an examination of the correlates of global and specific attitudes toward rehabilitation.

The Level of Global Support

Recall that in my replication of Harris's question, I asked the respondents to indicate what they thought should be the main emphasis of most prisons. Three choices were suggested: rehabilitation, protection of society, and punishment. In addition, the respondents could have responded that they were "not sure." Table 3.8 reports the number and percent of the respondents who chose each option. Of the 552 individuals who provided a response, 41.4 percent chose rehabilitation. Although this goal was chosen by the

Table 3.8 Number and Percent of Respondents Reporting Their Preferred Goal of Incarceration

Preferred Goal	Number	Percent
Rehabilitation	227	41.1
Protection of Society	176	31.9
Punishment	112	20.3
Not Sure	37	6.7

Question: Now what do you think should be the main emphasis in most prisons--punishing the individual convicted of a crime, trying to rehabilitate the individual so that he might return to society as a productive citizen, or protecting society from future crimes he might commit?

largest percentage of the respondents and represents support by a substantial minority, it is notable that less than half of the respondents indicated that rehabilitation should be the main emphasis of most prisons. The other two options, however, garnered even less support. Only 31.9 percent chose protection of society as what should be the most important goal of incarceration, and just over 20 percent (20.3) indicated that they thought it most important to punish offenders. The remaining 6.7 percent reported that they were not sure of the appropriate aim.

Table 3.9 reports the level of support for rehabilitation that the respondents expressed in response to the global attitude statements. As shown in the table, there was widespread support for correctional treatment; over 50 percent of the respondents agreed at least slightly with each of the 10 statements. Over 96 percent agreed slightly, agreed, or agreed strongly with trying to rehabilitate juvenile offenders. Furthermore, combining these three agree categories, over 80 percent of the respondents favored rehabilitation in all but two situations (see Table 3.9). The respondents were least supportive of educational programming and treatment for chronic offenders. Even here, however, a majority of the respondents expressed agreement with these proposals.

The subscript letters in Table 3.9 indicate sets of statements that received significantly different levels of

Table 3.9 Support for Rehabilitation: Global Statements

Item	Agree Strongly	Agree	Agree Slightly	Disagree Slightly	Disagree	Disagree Strongly	Mean
It is important to try to rehabilitate juveniles who have committed crimes and are now in the correctional system	35.9%	47.0%	13.2%	1.6%	1.3%	1.1%	5.11[a]
It is important to try to rehabilitate adults who have committed crimes and are now in the correctional system	13.8%	41.0%	30.8%	7.2%	5.2%	2.0%	4.45[a]
We should try to rehabilitate women who have broken the law	15.7%	50.8%	23.5%	3.8%	5.1%	1.1%	4.65
We should try to rehabilitate men who have broken the law	14.8%	46.8%	25.8%	5.4%	5.8%	1.4%	4.55
It is a good idea to provide treatment for offenders who are supervised in the courts and live in the community	17.0%	42.2%	25.0%	6.2%	6.9%	2.7%	4.48

Note: matching subscript letters indicate items that received significantly different levels of support at $p \leq .05$ as indicated by two-sample t-tests.

Table 3.9 Support for Rehabilitation: Global Statements (continued)

Item	Agree Strongly	Agree	Agree Slightly	Disagree Slightly	Disagree	Disagree Strongly	Mean
It is a good idea to provide treatment for offenders who are in prison	11.6%	42.1%	32.2%	6.7%	6.1%	1.3%	4.42
The best way to rehabilitate offenders is to help offenders change their values and to help them with the emotional problems that caused them to break the law	18.6%	42.3%	27.4%	5.2%	5.4%	1.1%	4.60_b
The best way to rehabilitate offenders is to teach them a skill that they can use to get a job when they are released from prison	12.1%	39.6%	29.5%	4.9%	11.4%	2.5%	4.29_b
The best way to rehabilitate offenders is to give them a good education	7.1%	22.8%	31.3%	14.9%	18.3%	5.6%	3.69_b

Note: matching subscript letters indicate items that received significantly different levels of support at $p \leq .05$ as indicated by two-sample t-tests.

Table 3.9 Support for Rehabilitation: Global Statements (continued)

Item	Agree Strongly	Agree	Agree Slightly	Disagree Slightly	Disagree	Disagree Strongly	Mean
Rehabilitation programs should be available even for offenders who have been involved in a lot of crime in their lives	7.4%	23.5%	23.3%	12.7%	19.7%	13.4%	3.46
Additive Global Rehabilitation Index*	15.3%	39.8%	26.2%	6.8%	8.5%	3.2%	4.37

* Average percentages reported

support from each other ($p \leq .05$). The responses were significantly more favorable toward treatment for juveniles than for adult offenders. Further, support varied by the type of rehabilitation program proposed. The respondents were the most supportive of psychological treatment, followed by vocational intervention, and educational programming. Attitudes toward rehabilitation, however, were not significantly different for male compared to female offenders, and support for treatment in prisons was nearly equal to the level of support expressed for community-based rehabilitation programs.

The Effects of Question Type

Turning now to an examination of the differences between global and specific support for rehabilitation, I begin by considering the respondents' attitudes toward the main emphasis of prison. Although rehabilitation was favored the most out of the three ideological options, the responses were not as approbatory as they were in response to the vignettes. Direct comparisons are difficult because of the different response scales employed. If the three supportive responses to the vignette items (agree strongly, agree, and agree slightly) are aggregated, however, we can compare the percentage of respondents who favored rehabilitation in each situation. Compared to the 41.4 percent who indicated global support for rehabilitation,

between 55.8 percent and 88.2 percent agreed with each of the statements about the vignettes. These differences clearly suggest greater support for treatment when the public is presented with a specific situation instead of a more global issue to evaluate.

Alternatively, the discrepancies in the level of support might be due to the different levels of demand suggested by each question. The global item required that the respondents not only support rehabilitation but also believe that a treatment approach should be the main emphasis of most prisons. This situation may have required a conviction that is somewhat stronger than might be indicated by a reply of "agree slightly" in the specific situation. Instructively, when only an aggregation of "agree strongly" and "agree" responses are compared to the Harris question, specific support for rehabilitation is still greater than global support in most cases. Specific support for treatment drops below 50 percent only for the item that referred to releasing the offender early.

A somewhat different result is obtained when highly specific attitudes are compared to the responses to the global statements about particular rehabilitation policies. As shown in Table 3.1 above, the overall mean for the vignette rehabilitation index was 4.29. Since the global statements were likewise rated on six-point scales, the same procedure can be used to summarize their results. The mean

level of support across all of these items was 4.37. Although this comparison indicates slightly more favorable attitudes toward rehabilitation for the global items than for the vignettes, this difference is not statistically significant.

At the end of Chapter 1, I hypothesized that specific support for rehabilitation would be greater than global support for rehabilitation. This hypothesis (number 29) is partially supported by the results of this survey. The most global question, which asked only about the most important goal of incarceration, produced the lowest level of support. The extent of support was not significantly different, however, between the somewhat less global statements about particular rehabilitation proposals and the very specific vignettes.

Correlates of Global Support

In addition to the level of support expressed in response to global or specific questions, it may also be instructive to investigate any divergence in the correlates of these two attitudinal domains. Above, I considered what variables were related to specific attitudes toward rehabilitation. Here, I explore the correlates of global support.

First, I investigate the potential influence of the respondents' demographic, experiential, and attitudinal

characteristics on what they believe should be the main emphasis of prisons. Since the dependent variable in this case is measured on the nominal level, OLS would be an inappropriate analytical technique. Fortunately, however, I am only interested in whether support was expressed for rehabilitation; respondents who chose punishment, protection, or indicated that they were not sure can be considered to oppose correctional treatment as the main emphasis of prisons. These three attributes of the dependent variable--to punish, to protect, and "not sure"--may be combined into a single category. In this way, a dichotomous variable is created, and logistic regression may be applied in a straightforward way (Aldrich and Nelson 1984).

Table 3.10 reports the results of the logistic regression. In the analysis, favoring rehabilitation as the main aim of prison was coded "1," and the remaining orientations were coded "0." Respondents who were older, who were more liberal, and who agreed more strongly with the religious forgiveness items were more likely to support treatment. The respondents' sex and religious identity salience also were related to support. Female respondents and those for whom their religious identity was more pronounced were less likely to support rehabilitation.

By regressing the global attitude statement index on the respondents' characteristics, I can evaluate these

Table 3.10 Logistic Regression of Rehabilitation as the Goal of Prisons on Respondent Demographic, Experiential, and Attitudinal Variables

Variable	Logit Coefficient	Standard Error	Significance
Demographic			
Age	.0214	.0069	.002
Race (1=White 0=Non-White)	-.3757	.3786	.321
Sex (1=Male 0=Female)	.4248	.2156	.049
Education	-.0214	.0569	.707
Income	.0082	.0769	.915
Republican	-.1168	.2537	.645
Democrat	.2377	.2478	.338
Protestant	.3112	.4227	.462
Catholic	.8228	.4472	.066
No Religious Preference	.1041	.5058	.837
Experiential			
Contact	.2006	.1090	.066
Victimization	-.1325	.1437	.356
Fear	-.0327	.0876	.709
Neighborhood Civility	.0690	.0506	.173
Attitudinal			
Conservativism	-.1864	.0759	.014
Religious Identity Salience	-.0931	.0380	.014
Biblical Literalness	-.0007	.0603	.990
Hellfire	-.0592	.0389	.128
Religious Forgiveness	.2454	.0459	.001

N = 533 Pseudo R^2 = .14 Chi-square = 87.596*

* $p \leq .05$

correlates from an additional perspective. Diagnostic tests indicated that OLS was an appropriate technique for this analysis, and the results are reported in Table 3.11. Beginning with the demographic and experiential variables, females and Republicans were less in favor of rehabilitation, while those who perceived their neighborhoods to be more civil were more supportive. Attitudinally, the respondents who were more liberal and those who agreed more strongly with the religious forgiveness items were more likely to support treatment. The remaining variables, however, were not significantly related to global support.

As a final summary of the correlates of both global and specific support for rehabilitation, Table 3.12 provides a comparison of the respondents' characteristics that were assessed in relation to the vignette index, the goal of prisons, and the global statements index. As shown, substantial consistency exists across these measures in the correlates of support for rehabilitation. Two variables--conservativism and religious forgiveness--were significantly related in all three cases, and 11 variables were consistently insignificant (see Table 3.12). By this count, over two-thirds of the variables that were included reported consistent relationships (or nonrelationships). Further, none of the significant coefficients changed signs across the measures, and all three models explained similar amounts

Table 3.11 Global Rehabilitation Index Regressed on Respondent Demographic, Experiential, and Attitudinal Variables

Variable	OLS Estimate	Beta	Standard Error	t-Statistic
Demographic				
Age	.0443	.0862	.0235	1.884
Race (1=White 0=Non-White)	.0024	.0001	1.3138	.002
Sex (1=Male 0=Female)	1.6790	.0935	.7473	2.247*
Education	-.1219	-.0298	.1938	-.629
Income	-.1779	-.0323	.2635	-.675
Republican	-1.6614	-.0943	.8558	-1.941*
Democrat	.7062	.0387	.8645	.817
Protestant	-.0552	-.0032	1.3709	-.040
Catholic	.0737	.0038	1.4599	.051
No Religious Preference	-.2361	.0091	1.6399	-.144
Experiential				
Contact	.5601	.0627	.3681	1.521
Victimization	.0928	.0079	.4785	.194
Fear	.4488	.0617	.2949	1.522
Neighborhood Civility	.3589	.0872	.1681	2.135*
Attitudinal				
Conservativism	-.9234	-.1623	.2506	-3.684*
Religious Identity Salience	-.1522	-.0827	.1272	-1.196
Biblical Literalness	-.3539	-.1191	.2024	-1.748
Hellfire	-.1735	-.0860	.1306	-1.329
Religious Forgiveness	1.1101	.4359	.1386	8.008*

N = 537 R^2 = .21 F = 8.355*

* $p \leq .05$

Table 3.12 Correlates of Support for Rehabilitation Across Measures

Variable	Vignette Index	Goal of Prisons	Global Statements Index
Respondent Characteristics			
Age	+	+	0
Race (1=White 0=Non-White)	0	0	0
Sex (1=Male 0=Female)	0	+	+
Education	0	0	0
Income	0	0	0
Republican	0	0	-
Democrat	0	0	0
Protestant	0	0	0
Catholic	0	0	0
No Religious Preference	0	0	0
Contact	0	0	0
Victimization	0	0	0
Fear	0	0	0
Neighborhood Civility	0	0	+
Conservativism	-	-	-
Religious Identity Salience	0	-	0
Biblical Literalness	0	0	0
Hellfire	-	0	0
Religious Forgiveness	+	+	+
Variation Explained			
R^2 or Pseudo R^2	.14	.15	.21

- significant negative relationship
+ significant positive relationship
0 no significant relationship

of the variation in support. Thus, although the level of support for rehabilitation appears to vary between global and specific attitudes, the set of factors that affect those attitudes are fairly similar.

CHAPTER 4

DISCUSSION

At the outset, this dissertation proposed a detailed examination and specification of public attitudes toward rehabilitation. The second chapter provided a justification for the approach to this topic. Data were gathered using a mail survey that included questions similar to those used in past studies of this topic as well as a factorial design vignette. As noted, the vignette provided a unique method of examining people's attitudes toward correctional treatment in various specific situations. The third chapter reported the results of the survey. This final chapter explores the meaning of these findings.

This chapter begins with an examination of the level of support for rehabilitation in the current sample, how it compares to previous work, and what it implies for our conceptions of a hardening of public attitudes toward offenders. The chapter then explores the correlates of support, again placing them in the context of related research on public attitudes. The third section of the chapter, discusses the implications of this study's findings for criminal justice policy. Finally, the chapter concludes with a presentation of the avenues that might be fruitful for future research in this area.

The Level of Support for Rehabilitation

Chapter 1 reviewed the evidence on people's attitudes toward rehabilitation suggesting that support has declined over the past several decades. Many studies seem to show that the public has grown intolerant of crime and is ready to impose stringent punishment on offenders in pursuit of retribution, deterrence, and incapacitation (see Pettinico 1994). It was also noted, however, that despite these findings, research continues to show that a substantial proportion of the public favors rehabilitation as a primary or secondary goal of correctional intervention. The current project largely confirms this continuing support for rehabilitation.

Regarding the vignettes, evidence of support for rehabilitation was apparent in the distribution of responses to the individual Likert-scaled items. These statements followed the vignettes and assessed the extent to which the respondents agreed or disagreed with several aspects of treatment for the offender that was described. Recall that for nearly all of the items, more than 80 percent agreed with the rehabilitative statements. Only in regard to releasing offenders early was the pattern of responses more ambivalent. Even here, however, a majority of the respondents endorsed treatment.

It is not surprising that the level of support was somewhat attenuated for the early release of those who

complete their treatment programs successfully. Recall that the pattern of responses across studies of punitiveness indicates that the public generally opposes practices that might allow criminals to receive lesser sentences or escape punishment altogether (Brown et al. 1984:268; Cohen and Doob 1989-90; Cullen, Clark, and Wozniak 1985; Maguire and Flanagan 1991:188, 191; Maguire and Pastore 1995:172; McGarrell and Flanagan 1985:229, 1991:188, 191; Parisi et al. 1979:322).

Furthermore, these results are consistent with Innes's (1993) proposal that American's attitudes toward offenders are distinct from their attitudes toward inmates. Innes (1993:232) argues that once an offender is confined, citizens may feel that society is protected and, therefore, may be more supportive of "teaching or training programs for inmates." Likewise, the results reported here may indicate that releasing an offender from correctional supervision early breaches the public's belief that it is safe, even though the offender has successfully completed a treatment program. It may also be that citizens do not believe that the risks associated with release are matched by the potential benefits of basing sentence length on progress in rehabilitation.

A challenge to the conception that Americans are monolithically punitive also was presented by the responses to the global rehabilitation statements and index. Across

these items, which gauged global attitudes toward several aspects of rehabilitation policy, the respondents' level of approval was as high as it was in response to the vignettes. Similar assessments have likewise shown support for a range of rehabilitative practices (Cullen, Cullen, and Wozniak 1988; Cullen et al. 1983; Johnson 1994; McCorkle 1993).

When asked about the primary goal of prisons, citizens also expressed a level of approval for rehabilitation that is largely consistent with other studies. When Harris posed this question to a national sample in 1982, 44 percent of the respondents stated that rehabilitation should be the main emphasis in most prisons (McGarrell and Flanagan 1985:233). As reported, 41 percent of the current sample gave this response. Moreover, this result is somewhat similar to the support expressed in Sundt, Cullen, Applegate, and Turner's (1996) recent replication of Cullen et al.'s (1990) study. Sundt et al.'s results reveal that the percentage of Cincinnati residents who thought rehabilitation should be the main emphasis in most prisons declined from 54.7 percent in 1986 to 32.6 percent in 1995. Given that Hamilton County, which contains Cincinnati, appears to be more punitive than other areas of Ohio (see Applegate, Cullen, Link, Richards, and Lanza-Kaduce 1996:73), the discrepancy between Sundt et al.'s findings and the current results is not surprising.

Global and Specific Attitudes

Although rehabilitation was favored over other goals as the main emphasis of prisons, it is notable that these global attitudes were substantially less enthusiastic about correctional treatment than those expressed in response to the specific offender described in each vignette. As reported above, previous studies have demonstrated that specific attitudes are markedly less punitive than global attitudes (Applegate, Cullen, Turner, and Sundt 1996; Cumberland and Zamble 1992; Zamble and Kalm 1990). Furthermore, discrepancies between global and specific attitudes are not limited to criminal justice issues (Roll and Cantril 1972; Vining and Ebreo 1992).

As Applegate, Cullen, Turner, and Sundt (1996) have noted, it may be tempting to reconcile this discrepancy by claiming that the global attitudes are somehow wrong or are based on misperceptions because the stimulus presented to the respondent has not been fully specified. Social psychological research indicates that in the absence of individuating information, people tend to base their evaluations on stereotypes (Pratto and Bargh 1991; Riggle, Ottati, Wyer, Kuklinski, and Schwartz 1992). Thus, global questions would tap public attitudes toward stereotypical offenders--mostly serious violent criminals (see Doob and Roberts 1988). Specific questions, on the other hand, provide respondents with individual information that may be

assimilated into their judgments. If this is the case with attitudes toward rehabilitation and the universe of vignette attributes presented is a reasonable representation of actual offenders, the responses to the vignettes may provide a more valid indication of what the public desires for offenders.

Alternatively, it may be fruitful to think of global and specific items as probing different domains of public attitudes. That is, the support expressed for rehabilitation as the guiding principle for prisons may reflect a general ideological orientation--one that is tempered by concerns for public protection and retributive justice. The responses to the vignettes, on the other hand, might reflect more concrete views on the appropriate course of action for a particular offender.

The Effects of Methodological Concerns

It might be argued that the level of support revealed by this study does not accurately represent public views. Skeptically, one might note that less than 63 percent of those who were contacted agreed to participate in the study. Furthermore, those who did respond might feel more favorably toward rehabilitation than those who failed to return their survey. Without obtaining responses from all of those who were selected for the sample, it is impossible to know whether those who were excluded hold divergent views on

rehabilitation. Notably, however, the possibility that support for treatment has been overestimated can be evaluated indirectly. Three aspects of the present study suggest that its estimates of public attitudes are not substantially biased in favor of rehabilitation.

First, the demographic representativeness of the sample was detailed in Chapter 2. As noted, compared to the population of Ohio, the sample overrepresents older, White, wealthy, highly educated men. Prior studies have indicated that older, White respondents with higher incomes tend to be more punitive and less supportive of rehabilitation; those who are more educated, on the other hand, tend to favor treatment. Although these relationships were not observed in the present sample, past research suggests that, if any bias exists, support for rehabilitation might be slightly attenuated in the current study.

Second, as measured by attitudes toward capital punishment, the punitiveness of the present sample is similar to that of the nation as a whole. The questionnaire included a replication of Gallup's most recent capital punishment question: "Are you in favor of the death penalty for a person convicted of murder?" (see Appendix A). In response to this question in 1995, 77 percent of a national sample reported that they favored execution (Moore 1995). Comparatively, 76 percent of the present sample supported the death penalty. That these attitudes are consistent with

other assessments of punitiveness adds confidence to the representativeness of the results regarding public views toward treatment.[9]

Third, the data for this project were collected using a mailed questionnaire. As noted above, Farnworth et al. (1996) report the results of a mail survey of punitive attitudes and a telephone survey of the same attitudes. The respondents to the mail survey indicated greater support for prison construction and for the death penalty for murder. They also registered greater opposition to shorter sentences for offenders and to increased use of probation than the respondents to the telephone survey. Given consistent findings of a negative relationship between punitiveness and support for treatment, these results suggest that the format of the present survey may provide a conservative estimate of public support for rehabilitation.

Support for Rehabilitation: Variation and Consensus

This study was predicated on the need for a detailed

[9] Although the survey included measures of public punitiveness, these items were not included in the above analyses for two reasons. First, researchers have often conceptualized treatment and punishment attitudes as opposing viewpoints or goals. Including them in the same analysis then might confound the independent and dependent variables. Second, it is unclear whether rehabilitation attitudes are temporally prior to punitive attitudes. As evidence, Sandys and McGarrell (1995) have used rehabilitation attitudes as an <u>independent</u> variable to predict support for capital punishment. Conversely, Hough et al. (1988) treated rehabilitation attitudes as a <u>dependent</u> variable.

analysis of public attitudes toward rehabilitation. The existing studies of these attitudes have used mostly broad approaches to assess what seemed likely to be complex issues. In contrast, the research on public punitiveness toward crime has examined in more detail how various subgroups of the population feel about criminal punishment and what characteristics of offenders and their offenses significantly affect the sanctions that the public believes are appropriate. These studies confirm the complexity of public attitudes toward punishment (see especially, Cohn et al. 1991; Doble et al. 1991; Doble and Klein 1989; Jacobs 1993; Jacoby and Cullen 1995; Miller et al. 1986, 1991; Rossi et al. 1985; Warr et al. 1983). Consequently, it was argued that attitudes toward rehabilitation also might be structured by such considerations. This study proposed to probe how characteristics of respondents, offenders, offenses, and treatments might affect public support for correctional treatment.

The results reported in the previous chapter reveal that public attitudes do vary according to some considerations. That is, the variations in support occur in some discernable patterns. Overall, however, the findings provide evidence of a great deal of consistency in levels of support. Below, the sources of variation are examined first. Afterward, the section discusses the overarching consensus expressed by the respondents.

Variation

Vignettes. The analysis of the vignettes indicated that eight variables were significantly related to variations in the level of support for rehabilitation: age, conservativism, hellfire religious beliefs, belief in religious doctrines of forgiveness, drug use by an offender, harmfulness of the current offense, seriousness of a prior offense, and the location of treatment. Five of these relationships provided support for the hypotheses proposed in Chapter 1. The remaining three indicated relationships that are opposite of those that were expected.

The holding of conservative political views is consistently related to expressing more punitive attitudes toward offenders (see Table 1.2). In addition, as noted in the first chapter, one study has shown a positive relationship between liberalism and support for treatment in prisons (Langworthy and Whitehead 1986). It, therefore, is no surprise that the more conservative respondents to the present survey expressed significantly less support for rehabilitating the offenders described in the vignettes.

The relationships between religious views and rehabilitative treatment also are not unexpected. Hellfire beliefs have previously been shown to be related to support for corporal punishment of children (Grasmick, Bursik, and Kimpel 1991). Furthermore, previous research has revealed that people who are affiliated with fundamentalist or

evangelical Protestant denominations and who adhere to a literal interpretation of the bible are more punitive than those who hold more liberal religious views (Grasmick et al. 1992; Grasmick et al. 1993). As Ellison and Sherkat (1993) observe, conservative Protestantism is characterized by a belief that humans are naturally sinful and punishment is therefore morally imperative. Consistent with this emphasis, it would be logical to expect diminished support for rehabilitation among those who agreed more strongly with images of God as punitive.

Despite advances in the study of religious views and crime attitudes, the existing research has focused largely on conservative religious affiliations (i.e., evangelistic and fundamentalist denominations) and beliefs (i.e., hellfire, biblical literalness). Researchers have not examined how beliefs in the value of forgiveness and redemption affect correctional orientations. The proposition that those who believe more strongly that sinners should be forgiven also are more supportive of rehabilitation for offenders was supported by the findings reported in Chapter 3.

This result challenges the perception that people who are "more religious" are uniformly more punitive. Those studies which focus on conservative aspects of religion as indicators of the strength of religious convictions report a positive relationship between religious views and

punitiveness, but they provide only a partial picture. When more compassionate religious views are examined, those who are more religious are more supportive of correctional treatment for offenders.

The results on the effects of an offender's drug use were contrary to what was proposed in Chapter 1. Previous research has reported more punitive attitudes toward offenders who were using drugs or alcohol when they committed their crimes (Rossi et al. 1985). It was argued, however, that people might be more supportive of treatment when an offender's drug use was presented as a chronic problem rather than as a feature of the immediate situation of the offense. That is, when an offender has a clearly identifiable dysfunction, support for treatment might be increased. The present study did not support this hypothesis. The findings reported above clearly indicate that the public tends to feel less favorable toward treatment for offenders who are habitual drug users.

A 1990 Gallup poll indicates that few Americans believe that treating drug addicts is the best way to fight drug use (Flanagan and Maguire 1992). Only five percent of those surveyed agreed that the government should devote the most money and effort to "helping drug users overcome their addiction to drugs" (p. 243). Conversely, large percentages favored early intervention, working with foreign governments, and arresting drug sellers. Although not

designed specifically to test the proposition, this poll may indicate that Americans are skeptical about the prospects for successfully treating chronic drug users.

If this is the case, the results of the present study also may stem from a belief that chronic drug-using offenders are more difficult to treat. To assess this possibility, I examined separately the relationships between the offender's drug use and each of the items comprising the overall index. The item that measured the respondents' beliefs in the effectiveness of treatment, however, was no more strongly related to the offender's drug use than were the other four items.

Turning to the relationship between crime seriousness and attitudes toward rehabilitation, two interesting findings were produced. First, as expected, offenders convicted of more harmful offenses and who had committed more serious crimes in the past were perceived to be less desirable candidates for rehabilitation. This result is consistent with the findings of Cullen et al. (1990) and Sundt et al. (1996), both of whom noted that the public was less favorable toward treatment of violent offenders than non-violent offenders. It also is consistent with the research on punishment, which shows that the public desires harsher sanctions for criminals who have prior records and have committed more harmful crimes (Applegate, Cullen, Link, Richards, and Lanza-Kaduce 1996; Blumstein and Cohen 1980;

Cumberland and Zamble 1992; Doble et al. 1991; Doble and Klein 1989; Frank et al. 1989; Jacobs 1993; Jacoby and Cullen 1995; Miller et al. 1986, 1991; Rossi et al. 1985; Taylor and Kleinke 1992; Finkel et al. 1996).

Second, although significant, the effects of both the current offense and the prior offense on rehabilitation attitudes were quite small. The zero-order correlation between having been convicted of the most harmful of a category of offenses, rather than one of those that were less harmful, and rehabilitation attitudes was only -.143. The correlation between support for treatment and the seriousness of an offender's prior record was even lower (-.110). Comparatively, studies of attitudes toward punishment consistently report substantially stronger relationships between punitiveness and crime severity. For example, Rossi et al. (1985) report a zero-order correlation of .40 between crime seriousness scores and assigned punishments. At the individual level of analysis, similar correlations are reported by Hamilton and Rytina (1980) and Jacoby and Cullen (1995). Furthermore, when Warr et al. (1983) correlated perceptions of sentence severity with perceptions of crime seriousness, the coefficients were over .85 across four different surveys.

What these findings suggest is that studies which present punishment and rehabilitation as opposite ends of a single continuum may provide a misleading depiction of

public attitudes. It has already been observed that the correlation between punitiveness and rehabilitation is negative but only moderate (Cullen et al. 1985; Hough et al. 1988). In addition, several studies reveal that the public desires both punishment and treatment for offenders (Cullen et al. 1988; McCorkle 1993; Warr and Stafford 1984; and see Langworthy and Whitehead 1986:note 1). The current study adds to this evidence by revealing that one of the strongest correlates of punitiveness--crime seriousness--is only weakly related to support for treatment. This divergence in the correlates of public attitudes indicates the need to separate rehabilitation and punishment conceptually and methodologically.

Global Attitudes. The analysis of the global attitude items revealed five additional correlates of support for correctional treatment. As reported above, Republicans, females, and those who perceived more problems with incivility in their neighborhoods were less supportive of rehabilitation. In addition, the respondents were more favorable toward the treatment of juveniles, compared to adults, and for psychologically-based treatment modalities, compared to vocational and educational interventions. Most of these findings are consistent with what would be expected based on prior assessments of global attitudes toward rehabilitation. Two variables, however, are related to views of treatment in ways that contradict this research

base.

First, the finding that males are globally more supportive of rehabilitation is at odds with all of the previous research. As shown in Table 1.3, past studies of the relationship between sex and support for treatment have shown either that males are less supportive (Cullen, Clark, Cullen, and Mathers 1985; Cullen et al. 1983; Langworthy and Whitehead 1986) or that the relationship is not significant (Johnson 1994; McCorkle 1993; Reichel and Gauthier 1990; Warr and Stafford 1984). Given that the measures of rehabilitation used in the present study were quite similar to those employed in previous investigations, no explanation for the divergent results is evident.

Second, the respondents favored psychological treatment over vocational and educational programming, which also is at odds with most prior studies (see Cullen et al. 1988; Cullen et al. 1990; Johnson 1994; but compare McCorkle 1993). In retrospect, it appears that this result may inadvertently have been produced by differences in the wording of each item. The psychological treatment statement ended with the phrase "and to help them with the emotional problems that caused them to break the law." Neither of the other items included a phrase that directly tied the treatment to the offender's criminality. In further support of the proposal that the respondents may have reacted to the practical value of each approach based on the wording of the

item, the second greatest level of support was recorded for the vocational treatment item. This statement indicated that offenders would learn a skill that would help them find jobs. In contrast, the educational treatment item included no such indication of the practical value of educating offenders. The review provided in Chapter 1 indicated that utilitarian justifications for punishment have gained popularity in the past several decades. Perhaps the public's view of rehabilitation also is shaped by practical concerns.

Consensus

Despite the identification of several correlates of attitudes toward rehabilitation, overall the sample expressed substantial consistency in their responses. Several aspects of the results can be cited as evidence of this observation. Focusing first on the responses to the offenders described in the vignettes, recall that while support varied, this variation was largely within the favorable responses (see Table 3.1). The majority of the respondents supported rehabilitation to some degree.

Second, only 5 of the 28 hypotheses regarding how attitudes toward correctional treatment might vary were supported by the results. Recalling the development of the parsimonious model presented in the previous chapter, only 8 out of 36 potential correlates were consistently related to

support for rehabilitation. With few and isolated exceptions, entire classes of hypotheses, which proposed ways in which public attitudes toward rehabilitation might be structured, failed to find empirical support.

Third, no large divisions were noted along demographic lines, and the respondents were quite supportive of rehabilitation under a variety of conditions for most offenders. Although, political ideology, religious beliefs, age, an offender's drug abuse and offenses, and the location of treatment correlated with the respondents' attitudes, these correlates were able to explain only 18 percent of the variation in the vignette rehabilitation index (see Table 3.7). Notably, even those who were politically and religiously conservative, two of the strongest correlates, did not tend to oppose treatment. The mean rehabilitation index score for the 108 respondents who reported scores that were above the median on both conservativism (greater than five) and hellfire (greater than 18) was 4.01, which translates roughly to "agree slightly." Additionally, the 179 respondents who rated the vignettes in which the offender had been convicted of the most harmful of a category of offenses produced an average rehabilitation index score of 4.08.

Similar observations can be made about the global attitude items. For example, the highest percent of the respondents chose rehabilitation as the main emphasis for

prisons. They also reported widespread support for the global rehabilitation statements. Furthermore, only five of 19 respondent characteristics were significantly related to views on the appropriate goal of prisons, and these variables accounted for only 14 percent of the variation in support for rehabilitation (see Table 3.10). Similarly, the five respondent demographic, experiential, and attitudinal factors that were related to the global statement index explained only 21 percent of the variation in this measure (see Table 3.11). Finally, although conservativism was negatively related to both these global measures of support for treatment, 34.4 percent of the 219 conservatives (those who scored above the median on that measure) still favored rehabilitation as the goal of prisons, placing it second to protection of society with 35.3 percent. Also, these same respondents recorded an average score on the global statements index of 4.21, indicating a level of support that is just above "agree slightly."

Briefly, consensus theory proposes that the operations and orientations of the justice system are the product of broad social norms. Conversely, the conflict perspective argues that society is comprised of various groups who struggle to have their interests and values predominate. Extensive research has been conducted on the public's perception of the seriousness of crime, and much of this work has sought to assess the relative merit of consensus

and conflict theories (Blumstein and Cohen 1980; Hamilton and Rytina 1980; O'Connell and Whelan 1996; Rossi et al. 1974; Thomas et al. 1976). What has been left unclear, however, is the extent of agreement that must exist for the consensus perspective to be supported. In this regard, Rossi et al. (1974) observe that "it is easier to assert that there should be consensus than it is to devise a suitable standard against which a given degree of consensus should be measured." It is difficult, therefore, to determine whether the above results indicate consensus in attitudes toward the rehabilitation of offenders. Clearly, some structured variation exists. Still, even those groups that tend to be less enthusiastic about rehabilitation do not outright oppose the treatment of offenders. This point will receive further attention in the following section.

Policy Implications

Since the early years of polling, those who assess public opinion have asserted that the value of their findings lies in the identification of policy preferences among the citizenry (see, for example, Gallup and Rae 1940). Typically, these authors have not argued that legislators and other policy makers should blindly follow polls, foregoing their personal beliefs about what is best for their constituents. Instead, it is argued, polls may provide guidelines, boundaries, and justifications for

political action (Crespi 1989; Flanagan 1996; Hindelang 1974). As Converse (1987:S22) observes, "Few politicians consult poll data to find out what they should be thinking on the issues...But they have very little interest in flouting the will of their constituency in any tendentious, head-on way." In this light, the present section offers three insights from the current study that may help to inform policy choices.

First, to a large extent the public supports the rehabilitation of offenders. The extent of this support was detailed above, and it was noted that the public tends to favor treatment on both the global level of ideology as well as the specific level of concrete programs and situations. What this suggests, then, is that the public is willing to allow rehabilitation to be considered among the guiding philosophies of correctional treatment. It also is likely to embrace the retention and expansion of programming that can return criminals to society as more responsible individuals.

Chapter 1 noted the increasingly punitive developments of the criminal justice system over the last 25 years. Further, it reviewed the research that suggests the public does not oppose sanctioning offenders. Additional studies, however, have suggested that the public desires both treatment and punishment for criminals. In this regard, interpreting the results of the present study as an

indication that the public supports rehabilitation as the sole, primary goal of corrections would likely misread the public's views. Should the nature of corrections swing too fully in the direction of rehabilitation, ignoring other goals, social definitions of the justice system as too lenient might ring more loudly in the ears of the public, causing a backlash of more punitive policies.

In a comment on their results, Cullen et al. (1990:16) observed that "it would be erroneous to suggest that belief in offender treatment is intense enough to fuel a movement like the one that occurred in the Progressive Era, or to have the rehabilitative ideal guide the renovation of the correctional system." It seems appropriate to offer a similar warning regarding the findings of the present study. Still, the data reported here show that the public supports correctional treatment in a variety of situations, particularly when direct connections are proposed between the treatment and an offender's responsible integration into society.

Second, there is unlikely to be unified resistance to rehabilitation among any subgroups of the population. The discussion in the previous section of this chapter established that although some segments of the public are less supportive, considerable consensus exists on the favorability of rehabilitation. This assertion was based on the observation that few attitudinal, experiential, or

demographic determinants of public attitudes were uncovered. The importance of this insight is that such cultural homogeneity in thinking about crime can be the basis for policy. That is, since people's views on rehabilitation do not differ markedly, there appears to be a solid foundation of support for implementing and expanding rehabilitative treatment programs and policies.

As noted, even those groups who expressed less favorable attitudes toward correctional treatment could not be considered opponents of rehabilitation. Castle (1991) has written about the difficulties of gaining public acceptance of sentences that are intermediate between prison and probation. The results of the present project, however, indicate that policies which embrace rehabilitation are unlikely to meet such public resistance, even among the groups who most often favor harsher criminal sentencing.

Third, one caveat must be introduced: treatment programs and policies that may risk the public's safety are less likely to be politically successful. In part, Chapter 1 discussed the decline of the rehabilitative ideal, observing that one causal factor was the argument proposed by conservatives. The policies constructed under the rehabilitative ideal, it was contended, had led to a criminal justice system that was ineffectual. The uncertainty of severe penalties introduced by indeterminate sentencing undermined the deterrent capacity of punishment,

and soft judges and parole boards shortchanged incapacitation by giving offenders short sentences or releasing them early (van den Haag 1982; Wilson 1975).

Complementing this historical perspective, more contemporary studies have suggested that the public opposes policies that allow offenders to avoid their full sentences. As detailed earlier, people favor determinate sentencing (Parisi et al. 1979:322) and truth in sentencing (Cullen, Clark, and Wozniak 1985), and they tend to oppose plea bargaining (Cohen and Doob 1989-90; McGarrell and Flanagan 1985:229; Maguire and Flanagan 1991:188; Maguire and Pastore 1995:172) and parole (Brown et al. 1984:268; Maguire and Flanagan 1991:188; Maguire and Pastore 1995:172). Furthermore, the data from the present study indicate that citizens feel more ambivalent about considering offenders for early release based on their progress in treatment than they do about other aspects of rehabilitation. Collectively, these observations suggest that the public is unlikely to favor policies that they believe jeopardize community safety, and implementation of such policies could provide impetus for broader criticism of rehabilitative ideology. Thus, policy makers should exercise caution in proposing treatment plans that might provoke community fear of crime.

Future Research

This dissertation attempted to provide an analysis of public attitudes toward rehabilitation that was more comprehensive than previous studies. Even so, additional empirical questions and directions for future research in this area remain to be considered.

The Structure of Rehabilitation Norms

Earlier in this chapter, the concept of consensus in public attitudes was introduced. It was contrasted against the view that particular segments of society vie for domination--the conflict perspective. Further it was noted that the results reported here provide some indication of consensus regarding views of rehabilitation.

Although this insight has important policy implications (see above), Rossi and Berk (1985, 1986) observe that a simple dichotomy--consensus versus conflict--does not help researchers to uncover and investigate normative structures. In response, Rossi and Berk provide a framework for more detailed conceptualization and analysis of social consensus. This model characterizes consensus as either absolute or relative and considers variation in views within individuals as well as between individuals. Jacoby and Cullen (1996:31) have applied this model to public punitiveness, concluding that "Rossi and Berk's set of hypothetical normative structures has proved to be a particularly useful guide to

searching for the level and location of consensus on punishment." Given that the current study shows considerable agreement across several social groups on the value of rehabilitation, future researchers also might find Rossi and Berk's model useful for studying conceptions of correctional treatment.

Utility or Ideology

Logan and Gaes (1993:245) note that "the debate over 'treatment versus punishment' is rooted both in empirical research and in ideology." Although previous research has made it clear that the public does not view either punishment or treatment as all-or-nothing pursuits, this quote illustrates the two grounds on which rehabilitation may be supported. Attitudes toward treatment may be based on ideological considerations (see Cullen and Gendreau 1989; Cullen and Gilbert 1982) or on empirical evidence of its effectiveness (see Andrews, Zinger, Hoge, Bonta, Gendreau, and Cullen 1990a, 1990b; Lab and Whitehead 1990).

Earlier, this dissertation distinguished between adherence to rehabilitative ideology and belief in the effectiveness of intervention. As noted, previous studies have reported substantial intercorrelations between beliefs in treatment effectiveness and views on other aspects of correctional rehabilitation (Cullen, Clark, Cullen, and Mathers 1985; Cullen et al. 1988; McCorkle 1993). This was

also the case in the present study. Furthermore, it was argued above that the level of global support may have varied across types of intervention programs because of differences in the way that the items were worded. Those items that tied treatment more closely to a practical outcome were viewed more favorably by the respondents than those that failed to indicate the program's utility. Such ex-post facto hypothesizing, however, demands independent evaluation. Researchers have yet to investigate systematically whether people's attitudes toward rehabilitation are based on moralistic ideology or are shaped by considerations of utility.

Support for Individualized Treatment

Chapter 3 provided evidence that the public supports individualized treatment. The respondents reported highly favorable attitudes toward the item that asked whether it was right to put offenders like the one described in the vignette into programs that try to resolve the particular problems that caused them to offend. In addition, the respondents' reactions to offenders who were also habitual drug users may provide indirect evidence of support for individualized intervention. When the vignette stated that the offender was a habitual drug user, support decreased. This result may have occurred because none of the treatments to which the offenders were assigned specifically addressed

drug use. If the respondents believed that substance abuse was an important contributing factor to the offender's criminality, they may have felt less favorable toward a treatment that failed to address this need.

The current study has provided beginning insight into citizens' views about individualized reformation. It is clear, however, that more detailed empirical attention needs to be devoted to whether the level of support for rehabilitation varies with the apparent appropriateness of treatment. Furthermore, it is not yet clear whether the public favors only the idea of offender-treatment matching or is willing to support, in a more concrete sense, the complex individualization of programming that recent researchers have suggested is necessary for effective rehabilitation (see Andrews, Bonta, and Hoge 1990; Andrews, Zinger, Hoge, Bonta, Gendreau, and Cullen 1990a; Bonta 1996; Gendreau 1996; Palmer 1992).

Flanagan and Longmire (1996:xiii) observe that "scholars who bemoan the direction and philosophy of recent crime control efforts often assume, as do political leaders, that these initiatives and statutes are responsive to what the public 'wants,' or even 'demands.'" "Too often," they continue, "these assumptions are made without serious consideration of the range and diversity of public opinion on crime and criminal justice." In this regard, policy makers and academics alike could benefit from more careful

analyses of citizens' attitudes. Hopefully this project has moved our understanding of public perceptions of rehabilitation one step beyond where it was and has provided some guidance about the ways that we may continue to advance our knowledge.

Appendix A

Cover Letters to Sample and Survey Questionnaire

May 28, 1996

Crime has become a prominent concern nationally and here in Ohio. Despite a great deal of attention to this problem, there is still much that the government does not know about what members of the public think is the best way to deal with crime and criminals. Without a clear understanding of what citizens want their representatives to do about crime, sensible and effective programs are difficult to formulate.

Your household is one of a small number in which we are asking people to give their opinions on crime. It was selected in a random sample of the entire state. For the results of our study to truly represent the views of Ohio residents, it is important that each questionnaire be completed and returned.

You may be assured of complete confidentiality. Your name appears only on our mailing list, which is kept separate from the study results. We have printed a number on the return envelope for mailing purposes only. This is so that we may remove your name from the mailing list when the questionnaire is returned. The number will not be matched with your name or address in any way after we receive your completed survey.

This study is funded by the U.S. Department of Justice and the University of Cincinnati, and the results will be distributed to Ohio officials and representatives, policy makers in other states, and interested citizens. You may receive a summary of the results by writing "copy of results requested" on the back of the return envelope, and printing your name and address below it. To maintain confidentiality, please do not put this information on the questionnaire itself.

Your response is very important to us. When you have completed the questionnaire, please return it in the enclosed "Business Reply" envelope. If you have any concerns or difficulties in filling out the questionnaire, please write or call. The telephone number is (513) 556-5827. If I am not in, please leave a message and I will return your call. Thank you for your assistance.

Sincerely,

Brandon Applegate
Project Director

June 4, 1996

Last week we mailed to you a questionnaire seeking your opinions about Ohio crime policies. Your name was drawn in a random sample of Ohio residents.

If you have already completed and returned it to us, please accept our sincere thanks. If not, please do so today. Because the questionnaire has been sent to only a small, but representative sample of people, it is extremely important that you also be included in the study if the results are to accurately represent the opinions of Ohio citizens.

If by some chance you did not receive the questionnaire, or it got misplaced, please call right now (513-556-5827) and I will get another one in the mail to you immediately.

Sincerely,

Brandon Applegate
Project Director

June 18, 1996

A few weeks ago I wrote to you seeking your opinions about the important issue of crime. As of today, we have not yet received your completed questionnaire.

Our research unit has undertaken this study because citizen opinions and attitudes are very important in planning the best ways to deal with crime and criminals. This study will provide important information about the public's views concerning crime, and the results will be published and distributed to both local and national leaders.

I am writing to you again because of the significance each person has to the usefulness of this study. Your name was drawn through a scientific process in which every resident of Ohio had an equal chance of being selected. In order for the results of this study to truly represent the views of all Ohio residents, it is essential that each person in the sample return their completed questionnaire. Again, let me assure you of complete confidentiality in participating in this study.

In the event that your questionnaire has been misplaced, we have enclosed a replacement. Should you have any questions about the survey, please call me at (513) 556-5827. We greatly appreciate your cooperation with this important study.

Sincerely,

Brandon Applegate
Project Director

P.S. A number of people have written to ask when results will be available. We hope to have them out sometime next month. You may receive a summary of the results by writing "copy of results requested" on the back of the return envelope, and printing your name and address below it. Please do not put this information on the questionnaire itself.

July 16, 1996

I am writing to you about our study of citizen's attitudes toward crime policies. We have not yet received your completed questionnaire.

The large number of questionnaires returned is very encouraging. But, whether we will be able to describe accurately how people feel about crime depends upon you and the others who have not yet responded. This is because our past experiences suggest that the people who have not yet sent in their questionnaires may have quite different feelings about this serious issue than those who have.

This is the first statewide study of its type that has ever been done. Therefore, the results are of particular interest to the many officials and lawmakers now considering what kind of approach Ohio should take to help solve the crime problem. However, the usefulness of our results depends on how accurately we are able to describe what the people of Ohio want.

It is for these reasons that I am sending this letter by certified mail to ensure delivery. In case our other correspondence did not reach you, a replacement questionnaire is enclosed. May I urge you to complete this study and return it in the "Business Reply" envelope as quickly as possible.

I'll be happy to send you a copy of the results if you want one. Simply put your name, address, and "copy of results requested" on the back of the return envelope. We expect to have them ready to send by the end of July. Once again let me assure you that all individual responses will remain completely confidential.

Should you have any questions about the survey, please call me at (513) 556-5827. Your contribution to the success of this study is appreciated greatly.

Sincerely,

Brandon Applegate
Project Director

What Should be the Future of Ohio Crime Policy?

A Statewide Survey of Ohio Citizens

Funded by

The U. S. Department of Justice

and

The University of Cincinnati

Please complete this questionnaire and return it to: Division of Criminal Justice, University of Cincinnati, PO Box 210389, Cincinnati, Ohio 45221-0389

I. **Directions:** Recently, policy makers in Ohio have been debating the best ways to help reduce the crime rate. We would like to begin by asking you how you feel about some of these proposed solutions. There are no right or wrong answers; we just want to know your opinions.

Please use the following scale to tell us whether you would favor or oppose each of the measures listed below. Just write the number closest to your opinion in the space provided (to the left of each statement).

1	2	3	4	5	6
OPPOSE STRONGLY	OPPOSE	OPPOSE SLIGHTLY	FAVOR SLIGHTLY	FAVOR	FAVOR STRONGLY

1. _____ During the summer, the state government should help provide jobs for inner-city youths from poor families.

2. _____ Allow the courts to use evidence that shows an offender's guilt, even if it was obtained illegally.

3. _____ Develop recreation programs, like midnight basketball, so that youths will have something to do instead of wandering the streets at night.

4. _____ Clean up trash and graffiti in neighborhoods and community parks and playgrounds so that more people will want to be out in these areas.

5. _____ Make sure that people who are convicted of serious crimes serve the whole sentence that the court gives them.

6. _____ Allow the police to randomly search people's homes for illegal guns and drugs without a search warrant.

7. _____ Instead of arresting people who use drugs, get them into treatment programs that can help get them off drugs.

8. _____ Build more prisons so that longer sentences could be given to criminals.

9. _____ Hire more police officers.

10. _____ Provide job training and apprenticeship programs so that all youths will have the opportunity to get good paying jobs as adults.

11. _____ Pass a law requiring mandatory life imprisonment for anyone convicted of a violent crime for the third time.

12. _____ Have the police make more of an effort to get to know the people in the community.

13. _____ Give the death penalty to criminals convicted for some serious crimes other than murder.

14. _____ Provide help to families and their children as soon as a child shows signs that he or she might later get into trouble with the law.

II. **Directions:** Please read the following two descriptions of people who have broken the law. After each description, we will ask you how you feel about the person's sentence.

Lisa, a 30 year old white female threatened a victim with a weapon and demanded money. The victim gave her $10 and was not harmed. After being convicted for this crime, the court discovered that Lisa had held a steady job for several years, and had a serious drug habit. Her prior record showed that she had been convicted once before for a crime in which she knowingly wrote bad checks for a total of $1,000.

She was sentenced to intensive supervision probation, where she will continue to live in the community but must meet with a probation officer twice per week. As a part of her sentence, Lisa is in a rehabilitation program. She is enrolled in a psychological treatment program that teaches offenders to give up criminal values and encourages good behavior through a system of rewards and punishments.

Please use the following scale to tell us whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements about Lisa. Just write the number closest to your opinion in the space provided (to the left of each statement).

1	2	3	4	5	6
DISAGREE STRONGLY	DISAGREE	DISAGREE SLIGHTLY	AGREE SLIGHTLY	AGREE	AGREE STRONGLY

First, we would like to ask you how you feel about Lisa's rehabilitation program.

1. _____ I support the use of rehabilitation with Lisa.

2. _____ Trying to rehabilitate Lisa probably will lessen the chances that she will go back into crime.

3. _____ If Lisa successfully completes her rehabilitation program, she should have the opportunity to have her sentence reduced.

4. _____ It is right to put people like Lisa in programs that try to cure the particular problem that caused them to break the law.

5. _____ This type of rehabilitation program should be expanded so that more offenders could be involved.

We would also like to know how you feel about Lisa's punishment. Please write the number closest to you opinion in the space provided (to the left of each statement).

6. _____ It is important to make sure Lisa gets the punishment that she deserves.

7. _____ The best way to prevent Lisa from committing more crimes would be to keep her locked up.

8. _____ Punishing Lisa will keep her from committing more crimes by teaching her that crime does not pay.

9. _____ The court was too lenient in sentencing Lisa for this crime.

III. Directions: Next we would like to know your views on several different parts of the criminal justice system in Ohio. Please circle your answer for each of the questions below.

1. In general, do you think the courts in this area deal too harshly or not harshly enough with criminals? (circle one)

   A. TOO HARSHLY
   B. ABOUT RIGHT
   C. NOT HARSHLY ENOUGH

2. Are you in favor of the death penalty for a person convicted of murder? (circle one)

   A. FAVOR
   B. OPPOSE
   C. NO OPINION

3. Do you think the main emphasis in most prisons is on punishing the individual convicted of a crime, trying to rehabilitate the individual so that he might return to society as a productive citizen, or protecting society from future crime he might commit? (circle one)

   A. PUNISH
   B. REHABILITATE
   C. PROTECT SOCIETY
   D. NOT SURE

4. Now what do you think should be the main emphasis in most prisons–punishing the individual convicted of a crime, trying to rehabilitate the individual so that he might return to society as a productive citizen, or protecting society from future crimes he might commit? (circle one)

   A. PUNISH
   B. REHABILITATE
   C. PROTECT SOCIETY
   D. NOT SURE

5. Some people believe that prisons should work toward only one goal. Other people believe that many goals are important. You have just told us what you think should be the main emphasis in most prisons. We would also like to know how you feel about the other goals. Please show how important you think each goal is by circling your answers below.

   A. punishing the individual convicted of a crime: (circle one)

      VERY IMPORTANT IMPORTANT A LITTLE IMPORTANT NOT IMPORTANT

   B. trying to rehabilitate the individual so that he might return to society as a productive citizen: (circle one)

      VERY IMPORTANT IMPORTANT A LITTLE IMPORTANT NOT IMPORTANT

   C. protecting society from future crimes he might commit (circle one)

      VERY IMPORTANT IMPORTANT A LITTLE IMPORTANT NOT IMPORTANT

IV. Directions: Policy makers concerned with developing effective crime policies need to better understand how people feel about those who commit crimes. The statements listed below might represent what some people think should be done with criminals.

Please use the following scale to tell us whether <u>you</u> agree or disagree with each of the following statements. Just write the number closest to your opinion in the space provided (to the left of each statement).

1	2	3	4	5	6
DISAGREE STRONGLY	DISAGREE	DISAGREE SLIGHTLY	AGREE SLIGHTLY	AGREE	AGREE STRONGLY

1. _____ The best way to rehabilitate offenders is to teach them a skill that they can use to get a job when they are released from prison.

2. _____ We should put criminals in jail so that innocent citizens will be protected from criminals who victimize them--rob or hurt them--if given the chance.

3. _____ It is a good idea to provide treatment for offenders who are supervised by the courts and live in the community.

4. _____ The best way to rehabilitate offenders is to try to help offenders change their values and to help them with the emotional problems that caused them to break the law.

5. _____ It is important to try to rehabilitate adults who have committed crimes and are now in the correctional system.

6. _____ Punishing criminals is the only way to stop them from engaging in more crimes in the future.

7. _____ The best way to rehabilitate offenders is to give them a good education.

8. _____ We should try to rehabilitate women who have broken the law.

9. _____ Rehabilitation programs should be available even for offenders who have been involved in a lot of crime in their lives.

10. _____ Since most criminals will commit crimes over and over again, the only way to protect society is to put these criminals in jail and throw away the key.

11. _____ Putting people in prisons does not make much sense since it will only increase crime because prisons are schools of crime.

12. _____ It is a good idea to provide treatment for offenders who are in prison.

13. _____ We should try to rehabilitate men who have broken the law.

14. _____ Sending criminals to jail will not stop them from committing crimes.

15. _____ Criminals deserve to be punished because they have harmed society.

16. _____ It is important to try to rehabilitate juveniles who have committed crimes and are now in the correctional system.

V. **Directions:** In the past several years, religious values have begun to play a larger role in both national and local political campaigns. Therefore, policy makers are interested in how people's religious beliefs are related to their views on crime policies. To help us provide political officials with this information, we would like you to tell us how you feel about the following beliefs that some people hold about religion.

Please use the following scale to tell us whether <u>you</u> agree or disagree with each of the following statements. Just write the number closest to your opinion in the space provided (to the left of each statement).

1	2	3	4	5	6
DISAGREE STRONGLY	DISAGREE	DISAGREE SLIGHTLY	AGREE SLIGHTLY	AGREE	AGREE STRONGLY

1. _____ When I have decisions to make in my everyday life, I usually try to find out what God wants me to do.

2. _____ In order to receive God's forgiveness, it is important that we forgive those who sin against us.

3. _____ Religion is a very important part of my life.

4. _____ After I do something wrong, I fear God's punishment.

5. _____ I believe the Bible is God's word and all it says is true.

6. _____ God teaches that even if someone has lived a life of crime, they should be forgiven for their offenses if they are truly sorry.

7. _____ Religion should influence how I live my life.

8. _____ There is life after death.

9. _____ It is important to hate the sin but to love the sinner.

10. _____ People who are evil in this world will eventually suffer in Hell.

11. _____ God knows everything a person does wrong.

12. _____ I would describe myself as very religious.

13. _____ I believe the miracles described in the Bible actually happened just as the Bible says they did.

VI. Directions: Finally, we would like to ask you a few questions about yourself and your neighborhood that will help us to interpret the results. We will use this information only to group you with others who are like you to see whether your opinions are similar.

1. In what year were you born? 19_____

2. What is your sex? (circle one)

   MALE FEMALE

3. What race do you consider yourself? (circle one)

   WHITE BLACK OTHER

4. What is the last year or grade of education that you completed? (circle one)

   A. NEVER WENT TO HIGH SCHOOL
   B. WENT TO HIGH SCHOOL BUT DID NOT GRADUATE
   C. GRADUATED FROM HIGH SCHOOL
   D. FINISHED ONE YEAR OF COLLEGE (OR POST-HIGH SCHOOL TRAINING)
   E. FINISHED TWO YEARS OF COLLEGE
   F. FINISHED THREE YEARS OF COLLEGE
   G. GRADUATED FROM COLLEGE
   H. FINISHED ONE OR MORE YEARS OF GRADUATE SCHOOL

5. In the last 12 months, have any of the following crimes been committed against you personally or against any of your friends or relatives?

	YOU PERSONALLY (circle one)		FRIEND/ RELATIVE (circle one)	
A. Someone broke into your/their house	YES	NO	YES	NO
B. Someone stole property from your/their house or yard	YES	NO	YES	NO
C. Someone stole, broke into, or vandalized your/their car	YES	NO	YES	NO
D. Someone held you/them up on the street and robbed you/them	YES	NO	YES	NO
E. Someone threatened to beat you/them up or threatened you/them with a knife, gun, or other weapon	YES	NO	YES	NO
F. Someone actually beat you/them up (in a fight you/they didn't start)	YES	NO	YES	NO

6. Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, Democrat, or Independent? (circle one)

   STRONG REPUBLICAN REPUBLICAN INDEPENDENT DEMOCRAT STRONG DEMOCRAT

7. We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives. Think about a scale going from 1 to 9, with 1 meaning extremely liberal and 9 meaning extremely conservative.

   How would you rate your own political views? (circle one number)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
EXTREMELY LIBERAL				MODERATE				EXTREMELY CONSERVATIVE

8. Now we would like to ask you about your family income. As we said above, this information is being collected for statistical purposes only and will remain strictly confidential.

   Would you please circle the letter below that best represents your total family income in 1995 before taxes?

   A. LESS THAN $15,000
   B. $15,000 TO $24,999
   C. $25,000 TO $34,999
   D. $35,000 TO $49,999
   E. $50,000 TO $74,999
   F. $75,000 OR MORE

9. What is your religious preference? (circle one)

   PROTESTANT CATHOLIC JEWISH OTHER NO PREFERENCE

10. What specific denomination is that, if any? _____

11. In your whole life, have you ever done any of the following?

	(circle one)	
A. Have you ever visited any prisons or jails	YES	NO
B. Have you ever worked for pay or done volunteer work with people who had broken the law	YES	NO
C. Have you ever known someone who was on probation or who was in prison or jail	YES	NO

12. At one time or another, most people have experienced fear about becoming the victim of a crime. Think back to those times when you might have felt afraid or worried that you might be a crime victim.

    How many times have you felt afraid of crime in the last month? (circle one)

    NONE ONCE TWO OR THREE FOUR OR FIVE MORE THAN FIVE

And, about your neighborhood...

13. We would like to know if you think any of these things are a problem in your neighborhood. For each activity, we would like you to tell us if it is a "big problem," "some problem," or "not a problem."

	(circle one)		
A. Groups of teenagers hanging out on the corners or in the streets	Big	Some	Not
B. Vandalism--like kids breaking windows or writing on walls or things like that	Big	Some	Not
C. Noisy neighbors--people who play loud music, have late parties, or have noisy fights	Big	Some	Not
D. Garbage or litter on the streets or sidewalks	Big	Some	Not
E. People who say insulting things or bother people as they walk down the street	Big	Some	Not

YOU ARE DONE.

THANK YOU FOR PARTICIPATING IN THIS IMPORTANT STUDY!

Appendix B

Distribution of Vignette Characteristics

Distribution of Vignette Characteristics: Distributed Vignettes and Returned Vignettes

Characteristic*	Percent of Distributed Vignettes (N = 1,000)	Percent of Returned Vignettes (N = 559)
Offender Sex		
Lisa (female)	26.3	25.0
Gary (male)	73.7	75.0
Offender Age		
15	6.0	6.3
16	6.3	6.3
17	7.1	7.0
18	7.1	7.0
19	6.5	6.3
20	4.4	4.5
21	4.9	3.8
22	4.8	5.4
23	5.1	6.1
24	5.3	5.5
25	4.5	4.3
26	4.3	4.7
7	3.9	2.9
8	4.4	4.5
29	3.4	3.8
30	4.3	4.7
31	5.4	5.4
32	4.5	4.3
33	4.0	3.9
34	3.8	3.8
Offender Race		
Black	33.4	31.7
White	66.6	68.3

* Abbreviated labels are used here. See Chapter 2 for full text of vignette attributes.

Distribution of Vignette Characteristics: Distributed Vignettes and Returned Vignettes (continued)

Characteristic*	Percent of Distributed Vignettes (N = 1,000)	Percent of Returned Vignettes (N = 559)
Current Offense		
Robbery, no weapon, no harm	0.7	0.4
Robbery, weapon, no harm	2.1	2.7
Robbery, weapon, doctor care	1.6	1.3
Robbery, weapon, hospitalization	1.8	1.3
Burglary, $100	2.9	2.5
Burglary, $1,000	2.8	3.4
Burglary, $10,000	3.2	2.7
Aggravated assault, no treatment	3.6	4.5
Aggravated assault, doctor care	3.8	4.1
Aggravated assault, hospitalization	3.4	3.8
Theft, $500	9.3	10.4
Theft, $1,000	9.9	9.3
Theft, $10,000	9.7	9.1
Auto theft, $5,000	3.4	3.8
Auto theft, $10,000	2.4	2.5
Check fraud, $500	4.0	3.0
Check fraud, $1,000	4.5	4.8
Cocaine sold for resale	7.1	7.9
Cocaine sold for personal use	7.5	7.0
Used cocaine	16.3	15.7
Offender Employment		
Long-term unemployment	36.1	35.4
Intermittent employment	32.3	32.0
Steady employment	31.6	32.6
Offender Drug Use		
No use	34.3	35.1
Under the influence, but no habit	31.8	30.6
Serious habit	33.9	34.3

* Abbreviated labels are used here. See Chapter 2 for full text of vignette attributes.

Distribution of Vignette Characteristics: Distributed Vignettes and Returned Vignettes (continued)

Characteristic*	Percent of Distributed Vignettes (N = 1,000)	Percent of Returned Vignettes (N = 559)
Prior Offense		
No prior record	32.4	33.1
Robbery, no weapon, no harm	0.7	1.3
Robbery, weapon, no harm	0.6	0.5
Robbery, weapon, doctor care	0.2	0.4
Robbery, weapon, hospitalized	0.3	0.2
Burglary, $100	0.5	0.0
Burglary, $1,000	1.1	0.9
Burglary, $10,000	1.0	1.1
Aggravated assault, no treatment	1.7	1.1
Aggravated assault, doctor care	2.1	2.1
Aggravated assault, hospitalization	1.3	1.4
Theft, $500	4.0	5.2
Theft, $1,000	4.3	4.5
Theft, $10,000	4.8	3.8
Auto theft, $5,000	1.1	1.3
Auto theft, $10,000	0.9	0.5
Check fraud, $500	2.1	1.8
Check fraud, $1,000	2.7	2.0
Cocaine sold for resale	2.0	2.3
Cocaine sold for personal use	3.7	4.3
Use cocaine	6.8	7.0
Simple assault, no treatment	5.9	5.4
Simple assault, doctor care	6.4	6.8
DUI, no harm	7.2	7.9
DUI, hospitalization	6.2	5.4
Sentence		
Probation	27.0	27.5
Intensive supervision probation	25.4	24.3
Prison	47.6	48.1
Treatment Program		
Behavioral	17.4	18.4
Emotional	16.4	18.4
Remedial education	17.8	16.3
College education	15.7	16.3
Computer vocational	16.9	17.2
Manufacturing vocational	15.8	13.4

* Abbreviated labels are used here. See Chapter 2 for full text of vignette attributes.

Appendix C

Crime Seriousness Questionnaire

The criminal law covers a very large number of different kinds of crimes. Some are considered to be very serious acts and others are not so serious. I am interested in your opinions about how serious you think different crimes are.

Please rate the seriousness of each crime on a scale from one to nine. On this scale, one equals "not serious at all" and nine equals "extremely serious." If the crime that is described fits somewhere in between the least serious and the most serious, give it a rating between one and nine depending on how serious the crime is <u>in your opinion</u>. This scale is shown below.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Not Serious At All								Extremely Serious

Please write the number that best reflects your feelings on the seriousness of <u>each</u> crime in the space provided (to the left of each statement).

____ 1. A man threatened a victim with a weapon and demanded money. When the victim resisted, the man used the weapon and took $10. The victim was wounded and had to be admitted to a hospital.

____ 2. A man drove a car while drunk and caused a traffic accident. The driver of the other car was seriously hurt and had to be admitted to a hospital.

____ 3. A man broke into a home and stole $100.

____ 4. A man injured a victim with a knife. As a result, the victim had to be admitted to a hospital.

____ 5. A man sold large amounts of cocaine to others so that they could resell it.

____ 6. A man stole property worth $500 from outside a building.

____ 7. A man drove a car while drunk and caused a traffic accident. No one was seriously hurt.

____ 8. A man broke into a home and stole $10,000.

____ 9. A man stole property worth $10,000 from outside a building.

1 Not Serious At All	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9 Extremely Serious

____10. A man threatened a victim with a weapon and demanded money. The victim gave him $10 and was not harmed.

____11. A man stole property worth $1,000 from outside a building.

____12. A man did not have a weapon, but he threatened to harm a victim unless the victim gave him money. The victim gave him $10 and was not harmed.

____13. A man broke into a home and stole $1,000.

____14. A man injured a victim with a knife. As a result, the victim had to be treated by a doctor but was not hospitalized.

____15. A man intentionally shoved or pushed a victim. The victim fell and had to be treated by a doctor but was not hospitalized.

____16. A man stole a car worth $5,000.

____17. A man injured a victim with a knife. The victim, however, did not need medical treatment.

____18. A man knowingly wrote bad checks for a total of $1,000.

____19. A man used cocaine.

____20. A man stole a car worth $10,000.

____21. A man sold small amounts of cocaine to others for their own personal use.

____22. A man knowingly wrote bad checks for a total of $500.

____23. A man threatened a victim with a weapon and demanded money. When the victim resisted, the man used the weapon and took $10. The victim was wounded and was treated by a doctor but was not hospitalized.

____24. A man intentionally shoved or pushed a victim. The victim fell but did not need medical treatment.

Appendix D

Correlation Matrix

	Age	Republican	Democrat	Protestant	Catholic	No Religious Preference
Age	1.00					
Republican	.09*	1.00				
Democrat	.07	-.51*	1.00			
Protestant	.27*	.17*	-.10*	1.00		
Catholic	-.06	-.06	.09*	-.65*	1.00	
No Religious Preference	-.22*	-.12*	.05	-.42*	-.21*	1.00
Race	.05	.17*	-.19*	-.01	.13*	-.04
Sex	.04	-.09*	.04	.06	-.05	-.06
Education	-.23*	.13*	-.12*	-.10*	.12*	.01
Income	-.30*	.12*	-.08	-.13*	.12*	.02
Contact	-.17*	-.03	.04	.02	-.09*	.06
Civility	.07	.11*	-.04	-.04	.08*	-.06
Fear of Crime	-.15*	-.07	.03	-.07	-.02	.02
Victimization	-.09*	.01	-.07	.03	-.08	.03
Conservativism	.09*	.38*	-.30*	.07	.02	-.12*
Religious Identity Salience	.22*	.13*	-.06	.21*	.010	-.38*
Hellfire	.07	.14*	-.03	.19*	.01	-.27*
Biblical Literalness	.14*	.13*	.01	.27*	-.13	-.25*
Forgiveness	.13*	-.01	.06	.16*	-.01	-.22*
Offender Sex	.08*	.04	-.02	.02	.02	.05
Offender Age	-.02	.02	.01	-.04	.05	.02
Offender Race	-.04	.05	-.03	-.03	.05	-.02
Intermittent Employment	.02	-.03	-.01	.02	-.02	-.01
Steady Employment	-.01	.08*	-.06	-.02	.01	-.01
Drug Use, No Habit	-.01	.02	-.06	-.02	-.01	-.01

	Age	Republican	Democrat	Protestant	Catholic	No Religious Preference
Serious Drug Habit	-.04	.08	-.01	.02	-.02	.04
Seriousness of Prior Offense	.02	.02	.02	.01	-.01	-.02
Current Offense Most Harmful	.07	.01	.05	-.07	.09*	-.04
Current Offense Least Harmful	-.01	-.02	-.03	.10*	-.07	-.04
Probation	.06	.03	-.01	-.01	-.01	.02
Intensive Supervision Probation	-.06	-.01	.03	-.02	-.03	.06
Behavioral Treatment	.06	-.03	.06	.11*	-.08	-.09*
Emotional Treatment	-.01	-.01	.01	-.02	-.01	.01
Remedial Education	-.05	.01	-.01	-.06	.06	.04
College Education	-.02	.01	-.01	-.03	.03	.02
Computer Skill Training	-.02	.03	-.06	-.01	.04	-.02
Main Prison Emphasis	.14*	-.13*	.16*	-.03	.08	-.03
Global Rehabilitation Index	.08	-.22*	.19*	.01	.01	-.01
Vignette Rehabilitation Index	.12*	-.20*	.17*	.03	-.03	.01

	Race	Sex	Education	Income	Contact	Civility
Race	1.0000					
Sex	-.04	1.00				
Education	-.01	-.08	1.00			
Income	.03	-.24*	.47*	1.00		
Contact	-.07	-.14*	.16*	.09*	1.00	
Civility	.09*	.01	.12*	.18*	-.07	1.00
Fear of Crime	-.05	.16*	.01	-.01	.07	-.16*
Victimization	-.08*	.01	.02	-.01	.16*	-.14*
Conservativism	.16*	-.08*	.01	.08	.01	.05
Religious Identity Salience	-.02	.11*	-.12*	-.14*	.06	.01
Hellfire	-.03	.04	-.19*	-.14*	.04	.02
Biblical Literalness	-.04	.06	-.29*	-.21*	.02	-.05
Forgiveness	-.05	.16*	-.10*	-.19*	.08*	-.01
Gender Sex	.05	-.04	.04	-.02	-.01	.04
Offender Age	.01	-.02	.01	.03	.10*	-.04
Offender Race	.07	-.06	.01	-.01	-.02	-.04
Intermittent Employment	.01	-.06	.04	.03	.01	.01
Steady Employment	-.01	-.06	.03	.05	.03	.04
Drug Use, No Habit	.04	-.01	.06	-.03	.05	-.03
Drug Use, Serious Habit	.04	.01	.02	-.02	-.02	-.04
Seriousness of Prior Offense	-.01	-.04	-.01	.02	.10*	.12*
Current Offense Most Harmful	-.04	-.01	-.02	-.02	.01	-.02
Current Offense Least Harmful	.02	-.01	.02	.01	-.04	.03
Probation	.04	-.10*	.01	.09*	-.01	.03

	Race	Sex	Education	Income	Contact	Civility
Intensive Supervision Probation	.02	.03	-.02	-.01	.02	.01
Behavioral Treatment	-.02	.03	-.02	-.06	.01	.02
Emotional Treatment	-.02	-.03	-.01	-.01	.06	-.05
Remedial Education	.02	-.04	-.02	-.01	-.06	.02
College Education	.03	.06	.04	.03	-.02	-.03
Computer Skill Training	-.01	-.02	.03	-.02	.02	.04
Main Prison Emphasis	-.08	.12*	-.04	-.07	.04	.05
Global Rehabilitation Index	-.06	.19*	-.05	-.14*	.05	.06
Vignette Rehabilitation Index	-.01	.12*	-.08	-.16*	-.06	.04

	Fear of Crime	Victimization	Conservativism	Religious Identity Salience	Hellfire	Biblical Literalness
Fear of Crime	1.00					
Victimization	.14*	1.00				
Conservativism	-.02	-.09*	1.00			
Religious Identity Salience	.02	-.04	.22*	1.00		
Hellfire	.02	.05	.21*	.70*	1.00	
Biblical Literalness	.01	.01	.21*	.72*	.74*	1.00
Forgiveness	-.02	-.03	.06	.66*	.58*	.59*
Offender Sex	.03	.05	.05	-.02	.02	-.03
Offender Age	-.07	.06	.08	-.04	-.03	-.04
Offender Race	.03	.03	-.01	.01	.04	.01
Intermittent Employment	-.10*	-.01	.02	-.04	-.09*	-.08*
Steady Employment	.04	.05	.01	.03	.04	-.02
Drug Use, No Habit	.03	.10*	.05	-.09*	-.09*	-.09*
Serious Drug Habit	-.02	-.04	.02	.06	.04	.09*
Seriousness of Prior Offense	.01	.08	-.03	.01	.05	.01
Current Offense Most Harmful	.03	.07	-.02	-.07	-.07	-.05
Current Offense Least Harmful	-.03	.01	.04	.15*	.14*	.12*
Probation	-.04	-.06	.04	-.04	-.02	-.03
Intensive Supervision Probation	.02	.04	-.04	-.08*	-.08*	-.08

	Forgiveness	Offender Sex	Offender Age	Offender Race	Intermittent Employment	Steady Employment
Forgiveness	1.00					
Offender Sex	-.06	1.00				
Offender Age	-.14*	.01	1.00			
Offender Race	.01	.03	-.09*	1.00		
Intermittent Employment	-.06	.05	-.03	-.07	1.00	
Steady Employment	.01	.03	.08	.04	-.48*	1.00
Drug Use, No Habit	-.02	-.02	-.01	-.06	.01	-.06
Serious Drug Habit	.04	-.02	.05	.07	-.04	.04
Seriousness of Prior Offense	-.03	-.05	-.01	-.04	-.03	.14*
Current Offense Most Harmful	.01	-.01	.02	.02	-.05	.06
Current Offense Least Harmful	.07	.05	-.01	.01	.01	-.03
Probation	-.02	.02	-.02	.02	-.01	.03
Intensive Supervision Probation	-.08*	.06	-.02	-.05	-.06	.02
Behavioral Treatment	-.02	.01	-.05	.04	-.02	-.04
Emotional Treatment	-.01	.03	.01	.01	.04	.02
Remedial Education	.06	-.04	-.01	.03	-.03	.02
College Education	-.01	.02	.09*	-.07	-.04	.03
Computer Skill Training	-.03	.03	.01	.01	-.01	-.03
Main Prison Emphasis	.19*	-.04	-.06	-.01	-.05	.01
Global Rehabilitation Index	.29*	.03	-.04	-.08	-.01	-.03
Vignette Rehabilitation Index	.19*	-.01	.01	-.03	-.01	-.02

	Drug Use No Habit	Serious Drug Habit	Seriousness of Prior Offense	Current Offense Most Harmful	Current Offense Least Harmful	Probation
Drug Use, No Habit	1.00					
Serious Drug Habit	-.48*	1.00				
Seriousness of Prior Offense	.01	.02	1.00			
Current Offense Most Harmful	.01	.08*	-.02	1.00		
Current Offense Least Harmful	-.01	-.03	.06	-.53*	1.00	
Probation	-.09*	.01	.05	.05	-.02	1.00
Intensive Supervision Probation	.07	-.03	-.01	-.02	.01	-.35*
Behavioral Treatment	-.02	-.07	.07	-.04	.01	.04
Emotional Treatment	.02	.02	.03	.04	-.04	-.02
Remedial Education	-.02	.03	-.05	-.01	-.02	-.03
College Education	.03	-.05	-.05	-.01	.05	-.01
Computer Skill Training	-.03	.06	-.01	-.03	.07	.02
Main Prison Emphasis	.04	-.01	-.01	.04	-.01	.06
Global Rehabilitation Index	.02	-.04	.01	-.01	-.04	.02
Vignette Rehabilitation Index	-.04	-.08	-.11*	-.14*	.04	.01

	Intensive Supervision Probation	Behavioral Treatment	Emotional Treatment	Remedial Education	College Education	Computer Skill Training
Intensive Supervision Probation	1.00					
Behavioral Treatment	-.08	1.00				
Emotional Treatment	.03	-.22*	1.00			
Remedial Education	.05	-.21*	-.21*	1.00		
College Education	-.06	-.21*	-.21*	-.19*	1.00	
Computer Skill Training	.02	-.22*	-.22*	-.20*	-.20*	1.00
Main Prison Emphasis	.01	-.00	.02	-.02	-.01	-.01
Global Rehabilitation Index	.01	.01	.05	.01	-.04	-.02
Vignette Rehabilitation Index	-.13*	.05	-.01	.01	-.02	-.01

	Main Prison Emphasis	Global Rehabilitation Index	Vignette Rehabilitation Index
Main Prison Emphasis	1.00		
Global Rehabilitation Index	.47*	1.00	
Vignette Rehabilitation Index	.36*	.59*	1.00

* $p \leq .05$

	Fear of Crime	Victimization	Conservativism	Religious Identity Salience	Hellfire	Biblical Literalness
Behavioral Treatment	-.02	-.04	-.04	-.04	.02	.01
Emotional Treatment	.04	.04	.05	.05	-.01	-.02
Remedial Education	-.02	-.03	.06	.01	.01	.01
College Education	.01	.10*	-.01	-.01	.01	.01
Computer Skill Training	-.02	-.04	-.01	.01	-.01	.02
Main Prison Emphasis	-.04	-.04	-.16*	-.01	-.04	-.01
Global Rehabilitation Index	.05	.01	-.25*	.05	.01	.01
Vignette Rehabilitation Index	.04	-.01	-.25*	.04	-.04	-.01

Appendix E

Descriptive Statistics

Variable	Frequency	Percent
Fear of Crime		
None	304	54.9
Once	95	17.1
Two or three times	105	19.0
Four or five times	16	2.9
More than five times	34	6.1
Political Party		
Republican	199	36.6
Independent	174	32.0
Democrat	171	31.4
Religion		
Protestant	307	55.8
Catholic	137	24.9
Jewish/Other	39	7.1
No preference	67	12.2

	Mean	Standard Deviation
Conservativism	5.47	1.50
Contact	1.48	0.96
Victimization	0.34	0.72
Neighborhood Civility*	2.65	0.41
Religious Identity Salience*	4.23	1.19
Biblical Literalness*	4.31	1.48
Hellfire*	4.34	1.08
Religious Forgiveness*	4.30	1.14

* Means and standard deviations for these indexes were returned to their original scale by dividing by the number of items in the index.