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Social Identification and Public Opinion on White-Collar Crime

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SOCIAL IDENTIFICATION AND PUBLIC OPINION ON WHITE-COLLAR CRIME

By

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ABSTRACT

White-collar crime accounts for billions of dollars in annual losses but traditionally has been viewed as less serious and less deserving of harsh punishment compared with street crime. This pattern can be observed in public opinion surveys, law-enforcement resource allocations, and criminal justice system sanctioning. Scholars usually distinguish between different types of white-collar crime—bitterly noting the irony that broadened definitions of white-collar crime have perpetuated status-based disparities the very concept was designed to bring to light. Some of these scholars, particularly those study public perceptions, have begun to question the conventional wisdom of widespread public apathy toward the crimes of U.S. economic and political elites. They have pointed at Watergate in the 1970s, the savings and loan crisis of the late 1980s and early 1990s, and the wave of national corporate financial failures emerging in 2001–2002, and they have proposed that public outrage stemming from these widely publicized political and economic scandals should serve as a catalyst for sentencing reform that would more accurately tailor punishments to the harms caused. Lengthy prison sentences given to corporate executives and chairman—such as Bernie Madoff's June 2009 150-year prison sentence—seem to support the argument that a national attitudinal shift has translated into more severe punishments for white-collar offenders. But one could characterize recent severe white-collar sentences—most notably in this regard, Shalom Weiss's 840-year prison term—as aberrations that are both expressively powerful and functionally indistinguishable from a life sentence with no chance of parole. As such, far from bridging the gap between harm and punishment, these extreme reactions would also fail to represent the majority of white-collar offenders' experiences with the criminal justice system. Despite financial losses stemming from white-collar crime, most white-collar offenders are not prosecuted as criminal offenders and do not comprise the bulk of U.S. jail and prison populations.

The present study addresses this paradox between harm caused, perceived seriousness and desired punitiveness, and the theoretical void in the white-collar crime literature by incorporating the concepts of ingroup favoritism and outgroup hostility from the social psychological literature on social identity theory. The study's purposes, then, are to determine whether there are observable differences in punitiveness toward white-collar and street offenders and then to test

the applicability of the proposed integrated theory to explaining punitiveness by employing a representative telephone survey of 400 Floridian adults in 2008. The survey tested 10 hypotheses in several ways: An offense- and an offender-based definition of white-collar crime is used as well as nonviolent economic street crime, incarceration and disenfranchisement support serve as dependent variables; and two forms of offender identification (social and racial) and two forms of threats (offense seriousness and victim identification) are assessed. Incarceration support is modeled for six offenses: elite white-collar crime (corporate fraud and government bribery), consumer fraud white-collar crimes (false advertising and car sales fraud), and nonviolent economic street crimes (motor vehicle theft and burglary). The six offenses were then collapsed into three crime categories designed to represent three basic social status groups and to address the white-collar crime definitional debate: elite white-collar crime (high-status white-collar crime), consumer fraud white-collar crime (middle-status white-collar crime), and nonviolent economic street crime (low-status non-white-collar crime). No violent street crimes were included to enhance the comparability between the street crimes and white-collar crimes; likewise, the selected street crimes were economically motivated so they would also have the same basic motive (unlike non-violent street crimes like vandalism or drug use).

Bivariate correlations revealed differences in public opinion, but the definition of white-collar crime (i.e., offense or offender based) and the measure of punitiveness (i.e., support for incarceration and for disenfranchisement) impacted the results. Multivariate logistic regression results indicate that offense seriousness had the consistent effect on increasing punitiveness for street crimes, but rarely influenced punishment recommendations for white-collar crimes—particularly those of the powerful corporate and government elites. However, little support emerged supporting the hypotheses derived from social identity theory.

Rarely have past studies identified variables that are related to punitiveness toward white-collar offenders, be they theoretical or control variables. The present study, on the other hand, drew from the available research literature, identified the theoretical concept of social identification, and empirically tested this concept's association with incarceration and disenfranchisement recommendations for white-collar and street property offenders. Social identification was not always related to punitiveness; moreover, the hypothesized positive effect of social identification interacting with perceived seriousness failed to materialize. Yet social identification itself increased punitiveness in several models and this is an advancement of our

knowledge about public opinion on white-collar crime—albeit an advancement in need of refinement. Theoretically, this study introduced the idea of social identity to the study of white-collar crime, a phenomenon that has long been anecdotally characterized as crime by seemingly normal and respectable individuals, but which has recently exhibited signs of increased governmental intervention and sanctioning. The unexpected findings were explained by drawing upon labeling theory and by discussing the differential roles of information in influencing punitive attitudes. A different causal model is then suggested wherein strength of incriminating evidence is predicted to moderate the effect of social identification on punitiveness toward white-collar offenders. In this revised model to be tested in future research, social identification is not predicted to interact with seriousness to influence punitiveness; rather, it is hypothesized to influence punitiveness indirectly through its influence on perceptions of guilt.

The conclusion focuses upon the contradiction between the U.S. government's relative neglect of white-collar crime and contemporary empirical evidence on public punitiveness toward white-collar and street offenders. Bernie Madoff's recent 150-year is revisited, and it is concluded that recent examples of harsh white-collar crime sanctioning do not reflect a significant shift in attitudes. Instead, returning to social identity theory, it is proposed that certain offenders have gotten singled out in order to for the government send a symbolic message of intolerance toward corporate crime while at the same time, the criminogenic opportunity and motivation structures of U.S. finance capitalism are left untouched and ineffectively regulated, thus perpetuating the problem of white-collar crime.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The U.S. Supreme Court ruled that public opinion is a valid justification for state criminal punishment practices (*Gregg v. Georgia*, 1976; see also Brace and Boyea, 2008). In order to know public opinion on appropriate punishments, it is necessary to recognize the factors that influence punitive attitudes and why. Efforts to identify and understand the public's punitive attitudes regarding punishments have led to the accumulation of a large body of literature designed to gauge public opinion toward crime in general, as well as specific crimes, and corresponding perceptions of appropriate punishments. The prior studies have reported that the association between public perceptions of harm and seriousness is not perfect. Moreover, objective indicators of criminal harm and seriousness are not consistently correlated with punitive sentencing.

Notable for the lack of fit between harm and seriousness and punishment is white-collar crime. White-collar crime accounts for hundreds of billions of dollars in annual losses, but traditionally has been viewed less punitively by the public compared to street crimes that account for far less financial costs. That is, while street crimes result in estimated annual losses of $17.6 billion dollars (Rosoff, Pontell, and Tillman, 2004), white-collar crimes are responsible for losses of nearly $1 trillion (Association of Certified Fraud Examiners, 2008). In 1907, E.A. Ross lamented that such offenders "are not culpable in the eyes of the public and in their own eyes, their spirit attitude is not that of a criminal. The lawmaker may make their misdeeds crimes, but, so long as morality stands stock-still in the old tracks, they escape both punishment and ignominy" (p. 48). Decades later, Edwin Sutherland similarly observed "Public enemies numbered one through six secured $130,000 by burglary and robbery in 1938, while the sum stolen by [Ivan] Krueger [Wall Street businessman and fraudster] is estimated at $250,000,000" (1940: 6). This public perception disparity, moreover, appears to translate into U.S. sentencing policy, as illustrated by a comparison of criminal sentenced given to fraud offenders during the savings and loan crisis versus those given to common burglars and robbers: Although the

average savings and loan loss was $500,000 compared with $1,251 for common property offending at the same time in the 1990s, the average convicted white-collar offender was sentenced to 38 months while the average common economic offender was sentenced to 56 months (Reiman, 2000). More specifically, after bilking investors out of more than $10 billion during the 1980s, Michael Milken served 22 months out of a 10-year maximum prison sentence; likewise, Charles Keating defrauded investors out of more than $250 million dollars and served less than 5 years in prison.

Recently, however, major white-collar scandals and resulting Security Exchange Commission investigations, civil suits, and criminal prosecutions of corporate executives and chairman seem to represent a shift in punitiveness toward white-collar offenders. In June 2009, former stockbroker, financial advisor, and prominent philanthropist Bernie Madoff was given a 150-year sentence for approximately $65 billion in illegally obtained investment money; Colorado financier Norman Schmidt's $56-million pyramid scheme resulted in a 330-year prison; and several top executives involved in the "Enron et al. cases of 2001–2002" (Friedrichs, 2004)—notably, Enron's Jeff Skilling, WorldCom's Bernie Ebbers, and Adelphia's Timothy Rigas—have received prison sentences of 25, 24, and 20 years, respectively, in 2005–2006. Most dramatically, Shalom Weiss and Kenneth Pound were given prison sentences of 845 and 700 years, respectively, for their role is looting National Heritage Life Insurance policyholders of an estimated $450 million in 2000. Yet looking at the dollar amounts involved in such contemporary frauds does little more to explain the variation among them than it does for the white-collar and common property crime sanctions cited above.

It could be that recent harsh sanctioning of white-collar offenders reflects a shift from tolerance to outrage. Notable when considering this notion, however is that most of these recent harsh sentences predate not only the onset of the global economic crisis, but also the Enron et al. cases. The conventional wisdom regarding the public's attitudes on white-collar crime traces the discrepancy to class bias; namely, greater leniency is given to characteristically upper-class nonviolent offenders compared with street offenders who are largely lower class (Ross, 1907; Sutherland, 1949). A less conventional account stresses the diminished importance of betrayal and the misuse of trust over the centuries in favor of greater value on protecting and punishing violence and the threat posed by violence (Chevigny, 2001).

Much theoretical attention has been directed toward theories of punitive responses to crime and criminals, resulting in a large body of literature pointing most frequently to race-based sources of punitiveness (e.g., Blalock, 1967; Liska, 1993; Crawford et al., 1998; Chiricos, Welch and Gertz, 2004). These studies basically conclude that the perceived association of crime with minority group members (i.e., "racial threat" or "racial typification of crime") leads to more punitive attitudes toward the perpetrators of crimes. A side effect of this focus on race relations and largely violent, if not fatal, street crimes, however, is that less criminological attention has been paid to punitiveness and punishment directed at white-collar offenders. In other words, the existing theoretical literature on punitive attitudes has mostly emphasized minority-group relations. Understanding punitiveness toward perpetrators of white-collar crime, on the other hand, requires a theory of majority-group relations.

Public opinion research addressing white-collar and street crimes has often concluded that the public views white-collar crimes as generally less serious and less deserving of harsh punishment than street crimes. However, there has been little attention to explaining this public perception pattern, despite the fact that white-collar crimes are more financially disastrous. While theoretical developments in the social control and public opinion literatures focus on street crime often to the neglect of white-collar crime, much of the empirical research on white-collar crime and punitiveness is descriptive rather than explanatory. This study addresses the lack of proportionality between harm, seriousness, and punitiveness—as well as the theoretical under-development in the white-collar crime literature—by using factors that empirical research have identified as influencing public opinion, incorporating them into a social psychological theoretical framework, and testing a theory about white-collar crime social control. The first goal of the present study, then, is to combine empirical research on white-collar crime with a theory of public opinion and social control. A second goal of the study is to inform public policy regarding the public's thoughts and desires concerning the appropriate criminal justice system response to white-collar offenders relative to street offenders. Policymakers need to understand, first, there are variations in public opinion about different economic crimes and, second, the complexities and bases for these variations.

In the aftermath of the Great Depression, Edwin Sutherland coined the term "white collar crime," pointing out the same discrepancy between harm and punitiveness described above; his main point, however, was that the leading criminological theories of the time (those that pointed

to biological or economic causes of criminality) failed to acknowledge the widespread and severely consequential phenomenon of white-collar crime. A similar oversight occurred within the research area of social control, which gained popularity during the late 1960s and 1970s. Popular explanations for punitive attitudes among the public and punitive treatment by the criminal justice system have neglected white-collar offenders, focusing instead on street offenders who are largely minority, poor, male and relatively young—a remarkable continuation of the biased early 20th-century theories of criminality and crime. Accordingly, these theories seek to explain punitiveness toward this group of mostly minority and poor offenders, thereby generating substantial literature reporting that racial prejudice and other forms of racial social control motives underlie punitiveness toward criminals.

The purpose of the present study is therefore to test a theory—namely, social identity theory from the European field of social psychology—by applying it to the disjuncture in punitive attitudes toward white-collar and street offenders. Because white-collar offenders are usually of upper or middle social status rather than low social status, social identity theory could be a potentially valuable approach to understanding public opinion toward largely ingroup (rather than minority, or outgroup) deviants. Social identity theory holds that perceived social similarity leads to more favorable opinions of others, while perceived social dissimilarity leads to less favorable opinions of others. A recent development within this line of literature, moreover, specifies conditions under which ingroup favoritism yields to extremely negative opinions of those perceived to be socially similar but whose actions have transgressed valued social norms. On an aggregate level, identification is logically assumed to be more prevalent with white-collar than street offenders, and this would be consistent with empirical evidence of generally greater leniency toward white collar than street offenders. The present study, however, is concerned with individual-level identification and its influence on punishment and voting rights for convicted offenders. Using social identity theory, a threshold moderating effect is hypothesized such that identification with offenders leads people to have less punitive attitudes toward them as long as their transgressions are relatively minor; when their transgressions cross boundaries, people respond more punitively because they had trusted the offender and the offender betrayed that trust and had thereby become a threat.

To achieve the study's interrelated theoretical, empirical and policy goals, Chapter 2 provides a review of the literature assessing public opinion on white-collar crime and criminals,

including differences in perceptions of and punishment recommendations for white-collar and street offenders. This chapter concludes that perceptions of seriousness are not sufficient predictors of punitiveness, and suggests that attributions of offenders should provide a useful avenue for better understanding this historical public opinion pattern. To this effect, Chapter 3 presents social identity theory. The origins and development of the theory are discussed and the key concepts are identified. A final section in the chapter focuses upon the suitability of social identity theory in predicting and explaining public opinion on white-collar offenders relative to street offenders. Chapter 4 introduces the present study and the 10 hypotheses to be tested. These hypotheses fall into one of two research areas: (1) whether the public truly is more tolerant of white-collar than street crime, and (2) whether identification with offenders influences punitiveness. The 10 hypotheses are tested in multiple ways to maximize the study's contribution to the literature: An offense- and an offender-based definition of white-collar crime is used in addition to nonviolent economic street crime; not only incarceration but also disenfranchisement support serves as dependent variables; and two forms of offender identification (social and racial) and two forms of threats (offense seriousness and victim identification) are assessed. The data used to test the hypotheses are described in Chapter 5, which also identifies the variables and statistical techniques and diagnostic procedures employed. Chapter 6 presents the results for each of the research hypotheses for three crime categories designed to represent the three basic social statuses: elite white-collar crime (high-status white-collar crime), consumer fraud white-collar crime (middle-status white-collar crime), and nonviolent economic street crime (low-status non-white-collar crime). Chapter 7 discusses the findings and offers an explanation by drawing upon labeling theory. The chapter concludes by discussing the contradiction between the U.S. government's relative neglect of white-collar crime and contemporary empirical evidence on public punitiveness toward white-collar and street offenders. Returning to Bernie Madoff's recent guilty conviction and 150-prison sentence, it is concluded that recent examples of harsh white-collar crime sanctioning do not reflect a significant shift in attitudes but instead are symbolic reactions by the government to display punitiveness toward select white-collar offenders in the midst of economic scandals.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Anecdotal literature and conventional wisdom claim that street crimes are perceived as more serious and deserving of government censure and sanction than white-collar crimes, but the scientific literature presents a much more nuanced image of public opinion on crime. That is, while white-collar crimes as a group are generally perceived less negatively and punitively, some specific forms of white-collar crime are quite routinely reported to be more serious and deserving of harsh sanctioning than many street crimes. To explain the variation in research results, there is speculation that public opinion has changed over time, especially as a result of national scandals involving the government and economic elite such as Watergate and possibly Enron (Friedrichs, 2004; Katz, 1980). Yet methodological permutations in research designs and operational definitions of white-collar crime surely contribute to discrepancies in the pattern of findings, as must the wide diversity of offenses commonly classified as white collar.

Adopting a broad understanding of public opinion on white-collar crime, this literature review is comprised of three sections. That is, while the present empirical investigation is focused upon the public's incarceration and disenfranchisement recommendations, the research literature presented in this chapter covers several dimensions of public opinion, which generally fall into the two categories of perceptions and preferences. The first section presents the empirical evidence on the public's perceptions of various aspects of white-collar (and street) crimes, particularly the relative seriousness of offenses. Harmfulness, morality, frequency, likelihood of victimization, and opinions of offender characteristics and chances of recidivism, apprehension, and punishment also are included. The second section moves beyond perceptions of offenses and offenders and provides a summary of the research literature examining the public's control and sanctioning preferences for white-collar (and street) crimes. These recommendations concern government regulation and resource allocation, sentencing, liability and damages awards, and voting restrictions. A final section provides a summary discussion of the literature review, highlighting the salient themes emerging from this research literature.

2.1 Public Perceptions

To assess public opinion on white-collar crime, the most common method has been to present subjects with a long list of criminal offenses and ask them to rank order them based upon seriousness or to assign a seriousness score to each crime. Less commonly employed are vignettes and factorial designs, as well as direct comparisons. Another methodological variation includes the population from which the sample was drawn; specifically, institution-based, local community, regional, large city, and national samples all have been used. Those samples drawn from institutions are composed mostly of undergraduate sociology students, but teachers, prisoners, military, and criminal justice agency samples have also been included. These research design variations will be noted as the literature is reviewed, which proceeds in a chronological manner in order to illuminate any shifts in public opinion over time.

2.1.1 Seriousness

Without question, the most commonly measured aspect of public opinion on white-collar crime is perceived seriousness. Given the quantity of studies on this segment and their various methodological differences, the research will be organized further into subsections reflecting periods of time in which bursts of relevant public opinion research were conducted.

Early research. This line of research began in the 1930s with Simpson's comparison of teacher and prisoner perceptions of the perceived seriousness of 45 crimes (Simpson, 1934). Only three of these offenses can be classified as white-collar crimes: embezzlement, confidence game, and bribery. In general, crimes involving actual or threatened violence were seen as the most serious, followed by sex offenses involving force or minors, then nonviolent economic offenses (white-collar and common), and then disorder and victimless crimes. However, teachers consistently ranked the white-collar crimes as slightly more serious than nonviolent economic crimes, while prisoners displayed the opposite pattern in their seriousness rankings.

Rose and Prell (1955) recruited 463 students from an introductory sociology course at the University of Minnesota, and asked them to rank 13 offenses for which the California Penal Code provided similar sanctions. One of these offenses—bribery of a state witness—can be classified as white collar, and it was perceived to be very serious. Only child beating and assault with a deadly weapon were ranked as more serious than bribery; bringing narcotics into prison,

bigamy, forgery, arson, grand theft, attempted burglary, receiving stolen property, drunk driving, injuring electric lines, and unlawful possession of a deadly weapon all were considered to be less serious than bribery.

1970s. Systematic research on seriousness perceptions for white-collar (and street) crimes began in the 1970s when Rossi, Waite, Bose, and Berk (1974) compiled a list of 140 crimes from the Uniform Crime Reports, and asked 200 Baltimore residents to assign to each crime a score ranging from one (least serious) to nine (most serious). The white-collar crimes included embezzlement, income tax cheating, fraudulent business practices, and were generally found to be less serious than other crimes. Specifically, fatal crimes were seen as the most serious; followed by drug selling; assault, rape, and incest; other crimes involving actual or threatened harm; nonwhite-collar economic crimes involving losses exceeding $25; crimes against the police; prostitution and homosexuality; and then white-collar crimes. Only property crimes involving less than $25 and crimes against order (e.g., loitering and disturbing the peace) were rated less seriously than white-collar crimes.

In England, Walker (1978) recruited both a student sample of 40 and a random sample of 650 Sheffield residents in order to investigate the roles of dollar amount lost and offender social status in seriousness determinations. Nine offenses were included and, in descending order of assigned seriousness, are: (1) violence requiring stitches, (2) $100 fraud, (3) breaking and entering, (4) $100 shoplifting, (5) $100 tax evasion, and (6–9) $1 fraud, $1 shoplifting, and $1 tax evasion. The role of dollar amount lost is clear and strong: it has a positive effect on seriousness ratings. However, the offender's social status had no impact.

1980s. Interested in the role of the media in influencing public opinion on crime, Graber (1980) used audience panels from several cities across the United States in 1976 and 1977. Her subjects found child abuse to be the most serious of the included offenses; followed by drunken driving and corruption; consumer fraud, weapons violations, and drug offenses; fencing stolen goods; tax cheating; perjury, embezzlement, illegal wiretaps, extortion, forgery/counterfeiting; and gambling and prostitution. In contrast to the earlier studies, tax offenses were viewed as more serious than embezzlement, and extortion—a crime involving threatened harm—was not viewed as particularly serious. In an attempt at explanation, Graber queried her subjects as to what considerations most strongly influenced their seriousness judgments, and found that the

perceived frequency of media coverage was the biggest factor, followed by societal consequences, victim impact, and society impact.

Schrager and Short (1980), noting the lack of empirical evidence supporting claims of "public apathy regarding harmful organizational acts" (p. 15), extended the Rossi et al. (1974) study from Maryland by considering different aspects of the 140 offenses. Specifically, drawing a line between individual and organizational crimes, the authors examined the roles of economic versus physical harm in producing any differences in seriousness ratings for the two categories of crime. The results, however, indicate no support for the notion the public views organizational crimes with apathy independent of the type of harm caused. Rather, whether the crime was organizational or individual, respondents ranked crimes as more serious to the extent that they involved physical harm.

In another extension of the Rossi et al. (1974) study, McCleary, O'Neil, Epperlein, and Gray (1981) recruited a sample of criminal justice system agents to determine the level of consensus between the public and justice system in the perceived seriousness of 75 offenses. Less consensus was found in this study than in the earlier study of citizens, suggesting that justice system agents take more factors into consideration when formulating seriousness judgments. Consequently, while overall the justice system agents rated crimes as being less serious than did the citizens, they rated the white-collar crimes as more serious. Bribery involving public officials, petty usury, using inaccurate scales to weigh meat, practicing medicine without a license, and refusing to obey a police officer exemplify the offenses deemed more serious by the criminal justice sample than the general public.

Cullen, Link, and Polanzi (1982) performed a replication of the landmark Rossi et al. (1974) study by conducting a mail questionnaire survey of 109 residents of Macomb, Illinois in 1979. They then compared the results with those obtained by Rossi et al. in the previous decade to determine any shifts in seriousness ratings and found that white-collar crimes displayed the greatest increase in seriousness scores; nevertheless, white-collar crimes remained less seriously perceived than most other forms of crime. One should exercise caution in attributing the differing results to time, however, rather than to differences in the locations and subjects involved in the two studies, given that Baltimore is urban and Macomb is rural. In a later reanalysis of the data (Cullen, Link, Travis, and Wozniak, 1985), the authors found the least

consensus in ratings for white-collar crimes and the most consensus for those crimes perceived to be the most serious (violent crimes and those against authority).

Open-ended, intensive interviews with 50 subjects conveniently sampled in a medium-sized, southern city also indicated a relative lack of perceived seriousness concerning white-collar crimes (Blum-West, 1980). The sole white-collar crime—false advertising of a headache remedy—was ranked as less severe than the planned killing of a policeman, impulsive killing of a spouse, armed robbery of a supermarket, beating up a stranger, leaving the scene of an accident, and engaging in female homosexual acts with consenting adults. Only repeated running away from home and being drunk in public places were seen as less serious than false advertising. When asked why they ranked the offenses in such a manner, respondents reported that actual or potential harm was an important factor, as was amount lost and the type of victim (individual victims yielded more serious ratings than organizational victims).

Natural disasters were added to the list of "hazards" whose seriousness was judged by more than one thousand residents of eastern Washington following the eruption of Mount St. Helens (Meier and Short, 1985). Examples of the specific white-collar crimes included in this two-wave survey include being overcharged by a physician, being exposed to dangerous working conditions due to negligence, and being sold contaminated meat. Fatal hazards of all kinds (common crime, natural disasters, and white collar) were ranked most seriously, and the white-collar crimes were generally ranked as the least serious. Indeed, stealing money from a discount store was reported to be more serious than exposure to unsafe working conditions, exposure to environmental pollution due to illegal manufacturing activity, and patients being overcharged by a physician.

Grabowsky, Braithwaite, and Wilson (1987) conducted a national survey of 2,551 Australians in which respondents were told that bicycle theft had a seriousness score of 10 and then were asked to assign seriousness scores to 13 offenses. Stabbing to death and heroin trafficking, respectively, were viewed as the most serious, followed by corporate crimes (fatal industrial pollution and then industrial negligence resulting in injury). Armed robbery involving $5,000, child-bashing, and wife-bashing preceded the individual-level white-collar offenses of social security fraud, income tax evasion, and Medibank fraud; male homosexuality, breaking and entering, shoplifting, and theft of a bicycle were viewed as the least serious offenses.

The next study was set in a laboratory at a small university in the United States, wherein 56 undergraduate students were randomly assigned to one of four treatment conditions in which the race of a defendant and the crime for which he was convicted varied from black to white and burglary to embezzlement (Gordon, Bindram, McNicholas, and Walden, 1988). Students were then asked to assign seriousness scores to the conditions, but the overall result and race subgroup analysis results suggested no difference in perceived seriousness across the different treatment conditions.

Warr's (1989) mail survey of 336 Dallas residents, on the other hand, uncovered a good deal of variation in the seriousness scores assigned to 31 offenses: by and large, the white-collar offenses were viewed as less serious than violent and common economic crimes. The most seriously rated white-collar crime—polluting a river used for drinking water—was assigned an average seriousness score lower than robbing a person of $400 on the street. Breaking into a house and stealing a television set, breaking into an unlocked car, and shoplifting merchandise worth $600 from a store are all common property crimes that were viewed more seriously than illegally receiving monthly welfare checks, writing a bad check for $350 to a store, a repair shop overcharging $60 on auto repairs, and evading $500 in federal income taxes, among other white-collar crimes. Not only were common crimes involving losses of $4 and $15 ranked more seriously than white-collar crimes costing $350, $60, $500, but also painting obscenities on a highway billboard was seen as more serious than writing a bad check to a store for $10 and a store marking large eggs as extra large.

1990s. Carlson and Wilson (1993) recruited a small, purposive (i.e., nonrandom) sample in Rhode Island and found a clearer relationship between dollar amount lost and the perceived seriousness of 48 crimes. Consistent with the prior literature, crimes resulting in multiple fatalities were viewed as the most serious, followed by crimes involving a single fatality. These were followed by public corruption (e.g., city official accepting a bribe), fraud (e.g., doctor insurance fraud), and violent (e.g., assault with a lead pipe) crimes, and then nonviolent economic crimes (e.g., stealing $10 worth of school supplies).

An unusual variation in research design was employed by Holland (1995) in Brisbane, Australia, in which 430 businesses comprised the sample, and the results were compared with those from previous studies using Rossi et al.'s (1974) 140 offenses. Although the mean seriousness scores for the white-collar crimes as a whole indicated that the organizational

respondents viewed them more seriously than the public in earlier studies, nonwhite-collar economic crimes were, on average, perceived to be more serious than white-collar crimes. In fact, theft of a car for the purpose of resale was rated more seriously than government corruption, crimes against businesses, defrauding consumers, income tax fraud, and corporate price fixing. Violent white-collar crimes (those involving physical harm), on the other hand, were reported to be the most serious offenses included.

In Ireland, O'Connell and Whelan (1996) surveyed 623 Dublin residents as to the seriousness of 10 offenses. Murder was viewed as the most serious, followed by corrupt "garda" (policeman), violent offenses, the consumer fraud and defrauding businesses. Nonviolent property, drug, and sex offenses were seen as less serious than the crimes already mentioned, but as more serious than the dishonest collection of welfare.

2000s. Two studies have been conducted in recent years, both of which were conducted by the National White Collar Crime Center (NWC3) and both of which relied on large, national samples of U.S. citizens. The first (Rebovich and Kane, 2002; for a reanalysis of the data reaching essentially identical conclusions, see Leeper Piquero, Carmichael, and Piquero, 2008) employed the direct comparison method, asking respondents which of two offenses they felt was more serious than the other. Of the four scenarios in which both a white-collar and street crime were included, respondents more frequently found white-collar crimes to be more serious. More respondents rated armed robbery causing serious injury as the more serious offense than neglecting to recall a vehicle resulting in serious injury, but allowing tainted meat to be sold resulting in serious illness for one person was rated as more serious than armed robbery causing injury. In addition, contract fraud and embezzlement were viewed more seriously than street theft. In the other four scenarios involving white-collar crimes whose perpetrators varied in their organizational/individual and social statuses, offenses involving organizational offenders and those of higher social status generally were viewed as more serious.

Similar to the Grabowsky et al. (1987) study, the second NWC3 study included the instruction to respondents that a base crime of car theft had a seriousness score of four; the respondents were then asked to assign seriousness scores to 12 other white-collar and nonwhite-collar crimes (Kane and Wall, 2006). The results indicate an unusual level of perceived seriousness for white-collar crimes relative to street crimes. In descending order of mean seriousness scores, the offenses were ranked: (1) carjacking involving murder, (2) toxic waste

involving multiple illnesses, (3) omission of health and safety information about a new drug, (4) insurance fraud by a physician, (5) barroom assault involving injury requiring rehabilitation, (6) database compromise and selling the personal information of others, (7) long-term embezzlement from an acquaintance, (8) insurance agent overcharging, (9) false corporate earning report, (10) robbery involving hospitalization but no serious injury, (11) online auction fraud involving 50 consumers, and (12) burglary of an elderly couple's jewelry. Again, it appears that the U.S. public finds white-collar crimes committed by organizational and high-status offenders to be more serious than those perpetrated by individual and low-status offenders.

2.1.2 Harmfulness

Only the Warr (1989) study has examined public opinion on the harmfulness of white-collar crimes. Essentially duplicating his findings on Dallas citizens' perceived seriousness of 31 criminal offenses, Warr's findings indicate that white-collar crimes generally are viewed as less harmful than street crimes. For instance, evading $500 in federal income taxes, illegally receiving monthly welfare checks, and a repair shop overcharging $60 on auto repairs are viewed as less harmful than snatching a handbag containing $15, breaking into a house and stealing a television, and stealing an unlocked car. Importantly and reflecting his earlier finding on seriousness, however, the environmental crime of polluting a river used for drinking water was ranked as more harmful than the majority of street crimes and all other white-collar crimes.

2.1.3 Morality

Three studies have empirically assessed the public's opinion on the morality or wrongfulness of white-collar crimes. The first study (Retting and Pasamanick, 1959) administered questionnaires to nearly 500 undergraduate sociology students, asking them to rank the "wrongness" of 50 "moral prohibitions." The researchers then compared the outcomes to similar research results obtained in 1929 in order to assess any shifts in severity of moral judgments over time. Paired with the substantial increase in perceived wrongfulness of suicide and mercy killing are decreases in the severity of moral judgments for several white-collar crimes including the government crimes of using poison gas and exploiting weaker nations and corporate crimes of low wages for workers, selling below cost for competitive reasons, and misrepresenting the value of goods. "The changes in moral judgments on the part of college students indicate the

increasing influence of the corporate system upon the educated in our society" (p. 325), the authors wrote. "Those violations that involve collective irresponsibility and those violations on the part of business which tend to support the corporate system, the so-called 'sinning by syndicate'…have become increasingly acceptable" (p. 324).

In addition to measuring seriousness and harmfulness, Warr (1989) also gauged public opinion on how morally wrong 336 Dallas citizens perceived white-collar and street crimes were perceived to be. Although the average wrongfulness score for white-collar crimes exceeded that of average seriousness and harmfulness (5.107 compared with 5.338 and 6.847), the individual white-collar crimes typically were perceived as less morally wrong than most street crimes. Indeed, breaking into a house and stealing a television set was ranked as more immoral than all included white-collar crimes with the exception of environmental pollution.

Testing for evidence either of a "deep-pocket effect" (high vs. low income) or "defendant identity effect" (i.e., individual vs. corporate offenders), MacCoun (1996) surveyed 256 members of the Ventura County Supreme Court jury pool and found that wealthy offenders were viewed as less moral than poor offenders, while corporate offenders were viewed as slightly less moral than wealthy defendants. The author interpreted the findings as providing no support for the deep-pocket effect, but marginal support for the defendant identity effect—but in the opposite direction than was expected based upon anecdotal evidence (e.g., Ross, 1907).

2.1.4 Frequency

Graber (1980) constitutes the sole examination of the public's perception regarding the relative frequency of white-collar and street crimes as indicated in the news media. Using audience panels from Chicago, Indianapolis, Evanston, National CBS and NBC, local CBS and NBC, and Lebanon, New Hampshire during 1976 and 1977, she found that almost half of her 164 respondents (46%) felt that street crimes are more common. Only 16% reported that white-collar crimes are more frequent than street crimes, and 39% expressed the opinion that white-collar and street crimes occur with equal frequency.

2.1.5 Risk of Victimization

In sharp contrast to the research results presented thus far are Meier and Short's (1985) findings on perceived risk of victimization by white-collar crimes relative to street crimes, natural

disasters, and nuisances. A two-wave study involving 1,023 residents of eastern Washington following the Mount St. Helens eruption demonstrated that white-collar crimes are viewed as the greatest risk in terms of perceived likelihood of personal victimization. In descending order, the five highest-risk "hazards" are: (1) vandalism, (2) being overcharged by physicians, (3) being sold products which prove to be worthless or badly defective, (4) being confronted by drunks in public places, and (5) illegal overcharging by manufacturers.

2.1.6 Offenders

A less common area of public perception concerns opinions on the perpetrators of white-collar and street crimes. Although our legal system prohibits decision making on the grounds of such (extra-legal) offender variables as gender and race, the presence of intent or evidence suggesting the likelihood of reoffending (legal variables) are important factors to consider. Nevertheless, recent theoretical approaches emphasizing the undue influence of extra-legal variables on levels of punitiveness (racial threat and chivalry, for example) have received strong empirical support (e.g., Chiricos, Welch, and Gertz, 2004; Griffin and Wooldredge, 2006).

Demographics. O'Connor (1984) administered a questionnaire to a nonrandom sample of community members and students in a gold mining town in western Australia during 1976, asking for their perceptions of swindlers and violent offenders. The respondents generally expressed the opinion that the violent offender was single, male, of low social status, in his twenties, had minimal education, and worked in an unskilled occupation. The respondents attributed the opposite qualities to the swindler. That is, the white-collar offender was described as a professional, male, slightly older than the violent offender (in his thirties), married, and possessing a very good education.

Personality. O'Connor (1984) also questioned his subjects with regard to what qualities they felt best characterized the violent offender and the swindler. Again, he found a sharp contrast. The violent offender was described by such negative words as dangerous, vicious, non-intelligent, commits other crimes, immature, and inconsiderate, while the swindler was given the qualities of intelligence, good manners, maturity, and consideration for others.

Motive, intent, and blameworthiness. Attribution refers to people's ascribed causes for a given event and, in rare criminological discourse, is discussed as a dichotomy between dispositional (or personality) and situational (or environmental) causes of crime. In practical

terms, dispositional causes render a defendant more culpable and likely to reoffend, while situational causes lead to more compassionate judgments because the crime does not appear to be a central feature of the defendant. As an attempted examination of the relative influence of dispositional and situational factors on judgments of seriousness for assault, embezzlement, and motor vehicle theft, Riedel (1975) recruited 273 subjects from four colleges in Philadelphia. Riedel expected the dispositional factors (i.e., hostile attitudes and subcultural values) to result in more serious judgments and the situational factors (i.e., threat to offender, victim precipitation, reward for committing the offense, and "alien control" of offender) to produce less serious judgments, but empirical verification appeared only for the situational factors (which he termed "external factors"). Thus, he concluded that, "This suggests that external aspects of the event, such as the amount of injury, theft or damage is all the respondent needs to make a reliable assessment of social injury" (p. 208).

O'Connor (1984) did not use these terms, yet his results vaguely resemble a pattern of attributing situational causes to the violent offender and dispositional causes to the white-collar offender. Specifically, participants assumed substance abuse problems, a family history of vice and crime, exposure to increasing amounts of violence through the media, and gang membership explain the violent crime (although inner drives were also mentioned), while the swindle was explained by the perpetrator "seeking an easy life" (p. 266) or needing money because of gambling debts. Moving beyond motives to blame, MacCoun's (1996) California jury pool participants were asked to gauge the relative blameworthiness of two sets of economic offenders: (1) a wealthy individual and a poor individual (to determine any "deep-pocket effect"), and (2) a wealthy individual and a corporate offender (to uncover any "defendant identity effect"). Evidence emerged only for the defendant identity effect, however, and not the deep-pocket effect, suggesting that financial status is less important than the distinction between individual and organizational offending.

2.1.7 Likelihood of Recidivism

The U.S. justice system is charged with the protection of society, and therefore an important consideration in sentencing and parole decisions is whether a given offender is likely to reoffend once released. This perception may be linked directly to causal attribution, but can also be independent of perceived intent and blame, particularly when clear evidence regarding the cause

is not available—a likely situation in public opinion surveys. Without such etiological information, predictions about recidivism necessarily must be based upon other variables. Gordon, Bindram, McNicholas, and Walden (1988) hypothesized that race and type of crime might provide such relevant cues in the absence of indicators of guilt and blame. To test these hypotheses, they recruited 56 undergraduate students at a small U.S. university and provided them with short scenarios in which gender and age were held constant while defendant race and crime varied (from black to white and from embezzlement to burglary). Their results provided support for a race-based—but not a crime-based—attribution of recidivism likelihood. That is, the black defendant was perceived as significantly more likely to reoffend, regardless of whether convicted of burglary or embezzlement.

2.1.8 Likelihood of Apprehension and Punishment

In recent years, the public's opinion regarding the relative likelihoods of white-collar and street offenders being apprehended and punished severely by the criminal justice system have received attention. Two studies based on random, national samples of U.S. citizens have asked the same question: Who is more likely to be apprehended—a robber or a fraudster? The results are consistent and show that most people believe a robber is more likely to be caught than a fraudster. Just less than three quarters (74%) of respondents in Rebovich and Kane's (2002) NWC3 sample expressed this opinion (see also Schoepfer, Carmichael, and Leeper Piquero, 2007), while 63% of respondents in Holtfreter, Van Slyke, Bratton, and Gertz's (2008) sample felt this way. Not only do U.S. citizens generally agree that the robber is more likely to be caught, but there is an even greater consensus regarding perceptions of punishment severity: 82% of Rebovich and Kane's sample and 66% of Holtfreter and colleagues' sample report that robbers are more likely to be punished severely than are fraudsters.

2.2 Public Preferences

While the previous section presented the empirical literature on perceptions the public has about various white-collar and street crimes, this section discusses the research assessing how the public wants the government to respond to these forms of crime. The perceptions previously discussed may or may not influence the recommendations people voice for responding to crime;

or different, unmentioned perceptions—like those concerning the likely victims of white-collar crimes or stereotypes of those who perpetrate white-collar crimes—could provide the foundation for the public's expressed punishment preferences. Whenever possible, therefore, findings regarding relationships between seriousness, harmfulness, and so forth and sanctioning recommendations are included in this section.

2.2.1 Government Regulation and Resource Allocation

A recent national survey of U.S. citizens assessing punitiveness toward white-collar offenders (Unnever, Benson, and Cullen, 2008) asked 1,512 respondents the question: "Do you think there should be more government regulation of the stock market, less regulation, or should government regulation of the stock market stay as it is?" (p. 174). The results indicate a lack of general support for increased regulation: Only 35% of respondents supported more regulation, while 59% preferred less regulation.

Another approach to assessing the public's crime control priorities has been to gauge participants' preferences for governmental crime control resource allocations. To this effect, the same basic question recently has been asked of national U.S. samples by three independent studies (Rebovich and Kane, 2002; Kane and Wall, 2006; Holtfreter et al., 2008; for a reanalysis of Rebovich and Kane, 2002 reaching similar conclusions, see Leeper Piquero et al., 2008). The general conclusion has been the same: The public would like more resources devoted to white-collar crime than are currently believed to be spent fighting these offenses. Specifically, 65% of Rebovich and Kane's (2002) sample and 61% of Holtfreter et al.'s (2008) sample reported that the government should devote equal or more resources to the control of white-collar crime. In addition, only 34% of respondents in Kane and Wall's (2006) study agreed that the government devotes an adequate amount of resources to white-collar crime control.

2.2.2 Sentencing

As was the case in the previous section wherein the majority of opinions focused on seriousness, most public preference research has assessed the public's preferences for the criminal sanctioning of white-collar offenders. Therefore, the same subsections will be used, with divisions usually based upon the decade of publication.

Early research. In 1957, Newman selected three forms of federal food law violations and asked 178 residents of Madison, Wisconsin if they approved of the penalties given to offenders in actual court dispositions. These violations include misbranding, distasteful but not harmful adulteration, and physically harmful adulteration. More than three quarters of participants found all three white-collar offense penalties to be too lenient and assigned more severe sentences that fell within the bounds of the maximum penalties provided by federal law.

More than 300 residents of San Francisco were purposively sampled by college students, and asked how they would punish 20 crimes (Gibbons, 1968–1969). Reflecting perceptions of seriousness described in the previous section of this literature review, murder, rape, and manslaughter were given the most severe sentences, and white-collar crimes were generally sentenced less punitively than street crimes. Indeed, of the street crimes included, only motor vehicle theft received a less severe sanction than the white-collar crimes. Within the category of white-collar crime, the greatest support for incarceration was expressed for antitrust offenders, followed by embezzlers, false advertisers, and then tax evasion. Compared with the California statutes (as opposed to actual court dispositions), the citizens punished several offenses with greater severity: antitrust, child molestation, robbery, auto theft, check forgery, tax evasion, and false advertising.

Thomas, Cage, and Foster (1976) mailed questionnaires to almost ten thousand residents of a southeastern standard metropolitan statistical area (SMSA) in 1973, yielding a final sample of 3,334. Respondents were asked to assign "a fair sentence" to 17 offenses, for which it was specified that the offender was guilty, an adult, and a first-time offender. Again, murder and other crimes involving nonconsensual sex and violence were assigned the longest sentences. Simple burglary, however, was sentenced more harshly than corruption (public official asking for a bribe), while grand larceny was given a longer sentence than tax fraud. Car theft, possession of marijuana, and nuisance crimes were assigned the shortest sentences.

1980s. More forms of white-collar crimes were included in the mail survey Blumstein and Cohen (1980) sent to 603 residents of Allegheny County, Pennsylvania. Respondents were asked to assign the desired length of a prison sentence for 23 offenses based upon the length that "best fits the seriousness of the offense" (p. 229) for a 24-year-old male offender. The sale of narcotics was the only nonviolent offense to receive a longer sentence than employee safety violations, while escape was punished more severely than Medicaid fraud. Fraud on a bank loan

application, however, was given a shorter sentence than just about every offense, including narcotics possession, auto theft, burglary, larceny, narcotics use, and sodomy.

An especially illuminating survey conducted in Galesburg, Illinois focused on punitive attitudes and punishment recommendations for white-collar offenders (Cullen, Clark, Mathers, and Cullen, 1983). More than 80% of respondents agreed with the following two statements: "White-collar offenders have gotten off too easily for too many years; they deserve to be sent to jail for their crimes just like everyone else" and "We should punish white-collar offenders just as severely as we punish people who steal money on the street." Similarly, a slightly smaller percentage of respondents disagreed that, "Since white-collar offenders usually don't harm anyone, they shouldn't be punished as much as regular criminals." In an effort to understand the basis for these punishment preferences, the authors asked a series of questions about the consequences of white-collar crime relative to street crimes and reported the following results:

- 90% of respondents agreed that, "While white-collar crimes may cost Americans a lot of money, street crimes like assaults, murders, and muggings are worse because they are much more likely to injure or kill people"
- 84% of respondents agreed that, "While white-collar crimes can hurt society, street crimes like robbery are worse because they make people afraid to walk the streets at night"
- 76% of respondents agreed that, "The amount of money lost through white-collar crime is more than that lost as a result of street crimes such as robberies, burglaries, and thefts"
- 64% of respondents agreed that, "People who commit street crimes are more dangerous than white-collar offenders"
- 55% of respondents agreed that, "White-collar crimes do more to undermine the morality in our society than do street crimes"

Thus, Galesburg residents recognize the substantial losses and erosion of trust involved in white-collar crimes and they want these crimes punished severely, but they consider street crimes to be "worse" and their perpetrators more dangerous. In effect, it seems that the study subjects attach more significance to physical harm and vulnerability than economic losses and damage to society's moral fabric in formulating judgments of appropriate sanctions.

O'Connor's (1984) Australian gold mining town respondents also expressed more support for the harsh sanctioning of violent rather than trust crimes. Just less than 70% recommended four or more years of incarceration for violent criminals as compared with 41% for swindlers. Similarly, 86% said violent criminals should be punished more severely compared with 62% wanting swindlers punished more severely. When asked for their impressions of how appropriately courts actually sentenced the two types of offenders, 77% found the courts to be too lenient in dealing with violent offenders and 56% of respondents felt this way about swindlers.

A second survey of Galesburg, Illinois residents concerned with white-collar crime was supplemented with survey results sampling various criminal justice system agents (lawyers, judges, legislators, prison guards, and correctional administrators) (Cullen, Clark, Cullen, and Mathers, 1985). The authors examined the role of internal versus external attributions for crime causation for white-collar crime, punishment in general, rehabilitation, and capital punishment. Three items used in the earlier Galesburg survey composed the white-collar crime scale of attitudes toward the punishment (those addressing historical leniency in sentencing, harm caused by white-collar crime, and appropriate punishment severity relative to street crime). The researchers found that the mean level of punitiveness was greater for white-collar crime than for the other dependent variables. Internal attributions of crime causation approached significance in the predicted direction ($p < .07$), although no control variables were correlated with punitiveness toward white-collar offenders. The following explanation for the pattern of findings was offered:

> This suggests, then, that the obstacles to getting tough with white-collar criminality do not lie so much in the prevailing sanctioning ideology, but rather more fully in class interests that shape the penalty structure within the criminal code and in the pragmatic difficulties of successfully prosecuting such illegality within the present criminal justice system (Cullen, Mathers, Clark, and Cullen, 1983: 327, footnote 5).

The Cullen et al. (1983) data were reanalyzed by Cullen, Clark, Link, Mathes, Niedspial, and Sheahan (1985), who reported the mean seriousness of sentencing scores of dozens of criminal offenses. With the exception of manufacturing and selling dangerous products and embezzlement, most violent and nonviolent street crimes were assigned more severe

punishments than the majority of included white-collar crimes. Indeed, breaking into a home and stealing a television was given a tougher sentence than nine white-collar crimes including a physician performing unnecessary operations, price fixing, causing the death of an employee by neglecting to repair machinery, failure to file income tax returns, and false advertisement of a headache remedy.

Rossi, Simpson, and Miller (1985) surveyed 774 residents of the Boston SMSA, as well as local high school students and policemen, Job Corps members in Chicopee, Massachusetts, and Indiana University law students. Provided with seriousness scores of the offenses, respondents were asked to judge the suitability of sentences given to various offenders. In general, the higher the seriousness score attached to an offense, the more severe the sanction respondents preferred. However, the longer the sentence provided for the offense, the less severe the respondents wanted the offenders punished. Corporate crimes regularly were assigned the most severe sanctions, while victimless crimes received the most lenient judgments. Importantly, while the coefficient estimates for severity in the multivariate analyses were of a reasonable magnitude, considerable variance in punitiveness remained unexplained forcing the authors to conclude, "crime seriousness scores do not fully exhaust the effects of crime on judgments of appropriate punishments" (p. 72). The same researchers conducted a similar study of Boston residents, predominantly minority high school students, and Job Corps members (Miller, Rossi, and Simpson, 1986). This time, however, they reported the rank ordering of four categories of crimes based upon the severity of the assigned sentence. In descending order of severity, the results are: (1) violent crimes, (2) corporate crimes, (3) theft crimes, and (4) public disorder crimes.

Grabowsky, Braithwaite, and Wilson (1987) introduced alternative sanctions to the available sentencing options in their national survey of 2,551 Australians. Their respondents preferred incarceration for the street crimes of homicide, armed robbery and burglary, but fines and other nonincarcerative sanctions for fraud, including corporate fraud. Indications of higher social status (income, education, and occupation), moreover, were negatively related to one's support for incarcerating white-collar offenders.

Fifty-six undergraduate students at a small U.S. university comprised the sample recruited voluntarily by Gordon and associates (1988). These authors were concerned with the influence of defendant race and type of crime (burglary or embezzlement) on judgments of appropriate

sentences. While the black defendant convicted of burglary was given a substantially longer jail sentence than the white defendant convicted of embezzlement, white embezzlers were assigned longer sentences than black embezzlers.

In an attempt to empirically examine the status liability hypothesis, Rosoff (1989) gathered 160 students at the University of California, Irvine. The hypothesis predicts basically a threshold effect with regard to the relationship between social status and punitiveness based upon the seriousness of the offense. That is, higher social status should lead to leniency when the offense is only moderately or barely severe, but it should result in severity when the offense is very serious. The extremely serious offense involved an otherwise respectable doctor accused and convicted of killing his wife, while the moderately serious offense consisted of a doctor committing Medicaid provider fraud. The doctor's social status was manipulated by referring to him as either a dermatologist (a less prestigious occupation) or a surgeon (a very prestigious occupation). The basic results suggested high status was correlated with increased severity in verdicts of guilt but with decreased severity in judgments of appropriate legal and professional sanctions. Further, support was revealed for the status liability hypothesis: "Defendants from the most prestigious specialty, surgery, yielded significantly harsher homicide judgments and significantly milder proposed fraud sanctions than did defendants from dermatology, the less prestigious specialty" (p. 234).

1990s. An early study in the 1990s demonstrated a concern over the relative influences of dollar amount lost and organizational versus individual offenders in determining people's punishment recommendations (Miller, Rossi, and Simpson, 1991). Once again supplementing a Boston SMSA residential sample with convenience samples of students and criminal justice personnel, Miller et al. found that respondents wanted corporate tax evasion punished more severely than individual tax evasion when holding the dollar amount lost constant.

Rossi and Berk (1997) conducted approximately 1,000 face-to-face interviews with U.S. citizens over the course of several months in 1994, asking that respondents assign appropriate prison sentences to 20 federal offenses. Overall, the average length of sentence recommended for all offenses combined was 8 years. Only food and drug violations were assigned sentences above the average (17 months), while kidnapping (36 months), drug trafficking (15 months), bank robbery (10 months), street robbery (nearly 10 months), and extortion/blackmail (9 months) all were seen as deserving harsher sentences. Major frauds were then assigned sentences

averaging nearly 7 months. The remaining nondrug-related street crimes (larceny and firearms) were sentenced more severely than the other white-collar crimes (antitrust, embezzlement, tax, minor fraud, environment, and bribery). The leniency shown toward bribery offenders in this sample stands in stark contrast to seriousness ratings presented in the previous section, but actually is consistent with the sentencing preferences reported by Thomas et al. (1976). Evidence of increases in dollar amount lost and premeditation was associated with more serious punishment recommendations. Compared with the federal sentencing guidelines, the researchers found that their respondents were typically more punitive, with punitiveness increasing more among the public than the guidelines in the presence of aggravating factors.

2000s. In a more simplified study, Cohen, Rust, and Steen (2002) asked a random sample of 1,130 U.S. citizens for their opinions on appropriate penalties for eight types of offenses in which the offenders were specified as being single men aged 28 (except for one crime, when the offender was specified as 40). In descending order of assigned severity of sentences, these crimes include: (1) robbery/hate crime, (2) drug dealing, (3) robbery, (4) credit fraud, (5) assault, (6) Medicare fraud (with the 40-year-old offender), (7) burglary, and (8) drug possession. Thus, the crimes involving violence generally were sentenced with the most severity, followed by the white-collar crimes, and then the nonviolent street crimes. Noteworthy among these findings, however, is the more severe sentence assigned to credit fraud than assault.

The first NWC3 study (Rebovich and Kane, 2002; see also Schoepfer, Carmichael, and Leeper Piquero, 2007 for a reanalysis of the data arriving at similar conclusions) found equivalent punishment preferences for nondescript robbers and fraudsters; that is, 38% of this national sample favored equally harsh sentences for the two offender types, while 31% felt the robber should receive harsher punishment and 31% wanted the fraudster to be punished with greater severity. This pattern is at odds with the next national survey (Holtfreter et al., 2008), in which 65% of respondents favored harsher punishment for the robber than the fraudster.

The most recent available study (Unnever et al., 2008) asked participants the following question in July of 2002: "Do you support or oppose stricter penalties, including longer prison terms and higher fines, for corporate executives who conceal their company's true financial condition?" Perhaps reflecting concern over the wave of U.S. corporate scandals emerging in 2001–2001, 78% of respondents supported more severe penalties, while only 7% opposed punishing corporate offenders more strictly.

2.2.3 Liability and Damages

MacCoun's (1996) California jury pool examination of the deep-pocket and defendant-identity effects included two experiments testing the roles of defendant wealth and status as an individual or organizational offender on assignments of liability and damages awards. Subjects compensated victims similarly regardless of the wealth or poverty of the hypothetical offender, but larger awards were given in cases involving corporate defendants than those against wealthy individual defendants. When controls were added for the motivation of the perpetrator, however, the wealthy individual and corporate defendant were treated the same when the offense was committed during the course of commercial activity, while awards were again greater in the corporate case when the motive for deviance was personal use.

2.2.4 Civil Liberties

Two recent surveys (Manza, Brooks, and Uggen, 2004; Padgett, Chiricos, Bratton, and Gertz, 2007; see also Manza and Uggen, 2006 for elaboration upon Manza et al., 2004) have asked U.S. and Florida citizens (respectively) about their support for restoring voting rights for four types of criminals: white-collar (illegal trading of stocks), violent, sex, and unspecified. While support for re-enfranchisement was greater for the unspecified offender than the specified offenders and least for the sex offender in both studies, there was variation in relative re-enfranchisement support for the white-collar and violent offenders. That is, while support was essentially equivalent for re-enfranchising these two offenders in the Manza et al. (2006) national study, support was considerably greater for re-enfranchising white-collar than violent offenders in the Padgett et al. (2007) Florida study. Also, in the Florida study, the gap in support between the unspecified and white-collar offender was much narrower.

While the quantitative research indicates relatively less punitiveness toward white-collar offenders than street offenders in terms of support for restoring the right to vote, qualitative evidence derived from focus groups interviews with Rutgers University staff and students suggests greater punitiveness toward white-collar offenders (Heumann, Pinaire, and Clark, 2005). Specifically, in contrast to a general disapproval of blanket civil rights restrictions for all offenders—particularly those whose offenses bore no relation to the restrictions—participants

expressed support for civil rights restrictions for offending professionals like doctors. One subject explained the rationale for this judgment:

> [W]hen you commit a crime, you break the trust between yourself and the rest of society—by not conforming to society's rule. In certain professions it is about having the trust of society, or the trust of somebody else: a doctor when you perform a surgery, or a lawyer when you say "get up there and defend me in court," or a teacher and you say "educate my kids." So, once you have broken the trust of society…[the argument would go] society has the right to say "you broke my trust, so should you be trusted again?" (Heumann et al., 2005: 36).

Another respondent added that professionals are role models and therefore should be held to higher standards than others because of the trust we place in them. Finally, when asked whether offenders like doctors should be allowed to provide service to low-income communities rather than suffer civil rights restrictions, many participants expressed the opinion that such arrangements are unfair if not "condescending" (p. 36) to the poor communities.

2.3 Conclusions from the Available Research

Throughout this body of research literature, the general pattern is that offenses involving fatalities and physical injury are viewed most negatively and punitively, followed by sex offenses involving violence or minors, nonviolent economic crimes (street and white collar), and then disorder and victimless crimes. The following factors are associated with high seriousness and punitive ratings in general: multiple deaths, single deaths, multiple injuries, single injuries, sexual assault, child victim, high dollar losses, individual versus organizational victims, and the presence of a victim. White-collar, crime-specific, severity-enhancing features include organizational (i.e., corporate and government) rather than individual offenders, and high status as opposed to low status perpetrators.

Although most of the research prior to 2000 reported that street crimes are generally perceived to be more serious than most white-collar crimes, the most recent evidence suggests that people perceive white-collar crimes as at least as serious as (at least) nonviolent street crimes. The pre-2000 research also found that street crimes were viewed as more harmful, immoral, and frequent than white-collar crimes; however, perceived likelihood of victimization

was greater for white-collar than street crimes. Finally, street offenders are viewed as having less social capital than white-collar offenders, worse personalities and behaviors, and a greater likelihood of apprehension and severe punishment. White-collar offenders, on the other hand, are seen has possessing decent personalities and exhibiting considerate behaviors.

An interesting question raised by reviewing this literature—particularly given anecdotal and traditional claims of unwarranted preferential criminal justice treatment of white-collar offenders—concerns whether the public's perceived seriousness of white-collar offenses translates into harsher control and punishment recommendations. It is interesting to note, first, that although public opinion does not support increased government regulation of the stock market, it strongly supports increasing governmental resource allocations for white-collar crime control and punishing white-collar offender more severely than is believed to be the case in reality. The extent research literature reveals a strong but not perfect relationship between subjective (and objective) seriousness ratings and the severity of punishments assigned to the perpetrators of various offenses. As Rossi et al. (1985: 72) concluded, "crime seriousness scores do not fully exhaust the effects of crime on judgments of appropriate punishments." The influence of injuries to victims, fear of walking the streets alone at night, and perceptions of street offenders as more dangerous contribute to recommendations of harsher sanctions for street offenders than white-collar offenders—despite a consensus that white-collar crimes result in more financial losses and damage to the moral fabric of society.

It is not unexpected that a number of legal factors—those often considered aggravating factors in the criminal courts, like amount lost, physical injury, and motive—have been documented as influencing public perceptions of crime and criminals in a punitive direction. What could be considered remarkable, on the other hand, is the frequency with which members of the public attribute various extra-legal factors to different crimes and criminals. To violent offenders is ascribed low social capital, while swindlers are married professionals. Violent criminals are also said to be non-intelligent and immature, while people perceive that swindlers possess the opposite qualities. Substance abuse problems, a family background in deviance, and media and gang influences are thought to cause violent crimes; swindles, on the other hand, are products of the pursuit of an easy life or gambling debts. Black offenders are reportedly more likely to recidivate than whites, robberies are "worse" and more likely to inspire fear than white-collar crimes, white-collar crimes are believed to cost more in terms of both financial losses and

damage to the moral fabric of society, but people who commit street crimes are more "dangerous" than those who perpetrate white-collar crimes. The public's *attributions* of positive and negative qualities to certain crimes and criminals, then, are important determinants of punitiveness.

CHAPTER 3

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Social identity theory provides a compelling explanation for the pattern of findings demonstrating disparate public opinion toward white-collar and street offenders. Developed in Europe during the 1970s and 1980s, the theory provides a group-based account of biases in attitudes and behaviors, from perceptions of blame and attributions of responsibility, to discrimination and the allocation of punishment. Social identity theory explicates why perceiving an actor to be similar frequently leads to positive emotions and interactions, while the perception of an actor as being different "carries with it a ready-made explanation of the worthlessness of others, leading to indifference at best and a readiness to justify inhumane cruelty at worst" (Turner and Bourhis, 1996: 55).

To explain the theory and its relevance to public opinion on crime, this chapter proceeds in three sections. The first provides an overview of the origins and developments in the field of social psychology that paved the way for Henri Tajfel's social identity theory. The second section presents the main concepts and relationships involved in social identity theory. As this section will demonstrate, however, applications of the theory have been largely limited to artificial laboratory settings. The rare instances in which social identity theory have been applied—either empirically or speculatively—to criminological contexts are included in the third and final section.

3.1 Origins and Development

The way people perceive the world, including other people and their actions, has been a topic of academic interest for some time. Indeed, it was in 1922 that Walter Lippman introduced the idea of stereotypes to the social sciences (Leyens, Yzerbyt, and Schadron, 1994). Stereotypes, explained Lippman, are "pictures in our heads" that function as "maps" and provide comprehensible explanations for what is going on in reality. This is because objective reality is

too big and complex to understand, and so stereotypes are a mechanism of information management. This section traces the rise of social identity theory by identifying and describing its conceptual precursors and methodological developments.

3.1.1 Conceptual Background

Several streams of literature ultimately led to the articulation of social identity theory by Bristol's Henri Tajfel in the late 1970s. These streams cover the related processes of impression formation and stereotyping, as well as situations involving intergroup social conflict. Developments in these areas, however, quickly led to the need for a holistic theory that could answer the questions raised by early experiments on person perception and intergroup dynamics.

Impression formation. The origins of social identity theory have been traced to Asch's research during the 1940s on impression formation (Leyens et al., 1994). Using the way subjects categorized coins into different groups according to their perceived size, Asch found that some traits carried more influence than others, and these traits—"central traits," he called them—consequently impacted inferences made by experimental subjects. While Asch was unable to predict which traits would be central and which would not, Wishner later discovered that central traits are those that are inferred (Leyens et al., 1994). In other words, inferred rather than objectively observed characteristics of objects carry the most weight in the formation of impressions. This led to an interest in perceptual distortion, or accurate versus inaccurate perceptions (Turner, 1996). Tajfel entered into this line of inquiry by examining how the value subjects attached to different coins influenced estimates of their size, and discovering that attached value produced a systematic bias is assigning valued and nonvalued objects into large and small groups. Repeated experimental manipulations ultimately confirmed that "value differentials" produce perceptual accentuation of both intraclass similarities (i.e., one valued item is viewed equally to another valued item on unrelated dimensions) and interclass differences (i.e., a valued item is viewed differently than an unvalued item on unrelated dimensions), and that this association holds for objects, people, and groups (Turner, 1996).

Two other relevant developments in information management and impression formation resulted from this line of research. The first is that Asch also discovered a "primacy effect": The first words in a list activate a certain schema that influenced subjects to interpret subsequent information in a way that is consistent with the activated schema (Leyens et al., 1994). This

suggests that people strive to maintain consistency when they take in new information. Second, Peabody was interested in word choices made by laypeople, specifically the decision to use one word rather than another carrying almost identical meaning. This he explained in reference to the disparate valence of near synonyms: Some words carry more negative connotations than others, and these more negative words will be used when the person or object being described is not valued or disliked (Leyens et al., 1994). Overall, this line of research suggests that "people quickly form a theory about who the target is, and, as they learn more about this person, they integrate the new elements into the established structure" (Leyens et al., 1994:82). Such an integration of information, however, is capable of producing both accurate and inaccurate perceptions. The frequency with which this process consistently produced inaccurate perceptions among numerous subjects and experimental settings further indicated that some common framework shared by members of society was involved.

Stereotypes. Accordingly, researchers reasoned that, in the process of person perception, there must be some balancing of both categorical and individuating information (Turner, 1996). Categorical information can be derived or assumed about an individual based solely upon their membership in social groups, like race, class, and gender categories, while a person's behavior provides the source of individuating information (Leyens et al., 1994). Stereotypes, then, can be defined as "generalizations based upon membership to a category, i.e. beliefs that derive from the inference that all members of a given category share the same properties and are, therefore, interchangeable" (Leyens et al., 1994:17). In other words, the process of stereotyping assumes that all group members are alike and, as a direct consequence, predictable sheerly on the basis of their group membership (Tajfel, 1978). Confirmation of categorical information is a goal in this process, which involves interpreting new information as being consistent with old information (even when it is not or is ambiguously so), or else ignoring it (Leyens et al., 1994). This is of course because people dislike inconsistent information and need to reconcile it with their preexisting expectations (Hogg, 1996; Mendes, Blascovich, Hunter, Lickel, and Jost, 2007).

From the notion that consistent information is preferred over inconsistent information and that people actively strive to reach consistency in person perception, it was further deduced that inconsistent information is more memorable. That is, although consistent information is preferentially encoded and retrieved from memory, inconsistent information stands out more and is therefore more likely to be recalled (Leyens et al., 1994). This implies that the more unusual a

person or situation, the more attention it will attract. This phenomenon has been termed the accentuation effect, and produces more extreme reactions than does consistent information (Leyens et al., 1994 referring to Taylor and Fiske, 1978).

Intergroup social conflict. During the turbulent 1960s in the United States, the Sherifs were interested in the causes of—and solutions to—conflict between social groups. It was clear that people from various social groups struggle over scarce material resources, and this competition was identified as the source of antagonism, ethnocentrism, and discrimination (Leyens et al., 1994). In their famous Robbers Cave Experiment, the Sherifs and colleagues found that this state of negative goal interdependence was a sufficient condition to produce intergroup discrimination (Leyens et al., 1994). Specifically, when in competition over valued resources, group members tend to solidify and increase their ingroup loyalty, while at the same time increasing their hostility and avoidance of outgroup members. This theory, termed realistic conflict theory, seemed to suggest a logical solution to intergroup prejudice: the contact hypothesis, which holds that increased contact between intergroup members would result in cooperation rather than competition. However, later experiments failed to support this idea and, in fact, demonstrated that competition is not necessary in producing intergroup discrimination (Leyens et al., 1994). Divesting the experiment of competition over valued resources did not attenuate intergroup conflict and intragroup bias as hypothesized. This led to an interesting question: What is necessary?

3.1.2 Conceptual and Methodological Developments

Japp Rabbie made the first empirical attempt to answer this question by identifying the minimal conditions under which discrimination would arise between social groups (Leyens et al., 1994). This strategy revealed that simply sharing a common fate was enough to produce ingroup bias and outgroup discrimination. At this point, Henri Tajfel and his colleagues at Bristol University incorporated their earlier research on impression formation into the realistic intergroup conflict situation. They disagreed that Rabbie had identified the most minimal situation for conflict and instead proposed the minimal group paradigm. This paradigm involved absolutely no contact or interaction between groups, no goals linked to personal or group interests, and artificial groups with no history of hostility (Turner, 1996). However, despite stripping the intergroup condition of all these aspects thought to promote conflict, ingroup bias always emerged in the form of

ingroup members receiving preferential treatment from other ingroup members. The researchers were forced to conclude that social categorization—albeit artificial social categorization—is the sufficient cause for ingroup bias and outgroup discrimination (Turner, 1996).

Tajfel and colleagues evoked Festinger's (1954) theory of social comparison to explain their finding. Festinger's theory holds that people are motivated to compare themselves to other people in order to assess themselves, and comparisons with like others provide the most accurate information. Accordingly, the motivation for social comparison decreases as similarities decrease between oneself and specific or general others. In line with the early research on impression formation and information management, people prefer consistency both in terms of situations involving similar others and uniformity within groups. That is, people prefer situations wherein people agree with them, dislike situations wherein group members disagree, and are consequently motivated to reduce disagreements within social groups. Thus, the more similar an outgroup is to one's ingroup, the more motivated an ingroup member is to ensure conformity within their ingroup by other ingroup members as well as by oneself. The tendency toward conformity within groups drew attention to the importance of group norms in guiding individual behaviors and attitudes in the minimal group paradigm.

3.2 Social Identity Theory

Tajfel linked his minimal group paradigm research to his earlier work on perception, stereotypes, and social comparison, and the result was social identity theory (Leyens et al., 1994). For the purposes of the present study, this theory can be understood as being composed of seven main elements: (1) social identity, (2) social categorization, (3) attribution, (4) ingroup favoritism, (5) social status, (6) threat, and ultimately, (7) the black-sheep effect. This section reviews the social-psychological literature associated with these elements of social identity theory, while the following section applies the theory to the context of responding to white-collar crime.

3.2.1 Social Identity

Tajfel argued that a person's identity has two components, one personal and one social, and that one can improve one's self-image by enhancing either of these two components (Leyens et al., 1994; Scheepers and Ellemers, 2005). From this perspective, he viewed the minimal group

paradigm data as "empirical illustrations of the search for positive distinctiveness" (Turner, 1996:16). Social identity is more influential than is personal identity in the formation and expression of opinions, a condition termed group centrism (Kinder, 1998). In his discussion of the role of social groups in determining voting behavior, Kinder (1998:801) wrote that "citizens are social creatures through and through." He explained that who the beneficiaries or victims of a given policy are perceived to be is a strong determinant of actual voting behavior, which implies that how people understand a policy affects their stance on the issue. Further, Khan and Lambert (1998) explained that the group membership of the perceived target of a policy is influential, which involves the process of social categorization.

3.2.3 Social categorization

Recall that categorization (like assigning coins to different groups) accentuates differences between categories and also similarities within categories. "Categorization," Hogg (1996: 67) explained, "is a basic cognitive process which operates on social and non-social stimuli alike, to highlight and bring into focus those aspects of experience that are subjectively meaningful in a particular context" (see also Tajfel, 1978). A social category, therefore, equates to a social identity; as such, it "both describes and prescribes one's attributes as a group member" (Hogg, 1996: 66–67). A consequence of social categorization for social identity is that perceptions of group normativeness and, hence, stereotyping is increased. Hogg (1996: 68–69) elaborated, "Once formed on the basis of perceived similarities and differences among stimuli, categories are consequently used as a basis for the perceptual accentuation of these similarities and differences, thereby maximizing separateness and clarity." Thus, social categorization produces a stereotypical set of norms for the group to which one socially identifies, and these norms apply to each individual in the group (Leyens et al., 1994; Verkuyten and Nekuee, 1999). As a result, a degree of social uniformity is achieved, including consensus in thought and behavior.

Returning to the minimal group paradigm, Tajfel and Turner (1979) hypothesized that group evaluations are essentially relative. When people engage in social comparison, they are motivated by a need to maintain or increase their positive self-image; by favoring other ingroup members, they give themselves a favorable social identity. Social identity combined with social comparison, then, is sufficient to produce an ingroup bias and relative outgroup hostility (Tajfel, 1978; see also Leyens et al., 1994; Turner, 1996; Elkins, Phillips, and Konopaske, 2002;

Scheepers and Ellemers, 2005; Van Knippenberg, 1978). A problem that arises is when this need is not met; in this state, rather than achieving a positive social identity, the result is social identity threat.

3.3.3 Attribution

Building on the social comparison and stereotype literature is the notion of social attribution, "the possibility that observers evoke the essence of a group to explain the behavior of group members" (Yzerbyt and Rogier, 2001: 109). Social attribution is a third attribution style, with personal and situational attributions being the more commonly mentioned methods of determining the cause of something. The ascribed cause of an action carries with it several implications regarding how to respond to the actor. Personal causes are thought to be more stable and, hence, predictable and controllable (Yzerbyt and Rogier, 2001); they also suggest the actor is responsible for their actions. Situational factors, on the other hand, often absolve actors of responsibility and blame for their negative actions because they suggest the actor was not operating under his or her full agency. Rather, some event or condition caused the actor to behave in a way that is not usual and, by extension, unexpected given the context or circumstance in which the behavior took place.

The more similar group members are perceived to be (that is, interchangeable with regard to opinions and actions), the more likely social attributions will be used rather than personal or situational attributions. Based upon the search for positive social identity, positive behaviors by ingroup members are most frequently perceived to reflect dispositional causes, while negative behaviors by ingroup members are more likely to be considered products of situational forces (Brewer, 1996; Leyens et al., 1994). This is supported by the earlier research on the reconciliation of seemingly inconsistent information with pre-existing schema. Group norms also play a role in the decision to use a social, personal, or situational attribution: Specifically, stereotypes and social identity yield (at least the illusion of) consensus among ingroup members regarding appropriate behaviors. If an ingroup member deviates from prescribed norms despite such consensus, other ingroup members often assume some situational factor must have caused the unacceptable behavior. This is a form of ingroup favoritism.

3.3.4 Ingroup favoritism

The tendency to favor one's own group over another—a tendency that has been implicated in a variety of negative attitudes and actions toward outgroup members—is a method of maintaining or improving a positive social identity (Turner, 1978; see also Branscombe, Wann, Noel, and Coleman, 1993; Elkins et al., 2002; Khan and Lambert, 1998). The underlying motivation of maintaining positive social identity distorts perceptions of ingroup as well as outgroup members: "Self-enhancement guides the social categorization process such that ingroup norms and stereotypes are largely ingroup favoring" (Hogg, 1996: 67; see also Brewer, 1996; Elkins et al., 2002; Verkuyten and Nekuee, 1999). Conversely, assumed outgroup norms and stereotypes are typically negative and unfavorable. This situation has been described variously as outgroup derogation, hostility, discrimination, and so on. In the intragroup context, moreover, members whose behaviors personify the group at it best ("prototypes") are usually favored the most (Hogg, 1996; Leyens et al., 1994).

3.3.5 Social Status

Although not a fundamental component of social identity theory, researchers consistently have identified social status differentials in intergroup contexts as highly influential in modern society (Turner and Brown, 1978). First, members of high-status groups appear to exhibit greater levels of intergroup discrimination (Deschamps and Doise, 1978; Doise, Deschampes, and Meyer, 1978; Robinson and Kray, 2001; but see Van Knippenberg, 1978). Second, as Robinson and Kray (2001: 140) explained, "Studies of animal dominance, human gaze patterns, and the use of stereotypes all indicate that high power individuals are attended to more carefully…in large part because it benefits individuals more to possess accurate knowledge about the intentions and actions of individuals with power." Low-power people, on the other hand, receive less attention and are consequently more likely to be stereotyped (Robinson and Kray, 2001). This latter phenomenon has been termed the "outgroup homogeneity effect," which is when stereotypes are applied more readily to outgroup members than ingroup members because they are assumed to be more homogenous (Leyens et al., 1994: 104). In addition, Kinder (1998) explained that it is possible to predict one's vote based only on the knowledge of the social groups with which they identify, including social class.

3.3.6 Social Identity Threat

The notion of threat "has become a core explanatory concept within the social identity framework" (Scheepers and Ellemers, 2005: 192). In the intergroup context, a group is deemed objectionable when it is viewed as threatening—and the threat need not be tangible. Indeed, Kinder (1998: 791) explained "groups may be found objectionable because they are thought to promote repugnant ideas or display immoral lifestyles, quite apart from their capacity to deliver tangible harms." The dynamics involved in social status hierarchies in particular have been considered social identity threats, especially for high-status individuals when the status hierarchy is unstable (Scheepers and Ellemers, 2005; Tajfel, 1978; Turner and Brown, 1978). Tajfel (1978) wrote that this is because "cognitive alternatives" to the status quo are available and any possible shift in the status hierarchy is a threat to those in positions of power. This has implications for the strength of high-status members' ingroup biases. That is, high-status individuals routinely display greater ingroup bias than low-status individuals, while any perceived instability in the hierarchy functions to heighten this ingroup bias (Turner and Brown, 1978). Such ingroup bias on the part of high-status individuals reflects the underlying motivation of maintaining a positive social identity, which functions to justify their more privileged position in society. Threats, on the other hand, jeopardize their privileged position. This creates a need to neutralize the perceived threat, whether the threat comes from an outgroup or from within the ingroup.

Within social identity theory and throughout the broader discipline of sociology, threats posed by outgroups have been the source of much theoretical and empirical research and appear quite strongly and consistently associated with defensive responses such as hostility, discrimination, and prejudice. However, social identity theory also pays considerable attention to threats emerging from within the ingroup. Indeed, Leyens and colleagues (1994: 123) claimed, "The danger from the ingroup does not arise from those who are clearly outgroupers but from those who may threaten it from within" (see also Marques, Abrams, and Serôdino, 2001). Such a great danger has given way to a tendency on the part of ingroup members to judge with extreme caution whether another person belongs to their social group, a phenomenon referred to as "ingroup overexclusion" (Leyens et al., 1994: 121; see also Coull et al., 2001). Incorrectly classifying an individual as an ingroup member can lead to negative consequences if either the classification was wrong and the individual is truly an outgroup member, or if the classification

was correct but the individual does not behave according to the ingroup norms. Either of these situations can produce a state of social identity threat because a group-based (or stereotypical) expectation has been violated. Recall that people dislike inconsistent information and prefer consistent and predictable information. "Expectancies function to help people predict the future on the basis of past experiences and knowledge…. Hence, expectancy violations disrupt one's predictive ability and can create uncertainty" (Mendes et al., 2007: 698). Accordingly, expectancy-violating ingroup members can be as threatening as outgroup members for the same reason: uncertainty creates a sense of threat (Mendes et al., 2007).

3.3.7 Black-Sheep Effect

Throughout time, the situation in which an ingroup member openly deviates from group norms thereby causing a social identity threat amongst fellow ingroupers has been termed the "black-sheep effect" (Marques, Yzerbyt, and Leyens, 1988). Just as the most favorable judgments are typically reserved for prototypical ingroup members, the black-sheep effect holds that most negative judgments are used in response to disloyal and threatening ingroup members (while neutral judgments are made for outgroup members) (Marques and Yzerbyt, 1988; Marques et al., 1988; Branscombe et al., 1933). Serving as a form of social identity maintenance, the black-sheep effect is a "sophisticated form of in-group favoritism, aimed at protecting the positive distinctiveness of the in-group as a whole when it has been threatened" (Branscombe et al., 1993: 381–382; see also Leyens et al., 1994). Devaluation and exclusion from the ingroup are the common forms the black-sheep effect takes, with exclusion being the more dramatic expression of condemnation (Eidelman, Silvia, and Biernat, 2006).

Empirical support for the black-sheep effect has been strong and consistent, but largely limited to laboratory and other artificial settings (Hutchinson and Abrams, 2003; Marques and Yzerbyt, 1988; Marques et al., 1988; van Prooijen, 2006). This research shows that ingroup members may be judged more extremely than similar outgroup members in both inter- and intragroup contexts (Marques and Yzerbyt, 1988; Marques et al., 1988). In sum, ingroup members' variation from prescriptive group norms potentially undermines the perceived legitimacy of the positive value assigned to the ingroup, and conforming ingroup members are motivated to restore ingroup consensus regarding their positive social identity (Marques, Abrams, and Serôdino, 2001). This appears to be particularly true in two situations: when

ingroup consensus for the norm is questionable (Leyens et al., 1994) and to the extent there is an increased degree of social identity overlap among group members (Santuzzi and Ruscher, 2006).

3.4 Social Identity and Responding to White-Collar Crime

The concepts identified and described above have several implications for societal responses to white-collar and street crime, some of which have been empirically supported. In social psychological terms, white-collar crimes—variously referred to as "crimes of the middle class" (Weisburd, Wheeler, Waring, and Bode, 1991), "crimes of privilege" (Shover and Wright, 2001), and "elite deviance" (Simon, 2002)—are the crimes of majority-group members. As such, normally ingroup members commit them; that is, ingroup members who may be viewed as "trusted criminals" (Friedrichs, 2007). These different labels, however, illustrate the heterogeneity of offenders within the category of white-collar crimes. To this effect, Weisburd and colleagues (1991: 48–59) introduced a hierarchy of federal white-collar offending based upon social status in which antitrust and securities offenses are most commonly perpetrated by society's elites, followed by bribery and tax fraud, and then false claims, mail fraud, and credit fraud. The lower down the white-collar crime hierarchy a white-collar offense is, moreover, the fewer demographic and social differences its perpetrator will bear in relation to the average street offender. Street crimes, on the other hand, more frequently are committed by minority-group or outgroup members, at least according to official statistics. This section discusses factors working to the relative advantage of white-collar offenders in the process of person perception, as well as additional factors that may diminish or eliminate any advantage and generate a more punitive response.

3.4.1 Lenient Response

Applying the social identity framework, white-collar crimes are negative actions performed by fellow ingroup members. As a consequence, its perpetrators typically should be the recipients of ingroup favoritism in the form of a lenient response. In contrast, street crime perpetrators are largely outgroup members who are the frequent recipients of outgroup hostility in the form of a punitive response. Several factors drive this disparity. To begin, the importance of group membership has been demonstrated. The target of any judgment or action accordingly is viewed

as a member of a social group or multiple social groups. Once the target's group membership has been established in the perceiver's mind, stereotyping occurs such that the target's attitude and behavior is assumed to be the same as his or her fellow group members. In this process, the target will be categorized into either the ingroup or the outgroup. Owing to the need to maintain a positive social identity, ingroup favoritism is the natural result for assignments to the ingroup, while assignment to the outgroup produces relative outgroup hostility. Thus, the simple act of perceiving a white-collar offender to be socially similar while perceiving a street offender to be dissimilar is sufficient to produce the disparity in punitiveness toward these different offender groups.

Such categorization carries with it complementary methods for reconciling the ingroup member with his or her white-collar offense. First, situational causes frequently will be assumed to cause negative actions performed by ingroup members (Crandall and Beasley, 2001; Giordano, 1983). This is a derivative of the need for consistency when confronted with new information. With fellow ingroup members, we share norms, values, and understandings regarding proper forms of behavior. Rather than implying a normative disconnect between the white-collar ingroup offender and the rest of the ingroup—an uncomfortable consideration in the race to achieve a positive social identity and make sense of events—the perpetration of a white-collar crime can be viewed as the result of forces beyond the control of the ingroup offender. Not only does such a situational attribution exonerate the offender of blame and responsibility for the crime, but also it suggests an unlikelihood of reoccurrence. In other words, it results in a belief that negative treatment, such as punishment, is not justified (Crandall and Beasley, 2001).

Categorization of the white-collar offender into the ingroup also provides the offender with a sort of "status shield" (Wiggins, Dill, and Schwartz, 1965:206; see also Giordano, 1983; Rosoff, 1989). As Becker (1967:240) explained, "In the case of deviance, the hierarchical relationship is a moral one." Thus, the higher social status a judgmental target is assumed to possess, the greater the expectation of moral behavior (Hollander, 1958), and the less likely is a negative response (Westphal and Khanna, 2003). Other derivatives of ingroup status assignment include attributions of competency, an orientation toward helping others, and a dedication to high personal standards (Schwartz and Skolnick, 1962–1963). Each of these expectations, in turn, makes it less plausible that the offender was motivated by dispositional factors (Giordano, 1983). Thinking of these status attributes as valued commodities, an additional consideration when

judging ingroup members—particularly those higher up the status hierarchy—is their potential loss as the result of negative judgments leading to sanctioning, a phenomenon called "status degradation" (Schwartz and Skolnick, 1962–1963). Status degradation, by definition, is a potential consequence only for those possessing high status, and it is irredeemable once lost (see also Feeley, 1992; Swigert and Farrell, 1977; Wheeler, Mann, and Sarat, 1988). Therefore, it is a mitigating consideration that is not usually relevant for street offenders, especially those of low social status like racial and ethnic minorities.

On a more fundamental level, perceived similarity leads to likeability and attraction. In fact, attraction and similarity have been identified as influential factors in simulated juror manipulations that led to lower rates of conviction and sanctioning (Kerr, Hymes, Anderson, and Weathers, 1995; Mitchell and Byrne, 1973; Shaffer, Plummer, and Hammock, 1986; Lussier, Perlman, and Breen, 2006).[1] This pattern has been defined as the "similarity-leniency hypothesis" (Kerr et al., 1995:546; see also Vidmar and Miller, 1980). Further, such positive emotions may foster empathy on the part of perceivers. Interviews with federal white-collar crime sentencing judges supported this notion:

> With regard to all of the considerations of consequences [of sentencing on offenders], especially those associated with arguments that the process of punishment is enough, there is one shadowy consideration that troubles many judges. That is the possibility that they will treat white-collar offenders differently because they can empathize with their plight. Being able to identify with them, they may be prone to leniency (Wheeler et al., 1988:160).

In effect, white-collar crime judges are aware of their "special sensitivity" toward these offenders, but the extent to which their identification produces relative leniency was unknown to them and has yet to be determined. Along similar lines, in an attempt to explain differential punitiveness across races toward corporate crime, Unnever, Benson, and Cullen (2008) speculated that, "It may be that individuals construct their opinions about which offenders are most deserving of punishment based on the degree to which the offender is similar to them."

"Idiosyncrasy credit" is a useful concept in understanding the role of status in public perceptions of offenders: "This represents an accumulation of positively-disposed impressions

[1] Mock jury research controlling for judicial instructions (Weiten, 2006) and strength of prosecutorial evidence (Taylor and Hosch, 2004), however, failed to document support for the anticipated similarity-leniency effect.

residing in the perceptions of relevant others; it is defined operationally in terms of the degree to which an individual may deviate from the common expectancies of the group" (Hollander, 1958:120). The higher a person's status, the more "credit" they have at their disposal to deviate. However, Hollander also warns that such preferential treatment "ceases when the individual's credit balance reaches zero" (ibid). The following section enumerates the ways in which white-collar offenders can exhaust their credit, so to speak, and, consequently, become divested of their status shield.

3.4.2 Punitive Response

Continuing with Hollander's argument, offenses committed by ingroup members—actions he refers to as "idiosyncratic behavior"—can be conceived of as "'debits' of varying magnitudes [that] may be charged against the credit balance, depending upon the gravity and frequency of the idiosyncrasy manifested, and the credit level which the individual holds" (1958:121). From this perspective, there are a variety of behaviors that can result in the labeling of an ingroup member as a black sheep. Social identity theory attributes this reversal to the need to maintain a positive social identity, which idiosyncratic behaviors on the part of ingroup members jeopardize, fostering a sense of social identity threat. This subsection elaborates upon some factors associated with social identity threat and a consequent punitive response.

Owing largely to their relatively greater social status, people have higher expectations for ingroup and white-collar offenders than they typically do for street offenders and outgroup members. "Where there is reason to believe a 'good' person may have performed a 'bad' behavior, we are psychologically uncomfortable," Wahrman (1970:485–486) explained. "If, in attempting to reduce the discomfort, we discover it is not possible to re-evaluate the behavior or the link between the actor and the behavior, we re-assess the actor." Thus, when forced to expend extra cognitive resources managing new inconsistent information, the perceiver responds with not only disapproval, but also disappointment over the expectancy violation; as a result, the response is more negative than it would have been had the perpetrator been an outgroup member (Vidmar and Miller, 1980; Wahrman, 1970).

Giordano (1983) elaborated that the greater the contrast between the perceiver's expectations and the actor's behavior, the greater the punitive response. The gulf between expected and perceived behavior is especially wide when the ingroup member commits a very

serious offense. Indeed, Wiggins and colleagues (1965) empirically uncovered a situation wherein social status was a liability: High-status deviants were punished more severely than middle-status deviants only when their deviance was major (see also Rosoff, 1989). Not only might annoyance due to betrayed trust produce punitiveness toward a deviant ingroup member, but also the need to protect one's personal identity motivates fellow ingroup members to respond with severity in some occasions: "If one risks being tarred with the same brush, one may be particularly concerned that rule violations by members of one's own group do not happen" (Vidmar and Miller, 1980:589). Social categorization, after all, accentuates similarities within groups such that outgroup members are apt to perceive ingroup members as more homogenous than they really are. Thus, outgroup stereotypes of ingroup members can be negatively influenced by the visible transgressions of ingroup members, thus delegitimizing or undermining the status of the group as a whole and the individuals comprising it.

Another disturbing expectancy-violating situation resulting in punitiveness centers upon the group membership of the ingroup member's victim. Not only may the ingroup victim of a transgression view the offense as a challenge to established group norms and values (most notably, the norm of ingroup favoritism), but also those who identify with the victim may feel threatened by an ingroup member's victimization of another ingroup member (Vidmar and Miller, 1980). Specifically, defensive attribution theory holds that, "When individuals believe that they could be in a threatening situation comparable to that of an observed victim, the observers tend to identify strongly with the victims perceived to be similar to them" (Elkins, Phillips, and Konopaske, 2002: 280). Likewise, when a perceiver identifies with the victim, he or she is also motivated to avoid blaming the victim for any responsibility in the interaction, instead placing full blame on the offender (Elkins et al., 2002).

3.4.3 Predicted Causal Model

The white-collar crime literature indicates that, unlike common criminals like robbers, burglars, and thieves, white-collar offenders belong to the middle and upper social classes. In sociological terms, this observation implies that white-collar offenders are (at presumed to be) more likely to be majority- or ingroup members of society. In other words, white-collar offenders are more likely than nonwhite-collar offenders to look, speak, and act like most other members of society. Meanwhile, the social identification literatures suggests that social identification with deviants

will lead to more tolerant, less punitive attitudes in response to their rule breaking—but only when ingroup members' transgressions are believed to be relatively benign. In the alternative situation in which a white-collar crime is perceived as threatening, however, social identification should lead to more punitive attitudes. In effect, the following causal process is seems likely:

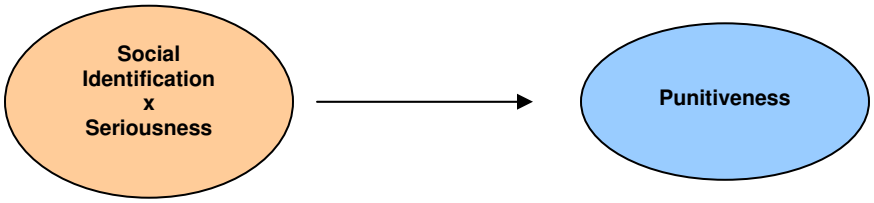

Figure 3.1: Predicted causal model based on the existing literature.

The remainder of this study is devoted to testing this model, and the following chapter identifies and explains the research areas and associated hypotheses.

CHAPTER 4

PRESENT STUDY

When discussing disparate responses to white-collar and street crime in the U.S. criminal justice system, critical criminology theories usually cite the greater political and economic resources of high-status and white-collar offenders. As Giordano (1983:330) explained, however, this has "had the effect of overpredicting the likelihood of preferential treatment of the [high-status deviant]." This point becomes even more relevant when we move from sanctioning (a behavior) to perceptions (or opinions). With regard to the latter, many factors strongly influential in the actual punishment of offenders become irrelevant, such as the ability to hire private counsel and means to post bail, political connections and clout, and potential retaliation (Wahrman, 1970). The person perception process both precedes the application of punishment and is free from such considerations as these. Social identity theory clearly provides a solid theoretical framework for applying the attributional process to public opinion on white-collar versus street crimes.

To test the suitability of social identity theory in explaining any disjuncture in public opinion on white-collar and street crimes, the present study uses data from a random telephone survey of Florida citizens conducted in 2008. Survey participants were asked whether they supported incarceration for a variety of white-collar and street crimes. In addition, participants were also asked whether they favored disenfranchisement as an additional consequence of a criminal conviction. While support for prison and jail sentences is the most common measure of punitiveness that has been employed in past studies of public opinion on white-collar crime, the public's disenfranchisement support has only rarely been assessed (Ewald, 2002; Keyssar, 2000; Kousser, 1974; Manza and Uggen, 2006), even though disenfranchised felons are the largest group of Americans whose right to vote has been revoked (Manza, Brooks, and Uggen, 2006). As a consequence of criminal conviction, disenfranchisement—also referred to as "civil death"—is purely punitive; there is no pretense of rehabilitative intent and it is arguable antithetical to community reintegration (Manza and Uggen, 2006). Its application appears arbitrary in that it is often being applied for relatively minor offenses (e.g., at least six states

disenfranchise misdemeanants; Manza and Uggen, 2006), and varying from location to location (Hull, 2006). Importantly, historical reviews and empirical investigations have consistently documented a racial motive and bias behind U.S. disenfranchisement legislation (Behrens, Uggen, and Manza, 2003; Harvey, 1994; Preuhs, 2001; Shapiro, 1993). Beyond the fact that higher rates of minorities than whites have always been incarcerated is the reality that disenfranchisement applies to 13% of black adult males compared with 2% of the entire population of voters (Fellner and Mauer, 1998:2). By reconfiguring the racial composition of U.S. voters, disenfranchisement is an important sanction to study because it influences election outcomes and, ultimately, public policy (Pruehs, 2001).

4.1 Research Area One and Hypotheses

The first research area centers upon documenting any disparity in public punitiveness toward white-collar relative to street crimes. Based upon both the empirical white-collar-crime public opinion literature and social identity theory, this research area is addressed by testing two hypotheses:

- There will be less public support for *incarcerating* white-collar offenders than for incarcerating street offenders (H1a).
- There will be less public support for *disenfranchising* white-collar offenders than for disenfranchising street offenders (H1b).

One advantage of the present study is its appreciation for both sides of the white-collar crime definitional debate, whereas most studies follow one definition, and therefore the present study speaks to both audiences. Edwin Sutherland's (1949) original definition of white-collar crime as a crime committed by a respectable businessman has since been challenged on the grounds of being *offender* rather than *offense* based (e.g., Shapiro, 1990). Whereas Sutherland's conceptualization involved wealthy members of the political and economic elites misusing their positions of power with impunity, offense-based white-collar criminologists—stressing a common reliance on deception and violated trust—advocate broader definitions that open the crime category up to members of lower social statuses. Using the newer and broader offense-based approach, white-collar crime is "an illegal act or series of acts committed by nonphysical means and by concealment or guile to obtain money or property, to avoid payment of money or

property, or to obtain business or personal advantage" (Edelhertz, 1970: 3). The newer and broader definition, however, has also been criticized. Most notable in this regard is Joachim Savelsberg's (1994:34) argument:

> Claims against white-collar crime aim at powerful offenders victimizing simple people, while actors in the political process are likely to use the politically attractive "white-collar" label to criminalize occupational crimes of the low-level employees while letting the powerful go unchallenged.

Both sides of the debate have merit, and so white-collar crime is operationalized two different ways throughout the present study when comparisons are made with punitiveness toward street criminals and hypothesis testing is being done. One form involves government bribery and corporate financial manipulation and fraud, while the other includes false advertising by a local merchant and car sales fraud.

4.2 Research Area Two and Hypotheses

The second research area moves beyond describing the data to explaining them. Specifically, perceived similarity is hypothesized to account for the tendency for lenient responses to white-collar crime. The white-collar crime literature points to social status as the most relevant form of social identification, while the broader punitiveness literature focuses upon race. The social psychological literature testing social identity theory has most commonly been conducted in university laboratory settings and employed various indicators of identification, ranging from national citizenship, socioeconomic status, race, ethnicity, gender, occupation, religion, and attending the same college, to the major program of study, favorite sports team and vegetarianism. For two mutually reinforcing reasons, social status was selected as the first form of identification in the present study. Drawing upon the descriptive white-collar crime and theoretical social identity literatures, social status should exert an important influence on punitiveness in intergroup relations. Second, as opposed to national citizenship and college attendance, for examples, social status is more amenable to the research design employed, namely a statewide telephone survey, and should yield sufficient variability in responses for analytical purposes.

The role of race relations in the United States suggests that racial identification (or, conversely, prejudice) is an important form of identification. Beginning with Blalock (1967), when applied to the field of criminology, threat most frequently has been conceptualized as a racial power threat. The size of the black population in a given area should be positively related to punitiveness toward black offenders (Blalock, 1967; Corzine, Creech, and Corzine, 1983) and also negative black stereotypes (Dixon and Rosenbaum, 2004). Individually, because of this racial threat, blacks receive harsher punishments than whites (Bontrager, Bales, and Chiricos, 2005; Crawford, Chiricos, and Kleck, 1988; Eitle et al., 2002). With regard to public perceptions, the typification of offenders as minorities has been positively associated with support for punitive measures (Chiricos, Welch, and Gertz, 2004).[2]

The empirical social identity theory research suggests that both forms of identification are predictors of ingroup favoritism unless perceivers believe the offense poses a threat to them. Drawing upon the literature reviewed in Chapter 3 on social identity threat, respondents' perceived seriousness of each of the three crime types (i.e., elite white-collar crime, consumer fraud white-collar crime, and nonviolent economic street crimes) serves as the indicator of threat. Specifically, both Rosoff (1989) and Wiggins et al. (1965) demonstrated that the seriousness of the crime dictates whether social status will serve the offender as a shield or a liability. A second form of threat emerged from the empirical observation within the racial threat literature that punitiveness is greater where blacks offend against whites than when blacks offend against blacks supports such a notion (Eitle, D'Alessio, and Stolzenberg, 2002), but has also been characterized as a form of benign neglect (Liska and Chamlin, 1984; see also Parker, Stults, and Rice, 2005). Accordingly, both forms of threat are assessed for both forms of identification with offenders:

- The effect of *social* identification with white-collar offenders on support for *incarceration* is (i) negative when *perceived seriousness of the offense* is low, and (ii) positive when perceived offense seriousness is high. However, at any level of social identification with white-collar offenders, the perceived seriousness of the offense has a positive effect on support for incarceration (H2a).

[2] The racial threat literature also has assessed economic threat, but this variable has received less consistent empirical support (Eitle et al., 2002; Hogan, Chiricos, and Gertz, 2005; Stolzenberg, D'Alessio, and Eitle, 2004).

- The effect of social identification with white-collar offenders on support for *disenfranchisement* is (i) negative when perceived seriousness of the offense is low, and (ii) positive when perceived offense seriousness is high. However, at any level of social identification with white-collar offenders, the perceived seriousness of the offense has a positive effect on support for disenfranchisement (H2b).
- The effect of *social* identification with white-collar offenders on support for *incarceration* is (i) negative when *social identification with victims* is low, and (ii) positive when social identification with victims is high. However, at any level of social identification with white-collar offenders, social identification with victims has a positive effect on support for incarceration (H3a).
- The effect of social identification with white-collar offenders on support for *disenfranchisement* is (i) negative when social identification with victims is low, and (ii) positive when social identification with victims is high. However, at any level of social identification with white-collar offenders, social identification with victims has a positive effect on support for disenfranchisement (H3b).

Switching from social status to racial identification, the remaining hypotheses are:

- The effect of *racial* identification with white-collar offenders on support for *incarceration* is (i) negative when *perceived seriousness of the offense* is low, and (ii) positive when perceived offense seriousness is high. However, at any level of racial identification with white-collar offenders, the perceived seriousness of the offense has a positive effect on support for incarceration (H4a).
- The effect of racial identification with white-collar offenders on support for *disenfranchisement* is (i) negative when perceived seriousness of the offense is low, and (ii) positive when perceived offense seriousness is high. However, at any level of racial identification with white-collar offenders, the perceived seriousness of the offense has a positive effect on support for disenfranchisement (H4b).
- The effect of racial identification with white-collar offenders on support for *incarceration* is (i) negative when *social identification with victims* is low, and (ii) positive when social identification with victims is high. However, at any level of racial identification with white-collar offenders, social identification with victims has a positive effect on support for incarceration (H5a).

- The effect of racial identification with white-collar offenders on support for *disenfranchisement* is (i) negative when social identification with victims is low, and (ii) positive when social identification with victims. However, at any level of racial identification with white-collar offenders, social identification with victims has a positive effect on support for disenfranchisement (H5b).

Always using both categories of white-collar crime—elite and more common consumer frauds—the present study is intended to develop and test a theory of majority-group relations.

CHAPTER 5

DATA AND METHODS

The data for this study were part of a larger survey for The Florida State University's Consumer Fraud Institute. The survey was designed to gauge Floridians' opinions on a variety of nonviolent economically-motivated crimes, most notably, how the Florida public would like for consumer fraud offenders to be punished. A supplemental purpose of the survey was to determine the level of support for disenfranchising these offenders, given that Florida's felon disenfranchisement laws had been relaxed recently such that ex-offenders' voting rights are now automatically restored once they complete their court-imposed sentence. Given the multiple research agendas involved in the survey—combined with the goal of not exceeding a 10-minute survey—there were limitations on the number of questions that could be asked to test social identity theory.[3] Nevertheless, adequate space was available to test the major concepts. This chapter discusses the data collected, presents the variables employed in the analysis, and describes the statistical methods that were employed to test the hypotheses, including preliminary diagnostics (e.g., missing cases, multicollinearity).

5.1 Sample and Survey Procedures

The telephone survey was conducted over a 1-month time period, beginning May 21 and ending June 18, 2008. Trained interviewing staff at The Research Network, Inc. conducted 400 household interviews. Respondents were limited to one adult resident over the age of 18 within each selected household. A list-assisted sampling method was used to develop the random-digit dial sample (Tourangeau, 2004:778–779). Within each household, a random respondent was selected by interviewing the person over 18 with the "most recent birthday" (Kish, 1965). The

[3] Similarly, not all survey items were available for purposes of the present study. That is, many of the variables in the survey instrument were designed for research agendas beyond the present study and were thus precluded from the present analyses.

overall response rate was 48.5%.[4] This is well above average according to a recent meta-analysis of random digit dialing surveys, which computed a modal response rate of 25% based on 80 published studies (McCarty, House, Harman, and Richards, 2006). Cases of unknown eligibility, such as answering machines, busy signals, no answer, and known ineligibility, such as disconnected numbers, businesses, and fax numbers, were excluded from this calculation, as recommended by the American Association for Public Opinion Research (2004). Additionally, a five-callback rule before substitution was implemented for records of unknown eligibility.[5] The final sample resembled Florida 2008 Census statistics for female (Florida = 51%, sample = 55%), non-Hispanic white (Florida = 80%, sample = 78%), and employment (Florida unemployed = 4.0%, sample = 4.3%), but was older (Florida, 65+ = 17%, sample, 65+ = 32%) and more educated (Florida college graduates *older than 24* = 22%, sample = 40%; U.S. Census Bureau, 2009). Similar demographic differences were reported in another recent Florida public opinion study by Mears, Hay, Gertz, and Mancini (2007), who explained, "Such differences are typical in telephone-based survey research (Lavrakas, 1987) and are not sufficient to create substantial concerns about the representativeness of the sample" (p. 235, footnote 6).[6]

Several measures were taken to increase both the response and completion rate in this study. Specifically, those who initially refused were contacted again 3 days later and asked to complete the survey. Household respondents who continued to refuse were later contacted by a supervisor and encouraged to participate. Of those beginning the survey, 96.8% completed the interview. Only 3.2% of those beginning the survey finished less than 100% of the questions, resulting in 13 partial completes. This completion rate is substantially higher than the 60% average for national telephone interviews (Weisberg, Krosnick, and Bowen, 1989). Trained supervisors monitored the interviews from on-site and off-site locations. In order to minimize interviewer error, 10% of the completed interviews were reviewed for accuracy by supervisors who compared selected responses to digitally recorded excerpts of interviews or during live

[4] The American Association for Public Opinion Research response rate calculation RR6 was used to determine the response rate.

[5] Of increasing concern to survey researchers is the use of call-screening devices (Tuckell and O'Neill, 2002). The Data-Tel predictive dialer used in this research anticipates call-screening devices used to indicate that a household is ineligible, commercially known as a "Tele-Zapper." Additionally, this software passes calls deemed as screened through the use of privacy blockers and screening services to an operator to determine the appropriate disposition code or action. This operator then continues the call normally.

[6] Holtfreter, Reisig, and Blomberg (2006: 772–773) also reported these minor demographic disparities and concluded that they did not jeopardize the representativeness of their 2004–2005 Florida sample.

monitoring. An additional 5% were called back to verify selected answers with the respondent. Interviewers were monitored on a daily basis and were provided feedback to ensure consistent administration across interviews.

5.2 Data and Variables

The survey instrument can be found in Appendix A (page 111), and The Florida State University Human Subjects Committee approval form is located in Appendix B (page 117). Six offenses are included in the survey to test the hypotheses, which, in order of appearance in the survey instrument, include: (1) motor vehicle theft (survey item 3a), (2) corporate fraud (3b), (3) government bribery (3d), (4) false advertising (3e), (5) burglary (3f),[7] and (6) car sales fraud (3h). The wording of the offense scenarios is consistent with Florida Statutes for each of these crimes, while the selection of crimes was designed to neutralize as many crime-related aspects as possible in order to focus upon offender-related factors associated with punitiveness. In particular, each crime is profit motivated and none involve violence, which the white-collar crime literature review identified as a highly significant correlate of perceived seriousness and punitiveness. Therefore, the influence of fatalities, sexual abuse, and minor victims also were neutralized because none of the included crimes involved these aggravating conditions.

Due to survey administration considerations (e.g., time and repetition), following the initial set of questions regarding sentencing preferences, these crimes were grouped into three categories: (1) elite, or upper-level, white-collar crimes, (2) more common white-collar crimes in the form of consumer fraud, and (3) nonviolent, economically motivated street crimes. This categorization scheme roughly corresponds to that used by Rossi and Berk (1997), although fewer street crime categories were included. In addition, the use of two categories of white-collar crime acknowledges the heterogeneity within this broad crime category, and distinguishes between two types of ingroup offender based upon their social status (Weisburd et al., 1991).

[7] The burglary item did not specify that the offense was nonviolent, but it did specify that the offense occurred in a nonresidential building. As such, it is assumed that respondents were not envisioning the more threatening form of burglary—home invasion—when reporting appropriate punishments for this offense.

5.2.1 Dependent Variables

Table 5.1 (pages 60–62) provides the name, definition and coding, mean, standard deviation, and number of valid cases for all variables used in the analyses. Two sets of dichotomous dependent variables are used to measure punitiveness. The first is support for incarceration, which represents whether the respondent recommends incarceration (1) or not (0) for each of the six crime types and each of the three crime categories. The second, disenfranchisement support, captures whether respondents feel that convicted offenders should lose their right to vote (1) or not (0) for each of the three crime categories. In other words, each hypothesis is tested with the specific crime (e.g., motor vehicle theft, corporate fraud) and crime type (e.g., street crime, elite white-collar crime) for the incarceration measure of punitiveness, and with the crime type only for the disenfranchisement measure of punitiveness.

5.2.2 Independent Variables

Two sets of explanatory variables are employed in the present study, representing two forms of identification and two types of social identity threats as identified in the preceding discussion of social identity theory: social identification and racial identification, and seriousness of norm violation and victim social identification threat.

Social identification. For each crime type, participants were asked how many out of ten offenders "Once had the same opportunities in life as you, in terms of income, education and/or employment" (survey items 6a, 6b, and 6c). The rationale for the design of these questions draws upon the MacArthur Scale of Subjective Social Status, the one available survey study of social identification and punitiveness, and the research previously reviewed on stereotypes and racial typification of crime. Specifically, the MacArthur scale used for in-person interviews asks study subjects to place themselves on a ladder representing where people stand in the United States in terms of relative social status (Adler and Stewart, 2007). The following instructions were provided:

> At the top of the ladder are the people who are the best off—those who have the most money, the most education and the most respected jobs. At the bottom are the people who are the worst off—who have the least money, least education, and the least respected jobs or no job. The higher up you are on this ladder, the closer

> you are to the people at the very top; the lower you are, the closer you are to the people at the very bottom.

Because no such imagery can be captured over the phone, this idea was transformed into the closest question form possible that has been employed in prior research. This was accomplished by drawing upon Chiricos and colleagues' (2004) measure of racial typification, for which they asked study participants to identify what percent of offenders are black. Following Converse and Presser (1986:16), however, this question format was simplified by converting the 0–100% response option range to a 1–10 range. To determine which responses indicate social identification, Leyens et al.'s (1994) review of measures of stereotypes also was consulted. They explain, "Any percentage above 70 or below 30 represents an unreasonable generalization.… When averaged at the group level, the percentage tells us which attributes are stereotypical for a particular sample" (Leyens et al., 199:24). Accordingly, responses of 7, 8, 9, and 10 were coded as social identification (1) and lower responses were not (0). The respondents reported a high level of identification with the three types of offenders, with fewer respondents reporting that they socially identify with the perpetrators of street crimes (46%) than elite (61%) and consumer fraud (60%) white-collar crimes.

Racial identification. Although Chiricos and colleagues (2004) asked study participants to identify what percent of offenders are black in order to produce an estimate of racial typification that was expected to be positively associated with punitiveness, the present study asks subjects for their opinion regarding how many offenders are *white*, thus yielding a measure of racial identification. Given the wording of the question and lack of space for an additional question asking for what percent of offenders were alternative races, Nonwhite subjects were omitted from this particular analysis. Specifically, survey items 6a, 7a, and 8a ask respondents how many offenders out of 10 "Are non-Hispanic white." As with the social identification measure, responses of 7 and above by white subjects were coded as racial identification (1), while responses of 6 and below were coded as no racial identification (0). The non-Hispanic white respondents reported less racial identification with offenders than social identification, and the racial identification decreased considerably as we moved from elite white-collar crimes (56% of respondents identifying) to consumer fraud white-collar crimes (40%) and then to street crimes (14%).

Seriousness of offenses. Survey items 5a, 5b, and 5c assess Floridians' perceptions of the seriousness—or threat—of the three crime categories. Those reporting that a given crime type is "extremely serious" are coded as threatened (1), while all other responses were treated as nonthreatening perceptions (0). This variable also serves as a control variable in models in which it is not hypothesized to interact with offender identification (i.e., in models testing the interaction of offender identification with victim identification), because of this variable's established history as a control variable when modeling public sanctioning preferences and actual sentencing outcomes. (The literature reviewed suggests that perceived seriousness should have a strong and positive impact on punitiveness.) Most respondents (74%) did find the seriousness of elite white-collar crimes to be threatening, but fewer respondents felt this way about consumer frauds (53%) and nonviolent economic street crimes (48%).

Social identification with victims. Using terminology consistent with items measuring social identification with offenders, survey items 6c, 7c, and 8c were designed to gauge the influence of social identification with the victims of these types of crime on punitiveness. As usual, responses of seven or higher were treated as indicating social identification with victims (1), while responses ranging from zero to six indicate a lack of social identification with victims (0). Of the independent variables, the least identification was reported when discussing the victims. Specifically, 46% respondents identified with victims of lower-level white-collar frauds, while 44% identified with victims of corporate and government white-collar crimes, and 40% identified with victims of nonviolent economic street crimes.

5.2.3 Control Variables

The control variables used in the present study correspond to the respondent demographic control variables traditionally employed in the public opinion on white-collar crime literature.[8] These include: younger (yes = 40 years or younger = 1, no = 0), middle aged (reference), and older (yes = older than 60 years = 1, no = 0); male (yes = 1, female = 0); white (yes = 1, other = 0); no advanced education (yes = no education beyond a high school degree = 1, no = 0), some college (reference category), and advanced degree (yes = graduate or professional degree = 1, no

[8] Whether or not a person has been the victim of crime also has been included in white-collar crime surveys, but the last Florida white-collar crime survey reported a victimization rate of less than 2% (Holtfreter, Reisig, and Blomberg, 2006). Therefore, the variable was not included in the present survey because it was assumed that a similarly low victimization rate would be reported, which would provide insufficient variation for analytical purposes.

= 0); employed (employed full time = 1, other = 0); and conservative (conservative = 1, other = 0), moderate (reference category), and liberal (liberal = 1, other = 0). Due to the high number of missing data (i.e., 136 cases), income was not included in the models. This variable will be discussed further in the following section, 5.3 Statistical Procedures and Preliminary Diagnostics. Additionally, to determine the importance of the offender-based explanatory variables relative to the seriousness of the crimes, perceived gravity of the norm violation is included in the additive models. Again, survey items 5a, 5b, and 5c measured perceptions of seriousness, and those reporting that a given crime type is "extremely serious" are coded as threatened (1), while all other responses were treated as nonthreatening perceptions (0).

The influence of many of these demographic variables on punitiveness toward white-collar crime has been slight and inconsistent. Unnever et al. (2008) found age to be negatively associated with punitiveness toward corporate financial fraud, but age was negative and significant in predicting the white-collar crimes of corporations in an earlier study (Rossi et al., 1985), and age was also unrelated to punitiveness toward occupational safety violations (Payne et al., 2004) and nondescript fraud (Holtfreter et al., 2008; Schoepfer et al., 2007). Similarly, males were more punitive toward corporate financial fraud in Unnever et al.'s (2008) study, yet females were more punitive toward corporate crimes in earlier research (Miller et al., 1986; 1991; Rossi et al., 1985), and gender was not significant in other recent studies (Holtfreter et al., 2008; Payne et al., 2004; Schoepfer et al., 2007).

Race and education, on the other hand, appear to have more consistent relationships: Whites are less punitive toward corporate crimes than are blacks (Miller et al., 1986; 1991; Rossi et al., 1985; Unnever et al., 2008), though this pattern does not extend to fraud (Holtfreter et al., 2008; Schoepfer et al., 2007) or employee safety violations (Payne et al., 2004). Similarly, education is negatively related to support for punitive measures against Medicaid fraud, employee safety, and fraud (Blumstein and Cohen, 1980); corporate crimes (Rossi et al., 1985); occupational safety violations (Payne et al., 2004), and nondescript fraud (Schoepfer et al., 2007).

One study found conservatives to be less punitive toward fraudsters than were liberals (Schoepfer et al., 2007), while others found political ideology to be irrelevant (Holtfreter et al., 2008; Payne et al., 2004; Unnever et al., 2008). Employment status was identified as a significant predictor of punitiveness toward corporate financial fraud (Unnever et al., 2008), but not fraud in general (Holtfreter et al., 2008; Schoepfer et al., 2007). Finally, household income

results have been mixed: Rossi et al. (1985) found higher income to be associated with less punitiveness toward corporate crimes, while Unnever et al. (2008) reported that higher income was positively correlated with punitiveness, and neither Holtfreter et al. (2008) nor Schoepfer et al. (2007) found a relationship between income and punitiveness toward fraud offenders.

5.3 Statistical Method and Preliminary Diagnostics

To address the first research area of whether there are differences in levels of punitiveness across crime types, paired *t*-tests are employed to reveal whether any observed difference in mean levels is statistically significant (Field, 2005). To address the second research area assessing the predictive utility of social identity theory, a series of logistic regression models were computed. Logistic regression is appropriate when the dependent variable is dichotomous, and provides the predicted probability of an event (Allison, 1999). In this case, the two events modeled are support for incarceration and support for disenfranchisement. Incarceration support was analyzed for the six offense types and for the three crime categories, while disenfranchisement support was analyzed for the three crime categories only.

In general, missing data were not a problem. The right-hand column of Table 5.1 provides the number of available cases for each variable. Nearly all respondents answered all dependent variable survey questions, and slightly more than 10 respondents declined to answer the social identification with offenders and victims questions. Of the 400 respondents, 312 were White and approximately 30 of these white respondents declined to answer the racial identification with offenders question. Cases with missing values were thus removed from the analyses, bringing the *N* down to mid-300s when using the whole sample and mid-200s when using the non-Hispanic white subsample. On the other hand, 136 respondents declined to answer the income question. A dummy variable was creating indicating whether respondents answered this question (1) or not (0) and a series of logistic regression equations were run to determine whether answering the income question significantly influenced social identification or punitiveness measures and it did not in any case. Therefore, the variable was dropped from the study rather than removing the cases with missing values on this variable.

Following Allison (1999), collinearity diagnostics were conducted by running ordinary least squares (OLS) regression equations and examining each variable's tolerance statistic. Whereas a

tolerance statistic of .4 or higher indicates no multicollinearity problem and a statistic between .2 and .4 indicates a possible problem, the lowest tolerance statistic generated by the OLS models was .659. Bivariate correlations for each of the three crime categories, moreover, indicated that the strongest correlations were between measures of punitiveness rather than between independent variables occurring together in the same equations. These correlations also suggested that the relationship between offense seriousness and punitiveness strengthened as the analyses shifted from elite white-collar crime to consumer fraud white-collar crime and then to street crime, where the correlation was strongest and most consistent.

Alternative variable operationalizations were also considered but ultimately were discarded. Originally, the models were run with simple dummy variables only (e.g., education = yes or no). In later models, all identification variables and age were also treated as interval-level variables. Both alternative specifications, however, had more weaknesses than strengths. First, there is a priori reason to measure social identification as a dichotomous variable, so re-operationalizing it would require justification that could not be found. Although the interval measures of the independent variables yielded slightly stronger coefficient estimates, overall model fit statistics revealed few differences between the interval and dummy models. In particular, the results for the independent variables of interest were not sensitive to these alternative specifications and instead remained largely intact. In addition, both the simple dummies and the interval constructions of age obscured differences revealed by using the three dummy variables. And there is a priori justification for expecting a curvilinear relationship between crime concepts and age and education. As a final check, the models were run in two statistical software packages—SPSS 17.0 and STATA 9.0—which yielded identical results.

Table 5.1: Variables used in the analyses.

Variable Name	Definition and Coding	Mean	S.D.	Valid Cases
Dependent Variables				
Incarcerate corporate	1 = Support for incarcerating corporate offenders, 0 = no support	.76	.429	400
Incarcerate government	1 = Support for incarcerating government offenders, 0 = no support	.71	.453	400
Incarcerate elite WCC	1 = Support for incarcerating both corporate and government offenders, 0 = no support	.59	.493	400
Disenfranchise elite WCC	1 = Support for disenfranchising both corporate and government offenders, 0 = no support	.67	.470	393
Incarcerate false advertising	1 = Support for incarcerating false advertisers, 0 = no support	.32	.466	400
Incarcerate car sales fraud	1 = Support for incarcerating car sales fraud offenders, 0 = no support	.65	.477	400
Incarcerate fraud	1 = Support for incarcerating both false advertisers and car sales fraud offenders, 0 = no support	.27	.445	400
Disenfranchise fraud	1 = Support for disenfranchising both false advertisers and car sales fraud offenders, 0 = no support	.46	.499	387
Incarcerate MVT	1 = Support for incarcerating motor vehicle theft offenders, 0 = no support	.70	.460	400
Incarcerate burglary	1 = Support for incarcerating burglars, 0 = no support	.78	.418	400
Incarcerate street crime	1 = Support for incarcerating both motor vehicle theft offenders and burglars, 0 = no support	.58	.494	400
Disenfranchise street crime	1 = Support for disenfranchising both motor vehicle theft offenders and burglars, 0 = no support	.43	.496	388
Independent Variables				
Social identify elite WCC	1 = R identifies with perpetrators of elite white-collar crime in terms of social status, 0 = no such belief	.61	.489	386
Social identify fraud	1 = R identifies with perpetrators of consumer fraud in terms of social status, 0 = no such belief	.60	.491	386

Table 5.1 – continued.

Variable Name	Definition and Coding	Mean	S.D.	Valid Cases
Social identify street crime	1 = R identifies with perpetrators of nonviolent economic street crimes in terms of social status, 0 = no such belief	.46	.499	389
Racial identify elite WCC	1 = R identifies with perpetrators of elite white-collar crimes in terms of race, 0 = no such belief (non-Hispanic white Rs only)	.56	.497	283
Racial identify fraud	1 = R identifies with perpetrators of consumer fraud in terms of race, 0 = no such belief (non-Hispanic white Rs only)	.40	.491	285
Racial identify street crime	1 = R identifies with perpetrators of nonviolent economic street crimes in terms of race, 0 = no such belief (non-Hispanic white Rs only)	.14	.351	294
Social identify elite victims	1 = R identifies with victims of elite white-collar crimes in terms of social status, 0 = no such belief	.44	.497	376
Social identify fraud victims	1 = R identifies with victims of consumer fraud In terms of social status, 0 = no such belief	.46	.499	378
Social identify street victims	1 = R identifies with victims of nonviolent economic street crimes in terms of social status, 0 = no such belief	.40	.491	380
Elite WCC seriousness	1 = Belief that elite white-collar crimes are extremely serious, 0 = no such belief	.74	.440	398
Fraud seriousness	1 = Belief that consumer frauds are extremely serious, 0 = no such belief	.53	.500	397
Street crime seriousness	1 = Belief that street crimes are extremely serious, 0 = no such belief	.48	.500	397
Control Variables				
Younger	1 = 40 years old or younger, 0 = other	.21	.405	389
Middle aged	1 = between 41 and 60 years old, 0 = other (reference category)	.41	.493	389
Older	1 = older than 60 years, 0 = other	.39	.487	389
Male	1 = male, 0 = female	.45	.498	400
White	1 = non-Hispanic white, 0 = other	.78	.415	400
No advanced education	1 = high-school graduate or less, 0 = other	.29	.452	393
Some college	1 = some college experience, 0 = other (reference category)	.32	.466	393

Table 5.1 - continued.

Variable Name	Definition and Coding	Mean	S.D.	Valid Cases
Advanced degree	1 = graduate or professional degree, 0 = other	.40	.490	393
Employed full time	1 = employed full time, 0 = other	.40	.489	400
Conservative	1 = politically conservative, 0 = other	.39	.487	382
Moderate	1 = politically moderate, 0 = other (reference category)	.41	.493	382
Liberal	1 = politically liberal, 0 = other	.20	.404	382

Notes. Overall $N = 400$ and non-Hispanic white respondent $n = 312$. R = respondent. WCC = white-collar crime. MVT = motor vehicle theft.

CHAPTER 6

RESULTS

In this chapter, results for the hypothesis tests are discussed in three sections, and the tables appear at the end. The first section presents the findings testing the first research area's hypotheses predicting more punitiveness toward street offenders than white-collar offenders. The following two sections provide the findings for research area two, with the first section containing the measure of social status identification with offenders and the second section containing the measure of racial identification with offenders. Both sections testing research area two's hypotheses contain both forms of threat: seriousness of the offense and social identification with victims.

6.1 Punitiveness toward White-Collar and Street Offenders

Figure 6.1 is an illustration of the differing levels of punitiveness among the survey respondents, which indicates that the definition of white-collar crime and measure of punitiveness employed determines whether white-collar crime will be perceived as more or less serious than street crime.

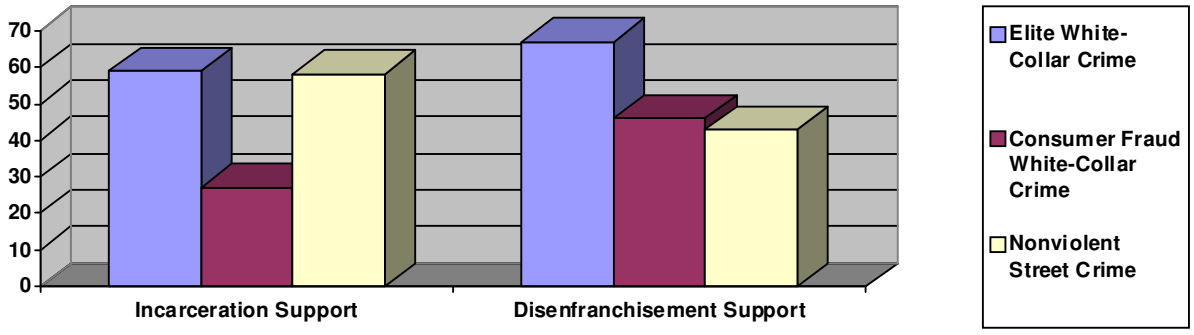

Figure 6.1: Levels of support for incarceration and disenfranchisement.

The first hypothesis (H1a) predicted less public support for incarcerating white-collar offenders than for incarcerating street offenders. However, the *t*-tests presented in Table 6.1 (page 71) reveal that the difference in punitiveness toward the more common consumer fraud white-collar crimes and street crimes ($t = 15.554$, $p < .01$) is significant, but that there is no significant difference in punitiveness toward elite white-collar crimes and street crimes ($t = 0.164$). In addition, there is a significantly greater level of public punitiveness toward elite white-collar offenders than toward consumer fraud white-collar offenders ($t = 11.182$, $p < .01$). The second hypothesis (H1b) made essentially the same prediction, but involved disenfranchisement rather than incarceration support. Table 6.1 shows that the public is significantly more punitive toward elite white-collar offenders than toward street offenders ($t = 8.980$, $p < .01$) as well as consumer fraud offenders ($t = 8.703$, $p < .01$). With this measure of punitiveness, there was no significant difference in punitiveness toward consumer fraud and street crimes; whereas before, with incarceration support, there was no difference in punitiveness toward elite white-collar and street offenders.

In sum, neither hypothesis was fully supported. With incarceration as the punitiveness measure, H1a was supported for consumer fraud versus street crime but not for elite white-collar crime versus street crime; instead, greater punitiveness was observed only for elite white-collar crimes compared with consumer fraud white-collar crimes. With denial of voting rights as the punitiveness measure, H1b was contradicted by the observed greater punitiveness toward elite white-collar offenders than toward street offenders. And, consistent with H1b, greater punitiveness was displayed toward elite white-collar offenders than toward consumer fraud white-collar offenders. Thus, not only does the definition of white-collar crime matter, but also influential is the measure of punitiveness. One interesting pattern is that the public is more willing to restrict white-collar offenders' civil liberties than it is to condone their incarceration, while the reverse is true for street offenders. Looking at Table 6.1, the pattern in perceived seriousness of offenses corresponds with disenfranchisement recommendations but not with incarceration recommendations and this is due to one deviation: the high level of public support for incarcerating nonviolent economic street offenders.

6.2 Social Identification and Punitiveness

Tables 6.2 (page 72), 6.3 (page 73), 6.4 (page 74), 6.5 (page 75), 6.6 (page 76), and 6.7 (page 77) provide the results for H2a—that the effect of social identification with offenders will vary according to perceived seriousness of the offense, with incarceration support as the measure of punitiveness. The various offense types provide nine tests of the social identification hypothesis and only one of them produced a positive and significant interaction term, as predicted by the hypothesis. This is in Table 6.4 for the consumer fraud white-collar offense of car sales fraud (b = 0.968, OR = 2.63, $p < .05$). Rarely did social identification with offenders have an effect in the full model when seriousness was zero; in the three instances in which it did—false advertising (b = 0.776, OR = 2.17, $p < .10$), fraud (b = 0.763, OR = 2.15, $p < .10$), and motor vehicle theft (b = 0.542, OR = 1.72, $p < .10$)—the coefficient's sign was positive. Before the interaction term was introduced in the full models, social identification in the elite white-collar crime model was positively associated with punitiveness (b = 0.456, OR = 1.58, $p < .05$).

Perceived serious of the offense, on the other hand, was positively associated with punitiveness for most lower-level white-collar consumer frauds and for nonviolent economic street crimes when social identification was zero in the full models (i.e., false advertising [b = 0.993, OR = 2.70, $p < .05$], fraud [b = 0.759, OR = 2.18, $p < .10$], motor vehicle theft [b = 0.692, OR = 1.99, $p < .05$], and street crime [b = 0.718, OR = 2.05, $p < .05$]). But note that the seriousness coefficient was marginally significant and *negative* when predicting support for incarcerating car sales fraud offenders when social identification was zero (b = –0.633, OR = 0.53, $p < .10$), and that it was nonsignificant in all elite white-collar crime models when social identification was zero. Because 74% of the sample reported feeling threatened by elite white-collar crimes, however, the coefficient's lack of significance could be a result of insufficient variance in the variable across all models in the study. The most prominent control variable is younger which, in several models, was negatively related to punitiveness. No advanced degree and, with less frequency, advanced degree also were negatively associated with incarceration support.

H2b also is tested in the second major column in Tables 6.3, 6.5, and 6.7, but no support emerged for the social identification hypothesis using the disenfranchisement measure of punitiveness. Moreover, seriousness was positively related to punitiveness toward street

offenders in the full model when social identification was zero (b = 0.872, OR = 2.39, $p < .01$), and it was positively related to punitiveness in the partial consumer fraud model when the values of the other independent variables were held constant (b = 0.491, OR = 1.64, $p < .05$). The most salient finding across the models had nothing to do with the study hypotheses and was instead the strong and consistent relationship between conservative political ideology and support for disenfranchising all forms of nonviolent economic offenders. Interesting, no advanced education was positively associated with disenfranchisement support for consumer fraud offenders (whereas it had been negatively associated with incarceration support for car sales fraud offenders).

Tables 6.8 (page 78), 6.9 (page 79), 6.10 (page 80), 6.11 (page 81), 6.12 (page 82), and 6.13 (page 83) provide the results for H3a—that the effect of social identification with offenders will vary according to whether or not the respondent identifies with the victims, with incarceration support as the measure of punitiveness. Again, in one instance, the interaction term was significant and it was in the predicted (positive) direction: government bribery (b = 1.414, OR = 4.11, $p < .01$). Social identification with offenders was not significant in any model testing the interaction hypothesis when seriousness was zero, but—in the partial models when the values of all other independent variables were held constant—marginally significant effects emerged for elite white-collar crime (b = 0.419, OR = 1.52, $p < .10$), fraud (b = 0.547, OR = 1.73, $p < .10$), and motor vehicle theft (b = 0.510, OR = 1.67, $p < .10$), and a significant effect was found in the false advertising model (b = 0.534, OR = 1.71, $p < .05$). Each of these effects was in the positive direction.

The threat posed by social identification with victims was not influential in determining respondents' support for incarceration; in no full model was this variable's effect on punitiveness significant when social identification with offenders was zero. Turning to the offense seriousness effect in the full models, there was again no support for the expectation that perceived seriousness would have a positive effect on punitiveness toward elite white-collar offenders when social identification with these offenders was zero. Yet, with the exception of car sales fraud, the variable's effect on punitiveness was positive for the other offenses in the full models when social identification with offenders was zero (false advertising b = 0.682, OR = 1.98, $p < .01$; fraud b = 0.518, OR = 1.68, $p < .05$; motor vehicle theft b = 0.632, OR = 1.88, $p < .05$; burglary b = 0.529, OR = 1.70, $p < .10$; and street crime b = 0.707, OR = 2.03, $p < .01$). Younger

again emerged as the most consistent control variable, which was often negatively related to punitiveness. And on two occasions (car sales fraud and motor vehicle theft), no advanced education also was negatively associated with punitiveness.

The second main column of Tables 6.9 (page 79), 6.11 (page 81), and 6.13 (page 83) tested the same hypothesis—that the effect of social identification with offenders will vary according to whether or not the respondent identifies with the victims—but with disenfranchisement as the measure of punitiveness (H3b). Two of these three hypothesis tests revealed supporting findings: For elite white-collar crime and consumer fraud white-collar crimes, the effect of social identification with offenders did vary based on social identification with victims (respectively, b = 1.342, OR = 3.83, $p < .05$ and b = 1.078, OR = 2.94, $p < .05$). However, the effect of social identification with victims was negative rather than positive in both cases when the value of social identification with offenders was zero (elite b = –0.940, OR = 0.39, $p < .05$ and fraud b = –1.052, OR = 0.35, $p < .05$)—so the meaning of the positive interaction term's coefficient is not clear. The threat effect was positive for consumer fraud (b = 0.475, OR = 1.61, $p < .05$) and street crime (b = 0.855, OR = 2.35, $p < .01$) when social identification with offenders was zero, and conservative political ideology was positively related to disenfranchisement support across all three models. While advanced education was negatively related to punitiveness for elite white-collar crime, no advanced education was positively related to punitiveness for consumer fraud white-collar crime, and education was unrelated to punitiveness for street crime although males and whites were more likely than females and nonwhites to support disenfranchisement for nonviolent economic street offenders.

6.3 Racial Identification and Punitiveness

The models testing racial identification are restricted to non-Hispanic white survey respondents (n = 312), with missing values for some variables bringing the most-reduced sample to 259 (Table 6.21). H4a—the effect of racial identification with offenders on incarceration support will vary according to the level of perceived threat—was tested in Tables 6.14 (page 84), 6.15 (page 85), 6.16 (page 86), 6.17 (page 87), 6.18 (page 88), and 6.19 (page 89). No support was found for this hypothesis, although there was a positive and significant effect of racial identification on incarceration support before adding the interaction term (when the values of all other

independent variables were held constant) in the government bribery model (b = 0.660, OR = 1.94, $p < .05$). In addition, the partial models identified a positive and marginally significant of this variable in the elite white-collar crime (b = 0.460, OR = 1.58, $p < .10$) and consumer fraud white-collar crime (b = 0.488, OR = 1.63, $p < .10$) models, when the values of the other independent variables were held constant.

Offense seriousness was nonsignificant in both full white-collar crime models when the value of racial identification with offenders was zero, but was positive in the corporate fraud (b = 0.821, OR = 2.27, $p < .05$) and false advertising (b = 0.673, OR = 1.96, $p < .05$) partial models when the values of other variables were held constant. As usual, offense seriousness was consistently associated with support for incarcerating nonviolent economic street offenders when the value of racial identification with offenders was zero in the full models (motor vehicle theft b = 0.804, OR = 2.35, $p < .01$; burglary b = 0.729, OR = 2.07, $p < .05$; street crime b = 0.918, OR = 2.50, $p < .01$). Among the control variables, no advanced degree, advanced degree, and younger were the most consistently behaving control variables, the first being negatively related to punitiveness toward corporate fraud, car sales fraud, and motor vehicle theft; the second being negatively related to incarceration support for all measures of street crimes; and the third being negatively associated with incarceration support for government fraud, elite white-collar crime, and car sales fraud.

The second major column in Tables 6.15 (page 85), 6.17 (page 87), and 6.19 (page 89) tested H4b—racial identification with offenders will be positively related to disenfranchisement support when perceived offense threat is high. Of the three tests of this hypothesis, one was marginally supported: The interaction term was positive in the street crime model (b = 1.404, OR = 4.07, $p < .10$). None of these models revealed a significant effect of racial identification with offenders when the value of offense seriousness was zero.

The hypothesized positive effect of threat was found for disenfranchisement support for consumer fraud white-collar crimes (b = 0.749, OR = 2.12, $p < .05$) and for nonviolent economic street crimes (b = 0.920, OR = 2.51, $p < .01$) when the value of racial identification with offenders was zero, but not for elite white-collar crimes. The control variable conservative was not a significant predictor of disenfranchisement support for elite white-collar crimes as it had been in the social identification models; however, conservative respondents still had greater odds than non-conservatives of supporting the disenfranchisement of consumer fraud white-collar

offenders and nonviolent economic street offenders. No advanced education was the only other significant control variable, and it positively influenced support for disenfranchising consumer fraud white-collar offenders.

The final set of hypotheses—stating that the punitive effect of racial identification with offenders will vary according to levels of social identification with their victims—is presented in Tables 6.20 (page 90), 6.21 (page 91), 6.22 (page 92), 6.23 (page 93), 6.24 (page 94), and 6.25 (page 95). Beginning with H5a, with incarceration support as the dependent variable, the findings do not support the hypothesis; never was the hypothesized interaction significant. Prior to adding the interaction term in the full models, however, racial identification with elite white-collar offenders had a positive effect on punitiveness toward government bribery offenders (b = 0.690, OR = 1.99, $p < .05$) and toward both elite government and corporate offenders (b = 0.475, OR = 1.61, $p < .10$) when other independent variables' values were held constant. Threat in the form of social identification with victims was unrelated to incarceration support in all models.

Instead, when the values of all other independent variables were held constant, offense seriousness threat was positively associated with incarceration support for select white-collar offenders (corporate fraud b = 0.816, OR = 2.62, $p < .05$; false advertising b = 0.620, OR = 1.86, $p < .05$) and all nonviolent economic street offenders (motor vehicle theft b = 0.720, OR = 2.05; $p < .05$; burglary b = 0.637, OR = 1.89, $p < .10$; street crime b = 0.856, OR = 2.35, $p < .01$). Looking at the control variables for H5a, age and education were again the most consistently influential covariates. Younger was negatively related to punitiveness for government bribery, elite white-collar crime, car sales fraud, and fraud. No advanced education negatively correlated with punitiveness for corporate fraud, car sales fraud, and motor vehicle theft, and advanced education also was negatively associated with punitiveness toward motor vehicle theft, burglary, and nonviolent economic street offenders.

Disenfranchisement support, as predicted by H5b, similarly did not result from the analyses, according to Tables 6.21 (page 91), 6.23 (page 93), and 6.25 (page 95). Never was the expected interaction term significant, although two effects were marginally significant when modeling punitiveness toward consumer fraud offenders: (1) the effect of racial identification with offenders when the value of social identification with victims was zero (b = –0.752, OR = 0.47, $p < .10$), and (2) social identification with victims when the value of racial identification with offenders was zero (b = –0.674, OR = 0.51, $p < .10$). The threat posed by extreme perceived

crime seriousness exerted a positive influence on disenfranchisement recommendations for fraud offenders (b = 0.767, OR = 2.15, $p < .01$) and for street offenders (b = 1.167, OR = 3.21, $p < .01$), but not for elite white-collar offenders, when the values of other independent variables were held constant. Likewise, conservative respondents had greater odds of supporting the disenfranchisement of street offenders and consumer fraud offenders than did non-conservatives, but conservative political ideology had no effect on disenfranchisement support for elite white-collar offenders.[9]

[9] Had more powerful models been obtained with more consistent and significant coefficients for the hypothesized interaction terms, two additional statistical procedures were planned: (1) use CLARIFY to produce predicted probabilities for improved presentation of results, and (2) consider Bonferroni or related corrections for repeated hypothesis testing using the same sample. Unfortunately, the model fit statistics were weak; the victim identification threat main effects did not behave as expected; and rarely were the interaction terms significant. No further tests are needed to conclude that Hypotheses H1a and H1b were supported and that Hypotheses H2a–H5b were not supported.

Table 6.1: Paired *t*-tests: Differences in levels of punitiveness, seriousness, and social identification toward different economic offenders.

	PUNITIVENESS MEASURES		PUNITIVENESS PREDICTORS	
	Incarcerate	**Disenfranchisement**	**Seriousness**	**Social Identify**
	t	*t*	*t*	*t*
Street crime v. Elite WCC	–0.164	–8.980**	–10.179**	–4.872**
MVT v. Corporate	–2.280*			
MVT v. Government	–0.486			
Burglary v. Corporate	0.696			
Burglary v. Government	2.266*			
Street crime v. Fraud	10.554**	–0.646	–1.664°	–5.494**
MVT v. False advertising	12.469**			
MVT v. Car sales fraud	1.482			
Burglary v. False advertising	16.201**			
Burglary v. Car sales fraud	4.524**			
Elite WCC v. Fraud	11.182**	8.703**	8.144**	0.329
Corporate v. False advertising	15.878**			
Corporate v. Car sales fraud	3.685**			
Government v. False advertising	13.552**			
Government v. Car sales fraud	2.165*			
N	400	383	395	381

** p <.01. * p < .05. ° p < .10.

Table 6.2: Logistic regression: Social identity threat and public support for incarcerating government and corporate white-collar offenders.

	Incarcerate Corporate				Incarcerate Government			
	b (S.E.)	O.R.	*b* (S.E.)	O.R.	*b* (S.E.)	O.R.	*b* (S.E.)	O.R.
Social identify elite WCC	0.434 (.269)	1.54	0.499 (.473)	1.65	0.393 (.250)	1.48	0.539 (.466)	1.71
Elite WCC seriousness	0.437 (.285)	1.55	0.489 (.419)	1.63	0.164 (.275)	1.18	0.275 (.405)	1.32
Social identify elite WCC x Elite WCC seriousness	---		–0.094 (.564)	0.91	---		–0.202 (.544)	0.82
Younger	–0.196 (.348)	0.82	–0.199 (.348)	0.82	–0.727* (.328)	0.48	–0.731* (.329)	0.48
Older	0.294 (.329)	1.34	0.295 (.329)	1.34	–0.246 (.308)	0.78	–0.247 (.308)	0.78
Male	0.093 (.269)	1.10	0.095 (.269)	1.10	0.473° (.256)	1.60	0.476° (.257)	1.61
White	–0.083 (.331)	0.92	–0.089 (.332)	0.92	–0.318 (.317)	0.73	–0.328 (.318)	0.72
No advanced education	–0.786* (.347)	0.46	–0.790* (.348)	0.45	0.056 (.313)	1.06	0.052 (.314)	1.05
Advanced degree	–0.544° (.327)	0.58	–0.546° (.327)	0.58	0.224 (.287)	1.25	0.222 (.287)	1.25
Employed full time	0.431 (.304)	1.54	0.429 (.304)	1.54	0.065 (.281)	1.07	0.059 (.282)	1.06
Conservative	0.244 (.286)	1.28	0.246 (.286)	1.27	0.509° (.280)	1.66	0.514 (.281)	1.67
Liberal	0.738° (.379)	2.09	0.742° (.379)	2.10	0.051 (.317)	1.05	0.056 (.318)	1.06
Intercept	0.672 (.469)		0.643 (.501)		0.601 (.450)		0.533 (.484)	
Model Chi-square/df	18.430/11°		18.46/12		17.329/11°		17.466/12	
Nagelkerke R square	.075		.076		.068		.068	
N	361		361		361		361	

Notes. WCC = white-collar crime.
** p <.01. * p < .05. ° p < .10.

Table 6.3: Logistic regression: Social identity threat and public support for incarcerating and disenfranchising elite white-collar offenders.

	Incarcerate Elite WCC				Disenfranchise Elite WCC			
	b (S.E.)	O.R.	*b* (S.E.)	O.R.	*b* (S.E.)	O.R.	*b* (S.E.)	O.R.
Social identify elite WCC	0.456* (.229)	1.58	0.346 (.429)	1.41	0.072 (.247)	1.08	–0.001 (.445)	0.99
Elite WCC seriousness	0.154 (.251)	1.17	0.068 (.381)	1.07	0.330 (.263)	1.39	0.270 (.401)	1.31
Social identify elite WCC x Elite WCC seriousness	---		0.151 (.500)	1.16	---		0.104 (.525)	1.11
Younger	–0.542° (.303)	0.58	–0.539° (.303)	0.58	–0.078 (.311)	0.93	–0.075 (.312)	0.93
Older	0.032 (.278)	1.03	0.033 (.278)	1.03	0.334 (.297)	1.40	0.335 (.297)	1.40
Male	0.209 (.228)	1.23	0.207 (.228)	1.23	–0.235 (.242)	0.79	–0.236 (.242)	0.79
White	–0.149 (.283)	0.86	–0.140 (.285)	0.87	0.485° (.288)	1.62	0.490° (.289)	1.63
No advanced education	–0.068 (.288)	0.93	–0.065 (.288)	0.94	0.355 (.324)	1.43	0.356 (.324)	1.43
Advanced degree	–0.031 (.262)	0.97	–0.030 (.262)	0.97	–0.380 (.274)	0.68	–0.380 (.274)	0.68
Employed full time	0.166 (.256)	1.18	0.170 (.256)	1.19	0.086 (.267)	1.09	0.089 (.267)	1.09
Conservative	0.286 (.249)	1.33	0.283 (.249)	1.33	0.592* (.273)	1.81	0.589* (.274)	1.80
Liberal	0.242 (.299)	1.27	0.238 (.299)	1.27	–0.155 (.304)	0.86	–0.157 (.304)	0.86
Intercept	–0.053 (.406)		0.001 (.444)		–0.069 (.422)		–0.33 (.460)	
Model Chi-square/df	12.521/11		12.613/12		23.692/11*		23.732/12*	
Nagelkerke R square	.046		.046		.090		.090	
N	361		361		356		356	

Notes. WCC = white-collar crime.
** p <.01. * p < .05. ° p < .10.

Table 6.4: Logistic regression: Social identity threat and public support for incarcerating false advertising and car sales fraud white-collar offenders.

	Incarcerate False Advertising				Incarcerate Car Sales Fraud			
	b (S.E.)	O.R.	*b* (S.E.)	O.R.	*b* (S.E.)	O.R.	*b* (S.E.)	O.R.
Social identify fraud	0.492* (.247)	1.64	0.776° (.401)	2.17	0.083 (.236)	1.09	–0.444 (.354)	0.64
Fraud seriousness	0.690** (.243)	2.00	0.993* (.414)	2.70	–0.067 (.234)	0.94	–0.633° (.366)	0.53
Social identify fraud x Fraud seriousness	---		–0.467 (.508)	0.63	---		0.968* (.475)	2.63
Younger	–0.566 (.352)	0.57	–0.575 (.352)	0.56	–0.731* (.303)	0.48	–0.712* (.305)	0.49
Older	0.074 (.290)	1.08	0.079 (.290)	1.08	0.320 (.292)	1.38	0.313 (.292)	1.37
Male	0.047 (.246)	1.05	0.046 (.246)	1.05	0.099 (.241)	1.10	0.107 (.242)	1.11
White	0.377 (.322)	1.46	0.361 (.323)	1.43	0.079 (.290)	1.08	0.123 (.293)	1.13
No advanced education	–0.109 (.304)	0.90	–0.109 (.304)	0.90	–0.516° (.301)	0.60	–0.522° (.303)	0.59
Advanced degree	–0.230 (.279)	0.80	–0.241 (.279)	0.79	–0.354 (.279)	0.70	–0.333 (.281)	0.72
Employed full time	–0.053 (.279)	0.95	–0.069 (.279)	0.93	0.293 (.267)	1.34	0.329 (.268)	1.39
Conservative	0.034 (.262)	1.03	0.043 (.262)	1.04	0.130 (.258)	1.14	0.120 (.259)	1.13
Liberal	–0.042 (.321)	0.96	–0.027 (.322)	0.97	0.122 (.308)	1.13	0.076 (.309)	1.08
Intercept	–1.566** (.445)		–1.740** (.492)		0.683° (.405)		0.957* (.435)	
Model Chi-square/df	21.345/11*		22.199/12*		16.126/11		20.330/12°	
Nagelkerke R square	.080		.084		.060		.076	
N	361		361		361		361	

** p <.01. * p < .05. ° p < .10.

Table 6.5: Logistic regression: Social identity threat and public support for incarcerating and disenfranchising consumer fraud white-collar offenders.

	Incarcerate Fraud				Disenfranchise Fraud			
	b (S.E.)	O.R.	*b* (S.E.)	O.R.	*b* (S.E.)	O.R.	*b* (S.E.)	O.R.
Social identify fraud	0.560* (.261)	1.75	0.763° (.417)	2.15	0.060 (.233)	1.06	–0.325 (.341)	0.72
Fraud seriousness	0.536* (.254)	1.71	0.759° (.437)	2.18	0.491* (.230)	1.64	0.076 (.353)	1.08
Social identify fraud x Fraud seriousness	---		–0.338 (.533)	0.71	---		0.715 (.464)	2.05
Younger	–0.925* (.397)	0.40	–0.932* (.397)	0.39	–0.480 (.318)	0.62	–0.460 (.319)	0.63
Older	0.074 (.300)	1.08	0.078 (.300)	1.08	0.182 (.282)	1.20	0.173 (.283)	1.19
Male	0.103 (.257)	1.11	0.102 (.257)	1.11	–0.113 (.238)	0.89	–0.112 (.239)	0.89
White	0.097 (.332)	1.10	0.084 (.333)	1.09	0.034 (.290)	1.04	0.066 (.291)	1.07
No advanced education	–0.136 (.318)	0.87	–0.135 (.318)	0.87	0.918** (.301)	2.50	0.932** (.302)	2.54
Advanced degree	–0.151 (.290)	0.86	–0.158 (.291)	0.85	0.318 (.269)	1.37	0.334 (.215)	1.40
Employed full time	0.031 (.293)	1.03	0.019 (.293)	1.02	0.107 (.266)	1.11	0.140 (.267)	1.15
Conservative	0.112 (.272)	1.12	0.119 (.272)	1.13	0.647* (.253)	1.91	0.644* (.254)	1.90
Liberal	–0.146 (.344)	0.86	–0.135 (.344)	0.87	–0.202 (.308)	0.82	–0.231 (.309)	0.79
Intercept	–1.569** (.460)		–1.694** (.507)		–1.068** (.411)		–0.882* (.426)	
Model Chi-square/df	19.912/11*		20.319/12°		31.734/11**		34.110/12**	
Nagelkerke R square	.078		.079		.116		.124	
N	361		361		361		350	

** p <.01. * p < .05. ° p < .10.

Table 6.6: Logistic regression: Social identity threat and public support for incarcerating motor vehicle theft and burglary offenders.

	Incarcerate MVT				Incarcerate Burglary			
	b (S.E.)	O.R.	*b* (S.E.)	O.R.	*b* (S.E.)	O.R.	*b* (S.E.)	O.R.
Social identify street crime	0.464° (.247)	1.59	0.542° (.321)	1.72	–0.194 (.265)	.082	–0.150 (.346)	0.86
Street crime seriousness	0.612* (.246)	1.84	0.692* (.325)	1.99	0.415 (.268)	1.52	0.467 (.375)	1.60
Social identify street crime x Street crime seriousness	---		–0.190 (.499)	0.83	---		–0.107 (.538)	0.90
Younger	–0.290 (.327)	0.75	–0.287 (.328)	0.75	–0.024 (.347)	0.98	–0.023 (.347)	0.98
Older	–0.009 (.303)	0.99	0.002 (.305)	1.00	0.305 (.330)	1.36	0.310 (.331)	1.36
Male	0.113 (.248)	1.12	0.120 (.249)	1.13	0.082 (.270)	1.09	0.086 (.271)	1.09
White	–0.077 (.310)	0.93	–0.089 (.312)	0.92	0.249 (.320)	1.28	0.241 (.322)	1.27
No advanced education	–0.644° (.320)	0.53	–0.642* (.320)	0.53	–0.269 (.358)	0.76	–0.268 (.358)	0.77
Advanced degree	–0.342 (.296)	0.71	–0.339 (.296)	0.71	–0.368° (.321)	0.58	–0.566° (.322)	0.57
Employed full time	0.012 (.279)	1.01	0.010 (.279)	1.01	0.148 (.296)	1.16	0.147 (.296)	1.16
Conservative	0.078 (.270)	1.08	0.080 (.270)	1.08	0.221 (.304)	1.25	0.221 (.304)	1.25
Liberal	0.180 (.326)	1.20	0.182 (.327)	1.20	–0.252 (.336)	0.78	–0.251 (.336)	0.78
Intercept	0.774° (.429)		0.743° (.436)		1.101* (.461)		1.082* (.470)	
Model Chi-square/df	16.453/11		16.507/12		10.574/11		10.613/12	
Nagelkerke R square	.064		.064		.045		.045	
N	361		361		361		361	

Notes. MVT = motor vehicle theft.
** p <.01. * p < .05. ° p < .10.

Table 6.7: Logistic regression: Social identity threat and public support for incarcerating and disenfranchising nonviolent economic street offenders.

	Incarcerate Street Crime				Disenfranchise Street Crime			
	b (S.E.)	O.R.	*b* (S.E.)	O.R.	*b* (S.E.)	O.R.	*b* (S.E.)	O.R.
Social identify street crime	0.274 (.247)	1.32	0.295 (.299)	1.34	–0.029 (.232)	.097	0.028 (.328)	1.03
Street crime seriousness	0.696** (.224)	2.01	0.718* (.303)	2.05	0.820** (.230)	2.27	0.872** (.314)	2.39
Social identify street crime x Street crime seriousness	---		–0.049 (.452)	0.95	---		–0.113 (.462)	0.89
Younger	–0.091 (.304)	0.91	–0.089 (.305)	0.91	–0.307 (.320)	0.74	–0.303 (.320)	0.74
Older	0.136 (.278)	1.15	0.139 (.280)	1.15	–0.156 (.289)	0.86	–0.149 (.290)	0.86
Male	0.088 (.228)	1.09	0.090 (.229)	1.09	0.355 (.233)	1.43	0.360 (.234)	1.43
White	0.128 (.282)	1.14	0.125 (.284)	1.13	0.477 (.301)	1.61	0.469 (.303)	1.60
No advanced education	–0.396 (.292)	0.67	–0.395 (.292)	0.67	–0.016 (.297)	0.96	–0.013 (.297)	0.99
Advanced degree	–0.306 (.266)	0.74	–0.306 (.266)	0.74	0.236 (.272)	1.27	0.238 (.272)	1.27
Employed full time	0.000 (.256)	1.00	0.000 (.256)	1.00	–0.183 (.266)	0.83	–0.184 (.266)	0.83
Conservative	0.107 (.250)	1.11	0.108 (.250)	1.11	0.727** (.258)	2.07	0.727** (.258)	2.07
Liberal	–0.005 (.298)	0.99	–0.005 (.298)	0.99	0.147 (.310)	1.16	0.147 (.310)	1.16
Intercept	–0.025 (.392)		–0.034 (.401)		–1.478** (.417)		–1.502** (.429)	
Model Chi-square/df	16.306/11		16.318/12		30.882/11**		30.941/12**	
Nagelkerke R square	.060		.060		.113		.113	
N	361		361		353		353	

Notes. MVT = motor vehicle theft.
** p <.01. * p < .05. ° p < .10.

Table 6.8: Logistic regression: Victims, social identity threat, and public support for incarcerating corporate and government white-collar offenders.

	Incarcerate Corporate				Incarcerate Government			
	b (S.E.)	O.R.	*b* (S.E.)	O.R.	*b* (S.E.)	O.R.	*b* (S.E.)	O.R.
Social identify elite WCC	0.435 (.282)	1.55	0.508 (.355)	1.66	0.346 (.261)	1.41	–0.200 (.332)	0.82
Social identify elite victims	0.213 (.284)	1.24	0.329 (.446)	1.39	0.273 (.265)	1.31	–0.558 (.406)	0.57
Social identify elite WCC x Social identify elite victims	---		–0.193 (.572)	0.82	---		1.414** (.530)	4.11
Elite WCC seriousness	0.422 (.293)	1.53	0.423 (.293)	1.53	0.140 (.281)	1.15	0.148 (.284)	1.16
Younger	–0.248 (.354)	0.78	–0.244 (.354)	0.78	–0.689 (.330)	0.50	–0.726* (.334)	0.48
Older	0.306 (.341)	1.36	0.317 (.342)	1.37	–0.159 (.317)	0.85	–0.242 (.323)	0.79
Male	0.075 (.278)	1.08	0.077 (.278)	1.08	0.529* (.265)	1.70	0.539* (.268)	1.72
White	–0.236 (.365)	0.79	–0.224 (.367)	0.80	–0.231 (.336)	0.79	–0.322 (.343)	0.73
No advanced education	–0.857* (.356)	0.42	–0.863 (.356)	0.42	–0.025 (.321)	0.98	0.020 (.324)	1.02
Advanced degree	–0.570° (.337)	0.57	–0.558 (.338)	0.57	0.140 (.294)	1.15	0.062 (.298)	1.06
Employed full time	0.437 (.312)	1.55	0.431 (.313)	1.54	0.023 (.286)	1.02	0.070 (.290)	1.07
Conservative	0.114 (.293)	1.12	0.116 (.293)	1.12	0.390 (.285)	1.48	0.398 (.288)	1.49
Liberal	0.717° (.397)	2.05	0.724 (.397)	2.06	–0.029 (.328)	0.97	–0.089 (.334)	0.92
Intercept	0.831 (.510)		0.777 (.534)		0.530 (.479)		0.925° (.511)	
Model Chi-square/df	19.622/12°		19.737/13		16.392/12		23.591/13*	
Nagelkerke R square	.084		.084		.067		.095	
N	346		346		346		346	

Notes. WCC = white-collar crime.
** p <.01. * p < .05. ° p < .10.

Table 6.9: Logistic regression: Victims, social identity threat, and public support for incarcerating and disenfranchising elite white-collar offenders.

	Incarcerate Elite WCC				Disenfranchise Elite WCC			
	b (S.E.)	O.R.	*b* (S.E.)	O.R.	*b* (S.E.)	O.R.	*b* (S.E.)	O.R.
Social identify elite WCC	0.419° (.240)	1.52	0.141 (.305)	1.15	0.037 (.259)	1.04	–0.526 (.341)	0.59
Social identify elite victims	0.161 (.238)	1.18	–0.277 (.383)	0.76	–0.100 (.255)	0.91	–0.940* (.413)	0.39
Social identify elite WCC x Social identify elite victims	---		0.707 (.484)	2.03	---		1.342* (.520)	3.83
Elite WCC seriousness	0.168 (.256)	1.18	0.168 (.257)	1.18	0.286 (.268)	1.33	0.293 (.271)	1.34
Younger	–0.556° (.305)	0.57	–0.573° (.306)	0.56	–0.056 (.313)	0.95	–0.093 (.318)	0.91
Older	0.055 (.286)	1.06	0.017 (.288)	1.02	0.356 (.305)	1.43	0.277 (.309)	1.32
Male	0.201 (.235)	1.22	0.201 (.236)	1.22	–0.261 (.248)	0.77	–0.263 (.251)	0.77
White	–0.219 (.303)	0.80	–0.270 (.307)	0.76	0.425 (.307)	1.53	0.339 (.313)	1.40
No advanced education	–0.151 (.294)	0.86	–0.134 (.295)	0.88	0.370 (.330)	1.45	0.426 (.335)	1.53
Advanced degree	–0.053 (.268)	0.95	–0.096 (.271)	0.91	–0.415 (.280)	0.66	–0.492° (.284)	0.61
Employed full time	0.140 (.261)	1.15	0.166 (.263)	1.18	0.111 (.271)	1.12	0.162 (.275)	1.18
Conservative	0.126 (.254)	1.14	0.124 (.255)	1.13	0.628* (.279)	1.88	0.638* (.282)	1.89
Liberal	0.113 (.309)	1.12	0.085 (.311)	1.09	–0.143 (.313)	0.87	–0.204 (.318)	0.82
Intercept	0.078 (.433)		0.290 (.459)		0.039 (.448)		0.454 (.483)	
Model Chi-square/df	11.935/12		14.077/13		23.159/12*		29.894/13**	
Nagelkerke R square	.046		.054		.091		.117	
N	346		346		341		341	

Notes. WCC = white-collar crime.
** p <.01. * p < .05. ° p < .10.

Table 6.10: Logistic regression: Victims, social identity threat, and public support for incarcerating false advertising and car sales fraud offenders.

	Incarcerate False Advertising				Incarcerate Car Sales Fraud			
	b (S.E.)	O.R.	*b* (S.E.)	O.R.	*b* (S.E.)	O.R.	*b* (S.E.)	O.R.
Social identify fraud	0.534* (.266)	1.71	0.519 (.333)	1.68	–0.028 (.255)	0.97	–0.076 (.317)	0.93
Social identify fraud victims	–0.076 (.257)	0.93	–0.103 (.460)	0.90	0.328 (.251)	1.39	0.243 (.422)	1.28
Social identity fraud x Social identify elite victims	---		0.040 (.554)	1.04	---		0.132 (.527)	1.14
Fraud seriousness	0.683** (.248)	1.98	0.682** (.249)	1.98	–0.074 (.237)	0.93	–0.076 (.237)	0.93
Younger	–0.543 (.354)	0.58	–0.543 (.354)	0.58	–0.689* (.304)	0.50	–0.690* (.305)	0.50
Older	0.154 (.297)	1.17	0.154 (.297)	1.17	0.358 (.298)	1.43	0.360 (.299)	1.43
Male	0.040 (.252)	1.04	0.039 (.252)	1.04	0.073 (.245)	1.08	0.070 (.245)	1.07
White	0.324 (.324)	1.38	0.322 (.326)	1.38	0.088 (.293)	1.09	0.079 (.296)	1.08
No advanced education	–0.087 (.308)	0.92	–0.089 (.309)	0.92	–0.538° (.305)	0.58	–0.543° (.306)	0.58
Advanced degree	–0.230 (.285)	0.79	–0.233 (.288)	0.79	–0.371 (.284)	0.69	–0.381 (.287)	0.68
Employed full time	0.047 (.284)	1.05	0.049 (.284)	1.05	0.305 (.271)	1.36	0.313 (.272)	1.37
Conservative	0.077 (.269)	1.08	0.078 (.269)	1.08	0.111 (.262)	1.12	0.114 (.263)	1.12
Liberal	0.023 (.328)	1.02	0.024 (.328)	1.02	0.076 (.314)	1.08	0.077 (.314)	1.08
Intercept	–1.625** (.457)		–1.615** (.476)		0.591 (.416)		0.622 (.434)	
Model Chi-square/df	20.413/12°		20.418/13°		17.290/12		17.353/13	
Nagelkerke R square	.080		.080		.067		.067	
N	349		349		349		349	

** p <.01. * p < .05. ° p < .10.

Table 6.11: Logistic regression: Victims, social identity threat, and public support for incarcerating and disenfranchising consumer fraud white-collar offenders.

	Incarcerate Fraud				Disenfranchise Fraud			
	b (S.E.)	O.R.	*b* (S.E.)	O.R.	*b* (S.E.)	O.R.	*b* (S.E.)	O.R.
Social identify fraud	0.547° (.281)	1.73	0.537 (.354)	1.71	0.121 (.251)	1.13	–0.273 (.318)	0.76
Social identify fraud victims	0.076 (.268)	1.08	0.059 (.482)	1.06	–0.356 (.249)	0.70	–1.052* (.434)	0.35
Social identify fraud x Social identify fraud victims	---		0.025 (.580)	1.03	---		1.078* (.535)	2.94
Fraud seriousness	0.518* (.261)	1.68	0.518* (.261)	1.68	0.489* (.235)	1.63	0.475* (.236)	1.61
Younger	–0.897* (.399)	0.41	–0.898* (.399)	0.41	–0.443 (.320)	0.64	–0.465 (.322)	0.63
Older	0.160 (.309)	1.17	0.160 (.309)	1.17	0.234 (.290)	1.26	0.233 (.291)	1.26
Male	0.101 (.263)	1.11	0.101 (.263)	1.11	–0.114 (.244)	0.89	–0.145 (.246)	0.87
White	0.040 (.335)	1.04	0.039 (.336)	1.04	–0.028 (.293)	0.97	–0.088 (.298)	0.92
No advanced education	–0.113 (.324)	0.89	–0.114 (.325)	0.89	0.862** (.305)	2.39	0.846** (.308)	2.33
Advanced degree	–0.158 (.299)	0.85	–0.159 (.301)	0.85	0.254 (.275)	1.29	0.190 (.278)	1.21
Employed full time	0.156 (.299)	1.17	0.156 (.300)	1.17	0.107 (.270)	1.11	0.159 (.273)	1.17
Conservative	0.152 (.280)	1.16	0.152 (.280)	1.17	0.671* (.259)	1.96	0.706** (.262)	2.03
Liberal	–0.093 (.352)	0.91	–0.093 (.352)	0.91	–0.084 (.315)	0.92	–0.086 (.317)	0.92
Intercept	–1.676** (.474)		–1.670** (.497)		–0.925* (.420)		–0.688 (.435)	
Model Chi-square/df	19.181/12°		19.182/13		30.467/12**		34.649/13**	
Nagelkerke R square	.078		.078		.115		.130	
N	349		349		338		338	

** p <.01. * p < .05. ° p < .10.

Table 6.12: Logistic regression: Victims, social identity threat, and public support for incarcerating motor vehicle theft and burglary offenders.

	Incarcerate MVT				Incarcerate Burglary			
	b (S.E.)	O.R.	*b* (S.E.)	O.R.	*b* (S.E.)	O.R.	*b* (S.E.)	O.R.
Social identify street crime	0.510° (.270)	1.67	0.584 (.362)	1.79	–0.248 (.287)	0.78	–0.440 (.360)	0.64
Social identify street victims	–0.081 (.273)	0.92	–0.002 (.373)	1.00	0.356 (.299)	1.43	0.090 (.421)	1.10
Social identify street crime x Social identify street victims	---		–0.171 (.544)	0.84	---		0.503 (.579)	1.65
Street crime seriousness	0.635* (.252)	1.89	0.632* (.252)	1.88	0.519° (.276)	1.68	0.529° (.276)	1.70
Younger	–0.267 (.333)	0.77	–0.258 (.334)	0.77	–0.022 (.351)	0.98	–0.051 (.353)	0.95
Older	0.006 (.310)	1.01	0.009 (.310)	1.01	0.337 (.337)	1.40	0.325 (.338)	1.38
Male	0.104 (.256)	1.11	0.097 (.257)	1.10	0.103 (.280)	1.11	0.122 (.282)	1.13
White	–0.124 (.318)	0.88	–0.119 (.319)	0.89	0.200 (.329)	1.22	0.183 (.330)	1.20
No advanced education	–0.640* (.324)	0.53	–0.639* (.324)	0.53	–0.232 (.361)	0.79	–0.237 (.362)	0.79
Advanced degree	–0.255 (.305)	0.76	–0.254 (.305)	0.78	–0.482 (.328)	0.62	–0.487 (.329)	0.62
Employed full time	0.063 (.287)	1.07	0.052 (.289)	1.05	0.099 (.304)	1.10	0.131 (.307)	1.14
Conservative	0.038 (.276)	1.04	0.045 (.277)	1.05	0.133 (.308)	1.14	0.115 (.310)	1.12
Liberal	0.096 (.333)	1.10	0.093 (.333)	1.10	–0.377 (.344)	0.69	–0.370 (.345)	0.69
Intercept	0.804° (.442)		0.782° (.447)		0.986* (.472)		1.059* (.482)	
Model Chi-square/df	16.233/12		16.332/13		11.417/12		12.164/13	
Nagelkerke R square	.065		.065		.049		.053	
N	350		350		350		350	

Notes. MVT = motor vehicle theft.
** p <.01. * p < .05. ° p < .10.

Table 6.13: Logistic regression: Victims, social identity threat, and public support for incarcerating and disenfranchising nonviolent economic street offenders.

	Incarcerate Street Crime				Disenfranchise Street Crime			
	b (S.E.)	O.R.	*b* (S.E.)	O.R.	*b* (S.E.)	O.R.	*b* (S.E.)	O.R.
Social identify street crime	0.320 (.245)	1.38	0.276 (.320)	1.32	–0.194 (.254)	0.82	–0.205 (.328)	0.82
Social identify street victims	–0.263 (.249)	0.85	–0.215 (.350)	0.81	0.294 (.257)	1.34	0.280 (.368)	1.32
Social identify street crime x Social identify street victims	---		0.105 (.493)	1.11	---		0.027 (.508)	1.03
Street crime seriousness	0.705** (.229)	2.02	0.707** (.229)	2.03	0.854** (.235)	2.35	0.855** (.235)	2.35
Younger	–0.052 (.308)	0.95	–0.057 (.309)	0.95	–0.280 (.324)	0.76	–0.281 (.324)	0.76
Older	0.141 (.284)	1.15	0.139 (.284)	1.15	–0.162 (.296)	0.85	–0.163 (.296)	0.85
Male	0.073 (.234)	1.08	0.077 (.235)	1.08	0.402° (.241)	1.49	0.403° (.242)	1.50
White	0.098 (.288)	1.10	0.095 (.288)	1.10	0.545° (.308)	1.72	0.544° (.308)	1.72
No advanced education	–0.367 (.295)	0.69	–0.369 (.296)	0.69	–0.018 (.301)	0.98	–0.019 (.302)	0.98
Advanced degree	–0.215 (.273)	0.81	–0.216 (.273)	0.81	0.142 (.280)	1.15	0.141 (.280)	1.15
Employed full time	0.033 (.262)	1.03	0.039 (.264)	1.04	–0.199 (.274)	0.82	–0.197 (.276)	0.82
Conservative	0.089 (.255)	1.09	0.086 (.255)	1.09	0.769** (.264)	2.16	0.768** (.264)	2.16
Liberal	–0.059 (.304)	0.94	–0.058 (.304)	0.94	0.183 (.317)	1.20	0.184 (.317)	1.72
Intercept	–0.005 (.402)		0.010 (.407)		–1.599** (.432)		–1.596** (.438)	
Model Chi-square/df	15.916/12		15.961/13		31.618/12**		31.621/13**	
Nagelkerke R square	.060		.060		.119		.119	
N	350		350		342		342	

Notes. MVT = motor vehicle theft.
** p <.*01.* * p < .*05.* ° p < .*10.*

Table 6.14: Logistic regression with non-Hispanic white respondents only: Racial identity threat and public support for incarcerating corporate and government white-collar offenders.

	Incarcerate Corporate				Incarcerate Government			
	b (S.E.)	O.R.	*b* (S.E.)	O.R.	*b* (S.E.)	O.R.	*b* (S.E.)	O.R.
Racial identify elite WCC	0.028 (.316)	1.03	–0.306 (.562)	0.74	0.660* (.296)	1.94	–0.096 (.569)	0.91
Elite WCC seriousness	0.821* (.328)	2.27	0.537 (.514)	1.71	0.409 (.324)	1.51	–0.188 (.508)	0.83
Racial identify elite WCC x Elite WCC seriousness	---		0.485 (.671)	1.62	---		1.036 (.661)	2.82
Younger	–0.668 (.407)	0.51	–0.639 (.408)	0.53	–0.769* (.388)	0.46	–0.705° (.391)	0.49
Older	0.297 (.392)	1.35	0.317 (.392)	1.37	–0.112 (.365)	0.89	–0.058 (.366)	0.94
Male	–0.054 (.318)	0.95	–0.072 (.319)	0.93	0.244 (.300)	1.28	0.211 (.302)	1.23
No advanced education	–0.673 (.415)	0.51	–0.708° (.418)	0.49	0.615 (.383)	1.85	0.553 (.387)	1.74
Advanced degree	–0.264 (.269)	0.77	–0.280 (.370)	0.76	0.485 (.327)	1.62	0.456 (.329)	1.58
Employed full time	0.528 (.363)	1.70	0.567 (.367)	1.76	0.172 (.338)	1.19	0.250 (.342)	1.28
Conservative	–0.041 (.341)	0.96	–0.008 (.344)	0.99	–0.115 (.328)	0.89	–0.052 (.332)	0.95
Liberal	0.259 (.427)	1.30	0.259 (.427)	1.30	–0.714° (.378)	0.49	–0.723° (.379)	0.49
Intercept	0.709 (.480)		0.901 (.554)		0.143 (.454)		0.563 (.539)	
Model Chi-square/df	15.767/10		16.293/11		18.703/10*		21.204/11*	
Nagelkerke R square	.086		.089		.096		.109	
N	269		269		269		269	

Notes. WCC = white-collar crime.
** p <.01. * p < .05. ° p < .10.

Table 6.15: Logistic regression with non-Hispanic white respondents only: Racial identity threat and public support for incarcerating and disenfranchising elite white-collar offenders.

	Incarcerate Elite WCC				Disenfranchise Elite WCC			
	b (S.E.)	O.R.	*b* (S.E.)	O.R.	*b* (S.E.)	O.R.	*b* (S.E.)	O.R.
Racial identify elite WCC	0.460° (.270)	1.58	0.179 (.528)	1.97	–0.429 (.298)	0.65	–0.003 (.552)	1.00
Elite WCC seriousness	0.422 (.299)	1.56	0.217 (.470)	1.24	0.342 (.312)	1.41	0.721 (.517)	2.06
Racial identify elite WCC x Elite WCC seriousness	---		0.375 (.607)	1.46	---		–0.587 (.647)	0.56
Younger	–0.897* (.370)	0.41	–0.875* (.372)	0.42	–0.274 (.382)	0.76	–0.313 (.386)	0.73
Older	0.047 (.331)	1.05	0.066 (.333)	1.07	0.163 (.358)	1.18	0.130 (.361)	1.14
Male	0.043 (.273)	1.04	0.033 (.273)	1.03	0.189 (.293)	1.21	0.204 (.294)	1.23
No advanced education	0.279 (.350)	1.32	0.256 (.352)	1.29	0.107 (.407)	1.11	0.149 (.410)	1.16
Advanced degree	0.312 (.304)	1.37	0.300 (.305)	1.35	–0.533° (.323)	0.59	–0.516 (.323)	0.60
Employed full time	0.300 (.313)	1.35	0.327 (.316)	1.39	–0.126 (.328)	0.88	–0.166 (.332)	0.85
Conservative	–0.214 (.295)	0.81	–0.193 (.297)	0.82	0.496 (.324)	1.64	0.464 (.326)	1.59
Liberal	–0.466 (.355)	0.63	–0.467 (.355)	0.63	–0.194 (.360)	0.82	–0.194 (.361)	0.82
Intercept	–0.231 (.426)		–0.070 (.499)		0.879° (.461)		0.623 (.534)	
Model Chi-square/df	16.527/10°		16.909/11		17.385/10°		18.205/11°	
Nagelkerke R square	.080		.082		.090		.094	
N	269		269		265		265	

Notes. WCC = white-collar crime.
** p <.01. * p < .05. ° p < .10.

Table 6.16: Logistic regression with non-Hispanic white respondents only: Racial identity threat and public support for incarcerating false advertising and car sales fraud offenders.

	Incarcerate False Advertising				Incarcerate Car Sales Fraud			
	b (S.E.)	O.R.	*b* (S.E.)	O.R.	*b* (S.E.)	O.R.	*b* (S.E.)	O.R.
Racial identify fraud	0.254 (.278)	1.29	0.098 (.415)	1.10	0.387 (.288)	1.47	0.097 (.405)	1.10
Fraud seriousness	0.673* (.273)	1.96	0.559 (.352)	1.75	–0.013 (.276)	0.99	–0.219 (.344)	0.80
Racial identity threat	---		0.276 (.544)	1.32	---		0.566 (.564)	1.76
Younger	–0.629 (.412)	0.53	–0.645 (.413)	0.53	–1.022** (.373)	0.36	–1.060** (.376)	0.35
Older	–0.255 (.338)	0.76	–0.262 (.339)	0.77	0.222 (.348)	1.25	0.209 (.350)	1.23
Male	0.046 (.281)	1.05	0.048 (.281)	1.05	0.169 (.288)	1.18	0.172 (.288)	1.19
No advanced education	–0.002 (.352)	0.99	0.000 (.351)	1.00	–0.622° (.367)	0.54	–0.629° (.368)	0.53
Advanced degree	–0.222 (.316)	0.80	–0.225 (.316)	0.80	–0.424 (.330)	0.66	–0.439 (.331)	0.65
Employed full time	–0.273 (.331)	0.76	–0.266 (.331)	0.77	0.317 (.330)	1.37	0.328 (.331)	1.39
Conservative	0.107 (.298)	1.11	0.108 (.299)	1.11	0.061 (.303)	1.06	0.056 (.304)	1.06
Liberal	0.108 (.366)	1.11	0.103 (.366)	1.11	0.114 (.373)	1.12	0.101 (.374)	1.11
Intercept	–0.806 (.416)		–0.738° (.435)		0.785° (.418)		0.912* (.441)	
Model Chi-square/df	12.793/10		13.051/11		17.593/10°		18.606/11°	
Nagelkerke R square	.064		.065		.088		.093	
N	270		270		270		270	

** p <.01. * p < .05. ° p < .10.

Table 6.17: Logistic regression with non-Hispanic white respondents only: Racial identity threat and public support for incarcerating and disenfranchising consumer fraud white-collar offenders.

	Incarcerate Fraud				Disenfranchise Fraud			
	b (S.E.)	O.R.	*b* (S.E.)	O.R.	*b* (S.E.)	O.R.	*b* (S.E.)	O.R.
Racial identify fraud	0.488° (.289)	1.63	0.262 (.427)	1.30	–0.372 (.282)	0.69	–0.405 (.407)	0.67
Fraud seriousness	0.462 (.288)	1.59	0.283 (.379)	1.33	0.773** (.272)	2.17	0.749* (.343)	2.12
Racial identify fraud x Fraud seriousness	---		0.407 (.565)	1.50	---		0.062 (.550)	1.06
Younger	–0.995* (.470)	0.37	–1.023* (.472)	0.36	–0.498 (.395)	0.61	–0.503 (.398)	0.60
Older	–0.278 (.353)	0.76	–0.290 (.354)	0.75	0.235 (.339)	1.27	0.233 (.340)	1.26
Male	0.188 (.294)	1.21	0.192 (.295)	1.21	0.170 (.285)	1.19	0.171 (.285)	1.19
No advanced education	–0.080 (.372)	0.92	–0.073 (.373)	0.93	0.772* (.362)	2.17	0.773* (.362)	2.17
Advanced degree	–0.154 (.330)	0.86	–0.156 (.331)	0.86	0.471 (.318)	1.60	0.471 (.318)	1.60
Employed full time	–0.189 (.351)	0.83	–0.179 (.351)	0.84	0.261 (.333)	1.30	0.262 (.333)	1.30
Conservative	0.235 (.311)	1.27	0.238 (.311)	1.27	0.741* (.296)	2.10	0.741* (.296)	2.10
Liberal	–0.057 (.394)	0.95	–0.064 (.395)	0.94	–0.069 (.369)	0.93	–0.071 (.370)	0.93
Intercept	–1.121* (.441)		–1.019* (.460)		–1.345** (.423)		–1.331** (.440)	
Model Chi-square/df	12.914/10		13.433/11		29.514/10**		29.527/11**	
Nagelkerke R square	.067		.070		.143		.143	
N	270		270		261		261	

** p <.01. * p < .05. ° p < .10.

Table 6.18: Logistic regression with non-Hispanic white respondents only: Racial identity threat and public support for incarcerating motor vehicle theft and burglary offenders.

	Incarcerate MVT				Incarcerate Burglary			
	b (S.E.)	O.R.	*b* (S.E.)	O.R.	*b* (S.E.)	O.R.	*b* (S.E.)	O.R.
Racial identify street crime	–0.355 (.385)	0.70	–0.269 (.502)	0.76	–0.033 (.463)	0.97	0.209 (.607)	1.23
Street crime seriousness	0.771** (.287)	2.16	0.804* (.313)	2.35	0.645* (.327)	1.91	0.729* (.354)	2.07
Racial identify street crime x Street crime seriousness	---		–0.208 (.774)	0.81	---		–0.612 (.928)	0.54
Younger	–0.086 (.398)	0.92	–0.080 (.399)	0.92	0.044 (.433)	1.05	0.061 (.434)	1.06
Older	0.067 (.351)	1.07	0.063 (.351)	1.07	0.296 (.399)	1.34	0.288 (.400)	1.33
Male	0.187 (.291)	1.21	0.186 (.292)	1.20	–0.179 (.327)	0.84	–0.184 (.328)	0.83
No advanced education	–0.734° (.384)	0.48	–0.735° (.383)	0.48	–0.101 (.463)	0.90	–0.102 (.463)	0.90
Advanced degree	–0.587° (.340)	0.56	–0.593° (.341)	0.55	–0.736° (.381)	0.50	–0.755* (.382)	0.47
Employed full time	–0.040 (.335)	0.96	–0.047 (.336)	0.95	0.177 (.374)	1.19	0.159 (.376)	1.17
Conservative	–0.118 (.305)	0.89	–0.118 (.305)	0.89	–0.192 (.356)	0.83	–0.189 (.356)	0.83
Liberal	0.391 (.400)	1.48	0.391 (.400)	1.48	–0.427 (.417)	0.65	–0.426 (.417)	0.65
Intercept	1.017* (.420)		1.01* (.420)		1.574** (.479)		1.563** (.479)	
Model Chi-square/df	14.413/10		14.485/11		12.181/10		12.610/11	
Nagelkerke R square	.072		.073		.068		.070	
N	279		279		279		279	

Notes. MVT = motor vehicle theft.
** p <.01. * p < .05. ° p < .10.

Table 6.19: Logistic regression with non-Hispanic white respondents only: Racial identity threat and public support for incarcerating and disenfranchising nonviolent economic street offenders.

	Incarcerate Street Crime				Disenfranchise Street Crime			
	b (S.E.)	O.R.	*b* (S.E.)	O.R.	*b* (S.E.)	O.R.	*b* (S.E.)	O.R.
Racial identify street crime	–0.317 (.368)	0.73	–0.306 (.491)	0.74	0.118 (.374)	1.13	–0.614 (.601)	0.54
Street crime seriousness	0.915** (.263)	2.50	0.918** (.284)	2.50	1.108** (.266)	3.03	0.920** (.285)	2.51
Racial identify street crime x Street crime seriousness	---		–0.024 (.736)	0.98	---		1.404° (.818)	4.07
Younger	0.083 (.372)	1.09	0.084 (.373)	1.09	–0.369 (.390)	0.69	–0.417 (.394)	0.66
Older	0.081 (.326)	1.08	0.081 (.326)	1.09	–0.074 (.338)	0.93	–0.052 (.340)	0.95
Male	0.113 (.270)	1.12	0.113 (.270)	1.12	0.396 (.277)	1.49	0.406 (.278)	1.50
No advanced education	–0.456 (.352)	0.63	–0.456 (.352)	0.63	–0.311 (.356)	0.73	–0.288 (.358)	0.75
Advanced degree	–0.621* (.307)	0.54	–0.622* (.308)	0.54	0.154 (.313)	1.17	0.202 (.317)	1.22
Employed full time	–0.081 (.311)	0.92	–0.082 (.312)	0.92	0.006 (.322)	1.01	0.055 (.325)	1.06
Conservative	–0.184 (.288)	0.83	–0.184 (.288)	0.83	0.974** (.298)	2.65	0.982** (.300)	1.67
Liberal	–0.064 (.356)	0.94	–0.064 (.356)	0.94	0.481 (.363)	1.62	0.493 (.366)	1.64
Intercept	0.492 (.387)		0.491 (.387)		–1.350** (.418)		–1.320** (.421)	
Model Chi-square/df	18.352/10*		18.352/11*		35.538/10**		38.723/11**	
Nagelkerke R square	.082		.086		.164		.178	
N	279		279		272		272	

Notes. MVT = motor vehicle theft.
** p <.01. * p < .05. ° p < .10.

Table 6.20: Logistic regression with non-Hispanic white respondents only: Victims, racial identity threat, and public support for incarcerating corporate and government white-collar offenders.

	Incarcerate Corporate				Incarcerate Government			
	b (S.E.)	O.R.	*b* (S.E.)	O.R.	*b* (S.E.)	O.R.	*b* (S.E.)	O.R.
Racial identify elite WCC	–0.037 (.332)	0.96	–0.083 (.399)	0.92	0.690* (.311)	1.99	0.618 (.383)	1.86
Social identify elite victims	0.366 (.335)	1.44	0.277 (.542)	1.32	0.123 (.309)	1.13	0.012 (.465)	1.01
Racial identify elite WCC x Social identify elite victims	---		0.142 (.683)	1.15	---		0.196 (.618)	1.22
Elite WCC seriousness	0.819* (.332)	2.27	0.816* (.333)	2.62	0.445 (.326)	1.56	0.440 (.327)	1.55
Younger	–0.666 (.411)	0.51	–0.675 (.413)	0.51	–0.747° (.390)	0.47	–0.756° (.391)	0.47
Older	0.342 (.398)	1.41	0.341 (.398)	1.41	–0.041 (.370)	0.96	–0.037 (.370)	0.96
Male	0.041 (.327)	1.04	0.038 (.327)	1.04	0.353 (.309)	1.42	0.350 (.310)	1.42
No advanced education	–0.831° (.427)	0.44	–0.831° (.427)	0.44	0.480 (.391)	1.62	0.482 (.392)	1.62
Advanced degree	–0.383 (.378)	0.68	–0.380 (.378)	0.68	0.361 (.334)	1.44	0.366 (.334)	1.44
Employed full time	0.494 (.368)	1.64	0.496 (.368)	1.64	0.121 (.341)	1.13	0.124 (.341)	1.13
Conservative	–0.113 (.346)	0.89	–0.109 (.346)	0.90	–0.216 (.332)	0.81	–0.211 (.333)	0.81
Liberal	0.328 (.443)	1.39	0.329 (.443)	1.39	–0.721° (.386)	0.49	–0.724° (.386)	0.49
Intercept	0.677 (.489)		0.699 (.501)		0.133 (.459)		0.162 (.468)	
Model Chi-square/df	18.174/11°		18.217/12		18.812/11°		18.912/12°	
Nagelkerke R square	.101		.101		.099		.099	
N	263		263		263		263	

Notes. WCC = white-collar crime.
** p <.01. * p < .05. ° p < .10.

Table 6.21: Logistic regression with non-Hispanic white respondents only: Victims, racial identity threat, and public support for incarcerating and disenfranchising elite white-collar offenders.

	Incarcerate Elite WCC				Disenfranchise Elite WCC			
	b (S.E.)	O.R.	*b* (S.E.)	O.R.	*b* (S.E.)	O.R.	*b* (S.E.)	O.R.
Racial identify elite WCC	0.475° (.283)	1.61	0.463 (.350)	1.59	–0.369 (.310)	0.69	–0.306 (.383)	0.74
Social identify elite victims	0.125 (.279)	1.13	0.105 (.443)	1.11	–0.276 (.297)	0.76	–0.157 (.521)	0.86
Racial identify elite WCC x Social identify elite victims	---		0.034 (.568)	1.04	---		–0.177 (.630)	0.84
Elite WCC seriousness	0.451 (.301)	1.57	0.450 (.301)	1.57	0.319 (.314)	1.38	0.321 (.314)	1.38
Younger	–0.862* (.372)	0.42	–0.863* (.373)	0.42	–0.222 (.383)	0.80	–0.214 (.384)	0.81
Older	0.109 (.335)	1.12	0.109 (.335)	1.12	0.197 (.359)	1.22	0.195 (.359)	1.22
Male	0.118 (.279)	1.13	0.117 (.279)	1.12	0.115 (.298)	1.12	0.117 (.298)	1.12
No advanced education	0.153 (.357)	1.17	0.153 (.357)	1.17	0.162 (.413)	1.18	0.161 (.412)	1.17
Advanced degree	0.201 (.309)	1.22	0.201 (.310)	1.22	–0.503 (.326)	0.61	–0.507 (.326)	0.60
Employed full time	0.266 (.316)	1.31	0.267 (.316)	1.31	–0.099 (.329)	0.91	–0.103 (.330)	0.90
Conservative	–0.305 (.299)	0.74	–0.304 (.299)	0.74	0.498 (.326)	1.65	0.492 (.327)	1.64
Liberal	–0.477 (.362)	0.62	–0.477 (.262)	0.62	–0.216 (.365)	0.80	–0.217 (.365)	0.81
Intercept	–0.230 (.430)		–0.224 (.439)		0.920* (.462)		0.890° (.473)	
Model Chi-square/df	16.779/11		16.783/12		17.656/11°		17.735/12	
Nagelkerke R square	.083		.083		.093		.093	
N	263		263		259		259	

Notes. WCC = white-collar crime.
** p <.01. * p < .05. ° p < .10.

Table 6.22: Logistic regression with non-Hispanic white respondents only: Victims, racial identity threat, and public support for incarcerating false advertising and car sales fraud offenders.

	Incarcerate False Advertising				Incarcerate Car Sales Fraud			
	b (S.E.)	O.R.	*b* (S.E.)	O.R.	*b* (S.E.)	O.R.	*b* (S.E.)	O.R.
Racial identify fraud	0.178 (.297)	1.19	–0.217 (.441)	0.81	0.297 (.305)	1.35	0.270 (.430)	1.31
Social identify fraud victims	0.117 (.288)	1.12	–0.187 (.380)	0.83	0.265 (.293)	1.30	0.245 (.371)	1.28
Racial identify fraud x Social identify fraud victims	---		0.735 (.589)	2.09	---		0.052 (.591)	1.05
Fraud seriousness	0.620* (.277)	1.86	0.616* (.278)	1.85	–0.056 (.279)	0.95	–0.057 (.279)	0.95
Younger	–0.604 (.414)	0.55	–0.613 (.416)	0.54	–0.996** (.377)	0.37	–0.996** (.377)	0.37
Older	–0.172 (.343)	0.84	–0.186 (.343)	0.83	0.276 (.353)	1.32	0.275 (.354)	1.32
Male	0.043 (.286)	1.04	0.043 (.288)	1.04	0.121 (.292)	1.13	0.120 (.292)	1.13
No advanced education	–0.040 (.357)	1.04	0.059 (.358)	1.06	–0.660° (.373)	0.52	–0.659° (.373)	0.52
Advanced degree	–0.176 (.322)	0.84	–0.168 (.323)	0.85	–0.451 (.335)	0.64	–0.451 (.335)	0.64
Employed full time	–0.172 (.334)	0.84	–0.173 (.335)	0.84	0.358 (.334)	1.43	0.358 (.334)	1.43
Conservative	0.124 (.306)	1.13	0.146 (.308)	1.16	0.056 (.310)	1.06	0.058 (.310)	1.06
Liberal	0.128 (.370)	1.14	0.150 (.372)	1.16	0.117 (.378)	1.12	0.119 (.378)	1.13
Intercept	–0.931* (.436)		–0.840° (.442)		0.694 (.437)		0.701 (.443)	
Model Chi-square/df	10.809/11		12.395/12		18.126/11°		18.134/12	
Nagelkerke R square	.056		.064		.093		.093	
N	261		261		261		261	

** p <.01. * p < .05. ° p < .10.

Table 6.23: Logistic regression with non-Hispanic white respondents only: Victims, racial identity threat, and public support for incarcerating and disenfranchising consumer fraud white-collar offenders.

	Incarcerate Fraud				Disenfranchise Fraud			
	b (S.E.)	O.R.	*b* (S.E.)	O.R.	*b* (S.E.)	O.R.	*b* (S.E.)	O.R.
Racial identify fraud	0.364 (.310)	1.44	–0.184 (.474)	0.83	–0.284 (.302)	0.75	–0.752° (.440)	0.47
Social identify fraud victims	0.293 (.303)	1.34	–0.141 (.413)	0.87	–0.314 (.292)	0.73	–0.674° (.381)	0.51
Racial identify fraud x Social identify fraud victims	---		1.008 (.629)	2.74	---		0.895 (.597)	2.45
Fraud seriousness	0.388 (.294)	1.48	0.386 (.296)	1.47	0.778** (.277)	2.18	0.767** (.278)	2.15
Younger	–0.987* (.473)	0.37	–1.012* (.477)	0.36	–0.402 (.399)	0.67	–0.422 (.403)	0.66
Older	–0.194 (.361)	0.82	–0.211 (.360)	0.81	0.318 (.345)	1.37	0.286 (.346)	1.33
Male	0.194 (.301)	1.22	0.200 (.303)	1.22	0.163 (.292)	1.18	0.159 (.293)	1.17
No advanced education	–0.030 (.380)	0.97	–0.004 (.383)	1.00	0.717° (.367)	2.05	0.747 (.370)	2.11
Advanced degree	–0.091 (.339)	0.91	–0.075 (.341)	0.93	0.431 (.324)	1.54	0.442 (.325)	1.56
Employed full time	–0.071 (.356)	0.93	–0.070 (.357)	0.93	0.217 (.337)	1.24	0.214 (.338)	1.24
Conservative	0.240 (.321)	1.27	0.272 (.323)	1.31	0.709* (.304)	2.03	0.748* (.307)	2.11
Liberal	–0.057 (.400)	0.94	–0.034 (.403)	0.97	–0.010 (.374)	0.99	0.028 (.376)	1.03
Intercept	–1.318 (.467)		–1.193 (.471)		–1.249** (.440)		–1.145* (.446)	
Model Chi-square/df	11.969/11		14.632/12		27.624/11**		29.908/12**	
Nagelkerke R square	.065		.079		.139		.150	
N	261		261		261		261	

** p <.01. * p < .05. ° p < .10.

Table 6.24: Logistic regression with non-Hispanic white respondents only: Victims, racial identity threat, and public support for incarcerating motor vehicle theft and burglary offenders.

	Incarcerate MVT				Incarcerate Burglary			
	b (S.E.)	O.R.	*b* (S.E.)	O.R.	*b* (S.E.)	O.R.	*b* (S.E.)	O.R.
Racial identify street crime	–0.363 (.392)	0.70	–0.477 (.561)	0.62	0.001 (.469)	1.00	0.033 (.693)	1.03
Social identify street victims	0.163 (.296)	1.18	0.126 (.323)	1.13	0.094 (.329)	1.10	0.102 (.354)	1.11
Racial identify street crime x Social identify street victims	---		0.218 (.777)	1.24	---		–0.058 (.937)	0.94
Street crime seriousness	0.716* (.291)	2.05	0.720* (.292)	2.05	0.637° (.329)	1.89	0.637° (.330)	1.89
Younger	0.016 (.409)	1.02	0.011 (.409)	1.01	0.094 (.436)	1.10	0.095 (.437)	1.10
Older	0.110 (.355)	1.12	0.106 (.355)	1.11	0.349 (.401)	1.42	0.349 (.401)	1.42
Male	0.263 (.300)	1.30	0.266 (.300)	1.30	–0.182 (.332)	0.83	–0.183 (.332)	0.83
No advanced education	–0.774* (.390)	0.46	–0.772* (.390)	0.46	–0.076 (.464)	0.93	–0.077 (.465)	0.93
Advanced degree	–0.628° (.349)	0.53	–0.627° (.349)	0.53	–0.725° (.383)	0.48	–0.726° (.383)	0.48
Employed full time	0.000 (.343)	1.000	0.004 (.344)	1.00	0.163 (.379)	1.18	0.162 (.379)	1.18
Conservative	–0.084 (.310)	0.92	–0.086 (.310)	0.92	–0.186 (.359)	0.83	–0.185 (.359)	0.83
Liberal	0.374 (.404)	1.45	0.377 (.404)	1.46	–0.393 (.421)	0.68	–0.393 (.421)	0.68
Intercept	0.903 (.438)		0.913* (.439)		1.446** (.494)		1.444** (.495)	
Model Chi-square/df	13.711/11		13.789/12		12.100/11		12.104/12	
Nagelkerke R square	.071		.072		.069		.069	
N	269		269		269		269	

Notes. MVT = motor vehicle theft.
** p <.01. * p < .05. ° p < .10.

Table 6.25: Logistic regression with non-Hispanic white respondents only: Victims, racial identity threat, and public support for incarcerating and disenfranchising nonviolent economic street offenders.

	Incarcerate Street Crime				Disenfranchise Street Crime			
	b (S.E.)	O.R.	*b* (S.E.)	O.R.	*b* (S.E.)	O.R.	*b* (S.E.)	O.R.
Racial identify street crime	–0.259 (.373)	0.77	–0.280 (.546)	0.76	0.118 (.381)	1.13	–0.203 (.553)	0.82
Social identify street victims	–0.049 (.272)	0.95	–0.055 (.295)	0.95	–0.060 (.282)	0.94	–0.160 (.309)	0.85
Racial identify street crime x Social identify street victims	---		0.040 (.742)	1.04	---		0.613 (.757)	1.85
Street crime seriousness	0.855** (.267)	2.35	0.856** (.267)	2.35	1.152** (.272)	3.16	1.167** (.273)	3.21
Younger	0.210 (.379)	1.23	0.210 (.379)	1.23	–0.325 (.398)	0.72	–0.339 (.399)	0.71
Older	0.141 (.330)	1.15	0.140 (.330)	1.15	–0.031 (.346)	0.97	–0.034 (.347)	0.97
Male	0.150 (.276)	1.16	0.151 (.276)	1.16	0.308 (.285)	1.36	0.317 (.286)	1.37
No advanced education	–0.470 (.356)	0.63	–0.470 (.356)	0.63	–0.307 (.362)	0.74	–0.304 (.363)	0.74
Advanced degree	–0.641* (.313)	0.53	–0.640* (.313)	0.53	0.173 (.321)	1.19	0.176 (.321)	1.19
Employed full time	–0.032 (.318)	0.97	–0.031 (.318)	0.97	0.086 (.332)	1.09	0.101 (.333)	1.11
Conservative	–0.137 (.292)	0.87	–0.137 (.292)	0.87	0.986** (.306)	2.68	0.984** (.307)	2.67
Liberal	–0.034 (.361)	0.97	–0.033 (.361)	0.97	0.529 (.371)	1.70	0.540 (.372)	1.72
Intercept	0.404 (.405)		0.406 (.406)		–1.387** (.444)		–1.369** (.445)	
Model Chi-square/df	16.918/11		16.921/12		35.228/11**		35.885/12**	
Nagelkerke R square	.082		.082		.168		.171	
N	269		269		262		262	

Notes. MVT = motor vehicle theft.
** p <.*01.* * p < .*05.* ° p < .*10.*

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSIONS

Reflecting concerns raised by E.A. Ross in 1907, Edwin Sutherland in 1949, and many others, as this study was being conducted, the U.S. and global economy spiraled into the most severe recession since the Great Depression. The origins of current global economic crisis can be traced to the criminogenic U.S. economy that enjoys governmental tolerance, deregulation, and complicity despite extensive evidence of massive corporate globalization, financial manipulations, and fraud. The actions and decisions of the political and economic elite have enormous consequences for national stability and for U.S. citizens. Yet—in terms of regulation, resource allocation, and sanctioning—the U.S. criminal justice system focuses disproportionately on comparatively minor economic actions and decisions of non-elites, such as home burglars and home mortgage loan applicants, car thieves and used car salesmen (Braithwaite, 1986; Reiman, 2000). The criminal justice system's focus on law violations by the less advantaged members of society is said to reflect traditional U.S. public opinion (Ross, 1907, Sutherland, 1949, Chevigny, 2001). Tolerant public attitudes toward the misdeeds of the powerful have anecdotally been discussed in terms of the similarity between the offense perpetrator and the social audience, and the public audience's consequent reluctance to punish someone it can identify with.

However, not only have the most recent empirical assessments of public opinion reported harsh societal reactions to white-collar crimes (Unnever et al., 2008), but also this research has disaggregated the various white-collar offenses and demonstrated that the white-collar offenses of the powerful—the political and economic elite—are perceived to be the most egregious and despicable forms of economic law breaking (Kane and Wall, 2006). Still, beyond examining the influences of common demographic, economic, and political factors on shaping public opinion, this research has not been able to theoretically explain why people feel the way they do about the deceptive crimes of the powerful and of the powerless. The present study was designed to address salient empirical and theoretical gaps in the white-collar crime literature through its test of social identity theory, and—using 400 Floridians responses to whether they support

incarceration or disenfranchisement for the conviction of guilty white-collar and street offenders—reaches the following conclusions.

7.1 Main Findings and Limitations

The first research area squarely addressed the conventional wisdom of relatively tolerant public opinion toward white-collar offenders, and acknowledged the heterogeneity of the concept of white-collar crime and associated definitional debates by using one offender-based definition (which included corporate fraud and government bribery) and one offense-based definition (including local consumer frauds). Evidence of a comparative public tolerance surfaced for only those white-collar crimes committed by local merchants who defrauded their consumers. No evidence emerged of public tolerance toward the white-collar crimes of the more powerful corporate officers and government officials. The public was equally likely to support incarceration for elite white-collar offenders as for nonviolent economic street offenders, but elite white-collar crimes were seen as the most serious crime category as well as the one most deserving of disenfranchisement. Thus, the definition of white-collar crime and the measure of punitiveness used in the comparison drive the result.

The second research area attempted to identify factors influencing public opinion to explain public tolerance versus punitiveness toward elite white-collar, non-elite white-collar, and street offenders. Drawing from social identity theory and anecdotal white-collar crime evidence—and anticipating a positive effect of perceived seriousness on punitiveness—it was hypothesized that social identification with offenders would often lead to tolerance toward law breaking but that identification would result in punitive reactions to offending when the offense is perceived as threatening. The study used two measures of identification with offenders (social status and racial identification), two measures of threat (offense seriousness and social status identification with victims), and two measures of punitiveness (support for incarceration and for disenfranchisement).

Beginning with the simplest prediction—that perceived seriousness of the offense would increase the likelihood of punitiveness—a very different pattern emerged for the different crime types. Sixteen models estimated this relationship for nonviolent economic street offenders and fifteen of them produced findings consistent with the prediction. Moving to the lower-level

white-collar crimes, eight models supported the prediction and one contradicted it, and only one model showed that perceived seriousness of elite white-collar crimes translated into harsher incarceration and disenfranchisement preferences. It seems that it takes a lower threshold for the public to perceive a street crime as threatening and for this to translate into incarceration support. But, despite high average levels of perceived seriousness and punitiveness toward elite white-collar offenders, the public's sense of threat posed by these crimes does not appear to influence their punishment preferences (either in the multivariate models or in most preliminary bivariate correlations). It is possible that the overall high level of perceived seriousness of elite white-collar crimes reported by the 398 survey respondents (74%) is stifling the variable's influence; if not, it appears that some factor other than perceived offense seriousness drives punitiveness toward the powerful. Perceived seriousness does influence punitiveness toward street offenders, so it would be interesting if future research confirmed the present finding that a similar seriousness–punitiveness relationship does not exist for elite white-collar offenders.

Twenty-four models estimated the alternative threat specification of social identification with victims and only twice was the variable significant and, on both of these occasions, it was negatively rather than positively associated with punitiveness. Interestingly, bivariate correlations had offered preliminary support for the expected positive association between social identification with victims and punitiveness, because this form of threat was positively related to incarcerating support for all types of elite white-collar offenders and car sales fraud offenders. Once the standard control variables were added, however, the relationship disappeared or was reversed.

Eleven models estimated each of the various interaction combinations involving the two forms of offender identification and two threats, and one model estimated each combination for the alternative punitiveness form of disenfranchisement. Only one model supported H2a (that social identification with offenders would be positively related to incarceration support when perceived offense seriousness is high) and no model supported H2b (with disenfranchisement as the dependent variable). Likewise, one model supported H3a (that that social identification with offenders would be positively related to incarceration support when accompanied with social identification with victims). Although two models statistically supported H3b (with disenfranchisement as the dependent variable), the negative main effect of this form of threat on punitiveness in these two models effectively renders the interaction coefficient substantively

meaningless. Moving from social status identification to racial identification with offenders, not one model produced significant findings addressing the interactions predicted by Hypotheses H4a, H4b, H5a, and H5b.

Why was there so little support for the hypotheses? Flaws in the methods could be to blame. Of course, a larger sample size and a national sample would be improvements to the present research design. The timing of the survey also could be problematic in the long run, given the full force of the current economic recession was being realized during the survey's administration. But research cannot await favorable economic conditions any more than researchers can obtain unlimited funds to arrive at the ideal survey composition and representativeness. A small step toward determining whether such limitations drove the findings would be administering the same survey in a different state or set of states. The recession will undoubtedly end in the near future and this will provide the opportunity for a pre–post design that would detect any influence of current national economic conditions on individuals' punishment preferences. The loss of the variable income in the present study was unfortunate, and adding to future sample sizes would be a reasonable protection against a repeated loss of respondents' financial information.

Other sources of error could be a product of the nature of the material covered by the survey, which might have induced a social desirability effect among respondents. Specifically, voting, law breaking, and racial groups are sensitive topics that lead some people to respond—not necessarily with the truth—but often with an answer they feel the interviewer and others would find socially acceptable (i.e., "politically correct"). Efforts were taken to weaken any effects of this phenomenon (e.g., asking about white rather than non-white offenders), but the extent to which such influences remain is impossible to determine. The sensitivity of the theoretical variables, moreover, could impact the number and representativeness of responses. Recalling Table 5.1 (pages 60–62), it is clear that 15 to 25 respondents were uncomfortable with answering the questions about social identification with offenders and social identification with victims. An attempt was made to reduce potential discomfort associated with reporting shared social backgrounds with convicted offenders by phrasing the question in the past tense, but social status is nevertheless generally stable throughout the life span (which is why the validity of the measure was not jeopardized by the past-tense phrasing). The dozen respondents who declined

to report whether or not they support disenfranchisement could also stem from the sensitivity of voting rights as a survey topic.

Social identification, moreover, is not a readily testable concept. The present operationalization of social identification was exploratory and would likely benefit from refinement. Past laboratory and university studies used smaller social groups than were employed here, such as teams in a competition, vegans versus non-vegans, students from one university and another, and different religions. Similarly, research arguing against industry self-regulation suggests that a shared professional status (e.g., medical doctors; Jesilow, Pontell, and Geis, 1986) is an important social identity. In the present study, funding could accommodate only 400 Floridian respondents, which precluded the examination of more distinct social identities because their occurrence would have been too rare in the population to capture in sufficient numbers for analyses. Given the sensitive and unclear nature of the key explanatory concepts, there is reason to believe that topic and question *framing* played a role in the pattern of findings. Although the influences of framing were taken into account during survey construction and recommended guidelines were followed (Converse and Presser, 1986), one particular survey design decision stands out as the potentially strongest theoretical explanation for the observed pattern of findings.

7.2 Theory Implications

The decision was made to specify, directly before asking respondents for their incarceration and disenfranchisement recommendations, that the perpetrator of each offense was *appropriately convicted*. Two considerations led to this decision, the first being a priori reasons for expecting a relationship between guilt determinations and punitiveness, and the desire to avoid model misspecification by failing to control for perceptions of guilt. The second consideration was that this assumption is consistent with the rationale for bifurcated sentencing systems.[10] Thus, the responses could arguably be better characterizations of jurors' opinions and punishment preferences than of the general public, because members of the general public—unlike jurors—

[10] Recall that the survey used in the present study was designed to accommodate multiple research agendas. One of them is a comparison of public preferences and actual punishments given to offenders in Florida state courts. Therefore, it was necessary to include the assumption in the survey to eliminate any effect of guilt uncertainty on survey respondents' behalf.

are not operating under the assumption of appropriate conviction. What might be the effect of this design decision in terms of modeling the public's punishment recommendations?

7.2.1 Labeling Theory

In terms of labeling theory, the fact of a criminal conviction would constitute the turning point; that is, the conviction itself effectuates the hypothesized black-sheep effect. Labeling theory, derived from symbolic interactionism and developed in the field of U.S. criminology, supports this notion. Criminologist proponents of labeling theory wanted to know why less socially powerful people were the usual subjects of disproportionate criminal justice system regulation and punishment (Williams and McShane, 1999); an equally important question to address is why the more socially powerful people are rare subjects of social control when their offenses have such enormous consequences.

Frank Tannenbaum (1938) coined the term "tag" to describe the new social identity a delinquent child is assigned when he or she gets caught. He also explained that, from that point on, society would react to the delinquent label more than to the actual behaviors of the child. Further, the tag could cause society to direct more attention to tagged individuals in the future or be internalized by the tagged individual and lead to "secondary deviance" (Lemert, 1951). And, according to Howard Becker (1963; see also Hughes, 1945; Schur, 1971)—while a person could have multiple social identities to balance at different times—the criminal identity assumes the "master status" and the other identities are reconfigured so that they are consistent with the criminal master status. Using these concepts, social identification theorists would agree: Once someone is tagged with any "other" label, they are likely to be responded to negatively in the future; conversely, if tagged when any "same" label, the person is likely to be responded to positively in the future. The theory is silent regarding the tag's effect on the tagged individual and instead speaks to the audience's future behavior as a result of the tagging (or social categorization process, in social identity terminology). Rather than being triggered by an alleged criminal event, for social identity theorists, tagging can result from mere social interaction. Perhaps that is why, within identity theory, there are negative and positive tags (i.e., people can be categorized favorably or unfavorably) when there are only negative tags in labeling theory (i.e., labeling theory addresses only the unfavorable tag of delinquent or criminal).

There is nothing incompatible about these theoretical orientations.[11] Indeed, social identification might be able to extend labeling theory by elaborating upon the process by which the tag produces increasingly negative social reactions. The tag could be so powerful that the audience would accept reduced thresholds for determinations of guilt and blame—which is effectively what is accomplished by taking criminal history into account during sentencing. The tag is a true self-fulfilling prophecy in this regard. Incorporating labeling into the framework of social identification, moreover, suggests a compelling explanation for deviant behavior by ingroup members, particularly when taking the concept of deterrence into account. The likelihood of punishment decreases the more one can distance oneself from a deviant tag (Wilkins, 1965), and so the more non-deviant—or "trusted"—one is perceived to be, the less one will be watched and regulated, and so the more opportunity one has to actually engage in deviant behavior and to probably avoid detection and sanctioning (see also Pepinsky, 1986). Studies have documented the relative infrequency with which white-collar offenders are targeted by law enforcement and policymakers (e.g., Levi, 1987; Reiman, 2000)—which supports white-collar offenders' shared perception that the risks of committing a white-collar crime are low whereas the rewards are high (e.g., Copes and Vieraitis, 2009). To the extent that federal and state governmental neglect of white-collar crime contributes to the perpetration of white-collar crimes—such as by allowing deregulatory markets and self-regulated industries—it is in the interests of national economic security that current U.S. approaches to white-collar crime be revised.

7.2.2 Information and Guilt Certainty

The social identity theory discussion of how social categorization involves a balancing of *individuating* information (i.e., specific) and *categorical* information (i.e., more general group-based stereotypes and general preconceptions) implies that, in reaching punitiveness judgments, people use whatever evidence is available as individuating information that increases or decreases punitiveness, based on whether it incriminates or exculpates an offender. When evidence is not available, judges are left with two options: (1) they must rely upon preexisting categorical information, or (2) they must disregard any concerns unaccompanied by

[11] On the contrary, U.S. minority-group perspectives such as racial threat (Crawford et al., 1998)—particularly when applied on an individual level through the concept of racial typification (Chiricos et al., 2004)—seem to already reflect a bridging of labeling and social identity perspectives.

individuating information. As evidence pertaining to the offender's culpability and the extent to harm caused is weighed, people must engage in a process of reconciling inconsistent information so that a singular, consistent determination can be reached regarding the suspect's character (i.e., his "master status"): guilty or not guilty. Information inconsistent with the suspect's new master status, in turn, is either ignored or is reinterpreted in a way that makes it consistent with the defendant's determined identity as a criminal or as an innocent.

Unlike street offenders, white-collar offenders—particularly the economic and political elites—tend to be of higher social status, respectable, and socially active. As a result, categorical information about the types of people who typically commit white-collar crimes is more often positive than negative, while categorical information about the types of people who frequently commit street crimes is more negative than positive. In other words, the higher an offender's social status, the more positive categorical information a perceiver will possess and potentially use in making punishment decisions. This has two implications regarding the likely influence of individuating information. For white-collar offenders, compelling individuating incriminating information will be necessary to overcome group-based stereotypes that otherwise would lead to a favorable decision for the offender (while individuating exculpatory evidence is not necessary to achieve this result). This relationship should be stronger for elite white-collar offenders than for more common fraud white-collar offenders. For street offenders, compelling individuating exculpatory information will be necessary to overcome group-based stereotypes that otherwise would lead to a punitive decision for the offender (while individuating incriminating evidence is not necessary to achieve this result).

Several empirical observations support this argument. First, studies have documented that people require more evidence of wrongdoing to conclude that an ingroup member is guilty of an offense than they require to arrive at a guilty verdict for an outgroup member (Howard and Levinson, 1985; Taylor and Hosch, 2004; van Prooijen, 2006). Second, white-collar crimes (which are predominately ingroup offenses) are more complicated and are more difficult to prove than the usual street offenses. To secure an insider trading conviction, for example, the prosecution must prove both that the defendant intended to defraud others and the privileged information played a material role in an economic transaction. Because so many white-collar offenders are highly placed corporate chairmen, CEOs, and CFOs, many defendants can claim that they were unaware of the information, or that they had planned to sell their stock before they

became aware of the information. Disproving their accounts requires compelling evidence, such as e-mail communications explicitly discussing the scheme and establishing timing. Related to this second point is the influence of ingroup versus outgroup members' self-defenses. Unless confronted with unambiguous information about an ingroup member's culpability for a crime (which is probably an unusual situation), people tend to believe the accounts offered by ingroup members more so than accounts offered by outgroup members (Massey, Freeman, and Zelditch, 1997). Furthermore, unlike street offenders facing legal action, many white-collar offenders launch positive publicity campaigns. By circulating positive information about themselves, they force their social audience to reconcile allegations of intentional wrongdoing with countervailing reports of their being a loving father and husband, a well-educated professional, and a prominent philanthropist (Levi, 2006). The simultaneous flow of positive and negative information about a crime suspect places a heavy burden on the prosecution to produce compelling evidence in order to secure a guilty conviction; it also creates a more demanding cognitive process for the social audience because the inconsistencies must be reconciled. Beyond that, media coverage determines much of what the public knows about most white-collar crimes. Not only does the media have limited space to devote to white-collar crime coverage, but also libel suits filed by suspected white-collar offenders have often deterred reporters and journalists from publishing negative information (Levi, 2006). Each of these observations suggests that guilty certainty is incredibly important to decision makers when judging white-collar offenders. In addition, in the absence of guilt certainty, people will be less likely to respond punitively toward white-collar offenders because group-based stereotypes paint a favorable picture of the offender that only convincing evidence can dispel.

It is at this point that we return to the present study's research design; namely, the importance of an appropriate criminal conviction when assessing public opinion. The notion, discussed above, that specifying that an appropriate criminal conviction is effectively a turning point receives strong support after considering the dual influences of individuating and categorical information about offenders. The weak relationship between harms caused and sentences suggest a similar process involving information about offenses. Distinct from perceptions of culpability for committing an act are perceptions of the damage caused. Public opinion research treats all motor vehicle thefts alike just at it treats all government briberies alike; in this sense, public opinion research assesses the influence of categorical offense

seriousness perceptions. People seem to have general ideas about whether corporate crime is more or less serious than street crime, but specific information that depicts a given offense either as more harmful than average (or as more harmful than expected based upon the general idea), or as less harmful than average, is likely to influence the relationship between the general preconceived idea and the punitive reaction. Thus, evidence (i.e., individuating information)—both of culpability and of harm—is suggested to moderate the effects of social identification and of crime seriousness perceptions on punitiveness (for a similar argument, see van Prooijen, 2006). Figure 7.1 suggests a revised causal model reflecting this theoretical possibility.

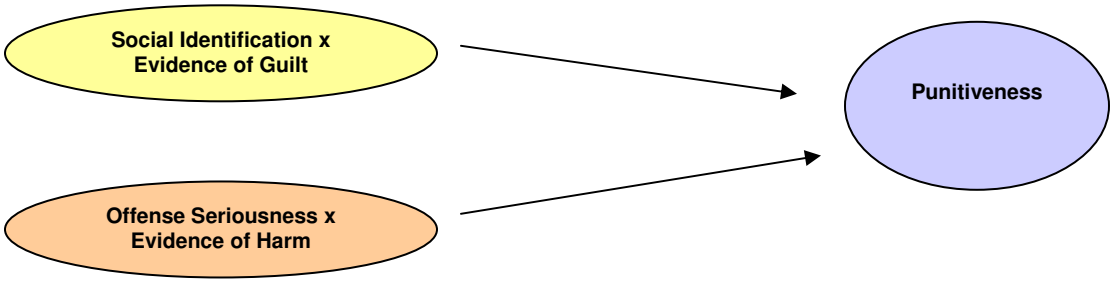

Figure 7.1: Revised causal model reflecting the present findings.

Empirically assessing these relationships is not possible with the available data. But guilty certainty was a constant in the present study and social identification sometimes had a positive effect on punitiveness, which would be consistent with this model. In addition, the present study provided no evidence of harm, so Figure 7.1 would not present a positive effect of seriousness. Future research could benefit from manipulating specific information about crimes in addition to capturing categorical information people carry with them about different offenders and offenses. A different line of research suggested by this revised causal model focuses on media depictions of white-collar versus street offenders as well as different categories of offenders representing different social statuses. To the extent that accurate, specific information about offenders and offenses informs public opinion, it will be important to identify ways to maximize the communication of such information through the media and other outlets. It might also be the case that, when confronted with article length limitations, editors will choose to focus upon information directly related to culpability and harm rather than devoting limited space to

promoting questionable images of social responsibility that detract from the real issue of potentially harmful criminal conduct.

7.3 Policy Implications

The present study was motivated by the void between conventional wisdom that the public is relatively tolerant of white-collar offenders, and empirical realities that (1) white-collar crimes result in far greater financial harms than do street crimes and (2) there actually is no 21st-century evidence of uniform public apathy toward or tolerance of white-collar crime. In a democratic society, the priorities and policies of the government should correspond with the tempered concerns of the governed (see also *Gregg v. Georgia*, 1976); otherwise, the government cannot be said to represent the will of the people and, by this very fact, is rendered illegitimate and soluble (*Hale v. Henkel*, 1906; *Braswell v. United States*, 1988; *United States v. R. Enterprises*, 1991). Consensus among methodologically sound empirical research is needed to determine the state of public opinion toward white-collar crime. Once determined, the evidence should be used to guide criminal justice policy and practice by comparing reasonable public preferences with actual sentences given to offenders and then making any necessary adjustments to punishment practices to ensure that the two are aligned.

7.3.1 Public Punitiveness versus Government Priorities

The present results indicate that public tolerance toward white-collar crime is generally reserved for those white-collar crimes that are perceived to be relatively less serious; namely, local consumer frauds. However, toward the more powerful corporate and government white-collar offenders, the public expressed a level of punitiveness equal to that displayed toward street offenders when discussing incarceration, and a level of punitiveness surpassing that displayed toward street offenders when discussing disenfranchisement. The present finding is consistent with other contemporary white-collar crime empirical research that, usually, only street crimes involving violence are perceived as more serious and more deserving of harsh punishment than the white-collar crimes of the powerful. The policy problem is that this consistent empirical trend contradicts governmental regulation and sanctioning practices because, in the average U.S.

criminal court, "among those who commit crimes, punishment will be greatest where it is deserved the least" (Groves and Frank, 1986:67; see also Braithwaite, 1986).

Returning to the definitional debate among white-collar criminologists, this trend also supports offender- rather than offense-based definitions. Joachim Savelesberg (1994) explained how governmental claims to have cracked down on white-collar crime exploit the inclusiveness of offense-based definitions by targeting the more visible crimes of the lower classes, rather than breaches of trust by upper-class members of society, and thereby symbolically fighting a "war on white-collar crime" to satisfy public demands for action. Either returning to an offender-based definition such as that proposed by Sutherland (1949)—or a more clear and direct dialogue between the public citizens and government officials about precisely which abuses of trust are the most harmful and therefore should be targeted—are necessary to achieve equilibrium between the will of the people and the actions of the government.

The U.S. public is actually quite consistent in its greater punitiveness toward the white-collar crimes of the upper classes than of the lower classes. Beyond discrepancies stemming from sheer ease of detection and conviction, then, researchers should not be observing more punitive government responses to lower-level white-collar offenders than higher-level white-collar offenders. To the extent that observed discrepancies could be traced to practical matters of differential enforceability, more structural preventative crime-control mechanisms, such as independent auditing, multi-jurisdictional investigative and sanctioning agencies, and third-party regulatory oversight, need to be in place (Friedrichs, 2007). Refusing to bolster the crime preventative and criminal justice powers of the government to protect its citizens from the excessive economic and political powerful elites—or, worse, shielding the deceptions of the powerful with cherished individual rights such as protected speech (e.g., *Nike v. Kasky*, 2003)—by keeping pace with globalization and technological advances is, in a word, anachronistic (e.g., Holtfreter, Van Slyke, and Blomberg, 2005). Refusal to acknowledge the dangers of power imbalances and concentration by economic and political elites—dangers that are echoed in public opinion studies on punishment predilections of American citizens but not in the halls of justice—is contrary to centuries' worth of experiences with changing market structures and technologies, as well as the free pursuit of individual life, liberty, and happiness.

7.3.2 Bernie Madoff and Beyond

A consistent theme running throughout this study is that so many factors operate to shield white-collar offenders from criminalization, detection, prosecution, conviction, and harsh sanctioning. Edwin Sutherland (1949) attributed much of this to the U.S. government's refusal to treat the law breaking of elites as crimes, instead preferring a control method stressing cooperation and compliance. Sutherland explained that governmental reluctance to criminally prosecute white-collar offenders allows them to avoid the stigma (or label) of being a criminal. Although Sutherland also explained that the government's position reflects a widespread public apathy toward white-collar crime, the present study did not witness such apathy. Beyond the present study, Bernie Madoff's 150-year sentence does not reflect public apathy—nor, importantly, does it appear to reflect governmental unwillingness to prosecute and punish high-status white-collar offenders. Particularly when considered in conjunction with other 21st-century sentences exceeding 20 years and when compared with pre-21st-century sentences of less than 5 years, it might look as though an attitudinal shift might be taking place. But I believe this is too optimistic a view.

Looking at Sholam Weiss's 845-year prison sentence and Kenneth Pound similar 700-year sentence, one might question the point of such long sentences when precisely the same end result would have occurred had these men instead received life sentences with no chance of parole. Ruling functional value out suggests the possibility of symbolic value. Together, Weiss, Pound, and a dozen accomplices either pled or were found guilty of diverting $450 million from their insurance company's policyholders into their own private accounts.[12] Pyramid scheme operator and businessman Norman Schmidt defrauded investors of $56 million, and he was found guilty by jury and sentenced to 330 years in prison.[13] Michael Levi (2006, 2009) has proposed that such extremely severe and incredibly rare sentences could be a method of addressing white-collar crime as an isolated "rotten apple" problem, rather than a more endemic "rotten barrel" or "rotten orchard" problem. He elaborated that this myopic form of response is likely to occur in the midst of a series of financial failures and scandals, and that only rarely will the connection between corporations and political officials be featured in these dialogues. In other words, when there is no denying the collapse of major institutions—rather than considering broad structural

[12] Those who pled guilty received much lighter sentences than Weiss (who fled the country as a fugitive while the jury was deliberating) and Pound (who died 4 days into his sentence).
[13] His accomplices who pled guilty received more lenient sentences not exceeding 10 years.

changes designed to prevent future collapses (which the U.S. government has consistently insisted would harm the nation's economic vitality), the following pattern tends to emerge.

> Some social groups and elite individuals who commit frauds are 'folk-devilled" as outsiders because their background or the individualistic nature of their offenses enables their portrayal as "organized criminals" or as "rouge traders" who have clearly transgressed both official and moral values. They are not seen as seriously threatening the economic and/or moral fabric of society…. Given the diversity of possible offenders and the embeddedness of some of them into the social fabric of respectable society, it would be difficult to fully demonize the whole gamut of fraudsters (Levi, 2009:49–51).

Such rhetoric and associated investigations and prosecutions ignore (or deny) the normalization of risky ventures, conflicts of interest, and other moral hazards involved in contemporary U.S. finance capitalism.

Yet it is the banality of these risks, conflicts, and hazards that usually provides the opportunity and motivation for white-collar crime in the first place (Coleman, 1987), and which makes these crimes so devastating ultimately. Kitty Calavita and Henry Pontell titled one of their accounts of the savings and loan crisis as "Heads I Win, Tails You Lose" (1990). This title captures perfectly the moral conflict associated with making risky investments with other people's money when one stands to profit but not to lose. Ignoring regulatory failures and warning signs (such as violating injunction orders by continuing to engage in securities transactions), the government and media must locate one or more black sheep among them and single out the black sheep as especially evil and dangerous. Not only does this strategy preserve the group's overall positive identity but also, by doing so, it deflects critical attention from other questionable actors and activities in the financial market. The token white-collar offender who is singled out and punished harshly is not a signifier of social change; rather, such an offender is part of a cathartic interactive social exercise that conveys an unmistakable message—do not transgress against group norms—while maintaining group norms that facilitate future transgressions. This argument does not suggest that the selected white-collar folk devils such as Madoff, Ebbers, Skilling, and Kozlowski have received too punitive of sentences compared with the consequences of their crimes. Rather, one suggestion is that—if any deterrent effect is desired, such punitive sentences for massive frauds need to be more predictable. Similarly, if the

goal is to reduce future white-collar offending, not only must punitive sanctions be perceived as likely, but also more resources will have to be devoted to the regulation and investigation of suspected white-collar crimes and their warning signs. But if the desired outcome is a continued neglect of the underlying causes of white-collar crimes combined with random degradation ceremonies of select offenders involved in yet another financial system failure, then we need do nothing differently.

APPENDIX A

SURVEY INSTRUMENT

Center for Criminology and Public Policy Research
College of Criminology and Criminal Justice
Florida State University

Public Opinion and Consumer Fraud Study 2008

Consumer Fraud Research Team:

Dr. Tom Blomberg, Dean and Principal Investigator of the Consumer Fraud Institute
Karen Mann, Director of the Center for Criminology & Public Policy Research
Shanna Van Slyke, Ph.D. Candidate
Dr. Bill Bales, Van Slyke Dissertation Committee
Dr. William Berry, Van Slyke Dissertation Committee

SECTION A. INTRODUCTION

1. Hello, my name is _____ and we are asking people to give us their opinions on some of the more common forms of crime in Florida, and appropriate criminal justice system responses to these crimes, as part of a research project at Florida State University. This survey should not take more than 10 minutes to complete, and can take even less time if you wish to proceed quickly. By consenting to participate, you freely and voluntarily consent to be interviewed. You understand that you can withdraw this consent at any time without prejudice, penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. If you have any questions regarding the interview, you can contact Shanna Van Slyke, FSU, (850) 410-2673. If you have questions or concerns regarding this study and would like to talk to someone other than the researcher, you are encouraged to contact the FSU IRB at 2010 Levy Street, Research Building B, Suite 276, Tallahassee, FL 32306-2742, or (850) 644-8633, or by email at jjcooper@fsu.edu. The conversation will be audio-recorded until we hang up; at that point, the record of the phone conversation will be destroyed. Information obtained during the course of the study will remain confidential, to the extent allowed by law.

(IF NO, ATTEMPT TO SCHEDULE A CALL-BACK TIME)

1a. May I please speak to the person over age 18 who most recently celebrated their birthday?

1 = Same person (CONTINUE INTERVIEW – READ QUESTION 1c)
2 = New person (REPEAT INTRODUCTIONB – READ QUESTION 1c)
3 = Not available (SCHEDULE CALL-BACK TIME)

1b. Telephone numbers for this survey were selected at random by computer. You are not obligated to answer any questions and you may stop any time. If you share your opinions with us, they will be kept anonymous and you will be assisting in the completion of a very important project. May we begin?

1 = Yes
2 = No

SECTION B. DEPENDENT VARIABLES

Before we begin talking about crime and punishment, I'd like to briefly ask you about your opinion on some social issues facing your community today.

2. Please tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with the following six statements… (ROTATE THESE STATEMENTS)

2a. Small businesses can be trusted to be honest in their dealings

2b. Internet businesses and websites, like e-Bay and Amazon, can*not* be trusted with your personal information

2c. With just a few exceptions, both our Republican and Democratic presidents have been remarkably *lacking* in great vision, strength and principle

2d. The government in Florida can be trusted to honestly represent its citizens

2e. Major companies can*not* be trusted to act ethically in their dealings

2f. The American people are starting to *disagree more* about what is right and wrong

2g. The courts and the justice system can be trusted to do what is right

(READ LIST IF NECESSARY: Would you say you…)
1 = Strongly disagree
2 = Disagree
3 = Agree
4 = Strongly agree
0 = (DO NOT READ) Don't know/No answer

Now I would like to ask your opinion about what you feel appropriate punishments for the following series of crime should be.

3. For each type of crime, assuming the person was appropriately convicted, please select one *or more* of the following criminal justice system responses: Paying the Victim Back, A Fine, Probation, Incarceration, or some combination of these (ASK NUMBER OF MONTHS FOR INCARCERATION; SPECIFY COMBINATION)…

3a. A person breaks into and steals an unoccupied car parked in the street

3b. A corporate officer illegally sells company stock, knowing the company will soon go bankrupt

3c. A person fraudulently applies for and receives welfare assistance from the government

3d. A county commissioner misuses the public office by accepting a bribe

3e. A merchant regularly passes off cheaper-quality products than is advertised on the label

3f. A person enters a nonresidential building that is occupied by others and steals various items

3g. A doctor submits false Medicaid claims to the government to receive compensation for services not performed

3h. A car salesperson defrauds customers by selling used cars as new with forged auto titles

3i. A person commits identity theft by fraudulently using another's identifying information to make purchases

(READ LIST. SELECT ALL THAT APPLY)
1 = Paying the victim back
2 = A Fine
3= Probation
4= Incarceration (IF INCARCERATION, ASK "How many months?")
5= Other (SPECIFY SANCTIONS)
0 = (DO NOT READ) Don't know/No answer

Now I am going to ask you a few questions about voting rights for people convicted of crimes like we've been discussing.

4. For the following categories of crimes, please tell me whether you support the denial of voting rights as a consequence of criminal conviction (IF YES, ASK HOW LONG).

4a. Nonviolent property crimes like burglary and auto theft

4b. Consumer frauds such as selling goods with fake labels and false advertising

4c. Crimes committed by people in corporations or the government, like bribery and insider trading

1 = No denial of voting rights
2 = Denial of voting rights (IF DENIAL OF VOTING RIGHTS, ASK "How long should they lose the right to vote: <u>During their court-imposed sentence only</u>; or <u>Permanently</u>?)
0 = Don't know/No answer

SECTION C. INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Okay, let's talk about how serious you feel these types of crimes are.

5. Please state how serious you believe each of the following categories of crimes are. Would you say they are not serious at all, not too serious, somewhat serious or extremely serious?

5a. Nonviolent property crimes like burglary and auto theft

5b. Crimes committed by people in corporations or the government, like bribery and insider trading

5c. Consumer frauds such as selling goods with fake labels and false advertising

(READ LIST IF NECESSARY: Would you say the crimes are…)
1 = Not serious at all
2 = Not too serious
3 = Somewhat serious
4 = Extremely serious
0 = (DO NOT READ) Don't know/No answer

Thank you. Now let's talk about your opinion about the type of people who commit crimes like we've been discussing.

6. For every ten corporate or government officials charged with a crime involving corruption or conspiracy, how many do you think…

6a. Are non-Hispanic White (RECORD NUMBER)

6b. Once had the same opportunities in life as you, in terms of income, education and/or employment (RECORD NUMBER)

6c. Victimize people like you, in terms of income, education and/or employment (RECORD NUMBER)

7. For every ten people charged with consumer frauds like false advertising, how many do you think…

7a. Are non-Hispanic White (RECORD NUMBER)

7b. Once had the same opportunities in life as you (RECORD NUMBER)

7c. Victimize people like you (RECORD NUMBER)

8. And, for every ten people charged with a nonviolent street crime, how many do you think…

8a. Are non-Hispanic White (RECORD NUMBER)

8b. Once had the same opportunities in life as you (RECORD NUMBER)

8c. Victimize people like you (RECORD NUMBER)

Now let's move on to briefly discuss your views on the proper ways to raise children.

9. Although there are a number of qualities that people feel that children should have, every person thinks that some are more important than others. For each pair of desirable qualities I read, please tell me which quality you think is more important for a child to have:

9a. Independence (RECORD 1) or respect for elders (RECORD 2)

9b. Obedience (RECORD 2) or self-reliance (RECORD 1)

9c. Curiosity (RECORD 1) or good manners (RECORD 2)

SECTION D. CONTROL VARIABLES

The next set of questions I have will help us ensure that we are talking to people from all walks of life.

10. How often would you say you do each of the following?

10a. Talk about politics with your family, friends or co-workers

10b. Read the newspaper or Internet or watch TV to learn about political issues facing your community

(READ LIST. Would you say…)
1 = More than once a day
2 = Once a day
3 = Once a week
4 = Once a month
5 = Rarely
6 = Never
0 = (DO NOT READ) Don't know/No answer

11. Do you consider yourself politically conservative, moderate or liberal?

1 = Conservative
2 = Moderate
3 = Liberal
4 = (DO NOT READ) Other (SPECIFY)
0 = (DO NOT READ) Don't know/No answer

12. What is the highest grade of school or year in college you completed? (DO NOT READ LIST – PROMPT IF NECESSARY.)

-1 = None
1 = Elementary 01
2 = Elementary 02
3 = Elementary 03
4 = Elementary 04
5 = Elementary 05
6 = Elementary 06
7 = Elementary 07
8 = Elementary 08
9 = Elementary 09
10 = High school 10
11 = High school 11
12 = High school 12
13 = Some college
14 = Some college (2 years)
15 = Some college
16 = College graduate
17 = Some graduate school
18 = Graduate/professional degree
0 = Don't know

13. What race/ethnicity do you consider yourself? (READ LIST. SELECT ALL THAT APPLY.)

1 = White
2 = African-American
3 = Hispanic or Latino
4 = Other (SPECIFY)
0 = Don't know/No answer (DO NOT READ)

14. What is your zip code? (SPECIFY)

Now we are interested in people's work situation.

15. Are you currently….

(READ LIST. SELECT ALL THAT APPLY)
1 = Employed full time
2 = Employed part time
3 = Unemployed
4 = Retired
5 = A homemaker
6 = A student

0 = (DO NOT READ) Refused

16. Now consider your family's household income from all sources. As I read a list, please stop me when I get to the income level that best describes your household income in 2006.

1 = Less than $10,000
2 = $10,000 to $19,000
3 = $20,000 to $29,000
4 = $30,000 to $39,000
5 = $40,000 to $49,000
6 = $50,000 to $59,000
7 = $60,000 to $79,000
8 = $80,000 to $99,000
9 = $100,000 to $150,000
10 = Over $150,000
0 = (DO NOT READ) Don't know/Not available

(IF REFUSED, SAY, “Please be assured, your answers will be kept strictly confidential. This question simply helps us ensure that all kinds of people are represented in our survey. May I ask the question again?”)

17. Finally, in what year were you born? _____

Thank you, that completes our survey. Good night.

SECTION E: INTERVIEWER ITEMS

[THESE ITEMS ARE TO BE FILLED OUT BY THE INTERVIEWER, ONCE THE INTERVIEW IS COMPLETED.]

18. Record sex of respondent
1. Male
2. Female

19. Record date of interview
1. Month (1-12)
2. Day (1-31)

20. Record interviewer sex
1. Male
2. Female

21. Record interviewer race
1. Non-Hispanic White
2. African-American
3. Asian
4. Hispanic
5. Native American
6. Other

22. Record telephone number:_____

APPENDIX B

HUMAN SUBJECTS COMMITTEE APPROVAL

-----Original Message-----
From: Human Subjects [mailto:humansubjects@magnet.fsu.edu]
Sent: Friday, May 16, 2008 2:25 PM
To: kmann@fsu.edu
Cc: tblomberg@fsu.edu; bbarton@fsu.edu
Subject: Use of Human Subjects in Research - Approval Memorandum

Office of the Vice President For Research
Human Subjects Committee
Tallahassee, Florida 32306-2742
(850) 644-8673 · FAX (850) 644-4392

APPROVAL MEMORANDUM

Date: 5/16/2008

To: Thomas Blomberg

Address: Mail Code: 7809
Dept.: CRIMINOLOGY AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE

From: Thomas L. Jacobson, Chair

Re: Use of Human Subjects in Research
Consumer Fraud Institute

The application that you submitted to this office in regard to the use of
human subjects in the proposal referenced above have been reviewed by the Secretary, the Chair, and two members of the Human Subjects Committee. Your project is determined to be Expedited per 45 CFR § 46.110(7) and has been approved by an expedited review process.

The Human Subjects Committee has not evaluated your proposal for scientific merit, except to weigh the risk to the human participants and the aspects of the proposal related to potential risk and benefit. This approval does not replace any departmental or other approvals, which may be required.

If you submitted a proposed consent form with your application, the approved stamped consent form is attached to this approval notice. Only the stamped version of the consent form may be used in recruiting research subjects.

If the project has not been completed by 5/15/2009 you must request a renewal of approval for continuation of the project. As a courtesy, a
renewal notice will be sent to you prior to your expiration date; however, it is your responsibility as the Principal Investigator to timely request renewal of your approval from the Committee.

You are advised that any change in protocol for this project must be
reviewed and approved by the Committee prior to implementation of the proposed change in the protocol. A protocol change/amendment form is required to be submitted for approval by the Committee.

In addition, federal regulations require that the Principal Investigator promptly report, in writing any unanticipated problems or adverse events involving risks to research subjects or others.

By copy of this memorandum, the Chair of your department and/or your major professor is reminded that he/she is responsible for being informed concerning research projects involving human subjects in the department, and should review protocols as often as needed to insure that the project is being conducted in compliance with our institution and with DHHS regulations.

This institution has an Assurance on file with the Office for Human Research Protection. The Assurance Number is IRB00000446.

Cc: Thomas Blomberg, Dean
HSC No. 2008.986

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

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