Title
Estimating the Effect of Sexism on Perceptions of Property, White-Collar, and Violent Crimes

Permalink
https://escholarship.org/uc/item/278674nj

Author
Saxena, Preeta

Publication Date
2012

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
RIVERSIDE

Estimating the Effect of Sexism on Perceptions of Property, White-Collar, and Violent
Crimes

A Dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction
of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Sociology

by

Preeta Saxena

June 2012

Dissertation Committee:
      Dr. Robert Nash Parker, Chairperson
      Dr. Ellen Reese
      Dr. Tanya Nieri

The Dissertation of Preeta Saxena is approved:

_____

_____

_____
Committee Chairperson

University of California, Riverside

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my deepest appreciation to my committee members for their guidance and trust in my abilities. Dr. Robert Parker, Dr. Ellen Reese and Dr. Tanya Nieri have each been instrumental to my doctoral education. In addition to being tremendous mentors, they have gone far and beyond in supporting me and providing constructive feedback not only for my dissertation but in multiple other capacities throughout the last 5 years. I would also like to acknowledge and express my gratitude to Dr. Vickie Jensen and Dr. Karen Pyke for their mentorship and guidance in the early stages of my graduate career.

Dedications

This dissertation is dedicated to my inspiration, my husband, Jesse, whose love, encouragement and patience kept me going, to my mother, without whose love and support none of this would have been possible, and to the one that brings joy to my life every day, Émile.

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Estimating the Effect of Sexism on Perceptions of Property, White-Collar, and Violent
Crimes

by

Preeta Saxena

Doctor of Philosophy, Graduate Program in Sociology
University of California, Riverside, June 2012
Dr. Robert Nash Parker, Chairperson

Prior research on the role of gender in perceptions of crime and sentencing has focused

primarily on judicial outcomes (i.e., empirical differences in male/female sentencing), and some

theorists have proposed the *chivalry thesis* to explain differential outcomes for male and female

offenders. Although a prominent theory, the empirical validity of the chivalry thesis has been

under scrutiny for decades. In light of this, I argue that gender differences in sentencing can be

understood through examination of sexist attitudes and beliefs, and how these sexist attitudes and

beliefs interact with characteristics of the offense and the offender to influence perceptions of

crime and appropriate sentencing. To test this assertion, 671 respondents were assessed

according to their sexist attitudes along both the benevolent and hostile dimensions of sexism, as

well as to their perceptions of a series of violent, white collar, and property crime vignettes.

Sexism scores were hypothesized not only to share significant associations with respondent's

perceptions of crime, but also to interact with the type of crime committed and the gender of the

offender to influence respondent's perceptions of the crimes in the vignettes. Results based on

ordered logistic regressions suggest that both benevolent and hostile sexist attitudes interact with

the type of crime committed and the gender of the offender to influence perceptions of crime

seriousness, and sentence severity. Furthermore, when controlling for type of crime and sexist

attitudes, female offenders tended to be given harsher ratings than men for violent and property

crimes. When controlling for crime type and the gender of the offender, respondents with higher benevolent sexism scores perceived violent and property crimes to be more serious and thought sentencing should be more severe than either non-sexists, or respondents with higher hostile sexism scores. Finally, hostile sexists gave the harshest ratings for white-collar crime vignettes. Implications for existing theories and future studies are discussed.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

Chapter 1: INTRODUCTION

Women are underrepresented (approximately 25 percent) in overall rates of arrest for most crimes (Federal Bureau of Investigation 2009). They are also perceived to be less threatening and less likely to reoffend (Albonetti 1991; Baumer, Messner, and Felson 2000; Daly and Bordt 1995), have fewer opportunities to commit crime (Daly 1989), as not "fit to do time" (Steffensmeier, Ulmer, and Kramer 1998), may not be prosecuted at the same rate when they are arrested (Freiburger and Hilinski 2010; Stolzenberg and D'Alessio 2004), and are given preferential treatment in criminal sentencing (Freiburger and Hilinski 2009; Spohn and Beichner 2000; Steffensmeier and Demuth 2006). Criminologists and feminist theorists have attributed these empirical findings to attitudes associated with gender roles (Albonetti 1998; Dodge 2009).

This dissertation explicates the role of gender normative (hereafter sexist) attitudes in perceptions of crime seriousness and sentence severity by examining how sexist attitudes and beliefs produce differential perceptions of crime seriousness and sentence severity for male versus female offenders. Furthermore, attitudes about gender do not influence these perceptions across all types of crime equally. Therefore, this dissertation tests for differences in perceptions of crime seriousness and sentence severity across three types of crime (violent, white-collar, property). The factorial study design employed here allows for full estimation of the main effects of both the gender of the offender, as well as the type of crime, on perceptions of seriousness and severity, and allows for the estimation of the interaction effect of the three predictors (i.e., sexist

1

attitudes, type of crime, gender of the offender) on respondent's perceptions of crime seriousness and severity.

Results revealed significant interaction effects between sexist attitudes, type of crime, and gender of the offender on crime seriousness and sentence severity perceptions. First, perceptions varied according to the type of crime (with violent crimes being given the highest ratings on a scale from 1-7, and white-collar crimes were given the lightest ratings). Moreover, the effects of sexist attitudes on crime and sentencing perceptions were nuanced. Although sexists (both benevolent and hostile) gave the harshest ratings for female offenders (vs. male offenders) within a crime type, benevolent sexists, in comparison to hostile sexists, gave female offenders the harshest ratings of crime seriousness and sentence severity with the exception of white collar-crime. Hostile sexists were particularly harsher on white-collar offenders.

Statement of the Problem

Prior research on sentencing has been dedicated to understanding gender differences in sentencing patterns (Daly and Tonry 1997; Demuth and Steffensmeier 2004; Parisi 1982; Spohn 1999; Spohn and Beichner 2000). Some prior explanations have focused on pre-existing beliefs, stereotypes, and contextual attributions of a defendant's culpability, character, and potential recidivism. A particularly well-corroborated theoretical framework is premised on the *chivalry thesis,* which asserts that women receive preferential treatment in the judicial system as a result of cultural scripts that depict women as childlike, fickle, and not responsible for their criminal behavior

(Daly 1989; Parisi 1982). Beliefs and attributions associated with gender also manifest in the judicial decision-making process. Judges receive only a limited amount of information about each case/defendant, and are therefore often forced to rely on personal biases, cultural stereotypes, and broad generalizations (Albonetti 1998; Rodriguez, Curry, and Lee 2006).

Although the chivalry thesis is well-regarded, prior tests of the theory have faced problems. Early on, scholars raised issues with lack of systematic evidence to support assertions surrounding criminal justice's chivalrous treatment of female offenders, a criticism based primarily on the over-utilization of descriptive methods and anecdotal evidence (Terry 1970). Still, researchers often "test" the chivalry framework simply by pointing to the empirical differences in sentencing patterns between men and women (e.g., Johnson and Scheuble 1991; Spohn and Beichner 2000), thereby failing to measure the actual beliefs, stereotypes, and potential biases supposedly affecting the study outcomes. A theory about existing beliefs and stereotypes towards women cannot be corroborated with research that focuses on offender characteristics and not on the beliefs held by individuals who judge or evaluate the offenders (Herzog and Oreg 2008).

Furthermore, although it is commonly known that different types of crime (e.g., violent crime, white-collar crime) are perceived to have different levels of seriousness (Miller, Rossi, and Simpson 1991; Rossi and Berk 1997), and often receive different sentencing outcomes (Spohn and Spears 1997), few prior studies (for a notable exception, see: Rodriguez, Curry, and Lee 2006) have analyzed the association between severity judgments and the effect of the interaction between the type of crime committed and the

3

gender of the person who committed that crime on sentence severity. Moreover, prior research on gender and crime tends to focus on violent or property crime, rather than white-collar (e.g., Nagel and Johnson 1994; Rodriguez, Curry, and Lee 2006). However, female white-collar offenders also tend to benefit from preferential treatment (though the preferential treatment may be a consequence of case complexity associated with white collar offenses (Albonetti 1994; Dodge 2009). Presumably, attitudes about women and gender norms will influence perceptions of severity and appropriate sentencing for all types of crime. However, it may be that attitudes about women in general may influence perceptions of crime differently, depending on the type of sexist attitudes one holds as well as the characteristics of the crime committed.

Sexist attitudes come in different forms. Whereas sexists of one type treat women as different from men, while still revering women and putting them on a pedestal, other types of sexists do not hold positive views of women. For instance, rather than focus on women's moral superiority, some focus on women as a threat to men's power. Therefore, this study uses the ambivalent sexism scale which is composed of items that correspond to both benevolent forms of sexism and hostile forms of sexism.

Additionally, sexist attitudes may operate differently in their effect on perceptions of crime depending on the type of crime committed. As theories of selective chivalry have shown, sexist attitudes about women may be selectively applied depending on how the female offender is perceived. Specifically, women who are not perceived to be "traditional" or adhering to expected gender roles are not given the preferential treatment (Daly 1989; Spohn 1999). However, unlike prior research that measures the degree of

"traditionality" of a woman based on her characteristics (i.e. marital-status, employment status, etc.; Herzog and Oreg 2008), qualitative differences in the type of crime committed, and their alignment with broadly held cultural stereotypes of women can elicit a similar effect on the relationship between sexism and perceptions of crime. For example, violent crime is imbued with characteristics most often associated with masculinity (e.g. aggression, physical force etc.), while property crime tends to be "feminized" due not only to the prevalence of women who commit theft crimes like embezzlement, shoplifting, and larceny which are considered less serious because there is usually no threat of violence (Federal Bureau of Investigation 2009). Although the expected effect of white-collar crime may be unclear, based on the association of hegemonic masculinity with "work in the paid-labor market" (Messerschmidt 1993: 82), one can argue that white-collar crimes will likely produce an effect size of sexism on perceptions of crime that falls between effect sizes of property and violent crime spectrum from male-associated to female-associated offenses.

The overall contribution of this study to the existing body of literature is three-fold. First, in light of findings suggesting that judicial decisions are imbued with personal bias and generalizations, this study provides a direct examination of the effects that pre-existing sexist attitudes have on perceptions of female offenders. Additionally, rather than presume a uniform type of "sexism," this study takes into account that sexist attitudes come in different forms (i.e., benevolent or hostile). Finally, including variation based on three types of crime also contributes to the larger literature and in particular, the inclusion of white-collar crime committed by females (rather than male executives or

corporations) sets this study apart from prior research that has tended to rely on largely on violent and property crime.

In the following sections of this dissertation, first (in Chapter 2), I present an overview of the theoretical frameworks adopted in this study. Then, in Chapter 3, I provide a review of the relevant literature consisting of an overview of prior research on gender and sentencing patterns, on correlates of sexism, and a section on correlates of crime and sentencing perceptions. The final section in Chapter 3 provides a review of literature associated with research on sexism and crime perceptions. Then, in Chapter 4, I present an in-depth description of the data and research methodology which includes sections on sampling procedures and measurements. In Chapter 5, I provide univariate and descriptive statistics that describe the sample in terms of demographics, political and religious attitudes and crime and victimization experience. In addition, I report mean scores on all outcome variables (i.e., benevolent and hostile sexism, crime seriousness and sentence severity perceptions). Then, in Chapter 6, I report and discuss results from regressions that test for significant predictors of sexism, and crime seriousness/sentence severity perceptions separately. Chapter 7 provides results based on tests of the proposed hypotheses, and also includes a discussion section on the results. Finally, in Chapter 8, I provide a brief summary of the study, a section on research limitations and suggestions for further research, and a section on policy- implications and contributions to feminist debates on equal versus special treatment of women in the criminal justice system.

Chapter 2: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Chivalry Thesis

Since findings associated with women's preferential treatment first emerged in the 1970s (see Nagel and Weitzman 1971; Pope 1975), multiple theoretical frameworks have been suggested to explain gender differences in sentencing. Perhaps the most prominent of these theories, the chivalry thesis proposes that benevolent sexism towards women is at the root of these differences. Chivalry, a term derived from the French word cheval (horse), alludes to 11th century Roman Catholic Church's extension of the responsibilities of knights on horsebacks to include *protection* of women. Over the centuries the original meaning of chivalry was reconfigured into *deference* towards women (Prestage 1928). In more recent discussions, chivalry has become a normative part of many Western societies' treatment of women, whereby "protecting" and "providing for" women (under the assumption they cannot do so for themselves) has become part of the broader cultural script influencing interaction between the genders (Altermatt 2001).

The c*hivalry thesis* (also known as *paternalism)* proposes that women are stereotyped to be childlike and fickle, and therefore cannot be held fully responsible for their actions. Because of the perceived weakness associated with women, men are cast culturally as *protectors*, someone to look over women. In the legal system, these ideas about men and women translate to "preferential treatment" for female offenders. Whether the male in question is a police officer, a prosecutor, a judge, or a juror, researchers have found that female offenders are treated more leniently.

The earliest claims associating chivalry to the justice system's differential treatment of women emerged in William I. Thomas' (1907) *Sex and Society* where he states:

> ... man is merciless to woman from the standpoint of personal behavior, yet he exempts her from anything in the way of contractual morality, or views her defections in this regard with allowance and even with amusement." (Pp. 234).

After Thomas, further theoretical speculations about chivalrous aspects of the criminal justice system did not emerge until the 1950s when scholars like Pollak (1950) and Barnes and Teeters (1959) claimed that in the context of the criminal justice system which was male-dominated, women were protected. Although empirical evidence has been scant when it comes to testing the chivalry thesis, early criminologists have relied on assumptions about female criminality (see Anderson 1976 for a full review of assumptions proposed) to illustrate why it has persisted as a central explanation for women's differential treatment in the justice system. For instance, rather than commit the crimes themselves, women are painted as the instigators. As the justice system is male-dominated, the world of crime is also male-dominated; in their motive to "protect," men are the ones committing the crime and "taking the rap" (Anderson 1976).

Other, more recent, scholars have further hypothesized that components of chivalry (paternalism, protection of women, etc.) tend to only apply to women whose offending does not violate gender expectations, a case of *selective* chivalry. In other words, sentencing leniency is only applied to women who commit crimes that are perceived to be "typical" based on stereotypes associated with women and women's gender roles. These crimes tend to include drug use and property crimes like shop-lifting

8

and check forgery (Federal Bureau of Investigation 2009; Rodriguez, Curry, and Lee 2006). In contrast, female offenders who violate gender role expectations (perhaps by committing a violent crime) will be treated more harshly, similarly to (or even more so than) men convicted of these crimes (Farnworth and Jr. 1995; Spohn 1999). These patterns have been explained with the "evil-woman" thesis which proposes that women who defy gender roles receive harsher treatment throughout various stages of the judicial system (Chesney-Lind 1977).

In addition, as proposed in *The Feminine Mystique* (Friedan 1963), women are sometimes viewed by the criminal justice system as embodiments of their caretaker roles rather than as individuals. Lenient sentences may be a consequence of this, as when judges are more lenient toward defendants who care for or support a family. According to this construct of *familism*, female offenders are more likely to get less severe sentences because judges do not want to "break up families" (Daly 1989).

Recent perspectives on gender and sentencing have also drawn from the concept of *focal concerns* (Albonetti 1998; Steffensmeier, Kramer, and Streifel 1993; Steffensmeier, Ulmer, and Kramer 1998). Supporters of this view claim that due to restrictions on how much time judges can dedicate to each case, they receive insufficient data on each case and therefore, their decisions are based on generalizations and personal bias. Gender is a "master status" (Hughes 1945), permeating and influencing nearly all aspects of social life in subtle but persistent ways. Judges forced to rely on broad social

characteristics likely cannot avoid making judgments premised on the offender's gender status.

Particularly, some *gendered* "focal concerns" include blameworthiness (culpability), perceived dangerousness (community protection), and practical constraints (family responsibility, not fit to do time). For instance, judges may perceive female offenders to be less responsible or culpable as male offenders (Baumer, Messner, and Felson 2000), to be unfit to do time (Steffensmeier, Ulmer, and Kramer 1998), to be less of a threat, and to have a lower risk of reoffending (Albonetti 1991). This perspective offers the chivalry thesis a more concrete mechanism for explaining different patterns of sentencing for male and female offenders. For instance, perceptions of female offenders as less responsible for their actions stem from general attitudes toward women. Because there has been a lack of empirical attention toward examining the role of (varying types of) attitudes in differential treatment of male and female offenders, and because focal concerns operates under the chivalry perspective, focal concerns that do not stem from paternalistic attitudes may have been heretofore overlooked. Therefore, an examination of benevolent and hostile sexist attitudes may redress this oversight in prior studies.

Benevolent and Hostile Sexism

As the aforementioned tendencies for paternalism (women need protection from the criminal justice system, including prison), familism (families should not be broken up by criminal justice actions), and focal concerns (generalizations and personal biases influence judicial decisions) show, sexism is not entirely found in hostile forms. The duality of sexism has been summarized under the label of ambivalent sexism (Glick,

10

Deibold, Bailey-Werner, and Zhu 1997). The concept of ambivalence is intended to capture the bi-dimensionality of sexism and its ability to take either or both benevolent and hostile forms. The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI) (Glick and Fiske 1996) measures the degree of sexism overall, the degree of benevolent sexism, and the degree of hostile sexism, and has been used successfully in prior research.

Hostile sexism includes attitudes of women as "bad" and captures the antipathy that characterizes typical sexist beliefs in which women are regarded as inferior to men. Benevolent sexism includes attitudes that are sexist but involve more positive and affectionate sentiments towards women. They are subjectively benevolent, paternalistic prejudices that tend to go unchallenged in general because the underlying assumption is that they are pro-social in that they provide protection and affection toward women (Glick and Fiske 1996). Attitudes revealed by benevolent sexism items seem to align more with medieval ideologies of chivalry (Tavris and Wade 1984). Research shows that most sexism in today's American society is covert and benevolent, rather than overt and hostile (Glick, Deibold, Bailey-Werner, and Zhu 1997).

The relationship between chivalry and ambivalent sexism is one of context and outcome. Whereas chivalry is an "organized knowledge structure," a pattern of interactions institutionalized in Western culture and shared across broad swaths of society, sexist attitudes are more specific beliefs that materialize within individuals from chivalrous societies. Glick and Fiske (1996) define chivalry as a set of cultural conditions and ambivalent sexism as the attitudes that emerge from those conditions. Although feminist legal theorists have relied on the chivalry thesis to explain gendered sentencing

11

patterns, the present study focuses on hostile and benevolent sexist attitudes as a primary

and more concrete explanation of gendered sentencing.

Furthermore, in conjunction with the evidence provided that evaluators (even

professional evaluators, i.e., judges) take elements of both crime and offender into

account when making judgments about criminal severity, and that these judgments

coincide with broadly held stereotypes about women, I suggest that hostile and

benevolent sexist attitudes will interact with the type of crime committed to produce

differential effects on perceptions of crime and sentencing. Drawing on selective

chivalry's premise that female offenders are held accountable for abiding by broad

gender norms, I argue that the content of those broad norms will vary based on the types

of attitudes a person holds (sexism) and on the context within which female offenders act

(type of crime). In short, not all sexists are equally or similarly sexist in all situations.

Chapter 3: LITERATURE REVIEW

Gender and Sentencing Patterns

Gender is a consistently and significantly associated with criminal sentencing (Daly and Bordt 1995; Spohn and Holleran 2000; Steffensmeier, Ulmer, and Kramer 1998). Studies have found that regardless of racial or ethnic characteristics, women of all backgrounds receive more lenient treatment than men in the judicial system (Freiburger and Hilinski 2009; Spohn and Beichner 2000; Steffensmeier and Demuth 2006). Researchers make the distinction between the effects of gender on two outcomes: the likelihood of sentencing type (probation vs. prison) and sentence length. Women are treated more leniently in terms of likelihood of incarceration (Daly and Bordt 1995; Rodriguez, Curry, and Lee 2006; Wheeler 1976). In cases where the offender is institutionalized, gender has been a strong but inconsistent correlate. For instance, some researchers found that women receive shorter or less severe sentences (Bushway and Piehl 2001; Mustard 2001) while other researchers found that gender was not a strong predictor of sentence length (Albonetti 1991; Crew 1991). Still other studies reveal that women are given harsher sentences than men in cases involving juvenile status offenders (Chesney-Lind and Shelden 2004).

Recent examinations have included the type of crime committed in the study of sentencing patterns. Spohn and Spears (1997) found that for violent crimes, women's charges were dismissed more often and women were less likely to be incarcerated. Males have been shown to receive sentences for violent criminal acts that average 4.5 years

longer than females. For property offenses the difference reduces to three years, and for drug offenses the difference shrinks to 2.3 years (Rodriguez, Curry, and Lee 2006). The likelihood of imprisonment tends to be higher for men with property and drug offenses, but gender differences in likelihood of imprisonment were not found in sentencing outcomes for violent offenses (Rodriguez, Curry, and Lee 2006). This finding suggest that in terms of likelihood of imprisonment, when it comes to more female-gender "appropriate crimes" (i.e., property/drug), women receive more leniency, while for male-gender appropriate crimes (i.e., violent crime), men and women are dealt with in similarly harsh fashion.

Investigations and prosecutions of white-collar crimes have been found to be difficult in terms of both proving guilt, as well as difficulty in prosecuting actions which are not explicitly criminal (Brightman 2009; Dodge 2009). In spite of these complexities in white-collar crime, there are some indications that men and women who engage in white-collar crime receive differential treatment from the legal system. Female offenders receive shorter sentences compared to men (Dodge 2009), and mean length of imprisonment for female defendants may be only 2/3 that of male defendants (Albonetti 1998).

Some scholars have argued (e.g., Albonetti 1994) that offender characteristics are not as directly related to sentencing as previous examinations have claimed. Race and gender in white-collar offenses affect length of imprisonment both directly and indirectly through the intervening effect of case complexity and guilty plea. In other words, certain individuals with cultural capital are put in situations that create opportunities for white-

collar crimes to begin with and because they commit crimes that are complex, then they are also in a better position to negotiate, such as through a plea bargain, a lighter sentence. Despite case complexity, Albonetti (1994) still found that among white-collar offenders, being female was related to an increased probability of receiving a suspended sentence, especially in cases that were less complex (e.g., false claims/statements, fraud, forgery, embezzlement etc.).

Correlates of Sexism

Intersectionality theorists suggest that sexist attitudes and gender norms occur within the context of multiple types of inequality, some of which include race and gender inequality. Intersectionality theory's main assumption is that people in society are situated within multiple categories (such as race, gender and class) simultaneously, and that these relations are situated in stratifications systems that provide those within them differential access to power, prestige, and life chances (Yuval-Davis 2006). Similarly, levels of sexist beliefs and attitudes vary based on the social location of individuals and this social location is determined by the intersection of social statuses. Prior research has reported factors such as gender, age, relationship status, level educational achievement, and degree of religiosity as affecting a person's level of sexism, controlling for other factors (Glick, Fiske, Mladinic, J.Saiz, Abrams, Masser, Adetoun, Osagie, Akande, Alao, Brunner, Willemsen, K. Chipeta, A. Dijksterhuis, Eckes, Six-Materna, Exposito, Moya, Foddy, Kim, Lameiras, Sotelo, Mucchi-Faina, Romani, Sakalli, Udegbe, Yamamoto, Ui, Ferreira, and Lopez 2000; Glick, Lameiras, and Castro 2002). Its modeling approach is less preferable to the estimation of interaction effects in the search of intersectionality,

15

issues of collinearity from numerous interaction effects often make such tests difficult. Even main effects, though, are important in understanding the socio-demographic factors that influence sexist attitudes and beliefs. One prior study has looked to the intersections of hostile and benevolent sexism with participants' socio-demographic characteristics (with the exception of race), Glick, Lamiers and Castro's (2002) findings will be reviewed in the following sections.

Gender

Men score higher than women in both benevolent and hostile forms of sexism (Glick et al. 2000). This consistent finding can be explained by patriarchy and gender differentiation (Glick and Fiske 2001). First, patriarchy, the organization of institutions based on male power and authority, provides insight on why men hold more sexist attitudes. To justify their advantageous position through ideologies of their superiority, being sexist (treating women as inferior) toward the other, more subordinate group provides this resource. Similarly, to maintain power and authority, men exaggerate differences between genders (gender differentiation) and this leads to higher levels of sexism (Glick and Fiske 2001).

Race

The effect of race on sexist attitudes has not been directly examined in previous examinations. Most researchers draw parallels between racist and sexist ideologies focusing on similarities between women's experiences and hardships faced by African-Americans (e.g., Fiske and Taylor 1991), and examine the association of historical movements against racism and sexism (e.g., Swim, Aikin, Hall, and Hunter 1995).

However studies like Nagel, Matsuo, McIntyre, and Morrison (2005) provide some indication of the effect of race on attitudes toward women. In their study of attitudes toward women who are rape victims, Nagel et.al (2005) found that African American males (compared to White males, White females and African American females) were the least sympathetic toward the victims. However, they also report that such a relationship between race and attitudes disappears once socio-economic status factors like income and education were taken into account. They conclude that such a measurement issue can explain prior mixed findings. For instance, samples with less education may reveal a significant relationship, and higher educated samples result in no association between race and participant attitudes.

Relationship Status

Relationship status has a significant effect on men's sexism (men in an intimate relationship had lower scores on both types of sexism) but does not predict women's sexism. Some possible explanations for this finding include that less sexist men and greater "psychological femininity" (e.g. more communal traits) are associated with being more desirable to women as relationship partners (Ickes 1985; Killianski and Rudman 1998). Moreover, men who are in relationships are also likely to be influenced by their female partner's attitudes and because women tend to be less sexist, these attitudes lead men to hold less sexist attitudes.

Education

Education level shares a negative relationship with sexism in that more educated respondents were less likely to support sexist beliefs. Increased education is generally

associated with less prejudice, and more educated groups are likely to hold more egalitarian beliefs about gender (Farley, Steeh, Krysan, Jackson, and Reeves 1994). Particularly college educated individuals are less prejudiced, and hold more egalitarian values (Hastie 2007). Explanations proposed are that those choose to receive a college education are already more liberal, and that students are socialized during their coursework towards more egalitarian perspectives (Hastie 2007). It may also be that education provides women more opportunities for career and social advancements and higher education provides exposure to contexts where men and women are seen as more equal than not.

Religiosity

For both men and women, Glicke, Lamiers and Castro (2002) found that more religious respondents endorsed benevolent sexism (more than hostile sexism). Rather than promote traditional gender roles that lead to sexist attitudes by invoking hostility toward women, religious institutions are more likely to rely on promoting benevolent sexism. One example of this is the Catholic Church's emphasis on teachings with regard to complementary (in contrast to hostile depictions of) gender roles.

Political Views

Political conservatism has been associated with prejudice such as homophobia, anti-immigrant sentiments and sexism (Zick and Petzel 1999). The link between political conservatism and prejudice has usually been attributed to authoritarianism/group-prejudice. Authoritarian theories draw on psychodynamic perspectives proposing that due to the experience of harsh and punitive child-rearing practices, adults develop an

authoritative role that is then directed at the "weak" or the subordinate groups (Fromm 1941). This translates into group-prejudice where prejudice against one group usually indicates prejudice against other groups (Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson, and Sanford 1950). Researchers have found that political-economic conservatism (right-wing political views) tend to be strongly associated with authoritarianism and group prejudice (Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson, and Sanford 1950; Eckhardt 1991).

Correlates of Crime and Sentencing Perceptions

People's judgments about criminal sanctions tend to reflect their social structural positions (Miller, Rossi, and Simpson 1991). Generally, studies have yielded marginal effects of evaluators' demographic characteristics on perceptions of crime seriousness (Stylianou 2003). For instance, Newman (1976) reported that only 10% of the variation in crime seriousness perceptions was attributed to the evaluator's gender, race, age, education, and social class. Despite their small effect size, demographic characteristics do affect perceptions of crime seriousness.

Gender

Miller, Rossi and Simpson (1991) found that women made harsher judgments than men, regardless of crime type, a finding which has been corroborated in more recent studies (Herzog and Oreg 2008; O'Connel and Whelan 1996; Rauma 1991; Yu 1993). Theories of "doing gender" (West and Zimmerman 1987) suggest that these findings stem from the association between norms of masculinity and crime. Ideological traits associated with hegemonic masculinity include control, aggression, and capacity for violence (Messerschmidt 1993), whereas ideal traits of femininity, as defined by the "cult

19

of the true womanhood," include moral superiority (Cott 1977). Thus, as men and women

are socialized according to feminine and masculine traits, women are discouraged and

removed from crime and deviance. As a result, they make harsher judgments when

evaluating crimes.

Race

Studies have generally shown patterns of relative consensus (similar rank orders

for serious to less serious crimes) between Blacks and Whites. Studies that show racial

differences have come to mixed conclusions (Stylianou 2003). For instance, whereas

some report lower scores of seriousness among minorities (Wolfgang, Figlio, Tracy, and

Singer 1985), others report that Blacks are harsher in their crime judgments. Vogel

(1998) reports that the offender's motives and the relationship between the offender's

racial group and the police influence perceptions of crime seriousness.

Within-gender variations in evaluator's race tend to be largely missing in

literature on crime sentencing perceptions. One exception is Miller, Rossi and Simpson's

(1991) finding that sentencing judgments for violent crimes were harsher among White

women and least harsh among Black women. Given the prevalence of arrest and

incarceration rates in socially disadvantaged, Black communities (Pastore and Maguire

2011), Black women (and Black people in general) may be more likely to either be

acquainted with, or have close ties to, someone who has been convicted of a crime or has

been victimized. In addition, the overrepresentation of Blacks in incarceration – evidence

of racial bias in the judicial system – may lead Black women who are privy to such biases

to make softer sentencing judgments. In other words, seeing that the system has

20

limitations and biases may delegitimize its goals for Black women and therefore, lead

them to less harsh sentencing perceptions.

Age

The effects of age have been found to be mixed on crime seriousness perceptions.

For instance, whereas some research reports that young respondents rate offenses similar

to the sample means (Rossi, Waite, Bose, and Berk 1974), other research found that older

respondents rate thefts of large amounts higher than did young people (Wolfgang, Figlio,

Tracy, and Singer 1985). Moreover, some researchers conclude that age has a significant

but unclear effect on crime seriousness perceptions (O'Connel and Whelan 1996).

Education

Education, a consistent correlate of crime perceptions, has been shown to be

negatively associated with crime seriousness judgments (Rauma 1991). More educated

respondents rate criminal behaviors less seriously and are more likely to disapprove of

formal control policies aimed at criminal behaviors (Newman 1976). These findings may

be explained by the fact that more educated groups are more aware of cultural contexts

and varying definitions of crime and less likely to judge crimes harshly. Additionally, a

higher level of education is associated with less prejudice (Farley et al. 1994), which may

translate to less prejudice toward perceived criminals or offenders.

Religiosity

Religiosity has been shown to have significant and consistent effects on

perceptions of crime (Evans and Scott 1984; Herzog 2003). Religious individuals are

more likely to assign significantly higher mean ratings of seriousness than non-religious

people (Curry 1996). Because religious institutions tend to promote conservative ideologies in which crime is equated with sin and immorality deserving of punishment (Curry 1996), those who report higher levels of religiosity are more likely to rate crime as more serious.

Political Views

Political orientation has a significant effect on sentencing judgments (Marcus-Newhall, Blake, and Baumann 2002). For instance, more politically conservative respondents sentenced mock defendants to more extreme punishment than politically liberal respondents (Nemeth and Sosis 1973). Another study found support for the association between tough, punitive stances and political conservatism (Eysenck 1955). One explanation for such findings may stems from differences in the perceived cause of criminal behavior. For instance, one study found that Democrats tend to attribute homelessness to social and institutional factors, whereas Republicans tend to attribute it to internal/individual factors (Pellegrini, Queirolo, Monarrez, and Valensuela 1997). If one applies this explanation to crime seriousness judgment, it may be that liberals judge crimes less seriously because they attribute criminal behavior to social forces that are external to the individual, while conservatives judge crimes more seriously because they attribute such behavior to individual-level factors like poor decision-making.

Victimization

Although prior research has yielded mixed findings, victimization experience has been identified as worth examining for its effect on perceptions of crime and sentencing. For instance, in contrast to Wolfgang, Figlio, Tracy, and Singer (1985) who report that

individuals with victimization experience scored higher on perceived crime seriousness, Levi and Jones (1985) did not find significant variations between judgments of victims and non-victims. Finally, prior research on crime seriousness judgments by prisoners and university students indicates that prisoners tend to have lower scores than students. Similarly, Levi and Jones (1985) found that respondents who reported being convicted of a crime had lower ratings of seriousness associated with most crimes than non-offender respondents (with the exception of homicide and robbery). Based on these findings, this research includes evaluators' social characteristics (e.g., gender and race), attitudes (e.g., political views, punishment and deterrence) and experiential factors (e.g., victimization) as covariates in predicting judgment patterns related to crime seriousness, sentence severity and sentence type.

Sexism and Crime Perceptions

Prior studies of crime judgments have tended to use offender characteristics or evaluator demographics to demonstrate differential underlying attitudes that affect crime perceptions (e.g., Allen and Wall 1993; Coontz 2000). Still, the few examinations that pertain to public perceptions of female offenders have concluded that public perceptions and judgments of female offenders have tended to constitute judgments based on traditionally accepted feminine behavior (Dodge 2009). I argue that judging female offenders based on their deviation from "traditionally accepted behavior" involves pre-existing perceptions and attitudes about men and women's gender roles. Therefore, in filling a gap in research that overlooks crime perceptions toward female offenders, I test

23

the association between benevolent or hostile sexist attitudes, offender gender, crime type and perceptions of crime seriousness, sentence severity and sentence type.

In an important recent study, Herzog and Oreg (2008) argue that a focus on sexist attitudes and beliefs not only provides insight on patterns of perceptions of crime and sentencing, but also supports the chivalry thesis that broadly shared sexist attitudes are associated with the lenient sentences received by women. Their research is similar to this study in that the authors test the influence of ambivalent sexism on perceptions of crime and sentencing with particular attention towards traditional and nontraditional women who offend. The authors conclude that for those respondents who had high levels of benevolent sexism, crime judgments were more lenient for traditional female offenders than male offenders and those who scored higher on the hostile sexism scale, had more equivalent (to male offenders) crime judgments for traditional female offenders.

Although they provide an exceptional empirical examination of sexism's role in perceptions of criminality, Herzog and Oreg (2008) fail to account for the types of crime being committed, leaving unanswered the question of how characteristics of the crime committed interacts with sexist attitudes to influence perceptions of crime seriousness and appropriate sentencing. In this study, I test whether perceptions of crime and sentence severity are associated with the offender's gender, the type of crime committed, and the attitudes for women held by the evaluator (i.e., the respondent). This study seeks to replicate Herzog and Oreg's (2008) important findings (e.g., the association between sexism and perceptions of crime seriousness and sentence severity) and extend their work by, in one example, examining how qualitatively different types of crime influence the

24

association between ambivalent sexism and perceptions of crime seriousness and

sentencing. Table 3.1 presents a list of hypotheses[1] proposed in this study. The following

chapter provides information on the study's research design, sampling and data collection

procedures, and data analyses.

Table 3.1 Hypotheses

	Independent Variable(s)
I: Offender's gender will affect perceptions of crime seriousness and sentence severity	X_1: Female Offender Ref : Male Offender
II: Type of Crime and offender's gender will interact to influence perceptions of crime seriousness and sentence severity.	X_1:Female Offender X_2:Property, X_3: White-collar X_3: Female Offender * Property X_4: Female Offender * White-collar Ref : Violent, Male Offender
III: The relationship between sexism (benevolent and hostile) and perceptions of crime seriousness and sentence severity will be moderated by offender's gender.	X_1: Female Offender X_2: Hostile Sexism X_3: Benevolent Sexism X_4: Female Offender * Hostile Sexism X_5: Female Offender* Benevolent Sexism Ref : Male Offender, Non-sexist
IV: The relationship between sexism (benevolent and hostile) and perceptions of crime seriousness and sentence severity will be moderated by type of crime and offender's gender.	X_1: Female Offender X_2:Property, X_3: White-collar X_4: Hostile Sexism X_5: Benevolent Sexism X_6: Female Offender * Property X_7: Female Offender* White-collar X_8: Female Offender* Hostile Sexism X_9: Female Offender* Benevolent Sexism X_{10}: Female Offender* Property*Hostile Sexism X_{11}: Female Offender * White-Collar* Hostile Sexism X_{12}: Female Offender * Property*Benevolent Sexism X_{13}:Female Offender * White-Collar*Benevolent Sexism Ref : Violent, Male Offender, Non-sexist

---

[1] For a conceptual model of the hypotheses, see Appendix A.

Chapter 4: DATA & METHOD

This study uses a quantitative and explanatory research design through the implementation of a factorial survey method, which combines components of the traditional survey design and experimental design. This design allows for the introduction of experimental control of study-relevant factors while maintaining the relative simplicity and ease of survey methods. The unit of analysis is individuals and the unit of observation is respondent attitudes.

Sampling

Respondents were recruited between October and November of 2011. Recruitment occurred via class presentations in five undergraduate sociology[2] courses (of which 3 were lower- division and 2 were upper-division courses) at the University of California, Riverside during the fall quarter of 2011. In four courses, respondents were offered extra credit for their participation in the surveys and were notified that their participation was completely voluntary.[3] In these courses the response rate was 79 %. The course in which students were not provided extra credit had an enrollment of 575 students, of which 106 completed both surveys yielding a response rate of 18%. Sample sizes (Ns) for each class are reported in Table 4.1. T-tests examining mean differences between students from the latter course and students from other courses were conducted

---

[2] Recruitment in Sociology courses may raise issues surrounding whether the sample in this study is qualitatively different from studies that include students from various disciplines. In comparing students in social sciences to business majors, Collett and Childs (2009) reveal that no significant differences were found in student perceptions of justice.

[3] Students were also offered an equivalent alternative for the same amount of extra credit.

to assess whether the respondents who completed the surveys without getting extra credit were not a particular student-type (e.g. "outstanding" or straight-A students). The results indicated that the students without extra credit were not significantly different from the rest of the sample.

Table 4.1 provides information on the classes that comprised the sampling frame and the number of complete surveys from each course. To capture duplicates and students who could complete the survey for more than one course, a group of "students enrolled in multiple classes" was created for data management and analysis purposes.

Table 4.1: Sampling Frame and Data Collection

Course Title	Enrollment	Completes (n)
Introduction to Criminology	303	245
Couples & Families	170	132
Social Change	126	94
Modern Theory	80	64
Multiple classes	36	30
Total	**715**	**565**

Survey 1		Survey 2	
Start date	Close date	Start date	Close date
10/17/2011	10/29/2011	11/7/2011	11/16/2011

Convenience samples of undergraduate students via survey methodologies are commonly used in criminological studies of public perceptions of criminal seriousness and severity (Stylianou 2003). While convenience samples are not ideal when the end-goal is the application of inferential statistics, there is good reason beyond common practice to believe this methodology is satisfactory for the tests proposed. The theoretical claims and corresponding propositional statements guiding this study are suggested to be general processes common to all members of society and should not be limited to only

specific subsets of the population. While the findings from this study cannot confirm or refute the claim that gender, gender attitudes, type of crime, and their interaction will all influence perceptions of criminal severity in populations other than undergraduates, there is no theoretical reason to suspect that they do not, and this study provides corroboration that the relationship holds in the population sampled.

Survey Instruments

Data was collected via two internet surveys. The first survey consisted of questions about sexist attitudes and the second survey asked respondents to rate crime vignettes and provide information about their experiences and attitudes with regard to crime, victimization and punishment. Because the first survey consisted of sexist attitude items, a period of approximately two-weeks was applied to all respondents to eliminate bias on the second survey based on reactions to the first survey. Both surveys were hosted at www.surveymonkey.com, a professional survey hosting website (surveymonkey 2010). Each student received two emails, each of which provided them access to one of the two surveys. Email invitations were sent out twice, once at the start of the first survey, and then a second email was sent out one week after the first survey was closed for data collection. Students had a week and a half to complete each survey. Approval from the UC Riverside Institutional Review Board was obtained prior to survey administration (protocol #HS 11-115).

The first survey contained questions on attitudes toward men and women derived from the Ambivalent Sexism Scale (Glick and Fiske 1996), where each respondent's baseline values of benevolent and hostile sexism were measured. In addition, the first

survey included questions pertaining to respondents' social characteristics to be used as covariates (discussed in the section on measurements). The second survey consisted of six vignettes (hypothetical crime scenarios). Each respondent was asked to read each scenario and indicate how serious they perceived the crime to be and how severe the punishment for the crime should be. The vignettes (hypothetical crime scenarios) vignettes included two violent crimes (aggravated assault, robbery), two property crimes (larceny, burglary) and two white-collar crimes (insider trading, tax fraud). All vignettes were adapted from prior studies that measured perceptions of crime and sentence severity (Herzog and Oreg 2008; Miller, Rossi, and Simpson 1991). The section on dependant variables provides more information on how existing measures were modified to fit the needs of the current study.

The second survey had a balanced, quasi-experimental, random assignment component that randomized the gender of the offender in each vignette. Each respondent received two vignettes for every type of crime, yielding a total of six vignettes (i.e., 2 genders x 3 types of crime; 6-cell factorial design), with the gender of the offender varied uniformly randomly across respondents. Table 4.2 provides the six-cell factorial design used in this study. This design allowed for direct experimental control and manipulation of the type of crime committed and the gender of the offender, two key exogenous variables in this study. I hypothesize that respondents' sexist attitudes will moderate the relationship between type of crime, gender of the offender, and perceptions of seriousness/severity.

Table 4.2: Six-Cell Factorial Survey Design

	Property Crime	White-Collar Crime	Violent Crime
50% Male Offenders	Vignette I	Vignette II	Vignette III
50% Female Offenders	Vignette IV	Vignette V	Vignette VI

Measurements

The main dependant variables, either adopted and/or modified from prior

sources[4], are crime seriousness and sentence severity. First, participants were asked to

rate the seriousness of the crime described in the vignette (also known as "offense

scenario") on a scale that varied from "not at all serious" (1) to "very serious" (7).[5] Then,

they were asked how severe the sentence should be for the particular crime in the

vignette, with available responses ranging from "not severe at all" (1) to "very severe"

(7).

Sexism variables were derived from Glick and Fiske's (1996) Ambivalent Sexism

Inventory (ASI), which has, since its original development, been validated in six studies

(with samples of college students and older adults. The ASI is a self-report measure of

sexist attitudes which consists of subscales on hostile sexism and benevolent sexism. In

comparison to other measures of sexism, hostile sexism items are have shown moderate

to strong correlation with measures such as the Attitudes Toward Women Scale (AWS)

(Spence and Helmreich 1972), and the Old-Fashioned Sexism Scale (Swim, Aikin, Hall,

---

[4] For instance, Miller, Simpson and Rossi's (1991) vignette on corporate crime as adopted and modified to make the perpetrator an individual rather than a corporation, and the amount of "loss" was changed in order to account for approximating inflation between 1991 and 2011.

[5] All variables measured at the ordinal level are given a range of seven values, as this is a common benchmark for the ability to treat ordinal measures as continuous (Labovitz 1967). The appropriateness of this practice will be revisited when the distributional properties of the variables can be directly observed.

and Hunter 1995). On the other hand, benevolent sexism items correlate weakly or not at all with the Modern Sexism scale (Swim, Aikin, Hall, and Hunter 1995), or the Attitude Toward Women Scale (Spence and Helmreich 1972) which address more modern and arguably more "subtle" forms of sexism. The reason for a weak to no correlation between benevolent sexism and these measures, according to Glick and Fiske (1996), is that benevolent sexism does not measure "modern" attitudes, but is rather based on interpersonal relationship dynamics between men and women that trace back to medieval ideologies of chivalry.

Various studies with multiple samples in U.S. have shown that hostile and benevolent sexism are correlated in the .40 to .50 range, and factor analyses consistently show that items in each index load on unique factors (Glick et al. 2000). Therefore, although both measures represent forms of sexism, they are also distinct. In prior research the 11-item hostile sexism scale yielded a Cronbach's alpha of .69, the 11-item benevolent sexism scale yielded a Cronbach's alpha of .74 (Swim, Mallett, Russo-Devosa, and Stangor 2005), and the scales were moderately correlated with each other (r =.29; p<.10) (Glick et.al 2000), allowing for their simultaneous inclusion in statistical models.

In the present study, the hostile sexism items yielded a Cronbach's alpha of .77, and the benevolent sexism items yielded an alpha of .82. Following Herzog and Oreg (2008), this study used a sub-set of the 11-item benevolent sexism scale that constitutes

the complementary gender differentiation and protective paternalism constructs[6].

Complementary gender differentiation indicators include items like: "Many women have

a quality of purity that few men possess," and protective paternalism indicators include

items like: "Women should be cherished and protected by men." Specific items used in

this study are provided in Table 4.3 and are also available in the survey instruments

provided in Appendix C. For the analyses in this study, benevolent sexism and hostile

sexism scores were standardized; for ease of interpretation, respondents with scores that

were 1 standard deviation above the mean were identified as benevolent/hostile sexist.

Table 4.3: List of Items on Benevolent and Hostile Sexism

Benevolent Sexism Items	
Complementary Gender Differentiation	• Women, compared to men, tend to have a superior moral sensibility. • Women, as compared to men, tend to have a more refined sense of culture and good taste. • Many women have a quality of purity that few men possess.
Protective Paternalism	• In a disaster, women ought not necessarily to be rescued before men. • Women should be cherished and protected by men. • A good woman should be set on a pedestal by her man. • Men should be willing to sacrifice their own well being in order to provide financially for the women in their lives.

Hotile Sexism Items
- Many women are actually seeking special favors, such as hiring policies that favor them over men, under the guise of asking for "equality."
- Most women interpret innocent remarks or acts as being sexist.
- Women are too easily offended.
- Feminists *are not seeking* for women to have more power than men.
- Most women fail to appreciate fully all that men do for them.
- Women seek to gain power by getting control over men.
- Women exaggerate problems they have at work.
- Once a woman gets a man to commit to her, she usually tries to put him on a tight leash.
- When women lose to men in a fair competition, they typically complain about being discriminated against.
- There are actually very few women who get a kick out of teasing men by seeming sexually available and then refusing male advances.
- Feminists *are making* entirely reasonable demands of men.

---

[6] This practice has not been shown to influence the reliability of the construct (Herzog and Oreg 2008)

Diagnostics of collinearity between the main dependent variables (crime and sentencing perception scores) and the main independent variables (type of crime, gender of offender, benevolent and hostile sexism) are presented in Table 4.4. There was a strong and significant correlation between crime seriousness judgment scores and sentence severity judgment scores (r=.874) and a moderate (and significant) level of correlation between the two forms of sexism (r=.268). Note that these zero-order associations do not correct for autocorrelation stemming from multiple vignette judgments from the same respondent, and thus should be viewed as raw or unadjusted correlations.

Table 4.4: Bivariate Correlations between Dependant Variables

	Benevolent Sexism	Hostile Sexism	Crime Seriousness	Sentence Severity
Benevolent Sexism				
Hostile Sexism	0.268**			
Crime Seriousness	0.018	0.015		
Sentence Severity	0.040*	0.024	0.874**	

Based on prior research's findings of relevant correlates of crime and sentencing perceptions, survey 1 assessed respondents' social characteristics, attitudes and experiences. Social characteristic measures included gender, age, mother's education, university standing[7], GPA, adjusted income (household income divided by family size), religiosity, political views and victimization experience to serve as statistical control variables. Socio-demographic measures were adopted from the General Social Survey (Smith, Marsden, Hout, and Kim 2011). In addition to social characteristic controls, the

---

[7] Because the sampling frame in this study includes only college students, the effect of education is measured through the question of class-standing (e.g., freshmen, sophomore), rather than raw years of education.

survey assessed respondents' attitudinal and experiential outcomes such as political views, religiosity, attitude toward punishment and deterrence and experience with victimization and conviction. Statistical control of all such variables is necessary to reduce the potential for spurious findings.

Data Analysis

First, descriptive statistics and bivariate associations are provided in Chapter 5. Descriptives are provided in the form of frequencies and percentages for categorical social characteristic variables; along with crime and victimization experiences. Mean scores and standard deviations are provided for adjusted income and number of people living in household and scores on the outcome measures (i.e., crime seriousness, sentence severity, benevolent sexism, hostile sexism). Zero-order bivariate associations between the outcome measures are presented as follows. For benevolent and hostile sexism, means and standard deviations are reported (Table 5.4) for males, females and the total sample. For crime seriousness and sentence severity scores, means and standard deviations are reported (Table 5.5 and 5.6) for each type of crime and for vignettes with male offenders and female offenders. In addition, the means and standard deviations for the total sample are reported for each type of crime regardless of offender's gender.

Stepwise regressions (Ordinary Least Squares and Ordered Logistic) tested for significant predictive correlates of both types of sexism, crime seriousness and sentence severity separately (presented in Chapter 6). The clustered o-logit regressions (results presented in Chapter 7), method of analysis was adopted for multiple reasons. First,

outcome variables are measured at the ordinal level with a 7-point scale and had a

skewed distribution with average ratings landing higher than the midpoint score.

Moreover, vignette-ratings constituted repeated measures in that each person responded

to 6 vignettes, and each vignette was recorded as a case with the same respondent's data

appearing six times, leading to autocorrelation (correlated error-terms). Clustering the

vignette responses accounted for autocorrelation (covariation within groups). Thus, given

the measurement levels of the dependant variables, distribution limitations and multiple

lines of data for each respondents, clustered, ordinal-logistic regression analyses were

used to test the proposed hypotheses.

Missing data related issues were few to none in this study. Of the total number of

respondents in the sampling frame (1,290), 114 respondents completed only one of the

two surveys. Additionally, among those who completed both surveys (N=671), all

respondents provided data for the primary outcome variables (i.e., crime seriousness,

sentence severity, benevolent sexism, and hostile sexism). Because respondents were

given the option to "skip" or "decline to answer", some missing data emerged with regard

to socio-demographic variables. As such, data imputation procedures were not necessary

to conduct data analysis.

Chapter 5: SAMPLE DESCRIPTION

Tables 5.1, 5.2 and 5.3 provide specific descriptive and univariate statistics for the demographics, religious and political attitudes, and experience with crime and victimization. The final sample consisted of 671 UCR undergraduate students, most of whom were female (73%). Respondents were racially heterogeneous; 43% identified as Hispanic/ Latino, 26% identified as Asian/Pacific Islander, 13% Caucasian/White, 7% as Black and 8% as multiracial or other). These figures are comparable to the demographic distribution of all UCR undergraduate students reported for 2009[8] (U.C. Riverside 2009). The median and mean age of the respondents was 20 years. Respondents nearly equally distributed in all class-standing categories, though freshman were slightly underrepresented. Additionally, most categories of GPA were represented, further obviating the concern that only "top students" were interested in the extra credit opportunity and participate in the study. The sample was split in half with regard to being involved in a romantic relationship. Religiosity was low in general with two-thirds of the sample (64%) indicating that they attended religious services less than several times a year. About half of the sample (48%) reported having extremely liberal, liberal or slightly liberal political views. The second largest category for political views was moderate/middle of the road (36%).

Most respondents did not report being convicted of a crime or imprisoned, with only 4% indicating they had been convicted of a crime and 1% indicating that they had

---

[8] In 2009, UCR's undergraduate population consisted of students who identified as African American (7.9 %), Asian/Asian American (39.9%), Chicano and Latino (28.9%), White/Caucasian (17%), and "Other" (4.5%).

been imprisoned. Moreover, slightly over a third (37%) reported having a family member who had been convicted and/or having a family member who had been imprisoned. On the other hand, 34% of the sample reported being a victim of a crime, of which 63% reported that they had been a victim of property crime. Three-fourths (74%) of the sample indicated that they thought punishment deters crime.

Table 5.1: Socio-demographic Characteristics

	Frequency	Percent
Gender		
Female	491	73.2
Male	180	26.8
Race/Ethnicity		
Black/ African-American	52	7.8
Asian/ Pacific Islander	176	26.2
American Indian/ Native American/ Alaskan Native	2	0.3
Hispanic/ Latino	294	43.8
Caucasian/ White	91	13.6
Multiracial/ Other	56	8.4
University Standing		
Freshman	93	13.9
Sophomore	199	29.7
Junior	186	27.7
Senior	193	28.8
GPA		
2.4 or Below	84	12.5
2.60- 2.99	248	37.0
3.00- 3.39	206	30.7
3.40- 3.59	55	8.2
3.60- 3.79	38	5.7
3.80- 4.00	40	6.0
Mother's Education		
Less than High school	166	25.3
High School Diploma	139	21.2
Some College	174	26.5
Four year degree	104	15.8
Graduate degree	74	11.3
Father's Education		
Less than High school	167	26.4
High School Diploma	138	21.8
Some College	156	24.7
Four year degree	80	12.7
Graduate degree	91	14.4
Household Income Last Year		
Less than $15,000	84	12.5
$15,001-$25,000	97	14.5
$25,001-$35,000	74	11.0
$35,001- $45,000	83	12.4
$45,001- $55,000	54	8.1
$55,001- $65,000	56	8.4

	Frequency	Percent		
$65,001- $75,000	56	8.4		
$75,001- $85,000	39	5.8		
More than $85,000	128	19.1		
Are you currently in a romantic relationship?				
Yes	292	45.8		
No	346	54.2		

	Mean	Std. Dev.	N
How many people live in your household?	4.376	1.577	670
Adjusted Income[a]	1.241	.858	671

a. Adjusted income was created by dividing the income *category (1-9)* by number of people in the household (count). The mean reported here implies that on average respondents had a household income of slightly above $15,000 when number of household members was taken into account.

Table 5.2: Political and Religious Attitudes

	Frequency	Percent
Religiosity		
Never	118	17.6
Less than once a year	52	7.8
About once or twice a year	117	17.4
Several times a year	142	21.2
About once a month	37	5.5
2-3 times a month	58	8.7
Nearly every week	57	8.5
Every week	67	10.0
Several times a week	23	3.4
Political Views		
Extremely Liberal	29	4.3
Liberal	179	26.7
Slightly Liberal	119	17.7
Moderate/ Middle of the Road	243	36.2
Slightly Conservative	69	10.3
Conservative	30	4.5
Extremely Conservative	2	0.3

Table 5.3: Crime and Victimization Experience

	Percent (yes)	N
Have you ever been a victim of a crime?	34.2	653
Has anyone ever used violence against you, or threatened to use force against you?	33.8	656
Has anyone ever damaged, destroyed, or taken any of your property without your permission?	62.7	663
Have you ever been convicted of a crime?	3.8	657
Has anyone in your family been convicted of a crime?	36.7	652
Have you ever been imprisoned?	1.4	659
Has anyone in your family ever been imprisoned?	37.0	649
Do you think punishment deters crime?	73.8	634

With regard to sexism, the respondents had higher mean scores for benevolent sexism (3.77) than hostile sexism (1.51) with slightly more variation in benevolent sexism scores. Consistent with prior research (Glick et al. 2000), men had higher hostile sexism scores, whereas women had higher benevolent sexism scores. Table 5.4 shows the sexism scores for the entire sample, as well as males and females. T-test results revealed significant differences between men and women's hostile, but not benevolent, sexism scores. These findings replicate those from prior studies (see also Glick, Lameiras, and Castro 2002; Herzog and Oreg 2008).

Table 5.4: Benevolent and Hostile Sexism Scores by Gender

	Total N=671	Males n = 180	Females n = 491
Benevolent Sexism[a]	3.77 (.92)	3.74 (.92)	3.78 (.92)
Hostile Sexism[b]	1.51 (.86)	1.77 (.86)	1.42 (.85)

a. Non-significant (p= .56)
b. Significant (p<.000)

The mean crime seriousness and mean sentence severity scores (see Tables 5.5 and 5.6) reveal that, on average, the respondents' ratings were clustered near "very serious" and "very severe" (with averages ranging from 5.4-6.5). Crime seriousness ratings were higher than sentence severity ratings. Difference-of-means tests (t-tests) revealed that zero-order differences between crime seriousness ratings and sentence severity ratings (where respondents were asked to choose a number on an ordinal scale-- ranging from "1" Not at all serious/severe to "7" Very serious/severe-- to represent their perception of how serious the crime is and how severe the sentence should be) for vignettes with male versus female offenders within each type of crime were not

statistically significant. However, analysis of variance tests indicated that differences in crime seriousness ratings and sentence severity ratings across multiple types of crime were statistically significant (F = 317.9; p < .000). The highest rated seriousness and severity vignettes were those involving violent crime, followed by approximately equal mean ratings for property and white-caller crime vignettes (with property crime vignettes receiving higher rating for seriousness and white-collar crime receiving higher ratings for sentence severity).

Table 5.5: Crime Seriousness Mean Scores by Type of Crime and Offender's Gender[a]

Seriousness	Male Offender[e]	Female Offender	Total[f]
Violent[b]	6.43	6.48	6.45
	(.88)	(.86)	(.87)
Property[c]	5.5	5.4	5.4
	(1.41)	(1.38)	(1.38)
White-Collar[d]	5.35	5.36	5.35
	(1.42)	(1.46)	(1.44)

a. Sample sizes correspond to multiple assessments by the same respondent.
b. Male offenders (n =681), female offenders(n=655), total (n=1336)
c. Male offenders (n =671), female offenders(n=663), total (n=1334)
d. Male offenders (n =692), female offenders(n=643), total (n=1335)
e. Seriousness score differences between male vs. female offender within each type of crime were not statistically significant based on two sample t-tests.
f. Differences between group means across type of crime were statistically significant based on analysis of variance tests (F= 317.89; p<.000).

Table 5.6: Sentence Severity Mean Scores by Type of Crime and Offender's Gender[a]

Severity	Male Offender[e]	Female Offender	Total[f]
Violent[b]	6.13	6.20	6.16
	(.98)	(.96)	(.97)
Property[c]	5.03	5.02	5.02
	(1.39)	(1.32)	(1.35)
White-Collar[d]	5.05	5.05	5.05
	(1.40)	(1.44)	(1.42)

a. Sample sizes correspond to multiple assessments by the same respondent.
b. Male offenders (n =671), female offenders(n=663), total (n=1334)
c. Male offenders (n =681), female offenders(n=655), total (n=1336)
d. Male offenders (n =692), female offenders(n=643), total (n=1335)
e. Severity score differences between male vs. female offender within each type of crime
were not statistically significant based on two sample t-tests.
f. Differences between group means across type of crime were statistically significant based
on analysis of variance tests(F= 353.89; p< .000)

Based on the univariate statistics reported in this chapter, the sample in this study was primarily composed of female respondents, from various racial and ethnic backgrounds, with an average age of 20, who reported low levels of religiosity with liberal/very liberal political views. Again, most respondents did not report having first-hand experience with being convicted of a crime and/or being imprisoned and only about a third reported that they had been a victim of a crime. Additionally, more than a third had a family member who had been convicted of a crime and/or had been imprisoned.

With regard to bivariate associations, the results in this chapter revealed that the sample was more likely to endorse benevolent sexism than hostile sexism with gender being significantly associated with hostile sexism (as expected). Moreover the sample in general was composed of respondents who seemed to be "tough" with regard to crime seriousness and sentence severity (slightly more so on seriousness than severity). Additionally, in terms of zero-order associations, although offender's gender did not

yield significant associations, crime type was significantly associated with crime and

sentencing perceptions for this sample. Highest ratings were associated with violent

crime, followed with similar ratings for property and white-collar crime vignettes.

Ch. 6: CORRELATES

In this chapter, I explore factors that influence sexism and crime/sentencing perceptions. Stepwise Ordinary Least Squares and Ordered Logistic regressions were carried out to test for significant associations between respondent a) socio-demographics and/or past experiences with crime and b) sexist attitudes and perceptions of seriousness/severity. Stepwise regression is an iterative process where factors that are not found to be significant at each iteration are removed from the predictive model until no predictors remain that fail to meet the minimum criterion for inclusion. The end result is a model that retains only significant predictors,[9] with those predictors having been chosen based on their empirical predictive merits. This method reduces researcher bias in determining what covariates to include, and is most appropriate where simple empirical associations are sought, rather than when theory-based hypotheses are being tested.

Predicting Benevolent and Hostile Sexism

The following tables provide the coefficients estimates for variables that were found to be significant predictors[10] for benevolent and hostile sexism (Table 6.1), and crime seriousness and sentence severity (Table 6.2).

---

[9] The significance level was preset based on the alpha level provided. In this case, alpha was set to $p < .10$.

[10] Covariates that were removed from the regression models for not meeting significance level ($p < .10$) in predicting benevolent or hostile sexism included: race, father's education, age, and relationship status.

Table 6.1: Regression Results of Social Characteristics on Sexism Scores

	Benevolent Sexism	Hostile Sexism
N	600	600
R²	.080	.134
Social Characteristics		
Male Respondent	-	.260*
Adjusted Income	-	.075*
Freshman	.314*	.359*
Sophomore	.085 (NS)[a]	.161*
Junior	.082 (NS)	.183*
GPA	-.048*	-.059*
Mother's Educ	-.036	-
Religiosity	.059*	-
Political Views	-	.099*

a. University standing variables were dummy coded (0,1) and since one university standing
was significant, the others were also included in the regressions.
b. Reference group: Seniors
*Sig. (p< .05)

Significant predictors of benevolent sexism included: university standing, GPA, mother's education, and religiosity. Whereas university standing and religiosity shared a positive relationship with benevolent sexism, GPA (b_{GPA} = -.048) and mother's education (b_{Educ}= -.036) both exhibited negative associations. Only freshmen (b_{Fresh}=3.14) showed benevolent sexism scores significantly higher than seniors; sophomores and juniors were statistically indistinguishable from either seniors or each other. Attending more frequent religious services (b_{Relig} =.059) was also an indicator of higher benevolent sexism scores. In prior studies (e.g., Glick, Lameiras, and Castro 2002), religiosity has also been linked to benevolent sexism with the explanation that religious doctrines tend to promote gender differentiation by assigning higher levels of morality to women than men.

The finding that having a higher GPA and reporting higher levels of mother's education lead to lower benevolent sexism scores can also be linked to patterns consistently found in other studies where education level tends to be associated with more egalitarian views about gender (e.g., Farley et al. 1994). First, where GPA serves as an indicator of commitment to education, students with higher GPAs are likely to be invested in and dedicated to educational achievement and therefore, may adopt less discriminatory and less benevolently sexist ideologies. With research showing that college attendance leads to more egalitarian views and less prejudice compared to the general population (Hastie 2007), receiving a university education may also dispel ideas of inherent differences between men and women. Higher levels of education may also come with more exposure to cross-cultural and historical contexts with regard to gender differentiation patterns. These gender differentiation patterns, for instance, revealing that the color pink was once associated with school uniforms for boys (rather than being a color for girls), might lead some to question whether differences between men and women are inherent, if not dismantle such sexist beliefs. Second, mother's education level provides a glimpse into one's primary socialization; it may stand to reason that families with educated mother figures display less traditional and less critical views of women's role in contemporary American society. Such mothers may choose to socialize their children explicitly toward non-traditional attitudes, though such decisions would obviously be made on an individual, person-by-person basis.

Significant predictors of hostile sexism included gender, adjusted income, university standing, GPA and political views. All predictors but GPA were positively

associated with hostile sexism. First, consistent with prior findings (e.g. Glick et. al. 2001), being male increased the hostile sexism score ($b_{Male} = .260$) in comparison to being female. In addition, increases in adjusted income (which was created by dividing the income level reported by the number of people living in one's family household) were associated with increases in hostile sexism scores. In contrast to studies that associate liberalism with socioeconomic status (e.g., Rice and Coates 1995), a one-unit increase in adjusted income lead to a higher ($b_{Inc} = .075$) score on hostile sexism.

Similar to benevolent sexism, being a freshman had a stronger effect ($b_{Fresh} = .359$) on hostile sexism scores than being a sophomore ($b_{Soph} = .161$) or junior ($b_{Jun} = .183$), though all groups displayed significantly higher hostile sexism scores than seniors (reference category). Additionally, respondents with more conservative political views displayed higher hostile sexism scores ($b_{Cons} = .099$). This positive effect of politically conservative views on hostile sexism scores has been often supported in studies (e.g., Zick and Petzel 1999) that show strong correlation between political ideology and prejudice (e.g., sexism). As the only negative correlate of hostile sexism, GPA shared a weak negative association ($b_{GPA} = -.059$).

Variables that were not uniquely predictive of benevolent or hostile sexism were respondent's race, father's education, age and relationship-status. First, race was not associated with prevalence of benevolent and hostile sexism. Although prior research has seldom examined the effects of race on sexist attitudes directly, this non-finding is consistent with Nagel, Matsuo, McIntyre, and Morrison's (2005) findings that controlling

for education and income removes the association between race and attitudes toward rape-victims. The two studies (this one and Nagel, Matsuo, McIntyre, and Morrison 2005) are comparable in that Nagel, Matsuo, McIntyre, and Morrison (2005) examined attitudes toward women who experienced hostility (rape), and this study measured hostile attitudes toward women. They concluded that samples with less education may reveal a significant relationship, whereas samples with higher levels of education may result in insignificant associations between the race and attitudes. Such may be the case for the sample (highly educated, university students) in this study. With regard to the non-significant effect of father's education, one can argue that since mother's education was a significant predictor (and the sample reported approximately equal levels of education for both parents), perhaps "gender" socialization toward egalitarian or traditional values played a larger role for mothers than it did for fathers for this sample.

Age and relationship status did not yield significant effects on sexist attitudes perhaps because the respondents were young. First, given that most of the respondents were between 18-22 years of age, perhaps the variation in the four year span was not enough to result in an identifiable pattern with regard to sexist attitudes. Moreover, although approximately half of the respondents reported being in a relationship, it may be that a "relationship" does not hold the same meaning in a sample where the average age is 20 as it may for older, married individuals (with prior research indicating that men in intimate relationships have lower scores on both types of sexism; Glick, Lameiras, and Castro 2002).

Predicting Crime Seriousness and Sentence Severity Perceptions

Results from stepwise Ordered Logistic regressions for predicting crime

seriousness ratings and sentence severity ratings (presented in Table 6.2) indicate that

more social characteristics (i.e. age and religiosity) were better predictors of crime

seriousness than sentence severity ratings (with the exception of mother's education

being a significant predictor for both[11]). The strongest predictors of crime seriousness

and sentence severity ratings were not socio-demographic, but rather the experiential

factors such as having been a victim of a crime, especially a property crime.

Table 6.2: Regression Results of Social Characteristics on Crime Seriousness and Sentence Severity Scores

	Crime Seriousness	*Sentence Severity*
N	533 clusters; Observations = 3194	
R²	.004	.002
Social Characteristics		
Age	.060*	-
Religiosity	.036	-
Mother's Education	-.032	-.060
Experiential Characteristics		
Ever been victim of a crime?	-.221*	-.203
Has anyone ever damaged, destroyed, or taken any of your property without your permission?	.223	.199

*Sig. p < .05

Age (b_{Age} =.060) shared a weak positive association with crime seriousness

judgments, a finding that adds to the mixed patterns found in prior research with regard to

the effect of age on crime seriousness (see Stylianou 2003 for a review). Additionally,

---

[11] Covariates that were removed from the regression models for not meeting significance level (p < .10) in predicting severity or seriousness included: race, father's education, adjusted income, university standing, GPA, relationship status, political views, victim of violence, ever convicted, family ever convicted, ever imprisoned, family ever imprisoned and attitude toward punishment deterring crime.

consistent with prior findings (e.g., Curry 1996, Herzog 2003), more religious

respondents had higher mean ratings of crime seriousness (b_{Relig} = .036). Recall that this

association has been explained by the link between crime and sin among religious

groups; equating the two leads to harsher judgments of crime seriousness and sentence

severity.

Mother's education shared a weak, negative association with both crime

seriousness (m_{edico}= -.032) and sentence severity (b_{MEduc}= -.060). Respondents who

reported higher levels of mother's education had higher odds of rating crimes as less

serious and had lower ratings for the appropriate sentence severity for all vignettes. As

was noted in explaining the negative association between mother's education and sexism,

this finding of negative association between mother's education and crime/sentencing

perceptions may be attributed to the notion that education is a catalyst for increasing

tolerance. Perhaps mothers who are more highly educated are more tolerant toward

people who commit crimes and therefore do not evaluate crimes as very serious and do

not judge crimes as deserving of extreme sentence severity. Thus as primary socialization

agents, they raise children to be similarly tolerant.

Adding to mixed prior findings that (a) victimization leads to higher seriousness

scores (Wolfgang, Figlio, Tracy, and Singer 1985), and (b) victims and non-victims do

not make significantly different seriousness judgments (Levi and Jones 1985), this study

found that being a victim of a crime lead to lower ratings. However, property crime

victimization experience led to odds of higher ratings on vignettes. The distinction

between the two forms of victimization can be explained by the fact that the question of

having "property taken," although was intended as a subset of the question on "having been a victim of a crime" was not interpreted as such by the respondents. Perhaps, having property taken, damaged or destroyed was not interpreted as "being a victim of a crime" which may have a more serious connotation. Additionally, based on the unique variation introduced by each question, respondents who had experience with property theft, damage or destruction held different perceptions of crime seriousness and sentence severity (higher ratings). Perhaps, those who have had experience with "being a victim of a crime" have been exposed to more of the criminal justice system or legal proceedings and therefore hold less serious perceptions of crime and sentence severity.

Unlike some prior studies (e.g. Miller, Rossi and Simpson 1991; Yu 1993) and consistent with some earlier findings (e.g. Wolfgang et. al 1985, Newman1976), gender was not a significant predictor of perceptions associated with crime seriousness and sentence severity in this study. Mixed results on the association between gender and crime and sentencing perceptions may stem from differences in sample characteristics. Recall that education tends to have a positive correlation with egalitarian values (Hastie 2007), and because the current sample was drawn from a university population, perhaps perceptions of male and female respondents were not as differentiated as one would expect in the general population, or in samples with lower levels of education. Therefore, since the regression models controlled for education, gender of the respondent did not reveal significant effects.

Moreover, the failure of respondents' racial category to reach statistical significance as a predictor of crime/sentencing vignette ratings is commensurate with

50

findings from prior research on crime seriousness judgments (Stylianou 2003) where the effects of race have either been absent or mixed. Additionally, university standing (as an indicator of education level) did not yield a significant effect. This may be because the difference in the amount of education that a freshman holds versus a junior is small enough to be undetectable.

Moreover, political views, in particular, political conservatism has been shown to have a positive association with crime seriousness perceptions (Eysenck 1955; Nemeth and Sosis 1973). In light of this explanation, perhaps the sample's leniency towards liberal views (48%) and moderate views (36%), did not amount to sufficient variation in political orientation to yield significant differences. Since the expected association would link conservative attitudes to crime and sentencing perceptions, this sample did not have the necessary number of respondents who reported to have conservative views. Other variables that failed to reach significance in predicting crime seriousness and sentence severity perceptions include: father's education, adjusted income, GPA, and relationship status. These variables were included as controls and have not been shown in previous research to be associated with the perception outcomes.

With the exception of ever being a victim and having property taken, damaged, or destroyed, experiential factors such as having a conviction, being victim of violence, or having family members who have either been convicted or imprisoned and attitudes toward punishment deterring crime were not found to be significant in predicting crime/sentencing perceptions in this study. Although one-third of the sample reported having a family member who had been convicted or imprisoned, these factors did not

51

have a significant effect on perceptions. Perhaps because "family" can include members who may not be part of one's immediate family, the likelihood that a relative has been incarcerated or convicted increases. Therefore, because the family member may be distant, their experience may not have a substantial impact on the views of the respondent leading to non-significant associations.

In sum, stepwise regression analyses were conducted to identify predictors of benevolent and hostile sexism and crime/sentencing perceptions. The correlations were all in the direction and of a magnitude consistent with prior findings for sexism, crime seriousness and sentence severity perceptions.). Similar to the findings in this study, for sexism (benevolent/hostile) being male, politically conservative and religious has consistently been found to be positively correlated (Glick et al. 2000; Glick, Lameiras, and Castro 2002; Zick and Petzel 1999), and education has consistently shared a negative association with sexism (Hastie 2007; Farley, Steeh, Krysan Jackson, and Reeves 1994).

Moreover, for crime seriousness perceptions, age and victimization experience have been shown to have both a negative and positive correlation in previous examinations, religiosity has consistently been found to be positively correlated and education has been shown to have a negative correlation with crime seriousness perceptions (for an in-depth review, see Stylianou 2003). In addition to corroborating earlier studies, these analyses provided evidence of baseline similarities between this sample and prior published samples. It is important to note, however, that covariates found to be significant based on the results of the stepwise regressions predicting crime seriousness/sentence severity (i.e. age, religiosity, mother's education, been a victim of

52

crime and property ever taken) and both forms of sexism (i.e. gender, adjusted income, university standing, GPA, mother's education, religiosity, political views) when included in the hypothesis tests, indicated that the covariates improved the predictive power of the models very slightly. Therefore in the following chapter, I provide regression results with coefficients (logits) for only the hypothesized predictors without covariates[12]. For hypothesis tests with all covariates, see Appendix B.

---

[12] Vignette number was included as a control in order to account for the methodological effect of "vignette fatigue". It was found to be significant in all hypothesized regression models.

Chapter 7: Offender's Gender, Type of Crime and Sexism on Perceptions

This chapter contains the results and discussions from the hypothesis tests. Recall that because of the ordinal measurement of the dependant variables, positive skew in the distribution of the outcome variables and grouped responses based on six vignette ratings per respondent, clustered ordered logistic regressions were used.[13] Tables 7.1 and 7.2 provide the logits (b) (and adjusted odds-ratios in the case of Hypothesis IV) for each of the hypotheses being tested. The underlying hypothesis is that type of crime will interact with offender's gender to moderate the relationship between sexism and perceptions of crime seriousness and sentence severity.

Table 7.1: Clustered Ordered Logistic Regressions for Crime Seriousness Vignette Ratings (N=671)[a]

Crime Seriousness Predictors	Hypothesis I Logits	Hypothesis II Logits	Hypothesis III Logits	Hypothesis IV Logits	Hypothesis IV Proportional Odds Ratios
Offender's Gender					
Female Offender (FO)	.009	.130	.014	.150	1.162
Type of Crime					
White-Collar Crime (WCC)	-	-2.181*	-	-2.187*	.112*
Property Crime (PC)	-	-1.345*	-	-1.346*	.260*
Sexism					
Benevolent Sexism (BS)	-	-	.038	.041	1.042
Hostile Sexism (HS)	-	-	-.074	-.080	.923
Interaction Effects					
FO x WCC	-	-.105	-	-.123	.884
FO x PC	-	-.221	-	-.226*	.798*
FO x BS	-	-	.078	.131	1.140
FO x HS	-	-	-.023	-.394*	.674*
FO x WCC x BS	-	-	-	-.132	.876
FO x WCC x HS	-	-	-	.423*	1.526*
FO x PC x BS	-	-	-	.063	1.065
FO x PC x HS	-	-	-	.472*	.624*

a. 4005 observations (5.96 vignettes per person); Std. errors adjusted for autocorrelation with-in subjects
Ref..Category: male offender, violent crime perceived by nonsexist (avg. benevolent/hostile sexism score) respondent
*Sig. p < .05

---

[13] Violent crime was used as the reference crime type because both in the data and prior research (e.g., Miller, Rossi, and Simpson 1991; Douglas and Ogloff 1997; Evans and Scott 1984; Rossi, Waite, Bose, and Berk 1974), it is usually perceived to be the most serious and deserving of the most severe sentencing.

Table 7.2: Clustered Ordered Logistic Regressions for Sentence Severity Vignette Ratings (N=671)[a]

Sentence Severity	Hypothesis I	Hypothesis II	Hypothesis III	Hypothesis IV	
Predictors	*Logits*	*Logits*	*Logits*	*Logits*	*Proportional Odds Ratios*
Offender's Gender					
Female Offender (FO)	.026	.143	.032	.161	1.175
Type of Crime					
White-Collar Crime (WCC)	-	-2.026*	-	-2.030*	.131*
Property Crime (PC)	-	-1.401*	-	-1.406*	.245*
Sexism					
Benevolent Sexism (BS)	-	-	.093	.094	1.099
Hostile Sexism (HS)	-	-	.055	.073	1.076
Interaction Effects					
FO x WCC	-	-.141	-	-.162	.8504412
FO x PC	-	-.180	-	-.180	.835
FO x BS	-	-	.048	.232*	1.261*
FO x HS	-	-	-.029	-.291*	.748*
FO x WCC X BS	-	-	-	-.302*	.739*
FO x WCC X HS	-	-	-	.308	1.361
FO x PC x BS	-	-	-	.325*	1.384
FO x PC x HS	-	-	-	-.110	.896

a. 4005 observations (5.96 vignettes per person); Std. errors adjusted for autocorrelation with-in subjects
Ref..Category: male offender, violent crime perceived by nonsexist (avg. benevolent/hostile sexism score) respondent
*Sig. p < .05

Hypothesis I stated that male and female offenders would receive different crime seriousness and sentence severity ratings (with female offenders receiving lower scores). It was not supported. This result confirms the already-established pattern at the zero-order level of associations (presented in Table 5.5 and 5.6) based on comparisons of mean ratings for crime seriousness and sentence severity for female versus male offenders.

In Hypothesis II, the dummy-coded crime type measures were introduced to the model as a main effect and as part of an interaction term with offender gender. Based on results reported in Tables 5.5 and 5.6, (in chapter 5) the data show no interaction effect. However, the three types of crime all displayed significant main effects, further confirming the analysis of variance test conducted at the zero-order level in Chapter 5.

Model III tested Hypothesis III that stated benevolent sexism and hostile sexism would explain the variation in crime seriousness and sentence severity ratings for male versus female offenders (without taking into account the type of crime in the vignettes). The ordered logistic regression results did not yield significant results for predicting either crime seriousness or sentence severity with Benevolent Sexism and Hostile Sexism as main or interaction terms (Benevolent Sexism x Female Offender; Hostile Sexism x Female Offender). As a result, the hypothesis was not supported.

Model IV, which introduced three-way interaction effects between type of crime, both types of sexism and offender's gender to predict crime seriousness and sentence severity ratings, thereby providing a complete test of the conceptual model presented here, yielded more significant results than the models testing Hypotheses I through III combined. The results not only provide clear evidence of suppressor effects between variables but also highlight the importance of simultaneously including all three variables (offender's gender, type of crime, and sexism) in the model. These issues will be discussed in greater detail below.

The patterns of significant results found in Model IV included two-way interactions of female offender with property crime and female offender with hostile sexism and three-way interactions of female offender with white collar crime and hostile sexism and of female offender with property crime and hostile sexism. For sentence severity, the significant effects included (in addition to white collar crime and property crime) two-way interactions of female offender with benevolent sexism and female offender with hostile sexism and three-way interactions of female offender with white-

56

collar crime and benevolent sexism and of female offender with property crime and benevolent sexism. Thus, though Hypotheses I through III were partially unsupported at the lower-order levels of hypothesis testing, all hypothesized interaction effects (i.e., gender * sexism; gender * type of crime; gender * sexism * type of crime) reached significance in some form in Model IV (seriousness: pseudo R^2=.08; severity pseudoR^2=.08). Further discussion of hypothesis tests will center on the results from Model IV.

In contrast to Models I through III, Model IV has numerous significant main and two-way and three-way interaction effects. The fact that these effects are found only in the highest-order model indicates the presence of at least one statistical suppressor variable. Suppressor variables mask the association between two or more other sets of variables at the zero-order level. In other words, though two variables may seem unassociated with bivariate (or lower-order multivariate) tests, when the suppressor variable is controlled for (through inclusion in the analytic model), associations between previously unrelated variables may reach statistical significance.

This pattern of significance is witnessed as we move from simpler regression models (Hypotheses I-III) to the most complex model (Hypothesis IV). For instance, for crime seriousness in Hypothesis II, the interaction effect between female offender and property crime is not significant until Hypothesis IV, and similarly, the interaction effect between, female offender and hostile sexism is not significant in Hypothesis III, and not only become significant, but is also a stronger coefficient in Hypothesis IV. As another example, in the sentence severity regression model, the interaction terms tested in

57

Hypothesis III between female offender and hostile sexism, and female offender and benevolent sexism do not reach significance until Model IV.

Ordered logistic regression coefficients in the form of logits do not allow for intuitive interpretation (beyond the simple noting of positive or negative associations) because they are scaled in terms of the natural log of the change in the odds in some occurrence of the outcome variable. Additionally, in the presence of so many complex interaction effects, even basic interpretation of the meaning of the results can be difficult. For ease of interpretation, odds-ratios are presented for estimates associated with hypothesis IV. Odds ratios, the result of exponentiating a logit, represent the change in the odds of moving from one category to another in the ordinal outcome variable. An odds ratio less than one (i.e., OR < 1) indicates a negative association between the predictor and ordinal outcome variable, while an odds ratio greater than one (i.e., OR > 1) indicates a positive association between the variables[14].

Although odds-ratios provide a good indication of how the independent effects influence the crime seriousness and sentence severity outcomes, it is still difficult to decipher general patterns associated with the effect of the hypothesized interaction terms, given the complexity of the third-order interaction terms and their relation to lower-order effects. Again, to aid in ease of interpretation, one can translate the predicted values (ŷ) from the ordered logistic regression into concrete probabilities that certain type of crimes and offenders will receive certain kinds of seriousness and severity ratings. In other words, while the odds ratios listed in Tables 7.1 and 7.2 under Model IV provide some

---

[14] An odds ratio of exactly 1 implies no relationship (H_0: β=0).

indication of the general effects estimated for each predictor, it may still be difficult to understand how these numbers translate into concrete differences between the different crime types and offender genders, and how these effects moderate the effect of sexist attitudes on perceptions.

To provide a better indication of these concrete differences, Tables 7.3 and 7.4 provide predicted probabilities associated with seriousness and severity ratings for each combination of crime, offender, and level of sexism implied by the design of this study. The first column lists all of the possible combinations for offender gender, type of crime and the respondents' type of sexism. The rest of the columns have the heading of each possible value in the outcome scale ranging from "1" (Not at all Serious/Severe) to "7" (Very Serious/Severe). The figures, presented as percentages, correspond to the predicted probabilities that each combination of factors yielded for the particular response category (with the highest probabilities presented in bold). As seen in Tables 7.3 and 7.4, the strongest predictor of crime seriousness and sentence severity ratings was the type of crime committed; there is a perfect stratification of the three crime types, with violent crimes being perceived as the most serious/severe, followed by property and then white collar crimes. For all violent crime and property crime vignettes, the highest predicted probabilities for crime seriousness were associated with the highest response category, "7," followed white collar crime vignettes, for which the highest predicted probabilities were associated with a "5" on the crime seriousness scale. With regard to the sentence severity ratings, violent crime vignettes yielded the highest probabilities for the response category "7", property crime vignettes had its highest probabilities in category "6" and

white-collar crime vignettes had the highest probabilities in category "5". These patterns
by crime type (or type of crime explaining most of the variance) were not unexpected
given prior ANOVA results (from chapter 5) and regression results associated with
Model II (Hypothesis II) where main effects of crime type were significant.

Table 7.3. Predicted Probabilities[a] (Percent) for all Outcome Categories for Crime Seriousness Ratings

	"Not Serious"	"2"	"3"	"4"	"5"	"6"	"Very Serious"
Female -- Violent Crime -- Benevolent Sexist	0.0	0.0	1.0	2.0	7.0	17.0	**73.4**
Female -- Violent Crime -- Non-Sexist	0.0	0.0	1.0	2.0	8.0	18.0	**70.0**
Male -- Violent Crime -- Benevolent Sexist	0.0	0.1	1.0	2.7	8.4	19.5	**67.6**
Male -- Violent Crime -- Non-Sexist	0.0	0.1	1.2	2.9	8.7	19.9	**66.7**
Male -- Violent Crime -- Hostile Sexist	0.0	0.1	1.3	3.1	9.3	20.8	**64.9**
Female -- Violent Crime -- Hostile Sexist	0.0	0.1	1.6	3.8	11.2	23.2	**59.2**
Female -- Property Crime -- Benevolent Sexist	0.0	1.8	3.6	8.1	19.7	28.5	**37.9**
Male -- Property Crime -- Benevolent Sexist	0.0	2.0	4.0	8.9	20.9	28.5	**35.2**
Male -- Property Crime -- Non-Sexist	0.0	2.1	4.2	9.2	21.3	28.5	**34.3**
Female -- Property Crime -- Non-Sexist	0.0	2.3	4.5	9.7	22.1	28.4	**32.6**
Female -- Property Crime -- Hostile Sexist	0.0	2.3	4.5	9.7	22.1	28.4	**32.6**
Male -- Property Crime -- Hostile Sexist	0.0	2.3	4.5	9.8	22.1	28.4	**32.5**
Male -- White Collar Crime -- Hostile Sexist	1.0	5.1	9.2	16.9	**27.7**	23.0	17.2
Female -- White Collar Crime -- Hostile Sexist	0.1	4.8	8.8	16.4	**27.5**	23.5	18.0
Male -- White Collar Crime -- Non-Sexist	0.1	4.7	8.6	16.2	**27.4**	23.8	18.4
Female -- White Collar Crime -- Non-Sexist	0.1	4.6	8.5	15.9	**27.4**	24.0	18.8
Male -- White Collar Crime -- Benevolent Sexist	0.1	4.5	8.4	15.8	**27.3**	24.1	19.0
Female -- White Collar Crime -- Benevolent Sexist	0.1	4.4	8.2	15.6	**27.2**	24.4	19.4

a. pr $(\hat{y} \mid x_i)$

Table 7.4. Predicted Probabilities[a] (Percent) for all Outcome Categories for Sentence Severity Ratings

	"Not Severe"	"2"	"3"	"4"	"5"	"6"	"Very Severe"
Female -- Violent Crime -- Benevolent Sexist	0.0	0.0	1.0	3.0	9.0	28.8	**57.6**
Female -- Violent Crime -- Non-Sexist	0.0	1.0	1.4	4.0	11.6	32.6	**49.5**
Male -- Violent Crime -- Benevolent Sexist	0.0	1.0	1.5	4.3	12.3	33.2	**47.8**
Male -- Violent Crime -- Hostile Sexist	0.0	1.0	1.6	4.4	12.5	33.4	**47.3**
Male -- Violent Crime -- Non-sexist	0.0	1.0	1.7	4.6	13.1	34.1	**45.5**
Female -- Violent Crime -- Hostile Sexist	0.0	1.0	1.8	4.9	13.7	34.6	**44.1**

Female -- Property Crime -- Benevolent Sexist	1.0	2.5	5.2	12.6	25.5	**33.9**	20.0
Male -- Property Crime -- Benevolent Sexist	1.0	2.8	5.7	13.5	26.3	**32.9**	18.4
Female -- Property Crime -- Hostile Sexist	1.0	2.8	5.7	13.6	26.3	**32.8**	18.3
Male -- Property Crime -- Hostile Sexist	1.0	2.8	5.8	13.7	2.6	**32.7**	18.0
Male -- Property Crime -- Non- Sexist	1.0	3.0	6.1	14.4	27.0	**31.9**	17.0
Female -- Property Crime -- Non-Sexist	1.0	3.1	6.2	14.6	27.1	**31.7**	16.7
Male-- White-Collar Crime -- Benevolent Sexist	1.0	5.0	9.5	19.6	**28.9**	25.3	10.8
Female -- White-Collar Crime --Hostile Sexist	1.1	5.0	10.0	19.7	**28.9**	25.2	10.7
Male -- White Collar Crime -- Hostile Sexist	1.1	5.1	9.7	19.8	**28.9**	25.0	10.6
Female -- White-Collar Crime -- Benevolent Sexist	1.1	5.3	10.0	20.3	**28.8**	24.3	10.1
Female -- White-Collar Crime -- Non-Sexist	1.1	5.4	10.2	20.5	**28.8**	23.9	9.9
Male -- White Collar Crime -- Non- Sexist	1.1	5.4	10.2	20.5	**28.8**	24.0	9.9

a. pr $(\hat{y} \mid x_i)$

To clarify the variation occurring within the three types of crime, contingency tables were created to parcel out the effects of sexism and the offender's gender. Within-crime variations were revealed when the predicted probabilities were separated by each type of crime, creating crime-type contingency tables (Tables 7.5 (seriousness) and 7.8 (severity). Within-gender variations were revealed in offender's gender contingency tables (Table 7.7 and 7.9) and within sexism variations were revealed when the patterns are organized by each type of sexism (Tables 7. 7and table 7.10). The patterns in each of these contingencies are reported first for crime seriousness and then for sentence severity in the following sections.

Crime Seriousness Perceptions

Table 7.5 shows the crime-type contingency table for perceptions of crime seriousness. Each type of crime reveals a slightly different pattern when it comes to the gender of the offender. Female offenders appear to be given the harshest ratings for engaging in violent crime, as they hold two of the top three most serious rankings. In

contrast, male offenders appear to be given higher seriousness ratings for property

crimes. Last, in terms of white collar crime, there is a perfect alternating pattern of male

and female offenders, perhaps indicating the lack of bias one way or the other.

With regard to the patterns in sexist attitudes, there are strong differences in the

effects of sexism across the three crime types. Whereas hostile sexists provided the least

serious ratings across both violent and property crimes (even when compared to non-

sexists), they provided the most serious ratings for white-collar crimes. This pattern was

largely reversed for the benevolent sexists, who provided the most severe ratings for

violent and property crimes. These and all subsequent contingency table results will be

discussed at the end of this chapter.

Table 7.5: Highest to Lowest Predicted Probability for Crime Seriousness by Type of Crime

	Violent Crime	Property Crime	White Collar Crime
Most	Female Off--Benevolent Sexist	Female Off--Benevolent Sexist	Male Off--Hostile Sexist
	Female Off-- Non-Sexist	Male Off--Benevolent Sexist	Female Off--Hostile Sexist
	Male Off--Benevolent Sexist	Male Off--Non-Sexist	Male Off--Non- Sexist
	Male Off-- Non-Sexist	Female Off-- Non-Sexist	Female Off--Non-Sexist
	Male Off--Hostile Sexist	Female Off--Hostile Sexist	Male Off--Benevolent Sexist
Least	Female Off--Hostile Sexist	Male Off--Hostile Sexist	Female Off--Benevolent Sexist

Contingency tables based on offender's gender (presented in Tables 7.6) and by

groups of sexism (presented in Tables 7.7) for crime seriousness reveal that results are

largely stratified by type of crime, with only secondary variation occurring within that

most influential predictor. The gender contingency for crime seriousness confirms the

previously observed pattern that benevolent sexists provide more serious ratings than

either non-sexists or hostile sexists for both property and violent crimes, though this

pattern is reversed for white collar crime. Contingency tables based on the type of

sexism provide a clear pattern differentiating both groups of sexists (i.e., benevolent and hostile) from non-sexists. It seems then that the largest variation in crime seriousness perceptions is explained by type of crime, followed by the interaction between sexist attitudes and offender's gender.

Table 7.6: Highest to Lowest Predicted Probability for Crime Seriousness by Offender's Gender

	Male Offender	Female Offender
Most	Violent Crime--Benevolent Sexist	Violent Crime-- Benevolent Sexist
	Violent Crime--Non-Sexist	Violent Crime-- Non-Sexist
	Violent Crime--Hostile Sexist	Violent Crime--Hostile Sexist
	Property Crime-- Benevolent Sexist	Property Crime-- Benevolent -Sexist
	Property Crime--Non Sexist	Property Crime--Non- Sexist
	Property Crime--Hostile Sexist	Property Crime--Hostile Sexist
	White Collar Crime--Hostile Sexist	White Collar Crime--Hostile Sexist
	White Collar Crime--Non-Sexist	White Collar Crime--Non-Sexist
Least	White Collar Crime-- Benevolent - Sexist	White Collar Crime-- Benevolent Sexist

Table 7.7: Highest to Lowest Predicted Probability for Crime Seriousness by Sexism

	Benevolent Sexists	Hostile Sexists	Non-Sexists
Most	Female Off--Violent Crime	Male Off--Violent Crime	Female Off--Violent Crime
	Male Off--Violent Crime	Female Off--Violent Crime	Male Off--Violent Crime
	Female Off--Property Crime	Female Off--Property Crime	Male Off--Property Crime
	Male Off--Property Crime	Male Off--Property Crime	Female Off--Property Crime
	Male Off--White Collar Crime	Male Off--White Collar Crime	Male Off--White Collar Crime
Least	Female Off--White Collar Crime	Female Off--White Collar Crime	Female Off--White Collar Crime

Sentence Severity Perceptions

Table 7.8 provides a crime-type contingency table for perceptions of appropriate sentence severity. The patterns are similar to, but less distinct than those for seriousness perceptions. Again, females are given the most extreme ratings for violent crimes, though they now also hold two of the top three slots for property crime. Males committing white collar crime were, on average, perceived to deserve more severe sentences than females committing the same crimes. In contrast to the patterns found in

63

perceptions of seriousness, non-sexists on average perceived the appropriate sentences to be the least severe.

Table 7.8: Highest to Lowest Predicted Probability for Sentence Severity by Type of Crime

	Violent Crime	Property Crime	White-Collar Crime
Most	Female Off--Benevolent Sexist	Female Off--Benevolent Sexist	Male Off--Benevolent Sexist
	Female Off--Non-Sexist	Male Off--Benevolent Sexist	Female Off--Hostile Sexist
	Male Off--Benevolent Sexist	Female Off--Hostile Sexism	Male Off--Hostile Sexist
	Male Off--Hos. Sexist	Male Off--Hostile Sexist	Female Off--Benevolent Sexist
	Male Off--Non-Sexist	Male Off--Non-Sexist	Female Off--Non- Sexist
Least	Female Off--Hos. Sexist	Female Off--Non-Sexist	Male Off--Non-Sexist

Like crime seriousness, the gender contingency (Table 7.9) for sentence severity confirms the previously observed pattern that benevolent sexists provide more severe ratings than either non-sexists or hostile sexists for both property and violent crimes, though this pattern is reversed for white collar crime. Another recurring pattern is that females are given the most extreme sentence severity ratings for violent crimes, though they now (in comparison to crime seriousness) also hold two of the top three slots for property crime. Males committing white collar crime were, on average, perceived to deserve more severe sentences than females committing the same crimes for benevolent sexists and non-sexists but the reverse (females more than male offenders) is true for hostile sexists.

Table 7.9: Highest to Lowest Predicted Probability for Sentence Severity by Offender's Gender

	Male Offender	**Female Offender**
Most	Violent Crime--Benevolent Sexist	Violent Crime-- Benevolent Sexist
	Violent Crime--Hostile Sexist	Violent Crime--Non-Sexist
	Violent Crime--Non-Sexist	Violent Crime--Hostile Sexist
	Property Crime-- Benevolent. Sexist	Property Crime--Benevolent Sexist
	Property Crime-- Hostile Sexist	Property Crime-- Hostile Sexist
	Property Crime--Non-Sexist	Property Crime--Non- Sexist
	White Collar Crime-- Benevolent Sexist	White Collar Crime--Hostile Sexist
	White Collar Crime-- Hostile Sexist	White Collar Crime-- Benevolent Sexist
Least	White Collar Crime--Non-sexist	White Collar Crime--Non- Sexist

Table 7.10: Highest to Lowest Predicted Probability for Sentence Severity by Sexism

	Benevolent Sexists	**Hostile Sexists**	**Non-Sexists**
Most	Female Off--Violent Crime	Male Off-- Violent Crime	Female Off--Violent Crime
	Male Off-- Violent Crime	Female Off-- Violent Crime	Male Off--Violent Crime
	Female Off-- Property Crime	Female Off-- Property Crime	Male Off-- Property Crime
	Male Off-- Property Crime	Male Off-- Property Crime	Female Off-- Property Crime
	Male Off-- White Collar Crime	Female Off-- White Collar Crime	Female Off--White Collar Crime
Least	Female Off-- White Collar Crime	Male Off-- White Collar Crime	Male Off--White Collar Crime

Overall, some of the underlying and persistent patterns found in the results indicate the following. First, the type of crime being committed in the vignettes was the primary factor along which respondents varied their crime seriousness and sentence severity perceptions. Respondents perceived violent crime vignettes to be the most serious and deserving of most severe sentencing, followed by property crime vignettes with white collar crime vignettes being perceived as the least serious and deserving of least severe sentencing. Second, type of crime and types of sexism interacted with offender's gender to influence respondent perceptions of crime seriousness and severity. On average, respondents corresponding to benevolent and hostile forms of sexism perceived vignettes with female offenders to be more serious and worthy of more severe sentences than males. Benevolent sexists made harshest judgments for violent and

65

property crime vignettes, giving female offenders more serious and severe ratings in comparison to their male counterparts; and hostile sexists made harshest judgments (compared to benevolent sexists and non-sexists) for white collar crime vignettes, giving male and female offenders more-or-less equal treatment.

Discussion

Type of Crime

First, consistent with prior studies (Douglas and Ogloff 1997; Evans and Scott 1984; Miller, Rossi, and Simpson 1991; Rossi, Waite, Bose, and Berk 1974), violent crimes were generally perceived to be the most serious and as deserving of the most severe sentencing in comparison to other crimes (e.g., property). White –collar crime vignettes yielded distinct patterns from those associated with violent and property crime vignettes. This finding implies that respondents perceived white-collar crime as qualitatively distinct from both other types of crime. Furthermore, the difference between the predicted outcome probabilities within the white-collar crime contingency tables was small (.5% at the most). This can be linked to the type of crime prototypes that people embody (Smith 1993). Smith (1993) argues that specific crimes appear more "typical" than others. For instance, robberies with an armed perpetrator are perceived to be more "typical" than a robbery where the offender is unarmed. Crime prototypes, according to Smith (1993), influence crime judgments by the extent to which the crime being judged matches the individual's prototype. Perhaps respondents (in this case, typically young, university students) were least familiar with white-collar crimes and therefore had few to no crime prototypes with which to associate the white-collar crime vignettes. Therefore,

white-collar crime judgments were not only distinct from the other types of crime but also had little variation in the outcomes between male versus female offenders, whether they were judged by benevolent, hostile or non-sexists. In short, though people saw white-collar crimes as distinct from violent or property crimes, they saw little differences in the different kinds (male versus female offender) of white-collar crime.

Female versus Male Offenders

The finding that female offenders were rated more harshly (with their crimes being perceived as more serious and deserving of more severe sentencing) for property and violent crime vignettes may be explained by Smith's (1993) work on crime prototypes. Although Smith did not test for this variation, perhaps gender of the offender is another factor (in addition to factors like "armed vs. unarmed") that shapes people's prototypes. By making harsher judgments of female offenders, perhaps the respondents' crime prototypes mainly consisted of male offenders and the distance between their prototype image and the actual offense scenario in the vignette lead to more serious and more severe judgments.

Furthermore, committing a crime is an activity embedded within a larger social structure. Like other social activities, actions carried out by people during these activities are identified as more-or-less masculine or feminine, and the people involved are responsible for proving their gender competence. Furthermore, ideological traits associated with hegemonic masculinity include control, aggression, and capacity for violence (Messerschmidt 1993). Generally, actions that are identified as feminine (e.g., submissive tendencies) tend to be in opposition to those behaviors and characteristics that

67

are conducive to crime (e.g., aggression) and prescribed by masculinity. This implies that when engaging in crime, women transcend boundaries of femininity and enact those traits that are more often associated with masculinity. Such behavior leads to more extreme reprimand which, in this study, manifests in the pattern of more serious crime judgments and more severe sentencing judgments for female offenders in general.

Benevolent and Hostile Sexism

This study aimed to assess the empirical validity of the chivalry thesis on differential treatment of male versus female offenders. Based on the results, it seems that rather than lead to preferential treatment of female offenders, paternalistic attitudes and protective intentions (components of both benevolent sexism and chivalry) actually lead to more serious crime perceptions and more severe sentencing perceptions. As such, the chivalry thesis as a broad perspective for explaining differential treatment of male and female offenders is not supported by the findings of this study. Moreover, with regard to a more specific aspect of the chivalry thesis -- the premise that "men are cast as cultural protectors" -- this study provided no evidence of support. Gender was not a significant predictor of differences in perceptions of crime seriousness and sentence severity.

On the other hand, selective chivalry, based on the premise that leniency in the criminal justice system is only applied to a select few women who are perceived to be abiding by norms associated with their gender, finds some empirical support in this study. Just as women who defy gender roles tend to receive harsher treatment in the judicial system (Chesney-Lind 1977), vignettes with female violent crime offenders received the harshest judgments both in terms of crime seriousness and sentence severity. However,

this pattern of selective chivalry based on crime type as an alternative indicator for expected behavior associated with gender roles does not persist for property crime. In fact, the chivalrous evaluators in this study (benevolent sexists) gave female property crime offenders more serious and severe ratings than their male counterparts.

I now turn to other proposed explanations (reviewed in Chapter 2) for differential treatment of male and female offenders. First, the data in this study do not speak to the notion that female offenders are given more leniencies because judges are hesitant to "break-up" families. The vignettes did not provide any information about the familial background of each offender. Second, some have relied on focal concerns, where because of time restrictions, judicial decisions tend to be based on generalizations and personal bias and because gender is a master status, judges are forced to rely on broader norms in cases where the offender is female. Although the results provide some support for focal concerns in the sense that a broad social characteristic of the offender (gender) plays a role in respondents' evaluations of crime vignettes, further examination reveals a more nuanced pattern. Proposed "concerns" such as lower levels of perceived dangerousness or perceived threat were reversed in this study. As a general pattern, vignettes with female offenders were seen as more serious and deserving of more severe punishment than vignettes with male offenders. Thus, though stereotypical judgments were made on the basis of the offender's gender, the focal concern predictions of the direction of this effect did not find validity in the patterns revealed in this study. It seems that respondents were not hesitant to identify vignettes with female offenders as "serious" and deserving of

"severe" punishment (i.e., female offenders were not infantilized or seen as unfit to "do time").

So if the proposed theories are either unsupported or only partially supported, what explanations can be associated with the results of this study? First, selective chivalry finds some support in that people made differential judgments for male and female offenders with regard to the type of crime being committed. However, because selective chivalry draws on a broader premise of paternalism and protection of women associated with the chivalry thesis, the finding that the chivalrous evaluators (i.e., benevolent sexists) gave the harshest ratings for female offenders committing both violent and property crime challenges the notion that because females committing property crimes engage in a more "feminized" type of crime, they will be given more lenient treatment. Instead, benevolent sexists' views of women in general provide some insight on this finding. Benevolent sexists' views cast women as disproportionately "good" and "moral" in comparison to men. However, benevolent sexism is specifically directed at women who abide by conventional gender norms and play the role of wives, mothers, and romantic objects (Glick, Deibold, Bailey-Werner, and Zhu 1997). Thus women's engagement in violent and property crime may be such an extreme contradiction of the script that benevolent sexists give women, that they make harsher judgments against female offenders, but they do so without taking into account how gendered the crime is (e.g., violent = male; property = female). One can argue based on this finding that female violent and property crime offenders invoke hostile reactions in benevolent sexists.

Still left to explain is the result that hostile sexists made harsher judgments for white-collar crime vignettes. First, this finding about hostile sexists making harsher judgments of white –collar crime offenders may be explained by the respondents' categorization of the "type of women" who commit violent/property crimes (such as aggravated assault, robbery, burglary and larceny) compared to the "type" that commits white-collar crime (tax fraud and insider trading). Images of women who are non-traditional (i.e., career-women, dominant) activate hostile attitudes because they are defying traditional gender roles and challenge men's power (Glick, Deibold, Bailey-Werner, and Zhu 1997; Glick et al. 2000). Moreover, as previously noted, hegemonic masculinity represents a pattern of practices and ideological traits associated with male dominance over women. These practices include "work in the paid-labor market" (Messerschmidt 1993: 82). If hostile sexists value traditional roles for women, in addition to holding inferior views of them in contrast to men, it may be that women's engagement in violent or property crime is not surprising (given their low moral standing in hostile sexist views), but their engagement in white-collar crime contradicts hostile sexists' view that women should not hold positions of authority and power. Therefore, female white-collar crime offenders are given the same treatment as their male counterparts and are perceived more harshly than female violent and property crime offenders because female white-collar offenders pose a threat to existing dominance of men and also defy their traditional "place" outside of the paid-labor market.

Findings in this study are inconsistent with those of Herzog and Oreg's (2008) examination of the role of ambivalent sexism in predicting perceptions of crime

seriousness (a study bares closest resemblance to the research question and methodology adopted in this study). These inconsistencies can be explained by a comparison of measurement models, samples and research methodologies adopted in both studies. First, whereas Herzog and Oreg (2008) examined crime seriousness and sentencing perceptions of "traditional" vs. "non-traditional women, operationalized as whether they were married with children, or single, and whether they were employed full-time versus part-time, in this study, type of crime was used to measure "traditionality". Perhaps this difference provides some explanation for why female offenders who committed both violent (presumed as a "non-traditionally" female type of crime) and property (presumed as a "traditionally" female type of crime) were not treated differently (e.g. property crime female offenders receiving more leniency than violent crime female offenders) from each other. Therefore using type of crime as an alternative indicator may not have had the same effect that a more explicit measurement of traditionality may provide. Similarly, using indicators like marital and employment status could overlook those traditional women who, after a divorce/separation choose to spend more time with their children and abide by their role as mother by opting part-time employment. Therefore because prior research has also shown that selective chivalry, in addition to characteristics of the offender, also operates based on the type of offense being committed; perhaps future research models ought to include both measurements of traditionality (i.e., type of crime and explicit social characteristics of the offender).

Moreover, in line with the premise that chivalry leads to preferential treatment of female offenders, Herzog and Oreg (2008) found that benevolent sexists in their sample

72

made more lenient judgments of female offenders in comparison to male offenders and

hostile sexists had higher mean ratings for female offenders with regard to crime

seriousness. In contrast, in this study benevolent sexists made harsher judgments of

female offenders vs. male offenders across different types of crime. One explanation for

the inconsistent findings stems from the difference in data collection procedures and

survey instruments. Herzog and Oreg (2008) used telephone surveys where they

contacted the respondents at one point in time during which they collected data on both

sexist attitudes as well as crime seriousness judgments. They report that in order to

increase the likelihood that respondents would participate, and to maintain their focus, the

instrument consisted of one of the two sexism scales (i.e., each respondent received *either*

the benevolent sexism items, or the hostile sexism items). On the other hand, in this

study, respondents completed two internet surveys (with one survey composed of both

benevolent and hostile sexist items, and another with vignettes/perceptions) which were

administered at two different points in time separated by a one week "cooling-off"

period.

One can speculate that because respondents in Herzog and Oreg's (2008) study

were given *either* the benevolent sexist items or hostile sexist items, that perhaps there

was an underlying dynamic of the type of attitudes invoked which lead to more/less

leniency toward female offenders. Said differently, if the respondents are reminded of

women's moral superiority and positive (sexist) attitudes toward women stemming from

questionnaire items associated with benevolent sexism, perhaps such sentiments lead to

lighter mean ratings for crime seriousness. Similarly, hostile sexism items may have

73

invoked more "hostile" attitudes which lead to harsher seriousness ratings for female

offenders.

Chapter 8: CONCLUSIONS

The goal of this study was to conduct an empirical examination based on the chivalry thesis, a theory that has been a prominent "go to" for understanding differential treatment of male and female offenders (both in terms of judicial outcomes as well as in studies of crime and sentencing perceptions). Findings from this study provide grounds to challenge the chivalry thesis' uniform perspective on attitudes toward women. Attributing differential treatment of male and female offenders to paternalistic attitudes overlooks the nuances that different forms of attitudes reveal. As such, I examined sexist attitudes that were both in benevolent and hostile forms and found that different forms of attitudes toward women led to varying crime seriousness and sentence severity perceptions for male versus female offenders but did so in interaction with type of crime.

The strengths associated with this study are multi-faceted. First, rather than use the gender of the evaluator (e.g., male, judges), as a proxy for sexist attitudes toward women to explain differential treatment of women, this study focused on actual sexist attitudes. Second, the inclusion of sexism scales in crime and sentencing perception studies has been largely missing from the literature. With the exception of Herzog and Oreg's (2008) study in Israel, no other study has examined this relationship. Moreover, examining how perceptions of criminal offenses vary by the gender of the offender, the type of crime and two forms of sexist attitudes, leads to a more theoretically complex predictive model than has been previously adopted in studies on crime and sentencing perceptions and as a result, reveals a more nuanced understanding of the processes associated with crime and sentencing perceptions.

Furthermore, this study has shown that sexism is not a singular construct; rather, it is composed of multiple forms (e.g., benevolent/hostile). Not only are these forms of sexism distinct from each other, they also have different effects on crime and sentencing perceptions. Additionally, this study adds to existing literature by examining the specific role of attitudes toward women in perceptions of different types of crimes committed by male versus female offenders.

Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research

In general, more studies that examine why men and women are treated differently within the criminal justice system are needed. Besides this study, Herzog and Oreg (2008) are the only scholars who have delved into the effect of sexism on crime perceptions. Further research on this topic would clarify why findings in this study were somewhat inconsistent with findings by Herzog and Oreg's study and with previously proposed theories explaining differential treatment. For instance, as indicated earlier, future measurement models ought to employ other measures of women's traditionality or adherence to traditional gender roles. In this study, type of crime was used as an indicator of traditionality, and in Herzog and Oreg's (2008) study, indicators of how traditional the female offenders were included marital-status and employment status. Rather than *either* rely on defendant characteristics, *or* characteristics of the offense, perhaps including both measures, or developing new indicators to measure women's traditionality would yield more specific patterns of association between sexist attitudes and selective chivalry.

In addition, given that type of crime played such a central part in the distribution of crime seriousness and sentence severity perceptions, these patterns would be further

76

specified with the inclusion of other types of crime that were not included in this examination (e.g., substance abuse, drug offenses). For instance, substance abuse crimes may be perceived as being more offensive to benevolent sexists because of the moral component that plays a role in attitudes toward drug use.

Additionally, studies with samples other than university students are needed. Researchers have compared sentencing and crime perceptions across multiple samples such as students versus inmates (Figlio 1975), or students versus general populations Douglas and Ogloff (1997), and found that there tends to be relative consensus between groups. In order to reach the same conclusions (of relative consensus) the proposed hypotheses and complex interaction terms need to be tested in more diverse samples with regard to what type of variation is introduced when both type of crime and sexist attitudes are taken into account and what form the variation takes as we move from students to criminal justice officials to the general population.

Further research using respondents from the general public could provide insights on jury selection processes especially in cases where the defendant is a female. For instance, understanding the relationship between the proposed interactive factors (i.e., gender of the offender, type of crime, sexist attitudes and perceptions) in the general population could provide guidelines for selecting unbiased, (un-sexist) and objective jurors. Moreover, samples from populations of criminal justice officials such as judges, police, prison staff etc. could also provide evidence for whether the same processes found in this study (i.e., the effects of sexism on perceptions) persist when examining individuals who directly interact with various types of offenders.

77

Policy-Implications & Contributions to Feminism

In addition to contributing to existing research and gaining an understanding of criminological phenomena with regard to gender and perceptions of crime and sentencing, the findings from this study have policy implications as well as provide insight on the feminist debate concerning equal versus special treatment of women in the justice system. First, policies related to sentencing and judicial decisions are heavily reflective of "community standards"), that is judges and juries are expected to reflect the larger community's sentiments when making sentencing decisions (Rossi and Berk 1997; Seron, Pereira, and Kovath 2006). By examining public attitudes toward gender and their role in assessments about the severity of a crime and the corresponding assessment of an "appropriate" sentence, one can deduce underlying patterns of sentencing decisions.

Moreover, the Sentencing Reform Act established 1984, which imposed sentencing guidelines and created a sentencing commission in order to remove full discretion from judges and therefore reduce biases in sentencing procedures has been criticized for only emphasizing level of offense and criminal history of the defendant (Albonetti 1998). Emphasizing the level of offense and criminal history of the defendant in imposing a sentence based on sentencing guidelines overlooks some of the process-related factors that research on offender characteristics and sentencing outcome has shown to be relevant. For instance, according to researchers who use the focal concerns lens to explain differential sentencing outcomes, judges fall back on generalizations and stereotypes when making judicial decisions as a result of limited available information

about the case (Steffenmeier, Ulmer, and Kramer 1998). Such generalizations and stereotypes may partly derive from existing attitudes toward women. Findings from this research, which examines extra-legal factors such as attitude, and beliefs as they pertain to gender, further provide evidence for why such factors ought to be considered in conjunction with offense level and criminal history in forming sentencing guidelines.

This study also informs the debate among feminist legal theorists about whether it is more "feminist" to ask for *equal* treatment of men and women, or to promote *special* treatment of women in the criminal justice system. Some feminists think it is beneficial for women to be given special treatment based on their history of limited access to socio-economic resources and other civic and legal disadvantages (Daly and Bordt 1995; Lacey 1995); and others argue for equality (or gender neutrality) where women should not to receive special treatment because doing so would constitute a form of reverse discrimination (Fineman 1991; Lacey 2004). Although this study in its capacity does not resolve this debate, it does provide insight on whether men and women *are* perceived as equals or whether women are perceived as needing special treatment. In fact, the findings of this study point to the importance of understanding why women *are* given unequal treatment (e.g. sexist attitudes) rather than whether they *should* be given unequal treatment. Addressing the underlying forces behind unequal treatment would provide more concrete factors that could be employed in feminist pursuits.

References

Adorno, T.W., E. Frenkel-Brunswik, D.J. Levinson, and R.N. Sanford. 1950. *The Authoritarian Personality*. New York: Norton.

Albonetti, C. A. . 1994. "The symbolic punishment of white-collar offenders." Pp. 269–282 in *Inequality, crime, and social control*, edited by G. S. B. a. M. A.Myers. Boulder: Westview Press.

Albonetti, Celesta A. 1991. "An Integration of Theories to Explain Judicial Discretion." *Social Problems* 38:247-266.

—. 1998. "Direct and Indirect Effects of Case Complexity, Guilty Pleas, and Offender Characteristics on Sentencing for Offenders Convicted of a White-Collar Offense Prior to Sentencing Guidelines." *Journal of Quantitative Criminology* 14:353-378.

Allen, David W. and Diane E. Wall. 1993. "Role Orientations and Women State Supreme Court Justices." *Judicature* 77

Altermatt, T. William. 2001. "Chivalry: The Relation Between a Cultural Script and Stereotypes about Women." Department of Psychology, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Urbana-Champaign.

Anderson, Etta A. 1976. "The "Chivalrous" Treatment of the Female Offender in the Arms of the Criminal Justice System: A Review of the Literature." *Social Problems* 23:350-357.

Barnes, Harry Elmer and Negley K. Teeters. 1959. *New Horizons in Criminology*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.

Baumer, Eric P., Steven F. Messner, and Richard B. Felson. 2000. "The role of victim characteristics in the disposition of murder cases." *Justice Quarterly* 17:281-307.

Brightman, Hank J. 2009. *Today's White Collar Crime*. New York: Routledge.

Bushway, Shawn D. and Anne Morrison Piehl. 2001. "Judging Judicial Discretion: Legal Factors and Racial Discrimination in Sentencing." *Law & Society Review* 35:733-764.

Chesney-Lind, Meda. 1977. "Judicial Paternalism and the Female Status Offender." *Crime & Delinquency* 23:121-130.

Chesney-Lind, Meda and Randall G. Shelden. 2004. *Girls, Delinquency, and Juvenile Justice*. Belmont: Wadsworth.

Collett, Jessica L. And Ellen Childs. 2009. "Does Major Matter? Considering The Implications of Collecting Vignette Data From Our Students." *Current Research in Social Psychology* 14(7): 104-121.

Coontz, Phyllis. 2000. "Gender and Judicial Decisions: Do Female Judges Decide Cases Differently than Male Judges?" *Gender Issues* 18:59-73.

Cott, N. 1977. *The Bonds of Womanhood: "Women's Sphere" in New England, 1780-1835*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Crew, B. Keith. 1991. "Sex Differences in Criminal Sentencing: Chivalry or Patriarchy." *Justice Quarterly* 8:59-83.

Curry, Theodore R. 1996. "Conservative Protestantism and Percieved Wrongfulness of Crimes: A Research Note." *Criminology* 34:453-464.

Daly, Kathleen. 1989. "Rethinking Judicial Paternalism." *Gender & Society* 3:9-36.

Daly, Kathleen and Michael Tonry. 1997. "Gender, race, and sentencing." Pp. 201-252 in *Crime and Justice: A Review of the Research*, edited by M. Tonry. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Daly, Kathleen and Rebecca L. Bordt. 1995. "Sex Effects and Sentencing: An Analysis of the Statistical Literature." *Justice Quarterly* 12:141-175.

Demuth, Stephen and Darrell Steffensmeier. 2004. "The Impact of Gender and Race-Ethnicity in the Pretrial Release Process." *Social Problems* 51:222-242.

Dodge, Mary. 2009. *Women and White Collar Crime*. Upper Saddle River: Pearson Education.

Douglas, K.S. and J. R. P. Ogloff. 1997. "Public Opinion of Statutory Maximum Sentences in the Canadian Criminal Code: Comparison of Offenses against Property and Offenses against People." *Canadian Journal of Criminology* 39:433-458.

Eckhardt, W. 1991. "Authoritarianism." *Political Psychology* 12:97-124.

Evans, S. and J. Scott. 1984. "The Seriousness of Crime Cross-Culturally: The Impact of Religiosity." *Criminology* 22:39-59.

Eysenck, Hans Jurgen. 1955. *The Psychology of Politics*. New York: Praeger.

Farley, R., C. Steeh, M. Krysan, T. Jackson, and K. Reeves. 1994. "Stereotypes and Segregation: Neighborhoods in the Detroit Area." *American Journal of Sociology* 100:750-780.

Farnworth, Margaret and Raymond H.C. Teske Jr. 1995. "Gender Differences in Filling Court Process: Testing Three Hypotheses of Dispartiy." *Women and Criminal Justice* 6:23-44.

FBI. 2009. "Uniform Crime Report." Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Fineman, Martha. 1991. *The Illusion of Equality: The Rhetoric and Reality of Divorce Reform*. Chicago: University of Chicago.

Fiske, Susan T. and Shelley E. Taylor. 1991. *Social Cognition*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Freiburger, Tina L. and Carly M. Hilinski. 2009. "An Examination of the Interactions of Race and Gender on Sentencing Decisions Using a Trichotomous Dependent Variable." *Crime & Delinquency*.

—. 2010. "The Impact of Race, Gender, and Age on the Pretrial Decision." *Criminal Justice Review* 35:318-334.

Friedan, Betty. 1963. *The Feminine Mystique*. New York: W.W. Norton.

Fromm, Erich. 1941. *Escape from Freedom*. New York: Holt.

Glick, Peter, Jeffrey Deibold, Barbara Bailey-Werner, and Lin Zhu. 1997. "The Two Faces of Adam: Ambivalent Sexism and Polarized Attitudes toward Women." *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 23:1323-1334.

Glick, Peter and Susan T. Fiske. 1996. "The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory: Differentiating hostile and benevolent sexism." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 70:491-512.

—. 2001. "An Ambivalent Alliance: Hostile and Benevolent Sexism as Complementary Justification for Gender Inequality." *American Psychologist* 56:109-118.

Glick, Peter, Susan T. Fiske, A. Mladinic, J.Saiz, D. Abrams, B. Masser, B. Adetoun, J. Osagie, A. Akande, A. Alao, A. Brunner, T.M. Willemsen, B. Dardenne K. Chipeta, D.Wiboldus A. Dijksterhuis, T. Eckes, I. Six-Materna, F. Exposito, M. Moya, M. Foddy, H.J. Kim, M Lameiras, M.J. Sotelo, A. Mucchi-Faina, M. Romani, N. Sakalli, B. Udegbe, M. Yamamoto, M. Ui, M.C. Ferreira, and W.L. Lopez. 2000. "Beyond Prejudice as Simple Antipathy, Hostile and Benevolent

Sexism across Cultures." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 79:763-775.

Glick, Peter, Maria Lameiras, and Yolanda Rodriguez Castro. 2002. "Education and Catholic Religiosity as Predictors of Hostile and Benevolent Sexism Toward Women and Men." *Sex Roles* 47:433-441.

Hastie, Brianne. 2007. "Higher Education and Sociopolitical Orientation: The Role of Social Influence in the Liberalisation of Students." *European Journal of Psychology of Education* 22:259-274.

Herzog, S. 2003. "Religiosity and perceptions of crime seriousness by jewish and muslim respondents in israel." *Deviant Behavior* 24:153-174.

Herzog, Sergio and Shaul Oreg. 2008. "Chivalry and the Moderating Effect of Ambivalent Sexism: Individual Differences in Crime Seriousness Judgments." *Law & Society Review* 42:45-74.

Hughes, Everett Cherrington. 1945. "Dilemmas and Contradictions of Status." *American Journal of Sociology* 50:353-359.

Ickes, W. . 1985. "Sex Role Influences on Compatibility in Relationships." Pp. 187-208 in *Compatible and Incompatible relationships*, edited by W. Ickes. New York: Springer-Verlag.

Johnson, David R. and Laurie K. Scheuble. 1991. "Gender Bias in the Dispotion of Juvenile Court Referrals: The Effects of Time and Location." *Criminology* 29:677-699.

Killianski, S. E. and L. A. Rudman. 1998. "Wanting it both ways: Do women approve of benevolent sexism." *Sex Roles* 39:333-352.

Labovitz, S. 1967. "Some Observations on Measurement and Statistics." *Social Forces*, 46: 151-160.

Lacey, Nicola. 1995. "Feminist legal theory beyond neutrality." *Current legal problems* 48:1-38.

—. 2004. "Feminist Legal Theory and the Rights of Women." Pp. 37. London: London School of Economics.

Levi, M. and S. Jones. 1985. "Public and Police Perceptions of Crime Seriousness in England and Wales." *British Journal of Criminology* 25:234-250.

Marcus-Newhall, Amy , Laura Paluck Blake, and Julia Baumann. 2002. "Perceptions of Hate Crime Perpetrators and Victims as Influenced by Race, Political Orientation, and Peer Group." *American Behavioral Scientist* 46:108-135.

Messerschmidt, James W. 1993. *Masculinities and Crime*. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers.

Miller, Joann L., Peter H. Rossi, and Jon E. Simpson. 1991. "Felony Punishments: A Factorial Survey of Perceived Justice in Criminal Sentencing." *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* 82.

Mustard, David B. 2001. "Racial, Ethnic, and Gender Disparitites in Sentencing: Evidence from the U.S. Federal Courts " *Journal of Law and Economics* XLIV:285-314.

Nagel, Barbara, Hisako Matsuo, Kevin P. McIntyre, and Nancy Morrison. 2005. "Attitudes toward Victims of Rape: Effects of Gender, Race, Religion and Social Class." *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 20:725-737.

Nagel, llene and Barry L. Johnson. 1994. "The Role of Gender in a Structured Sentencing System: Equal Treatment, Policy Choices, and the Sentencing of Female Offenders under the United States Sentencing Guidelines." *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* 85:181-221.

Nagel, Stuart S. and Leonora J. Weitzman. 1971. "Woman as Litigants." *Hastings Law Journal* 23:171-198.

Nemeth, Charlan and Ruth H. Sosis. 1973. "A Simulated Jury Study: Characteristics of the Defendant and the Jurors." *Journal of Social Psychology* 90:221-229.

Newman, G.R. 1976. *Comparative deviance: Perception and law in six cultures*. New York: Elsevier.

O'Connel, M. and A. Whelan. 1996. "Taking wrongs seriously: Public Perceptions of Crime Seriousness." *British Journal of Criminology* 36:299-318.

Parisi, Nicolette. 1982. "Are Females Treated Differently? A Review of the Theories and Are Females Treated Differently? A Review of the Theories and Evidence on Sentencing and Parole Decisions." in *Judge, Lawyer, Victim, Thief: Women, Gender Roles, and Criminal Justice*, edited by N. H. Rafter and E. A. Stanko. Boston: Northeastern University.

Pastore, Ann L. and Kathleen Maguire. 2011. "Sourcebook of Criminal Justice Statistics." vol. 2012.

Pellegrini, R. J, S. S. Queirolo, V. E. Monarrez, and D. M. Valensuela. 1997. "Political Identification and Perceptions of Homelessness: Attributed causality and attitudes on public policy." *Psychological Reports* 80:1139-1148.

Pollak, Otto. 1950. *The Criminality of Women*. Philedelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Pope, Carl E. 1975. "Sentencing California Felony Offenders." Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Prestage, Edgar. 1928. *Chivalry: A series of studies to illustrate its historical significance and civilizing influence*. New York: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co.

Rauma, David. 1991. "The Context Ofof Normative Consensus: An Expansion Of The Rossi/Berk Consensus Model With An Application To Crime Seriousness." *Social Science Research* 20:1-28.

Rice, Tom and Diane Coates. 1995. "Gender Role Attitudes in Southern United States." *Gender & Society* 9:744-756.

Rodriguez, S.Fernando , Theodore R. Curry, and Gang Lee. 2006. "Gender Differences in Criminal Sentencing: Do Effects Vary Across Violent, Property, and Drug Offenses?*." *Social Science Quarterly* 87:318-339.

Rossi, Peter H. and Richard Berk. 1997. *Just Punishments: Federal Guidelines and Public Views Compared.* New York: Aldine de Gruyter.

Rossi, Peter H., E. Waite, C. E. Bose, and R. E. Berk. 1974. "The seriousness of crime: Normative structure and individual differences." *American Sociological Review* 39:224-237.

Seron, Carroll, Joseph Pereira, and Jean Kovath. 2006. "How Citizens Assess Just Punishment for Police Misconduct." *Criminology* 44:925-960.

Smith, Tom W, Peter Marsden, Michael Hout, and Jibum Kim. 2011. "General social surveys, 1972-2010: cumulative codebook ": Chicago: National Opinion Research Center.

Smith, Vickie. 1993. "When Prior Knowledge and Law Collide: Helping Jurors Use the Law." *Law and Human Behavior* 17:507-536.

Spence, Janet T. and Robert Helmreich. 1972. "The Attitudes Toward Women Scale." *JSAS Catalog of Selected Documents in Psychology* 2:1-52.

Spohn, C.C. and J. W. Spears. 1997. "Gender and Case Processing Decisions: A Comparison of Case Outcomes for Male and Female Defendants Charged with Violent Felonies." *Women and Criminal Justice* 8:29-60.

Spohn, Cassia. 1999. "Gender and Sentencing of Drug Offenders: is Chivalry Dead?" *Criminal Justice Policy Review* 9:365-399.

Spohn, Cassia and Dawn Beichner. 2000. "Is Preferential Treatment of Female Offenders a Thing of the Past? A Multisite Study of Gender, Race, and Imprisonment." *Criminal Justice Policy Review* 11:149-184.

Spohn, Cassia and David Holleran. 2000. "The Imprisonment Penalty Paid by Young, Unemployed, Black and Hispanic Male Offenders." *Criminology* 38:281-306.

Steffensmeier, Darrell and Stephen Demuth. 2006. "Does Gender Modify the Effects of Race–ethnicity on Criminal Sanctioning? Sentences for Male and Female White, Black, and Hispanic Defendants." *Journal of Quantitative Criminology* 22:241-261.

Steffensmeier, Darrell, John Kramer, and Cathy Streifel. 1993. "Gender And Imprisonment Decisions." *Criminology* 31:411-446.

Steffensmeier, Darrell, Jeffery Ulmer, and John Kramer. 1998. "The Interaction Of Race, Gender, And Age In Criminal Sentencing: The Punishment Cost Of Being Young, Black, And Male." *Criminology* 36:763-798.

Stolzenberg, Lisa and Stewart J. D'Alessio. 2004. "Sex differences in the likelihood of arrest." *Journal of Criminal Justice* 32:443-454.

Stylianou, Stelios. 2003. "Measuring crime seriousness perceptions: What have we learned and what else do we want to know." *Journal of Criminal Justice* 31:37-56.

surveymonkey. 2010, "About Us"*,* Retrieved 10-1-2011, (http://www.surveymonkey.com/AboutUs.aspx)

Swim, J. K., K. J. Aikin, W.S. Hall, and B.A. Hunter. 1995. "Sexism and Racism: Old-fashioned and modern prejudices." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 68:199-214.

Swim, Janet K., Robyn Mallett, Yvonne Russo-Devosa, and Charles Stangor. 2005. "Judgments Of Sexism: A Comparison Of The Subtlety Of Sexism Measures And Sources Of Variability In Judgments Of Sexism." *Psychology of Women Quarterly* 29:406-411.

Tavris, C. and C. Wade. 1984. *The Longest War*. San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

Terry, Robert M. 1970. "Discrimination in the handling of juvenile offenders by social control agencies." in *Becoming Delinquent: Young Offenders and the Correctional System*, edited by P. G. Garabedian and D. Gibbons. Chicago: Aldine.

Thomas, W. I. . 1907. *Sex and Society*. Boston: Little Brown.

University of California Riverside. 2009. "Demographic Snapshot." Retrieved June 1, 2012. http://diversity.ucr.edu/about/demographics.html

Vogel, B. 1998. "Perceptions of crime seriousness in the African American community: Exploring the presence of consensus." *Journal of Criminal Justice* 26:227-236.

West, Candace and Don H. Zimmerman. 1987. "Doing Gender." *Gender & Society* 1:125-151.

Wheeler, Stanton. 1976. "Trends and Problems in the Sociological Study of Crime." *Social Problems* 23:525-534.

Wolfgang, M. E. , R. M. Figlio, P. E. Tracy, and S. I Singer. 1985. "The national survey of crime severity." Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Yu, Xiao-Qing Olivia. 1993. "Comparing perceptions and cultural orientations of students in China and America :--a cross cultural study of college students' judgment of crime seriousness /--Xiao-Qing Olivia Yu." State University of New York at Buffalo.

Yuval-Davis, Nira. 2006. "Intersectionality and Feminist Politics." *European Journal of Women's Studies* 13:193-209.

Zick, A. and T. Petzel. 1999. "Authoritarianism, Racism, and Ideologies about Acculturation." *Politics, Groups and the Individual* 8:41-64.

Hypotheses: Visual Model
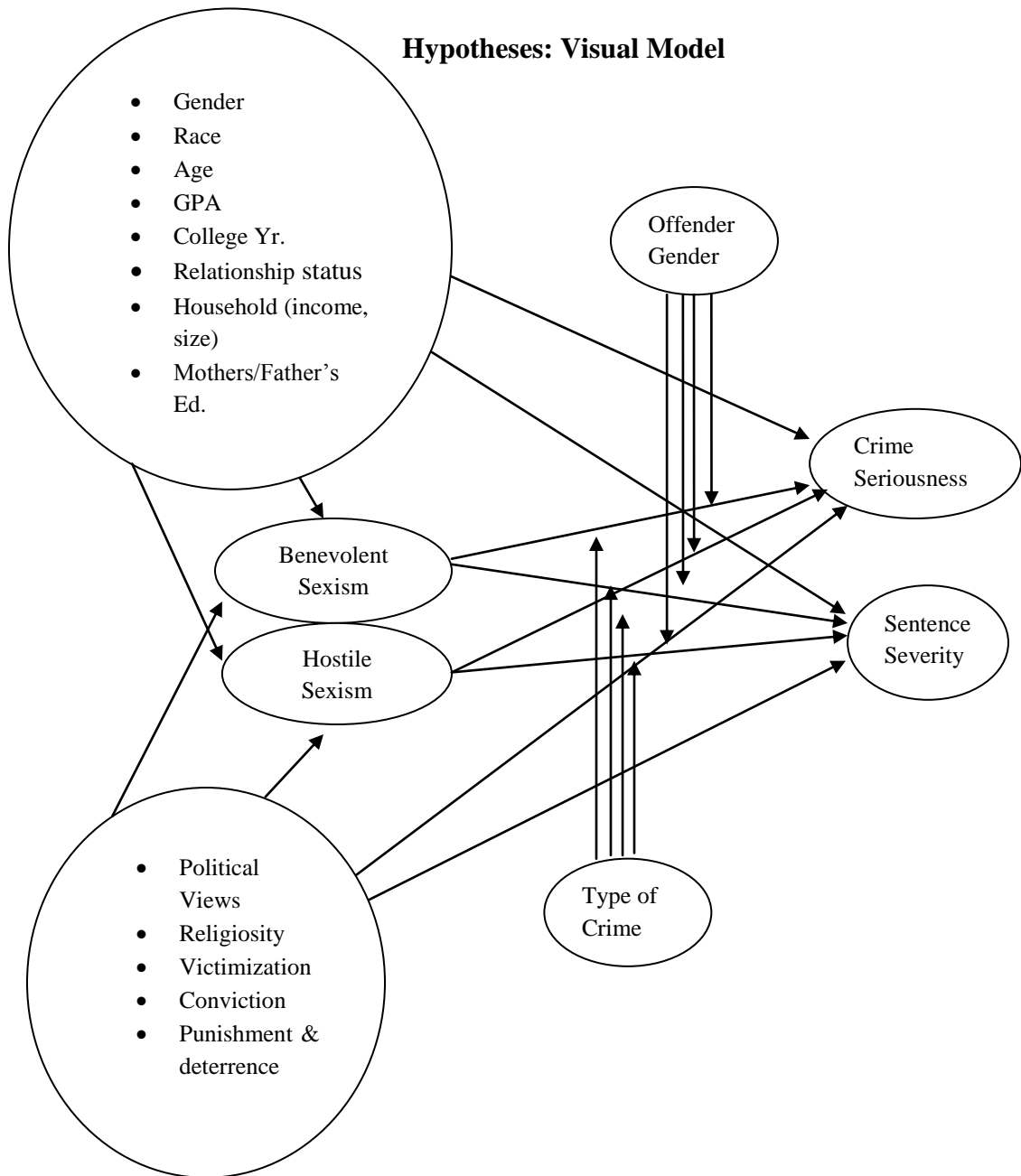
Appendix –B–

Hypothesis Tests with significant (demographic and experiential) predictors of Crime Seriousness in Stepwise Regressions (Chapter 6).

Crime Seriousness **Predictors**	**Hypothesis I** *Logits*	**Hypothesis II** *Logits*	**Hypothesis III** *Logits*	**Hypothesis IV** *Logits*
Offender's Gender				
Female Offender (FO)	.032	.114	..033	.129
Type of Crime				
White-Collar Crime (WCC)	-	-2.194	-	-2.200
Property Crime (PC)	-	-1.359	-	-1.359
Sexism				
Benevolent Sexism (BS)	-	-	-.023	.-.035
Hostile Sexism (HS)	-	-	-.047	-.054
Interaction Effects				
FO x WCC	-	-.057	-	-.071
FO x PC	-	-.185	-	-.187
FO x BS	-	-	.083	.160
FO x HS	-	-	-.019	-.415
FO x WCC x BS	-	-	-	-.199
FO x WCC x HS	-	-	-	.466
FO x PC x BS	-	-	-	.041
FO x PC x HS	-	-	-	.516
Social Characteristics				
Gender	.061	.062	.077	.081
Age	.048	.057	.047	.055
Adjusted Income	-023	-.033	-.020	-.029
Freshman	.012	.011	.024	.025
Sophomore	.040	-.034	-.036	-.023
Junior	-.195	-.205	-.186	-.192
GPA	-.010	-.010	-.014	-.015
Political Views	-.006	-.004	-.002	.000
Religiosity	.024	.034	.024	.034
Mother's Education	-.072	-.080	-.071	-.080
Experience				
Anyone ever damage property	.130	.142	.131	.144
Ever been victim	-.173	-.196	-.177	-.202

a. 4005 observations (5.96 vignettes per person); Std. errors adjusted for autocorrelation with-in subjects

Ref..Category: Male offender, Violent crime perceived by Nonsexist, Female respondents, Seniors

*Sig. p < .05

Hypothesis Tests with significant (demographic and experiential) predictors of Sentence Severity in Stepwise Regressions (Chapter 6).

Sentence Severity	Hypothesis I	Hypothesis II	Hypothesis III	Hypothesis IV
Predictors	*Logits*	*Logits*	*Logits*	*Logits*
Offender's Gender				
Female Offender (FO)	.042	.124	.047	.136
Type of Crime				
White-Collar Crime (WCC)	-	-2.032	-	-2.034
Property Crime (PC)	-	-1.409	-	-1.412
Sexism				
Benevolent Sexism (BS)	-	-	.032	.022
Hostile Sexism (HS)	-	-	.065	.076
Interaction Effects				
FO x WCC	-	-.102	-	-.116
FO x PC	-	-.145	-	-.140
FO x BS	-	-	.049	.250
FO x HS	-	-	-.016	-.281
FO x WCC X BS	-	-	-	-.360
FO x WCC X HS	-	-	-	.310
FO x PC x BS	-	-	-	-.118
FO x PC x HS	-	-	-	.353
Social Characteristics				
Gender	.051	.057	.035	.042
Age	.032	.041	.034	.044
Adjusted Income	-.011	-.010	-.016	-.015
Freshman	.082	.112	.058	.085
Sophomore	-.053	-.038	-.060	-.044
Junior	-.154	-.158	.168	-.175
GPA	-.021	-.024	-.015	-.019
Political Views	.005	.014	-.002	.005
Religiosity	.025	.032	.021	.028
Mother's Education	-.056	-.064	-.055	-.063
Experience				
Anyone ever damage property	.133	.146	.131	.151
Ever been victim	-.151	-.182	-.139	-.172

a. 4005 observations (5.96 vignettes per person); Std. errors adjusted for autocorrelation with-in subjects
Male offender, Violent crime perceived by Nonsexist, Female respondents, Seniors
*Sig. p < .05

Appendix –C-

Introduction

Thank you for your participation in this short survey. It should not take more than 15-20 minutes. Please take your time to answer the questions thoughtfully and carefully.

Fall 2011 Survey 1

Attitudes about Men and Women

1. Please rate the degree to which you agree or disagree with the following statements.

	Disagree Strongly	Disagree Somewhat	Disagree Slightly	Agree Slightly	Agree Somewhat	Agree Strongly
In a disaster, women should be rescued before men.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Many women are actually seeking special favors, such as hiring policies that favor them over men, under the mask of asking for "equality."	○	○	○	○	○	○
Most women interpret innocent remarks or acts as being sexist.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Women are too easily offended.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Feminists do not want women to have more power than men.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Many women have a quality of purity that few men possess.	○	○	○	○	○	○

Fall 2011 Survey 1

Attitudes about Men and Women

2. Please rate the degree to which you agree or disagree with the following statements.

	Disagree Strongly	Disagree Somewhat	Disagree Slightly	Agree Slightly	Agree Somewhat	Agree Strongly
Women should be cherished and protected by men.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Most women fail to appreciate fully all that men do for them.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Women seek to gain power by getting control over men.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Women exaggerate problems they have at work.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Once a woman gets a man to commit to her, she usually tries to put him on a tight leash.	○	○	○	○	○	○
When women lose to men in a fair competition, they typically complain about being discriminated against.	○	○	○	○	○	○

Fall 2011 Survey 1

Attitudes about Men and Women

3. Please rate the degree to which you agree or disagree with the following statements.

	Disagree Strongly	Disagree Somewhat	Disagree Slightly	Agree Slightly	Agree Somewhat	Agree Strongly
A good woman should be set on a pedestal by her man.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
There are actually very few women who get a kick out of teasing men by seeming sexually available and then refusing male advances.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
Women, compared to men, tend to have a superior moral sensibility.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
Men should be willing to sacrifice their own well being in order to provide financially for the women in their lives.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
Feminists make entirely reasonable demands of men.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
Women, as compared to men, tend to have a more refined sense of culture and good taste.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

Fall 2011 Survey 1

Demographics

Now, please tell us a little bit about yourself.

6. What is your gender?

( ) Female

( ) Male

7. What race do you identify with? Choose one.

( ) Black/African-American

( ) Asian/Pacific Islander

( ) American Indian/Native American/Alaskan Native

( ) Hispanic/Latino

( ) Caucasian/White

( ) Multiracial/ Other (Please specify)

8. What was your family's total household income last year?

( ) Less than $15,000

( ) $15,001-$25,000

( ) $25,001-$35,000

( ) $35,001-$45,000

( ) $45,001-$55,000

( ) $55,001-$65,000

( ) $65,001-$75,000

( ) $75,001-$85,000

( ) More than $85,000

9. How many people live in your family household?

10. How many people who live in your family household are under 18 years old?

Fall 2011 Survey 1

11. What is your mother's highest level of education?

◯ Less than High school

◯ High school Diploma

◯ Some College

◯ Four year degree

◯ Graduate degree

◯ Decline to answer

12. What is your father's highest level of education?

◯ Less than High school

◯ High school Diploma

◯ Some College

◯ Four year degree

◯ Graduate degree

◯ Decline to answer

13. What is your age (in years)?

[   ]

14. What is your current university standing?

◯ Freshman

◯ Sophomore

◯ Junior

◯ Senior

Fall 2011 Survey 1

15. What is your current GPA?

◯ 2.40 and Below

◯ 2.60 - 2.79

◯ 2.80 - 2.99

◯ 3.00 - 3.19

◯ 3.20 - 3.39

◯ 3.40 - 3.59

◯ 3.60 - 3.79

◯ 3.80 - 4.00

16. Are you currently in a romantic relationship?

◯ No

◯ Yes

◯ Decline to answer

17. Thinking about your political views, where would you place yourself on this scale?

	Extremely liberal	Liberal	Slightly liberal	Moderate, middle of the road	Slightly conservative	Conservative	Extremely conservative
Political Views	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

18. How often do you attend religious services?

◯ NEVER

◯ LESS THAN ONCE A YEAR

◯ ABOUT ONCE OR TWICE A YEAR

◯ SEVERAL TIMES A YEAR

◯ ABOUT ONCE A MONTH

◯ 2-3 TIMES A MONTH

◯ NEARLY EVERY WEEK

◯ EVERY WEEK

◯ SEVERAL TIMES A WEEK

Fall 2011 Survey 1

Thank You

Thank you for taking the time to complete this survey. The survey is now complete.

If you have any questions, you can contact the Principal Investigator at psaxe001@ucr.edu.

If you have any concerns or comments about the content or usage of this survey, you can contact the UC Riverside Office of Research Integrity at:

University Office Building, 2nd Floor
University of California, Riverside
irb@ucr.edu

PLEASE CLICK THE "DONE" BUTTON BELOW TO EXIT THE SURVEY.

Appendix –D–

Fall 2011 Survey 2

Introduction

Thank you for your participation in this short survey. The entire process should not take more than 15-20 minutes.

In the first part of this survey, you will be asked to read a few sentences describing a criminal act. After reading the sentences, please answer the questions that follow.

Fall 2011 Survey 2

Scenario

After reading the description below, please answer the following questions.

Stephanie is arguing with another person about a parking spot on a main street. During the argument, Stephanie pulls out a knife and stabs the other person in the chest leading to serious injuries and hospitalization. She is convicted of aggravated assault.
Respondents: 50%
Stephen is arguing with another person about a parking spot on a main street. During the argument, Stephen pulls out a knife and stabs the other person in the chest leading to serious injuries and hospitalization. He is convicted of aggravated assault.
Respondents: 50%

1. In your opinion, how serious is this crime?

Not at all serious ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ Very serious

2. In your opinion, how severe should the sentence for this crime be?

Not at all severe ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ Very severe

3. In your opinion, what would be an appropriate sentence for this crime?

○ Life sentence

○ Imprisonment

○ Probation

○ Community service

○ A minimal fine

Fall 2011 Survey 2

Scenario

After reading the description below, please answer the following questions.

Christina is the CEO of a very large company. She has cheated on her company's federal income tax files to avoid a company payment of $25,000. She is convicted of tax fraud.
Respondents: 50%
Chris is the CEO of a very large company. He has cheated on his company's federal income tax files to avoid a company payment of $25,000. He is convicted of tax fraud.
Respondents: 50%

1. In your opinion, how serious is this crime?

	Not at all serious						Very serious
.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

2. In your opinion, how severe should the sentence for this crime be?

	Not at all severe						Very severe
.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

3. In your opinion, what would be an appropriate sentence for this crime?

○ Life sentence

○ Imprisonment

○ Probation

○ Community service

○ A minimal fine

Fall 2011 Survey 2

Scenario

After reading the description below, please answer the following questions.

Georgia is a top-level executive in a multi-million dollar corporation. She has been convicted of revealing secrets about stocks of the company to her friend before the information is made public. She is convicted of insider trading.
Respondents: 50%
George is a top-level executive in a multi-million dollar corporation. He has been convicted of revealing secrets about stocks of the company to his friend before the information is made public. He is convicted of insider trading.
Respondents: 50%

1. In your opinion, how serious is this crime?

	Not at all serious						Very serious
.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

2. In your opinion, how severe should the sentence for this crime be?

	Not at all severe						Very severe
.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

3. In your opinion, what would be an appropriate sentence for this crime?

○ Life sentence

○ Imprisonment

○ Probation

○ Community service

○ A minimal fine

Fall 2011 Survey 2

Scenario

After reading the description below, please answer the following questions.

Michelle breaks into a person's apartment through a window, and steals jewels and money worth $15,000. She is convicted of burglary.
Respondents: 50%
Michael breaks into a person's apartment through a window, and steals jewels and money worth $15,000. He is convicted of burglary.
Respondents: 50%

1. In your opinion, how serious is this crime?

Not at all serious   ◯   ◯   ◯   ◯   ◯   ◯   ◯   Very serious

2. In your opinion, how severe should the sentence for this crime be?

Not at all severe   ◯   ◯   ◯   ◯   ◯   ◯   ◯   Very severe

3. In your opinion, what would be an appropriate sentence for this crime?

◯ Life sentence

◯ Imprisonment

◯ Probation

◯ Community service

◯ A minimal fine

Fall 2011 Survey 2

Scenario

After reading the description below, please answer the following questions.

Jessica is shopping at a local drugstore, and when no one is looking, she slips a watch worth $300 into her pocket and leaves without paying. She is convicted of larceny (theft).
Respondents: 50%
Jesse is shopping at a local drugstore, and when no one is looking, he slips a watch worth $300 into his pocket and leaves without paying. He is convicted of larceny (theft).
Respondents: 50%

1. In your opinion, how serious is this crime?

Not at all serious ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ Very serious

2. In your opinion, how severe should the sentence for this crime be?

Not at all severe ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ Very severe

3. In your opinion, what would be an appropriate sentence for this crime?

○ Life sentence

○ Imprisonment

○ Probation

○ Community service

○ A minimal fine

Fall 2011 Survey 2

Scenario

After reading the description below, please answer the following questions.

Victoria is walking down a quiet street at night and notices a person walking two feet in front of her.
Victoria pulls out a gun and forces the person to give up their wallet and valuables. She is convicted of robbery.
Respondents: 50%
Victor is walking down a quiet street at night and notices a person walking two feet in front of him.
Victor pulls out a gun and forces the person to give up their wallet and valuables. He is convicted of robbery.
Respondents: 50%

1. In your opinion, how serious is this crime?

	Not at all serious						Very serious
.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

2. In your opinion, how severe should the sentence for this crime be?

	Not at all severe						Very severe
.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

3. In your opinion, what would be an appropriate sentence for this crime?

○ Life sentence

○ Imprisonment

○ Probation

○ Community service

○ A minimal fine

Fall 2011 Survey 2

Experience with Crime

1. Have you ever been a victim of a crime?

◯ Yes

◯ No

◯ Decline to answer

2. Has anyone ever used violence against you, or threatened to use force against you?

◯ Yes

◯ No

◯ Decline to answer

3. Has anyone ever damaged, destroyed, or taken any of your property without your permission?

◯ Yes

◯ No

◯ Decline to answer

4. Have you ever been convicted of a crime?

◯ Yes

◯ No

◯ Decline to answer

5. Has anyone in your family been convicted of a crime?

◯ Yes

◯ No

◯ Decline to answer

6. Have you ever been imprisoned?

◯ Yes

◯ No

◯ Decline to answer

Fall 2011 Survey 2

7. Has anyone in your family been imprisoned?

○ Yes

○ No

○ Decline to answer

8. Do you think punishment deters (prevents or reduces) crime?

○ Yes

○ No

○ Decline to answer