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Who Are You Calling "Criminal?": A New Look at the Violent Criminal Stereotype

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WHO ARE YOU CALLING "CRIMINAL?":

A NEW LOOK AT THE VIOLENT CRIMINAL STEREOTYPE

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by

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APPROVAL SHEET

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of

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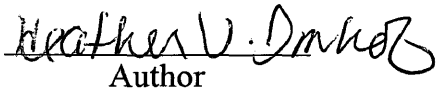

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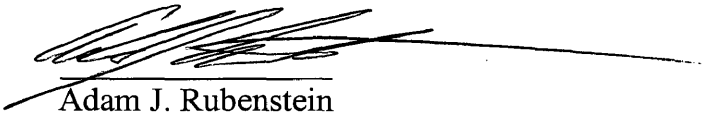

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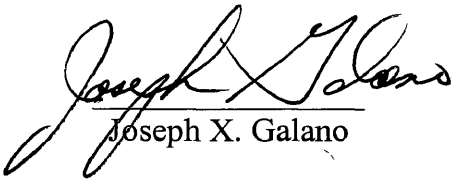

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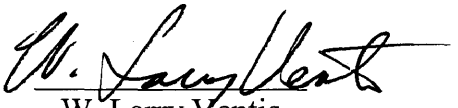

W. Larry Ventis

DEDICATION

To Dad, who always said I could do anything;

To Mom, who always nurtured my spirit and passion;

And to Michael, who always provided me with a loving home in his warm heart.

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ABSTRACT

The goal of the current study is to identify the core components of the criminal stereotype. Only after these core components have been empirically defined can researchers then accurately investigate how the criminal stereotype affects the criminal population.

Using the California Q-sort task (Block, 1961), 61 undergraduate students and 29 police officers from a county police department were asked to construct their individual profile of both the typical violent criminal offender and the typical law-abiding citizen.

Comparisons were then made across both the type of participant and the specific target category to be described.

The hypothesized components of the violent criminal stereotype, including characteristics and behaviors indicative of extreme levels of aggression, dominance and hostility, high levels of impulsivity, severe lack of social skills, an intolerance of frustration, and an inability to terminate criminal behavior as characterized by high rates of criminal recidivism, were supported.

Based on the current findings, future directions of study concerning the effects of the violent criminal stereotype on the violent criminal population are discussed.

WHO ARE YOU CALLING "CRIMINAL?":

A NEW LOOK AT THE VIOLENT CRIMINAL STEREOTYPE

Stereotyping involves placing an individual in a representational category based upon particular salient characteristics of that individual (Macrae, Bodenhausen, Milne & Castelli, 1999). In essence, stereotyping involves labeling others. Both labeling and self-fulfilling prophecy theories predict that labeling and treating individuals in accordance with this labeled role will actually cause the individuals to behave in the very manner in which they have been described (Farrington, Ohlin, & Wilson, 1986). Past labeling theory research has examined the effects of labeling in varied circumstances, but one situation in particular raises a crucial social question; could labeling someone a criminal actually perpetuate future criminal behavior?

Critics of labeling theory suggest that initial labeling occurs in part because of the previous behaviors demonstrated by the labeled individual; therefore the label, regardless of its effects, arguably holds some merit in accuracy (Farrington, Ohlin, & Wilson, 1986). However, the attribution literature indicates that the attribution process, or the way in which individuals offer explanation and justification for one another's behavior, is automatic, complex, and highly prone to error (Gilbert, 1995). Individuals frequently find themselves too cognitively busy to engage in the effortful process of accounting for situational factors in making attributions, and this lack of attention often leads to a number of dispositional attribution errors (Gilbert, 1995). As empirical evidence suggests that attributional errors occur with great regularity, labeling individuals based upon dispositional attributions of their behavior creates the danger of possible debilitation to those labeled, especially for those described and treated as a criminal. For example, early labeling of juveniles as delinquent, suggesting that

criminality is a dispositional characteristic of these individuals, may function to increase the likelihood of their further criminal behavior.

Although labeling theory strongly stresses the important role of the labeler, the role of the labeled individual cannot be overlooked. Swann (2000) best conceptualizes this point in his work concerning what he calls an "identity negotiation process" (p. 286). Swann stresses the importance of a symbolic interactionist perspective, which argues for the importance of investigating social interactions taking into account how each person both modifies his or her own behavior and influences the responses of others. Under this framework, labeled targets play a crucial role in attempting to verify their own unique self concept, or identity, both in terms of their own behaviors as well as in how others may then perceive them. In this way, labeled targets strive to negotiate with their social interaction partners such that others view them in the same image as they view themselves. Swann further argues that, (1) the initial construction of one's identity begins early in childhood; (2) routinely begins from a positive foundation due to the support, praise and encouragement that the majority of parents offer; (3) is edited throughout one's lifetime; and (4) is maintained by one's primary goal of self-verification in social interaction. One of Swann's more surprising findings under this argument and line of research suggests that individuals strive to self-verify even when their self-concept is predominantly negative. Hence under Swann's model, self perception plays the critical role of determining what labels one willingly accepts or rejects through behavioral endorsement.

Swann also specifies at least one situation where someone other than the labeled individual may initiate permanent self-concept change within the individual. He

suggests that lasting self-concept change may occur when the community in which the individual generally interacts recognizes a dramatic change in the individual, such as in age, status, or social role, and summarily treats the individual accordingly. Take for example an adolescent's eighteenth birthday and subsequent welcome from the community to the new social labels and roles of adulthood. The present author argues that induction into a criminal role and label through the prosecution and conviction of a criminal charge falls well within this dramatic change criterion. Once the community establishes the new criminal label to a first time offender, the labeling process may then strongly influence the offender's self perception, which may in turn increase the likelihood of his or her recidivism.

Finally, the key factor in Swann's argument remains: labeled roles will not be accepted or behaviorally exhibited by labeled targets if they do not accept them as a component of their own self-concept. Criminologic research lends further support to this idea as well. From a remarkable in-depth interview study of 38 criminal offenders, Athens (1989) formulated a stage model of criminal development in which the offender gradually grows to accept and actively portray aggressive, dominating, and often hostile personality characteristics. Furthermore, inherent within the recent concept of modified labeling theory is the addition of the notion that the individual labeled internalizes the cultural beliefs and characteristics associated with the role assigned to him or her, and thus behaves accordingly (Wright, Gronfein & Owens, 2000). Both lines of research offer support to the idea that labeling of criminal offenders, while not the root cause of criminality, may work to sustain criminal behavior in the form of high rates of criminal recidivism through a self perception change process occurring among offenders..

Thus, labeling theory poses an interesting problem in deciding how best to prevent crime. However, before one can discuss how labeling individuals as criminal then effects their rates of criminal behavior, it is important to understand what defines the label "criminal." To this end, one must take a deeper look at the criminal stereotype people hold and use in making criminal labeling judgments. Very little research exists that strictly investigates the stereotypes people hold about criminals, and those that do often look only to one specific physical dimension, such as physical attractiveness (e.g. Schwibbe & Schwibbe, 1981) or ethnic and racial differences (e.g. Jones, 1997; Macrae & Shepherd, 1989;), rather than definitions based on criminal behavioral tendencies. As opposed to this continued focus on the physical dimensions of the criminal stereotype, the current study investigates stereotypic personality and behavioral characteristics of criminal offenders. In other words, physical characteristics aside, what do people think criminals are like? In the current study, the focus is on violent offenders (i.e. assaultive) as opposed to civil offenders (i.e. traffic violations) or white collar criminals (i.e. fraud or embezzlement). The rationale behind this decision rests in the assumption of the common criminal image including severe criminal transgressions, which often exclude less serious civil offenses and white collar criminality. This decision is further support by the findings of fear of crime victimization studies (Madriz, 1997; Gilchrist, Ditton & Farrall, 1998); when asked about fear of criminals, people tend to discuss crimes of personal assault, regardless of the initial criminal motivation (i.e. to burglarize a residence), thus supporting the assumption that the "criminal stereotype" readily draws an image of criminal violence.

Given the relative lack of research concerning the stereotypic personality and behavioral characteristics of violent criminal offenders, one area of current empirical study drawing upon the concept of the violent criminal stereotype comes from studies designed to assess fear of crime victimization among individuals. For example, Madriz (1997) conducted small focus group interviews among women in order to discuss their stereotypic images of criminals and victims from the standpoint of who these women fear. From interviews with 140 women, Madriz found that the common images of a typical offender, regardless of each participant's age, race, or socioeconomic background, included: animalistic, savage and monstrous men of minority group racial or immigrant status, who are insane or unbalanced, are unknown to the victim, hang around in large groups with other offenders, and lack any human compassion (1997). In another study of fear of crime, Gilchrist, Bannister, Ditton, and Farrall (1998) interviewed 64 men and women about their fears of crime victimization. In this study, researchers categorized individuals into four categories of high or low risk as well as high or low fear. Although the research goal was not to obtain data investigating the specific image of the criminal perpetrators their respondents feared, in reading participant responses, researchers reported that highly fearful men and women both "mentioned fear of assault connected to 'specific types of people:' strangers, and junkies" (p. 288). Furthermore, highly fearful women, but not highly fearful men, also mentioned fear of alcoholics, drug dealers and groups of juveniles. Both men and women rated low in fearfulness reported fear of assault by strangers, 'junkies,' only. From these fear responses, one may infer the criminal stereotype used by these individuals to be younger, substance abusing individuals who are unknown to the victim.

These research findings of the stereotypical image of criminals suggest that this image is both largely based on dispositional attributes, including insanity and a history of substance abuse, and only partially accurate when compared to actual criminal data. As one example of accuracy, findings that individuals fear younger males organized into large groups are in agreement with crime report data, as the criminal peak age period is between the ages of 14 and 18, dropping suddenly after the mid-20's (Crutchfield, Bridges, & Weis, 1996), as well as research findings of predictive factors of offending, where lack of peer relationships may be a protective factor against offending (Farrington & West, 1993). However, the racial and minority group status stereotypic finding has "mixed" accuracy. While actual crime report data does reflect a higher number of arrests among minority group males, predominantly African American males, theorists argue that this high arrest rate is the result of bias among law enforcement agents, as evidenced by the similarity among racial groups in self-report crime data (Hindelang, 1996). Furthermore, the commonly held view that offenders "lack any human compassion" is also at least partially incorrect as offenders have demonstrated the use of principles, standards, and the use of a moral conscience (Simon, 1996). For example, even criminals may have "families to which they will never be disloyal," (Simon, 1996, p. 27), and among criminal offenders, child sexual offenders are considered the "lowest of the low" and must frequently be housed separately from the general inmate population for their own safety (Allen & Simonsen, 1998). Finally, the common finding of fear of assault from an individual unknown to the victim is strongly challenged by official crime data. More often than not, in cases of assault as well as homicide, the offender is not only known to the victim, but is often an intimate acquaintance, such as a family

member or close friend, of the victim (Douglas & Olshaker, 1997). These intimate acquaintances are the first to be held suspect by law enforcement agents in the case of a violent assault or homicide (Douglas & Olshaker, 1997). Based on these discrepancies between stereotypic views and actual criminal behavior data, labeling someone as criminal under these erroneous stereotypic assumptions may potentially lead to the negative labeling and self perception effects previously discussed.

Research in pursuit of the criminal personality type also offers a glimpse of the criminal stereotype by attempting to tease apart the unique personality traits and characteristics that distinguish offenders from non-offenders. Such research often relies on two general research methodologies: correlational and factor analyses of personality characteristics with respect to criminal behaviors, and comparisons of personality characteristics of offenders versus non-offenders. For example, Hampson and Kline (1977) conducted a study examining common personality differences between certain groups of psychiatrically treated offenders and non-offenders. Analysis revealed that the "personality characteristics alone were able to differentiate two sub-groups of offenders from comparison subjects [non-offenders] and the rest of the offender sample" (p. 326). However, no one offender personality dimension emerged across sub-groups of offenders in the factor analysis.

In a review of previous works exploring the criminal personality, West (1988) found that clinical observers often characterize delinquents as aggressive, restless, easily distractible, under achieving, impulsive, unable to delay gratification, intolerant of frustration and unreliable in relationships. He further cites studies identifying clusters of behaviors distinguishing offenders from non-offenders including "excessive fighting,

verbal aggression, alcohol consumption, gambling, drug use and sexual promiscuity as well as a history of troublesomeness in the classroom" (p. 81). Many of these behaviors and characteristics found to routinely exist in the criminal population may easily translate to the general public view of the stereotypical violent criminal.

Arguably one of the most widely known and frequently cited examples of the criminal personality is that of the sociopathic, psychopathic, or antisocial personality disordered. Antisocial Personality Disorder (ASPD) is characterized by individuals who demonstrate impulsivity, aggression, aloofness, and reduced capabilities for work, love, warmth, remorse, guilt, and cooperation with authority figures (Cloninger, Bayon, & Przybeck, 1997). Further descriptors of ASPD sufferers include: self-centeredness, extreme narcissism, inability to feel normal empathy for others, greediness, distrust of others, chronic feelings of emptiness and isolation from others, and a lack of conscience to prevent them from harming others (Simon, 1996). Finally, the current diagnostic criteria for ASPD within the DSM-IV states that,

> (A.) There is a pervasive pattern of disregard for and violation of the rights of others occurring since age 15 years, as indicated by three (or more) of the following: (1) failure to conform to social norms with respect to lawful behaviors as indicated by repeatedly performing acts that are grounds for arrest, (2) deceitfulness, as indicated by repeated lying, use of aliases, or conning others for personal profit or pleasure, (3) impulsivity or failure to plan ahead, (4) irritability and aggressiveness, as indicated by repeated physical fights or assaults, (5) reckless disregard for safety of self or others, (6) consistent irresponsibility, as indicated

> by repeated failure to sustain consistent work behavior or honor financial obligations, and (7) lack of remorse, as indicated by being indifferent to or rationalizing having hurt, mistreated, or stolen from another. (B.) The individual is at least 18 years of age. (C.) There is evidence of conduct disorder with onset before age of 15 years. (D.) The occurrence of antisocial behavior is not exclusively during the course of Schizophrenia or Manic Episode. (American Psychiatric Association, 1994, p. 279-280).

Beyond the ASPD description of the criminal personality, other theorists argue for less pathologically oriented models. For example, Megargee advocates two general personality types of criminal offenders: the under- and overcontrolled personalities (1984). According to Megargee, the undercontrolled personality is characterized by persistent or chronic aggressive responses of the same proportional magnitude as the aggression inducing provocation. In contrast, the overcontrolled personality is characterized by extreme inhibition of aggressive responses to all potential aggression inducing provocation, until such inhibition is overpowered by an internal build-up of inhibited aggression. Once this build-up of aggression reaches a breaking point, the individual responds to any degree of provocation in an extremely aggressive and predominantly uncharacteristic manner (Megargee, 1984). Megargee tested his criminal personality constructs by demonstrating that a sample of extremely assaultive offenders demonstrated less overall hostility and aggression in day to day interactions than a sample of mildly assaultive offenders. The logic behind this test resides in the differing quantity of each control type found within the distinct samples. Specifically,

undercontrollers will likely be distributed about equally in both groups; overcontrollers, who strongly aggress to any provocation following long periods of aggression build-up, will likely be found only in the extremely assaultive group. The typical non-aggressive nature of these overcontrollers will likely drastically reduce the average level of overall aggression within the extremely assaultive group. Further replications of Megargee's research results have also collaborated this personality theory of criminal offenders (Megargee, 1984).

Upon reviewing the previous examples, it is evident that no one criminal personality trait or category has been clearly established. The fact that many of these examples contain common elements associated with criminal offenders, such as aggressiveness, impulsivity, and an inability to delay gratification, suggests that these personality characteristics likely exist within the general criminal population. This further suggests that, if the stereotype holds any accuracy, these common characteristics may also comprise components of the violent criminal stereotype. Testing these and other general characteristics of the violent criminal stereotype will be the primary focus of this work.

One final potential component of the violent criminal stereotype this study will address is that of criminal recidivism. Labeling, self-fulfilling prophecy and identity negotiation theories each predict that labeling and treating someone as a criminal may increase the likelihood of his or her criminal behavior (Farrington, Ohlin, & Wilson, 1986; Swann, 2000). Thus, an interesting question is whether or not the notion of criminal recidivism resides in the general violent criminal stereotype? In essence the research question posed here is, do people believe that "once an offender, always an

offender?" In contrast to this potential stereotypic notion, actual crime report data shows that relatively few individuals, only about 18 percent of the total criminal population, account for the majority of reported criminal activity (Wolfgang, Figlio & Sellin, 1996; Farrington & West, 1993). These relatively few offenders, typically referred to as "chronic offenders," have been shown to account for over 50 percent of all reported offenses (Wolfgang, Figlio & Sellin, 1996; Farrington & West, 1993). This finding of few offenders committing the vast majority of offenses suggests that the real problem of crime does not lie in the sheer number of criminals in the general population, but rather in the fact that the few individuals who do resort to a life of crime make it just that: a life-time of chronic criminal behavior. The majority of the total criminal population, over 80 percent of offenders, do not engage in continual or routine criminal behavior (Wolfgang, Figlio & Sellin, 1996; Farrington & West, 1993). Here, again, labeling theory would predict that if recidivism does erroneously emerge as a core component of the violent criminal stereotype, then its presence may actually increase rates of violent criminal behavior through the labeling process itself.

The fact that the majority of crimes are committed by relatively few individuals has strong implications for the criminal justice and penal system. Perhaps even more troubling than the fact that the majority of crimes are committed by a small portion of the criminal population, is the fact that so many of these chronic offenders have, and continue to have, repeat exposure to the criminal justice system, thus suggesting that the criminal justice system is failing in one of its primary goals: to reduce the overall crime rate. Specifically, these high numbers of repeat offenders indicate that the current rehabilitative programs within the United States correctional system are largely

ineffectual. Given that many chronic offenders are repeatedly apprehended, processed, and held within the criminal justice system, it would appear that programs developed and employed within the correctional system to promote rehabilitation and early release of offenders are largely unsuccessful. Research conducted by Martinson (1974), and replicated by further research from the National Research Council of the National Academy of Sciences, found that "the entire body of research [on rehabilitative programs] appears to justify only the conclusion that we do not know of any program or method of rehabilitation that could be guaranteed to reduce the criminal activity of released offenders" (as cited in Farrington, Ohlin, & Wilson, 1986, pp. 133-134). Researchers have also found that even those chronic offenders who self-report a reduced likelihood of return to a criminal lifestyle following incarceration commit a large number of repeat offenses (Farrington & West, 1993). Although limited by a small number of chronic offending participants and the use of retrospective analysis of penal effects, in a study of background history of chronic offenders, Farrington and West (1993) conclude that "almost by definition, most penal measures were followed by reoffending" (p. 506). This trend of repeat offending suggests that, at least among chronic offenders, current rehabilitation efforts within correctional institutions appear to have little effect on actual rates of reoffending, while the formalized labeling process inherent in incarceration may work to increase rates of recidivism.

Therefore, one possible explanation for these grave findings again rests within the realm of labeling theory. The logic is as follows: based largely on the public and recorded nature of criminal proceedings, convicted and incarcerated individuals are likely to experience the greatest impact of the criminal label (Chapman, 1973). Thus,

they are also those most likely to engage in the self-fulfilling prophecy behaviors associated with the criminal label. Should recidivism form a key component of the criminal stereotype, it would follow that incarcerated individuals, being those most strongly labeled as criminal, would also be among those most likely to recidivate. Within the area of criminal justice the logical question then becomes, how do rehabilitative efforts counter the strong influence of the labeling process? Yet again, even before this important social question can be adequately addressed, the primary question remains: what do people generally believe criminals to be like?

The goal of the current exploratory study is to identify the core components of the violent criminal stereotype. Only after these core components have been empirically defined can researchers then accurately investigate how the violent criminal stereotype affects the violent criminal population. Use of the violent criminal stereotype forms the primary foundation on which labeling theory stands; thus, without a clear, straightforward definition of what it means to be labeled a violent criminal, one can hardly expect to collect sufficient evidence of self-fulfilling prophecy among the publicly labeled violent criminal population. Using an item sorting task, participants were asked to construct their individual profile of the typical violent criminal offender. From this task, a clearer picture of the violent criminal stereotype should emerge. Based on previous descriptions from the criminal personality literature, the researcher expected to find included within the violent criminal stereotype characteristics and behaviors indicative of extreme levels of aggression, dominance, and hostility, high levels of impulsivity, severe lack of social skills, an intolerance of frustration, and inability to

terminate violent criminal behavior as characterized by high rates of violent criminal recidivism.

Study I

Method

Participants

Participants were 61 undergraduate students, 38 male, 18 female and five non-disclosed, enrolled in an Introductory Psychology course at a south eastern college. Because individuals who fall within the college-age category are among those most likely to perpetrate as well as suffer from victimization of crime (Crutchfield, Bridges & Weis, 1996), it was expected that the participants would have clearly formulated and readily accessible stereotypes of violent criminal offenders.

Materials

The 100-item California Q-Sort (CQ-set) (see Appendix A) was given to each student participant in the form of small index cards. The items consisted of descriptive statements, such as "Is critical, skeptical, not easily impressed," to be sorted according to the relevance of each statement to the target individual (Block, 1961). There were nine categories into which a designated number of cards were sorted. The categories were placed on a scale of one to nine (1 = very uncharacteristic to 9 = very characteristic), and the number of items to be placed in each category, from category one to nine respectively, are as follows: five, eight, twelve, sixteen, eighteen, sixteen, twelve, eight, and five. Once the cards had been satisfactorily sorted into the nine categories, the category number was recorded next to the item number on the separate record sheet, thus representing that item's score based on a nine-point scale of "characteristic-ness." In

this study, the CQ-set was used by participants to describe the typical violent criminal offender and the typical law-abiding citizen. Previous research suggests that this methodology will present a straightforward medium for development of a stereotypic profile (e.g. Thorndike, 1977; Skoe & Ksionzky, 1985).

The study also included a thirteen-item survey created by the researcher and designed to ascertain whether criminal recidivism is a further component of the criminal stereotype (see Appendix B). Eight of the items offered a continuum scale and were used to assess participant beliefs about chronic violent offenders as compared to law-abiding citizens. The final five items were based a seven-point Likert scale of agreement and were used to assess participant beliefs about the stability of violent criminal and law-abiding behavior across time.

Procedure

Upon entering the room, participants were instructed to seat themselves at a desk with a manila envelope containing all research instruments. First, participants were instructed to sort the 100-item CQ-set into nine piles according to the nine-point characteristic scale (from one - "very uncharacteristic" to nine - "very characteristic") using either the typical violent criminal offender or the typical law-abiding citizen as the target for description (the study sessions were counterbalanced with respect to the target order for the Q-sort). The instructions and nine-point scale for the sorting were displayed on an overhead projector throughout the entire sorting process. The sorting responses were then recorded by each participant on the separate record sheet. Following the initial sorting, the participants will be asked to repeat the sorting process

using the opposite target (either typical law-abiding citizen or typical violent criminal offender) for description.

Finally, participants were asked to respond to the thirteen-item survey concerning the likelihood of violent criminal recidivism among typical violent criminal offenders and typical law-abiding citizens. Once the survey task was completed, participants were asked to return all research materials to the original manila envelope, to seal the envelope and leave it on the desk top for later collection. Participants were then be debriefed as to the exploratory nature of the present study and thanked for their participation.

Results

All analyses were run on 60 student participants; one student's responses had to be excluded due to incomplete sorting. First, the data were analyzed in order to determine the degree of agreement among the participants. Reliability analysis of the Q-sort responses demonstrated high inter-rater reliabilities for each of the law-abiding citizen and the violent criminal offender Q-sorts ($\underline{\alpha} = .96$, $n = 60$ and $\underline{\alpha} = .97$, $n = 60$ respectively).

Next, in order to rule out order effects, participant mean responses were compared according to Q-sort order (whether violent criminal or law-abiding citizen was sorted first), and Of the 200-items analyzed, the analysis of variance yielded only ten significant results, from which no interpretable pattern could be discerned. Therefore it was concluded that the order in which participants presented their opinions concerning typical violent criminal offenders and typical law-abiding citizens did not create significant differences among the results.

A Q-type factor analysis, in which the participants themselves are analyzed, as opposed to typical scale measurement variables (Burger, Calsyn, Morse, & Klinkenberg, 2000), followed by varimax rotation was run in order to ascertain whether or not multiple stereotypes for each target exist among the participants. The Q-type factor analysis scree test of the 60 student violent criminal Q-sorts indicated that three factors should be retained. These three factors reflect the primary groupings of participants in terms of their shared violent criminal stereotype profile. The Q-type factor analysis scree test of the 60 student law-abiding citizen Q-sorts indicated that three factors should be retained. These three factors reflect the primary groupings of participants in terms of their shared law-abiding citizen stereotypic profile. These factors were noted for further comparison with results in study II.

Study II

Study II was designed to replicate the general results of study I using a more experienced and more expert population with respect to criminal behavior. To that end, police officers were chosen due to their more frequent, direct contact with the violent criminal population. The goals of study II remain the same, and the methodology varies only marginally.

Method

Participants

Participants included 29 police officers, 20 male, four female and five non-disclosed, from a county police department. Four different types of officer were sampled including Community Resource Officers, Investigators, Street Officers, and Administrative Officers. Officers were chosen as participants due to their greater

expertise concerning typical violent criminal behavior and characteristics based on higher levels of direct contact with the violent criminal population.

Materials

In an effort to reduce the amount of time required of each participant to complete the study materials, officer participants were given materials similar to those of Study I with the following modifications: (1) each officer was randomly assigned only one "Q-sort task" (either law-abiding citizen or violent criminal offender); (2) officers were given the "Q-sort task" in the form of a 100-item survey; and (3) the number of items per scale category restriction was lifted. Participants viewed the same Q-sort items as in Study I, however they received the items in standard survey form following the same 9-point scale of characteristicness (See Appendix C). Participants were also given the 13-item survey of Study I with no modifications.

Procedure

Officers were introduced to the researcher who then explained the nature and instructions of the study. It was stressed to each officer that participation was entirely voluntary and responses were completely anonymous. Finally, each officer received the study materials within a manila envelope during the initial roll call for each shift and was asked to fill out the two surveys at his or her convenience during the shift.

Results

Analyses were run with 29 participants, 17 of which rated the Q-items according to the law-abiding citizen target, and 12 of which rated the Q-items according to the violent criminal offender target. First, the data were analyzed in order to determine the degree of agreement among the participants. Reliability analyses of the Q-survey

responses demonstrated high inter-rater reliabilities for each of the independent sorts (α = .95 law-abiding, and α = .94 violent criminal).

Next, in an effort to rule out any within group differences, responses were analyzed according to the four types of officers sampled, including Community Resource Officers, Investigators, Street Officers, and Administrative Officers, via an analysis of variance. This analysis yielded no significant results (all p's > .05), suggesting that varying types of officers did not significantly differ in their opinions of either typical violent criminal offenders or typical law-abiding citizens.

Finally, a Q-type factor analysis, in which the participants themselves are analyzed, as opposed to typical scale measurement variables (Burger, Calsyn, Morse, & Klinkenberg, 2000), followed by varimax rotation was run in order to (1) ascertain whether or not multiple stereotypes for each target exist among the groups sampled, and (2) compare participant generated profiles across participant type (students and officers).

Results for Violent Criminal Stereotype

The Q-type factor analysis of the 12 officer violent criminal Q-surveys produced only one factor, representing grouping of the 12 officer participants in terms of their shared violent criminal stereotype profile. Factor scores, indicating the degree to which each Q-item contributes to each factor, were retained for each of the two sample groups (students and officers). These scores were then correlated with one another in order to determine the amount of agreement among the two groups in terms of the violent criminal stereotype profiles. The factor one officer factor scores correlated highly with the factor one student factor scores (r = .764, p < .01), indicating a high level of agreement between the two groups in terms of each group's primary violent criminal

stereotype profile. The factor one officer factor scores were also significantly correlated with the factor two student factor scores ($r = .223$, $p < .05$) and factor three student factor scores ($r = .294$, $p < .05$). Given the relatively small sample size of officer participant violent criminal Q-surveys ($n = 12$), the correlation was run a second time using the average officer profile for each of the Q-survey items. Here the correlation demonstrated similar results with the average officer profile showing a strong relationship with the factor one officer factor scores ($r = 1.00$, $p < .01$). This surprising one –to-one correlation is attributed to the inability to rotate the initial factor solution given that the analysis only derived one factor. The factor one and two student factor scores also demonstrated a significant correlations with the averaged officer profile ($r = .764$, $p < .01$, and $r = .222$, $p < .05$, respectively).

Results for Law-abiding Citizen Stereotype

The Q-type factor analysis of the 17 officer law-abiding citizen Q-surveys also produced three factors, representing the primary groupings of the 17 officer participants in terms of their shared law-abiding citizen stereotypic profile. Factor scores were again retained for each of the two sample groups. These correlations among each of these score categories demonstrated similar relationships to the previous analysis of the violent criminal stereotypic profiles. The factor one officer factor scores correlated highly with the factor one student factor scores ($r = .631$, $p < .01$), indicating a high level of agreement between the two groups in terms of each group's primary law-abiding citizen stereotypic profile. The factor one officer factor scores were also significantly correlated with the factor two student factor scores ($r = .386$, $p < .01$) and factor three student factor scores ($r = .220$, $p < .05$). The factor two officer factor scores demonstrated a surprising

significant negative correlation with the factor one student factor scores ($r = -.443$, $p < .01$), and a significant positive correlation with the factor two student factor scores ($r = .417$, $p < .01$). Finally, the factor three officer factor scores showed a moderate positive relationship to the factor two student factor scores.

Again, the above correlations were run a second time using the average officer profile for each of the Q-survey items. Here the correlation demonstrated similar results with the average officer profile showing a strong relationship with the factor one officer factor scores ($r = .882$, $p < .01$), and moderate to weak correlations with factors two and three officer factor scores ($r = .358$, $p < .01$, and $r = .292$, $p < .01$ respectively), as well as factors one through three of the student factor scores ($r = .432$, $p < .01$; $r = .577$, $p < .01$, and $r = .216$, $p < .05$ respectively; for full correlation results see Table 3).

In further specific demonstration of the comparison between the student and officer stereotypic profiles, the top ten highest and lowest factor scores, indicating the top ten highest contributing items from either end of the scale (1 = very uncharacteristic to 9 = very characteristic) were recorded for each Q-sort target (see Table 1 and Table 2). Positive factor scores indicate that the item contributes to the profile from the higher end of the scale (those items deemed most characteristic), while negative factor scores indicate that the item contributes to the profile from the lower end of the scale (those items deemed least characteristic).

Finally, the 13-item survey responses were reviewed in order to determine the behavioral components of the violent criminal and law-abiding citizen stereotypes. Items one through eight were coded on a dichotomous scale of high to low, with the midpoint representing the center point of each scale. Items nine through thirteen were

coded according to the seven-point Likert scale of agreement. Of particular interest to the current study were those items questioning the degree of recidivism participants felt best described the typical violent criminal offender. The results of these items were recorded as percentages of participants endorsing specific item responses (see Table 4).

Discussion

From those items found to be most and least associated with the violent criminal stereotype, one can conclude that people do believe that violent criminal offenders are highly aggressive, dominating and hostile ("Extrapunitive; tends to transfer or project blame;" "Is guileful and deceitful, manipulative, opportunistic;" "Has hostility toward others."), high levels of impulsivity ("Is unpredictable and changeable in behavior and attitudes; "Various needs tend toward relatively direct and uncontrolled expression.") severe lack of social skills ("Expresses hostile feelings directly;" "Is thin-skinned; sensitive to anything that can be construed as criticism or interpersonal slight.") and an intolerance of frustration ("Over-reactive to minor frustrations; irritable.").

The current results not only offer support to the current hypothesis, but also support previous findings of the criminal personality literature. The characteristics found by West (1988) including aggressiveness, restlessness, distractibility, impulsiveness, under-achieving, and intolerance of frustration are duplicated in the current study. Items rated as highly characteristic of the typical violent criminal, such as "Has hostility toward others" and "Expresses hostile feelings," as well as items rated highly uncharacteristic of the typical violent criminal, such as "Behaves in a sympathetic or considerate manner" and "Behaves in a giving way toward others," support the aggressiveness characteristic of previous personality studies. Other highly characteristic

items, such as "Is unpredictable in and changeable in behavior and attitudes," support the restlessness and distractibility component of previous research, while items demonstrating impulsiveness, including "Various needs tend toward relatively direct and uncontrolled expression; unable to delay gratification," replicated previous personality findings as well. Finally, findings that violent criminals tend to be under-achieving and unable to control frustration are also supported by the current results (i.e. "Feels a lack of meaning in life," and "Over-reactive to minor frustrations; irritable" respectively).

Although officer and student responses show high levels of agreement, one area where they tend to disagree is in the question of criminal recidivism. The majority of the officer participants (78% of 29) tend to endorse criminal recidivism as a component of the criminal stereotype. However, it does not appear that the majority of student participants view violent criminals as unchangeable (only 28% of 60 students). From the perspective of labeling theory, the implications of this disagreement are far reaching. Whereas the more criminally inexperienced students may believe in the possibility of violent criminal rehabilitation, the more experienced law enforcement officials do not. Given that apprehended violent offenders may be more likely to interact with law enforcement officials than the general public, the label of "once an offender, always an offender" may carry greater significance from officers as opposed to students. Furthermore, the greater authority and power of officers as compared to the general public, may also add greater significance to the finding that "once an offender, always an offender" fits within the officers' violent criminal stereotype.

There is no strong evidence for the case of multiple violent criminal stereotypes among the populations sampled. Although the factor analysis offered three factors

among student participants, the vast majority of those students loaded highly on factor one, with marginal numbers loading highly on factors two and three. Based on the large number of items to be sorted by each student, it is reasonable to assume that these marginal factors are the product of the great number of sorting item category possibilities. It is possible that, due to the relatively homogeneous student and officer populations of the smaller, south-eastern city in which the study took place, only one strong violent criminal profile emerged. If replicated in a more heavily populated city with greater numbers of migrating individuals from other areas, stronger evidence of multiple criminal stereotypes may be more likely to be found. Finally, the three-factor structure of the law-abiding citizen sorts among both the officers and students makes intuitive sense; given the very broad category of typical law-abiding citizen, it is to be expected that multiple groupings of participants would emerge based on their varied law-abiding profiles.

One surprising finding concerns the high degree of agreement of officer and student participants concerning the components of the violent criminal stereotype, as evidenced by the strong positive correlation found among each groups Q-type factor scores. Given the officers greater contact with the violent criminal population, it was expected that their view would offer a more realistic concept of the violent criminal stereotype. Alternatively, and possibly the case here, given the higher degree of contact with violent criminals, it may be necessary for officers to use more generalized stereotypes concerning this population in order to maintain their own safety in dealing with such a dangerous population. When forced to make quick decisions in the presence of potential harm and danger, it may benefit officers to view each offender as a constant

and imminent threat. Therefore, based on their greater degree of direct contact with violent criminal offenders, police officers may indeed hold greater stereotypic views of the violent criminal population than the general public.

An alternative explanation for the high degree of similarity between student and officer responses may lie within the methodology of the study itself. Although it was assumed that student and officers would rely heavily on their stereotypic views when asked to create a profile of the typical violent criminal offender, it is possible that stereotypes were not heavily relied upon by either the student or officer populations. It is unclear as to whether or not the present methodology supports this assumption by investigated true stereotypes as opposed to participants' efforts to offer realistic profiles of violent offenders. Future methodologies may clarify this assumption through more rigorous wording of sorting instructions. For example, a future comparison group of participants may receive sorting instructions stressing the importance of creating a profile as realistic to the target individual as possible. By comparing the results of this sort to those previously described, one may find a clearer distinction between a realistic versus a stereotypic violent criminal profile.

One important factor in explanation of violent criminal offending concerns the ecological factors long associated with violent criminality. Although a detailed look at these ecological factors is beyond the scope of the present study, their role in the generation of violent criminal tendencies must not be overlooked. Future research endeavors may provide integrative information concerning both the stereotypic personality and behavioral components of violent offending, as well as the potential stereotypic ecological components, such as low socio-economic status, the availability of

hand-guns, and the presence of early childhood neglect and physical abuse. In combining these two important facets of violent offending, one may find components of the violent criminal stereotype less connected to the dispositionally attributed personality characteristics found within the current study.

In pursuit of future areas of research, there are several population groups that may be used to test this notion of the violent criminal stereotype. One of the participating officers in the current study suggested that running a similar procedure among prison or jailhouse guards may provide further insight into the subject of violent criminal stereotypes. Prison guards are likely to come into much greater contact with violent criminals than do typical street officers, due to the daily interactions of guards and their criminal wards. Furthermore, based on Swann's (2000) theory of identity negotiation, the critical population to sample in the future is the actual violent criminal population. Based on their stereotypical views of themselves and others like them, one may then ascertain which components of the stereotypic label they are likely to accept and behaviorally endorse.

Finally, after empirically defining the criminal stereotype, the criminal justice system itself might greatly benefit from research designed to test how stereotypes among the general public, law enforcement officials and offenders alike affect the future behavior of not only violent criminal offenders, but also of each and every category of known criminal offender. In combining the present personality and behavioral characteristic findings with research in pursuit of the stereotypic ecological characteristics of violent criminal offending, researchers may partial out those factors accounting for the most variance in explanation of violent criminal offending. Should

the negative outcome predictions associated with labeling theory find support within this proposed area of study, this line of research may offer new insights into the potential for early violent criminal intervention among violent delinquents.

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Table 1
Most and Least Common Attributes of Violent Criminal Offenders by Participant Type

Participant Type	Factor Scores	Item
Student		
	1.92	22 Feels a lack of meaning in life.
	1.92	23 Extrapunitive; tends to transfer or project blame.
	1.77	13 Is thin-skinned; sensitive to anything that can be construed as criticism . . .
	1.75	53 Various needs tend toward relatively direct and uncontrolled expression; . . .
	1.66	40 Is vulnerable to real or fancied threat, generally fearful.
	1.64	37 Is guileful and deceitful, manipulative, opportunistic.
	1.49	50 Is unpredictable and changeable in behavior and attitudes.
	1.48	34 Over-reactive to minor frustrations; irritable.
	1.47	65 Characteristically pushes and tries to stretch limits; sees what he can get . . .
	1.46	78 Feels cheated and victimized by life; self-pitying.
	-1.42	5 Behaves in a giving way toward others.
	-1.47	41 Is moralistic.
	-1.47	74 Is subjectively unaware of self-concern; feels satisfied with self.
	-1.49	17 Behaves in a sympathetic or considerate manner.
	-1.53	2 Is a genuinely dependable, responsible person.
	-1.62	96 Values own independence and autonomy.
	-1.69	8 Appears to have a high degree of intellectual capacity.
	-1.76	60 Has insight into own motives and behavior.
	-1.89	71 Has high aspiration level for self.
	-1.93	70 Behaves in an ethically consistent manner; consistent with own . . . standards
Officer		
	1.57	23 Extrapunitive; tends to transfer or project blame.
	1.51	38 Has hostility toward others.
	1.41	65 Characteristically pushes and tries to stretch limits; sees what he can get . . .
	1.40	12 Tends to be self-defensive.
	1.39	37 Is guileful and deceitful, manipulative, opportunistic.
	1.36	78 Feels cheated and victimized by life; self-pitying.
	1.36	93 Behaves in masculine style and manner.
	1.35	50 Is unpredictable and changeable in behavior and attitudes.
	1.33	94 Expresses hostile feelings directly.
	1.32	82 Has fluctuating moods.
	-1.33	3 Has a wide range of interests.
	-1.34	83 Able to see to the heart of important problems.
	-1.39	29 Is turned to for advice and reassurance.
	-1.54	41 Is moralistic.
	-1.61	35 Has warmth; has the capacity for close relationships; compassionate.
	-1.62	51 Genuinely values intellectual and cognitive matters.
	-1.66	90 Is concerned with philosophical problems; e.g. religions, values, . . .
	-1.68	2 Is genuinely dependable, responsible person.
	-1.88	5 Behaves in a giving way toward others.
	-1.95	17 Behaves in a sympathetic or considerate manner.

Table 2
Most and Least Common Attributes of Law-abiding Citizen by Participant Type

Participant Type	Factor Scores	Item
Students		
	1.98	74 Is subjectively unaware of self-concern; feels satisfied with self.
	1.93	5 Behaves in a giving way toward others.
	1.87	17 Behaves in a sympathetic or considerate manner.
	1.67	2 Is a genuinely dependable, responsible person.
	1.66	75 Has a clear-cut, internally consistent personality.
	1.51	60 Has insight into own motives and behavior.
	1.49	90 Is concerned with philosophical problems; e.g. religions, values, . . .
	1.47	14 Genuinely submissive; accepts domination comfortably.
	1.39	29 Is turned to for advice and reassurance.
	1.37	41 Is moralistic.
	-1.34	91 Is power-oriented; values power in self and others.
	-1.37	53 Various needs tend toward relatively direct and uncontrolled expression; . . .
	-1.41	94 Expresses hostile feelings directly.
	-1.42	78 Feels cheated and victimized by life; self-pitying.
	-1.49	82 Has fluctuating moods.
	-1.56	12 Tends to be self-defensive.
	-1.64	73 Tends to perceive many different contexts in sexual terms; eroticizes . . .
	-1.68	37 Is guileful and deceitful, manipulative, opportunistic.
	-1.86	49 Is basically distrustful of people in general; questions their motives.
	-1.92	23 Extrapunitive, tends to transfer or project blame.
Officers		
	1.63	41 Is moralistic.
	1.44	17 Behaves in a sympathetic or considerate manner.
	1.43	7 Favors conservative values in a variety of areas.
	1.33	9 Is uncomfortable with uncertainty and complexities.
	1.31	70 Behaves in an ethically consistent manner; is consistent with own personal . .
	1.31	71 Has high aspiration level for self.
	1.28	11 Is protective of those close to him.
	1.28	96 Values own independence and autonomy.
	1.24	51 Genuinely values intellectual and cognitive matters.
	1.23	35 Has warmth; has the capacity for close relationships; compassionate.
	-1.52	30 Gives up and withdraws where possible in the face of frustration and . . .
	-1.53	23 Extrapunitive, tends to transfer or project blame.
	-1.56	36 Is subtly negativistic; tends to undermine and obstruct or sabotage.
	-1.61	22 Feels a lack of meaning in life.
	-1.82	42 Reluctant to commit self to any definite course of action; tends to delay or . .
	-1.84	38 Has hostility toward others.
	-1.85	39 Thinks and associates ideas in unusual ways; has unconventional thought . . .
	-1.90	37 Is guileful and deceitful, manipulative, opportunistic.
	-2.16	62 Tends to be rebellious and non-conforming.
	-2.36	65 Characteristically pushes and tries to stretch limits; sees what he can get . . .

Table 3
Factor Score Correlations Among Student and Officer Participants

	Factor 1 S	Factor 2 S	Factor 3 S	Factor 1 O	Mean Profile
Factor 1 S	- - -	0.00	0.00	.764**	.764**
Factor 2 S	0.00	- - -	0.00	.223*	.222*
Factor 3 S	0.00	0.00	- - -	.294**	.294**
Factor 1 O	.764**	.223*	.294**	- - -	1.00**
Mean Profile	.764**	.222*	.294**	1.00**	- - -

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

S - Student, O - Officer

Table 4
Percentage of Participant Endorsement to Survey Items

Participant Type	Survey Item	Response
Student (n = 60)		
	1.) How many offenses must one commit to qualify as a chronic offender?	< / = 10
	2.) What percentage of violent offenders meet your chronic qualification status?	>/ = 50
	3.) How many offenses will law abiders commit in lifetime?	< / = 10
	4.) How many offenses will violent offender commit in life?	> / = 11
	7.) At what age will violent offender commit last offense?	> / = 31
	9.) Violent behavior is very resistant to change.	5, 6, or 7
	11.) Violent offenders become more law-abiding over time.	5, 6, or 7
	13.) Violent offenders will never change; they will always be violent offenders.	5, 6, or 7
Officer (n = 29)		
	1.) How many offenses must one commit to qualify as a chronic offender?	< / = 10
	2.) What percentage of violent offenders meet your chronic qualification status?	> / = 50
	3.) How many offenses will law abiders commit in lifetime?	< / = 10
	4.) How many offenses will violent offender commit in life?	> / = 11
	7.) At what age will violent offender commit last offense?	> / = 31
	9.) Violent behavior is very resistant to change.	5, 6, or 7
	11.) Violent offenders become more law-abiding over time.	5, 6, or 7
	13.) Violent offenders will never change; they will always be violent offenders.	5, 6, or 7

APPENDIX A

The California Q-Set (Form III)
(Taken from: "The Q-Sort Method in Personality Assessment and Psychiatric Research," Jack Block, 1961)

1. Is critical, skeptical, not easily impressed.
2. Is a genuinely dependable, responsible person.
3. Has a wide range of interests.
4. Is a talkative individual.
5. Behaves in a giving way toward others.
6. Is fastidious.
7. Favors conservative values in a variety of areas.
8. Appears to have a high degree of intellectual capacity.
9. Is uncomfortable with uncertainty and complexities.
10. Anxiety and tension find outlet in bodily symptoms.
11. Is protective of those close to him.
12. Tends to be self-defensive.
13. Is thin-skinned; sensitive to anything that can be construed as criticism or an interpersonal slight.
14. Genuinely submissive; accepts domination comfortably.
15. Is skilled in social techniques of imaginative play, pretending and humor.
16. Is introspective and concerned with self as an object.
17. Behaves in a sympathetic or considerate manner.
18. Initiates humor.
19. Seeks reassurance from others.
20. Has a rapid personal tempo; behaves and acts quickly.
21. Arouses nurturant feelings in others.
22. Feels a lack of meaning in life.
23. Extrapunitive; tends to transfer or project blame.
24. Prides self on being "objective," rational.
25. Tends toward over-control of needs and impulses; binds tensions excessively; delays gratification unnecessarily.
26. Is productive; gets things done.
27. Shows condescending behavior in relations with others.
28. Tends to arouse liking and acceptance in people.
29. Is turned to for advice and reassurance.
30. Gives up and withdraws where possible in the face of frustration and adversity.
31. Regards self as physically attractive.
32. Seems to be aware of the impression he makes on others.
33. Is calm, relaxed in manner.
34. Over-reactive to minor frustrations; irritable.
35. Has warmth; has the capacity for close relationships; compassionate.
36. Is subtly negativistic; tends to undermine and obstruct or sabotage.
37. Is guileful and deceitful, manipulative, opportunistic.
38. Has hostility toward others.

39. Thinks and associates ideas in unusual ways; has unconventional thought processes.
40. Is vulnerable to real or fancied threat, generally fearful.
41. Is moralistic.
42. Reluctant to commit self to any definite course of action; tends to delay or avoid action.
43. Is facially and/or gesturally expressive.
44. Evaluates the motivation of others in interpreting situations.
45. Ha a brittle ego-defense system; has a small reserve integration; would be disorganized and maladaptive when under stress or trauma.
46. Engages in personal fantasy and daydreams, fictional speculations.
47. Has a readiness to feel guilt.
48. Keeps people at a distance; avoids close interpersonal relationships.
49. Is basically distrustful of people in general; questions their motives.
50. Is unpredictable and changeable in behavior and attitudes.
51. Genuinely values intellectual and cognitive matters.
52. Behaves in an assertive fashion.
53. Various needs tend toward relatively direct and uncontrolled expression; unable to delay gratification.
54. Emphasizes being with others; gregarious.
55. Is self-defeating.
56. Responds to humor.
57. Is an interesting, arresting person.
58. Enjoys sensuous experiences (including touch, taste, smell, physical contact).
59. Is concerned with own body and the adequacy of its physiological functioning.
60. Has insight into own motives and behavior.
61. Creates and exploits dependency in people.
62. Tends to be rebellious and non-conforming.
63. Judges self and others in conventional terms like "popularity," "the correct thing to do," social pressures, etc.
64. Is socially perceptive of a wide range of interpersonal cues.
65. Characteristically pushes and tries to stretch limits; sees what he can get away with.
66. Enjoys esthetic impressions; is esthetically reactive.
67. Is self-indulgent.
68. Is basically anxious.
69. Is sensitive to anything that can be construed as a demand.
70. Behaves in an ethically consistent manner; is consistent with own personal standards.
71. Has high aspiration level for self.
72. Concerned with adequacy as a person, either at conscious or unconscious levels.
73. Tends to perceive many different contexts in sexual terms; eroticizes situations.
74. Is subjectively unaware of self-concern; feels satisfied with self.
75. Has a clear-cut, internally consistent personality.
76. Tends to project his own feelings and motivations onto others.
77. Appears straightforward, forthright, candid in dealing with others.
78. Feels cheated and victimized by life; self-pitying.
79. Tends to ruminate and have persistent, preoccupying thoughts.
80. Interested in members of the opposite sex.

81. Is physically attractive; good looking.
82. Has fluctuating moods.
83. Able to see to the heart of important problems.
84. Is cheerful.
85. Emphasizes communication through action and non-verbal behavior.
86. Handles anxiety and conflicts by, in effect, refusing to recognize their presence; repressive or dissociative tendencies.
87. Interprets basically simple and clear-cut situations in complicated and particularizing ways.
88. Is personally charming.
89. Compares self to others. Is alert to real or fancied differences between self and other people.
90. Is concerned with philosophical problems; e.g., religions, values, the meaning of life, etc.
91. Is power oriented; values power in self and others.
92. Has social poise and presence; appears socially at ease.
93. Behaves in a masculine style and manner.
94. Expresses hostile feelings directly.
95. Tends to proffer advice.
96. Values own independence and autonomy.
97. Is emotionally bland; has flattened affect.
98. Is verbally fluent; can express ideas well.
99. Is self-dramatizing; histrionic.
100. Does not vary roles; relates to everyone in the same way.

APPENDIX B

Please indicate: Gender: M____ F____
Age: _____

Survey

Please respond to the following questions by placing an "X" at the point on the scale that best corresponds to your views.

1. How many offenses do you believe one must commit to qualify as a "chronic offender?"

0	5	10	15	20+

2. What percentage of the total violent criminal population can be qualified as chronically offending based on your above definition of chronic offender?

0%	25%	50%	75%	100%

3. How many criminal offenses (excluding civil offenses such as traffic violations) is the average law-abiding citizen likely to commit in his or her life-time?

0	5	10	15	20+

4. How many criminal offenses (excluding civil offenses such as traffic violations) is the average violent criminal offender likely to commit in his or her life-time?

0	5	10	15	20+

5. At what age is the average violent criminal offender most likely to commit his or her first criminal offense (excluding civil offenses such as traffic violations)?

0	15	30	45	60+

6. At what age is the average law-abiding citizen most likely to commit his or her first criminal offense (excluding civil offenses such as traffic violations)?

0	15	30	45	60+

7. At what age is the average violent criminal offender most likely to commit his or her final criminal offense (excluding civil offenses such as traffic violations)?

0	15	30	45	60+

8. At what age is the average law-abiding citizen most likely to commit his or her final criminal offense (excluding civil offenses such as traffic violations)?

0	15	30	45	60+

Please indicate the degree to which you agree with each statement below by circling the number that best corresponds to your level of agreement based on the following scale:

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

9. Violent criminal behavior is very resistant to change over time.

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

10. Law-abiding behavior is very resistant to change over time.

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

11. Violent criminal offenders are likely to become more law-abiding with age.

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

12. Law-abiding citizens are likely to become more criminal with age.

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

13. Violent criminal offenders will never change; they will always be violent criminal offenders.

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

APPENDIX C

Please respond to each statement by **recording the number** corresponding to **how characteristic** you think each statement is of the **typical violent criminal offender (typical law-abiding citizen)** according to the **following scale**:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Very Uncharacteristic	Uncharacteristic	Somewhat	Slightly	Neither	Slightly	Somewhat	Characteristic	Very Characteristic

_____ 1. Is critical, skeptical, not easily impressed.
_____ 2. Is a genuinely dependable, responsible person.
_____ 3. Has a wide range of interests.
_____ 4. Is a talkative individual.
_____ 5. Behaves in a giving way toward others..
_____ 6. Is fastidious.
_____ 7. Favors conservative values in a variety of areas.
_____ 8. Appears to have a high degree of intellectual capacity.
_____ 9. Is uncomfortable with uncertainty and complexities.
_____ 10. Anxiety and tension find outlet in bodily symptoms.
_____ 11. Is protective of those close to him.
_____ 12. Tends to be self-defensive.
_____ 13. Is thin-skinned; sensitive to anything that can be construed as criticism or an interpersonal slight.
_____ 14. Genuinely submissive; accepts domination comfortably.
_____ 15. Is skilled in social techniques of imaginative play, pretending and humor.
_____ 16. Is introspective and concerned with self as an object.
_____ 17. Behaves in a sympathetic or considerate manner.
_____ 18. Initiates humor.
_____ 19. Seeks reassurance from others.
_____ 20. Has a rapid personal tempo; behaves and acts quickly.
_____ 21. Arouses nurturant feelings in others.
_____ 22. Feels a lack of meaning in life.
_____ 23. Extrapunitive; tends to transfer or project blame.
_____ 24. Prides self on being "objective," rational.
_____ 25. Tends toward over-control of needs and impulses; binds tensions excessively; delays gratification unnecessarily.
_____ 26. Is productive; gets things done.
_____ 27. Shows condescending behavior in relations with others.
_____ 28. Tends to arouse liking and acceptance in people.
_____ 29. Is turned to for advice and reassurance.
_____ 30. Gives up and withdraws where possible in the face of frustration and adversity.
_____ 31. Regards self as physically attractive.
_____ 32. Seems to be aware of the impression he makes on others.
_____ 33. Is calm, relaxed in manner.
_____ 34. Over-reactive to minor frustrations; irritable.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Very Uncharacteristic	Uncharacteristic	Somewhat	Slightly	Neither	Slightly	Somewhat	Characteristic	Very Characteristic

_____ 35. Has warmth; has the capacity for close relationships; compassionate.
_____ 36. Is subtly negativistic; tends to undermine and obstruct or sabotage.
_____ 37. Is guileful and deceitful, manipulative, opportunistic.
_____ 38. Has hostility toward others.0
_____ 39. Thinks and associates ideas in unusual ways; has unconventional thought processes.
_____ 40. Is vulnerable to real or fancied threat, generally fearful.
_____ 41. Is moralistic.
_____ 42. Reluctant to commit self to any definite course of action; tends to delay or avoid action.
_____ 43. Is facially and/or gesturally expressive.
_____ 44. Evaluates the motivation of others in interpreting situations.
_____ 45. Has a brittle ego-defense system; has a small reserve integration; would be disorganized and maladaptive when under stress or trauma.
_____ 46. Engages in personal fantasy and daydreams, fictional speculations.
_____ 47. Has a readiness to feel guilt.
_____ 48. Keeps people at a distance; avoids close interpersonal relationships.
_____ 49. Is basically distrustful of people in general; questions their motives.
_____ 50. Is unpredictable and changeable in behavior and attitudes.
_____ 51. Genuinely values intellectual and cognitive matters.
_____ 52. Behaves in an assertive fashion.
_____ 53. Various needs tend toward relatively direct and uncontrolled expression; unable to delay gratification.
_____ 54. Emphasizes being with others; gregarious.
_____ 55. Is self-defeating.
_____ 56. Responds to humor.
_____ 57. Is an interesting, arresting person.
_____ 58. Enjoys sensuous experiences (including touch, taste, smell, physical contact).
_____ 59. Is concerned with own body and the adequacy of its physiological functioning.
_____ 60. Has insight into own motives and behavior.
_____ 61. Creates and exploits dependency in people.
_____ 62. Tends to be rebellious and non-conforming.
_____ 63. Judges self and others in conventional terms like "popularity," "the correct thing to do," social pressures, etc.
_____ 64. Is socially perceptive of a wide range of interpersonal cues.
_____ 65. Characteristically pushes and tries to stretch limits; sees what he can get away with.
_____ 66. Enjoys esthetic impressions; is esthetically reactive.
_____ 67. Is self-indulgent.
_____ 68. Is basically anxious.
_____ 69. Is sensitive to anything that can be construed as a demand.
_____ 70. Behaves in an ethically consistent manner; is consistent with own personal standards.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Very Uncharacteristic	Uncharacteristic	Somewhat	Slightly	Neither	Slightly	Somewhat	Characteristic	Very Characteristic

_____ 71. Has high aspiration level for self.
_____ 72. Concerned with adequacy as a person, either at conscious or unconscious levels.
_____ 73. Tends to perceive many different contexts in sexual terms; eroticizes situations.
_____ 74. Is subjectively unaware of self-concern; feels satisfied with self.
_____ 75. Has a clear-cut, internally consistent personality.
_____ 76. Tends to project his own feelings and motivations onto others.
_____ 77. Appears straightforward, forthright, candid in dealing with others.
_____ 78. Feels cheated and victimized by life; self-pitying.
_____ 79. Tends to ruminate and have persistent, preoccupying thoughts.
_____ 80. Interested in members of the opposite sex.
_____ 81. Is physically attractive; good looking.
_____ 82. Has fluctuating moods.
_____ 83. Able to see to the heart of important problems.
_____ 84. Is cheerful.
_____ 85. Emphasizes communication through action and non-verbal behavior.
_____ 86. Handles anxiety and conflicts by, in effect, refusing to recognize their presence; repressive or dissociative tendencies.
_____ 87. Interprets basically simple and clear-cut situations in complicated and particularizing ways.
_____ 88. Is personally charming.
_____ 89. Compares self to others. Is alert to real or fancied differences between self and other people.
_____ 90. Is concerned with philosophical problems; e.g., religions, values, the meaning of life, etc.
_____ 91. Is power oriented; values power in self and others.
_____ 92. Has social poise and presence; appears socially at ease.
_____ 93. Behaves in a masculine style and manner.
_____ 94. Expresses hostile feelings directly.
_____ 95. Tends to proffer advice.
_____ 96. Values own independence and autonomy.
_____ 97. Is emotionally bland; has flattened affect.
_____ 98. Is verbally fluent; can express ideas well.
_____ 99. Is self-dramatizing; histrionic.
_____ 100. Does not vary roles; relates to everyone in the same way.

VITA

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