Race, Gender, and County Context in Support for Harsh Punishments across the U.S.

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

University of Washington

2015

Committee:

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Program Authorized to Offer Degree:
Sociology

University of Washington

Abstract

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In this paper, I use data from the General Social Survey, F.B.I. Uniform Crime Reporting Statistics, the U.S. Census Bureau, and other sources to consider differences in attitudes about punishment among blacks and whites, and men and women, as well as how these differences vary according to three county-level characteristics: crime rates, racial composition, and race- and gender-based income equality. In conducting this research, I am guided by the presumption that previously observed race and gender gaps in punitive attitudes are a function of the different social positions these groups occupy in relation to the criminal justice system, and that these social positions vary according to context. Since past work suggests different race- and gender-based attitudinal gaps according to the form of punitiveness under consideration, I employ two measures of this concept: support for the death penalty and attitudes about the harshness of courts. Analyses provide some evidence that race, gender, and context interact to shape attitudes about punishment, and that the observed attitudinal variation differs according to the measure of punitiveness. Overall, this research improves our understanding of group differences in punitive attitudes and of the cultural context in which the U.S. system of incarceration operates. Since attitudes can influence political voting (Greenwald et al. 2009) and behaviors while serving on criminal juries (Fitzgerald and Ellsworth 1984; Moran and Comfort 1986), this work can also provide insight about how we might expect the criminal justice system to evolve in the future.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I cannot overstate my gratitude to Kyle Crowder, who has been a thoughtful, patient, and generous mentor throughout the development of this thesis. Many thanks are also due to Alexes Harris, who has offered vital insight regarding substance, framing, and presentation. Additionally, the following faculty members have provided key guidance at various stages of the project: Becky Pettit (University of Texas—Austin), Robert Crutchfield[1], Aimee Dechter, Christopher Adolph, Jerald Herting, Katherine Beckett, Stewart Tolnay, and Rachel Robinson (American University). I am indebted to my peers in the Department of Sociology at the University of Washington (UW): Christine Leibbrand, Heather Evans, Marie Neumann, Thiago Marques, Elizabeth Ackert, Sarah Diefendorf, Michelle O'Brien, Nicole Kravitz-Wirtz, Kivan Polimis, and the remaining graduate student members of the Contexts Working Group and Gender Group for donating their time and good judgment to this paper's successful completion. Finally, thanks to the UW Department of Sociology for providing financial support for the purchase of restricted General Social Survey data, and to the Center for Social Science Computation and Research for providing access to 2012 presidential election data.

[1] All faculty members, for whom a university is not specified, are based at the University of Washington.

INTRODUCTION

In this paper, I ask whether context moderates how race- and gender-based group identity shapes support for severe criminal punishments in the U.S. In doing so, I am guided by the presumption that previously observed race and gender gaps in punitive attitudes are a function of the different social positions these groups occupy in relation to the criminal justice system, and that these social positions vary according to context. We know that the application of punishment matters, in part since harsh criminal sentences have contributed to the expansion of the American prison population in recent decades (Gottschalk 2006; Alexander 2010). Given that research has tied attitudes to related behaviors like voting in political elections (Greenwald et al. 2009) and while on juries (Fitzgerald and Ellsworth 1984; Moran and Comfort 1986), we also know that our opinions have the potential to shape these important criminal justice system outcomes. I contribute to the literature by exploring how race, gender, and local environment together influence punitive attitudes. Through this work, I improve our understanding of the cultural context within which the U.S. criminal justice system operates and how we might expect this system to evolve.

Two key individual-level characteristics that have been found to be predictive of support for punitiveness are race and gender, with generally separate bodies of work focusing primarily on differences between blacks and whites, and women and men. Blacks are often less likely to support strict punishments, including the death penalty (DeLisi 2001; Baker, Lambert, and Jenkins 2005) and a variety of other harsh criminal penalties (Johnson 2008). With respect to gender differences in attitudes about punishment, men are consistently found to be more likely than women to support the death penalty (Cochran and Sanders 2009; Lambert et al. 2014; Stack 2000), while women are sometimes found to be more supportive than men of harsh non-capital

punishments (Kutateladze and Crossman 2009; Kelley and Braithwaite 1990). Despite it being well documented that there are race- and gender-based gaps in punitive attitudes, little work directly outlines how these group differences intersect to produce variation in support for harsh punishments along race *and* gender lines. By further exploring this, we can better understand group differences in support for punitiveness and glean ideas about why these attitudinal gaps arose and endure.

In addition to individual-level predictors of support for punitiveness, research suggests that contextual variables matter as well. However, it is unclear whether and how context influences observed race- and gender-based differences in attitudes, since the literature has not yet addressed these questions. Scholarship does directly connect context and punitiveness, however, tying support for harsh punishment to varying concentrations of racial (Baumer, Messner, and Rosenfeld 2003) and ethnic out-groups (Ousey and Unnever 2012), living in the American south (Borg 1997), levels of political conservatism (Baumer et al. 2003), and the homicide rate (Baumer et al. 2003; Stack 2004).

Though research has not yet clarified whether contextual forces moderate group-based differences in punitive attitudes, we do know that some aspects of the environment can impact individuals differently based on race and gender. For example, white males uniquely benefit from occupational segregation while black men and black and white women fare worse in the face of this phenomenon (Maume 1999). Of more direct substantive relevance to this work, individuals are predisposed to have different relationships with the criminal justice system based on their membership in a particular race or gender group. Black men, for example, are disproportionately exposed to the U.S. criminal justice system, as both alleged perpetrators (Blumstein 2001; Mechoulan 2011) and victims (Stafford and Galle 1984). Black women are not

as likely as black men to themselves enter U.S. carceral institutions, but they are more likely than white women to have relationships with incarcerated individuals (Lee et al. forthcoming); blacks overall are more likely than whites to know incarcerated individuals, even if they are of a higher socioeconomic status than their white counterparts (Bobo and Thompson 2010). Given that interacting with similar environments can lead to disparate material outcomes for different groups, and that individuals can have different relationships with the criminal justice system by virtue of their socially prescribed race and gender categories, it follows that the attitudinal tendencies of these groups may also be differentially influenced by contextual characteristics that can readjust their social positions vis-à-vis the U.S. system of incarceration.

This project contributes to the literature by considering how racial and gender differences in support for punitiveness intersect and vary according to context within the U.S. Additionally, while much of the existing research on context and punitiveness measures either support for capital punishment or harsh non-capital punishments, the current research considers both of these forms of punitiveness. This provides a broader view of "punitiveness" and how the race and gender groups under consideration may be situated in their thinking about these divergent forms of harsh punishments.

BACKGROUND

Punitiveness and Race

Most research that has observed important differences in punitive attitudes according to race has focused on a gap in punitiveness between blacks and whites, with variation in this gap emerging according to how punitiveness is defined. Most stories depict whites as more punitive, except in the case of corporate crime (Unnever, Benson, and Cullen 2008). Blacks are less likely to support capital punishment (DeLisi 2001; Baker, Lambert, and Jenkins 2005), three-strikes laws,

trying youth as adults, harsher parole terms, and punishing violent offenders more severely (Johnson 2008). The black-white gap in support for capital punishment holds even when controlling for a host of individual characteristics that also vary by race: socioeconomic status; regional origin; religious and political beliefs; attitudes toward the police, abortion, social welfare, and racial inequality; fear of crime; having been a victim of a crime; having made contact with the criminal justice system; and whether the individual supported offender rehabilitation, punishment as a deterrent/ incapacitating device, or generally harsher punishments (Cochran and Chamlin 2006).

That the attitudinal race gap differs with respect to certain types of crime, and support for the death penalty persists despite other attitudes about punishment, support the claim that considering multiple forms of "punitiveness" may be informative. These findings also coincide with Harris, Evans, and Beckett's (2011) conclusion that race is a "cultural category" that influences our relationship to the criminal justice system, as well as Unnever, Benson, and Cullen's (2008) complementary claim that attitudes about punishment are social creations whose design is in part based on racial dynamics. Overall, membership in a particular race group can influence our experience with and understanding of the U.S. carceral system, which in turn shapes our attitudes toward this system. This is reflected in research that finds that blacks, who are more likely than whites to be personally impacted by the criminal justice system, are at once more likely than whites to think crime is an important social issue, to think the criminal justice system is racially biased against blacks, and to question the legitimacy of this institution (Bobo and Thompson 2006). Accordingly, whites, who are more removed from the reality of the criminal justice system, perceive less racial bias and more legitimacy in the criminal system (2006).

Given that blacks and whites, by virtue of the differential status their races confer them, have different relationships with the criminal justice system, it follows that different mechanisms would be influential for explaining the punitive attitudes of these groups. For example, rates of support for harsh punishments among whites (Barkan and Cohn 2005) have been attributed to anti-black sentiment (Unnever and Cullen 2007; Johnson 2008; Cohn, Barkan, and Halteman 1991; Barkan and Cohn 1994; Barkan and Cohn 2005; Lee and Rasinski 2006; Borg 1997). For blacks, fear of crime is positively associated with support for harsh punishments (Cohn et al. 1991), while perceived racial inequality in the criminal justice system process has been associated with lower levels of punitiveness (Johnson 2008). Whites' support for harsh punishments, on the contrary, has been found to be impervious to arguments of racial injustice and to even become *stronger* when it is introduced that racial discrimination exists in the application of the death penalty (Peffley and Hurwitz 2007).

The Complication of Gender

Since research suggests that race is a social category that influences our relationship to the criminal justice system and thus our attitudes about punishment, it follows that individuals' attitudes about punitiveness will be similarly shaped by membership in other social categories like gender. Accordingly, research has found punitive attitudes to differ according to gender, and for these differences to vary according to how punitiveness is measured. Some literature finds that men are generally more punitive than women (Applegate, Cullen, and Fisher 2002; Gault and Sabini 2000; Hurwitz and Smithey 1998), with women more likely to support rehabilitation (Applegate et al. 2002; Gault and Sabini 2000) and preventive measures (Payne et al. 2004; Hurwitz and Smithey 1998). In contrast, another body of work indicates that men and women are punitive in different ways: for example, women are sometimes found to support harsher non-

death penalty sanctions (Kelley and Braithwaite 1990; Kutateladze and Crossman 2009), while men are consistently found to be more likely to support the death penalty (Cochran and Sanders 2009; Lambert et al. 2014; Stack 2000). This again points to differences in punitive attitudes based on our conception of "punitiveness." The evidence establishing men's higher likelihood of supporting the death penalty is fairly strong, persisting despite controlling for a host of characteristics that have been cited as potentially important to this gender-based disparity: religious and political beliefs; gender differences in socioeconomic status, socialization and other inequalities; experience with criminal victimization or offending; fear of crime; and general attitudes about punishment and whether people fault individuals or their environments for the incidence of crime (Cochran and Sanders 2009). Despite this, it is less clear how such gender dynamics work across race groups.

Though research generally neglects how gender-based attitudinal gaps may interact with black-white differences in punitive beliefs, there is reason to expect this would be the case. First, work that explores the theory of intersectionality (Crenshaw 1991) from a social psychological perspective suggests that the influence of race and gender on attitudes cannot be fully enumerated without considering how these and other social categories work in concert to reduce or exacerbate group differences (Renfrow and Howard 2013). Additionally, limited empirical work does signal that this is worth scholarly consideration. Marian Borg (1998) suggests that gender differences in punitiveness are more pronounced for whites than blacks. In racially stratified samples, it is observed that white men are more likely to support the death penalty than their female counterparts, but there is no statistically significant gender effect for blacks. Borg also suggests that the strength and direction of the influence of additional variables can depend on race and gender. The importance of gender for predicting support for capital punishment

remains strong for whites even after adding a potentially important moderating variable—in this case, knowing a homicide victim. However, for blacks, vicarious victimization is more influential for attitudes about the death penalty than is gender. Finally, knowing a homicide victim is positively associated with support for the death penalty for whites, but the opposite is true for blacks. While the probability of supporting the death penalty increases by about 0.05 for white men and 0.07 for white women, this probability *decreases* by roughly 0.15 for black women and men. As the gap in the probability of supporting the death penalty between *non-victimized* black men and women is roughly 0.07, adding this experiential characteristic complicates the race/gender hierarchy in attitudes that predict black men to be more likely to support the death penalty than black women. As Borg's work suggests, black men are not always more punitive than black women (1998). This is an important finding that would be obscured if the research did not examine all four of these groups separately and in comparison to each other. Further, it suggests that, for black men and women, who are more likely to be exposed to the criminal justice system, such exposure has a more powerful and differential influence than for white men and women who generally occupy greater social distance from the incidence of crime and punishment. Overall, this suggests that race and gender interact not only with each other, but that they intersect with external forces as well to produce disparate attitudinal outcomes. Much work remains, however, to develop a full picture of those contextual characteristics that moderate race and gender's influence on punitive attitudes.

The Influence of Context

If race and gender are social categories that influence attitudes about punishment by way of influencing our interactions with the criminal justice system, it follows that context influences how these categories are positioned vis-à-vis this institution. Therefore, variation in context is

expected to differentially shape attitudes about punitiveness for those of distinct race and gender groups. Sentiments about harsh criminal punishments have been shown to vary according to ethnic fractionalization and immigrant intolerance (Ousey and Unnever 2012). Further, support for the death penalty, specifically, has been positively linked to the homicide rate (Baumer, Messner, and Rosenfeld 2003; Stack 2004), living in the American South (Borg 1997), the proportion of the population that is black, and rates of political conservatism (Baumer et al. 2003). Several studies have considered how the national context moderates gender-based differences in attitudes about punishment (Lambert et al. 2014; Lambert et al. 2008; Keil et al. 1999; Stack 2004; Kelley and Braithwaite 1990; Cochran and Sanders 2009; Hough and Moxon 1985; Sprott 1999; Kutateladze and Crossman 2009), but contextual considerations of black-white differences in support for punitiveness appear absent from the literature. Despite the lack of research specifically identifying contextual characteristics that influence the black-white gap in support for punitiveness, it is expected that context may indeed moderate race-based differences. Three environmental factors are considered in this paper: racial composition, crime rates, and race- and gender-based income equality. For reasons outlined in the Data section, these characteristics will be considered at the county level of aggregation.

Racial composition

Racial threat theory posits that as a minority group expands in proportion to the majority, the latter will have more negative attitudes toward minorities due to what is perceived as the enhanced social and economic threat of those minorities (Blalock 1967; Liska 1992). This can lead to punitiveness as a means for the majority group to maintain social dominance (Weaver 2007). The association between blacks and perceived criminality in the U.S. has been well documented (c.f., Quillian and Pager 2001; Saperstein and Penner 2010) with substantial

literature tying support for punitiveness to racial and ethnic bias (Unnever and Cullen 2010; Unnever, Cullen, and Jonson 2008; Johnson 2008; Johnson 2001; Chiricos, Welch, and Gertz 2004; Welch et al. 2011; Hurwitz and Peffley 2005; Wheelock, Semukhina, and Demidov 2011; Barkan and Cohn 1994; Garland and Bumphus 2012; Taylor 1998). Accordingly, higher levels of racial threat as implied by larger concentrations of blacks may be positively related to punitiveness, but only for whites. Inherent in racial threat theory is the idea that it is the group with greater social power that will be influenced by a relatively large proportion of the disadvantaged group; as such, this signifies race-based differences in how racial composition might influence punitive attitudes. Overall, I expect that whites are more punitive in areas with relatively high concentrations of blacks and that the attitudinal race gap is thus wider in these areas.

The extent to which racial composition shapes whites' attitudes about punishment might differ by gender. Among whites, women and men are expected to respond to different forms of threats, and thus the influence of racial composition on the gender punitiveness gap is expected to vary across counties with different proportions of blacks. For women, who are more likely to fear personal victimization (Miethe 1995; Sims and Johnston 2004), such a sentiment may be more salient in contexts with higher concentrations of blacks, who are associated with perceived violent criminality (Quillian and Pager 2001; Saperstein and Penner 2010). White women who are exposed to large numbers of this group that they identify as "criminal" may be more fearful of being victimized, and thus they may have more punitive attitudes.

White men, on the other hand, may be threatened by perceived infringement on their masculinity, and they may become more punitive as a means to symbolically eliminate this threat. In discussing the masculinity overcompensation thesis, Willer et al. (2013) contend that men

who experience a threat to their masculinity are more likely to respond with exaggerated gender expressions, including through greater support for war and homophobic attitudes. Traditional constructions of black masculinities, which are associated with athletic physicalities, hypersexuality, and tendencies toward violence (Ferber 2007), may threaten the masculinity of white men and therefore motivate punitive sentiments.

In areas with higher concentrations of blacks, both white men and women may be more punitive than in areas with smaller relative black populations, but perhaps to different degrees. With that in mind, I anticipate that variation in county racial composition may lead to differences in the white gender gap in punitive attitudes.

With respect to blacks, I expect that this group will become less punitive in areas with higher concentrations of this race group. Research suggests that higher relative black populations are associated with lower perceived risk of crime (Chiricos, Welch, and Gertz 2001). Since black punitiveness is positively associated with fear of crime (Cohn et al. 1991), this may mean that blacks would be less fearful and therefore less punitive in counties with high concentrations of blacks. As a result, race-gaps in punitive attitudes should be larger in these counties. I do not make claims about whether changes in county racial composition will induce variation in the gender punitiveness gap among blacks.

Hypothesis I: The race- and gender-based gaps in support for punitiveness will vary according to the racial composition of the county. Accordingly, this variation is expected to take two forms:

> ***Part A:*** In counties with higher relative black populations, white support for harsh punishments will be higher than in areas with a smaller proportion of blacks. Punitive attitudes among blacks will be lower in these counties and thus the racial punitiveness gap will be larger.

Part B: In counties with larger proportions of blacks, the influence of racial composition on whites may be different for men and women. As such, the attitudinal gender gap may vary with the racial composition of the county. There are no clear expectations about whether the gender gap will be narrower or wider in areas with relatively large proportional populations of blacks.

Crime rates

Homicide rates have been associated with higher levels of support for the death penalty at the national level (Stack 2004), as well as across metropolitan areas within the U.S. (Baumer, Messner, and Rosenfeld 2003). Existing research has not addressed whether homicide rates influence support for harsh punishments differently according to race and gender. However, research suggests that this may be the case, and that the corresponding attitudinal gaps will thus be influenced.

Across races, it is possible that blacks will be more influenced by crime rates than are whites, as blacks are more likely to be exposed to criminal victimization, personally (Stafford and Galle 1984) and vicariously (Borg 1998). The literature suggests differing possible outcomes for blacks. First, relatively high rates of crime may correspond with greater support for harsh punishments among blacks by way of fear of victimization, which is a driving force in punitiveness for blacks (Cohn et al. 1991). A second possible outcome vis-à-vis varying crime rates is that both black men and women may be less punitive in counties with high rates of criminal activity, because it increases the exposure of these groups to a biased criminal justice system. One study finds that knowing a homicide victim is negatively associated with support for capital punishment among blacks (Borg 1998). This is a finding that the researcher concludes may be related to blacks being more cognizant of racial injustice in the application of the death

penalty (1998); such awareness can be heightened by recent experience with a post-homicide criminal trial. Research suggests that blacks are likely to find bias in the criminal justice system as a whole and with respect to addressing drug crimes (Bobo and Thompson 2006). It therefore follows that exposure to not just homicide, but also a variety of crimes intensify blacks' sensitivity to injustice in criminal sentencing practices and will thus be associated with lower rates of punitiveness for this group. In line with this, this study will consider how the rates of multiple types of crimes influence attitudes.[2]

Similar to blacks' potential fear of victimization discussed above, whites may be more likely to support harsh punishments in counties with high rates of crime. Research has shown that whites who have experienced vicarious homicide victimization are more likely to support the death penalty than their non-victimized white counterparts (Borg 1998). This suggests that, in an area where the likelihood of criminal victimization is relatively high, the incidence or threat of such victimization might be especially likely to inspire punitiveness on the part of whites. Thus, the race gap in punitiveness may or may not vary according to crime rates: if blacks are less punitive in counties with high crime rates, the black-white attitudinal gap will be larger; if blacks are more punitive in counties with relatively high rates of crime, the race-based attitudinal gap may be relatively unchanged.

Within races, it is possible that crime rates will have a differential impact on men and women. Given that high rates of fear of victimization among women are cited as a potential explanation for gender differences in support for punitiveness (Cochran and Sanders 2009), it is

[2] Arrest rates for murder and rape are also included in supplemental analyses. The former is important, as past research has found homicide rates to be positively associated with support for the death penalty at the metropolitan level (Baumer, Messner, and Rosenfeld 2003; Stack 2004), and since the dependent variable that relates to the death penalty focuses on whether this should be a punishment specifically for this type of crime. Finally, rape arrest rates are included, given that women can be particularly fearful of sexual assault (Day 1999). Since only assaults of women were included in F.B.I. rape arrest rates prior to 2013, including this variable could highlight female fear especially well.

possible that fear will matter more for women. Black men, who are most likely to be incarcerated (Blumstein 2001), may—in areas with relatively high crime rates—be especially likely to become disillusioned with an unjust criminal system and may therefore be less punitive. White men, on the other hand, may become more punitive in high crime areas in response to a threat to their social status. As criminal activity subverts social norms, the social structure itself—and white men's position at the top of it—may be threatened, thus making them more likely to employ masculine gender expressions (Willer et al. 2013). These may include a heightened tendency toward punitiveness, relative to their counterparts in low-crime areas. Though the mechanisms through which context influences race and gender gaps are not observable for this study, it is important to note that differences in the county crime rates may produce variability in the gender gap in punitiveness.

Hypothesis II: Variation in county crime rates will impact punitiveness, potentially differently for blacks and whites, men and women, thus influencing the group-based attitudinal gaps in support for harsh punishments.

> ***Part A1:*** In counties with relatively high crime rates, both whites and blacks will become more punitive, thus leaving the punitiveness race gap relatively unchanged.
>
> ***Part A2:*** In counties with more crime, whites will be more supportive of punitiveness, and blacks will be less punitive than in low-crime counties. This implies that the race gap in punitiveness would be wider in counties with relatively high crime rates.
>
> ***Part B:*** In counties with varying crime rates, there may be differences in the gender punitiveness gap. The precise nature of this variation is not hypothesized.

Race- and gender-based income equality

Variation in race- and gender-based income equality may influence group-based gaps in support for punitiveness. It is expected to do so primarily through the responses of white men; it is not expected that other groups will be influenced by this contextual characteristic. This contention is based on the idea that punitiveness might be influenced by the extent to which individuals identify with those who make contact with the criminal justice system. Relative to white men, blacks and white women may generally be less punitive because they identify with those who make contact with the criminal justice system. Women, by virtue of their socio-economically subordinate position to men, are more exposed and accustomed to injustice and therefore more likely to identify with others and to have more caring, less retributive responses to those who violate societal norms (Cochran and Sanders 2009). A similar possibility is implied for blacks, as literature theorizes that the relatively high salience for this group of racial injustice in the criminal system may drive lower rates of support for punitiveness than are found among whites (c.f., Bobo and Thompson 2006). With this in mind, it is expected that white women and blacks will identify with the disadvantaged regardless of the levels of income equality in an area, and thus will not be influenced by variation in this county characteristic.

The literature suggests two possible outcomes for the punitiveness of white men in the face of varied rates of local income equality. First, white men may be more punitive in counties with more income equality. Such a response could be the result of a heightened sense of social threat as blacks and/or women are encroaching on their elevated social status. As punishment has been theorized as a form of maintaining class hierarchies (Rusche and Kirchheimer 1968; Wacquant 2009), it would follow that in areas in which white men feel less economically superior to subordinate groups, they may be more likely to feel threatened and therefore support

measures that can help them maintain their status. One such measure could be the removal of lower-status others from the general population through incarceration or the application of the death penalty. In this case, white men would be at odds with—rather than identify with—incarcerated individuals.

Another possible outcome in counties with high rates of race- and gender-based income equality is that white men may be less punitive. This could be a function of the higher levels of social cohesion that have been observed in societies with more income equality (c.f., Coburn 2000). In this case, white men are socialized to feel more social cohesion in counties with higher rates of income equality. In turn, they might be more likely to identify with those who make contact with the criminal justice system and less likely to support punitiveness.

Hypothesis III: In counties with relatively high rates of income equality, there will be variation in the race and gender gaps in support for punitiveness.

> ***Part A:*** Black men, black women, and white women will be unaffected by variation in county-level rates of gender- and race-based income equality.
>
> ***Part B1:*** There will be a positive association between rates of income equality and punitiveness among white men. This will lead to larger attitudinal differences between white men, on the one side, and white women[3] and blacks, on the other.
>
> ***Part B2:*** There will be a negative association between rates of race- and gender-based income equality and punitiveness among white men. Thus, the black-white gap in support for punitiveness will be smaller for white men and the gender-gap for whites will also be narrower in counties with lower rates of income equality.

DATA

[3] For simplicity, here it is assumed that the baseline punitiveness gender hierarchy positions men as more punitive than women and whites as more punitive than blacks (from most to least punitive are white men, white women, black men, black women).

This project draws on individual-level survey data from the General Social Survey (G.S.S.); geocoded G.S.S. data has been linked with contextual data from de-identified, publicly available sources: the U.S. Census Bureau, the Federal Bureau of Investigation's Uniform Crime Reporting Statistics, the Death Penalty Information Center, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (C.D.C.), and David Leip's Atlas of U.S. Presidential Elections (Election Atlas).

The G.S.S. provides this project's main source of data, which are cross-sectional and pooled for the biennia from 2000 to 2010. Using this survey for the present analysis is advantageous for a number of reasons. First, it is possible to explore how race, gender, and county context interact to influence two forms of punitiveness. Second, the G.S.S. provides a rich set of personal characteristics that can be used as covariates to better isolate the focal variables in this study. Third, restricted-access geocoding allows us to test how punitive attitudes differ across counties within the U.S.

As the above discussion highlights, the definition of "punitiveness" can take many forms, and this can impact the attitudinal variation along race and gender lines. In order to conduct a more nuanced analysis, this study examines two measures of punitiveness: support for the death penalty and support for harsh punishments more generally. Opinions about capital punishment will be evaluated through responses to the question, "Do you favor or oppose the death penalty for persons convicted of murder?", which is a binary variable that is coded as 1=favors the death penalty. Attitudes about severe responses to crime are assessed using the survey question, "In general, do you think the courts in this area deal too harshly or not harshly enough with criminals?" This variable has three possible responses, which are ordered from 1 to 3, with 1 being lenient, 2 indicating neutral attitudes, and 3 suggesting punitive attitudes: 1=courts are "too harsh," 2=courts are "about right" in terms of harshness, and 3=courts are "not harsh enough." In

order to highlight the potentially different outcomes for these two forms of "punitiveness," separate analyses will be run for the two dependent variables.

Race and gender are included in the study by constructing an index of dummy variables for black women, black men, white women, and white men. In addition to these key independent variables, several control variables from the G.S.S. are included to better isolate the race and gender gaps in attitudes about punishment. First, the year of the survey, which is included as an index variable for each biennium from 2000 to 2010, is included to control for potential period effects. Individual-level controls include the following indicators: marital status, for which married respondents are coded 1; parental status, for which a code of 1 indicates that a respondent has at least one child; educational attainment, which is a binary variable designating whether respondents have at least a bachelor's degree (1=has a BA or higher); a categorical variable for total annual family income (less than $25k, $25-40k, $40-75k, greater than $75k), which was specified in 2000 constant dollars; age in years; whether the respondent is politically conservative (1=at least moderately conservative; 0=moderate or liberal); and religious affiliation, using the categories outlined by Steensland et al. (2000), who formulate an index of religious preference that takes into account religious conservatism (Catholic, Jewish, Black Protestant, Mainline Protestant, Evangelical Protestant, Other, and No Religion). Finally, while most contextual variables are attached from data sources outside of the G.S.S., one contextual control that is included from the G.S.S. is the U.S. region of the county (Northeast, Midwest, South, West).

In order to test the relationship between support for punitiveness and contextual forces, G.S.S. data that is geocoded to the county level has been linked with contextual data that measures racial composition, crime rates, and gender and racial income equality in the counties

in which the respondents lived at the time of the interview. The county level of aggregation was selected for practical and theoretical reasons. As Branton and Jones (2005) point out, counties are large enough to capture people's everyday lives—which likely extend beyond neighborhoods and blocks—without losing the refinement that can happen with analyzing larger areas. Metropolitan areas, for example, can include multiple counties or even cross borders into different state governments, which can imply important contextual changes. Theoretically speaking, counties are an appropriate geographic level of aggregation, in part because of the important role county governments play in the provision of a variety of public services like welfare, which might themselves influence attitudes (c.f., Branton and Jones 2005). Data for racial composition and income inequality has been compiled from the U.S. Census Bureau; crime rates were taken from the F.B.I.'s Uniform Crime Reporting statistics.

Since 1902, the U.S. Census Bureau has provided a rich set of de-identified, publicly available information on American society. This resource is being used in this study to access county-level data on the racial composition of the population, gender- and race-based income equality, and several control variables discussed below. The percentage of the county population that is black is calculated using the U.S. Census' Intercensal Population Estimates, while the 2000 Summary File 3 and 2008-2012 American Community Survey's (A.C.S.) 5-year estimate files provide aggregate income data. Variables for race- and gender-based income inequality are measured as ratios of median incomes (median annual female income to the median annual male income, and median black annual income to the median white annual income, both by county), with the idea that a ratio of 1 indicates absolute parity in the income across groups, 0 means absolute inequality with males or whites, respectively, taking in all of the income, and anything above 1 denotes that females or blacks generally make more than men or whites. Data for the

county-level ratio of the median female income to the median male income are provided on an individual basis, while data for the ratio of the county median income for blacks to the county median income for whites are published at the household level. Interpolation, which is the process of estimating missing information based on existing data, was necessary to estimate county-level income ratios for the biennia between the 2000 and 2010 censuses, given that these data are not consistently available for these years. Though 2000 and 2010 income data differ in whether they ask about income for the last calendar year or the previous twelve months, research conducted by the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development shows "no significant differences" in the responses to these two questions (Citro and Kalton 2007).

Crime rates are measured in terms of arrests and have been drawn from de-identified, publicly available Uniform Crime Reporting statistics, which the F.B.I. has been collecting since 1930. A variety of crime types are examined. First, the numbers of total violent crime arrests (murder, forcible rape, robbery, and aggravated assault), as well as total drug arrests (sales and possession) are included.[4] Currently, data are collected from more than 18,000 law enforcement agencies around the U.S., which submit statistics voluntarily. For those areas in which reporting did not reach 100% of qualifying institutions, the National Archive of Criminal Justice Data of the University of Michigan's Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research calculated projected figures to estimate what the crime rate would be given a 100% response rate. Data by county are available for all years included in the data set. All crime statistics are measured in arrests per 100,000 county residents.

Finally, several county-level controls are attached to the analytical data in order to account for potential spuriousness in the expected influence of key county characteristics on

[4] Additional analyses focus on how rape and murder rates might influence attitudes about punishment differently across groups.

race/gender gaps in punitive attitudes. These controls include whether the death penalty is legal (as measured by state law), the urban-rural status of the county (large central metropolitan area, large fringe metropolitan area, medium metropolitan area, small metropolitan area, micropolitan area, noncore area), and the percent of the county that is conservative. The legality of capital punishment in a county is held constant using data from the Death Penalty Information Center (DPIC), an American organization founded in 1990 and based in Washington, D.C. that reports data related to capital punishment. This is expected to be an important control variable, because it is expected that attitudes about the death penalty may be associated with whether or not the punishment is legal in a given county, as it has been suggested is the case at the national level (Lambert et al. 2014). While the U.S. region of the county is taken from the G.S.S., the urban-rural indicator has been downloaded from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (C.D.C.), a U.S. government agency established in 1946. One of the C.D.C.'s activities is collecting data, primarily on health-related issues, and releasing it for public consumption. Lastly, the percentage of the county that is conservative is measured as the average percent that voted for the Republican presidential candidate in the elections from 2000 to 2012. Data for the 2000, 2004, and 2008 elections are taken from U.S. Census Bureau's U.S.A. Counties database; since the maintenance of this resource was terminated before collecting 2012 election data, data for this last election are taken from David Leip's Atlas of U.S. Presidential Elections (Election Atlas). Election Atlas is a website that compiles detailed information about presidential elections; primary sources, like those taken from State Board of Elections offices, are used whenever possible.

METHODS

I employ a multilevel binary logistic regression modeling strategy, with nested model specifications and varying y-intercepts for each county, to determine race and gender differences in support for the death penalty and to assess whether and how these gaps are moderated by county context. Logistic regression is an appropriate model for this analysis, given the binary form of the dependent variable. I use a similar approach to examine the relationship between attitudes about the harshness of courts and race, gender, and context, but rely on a series of multilevel ordered logit models to account for the tertiary and ordered structure of the dependent variable. In both cases, I incorporate multilevel modeling with random county-level effects to account for the theoretical centrality of punitiveness varying by county.

The first of four models considers how support for the death penalty varies for four groups: black women, black men, white women, and white men. In the second model, I then introduce a series of individual controls while I add county-level variables in the third model. Finally, Model 4 presents interactions between the independent variables of interest— county percent black, county violent arrests per 100,000 people, county drug arrests per 100,000 people, county-level female-to-male ratio of median income, and county-level ratio of black-to-white median income—with the four race and gender categories. Analyses include separate models for each interaction (with the remaining key contextual variables included as controls), and in a single model with all interaction terms combined.[5]

RESULTS

[5] In order to consider the influence of specific violent crimes on attitudinal gaps, supplemental analyses replicate the four models outlined above, but incorporate county murder arrests per 100,000 people and county rape arrests per 100,000 people instead of the aggregate violent crime arrest rate.

Table 1 presents the descriptive statistics for all variables used in the analysis for both dependent variables. Information is provided separately for the 686 black women, 406 black men, 2,427 white women, and 2,181 white men included in the total valid sample of 5,700 individuals.[6] The statistics presented demonstrate considerable racial differences and less pronounced—though still noteworthy—gender-based gaps in respondents' individual- and county-level characteristics.

With respect to individual-level racial differences, Table 1 shows that smaller proportions of blacks than whites support the death penalty, think the courts are adequately harsh, are politically conservative, have graduated from college, are married, and have a high family income. Larger percentages of blacks than whites think the courts are "too harsh" while a smaller proportions of blacks than their white counterparts of the same gender think the courts are "not harsh enough." Blacks are also younger, on average, by about five to six years. With respect to religious preferences, there are several racial differences. First, at least half of the blacks in the sample identify with Black Protestantism. On the other hand, a negligible proportion of whites prefer Black Protestantism. Whites disproportionately identify with Mainline Protestantism, Evangelical Protestantism, and Catholicism, with more than 70% of the whites in the sample identifying with these religions; in contrast roughly one-quarter of the blacks in the sample selected these preferences. Finally, the black-white differences in terms of affiliation with Judaism, another religion, or no religion are slight, though there are slightly larger proportions of whites than blacks that selected each of these options.

-- Insert Table 1 about here --

[6] Additional analyses are conducted to examine whether the moderating influence of crime rates on gendered and racialized attitudes about punishment are different when we consider multiple types of violent crime. For these analyses, murder and rape rates are used instead of violent crime arrest rates. Due to differences in missing data, the valid sample for these analyses is slightly smaller (n=5,677, which comprises 678 black women, 399 black men, 2,422 white women, and 2,178 white men). There are no major differences in the descriptive statistics for this alternative sample as compared to the primary sample discussed in the text.

With respect to county characteristics, Table 1 demonstrates that blacks in the sample live in areas that, on average, have larger shares of blacks, higher crime rates, slightly higher female-to-male income ratios but lower black-to-white income ratios, smaller shares of conservative voters, and marginally higher levels of income inequality than their white counterparts. Larger proportions of blacks than whites live in counties where the death penalty is legal and which have slightly larger populations. More than half of the blacks in the sample reside in the U.S. South, while less than 10% live in the West and the remaining subjects are fairly evenly spread across the Northeast and Midwest. While a plurality of whites also lives in the South (roughly one-third), this group is more evenly distributed throughout the U.S., with roughly one-fifth to one-quarter in the remaining regions. Regarding the urban-rural status of the counties in which subjects live, roughly equal numbers of blacks and whites live in small metropolitan areas, while greater shares of blacks than whites lives in large central metropolitan ("inner cities") and rural areas, and larger proportions of whites than blacks live in large fringe metropolitan areas ("suburbs"), medium metropolitan areas, and micropolitan areas (Centers for Disease Control 2014).

The gender differences reflected in Table 1 are generally less extreme than the corresponding racial gaps. Smaller shares of women than their within-race male counterparts support the death penalty, but they are also, on average, more punitive with respect to their attitudes about the courts. This suggests that there are indeed different gender punitiveness gaps based on the form of punitiveness being analyzed. Larger proportions of men than women of the same race think the courts are either too harsh or adequately harsh, while larger shares of women than men of the same race think the courts should be harsher. The gender gaps are considerably more pronounced for blacks than whites. For whites, 2% more men than women think the courts

are too harsh while 6% more women than men think the courts are not harsh enough. For blacks, the respective attitudinal gender gaps are 12% and 16%. It may be the case that black men are considerably less likely than other groups to have punitive attitudes about the courts, because they are more likely than any other group in the analysis to be personally influenced by punitive criminal sentencing (The Sentencing Project 2013). This suggests that they might thus have the most direct knowledge of just how harsh the courts are, and that the salience of unjust criminal sentencing practices would be especially high for them. When compared to men of the same race, larger shares of women are poor (this is especially so for black women, with nearly three-fifths of black women in the sample claiming a family income of less than $25,000 per year), have children, are unmarried, and are less well educated. That relatively large percentages of women in the sample are poor and unmarried likely reflects the fact that the G.S.S. primarily interviews heads-of-household. Since female-headed households tend to signal the lack of a male adult in the household, they tend to be poorer than male-headed households. For whites, women are an average of 1.5 years older than their male counterparts, while the black men and women in the sample are, on average, within two months of each other. Within race groups, more women than men are religious: the same or higher proportions of women than men are represented for each religion—with the exception of slightly higher shares of black men preferring Mainline Protestantism and Catholicism than their female counterparts—and larger shares of men prefer no religion. Gender differences in political conservatism depend on race: while a larger proportion of black women than black men is conservative, a larger share of white men than white women is conservative.

There are several differences in the county profiles of men and women in the sample, the direction of some of which depend on race. While white women live in counties with crime

arrest rates that are, on average, slightly lower than the counties of their male counterparts, the opposite is true for blacks. These numbers perhaps reflect the disproportionate representation of black men in carceral institutions (Gottschalk 2006). That is, black men in high crime counties are less likely to be included in the sample because they are more likely to be incarcerated in these areas and are therefore not represented among the non-institutionalized populations in these counties. Within race, women live in counties with slightly higher proportions of blacks and lower proportions of conservative voters. With respect to whether the death penalty is legal, there is very little difference for the men and women of the same race in the sample. For whites, the average county population is higher for women than men; for blacks, there is virtually no gender difference in the typical county size. Gender differences in terms of the U.S. region in which counties lie and the urban-rural status of those counties sometimes depend on race. For example, a smaller proportion of black women than black men lives in the Northeast U.S., but the opposite gender dynamic is observed among whites. Among blacks, a larger proportion of women than men lives in the Midwest and South, while a relatively high percentage of men lives in the West. This is not the case for whites: a slightly greater share of men than women lives in the Midwest and South while there is no gender difference in the percentages of the sample living in the West. Finally, there are a limited number of gender-based differences in the urban-rural status of counties for blacks, while there are only negligible differences for whites. A larger proportion of black men than black women lives in inner cities and rural areas, while more black women live in suburbs and medium metropolitan areas.

Several black-white differences in county characteristics seem to reinforce ideas presented in the theoretical discussion above. First, that blacks are more likely than whites to live among higher concentrations of blacks makes sense, given the well-established phenomenon of

racial residential segregation in the U.S. This perhaps represents the relatively large social distance between minority blacks and majority whites, the latter of which may be especially sensitive to relatively large populations of the former according to the theory of racial threat. Similarly, the relatively low county crime arrest rates for whites in the sample illustrate that this group is likely less exposed to crime than are blacks in the sample; whites and blacks might thus react differently to a high incidence of crime.

Next, the lower rates of gender income equality in the counties in which whites live may be a function of the high wages of white men relative to women and people of color. This perhaps supports the idea that white men might be uniquely impacted by variation in this county characteristic. On the other hand, the higher rates of racial income equality in the counties in which white respondents reside, compared to counties of blacks, could reflect the relative affluence of blacks living in the same areas as whites. Research has shown that blacks live in poorer areas than whites of equal income (Massey and Denton 1993; Pattillo 2013). Assuming there is some integration of blacks and whites in areas of relatively stable affluence, this might account for this statistic. Further, this could provide support for the contention that, insofar as white men would feel threatened by the presence of black men, this threat might be partially economic in nature (given that these black men might be doing relatively well economically).

Overall, the descriptive statistics in Table 1 provide useful information about the group differences in the research sample and about how county context may influence race- and gender-based gaps in attitudes about punishment, the current research project cannot directly address the mechanisms they imply—to do so, we would need to know the *reasons* behind respondents' support for punitiveness. Further, these insights do not answer the main question with which this research is concerned: How might these groups be *differentially* impacted by

county context? For this, a more thorough examination of the data is needed; this is outlined below.

Death Penalty Support

Table 2 provides results from Models 1-3 for the multilevel binary logistic regressions predicting support for the death penalty, accounting for the variables presented in Table 1. These models are intended to shine light on black-white and male-female gaps in support for punitiveness and how these attitudinal differences vary by key county characteristics. All models allow the y-intercepts for these geographic units to vary, in order to account for the theoretical importance of how race- and gender-based differences differ by county.

-- Insert Table 2 about here --

In order to establish the raw influence of race and gender on the likelihood of supporting the death penalty, Model 1 in Table 2 predicts support for the death penalty according to identification with each race and gender group. Here, we see that the log odds of supporting the death penalty are 0.299 lower for black women than black men, and 0.765 and 1.268 higher for white women and white men, respectively, than black men. Figure 1 provides a graphical representation of the predicted probability of supporting the death penalty for each group and each model. In the first plot of Figure 1, we see that the probability of supporting the death penalty is roughly 0.42 for black women, 0.50 for black men, 0.68 for white women, and 0.77 for white men. This translates to somewhat considerable race and gender gaps. Within each race, the probability that men will support the death penalty is just under 0.1 higher than it is for women; the within-gender race gaps are starker: the probability of supporting the death penalty is over 0.25 higher for whites than for blacks of the same gender.

-- Insert Figure 1 about here --

Model 2 in Table 2 adds controls that account for within-group attitudinal differences accounting for the survey year, and the respondents' income, education, political and religious affiliations, parental status, and age. By adding these covariates, we can better isolate group differences in support for the death penalty. Several of the covariates themselves have statistically significant relationships with punitiveness. There is a positive relationship between annual family income and support for the death penalty, with the log odds of supporting the death penalty increasing for each income category. There is also a positive and statistically significant association between death penalty support and political conservatism, and death penalty support and preferring any form of Protestantism. On the other hand, having earned a college degree has a negative impact on support for the death penalty. There is little variation in terms of attitudes according to the year of the survey, as compared to the reference year of 2000, though the log odds of supporting the death penalty is statistically significantly lower in 2004 and 2008.

Despite many of the individual-level characteristics from Model 2 having significant relationships with death penalty support, they do little to explain the group differences in attitudes, which are apparent in Model 1. Table 2 indicates that, compared to black men, group differences in the log odds of supporting the death penalty are more extreme in Model 2 than in Model 1. First, the coefficient for black women goes down by 25% to -0.375, which indicates a 25% increase in the attitudinal gender gap for blacks. Second, the coefficients increased by 5% for white women (to 0.806) and 7% for white men (to 1.352). These figures correspond to increases in the attitudinal race gaps of about 11% for women and 7% for men, and a 9% increase in the gender gap for whites. Despite these noticeable changes in the group-based gaps in the log odds of supporting the death penalty, the second plot of Figure 1 illustrates that these

differences translate to very slight changes in the probability gaps across groups. This suggests that group differences in support for the death penalty cannot be attributed to income, education level, or other individual-level control variables in Model 2. If anything, adding these variables exacerbates group differences, but only very slightly.

Model 3 in Table 2 adds all county characteristics: the percentage of the population that is black, the rates of violent and drug crime arrests, the female-to-male income ratio, the black-to-white income ratio, the legality of the death penalty, the percentage of the population that is politically conservative, the region in which the county lies, and the urban-rural status of the area. This model illuminates the overall influence that these variables have on support for the death penalty, and the extent to which these relationships explain away the group-based attitudinal differences observed in Models 1 and 2.

Overall, adding county-level variables tells us little about death penalty support: not only do none of the contextual covariates have statistically significant relationships with support for this punishment, but they also do little to explain observed attitudinal race and gender gaps. As Model 3 in Table 2 indicates, the coefficients for white men and women—as compared to black men—are lower than in either Model 1 or Model 2. The coefficient for black women (-0.373) is nearly unchanged from Model 2, thus the gender gap for blacks remains the same as in Model 2 and it is roughly 25% larger than in Model 1. From Model 1 to Model 3, the log odds of supporting the death penalty decrease by about 6% for white women (to 0.722) and by less than 1% for white men (to 1.257). These numbers translate to an attitudinal gender gap for whites that is 6% larger in Model 3 than Model 1 and a race gap for men that is less than l% smaller in Model 3. Comparing the third plot of Figure 1 to plots 1 and 2 demonstrates that the changes in

the predicted probability of groups supporting the death penalty are very slight. Accordingly, the group-based attitudinal gaps also look virtually unchanged across models.

While the predictions for each group's probability of supporting the death penalty change vary slightly across Models 1 through 3, whether or not covariates explain race- and gender-based gaps in punitiveness is not central to this research. It is variation in these group-based differences according to county context that is of key importance, and there is some evidence for this in the results of Model 4, which are included in Table 3. Multiple versions of Model 4 comprise six columns of coefficients in this table. Each of the first five columns includes a model with only one of the five key county characteristics interacted with the race/gender variable, while the sixth column provides the output for the model when all five interactions are included. In the first column, the influence of racial and gender identity on support for the death penalty is interacted with the racial composition of the county (% black), allowing us to test Hypothesis I. In the second and third columns, race and gender are interacted with the county violent crime and drug arrest rate, respectively, in order to test Hypothesis II. In the fourth and fifth columns, the influence of income inequality on race/gender attitudinal differences are explored by interacting group identity with the female-to-male median county income ratio and the black-to-white median county income ratio, respectively. Adding these last two interactions allow us to test Hypothesis III. Overall, including these interactions provides a window into assessing whether these variables influence support for capital punishment differently for the four groups of interest and whether this translates to differences in attitudinal race and gender gaps. This model was analyzed with each race/gender group as the reference category, and is presented in Table 3 with black men as the reference category.

-- Insert Table 3 about here --

The key finding presented in Model 4 of Table 3, which is visually presented in Figure 2, is a negative and statistically significant interaction between the rate of violent crime arrests in a county and support for the death penalty among black men. When the interaction for the violent crime arrest rate is included, the coefficients (-0.001 and -0.002, respectively, for the model with one interaction and the fully interactive model) suggest that for black men (the reference category), support for the death penalty is lower in counties with relatively high levels of violent crime. The coefficients for the violent crime arrest rate interactions with the other race/gender groups (0.001 and 0.002, respectively, for the singly and fully interactive model) indicate that the impact of the violent crime is significantly weaker than it is for black men (-0.001+0.001=0 and -0.002+0.002=0, respectively). It should be noted that the coefficients are more extreme in the model specified with all 5 interactions (-0.002 for black men and 0.002 for all other groups) than in the model with only the violent arrest rate * race/gender interaction (-0.001 for black men and 0.001 for the other groups). Additionally, the interaction term for black women is non-significant in the model with only the violent arrest rate * race/gender interaction (p=0.09). Additional tests suggest that it is the addition of the interaction between drug arrests and race/gender, which leads the interaction term for black women to become statistically significant in the fully interactive model. Finally, running additional models with each other group as the reference category indicates that the relationship between violent crime and support for the death penalty is itself non-significant for all other groups (results not shown).

The interaction coefficients included in Model 4 reveal that counties with relatively high violent crime arrest rates are associated with an attitudinal gender gap for blacks that is smaller and perhaps of the opposite direction than in counties with low rates of violent crime. Further, the attitudinal race gap for black men as compared to whites is larger in relatively high-crime

counties. This is illustrated well in Figure 2, which graphs the probability of supporting capital punishment, according to the county violent crime arrest rate, as predicted in the specification of Model 4 that includes all 5 interaction terms. In this and all similar graphs, the shaded regions around the regression line indicate 95% confidence intervals. Each of the three graphs includes a comparison between black men and one of the other three groups. In the first plot, we see that the probability line for black men has a consistently negative slope and crosses the nearly flat line for black women at a violent crime arrest rate of about 475 per 100,000 people. In counties with higher rates of violent crime, the predicted probability of supporting the death penalty is *lower* for black men than black women; this suggests that the gender gap for blacks is drastically different in high-arrest counties than in areas with low rates of violent crime. In the second and third plots, we see that the probability line for black men is farther away from those virtually flat lines of white women and men in counties with high rates of violent crime. In other words, the attitudinal gap between whites and black men is larger in counties with higher arrests.

-- Insert Figure 2 about here --

These results provide partial support for Hypotheses II.A.2. and II.B., which respectively state that the race gap in punitiveness will be larger and the attitudinal gender gap will vary in relatively high-crime counties. They are also consistent with the idea that black men in areas with high rates of crime may have a heightened awareness of the injustice in the criminal justice system and are therefore less punitive than they might otherwise be. That this does not appear to be the case for black women, as I suggested may be the case, could be due to black men's disproportionately high likelihood of being personally impacted by violent crime. Given that black men are more likely than whites or black women to be victimized by homicide (c.f., Federal Bureau of Investigation 2013) and to be incarcerated and sentenced to death for violent

crimes (The Sentencing Project 2013), this group is particularly likely to be impacted by the violent crime rate being high. While it is anticipated that black women would be disproportionately influenced by vicarious exposure to violent crime, it is possible that first-hand experience with crime matters more here. It is also possible that some black women in high crime areas are less punitive as a result of vicarious victimization while others are more punitive because of fear of victimization, and that such different outcomes cancel each other out. This is a question for future research, as the current methodological design cannot adequately address this issue; doing this would require respondents' *reasons* for supporting or opposing the death penalty. What these findings do clearly suggest, however, is that the race- and gender-based gaps in support for punitiveness vary according to the violent crime arrest rate. Specifically, and as *is* consistent with Hypothesis II.A.2., the race gap in support for the death penalty, for black men as compared to whites, is larger in counties with higher rates of violent crime arrests. Further, the gender punitiveness gap for blacks is smaller and perhaps even has a different direction in higher-arrest counties; this is partially in line with Hypothesis II.B.

Overall, analyses examining support for the death penalty[7] reveal that attitudinal race and gender gaps are fairly stable regardless of the individual- and county-level controls that are included in the model, but they are somewhat influenced by the interactions of county context

[7] In supplemental analyses that test the influence of murder and rape arrest rates on support for the death penalty, we find that support for the death penalty is lower for both black and white men in counties with higher murder arrest rates. This is only the case in the model that only includes the murder arrest rate*race/gender interaction. While this finding relative to black men is consistent with Hypothesis II, such an outcome with respect to white men is unexpected and may reflect the high proportion of homicides that are committed by white men—the F.B.I. estimates that roughly 48% of homicides in 2013 were committed by whites and 88% were committed by men, though this figure is not disaggregated by race (Federal Bureau of Investigation 2013)—and an unanticipated heightened sense of sympathy among white men in the general population for their incarcerated counterparts. It should be noted that these findings are somewhat sensitive to the removal of those observations in counties with murder rates that are in the top 1% of this variable's distribution. When these observations are omitted from analysis, the relationship between the murder arrest rate and support for the death penalty is only observed for white men. In this case, the log odds for white men of supporting the death penalty according to the violent crime arrest rate are more extreme than when the cases in counties with extremely high murder rates are included, and the coefficients are statistically significant, regardless of the number of interaction terms included in the model. No relationship is found between the rape arrest rate and support for the death penalty.

and race/gender. Differences in one key county characteristic—the violent crime arrest rate—correspond with substantial variation in the attitudinal gaps between black men and other groups. This suggests that the influence of our identity on our support for punitiveness depends on the kind of context we live in. Given that attitudes about the death penalty represent but one aspect of punitive attitudes, it is important to consider other forms of punitiveness as well. In line with this, the discussion that follows explores how group differences in attitudes about the punitiveness of courts vary by county context.

Attitudes about the Harshness Courts

Table 4 presents results from Models 1-3 of the multilevel ordered logistic regression models that predict attitudes about the harshness of courts according to the variables presented in Table 1. These models provide insight into how punitive attitudes—as measured by support for harsh criminal sentencing—differ by group, as well as whether and how much these group differences are explained by individual- and county-level covariates. As with the analysis examining death penalty support, these models include a varying y-intercept in order to account for the expected contextual variation in attitudinal gaps. White men comprise the reference category in Table 4. I use a different reference category for Tables 4 and 5 than for Tables 2 and 3, because the key findings for this portion of the analysis tell the most powerful story with respect to white men. Using this group as the reference category allows me to better display this.

-- Insert Table 4 about here --

To get a sense of how attitudes about the harshness of courts differ by race and gender, Model 1 in Table 4 presents the group differences in the log odds of being in a more punitive category. From least to most punitive, these categories are that the courts are too harsh, about right in their level of punitiveness, and not harsh enough. Specifically, we see that white women

are the most punitive, with log odds of being in the next highest punitive category that are roughly 0.3 higher for this group than for white men. The log odds of being in the next most punitive category are 0.166 lower for black women than for white men, but this difference is not statistically significant. For blacks, there is a gender difference that is statistically significant, however (the standard error indicating statistical significance for this difference is not presented in Table 4): the log odds of being more punitive are 0.722 higher for black women than black men. That women of each race are more punitive than their within-race male counterparts is quite different from the findings for attitudes about the death penalty, and this is consistent with the idea that group-based punitive gaps differ according to the form of "punitiveness" being considered and with past research that finds women to be more supportive of harsh non-capital punishments than men (Kutateladze and Crossman 2009; Kelley and Braithwaite 1990). Black men are the least punitive, with log odds of being in the next highest punitive category that are 0.888 lower than those for white men. Figures 3-5 outline the predicted probabilities of finding the courts too harsh, about right, and not harsh enough, as predicted in Models 1-3. Lower probabilities of finding the courts too harsh correspond with more punitive attitudes, as do higher probabilities of finding the courts not harsh enough. High probabilities of finding the courts "about right" in terms of their harshness relate to somewhat neutral punitive attitudes.

As will be discussed in subsequent paragraphs, overall trends in Figures 3-5 are nearly perfectly consistent regardless of whether individual and contextual controls are included in the analysis (Models 1-3); these data visualizations demonstrate that finding the courts not harsh enough is the most popular attitudinal preference for each group. The second most popular attitudinal preference is that the courts are about right in terms of harshness. The least popular attitude is that the courts are too harsh. As is consistent with the regression coefficients provided

in Table 4, black men are by far the least punitive in terms of their attitudes about the courts. The gender gaps in each graph are substantially larger for blacks than whites; similarly, the within-gender race gap is considerably larger for men than it is for women. The differences between black women and white men, which are non-significant in Table 4, are shown to be negligible in these graphics.

-- Insert Figures 3-5 about here --

In order to determine how individual-level covariates influence attitudes about the courts and to assess whether and how much these variables explain group differences in their attitudes, Model 2 in Table 4 adds the individual-level variables and the year of survey as controls. Here, we see that several individual-level characteristics themselves have a statistically significant influence on attitudes about the harshness of courts. Annual family incomes between $25,000 and $75,000 (as compared to incomes below $25,000), political conservatism, and being married are all positively associated with more punitive attitudes about courts, while having a college degree and being affiliated with an "other" or no religion have a negative relationship with punitive attitudes. Additionally, attitudes about the harshness of courts are less punitive for each biennium, starting in 2004, than they are in 2000. This suggests a general reduction in this form of punitiveness over time.

Despite several individual-level covariates having statistically significant relationships with attitudes about the courts, including these variables does little to explain group differences in these attitudes. This is first demonstrated in Model 2 of Table 4, in which the log odds for being in the next highest punitiveness category, for each group as compared to white men, are only slightly different than in Model 1: for black men, the coefficient (-0.903) is roughly 2% more extreme than in Model 1, while the coefficient for white women (0.285) is 3% less extreme

than in Model 1. The coefficient for black women (-0.195) represents the biggest change, with a 17% increase in size relative to the coefficient in Model 1; however, this coefficient is non-significant across these models. Comparing the first and second plots for Figures 3-5 demonstrate that the changes in these coefficients translate to negligible changes in the predicted probability of holding a particular attitude about the courts. Accordingly, the middle plots (Model 2) for Figures 3-5 present no obvious changes in the race and gender gaps in attitudes about the courts compared to the first plots (Model 1).

Model 3 in Table 4 adds county-level characteristics. This tells us whether any of these variables influence attitudes about the courts and further isolates the relationship between race and gender and attitudes about the harshness of courts. In this model, we see that—as with support for the death penalty—none of the contextual variables themselves have a statistically significant influence on punitive attitudes. Further, including these variables explains little of the attitudinal differences based on race and gender. The coefficients for each group are again only slightly different than they are in Models 1 and 2. For black men, the log odds of being in the next highest punitive category (0.911 lower than white men) are roughly 3% lower than in Model 1 and less than 1% lower than in Model 2. For white women, the log odds (0.289 higher than for white men) are about 2% lower than in Model 1 and about 1% higher than in Model 2. The coefficient for black women (-0.196) is virtually unchanged from Model 2, and is again non-significant. Comparing the plots with all of the controls to the first and second plots in Figures 3-5 provides a visual representation that these very slight changes in coefficients across models translate to negligible differences in the probability of holding a particular attitude and thus produce no noticeable gender or race gaps in attitudes about the courts.

Finally, Tables 5 and 6 present Model 4, which incorporates how attitudes about the courts are influenced by the interaction of race and gender with the key county-level variables: racial composition (% black), the violent crime arrest rate, the drug crime arrest rate, the female-to-male income ratio, and the black-to-white income ratio. Adding these interaction terms tests Hypotheses I-III, and provides an assessment of how contextual variables may moderate attitudes about the courts for different groups. Including two tables allows me to present key findings with both white men (Table 5) and black women (Table 6) as the reference categories. Overall, Model 4 provides support for the general expectation that county context influences attitudes differently for different groups, and does so through three key findings: for white men, attitudes about the courts are 1) more punitive in counties with higher violent crime arrest rates and 2) less punitive in counties with higher levels of gender income equality; 3) for black women, attitudes about the courts are harsher in counties with higher levels of black-white gender equality. The first two of these findings are presented in Table 5, in which Model 4 is presented in six columns: one for each model specification in which one of the five interaction terms is included by itself and a sixth column for a specification with all interactions included.

--Insert Table 5 about here--

The first important finding in Model 4 of Table 5 is that there is a positive and statistically significant interaction between the violent crime arrest rate and punitive attitudes about the courts for white men. As the coefficient for the number of violent arrests per 100,000 people in the model with all interactions demonstrate (b=0.001), attitudes about the courts are harsher in counties with high violent arrest rates; the coefficient in the model with only the violent arrests*race/gender is of equal magnitude but is borderline non-significant (p=0.065); it becomes significant when the drug arrests interaction is added to the model. This suggests that

this interaction is overall significant for white men, but that it is being suppressed by the exclusion of the drug arrests interaction in the model with only one interaction. As the interaction terms and corresponding standard errors for black women, black men, and white women in these model specifications suggest—along with the model specifications for each other race/gender group as the reference category (presented for black women in Table 6; not presented for black men or white women)—the influence of violent crime on attitudes about the courts is only significant for white men. These results translate to differences in attitudes for white men based on the violent crime rate, but do not support the idea that attitudinal race and gender *gaps* are influenced by this variable. Figures 6-7 demonstrate that the probability of finding the courts too harsh or about the right level of harshness are lower for white men in counties with high rates of violent crime. Figure 8 shows that white men are more likely to find the courts not harsh enough if they live in high-crime counties. However, we do not see drastic differences between the outcomes for white men and other groups. In Figures 6 and 7, we see that the negative slope for white men is slight enough that the slopes for black and white women, both of which are close to zero and intersect with the slopes for white men, are not radically different. Further, similar slopes are observed for white and black men. The slope for white men in Figure 8 is steeper than in Figures 6 and 7, though for the other groups we see patterns that are similar in Figures 6 and 7: the slopes for black and white women are fairly flat and intersect with those of white men, the slope for black men is fairly similar relative to that of white men, and only a slight narrowing of the race-gap in punitive attitudes is observed in counties with the highest violent arrest rates. Overall, the racial difference in punitive attitudes is consistent for black and white men, there is a slight but statistically insignificant widening of the gap in punitive attitudes between black

women and white men in counties with higher violent arrest rates, and the punitiveness gap for whites converges but, again, only the slope for white men is significant.

-- Insert Figures 6-8 about here --

A second noteworthy finding in Model 4 in Table 5 is that county-level gender income equality is negatively related to punitive attitudes for white men, providing partial support for Hypothesis III.B.2. The coefficients for the female-to-male income ratio in the models for which this variable is interacted with race/gender (the fourth and sixth columns of Table 5) suggest that attitudes about the harshness of courts are lower for white men (the reference category) in counties with high rates of gender income equality. As the statistically significant interaction terms black women*female-to-male income ratio suggest, this effect is substantially different for black women than it is for white men (-2.240+3.745=1.505 and -2.309+3.301=0.992 for the models with just one interaction and all interactions specified, respectively). Given that the interaction terms are non-significant for black men and white women, we cannot say that the outcome observed for white men is statistically significantly different for these groups. Further, as the coefficients for the female-to-male income ratio are non-significant in additional analyses that include groups other than white men as the reference category (presented for black women in Table 6; not presented for other groups), this suggests that there is no evidence to support an interaction-effect for gender income equality and race/gender on attitudes about the courts, for any group other than white men.

The influence of gender income equality on attitudes about the harshness of courts is visually illustrated in Figures 9-11, in which we observe variation in the attitudinal gap between white men and black women, but which does not allow us to conclude that similar changes exist for the attitudinal race gap for men and the gender gap for whites. The slopes in these graphs for

white women and black men are similar to those of white men (though the attitudinal gender gap for whites is slightly, but non-significantly larger in counties with more equality), which are positive for Figures 9 and 10 and negative in Figure 11. With respect to black women, Figures 9-11 indicate that the slopes for black women and white men go in opposite directions and cross at a female-to-male income ratio of about 0.7, indicating that the attitudinal gap for these groups is narrower in counties toward the middle of the range for the female-to-male income—with black women less punitive than white men in more unequal counties—and that the gap is wider, in the opposite directions, in counties with very low and very high rates of equality. This perhaps helps explain the non-significant difference between white men and black women in attitudes about the courts, as observed in Table 4. Given that the distribution of female-to-male income ratios clusters around the point on the corresponding x-axes where the lines for white men and black women cross (not presented in table or graph form), it makes sense that this would translate to observing no overall difference between these groups. Again, that the attitudes about the harshness of courts are less punitive for white men in areas with more gender equality provides support for Hypothesis III.B.2. and contributes to the overall contention that county context moderates the influence of race and gender on punitive attitudes.

-- Insert Figures 9-11 about here --

Finally, Table 6 presents findings for Model 4 with black women as the reference category. The reference group is changed for this table, in order to visually highlight interaction effects specific to black women. In the model with just the black-to-white income ratio interacted with race and gender, the statistically significant coefficient for this variable suggests that the log odds of having harsh attitudes about the courts are higher for black women (the reference category) in areas in which blacks and whites have relatively high income equality. This

coefficient is borderline non-significant (p=0.064) in the model with all interactions included; it becomes non-significant with the addition of the interaction term for the female-to-male income ratio. Here, it is possible that the inclusion of the interaction term for this second form of income equality obscures a real influence of the black-to-white income ratio for black women. As the non-significant interaction terms for groups other than black women suggest, we cannot say that the impact of racial income equality is any different for black women than other groups. We therefore detect no variation in the gender and race punitiveness gaps based on differences in local levels of racial income equality. Further, as the coefficients for the black-to-white income ratio are non-significant in additional analyses that include groups other than black women as the reference category (presented for white men in Table 5; not presented for other groups), there is no evidence to support an interaction-effect for racial income equality and race/gender on attitudes about the courts, for any group other than black women.

--Insert Table 6 about here--

Figures 12-14 provide a graphical representation of the influence of the black-to-white ratio on punitiveness. The probability of holding a particular attitude about the courts is assessed for each group, as compared to black women. In Figures 11-12, which correspond to the likelihood of thinking the courts are too harsh or adequately harsh, respectively, the slopes for black women are negative, while they are positive in Figure 13. Across the three graphs we see similar patterns emerging for each group as compared to black women. For black men, we see roughly parallel lines in all three graphs; this makes sense, given that we have no evidence that the lines for black women and black men are different. Though such evidence is similarly lacking for white women and men, the graphs suggest that, at high rates of racial income equality, the regression lines for white women and black women narrow and converge, while

those for white men and black women narrow and cross. Despite the suggestion that these gaps narrow (and perhaps change direction for white men and black women), we cannot conclude that this is the case, since we do not have sufficient statistical evidence to assert that the interaction effect of the black-to-white income ratio on attitudes about the courts is different for any group as compared to black women.

--Insert Figures 12-14 about here--

That black women are more punitive in areas with relatively high levels of racial income equality is at odds with Hypothesis 3.A., which suggests that this will not be the case. It may the case, however, that counties with high rates of racial income equality also have relatively high overall median incomes, and that the black women in these counties are relatively affluent. This could mean that black women in such counties have greater social distance from those who are most likely to make contact with the criminal justice system and that they might thus be more punitive than they would be in counties with lower rates of racial income equality. Further analyses would be needed to determine whether the evidence supports this (i.e., whether black women in counties with high rates of racial income equality have relatively high incomes).

Overall, the analyses of attitudes about the courts[8] provide further support for the idea that county context can moderate the influence of race and gender on punitive attitudes. While no

[8] In supplemental analyses that test the influence of murder and rape arrest rates on attitudes about the harshness of courts, no relationship is found between the murder or rape arrest rates and punitive attitudes. These findings are somewhat sensitive to the removal of observations in counties with murder rates that are in the top 1% of this variable's distribution. When these observations are omitted from analysis, a statistically significant positive relationship between the murder arrest rate and punitive attitudes emerges for black men. Formerly insignificant interaction coefficients for black men quadruple from 0.018 to 0.073. This suggests further analysis is necessary to better assess how murder rates influence punitive attitudes among black men. Regardless of whether the top 1% of murder rates are included in the analysis, the outcomes related to the female-to-male income ratio are consistent with those found in the models with the violent crime rate: for white men, there is a negative relationship between support for harsh courts and the rate of gender income equality. The interaction coefficient for black women suggests that the influence of gender income equality found for white men is not the same for black women. It should be noted that the interaction coefficient is not statistically significant for black women in the model specified with all six key county variables interacted with race/gender; this coefficient does not become non-significant with the introduction of a single additional interaction term, but rather when multiple other interactions are included.

individual- or county-level covariates do much to explain race and gender differences in attitudes, we see that several county-level variables matter when they are interacted with certain race and gender groups. These findings, along with the findings from analyses about death penalty support, suggest that the contextual variables that matter, and the race/gender groups for which these variables are important, differ based on the dependent variable being used in the analysis. This makes sense given that race and gender gaps in punitive attitudes are generally different for these two measures of punitiveness. That context is observed to matter in both cases supports the idea that it can matter for punitiveness overall; that it does so differently across dependent variables emphasizes the need to express care when operationalizing "punitiveness."

DISCUSSION

Conclusions

This research uses data from the General Social Survey, the F.B.I. Uniform Crime Reporting Statistics, the U.S. Census Bureau and other sources to examine the relationship between county characteristics and race- and gender-based gaps in support for harsh punishments. The overall findings are presented in Table 7. These provide some limited support for the claim that the social categories of race and gender are influenced by context and thus that race- and gender-based punitiveness gaps will vary according to county context. Support for capital punishment and attitudes about the harshness of courts are employed to examine support for punitiveness from multiple angles. With respect to support for the death penalty, counties with high rates of violent crime arrests are associated with wider race-based attitudinal gaps for black men and narrower gender gaps for blacks, partially supporting Hypotheses II.A.2. and II.B.

--Insert Table 7 about here--

Regarding attitudes about the harshness of courts, white men are more punitive in counties with high violent crime arrest rates, but whether or not this influences race- and gender-based gaps in attitudes is not especially clear since the interaction terms between violent crime and race/gender are not statistically significantly different for groups other than white men (i.e., the observed influence of violent crime on attitudes may be the same for all for groups). Next, in counties with higher rates of gender income equality, white men are more likely to find the courts too harsh than they are in counties with low rates of gender income equality; it is clear that this corresponds with a narrower attitudinal gap between white men and black women, perhaps with black women being the more punitive of the two groups, in high-equality counties. Finally, black women in counties with relatively high rates of race-based income equality are more punitive. Again, the interactions for other groups are not statistically significantly different from those of black women, which demonstrates that we cannot claim that the black-to-white income ratio influences race- or gender-based *gaps* in attitudes about the courts.

Overall, these findings indicate that county characteristics can moderate attitudes about punishment, but that they can do so differently according to group and the measurement of "punitiveness." However, this research provides evidence that context matters regardless of how we operationalize the concept of punitiveness. How it does so will be an important consideration for future research on attitudes about punishment.

This research also provides some clues about the cultural context within which the U.S. criminal justice system operates. Overall, it appears that those who enjoy a relatively large social distance from this system might be more likely to support punitiveness, while those who are more likely to have made personal contact with the carceral state may be more lenient. This is

perhaps due to a greater sense of unfairness in the criminal justice system. Further research of a more qualitative nature can help us unpack this potential phenomenon.

Limitations

The data used for this study imply several limitations. First, the sample of interest is limited to whites and blacks, males and females, and the non-institutionalized population. This is primarily due to data limitations, since considering the attitudes of other racial and ethnic groups, transgender individuals, the institutionalized population, and others would only add to the breadth of the analysis. With respect to race and ethnicity, the sample sizes are not large enough to provide reliable analysis for groups other than whites and blacks, particularly at the county level of aggregation. The G.S.S. does not account for gender identities other than those represented by the sex options "male" and "female." It should also be noted that data on respondents' gender are interviewer-assigned, as is race if the interviewer feels certain about making a selection on the respondent's behalf. Thus these variables are open to interviewer bias and limit the extent to which we can explore other race and gender identities.

Excluding the institutionalized population ignores an important voice in attitudes about punishment: those who are incarcerated at the time of the survey. Given the potential importance for this research of social positioning in relation to the criminal justice system, it is anticipated that excluding incarcerated individuals could mean that we are overestimating black men's support for punitiveness and thus also misestimating differences in punitiveness between black men and others. This expectation is supported by research that outlines how excluding incarcerated individuals from U.S.-based surveys downplays social inequalities between blacks and whites (Pettit 2012). Including this population would likely provide a more accurate picture of the black-white punitiveness gap. At least having a measure of past contact with the criminal

system might allow us to adjudicate whether those who have personal experience with the carceral state are likely to hold particular attitudes about punishment. Given these overall sample limitations, caution must be employed when assessing the representativeness of this survey.

Second, the dependent variables drawn from the G.S.S. are imperfect measures of punitive attitudes. With respect to the first variable—regarding support for capital punishment—asking only whether a person supports the death penalty without providing any opportunity for situational nuance can only tell part of the story. There may be certain scenarios in which respondents are relatively likely to support this punishment, and this variable obscures that. Further, a rating scale that allows respondents to have stronger or weaker attitudes about the death penalty would improve the quality of this question. With respect to the second dependent variable—regarding attitudes about the harshness of courts—respondents can strongly support punitive measures while thinking that the courts are sufficiently harsh in their punishments. Despite these potential pitfalls, the G.S.S. still offers an advantage over many other data sources in that it provides two measures of punitive attitudes, and thus allow a worthwhile assessment of gender and race differences in multiple types of punitive attitudes across contexts.

Third, it should be noted that arrest rates are not ideal for the study of crime, as arrest rates reflect only a proportion of the overall crimes committed in a given area. As an example, the F.B.I. estimates that just under half of the reported violent crimes ended in arrest in 2012 (Federal Bureau of Investigation 2013). With this in mind, related findings may more accurately reflect the efficacy of policing rather than the volume of criminal activity. Despite this shortcoming, the F.B.I. provides the most reliable data available at the county level of aggregation and for the years of the study. This is perhaps partly because crime rates, by virtue of their illicit nature, are difficult to measure well.

Finally, the quality of this study could be improved if it provided information about where subjects lived during childhood and or adolescence, which is when research suggests attitudes are formed (c.f., Sears 1975). In the present study, it is expected that most respondents will live in counties that are similar to those in which they grew up or that moving to a different type of county might exacerbate or mollify attitudes. Thus, I believe that the current research design does a reasonably good job establishing a relationship between county context and race- and gender-based differences in attitudes about punishment.

Avenues for Future Research

There are at least four directions that future research can take to expand our understanding of race, gender, context, and attitudes about punishment. First, examining differences beyond black-white and male-female gaps will be important, given that the demographic makeup of the U.S. is far from limited to these groups. For example, Latinos comprise nearly one-sixth of the U.S. population (Central Intelligence Agency n.d.). Though it is difficult to count those who are not male- or female-identified—perhaps in part because no known American surveys inquire about gender categories beyond the traditional binary options—that transgender individuals and those identifying with other non-traditional genders exist is well-established (c.f., Halbertsam 2005; Kosciw et al. 2012) and, thus, they should be counted appropriately.

A second future research avenue to consider is exploring additional county-level variables for further evidence of context shaping attitudes. Racial and ethnic segregation is one such characteristic that can be examined. Not only have higher levels of segregation been linked with the social cohesion (Laurence 2009), which may influence attitudes about punishment, but they have also been tied to interethnic relations (Semyonov and Glikman 2008; Uslaner 2011) and voting on legislative initiatives that are racially and ethnically sensitive (Branton 2004; Roch

and Rushton 2008; Van der Waal, de Koster, and Achterberg 2013). Further, research has shown that Latinos are sometimes associated with perceived criminality (Welch et al. 2011). Thus, it will be informative to consider how varied concentrations of this group might influence punitive attitudes.

Third, research is needed to better explain the mechanisms behind how race and gender intersect to explain punitive attitudes and how this intersection is moderated by context. Researchers might develop a survey that is more tailored to these questions or, alternatively, conduct qualitative research that yields a richer set of relevant data. Studies of this kind would be useful in explaining *why* we see attitudinal differences along race, gender, and contextual lines, and would thus provide important texture to our understanding of this substantive area.

Fourth and finally, research considering the influence of environment on attitudes can explore how subjects' childhood contexts influence their attitudes in adulthood. A cross-sectional study that includes information on both childhood locations and attitudes in adulthood could allow us to more deeply explore this, while a longitudinal study that examines how these attitudes do or do not evolve over time could also be informative for understanding how *changes* in context are influential.

In sum, this research makes an important contribution to the literature by adding further nuance to our understanding of how our social positioning influences our attitudes about punishment. It is a line of research that warrants continued study; future in-depth analyses of the processes linking our social position to our support for punitiveness are needed. Perhaps the most critical implication of my findings is that those closest to the criminal justice system are less likely to support harsh criminal punishments than those who enjoy relative social distance from this institution. Since those with greater exposure to the application of punishment are perhaps

more likely to have accurate information about this institution, this suggests that—in order to understand and address the failings of the U.S. carceral state—researchers and policy makers alike should pay close attention to the opinions of those whose communities are most impacted by it. Through doing so, existing inequalities in the application of punishment can perhaps be more critically challenged.

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Table 1. Descriptive Statistics: Variables Used in the Analysis of Support for the Death Penalty and Attitudes about the Harshness of Courts, by Race and Gender

	Black Women		Black Men		White Women		White Men	
	Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev.
Attitudes about Criminal Punishment								
Support the Death Penalty (1=yes)	0.42	0.49	0.50	0.50	0.68	0.47	0.77	0.42
Think the Courts are Too Harsh (1=yes)	0.18	0.38	0.30	0.46	0.08	0.27	0.10	0.30
Think the Courts are About Right re: Harshness (1=yes)	0.13	0.34	0.17	0.38	0.18	0.38	0.22	0.41
Think the Courts Are Not Harsh Enough (1=yes)	0.69	0.46	0.53	0.50	0.74	0.44	0.68	0.47
Individual Characteristics								
Politically Conservative (1=yes)	0.28	0.45	0.23	0.42	0.35	0.48	0.41	0.49
College Graduate (1=yes)	0.14	0.34	0.18	0.39	0.31	0.46	0.35	0.48
Has 1 or More Children (1=yes)	0.79	0.41	0.69	0.46	0.73	0.44	0.63	0.48
Married (1=yes)	0.22	0.41	0.35	0.48	0.48	0.50	0.52	0.50
Age in years	41.98	15.61	41.85	14.28	47.95	17.27	46.43	16.47
Annual Family Income								
<$25k (1=yes)	0.59	0.49	0.41	0.49	0.31	0.46	0.22	0.41
$25-49.9k (1=yes)	0.18	0.39	0.26	0.44	0.19	0.39	0.19	0.40
$50-74.9k (1=yes)	0.16	0.37	0.21	0.41	0.27	0.44	0.30	0.46
>$75k (1=yes)	0.07	0.25	0.13	0.33	0.22	0.42	0.29	0.45
Religious Affiliation								
Catholic (1=yes)	0.06	0.23	0.07	0.26	0.29	0.46	0.26	0.44
Jewish (1=yes)	0.00	0.05	0.00	0.05	0.03	0.16	0.03	0.16
Black Protestant (1=yes)	0.61	0.49	0.50	0.50	0.01	0.08	0.00	0.06
Mainline Protestant (1=yes)	0.03	0.18	0.04	0.19	0.20	0.40	0.17	0.38
Evangelical Protestant (1=yes)	0.15	0.36	0.14	0.35	0.30	0.46	0.29	0.45
Other Religion (1=yes)	0.03	0.18	0.07	0.26	0.05	0.21	0.05	0.22
No Religion (1=yes)	0.11	0.31	0.17	0.38	0.13	0.33	0.20	0.40
County Characteristics								
% that is Black	28.57	15.87	27.06	15.86	14.37	12.56	14.29	12.64
Violent Arrests Per 100,000 People	278.54	193.25	275.56	176.08	211.11	143.82	214.33	146.40
Drug Arrests Per 100,000 People	730.81	517.75	724.55	482.80	574.82	382.48	576.84	401.16
Female:Male Income Ratio	0.65	0.08	0.65	0.07	0.62	0.07	0.62	0.07
Black:White Income Ratio	0.62	0.11	0.63	0.12	0.65	0.12	0.65	0.12
% that is Conservative	41.29	14.65	41.94	15.96	47.07	12.84	47.65	12.54
Death Penalty Legal (1=yes)	0.89	0.31	0.88	0.33	0.83	0.38	0.84	0.36
Total Population	1,030,456	1,516,107	1,030,808	1,528,338	1,027,796	1,713,253	991,735	1,574,319
United States Region								
Northeast (1=yes)	0.17	0.38	0.21	0.41	0.24	0.43	0.20	0.40
Midwest (1=yes)	0.18	0.39	0.13	0.34	0.22	0.41	0.23	0.42
South (1=yes)	0.58	0.49	0.56	0.50	0.34	0.47	0.37	0.48
West (1=yes)	0.07	0.25	0.09	0.29	0.20	0.40	0.20	0.40
Urban / Rural Status								
Large Central Metropolitan Area (1=yes)	0.42	0.49	0.46	0.50	0.31	0.46	0.31	0.46
Large Fringe Metropolitan Area (1=yes)	0.22	0.42	0.20	0.40	0.31	0.46	0.31	0.46
Medium Metropolitan Area (1=yes)	0.15	0.36	0.11	0.31	0.19	0.39	0.18	0.38
Small Metropolitan Area (1=yes)	0.09	0.28	0.10	0.30	0.11	0.31	0.10	0.30
Micropolitan Area (1=yes)	0.06	0.23	0.05	0.22	0.06	0.23	0.06	0.24
Noncore Area (1=yes)	0.06	0.24	0.09	0.28	0.03	0.16	0.03	0.18
N (Total=5,700)	686		406		2,427		2,181	

Table 2. Logistic Regression Results for Support for the Death Penalty by Race and Gender, Models 1-3, Black Men Reference Group°

	Model 1: Raw Effects		Model 2: Individual Controls		Model 3: Individual and Contextual Controls	
	b	se	b	se	b	se
RACE/GENDER						
Black Men (1=yes)	reference	--	reference	--	reference	--
Black Women (1=yes)	-0.299*	(0.13)	-0.375**	(0.13)	-0.373**	(0.13)
White Women (1=yes)	0.765***	(0.11)	0.806***	(0.13)	0.722***	(0.13)
White Men (1=yes)	1.268***	(0.12)	1.352***	(0.14)	1.257***	(0.14)
OTHER INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS						
Politically Conservative (1=yes)			0.388***	(0.07)	0.376***	(0.07)
College Graduate (1=yes)			-0.600***	(0.07)	-0.582***	(0.07)
Married (1=yes)			0.046	(0.07)	0.027	(0.07)
Has 1 or More Children (1=yes)			0.138	(0.08)	0.107	(0.08)
Age in Years			-0.003	(0.00)	-0.003	(0.00)
Annual Family Income						
Income <$25k (1=yes)			reference	--	reference	--
Income $25-39.9k (1=yes)			0.273**	(0.09)	0.273**	(0.09)
Income $40-74.9k (1=yes)			0.287**	(0.09)	0.285**	(0.09)
Income >$75k (1=yes)			0.333***	(0.10)	0.350***	(0.10)
Religious Affiliation						
Catholic (1=yes)			reference	--	reference	--
Jewish (1=yes)			-0.058	(0.20)	0.018	(0.20)
Black Protestant (1=yes)			0.350*	(0.14)	0.260	(0.14)
Mainline Protestant (1=yes)			0.487***	(0.10)	0.438***	(0.10)
Evangelical Protestant (1=yes)			0.561***	(0.09)	0.470***	(0.09)
Other (1=yes)			0.006	(0.15)	-0.022	(0.15)
No Religion (1=yes)			-0.180	(0.10)	-0.218*	(0.10)
YEAR OF SURVEY						
2000 (1=yes)			reference	--	reference	--
2002 (1=yes)			-0.125	(0.11)	-0.116	(0.11)
2004 (1=yes)			-0.231*	(0.12)	-0.218	(0.12)
2006 (1=yes)			-0.141	(0.09)	-0.121	(0.10)
2008 (1=yes)			-0.231*	(0.10)	-0.190	(0.11)
2010 (1=yes)			-0.026	(0.10)	0.042	(0.12)
COUNTY CHARACTERISTICS						
% of County that is Black					0.000	(0.00)
Violent Arrests Per 100,000 People					-0.000	(0.00)
Drug Arrests Per 100,000 People					-0.000	(0.00)
Female-to-Male Income Ratio					-1.132	(0.78)
Black-to-White Income Ratio					0.141	(0.32)
% of County that is Politically Conservative					0.006	(0.00)
Death Penalty is Legal (1=yes)					0.193	(0.11)
United States Region						
Northeast (1=yes)					reference	--
Midwest (1=yes)					0.064	(0.11)
South (1=yes)					0.130	(0.14)
West (1=yes)					0.238	(0.13)
Urban / Rural Status						
Large Central Metropolitan Area (1=yes)					reference	--
Large Fringe Metropolitan Area (1=yes)					0.076	(0.12)
Medium Metropolitan Area (1=yes)					-0.074	(0.12)
Small Metropolitan Area (1=yes)					-0.083	(0.17)
Micropolitan Area (1=yes)					-0.226	(0.21)
Noncore Area (1=yes)					0.099	(0.28)
Logged County Population					-0.052	(0.05)
INTERCEPTS						
Constant Y-Intercept	0.021	(0.11)	-0.258	(0.18)	0.641	(0.95)
Variation in Y-Intercept	0.158***	(0.04)	0.071**	(0.03)	0.025	(0.02)
MODEL CHARACTERISTICS						
BIC	6874.802		6800.877		6894.768	
N	5700		5700		5700	

LEGEND
* p<0.05, ** p<0.01, ***p<0.001

° The reference category differs across tables to present findings that are otherwise undetectable (i.e., in this case, the reference group corresponds to that in Table 3, in which the coefficient for the violent crime arrest rate, which represents the interaction effect of this county-level variable with being a black man, is key).

Table 3. Logistic Regression Results for Support for the Death Penalty, with All Controls and Interactions of Race/Gender*Focal County Characteristics, Model 4, Black Men Reference Group°

	% Black * Race/Gender b/se	Violent Arrests * Race/Gender b/se	Drug Arrests * Race/Gender b/se	Female-to-Male Income Ratio * Race/Gender b/se	Black-to-White Income Ratio * Race/Gender b/se	All Interactions b/se
RACE/GENDER						
Black Men (1=yes)	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference
	--	--	--	--	--	--
Black Women (1=yes)	-0.484	-0.716**	-0.318	0.269	-0.987	-0.424
	(0.26)	(0.24)	(0.24)	(1.16)	(0.73)	(1.38)
White Women (1=yes)	0.632**	0.346	0.784***	1.739	0.899	1.834
	(0.23)	(0.23)	(0.22)	(1.04)	(0.63)	(1.25)
White Men (1=yes)	1.300***	0.879***	1.438***	2.632*	0.647	1.682
	(0.23)	(0.23)	(0.22)	(1.08)	(0.65)	(1.30)
FOCAL COUNTY CHARACTERISTICS						
% of County that is Black	-0.001	0.000	0.000	-0.000	-0.000	-0.005
	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.01)
Violent Arrests Per 100,000 People	-0.000	-0.001*	-0.000	-0.000	-0.000	-0.002**
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Drug Arrests Per 100,000 People	-0.000	-0.000	0.000	-0.000	-0.000	0.000
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Female-to-Male Income Ratio	-1.147	-1.151	-1.119	0.332	-1.152	0.619
	(0.78)	(0.78)	(0.78)	(1.57)	(0.78)	(1.74)
Black-to-White Income Ratio	0.124	0.138	0.134	0.116	-0.173	-0.302
	(0.32)	(0.32)	(0.32)	(0.32)	(0.91)	(0.92)
INTERACTION TERMS						
Black Men * % of County that is Black	reference					reference
	--					--
Black Women * % of County that is Black	0.004					0.006
	(0.01)					(0.01)
White Women * % of County that is Black	0.005					0.007
	(0.01)					(0.01)
White Men * % of County that is Black	-0.004					0.001
	(0.01)					(0.01)
Black Men * Violent Arrests Per 100,000 People		reference				0.000
		--				(.)
Black Women * Violent Arrests Per 100,000 People		0.001				0.002*
		(0.00)				(0.00)
White Women * Violent Arrests Per 100,000 People		0.001*				0.002*
		(0.00)				(0.00)
White Men * Violent Arrests Per 100,000 People		0.001*				0.002**
		(0.00)				(0.00)
Black Men * Drug Arrests Per 100,000 People			reference			0.000
			--			(.)
Black Women * Drug Arrests Per 100,000 People			-0.000			-0.000
			(0.00)			(0.00)
White Women * Drug Arrests Per 100,000 People			-0.000			-0.000
			(0.00)			(0.00)
White Men * Drug Arrests Per 100,000 People			-0.000			-0.001*
			(0.00)			(0.00)
Black Men * Female-to-Male Income Ratio				reference		0.000
				--		(.)
Black Women * Female-to-Male Income Ratio				-0.979		-1.578
				(1.77)		(2.00)
White Women * Female-to-Male Income Ratio				-1.552		-2.171
				(1.59)		(1.80)
White Men * Female-to-Male Income Ratio				-2.123		-2.034
				(1.65)		(1.86)
Black Men * Black-to-White Income Ratio					reference	0.000
					--	(.)
Black Women * Black-to-White Income Ratio					0.981	1.138
					(1.15)	(1.17)
White Women * Black-to-White Income Ratio					-0.260	-0.061
					(0.97)	(0.99)
White Men * Black-to-White Income Ratio					0.962	1.001
					(1.00)	(1.02)
INTERCEPTS						
Constant Y-Intercept	0.670	0.293	0.525	-0.316	0.863	0.101
	(0.97)	(0.66)	(0.96)	(1.30)	(1.08)	(1.42)
Variation in Y-Intercept	0.025	0.023	0.025	0.025	0.026	0.026
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
MODEL CHARACTERISTICS						
BIC	6917.526	6916.375	6918.594	6918.841	6915.520	7005.971
N	5700	5700	5700	5700	5700	5700

CONTROL VARIABLES
All individual and contextual variables included in Model 3 are controlled in this model.

LEGEND
* p<0.05, ** p<0.01, ***p<0.001

° The reference category differs across tables to present findings that are otherwise undetectable (i.e., in this case, the coefficient for the violent crime arrest rate represents the interaction between the violent crime arrest rate and being a black man; this statistically significant finding is not displayed in tables with other groups as the reference category).

Table 4. Ordered Logistic Regression Results for Attitudes about the Harshness of Courts by Race and Gender, Models 1-3, White Men Reference Group°

	Model 1: Raw Effects		Model 2: Individual Controls		Model 3: Individual and Contextual Controls	
	b	**se**	**b**	**se**	**b**	**se**
RACE/GENDER						
White Men (1=yes)	reference	--	reference	--	reference	--
Black Men (1=yes)	-0.888***	(0.11)	-0.903***	(0.13)	-0.911***	(0.13)
White Women (1=yes)	0.295***	(0.07)	0.285***	(0.07)	0.289***	(0.07)
Black Women (1=yes)	-0.166	(0.10)	-0.195	(0.13)	-0.196	(0.13)
OTHER INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS						
Politically Conservative (1=yes)			0.336***	(0.07)	0.331***	(0.07)
College Graduate (1=yes)			-0.598***	(0.07)	-0.588***	(0.07)
Married (1=yes)			0.251***	(0.07)	0.238***	(0.07)
Has 1 or More Children (1=yes)			0.034	(0.07)	0.016	
Age in Years			0.001	(0.00)	0.001	(0.00)
Annual Family Income						
Income <$25k (1=yes)			reference	--	reference	--
Income $25-39.9k (1=yes)			0.225**	(0.09)	0.217*	(0.09)
Income $40-74.9k (1=yes)			0.296***	(0.09)	0.293***	(0.09)
Income >$75k (1=yes)			0.184	(0.10)	0.185	(0.10)
Religious Affiliation						
Catholic (1=yes)			reference	--	reference	--
Jewish (1=yes)			-0.112	(0.20)	-0.123	(0.20)
Black Protestant (1=yes)			0.088	(0.14)	0.091	(0.14)
Mainline Protestant (1=yes)			-0.108	(0.10)	-0.101	(0.10)
Evangelical Protestant (1=yes)			0.151	(0.09)	0.162	(0.09)
Other (1=yes)			-0.421**	(0.14)	-0.391**	(0.14)
No Religion (1=yes)			-0.442***	(0.10)	-0.407***	(0.10)
YEAR OF SURVEY						
2000 (1=yes)			reference	--	reference	--
2002 (1=yes)			-0.205	(0.11)	-0.194	(0.11)
2004 (1=yes)			-0.233*	(0.12)	-0.199	(0.12)
2006 (1=yes)			-0.204*	(0.09)	-0.169	(0.10)
2008 (1=yes)			-0.395***	(0.10)	-0.338**	(0.11)
2010 (1=yes)			-0.461***	(0.10)	-0.386***	(0.11)
COUNTY CHARACTERISTICS						
% of County that is Black					0.005	(0.00)
Violent Arrests					0.000	(0.00)
Drug Arrests					0.000	(0.00)
Female-to-Male Income Ratio					-1.282	(0.78)
Black-to-White Income Ratio					0.548	(0.32)
% that is Politically Conservative					0.003	(0.00)
Death Penalty is Legal (1=yes)					-0.134	(0.11)
Logged County Population					0.003	(0.05)
United States Region						
Northeast (1=yes)					reference	--
Midwest (1=yes)					0.016	(0.11)
South (1=yes)					-0.047	(0.14)
West (1=yes)					-0.167	(0.13)
Urban / Rural Status						
Large Central Metropolitan Area (1=yes)					reference	--
Large Fringe Metropolitan Area (1=yes)					0.099	(0.12)
Medium Metropolitan Area (1=yes)					0.168	(0.13)
Small Metropolitan Area (1=yes)					-0.238	(0.17)
Micropolitan Area (1=yes)					0.273	(0.22)
Noncore Area (1=yes)					0.101	(0.28)
CUTS						
Cut 1 Constant	-2.109***	(0.06)	-2.159***	(0.14)	-2.338*	(0.93)
Cut 2 Constant	-0.849***	(0.05)	-0.862***	(0.14)	-1.039	(0.93)
Y-INTERCEPT						
Variation in Y-Intercept	0.118***	(0.03)	0.060*	(0.02)	0.032	(0.02)
MODEL CHARACTERISTICS						
BIC	9145.438		9056.995		9162.541	
N	5700		5700		5700	

LEGEND
* p<0.05, ** p<0.01, ***p<0.001

° The reference category differs across tables to present findings that are otherwise undetectable (i.e., in this case, the reference group corresponds to that in Table 5, in which the coefficients for the violent crime arrest rate and the female-to-male income ratio, which respctively represent the interaction effects of these county-level variables with being a white man, are key).

Table 5. Ordered Logistic Regression Results for Attitudes about the Harshness of Courts, with All Controls and Interactions of Race/Gender*Focal County Characteristics, Model 4, White Men Reference Group°

	% Black * Race/Gender b/se	Violent Arrest Rate * Race/Gender b/se	Drug Arrest Rate * Race/Gender b/se	Female-to-Male Income Ratio * Race/Gender b/se	Black-to-White Income Ratio * Race/Gender b/se	All Interactions b/se
RACE/GENDER						
White Men (1=yes)	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference
	--	--	--	--	--	--
Black Men (1=yes)	-0.928***	-0.942***	-1.086***	-1.359	-0.905	-1.626
	(0.22)	(0.22)	(0.22)	(1.04)	(0.62)	(1.22)
White Women (1=yes)	0.260*	0.386**	0.266*	-0.116	0.354	-0.050
	(0.10)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.63)	(0.38)	(0.78)
Black Women (1=yes)	-0.406*	0.033	-0.252	-2.623**	-1.040	-3.020**
	(0.20)	(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.89)	(0.58)	(1.09)
FOCAL COUNTY CHARACTERISTICS						
% of County that is Black	0.002	0.005	0.006	0.005	0.005	0.003
	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.01)
Violent Arrests Per 100,000 People	0.000	0.001	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.001*
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Drug Arrests Per 100,000 People	0.000	0.000	-0.000	0.000	0.000	-0.000
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Female-to-Male Income Ratio	-1.306	-1.321	-1.273	-2.240*	-1.368	-2.309*
	(0.78)	(0.78)	(0.78)	(0.97)	(0.78)	(1.00)
Black-to-White Income Ratio	0.510	0.555	0.543	0.504	0.445	0.386
	(0.32)	(0.32)	(0.32)	(0.32)	(0.45)	(0.46)
INTERACTION TERMS						
White Men * % of County that is Black	reference					reference
	--					--
Black Men * % of County that is Black	0.002					-0.001
	(0.01)					(0.01)
White Women * % of County that is Black	0.002					0.002
	(0.01)					(0.01)
Black Women * % of County that is Black	0.009					0.004
	(0.01)					(0.01)
White Men * Violent Arrests Per 100,000 People		reference				reference
		--				--
Black Men * Violent Arrests Per 100,000 People		0.000				-0.000
		(0.00)				(0.00)
White Women * Violent Arrests Per 100,000 People		-0.000				-0.001
		(0.00)				(0.00)
Black Women * Violent Arrests Per 100,000 People		-0.001				-0.001
		(0.00)				(0.00)
White Men * Drug Arrests Per 100,000 People			reference			reference
			--			--
Black Men * Drug Arrests Per 100,000 People			0.000			0.000
			(0.00)			(0.00)
White Women * Drug Arrests Per 100,000 People			0.000			0.000
			(0.00)			(0.00)
Black Women * Drug Arrests Per 100,000 People			0.000			0.000
			(0.00)			(0.00)
White Men* Female-to-Male Income Ratio				reference		reference
				--		--
Black Men * Female-to-Male Income Ratio				0.701		0.833
				(1.58)		(1.76)
White Women * Female-to-Male Income Ratio				0.648		0.705
				(1.00)		(1.09)
Black Women * Female-to-Male Income Ratio				3.745**		3.301*
				(1.36)		(1.49)
White Men * Black-to-White Income Ratio					reference	reference
					--	--
Black Men * Black-to-White Income Ratio					-0.016	0.155
					(0.95)	(0.97)
White Women * Black-to-White Income Ratio					-0.102	-0.053
					(0.57)	(0.60)
Black Women * Black-to-White Income Ratio					1.351	1.189
					(0.90)	(0.93)
CUTS						
Cut 1 Constant	-2.355*	-2.312*	-2.345*	-2.923**	-2.476*	-3.003**
	(0.94)	(0.94)	(0.94)	(1.00)	(0.96)	(1.04)
Cut 2 Constant	-1.055	-1.012	-1.046	-1.622	-1.176	-1.700
	(0.94)	(0.94)	(0.94)	(1.00)	(0.96)	(1.04)
INTERCEPTS						
Variation in Y-Intercept	0.032	0.031	0.033	0.032	0.033	0.033
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
MODEL CHARACTERISTICS						
BIC	9186.689	9185.230	9187.395	9180.626	9185.713	9276.840
N	5700	5700	5700	5700	5700	5700

CONTROL VARIABLES
All individual and contextual variables included in Model 3 are controlled in this model.

LEGEND
* p<0.05, ** p<0.01, ***p<0.001

° The reference category differs across tables to present findings that are otherwise undetectable (i.e., in this case, the coefficients for the violent crime arrest rate and the female-to-male income ratio represents the interactions between these contextual variables, respectively, and being a white man; these statistically significant findings are not displayed in tables with other groups as the reference category).

Table 6. Ordered Logistic Regression Results for Attitudes about the Harshness of Courts, with All Controls and Interactions of Race/Gender*Focal County Characteristics, Model 4, Black Women Reference Group°

	% Black * Race/Gender b/se	Violent Arrest Rate * Race/Gender b/se	Drug Arrest Rate * Race/Gender b/se	Female-to-Male Income Ratio * Race/Gender b/se	Black-to-White Income Ratio * Race/Gender b/se	All Interactions b/se
RACE/GENDER						
Black Women (1=yes)	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference	reference
	--	--	--	--	--	--
Black Men (1=yes)	-0.521*	-0.975***	-0.835***	1.264	0.135	1.395
	(0.26)	(0.24)	(0.24)	(1.17)	(0.73)	(1.38)
White Women (1=yes)	0.666**	0.353	0.517**	2.507**	1.394*	2.970**
	(0.20)	(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.89)	(0.58)	(1.09)
White Men (1=yes)	0.406*	-0.033	0.252	2.623**	1.040	3.020**
	(0.20)	(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.89)	(0.58)	(1.09)
FOCAL COUNTY CHARACTERISTICS						
% of County that is Black	0.011	0.005	0.006	0.005	0.005	0.008
	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.01)
Violent Arrests Per 100,000 People	0.000	-0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	-0.000
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Drug Arrests Per 100,000 People	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Female-to-Male Income Ratio	-1.306	-1.321	-1.273	1.505	-1.368	0.993
	(0.78)	(0.78)	(0.78)	(1.30)	(0.78)	(1.39)
Black-to-White Income Ratio	0.510	0.555	0.543	0.504	1.796*	1.575
	(0.32)	(0.32)	(0.32)	(0.32)	(0.83)	(0.85)
INTERACTION TERMS						
Black Women * % of County that is Black	reference					reference
	--					--
Black Men * % of County that is Black	-0.007					-0.006
	(0.01)					(0.01)
White Women * % of County that is Black	-0.007					-0.003
	(0.01)					(0.01)
White Men * % of County that is Black	-0.009					-0.004
	(0.01)					(0.01)
Black Women * Violent Arrests Per 100,000 People		reference				reference
		--				--
Black Men * Violent Arrests Per 100,000 People		0.001				0.001
		(0.00)				(0.00)
White Women * Violent Arrests Per 100,000 People		0.000				0.000
		(0.00)				(0.00)
White Men * Violent Arrests Per 100,000 People		0.001				0.001
		(0.00)				(0.00)
Black Women * Drug Arrests Per 100,000 People			reference			reference
			--			--
Black Men * Drug Arrests Per 100,000 People			0.000			0.000
			(0.00)			(0.00)
White Women * Drug Arrests Per 100,000 People			-0.000			-0.000
			(0.00)			(0.00)
White Men * Drug Arrests Per 100,000 People			-0.000			-0.000
			(0.00)			(0.00)
Black Women * Female-to-Male Income Ratio				reference		reference
				--		--
Black Men * Female-to-Male Income Ratio				-3.044		-2.468
				(1.78)		(1.99)
White Women * Female-to-Male Income Ratio				-3.098*		-2.596
				(1.36)		(1.49)
White Men * Female-to-Male Income Ratio				-3.745**		-3.301*
				(1.36)		(1.49)
Black Women * Black-to-White Income Ratio					reference	reference
					--	--
Black Men * Black-to-White Income Ratio					-1.368	-1.034
					(1.15)	(1.19)
White Women * Black-to-White Income Ratio					-1.453	-1.243
					(0.91)	(0.94)
White Men * Black-to-White Income Ratio					-1.351	-1.189
					(0.90)	(0.93)
CUTS						
Cut 1 Constant	-1.949*	-2.345*	-2.094*	-0.300	-1.436	0.018
	(0.96)	(0.96)	(0.96)	(1.16)	(1.04)	(1.28)
Cut 2 Constant	-0.649	-1.045	-0.794	1.001	-0.136	1.320
	(0.96)	(0.96)	(0.96)	(1.16)	(1.04)	(1.28)
INTERCEPT						
Variation in Y-Intercept	0.032	0.031	0.033	0.032	0.033	0.033
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
MODEL CHARACTERISTICS						
BIC	9186.689	9185.230	9187.395	9180.626	9185.713	9276.840
N	5700	5700	5700	5700	5700	5700

CONTROL VARIABLES
All individual and contextual variables included in Model 3 are controlled in this model.

LEGEND
* p<0.05, ** p<0.01, ***p<0.001

° The reference category differs across tables to present findings that are otherwise undetectable (i.e., in this case, the coefficient for the black-to-white income ratio represents the interaction between the black-to-white income ratio and being a black woman; this statistically significant finding is not displayed in tables with other groups as the reference category).

Table 7. Hypotheses: Whether Findings Support Expected Outcomes for Each Dependent Variable

	Observed Outcome for Analyses Related to Capital Punishment Support	Observed Outcome for Analyses Related to Attitudes about the Harshness of Courts	Hypotheses Supported
HYPOTHESIS I: RACIAL COMPOSITION			
Part A: Whites' support for harsh punishments is positively related to the relative size of the black population.	No related statistically significant findings to support hypothesis	No related statistically significant findings to support hypothesis	No
Blacks' support for harsh punishments is negatively associated with the percent black of an area.	No related statistically significant findings to support hypothesis	No related statistically significant findings to support hypothesis	No
The racial gap in support for harsh punishments will be positively related to the proportion of the population that is black.	No related statistically significant findings to support hypothesis	No related statistically significant findings to support hypothesis	No
Part B: The positive relationship between the county percent black and support for punitiveness among whites will exist for both men and women, but the extent to which this is so may vary by gender.	No related statistically significant findings to support hypothesis	No related statistically significant findings to support hypothesis	No
The gender gap in support for punitiveness among whites will vary along with the county percent black. The direction of this variation is not hypothesized.	No related statistically significant findings to support hypothesis	No related statistically significant findings to support hypothesis	No
HYPOTHESIS II: CRIME RATES			
Part A1: Both whites' and blacks' support for punitiveness will be positively related to the crime rate.	No related statistically significant findings to support hypothesis	This is partially supported for white men only, and with respect to violent crime arrests.	Partially and only with respect to attitudes about the courts
The black-white punitiveness gap may vary along with the crime rate. The direction of this variation is not hypothesized.	No related statistically significant findings to support hypothesis	No related statistically significant findings to support hypothesis	No
Part A2: Whites' support for harsh punishments will be positively associated with the crime rate.	No related statistically significant findings to support hypothesis	This is supported for white men only, and with respect to violent crime arrests.	Partially and only with respect to attitudes about the courts
Blacks' support for harsh punishments will be negatively associated with	This is supported, for black men only, and with resepect to violent crime arrests.	No related statistically significant findings to support hypothesis	Partially and only with respect to death penalty support
The black-white gap in support for punitiveness will be positively associated with the crime rate.	This is supported, for black men in relation to white men and women	No related statistically significant findings to support hypothesis	Partially and only with respect to death penalty support
Part B: The gender punitiveness gaps will vary according to the county crime rates.The direction of this variation is not hypothesized.	This is partially supported: for blacks only, the gender punitiveness gap was negatively related to the violent crime arrest rate (this gap perhaps even changed direction in counties with high rates of violent crime)	No related statistically significant findings to support hypothesis	Partially and only with respect to death penalty support
HYPOTHESIS III: RACE- AND GENDER-BASED INCOME EQUALITY			
Part A: The punitiveness of blacks and white women will be unaffected by income equality.	This is supported since there are no statistically significant relationships observed between income equality and being a black man, a black women, or a white woman.	This is supported for black men, white women, and--when considering gender income equality only--black women; black women have a statistically significant positive relationship with racial income equality.	Yes, with respect to attitudes about the death penalty; partially, with respect to attitudes about the courts
Part B1: White men's support for punitiveness will be positively associated with race- and gender-based income equality.	No related statistically significant findings to support hypothesis	No related statistically significant findings to support hypothesis	No
The black-white punitiveness gap will be positively associated with race-	No related statistically significant findings to support hypothesis	No related statistically significant findings to support hypothesis	No
The gender punitiveness gap among whites will be positively associated with income equality, if the baseline punitiveness hierarchy has women as more punitive. The relationship between the gender punitiveness gap and income equality will be negative if women start out as being more punitive than men.	No related statistically significant findings to support hypothesis	No related statistically significant findings to support hypothesis	No
Part B2: White men's support for punitiveness will be negatively associated with race- and gender-based income equality.	No related statistically significant findings to support hypothesis	This is supported with respect to gender income equality	Partially and only with respect to attitudes about the courts
The black-white punitiveness gap will be negatively associated with race- and gender-based income equality.	No related statistically significant findings to support hypothesis	No related statistically significant findings to support hypothesis	No
The gender punitiveness gap among whites will be negatively associated with income equality, if the baseline punitiveness hierarchy has women as more punitive. The relationship between the gender punitiveness gap and income equality will be positive if women start out as being more punitive than men.	No related statistically significant findings to support hypothesis	No related statistically significant findings to support hypothesis	No

Figure 1. Support for the Death Penalty by Race/Gender, Models 1-3

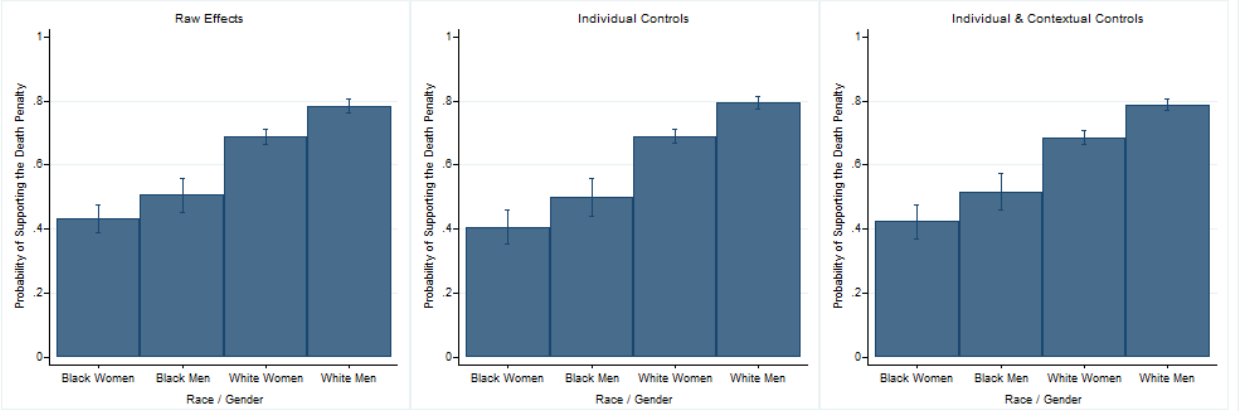
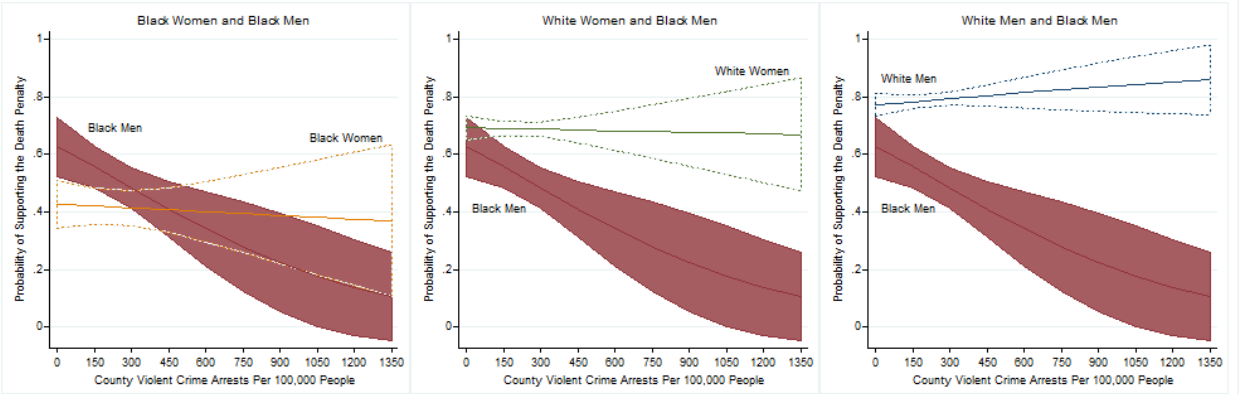


Figure 2. Support for the Death Penalty for Groups as Compared to Black Men, by Violent Arrest Rate, with All Controls and Interactions



Logit estimates: 95% confidence intervals shaded/within dashes

Figure 3. Attitudes about the Harshness of Courts by Race/Gender, Models 1-3
Outcome 1: Courts Too Harsh

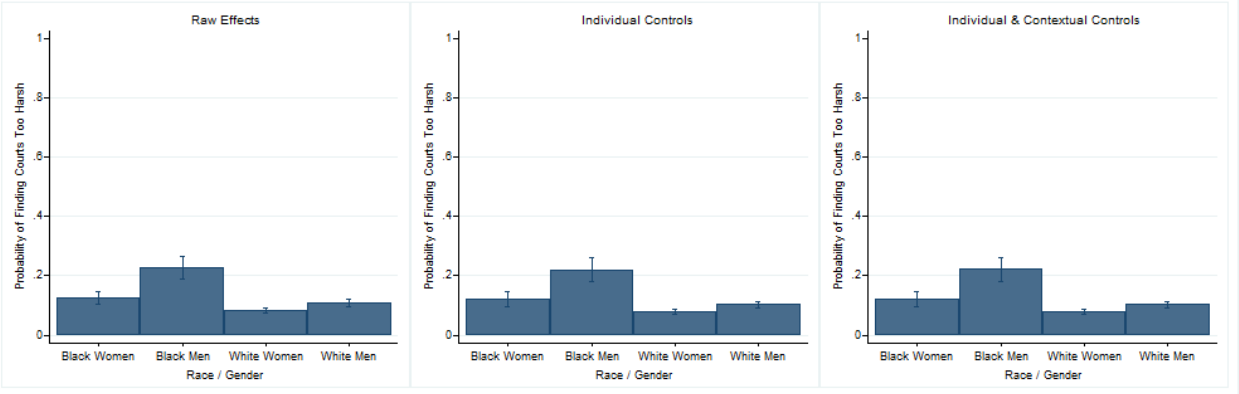


Figure 4. Attitudes about the Harshness of Courts by Race/Gender, Models 1-3
Outcome 2: Courts About Right Level of Harshness

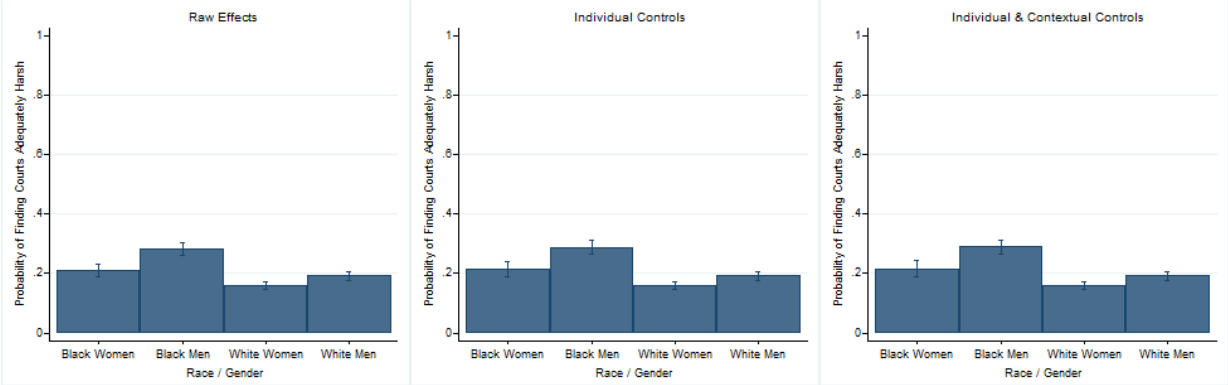


Figure 5. Attitudes about the Harshness of Courts by Race/Gender, Models 1-3
Outcome 3: Courts Not Harsh Enough

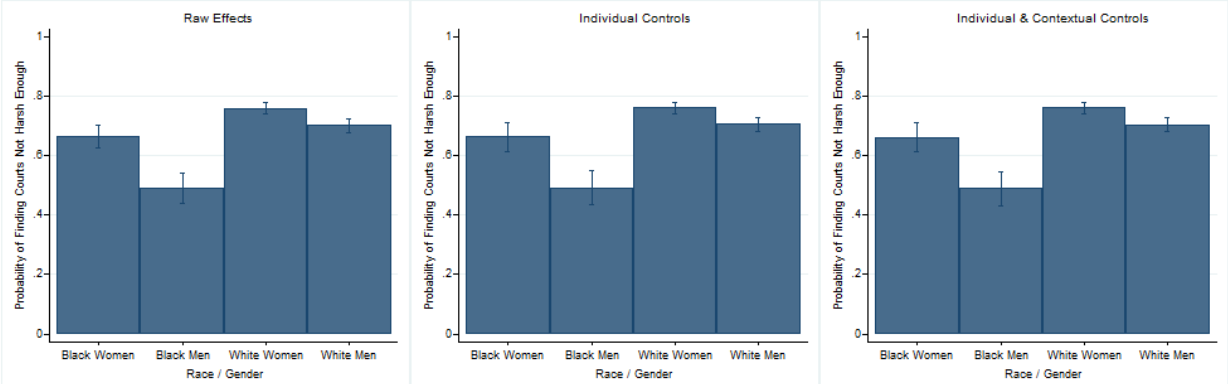
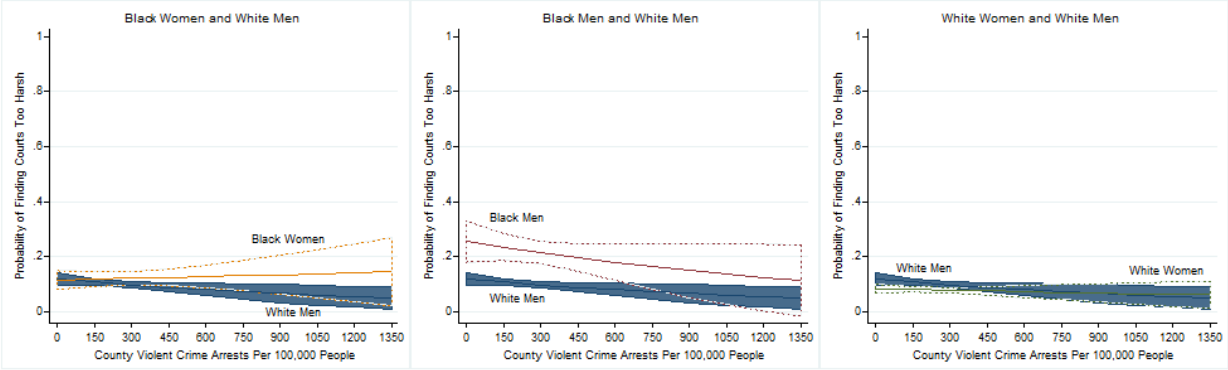
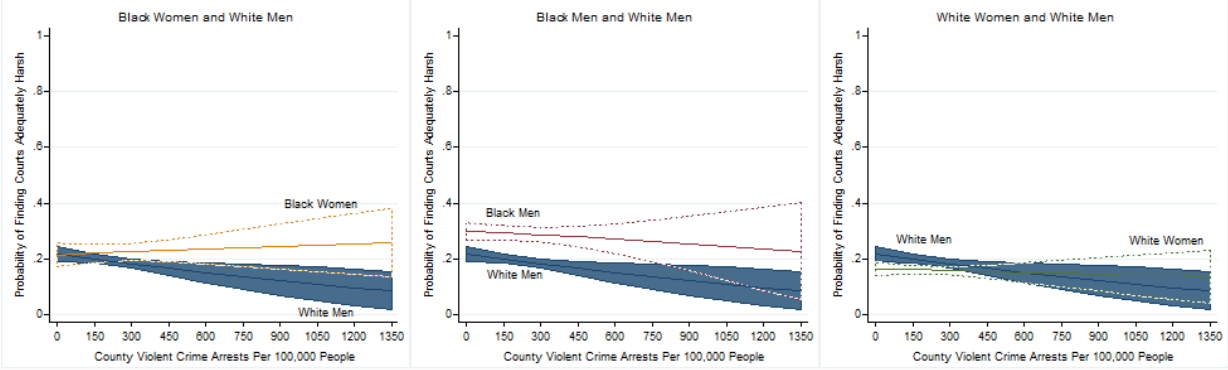


Figure 6. Attitudes about Courts for Groups as Compared to White Men, by Violent Arrest Rate, with All Interactions and Controls
Outcome 1: Courts Too Harsh



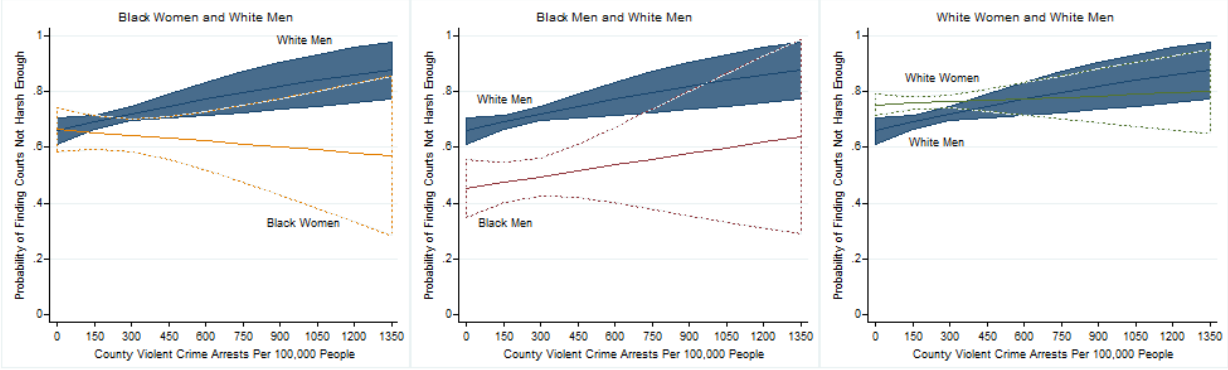
Logit estimates: 95% confidence intervals shaded/within dashes

Figure 7. Attitudes about Courts for Groups as Compared to White Men, by Violent Arrest Rate, with All Interactions and Controls
Outcome 2: Courts About Right Level of Harshness



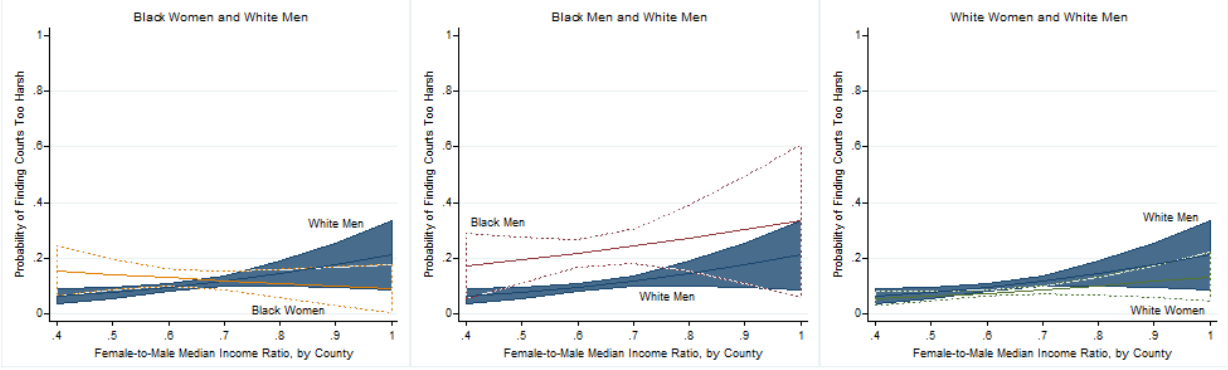
Logit estimates: 95% confidence intervals shaded/within dashes

Figure 8. Attitudes about Courts for Groups as Compared to White Men, by Violent Arrest Rate, with All Interactions and Controls
Outcome 3: Courts Not Harsh Enough



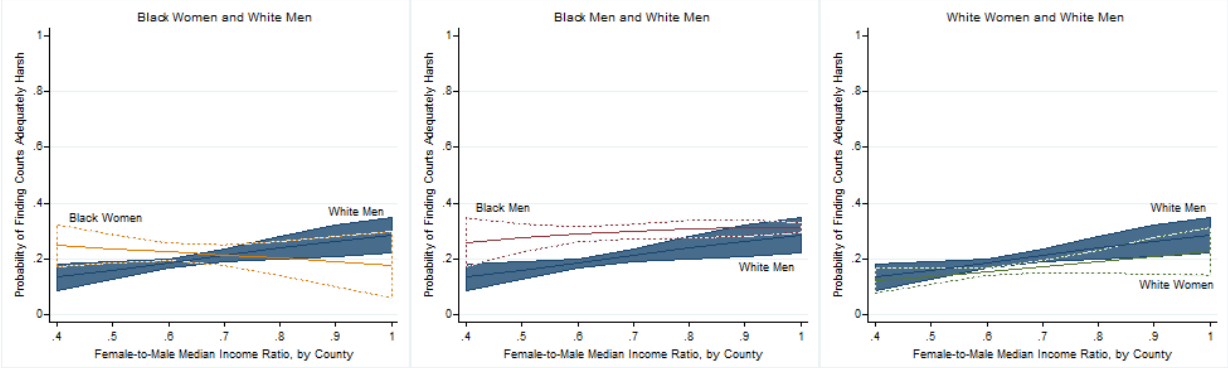
Logit estimates: 95% confidence intervals shaded/within dashes

Figure 9. Attitudes about the Harshness of Courts for Groups as Compared to White Men, by Gender Income Equality, with All Interactions and Controls
Outcome 1: Courts Too Harsh



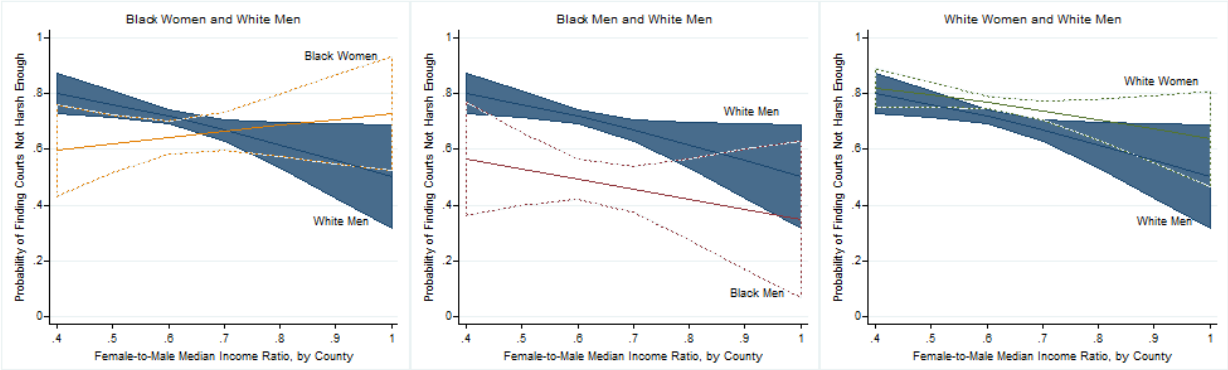
Logit estimates: 95% confidence intervals shaded/within dashes

Figure 10. Attitudes about Courts for Groups as Compared to White Men, by Gender Income Equality, with All Interactions and Controls
Outcome 2: Courts About Right Level of Harshness



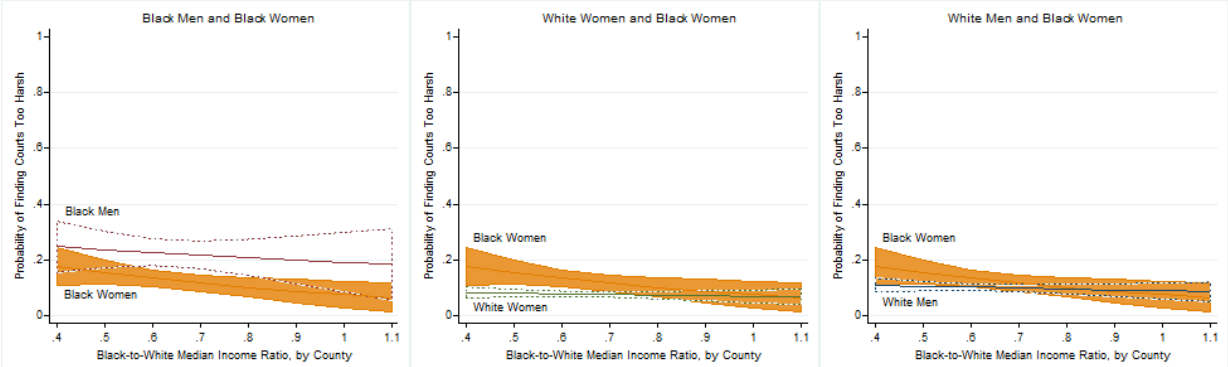
Logit estimates: 95% confidence intervals shaded/within dashes

Figure 11. Attitudes about Courts for Groups as Compared to White Men, by Gender Income Equality, with All Interactions and Controls
Outcome 3: Courts Not Harsh Enough



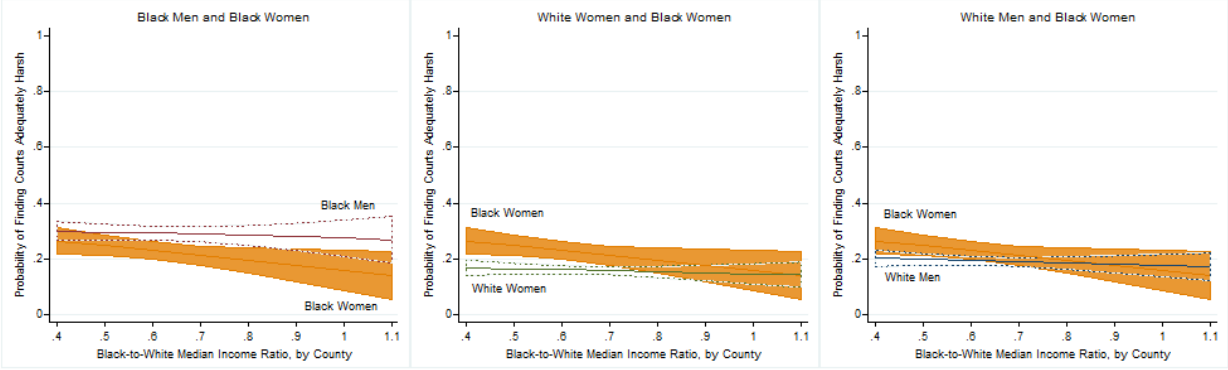
Logit estimates: 95% confidence intervals shaded/within dashes

Figure 12. Attitudes about Courts for Groups as Compared to Black Women, by Race Income Equality, with All Interactions and Controls
Outcome 1: Courts Too Harsh



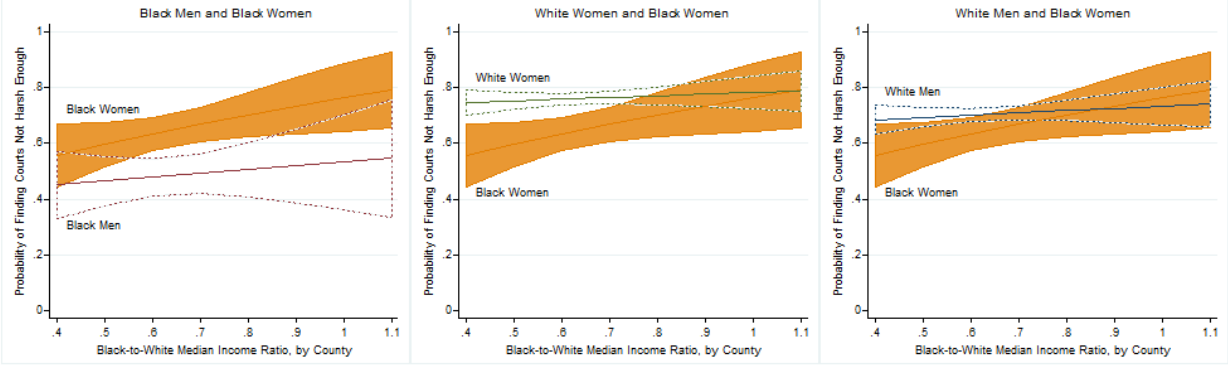
Logit estimates: 95% confidence intervals shaded/within dashes

Figure 13. Attitudes about Courts for Groups as Compared to Black Women, by Race Income Equality, with All Interactions and Controls
Outcome 2: Courts About Right Level of Harshness



Logit estimates: 95% confidence intervals shaded/within dashes

Figure 14. Attitudes about Courts for Groups as Compared to Black Women, by Race Income Equality, with All Interactions and Controls
Outcome 3: Courts Not Harsh Enough



Logit estimates: 95% confidence intervals shaded/within dashes