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Race, Severe Mental Illness, and Crime: An Intersectional Look into Stigma and Policy Implications

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Dedication

To my family, and especially my parents Joe and Becky: we finally did it! And I never could've finished this without you, your continued support and making me feel like I can accomplish anything. My dear siblings, I appreciate your help, understanding, and the occasional free meal over the years, and I can't wait to be able to buy you real gifts! A special shoutout to Ava though, for going above and beyond in these last few weeks. Rebekah, you were the best lab-twin I could've asked for, and I am so proud of both of us. In together, out together! And of course, Johnny, it has been a crazy couple of years, but you've always been there to make me feel better and support me through. I love all of you so much!

RACE, SEVERE MENTAL ILLNESS, AND CRIME: AN INTERSECTIONAL LOOK INTO STIGMA AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

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Abstract

Criminal behavior has been a long-discussed topic in the United States and often is tied to characteristics such as race and mental illness. The presumed connection between criminal behavior and being a member of a racial minority group or having a mental illness have been researched for years, however few researchers have sought to take an intersectional approach to investigate the unique experiences of people belonging to both groups in the criminal legal system. Using the lenses of attribution and intersectionality theories, the proposed studies sought to understand the effect of race that influences policy support of justice-involved people with mental illness using participants gathered from Amazon's CloudResearch platform. The study found that participants were significantly more likely to support rehabilitative correctional policies as compared to punitive policies, no matter the vignette information they were shown. However, attitudes about these groups of people and the police drove money allocation patterns. Mutability of justice-involved people, attitudes towards mental illness and support of the Defund the Police movement were some of the most notable. Though, these patters were not always in the direction expected; individuals who were not supportive of the Defund the Police movement, but saw the Black, violent vignette were much more likely to allocate money to mental health services as compared to correctional facilities or the police. The results suggests that there may be an element of social desirability in the participants, or it may be a demonstration of people overcorrecting for historical biases against Black men. The results have implications for both policymakers and in research, including the need for further exploration into concern for minority groups in the context of the criminal justice system, and the identification of areas that would benefit from educational interventions to reduce the discrepancies that are currently seen in the criminal justice system and offer more fair and just treatment.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Crime is a constant across the world; each country may struggle with different types of crime, but no one is immune to the individual and societal impact that criminal activity brings. According to a worldwide study conducted by the European Institute for Crime Prevention and Control, the United States has some of the highest rates of violent crime such as homicide and robbery, as well as nonviolent crimes including theft and other property crimes (Harrendorf et al., 2010). As people hear about new crimes each day, discussion regarding crime becomes more common as they try to explain and rationalize what exactly they believe is happening in our country. Some look to failures in policy, such as the systemic lack of funding to certain areas, often higher racial and ethnic minority neighborhoods, which may create social disparities that can result in frustration by disadvantaged communities who believe that crime may be a response to social injustice (Leaders, 2022). Others may look to internally-based attributions, such as the existence of evil, violent people who may commit crime with no regard to its impact on other people (Gold & Appelbaum, 2014; Pechorro et al., 2022), or mental illness (Corrigan et al., 2003; Maruna & King, 2009).

Many attributions of crime are derived from specific stereotypes of specific subgroups within the population, which sometimes lead to disparate legal responses. For example, although there is a disproportionate number of Black people in correctional facilities (Connolly et al., 2017; Western & Wildeman, 2009), research suggests that this may be due to issues including structural racism and over-policing in ethnic minority dense communities. Yet, this disparity of justice-involved Black individuals leads to stereotypes of them being bad (Nosek et al., 2007) and violent people (Correll et al., 2011; Wilson et al., 2017) more often than other races. Additionally, mental illness is disproportionately seen in incarcerated individuals (Hensel et al.,

2020; Steadman et al., 2009), which has led to beliefs that people with psychiatric diagnoses are violent, aggressive and unpredictable (Quintero Johnson & Riles, 2018; Robinson, 2019; Wolkenstein & Meyer, 2010). However, studies show that mental illness is rarely the cause of criminal behavior, rather, it is an outcome of the shared risked factors between mental illness and crime (Peterson et al., 2014). Contrary to popular beliefs, many of these attributions regarding crime are much more complex than what is understood by the public and warrant further investigation by researchers (Anser et al., 2020).

Misattributing criminal behavior, especially to controllable or stable factors, such as race or mental health status, results in negative beliefs and actions towards certain groups (Simonsson & Solomon, 2021). If Black people are perceived as being violent and criminogenic by other races, they may be avoided, given low expectations for success in life, or in the context criminal justice system they can be at risk for harsher punishment due to the assumption they'll offend again (Chiricos et al., 2004; Eberhart et al., 2004; White, 2015). If people with mental illness are perceived as unpredictable and out of control, they may elicit concerns regarding their ability to care for themselves, the safety of them being around other people, or in the context of the criminal justice system, it may be advocated that they are incarcerated longer to ensure they receive medical attention (Hall et al. 2019). Additionally, there is further concern for justice-involved people who may be a part of more than one stigmatized population, and how the intersection of their identities may further exacerbate discrimination. When significant proportions of the public are prejudiced towards certain groups of people, particularly in relation to crime, there can be large-scale impacts including support for policies that may further alienate and harm that faction, while ignoring policies that may help ameliorate issues experienced by them to reduce crime but are seen as too lenient (Dunbar, 2020; Sandys et al., 2018). If policies

are determined through public support, and public support is influenced by attitudes towards certain groups rather than knowledge, it is critical to examine the public perceptions of certain groups of individuals who are often (wrongly) associated with criminal activity to understand prejudicial attitudes that may further exacerbate divisions in our community. Additionally, by identifying the populations that elicit the most negative attitudes from the public, community members can work to correct any misconceptions with the hope of people voting more fairly and positively no matter who the policy will help. If members of the public are able to correct any biases they hold and learn more about the ideal interventions for justice-involved people, it is possible that they will be more supportive of implementing rehabilitative policies and less supportive of punitive policies and policies that incidentally discriminate against certain groups of people.

While much research has focused on the impact of certain traits such as race and mental health status on support for correctional policy (Fazel & Grann, 2006; Ghiasi et al., 2023; Hetey & Eberhardt, 2018; Piquero & Brame, 2008), few studies have used an experimental, intersectional approach to assess the compounded effect of these traits. Additionally, the studies that have sought to do so are often hindered by a ceiling effect where there is already so much stigma associated with having one label (e.g., member of ethnic minority group), there is no room to measure the stigma that may be added by another label (e.g., person with mental illness) (Eno Louden et al., 2019). This issue calls for a different approach to such research, as this intersection is crucial to examine further due to the few but concerning discoveries regarding the harsher treatment of Black justice-involved people with mental illness (Maeder, 2020; Semenza, 2023). Therefore, the present study seeks to address the limitations of the prior work, which will be described in depth later in the paper. The study will focus on addressing three major

questions: 1) How is policy support influenced by the provision of information regarding mental health disparities in correctional settings? 2) What differences in policy support are found when race and the type of crime of a justice-involved person with mental illness is manipulated? 3) What attributions of criminal behavior are applied to justice-involved people in general, as well as specific racial and crime category subgroups?

Theoretical Basis

The current study will be examining perceptions and decision-making from several directions, and therefore will consider multiple theoretical frameworks. The major theoretical family underlying the current study is the Attribution Theories, which focus on how individuals attempt to explain their own or other people's behaviors (Heider, 1958). This theory will provide context for the traits that may be associated with perceptions of criminal behavior for people with mental illness and racial minorities. In addition, Intersectionality Theory will be used to contextualize the study. Intersectionality theory notes that while there are distinct experiences by different groups of people due to their different characteristics and experiences (e.g., race, sex), it is imperative to also consider the compounded effect of such traits. This theory will help us to appraise differences found in attitudes towards different races with and without mental illness in the justice system. Rational Choice Theory (RCT) will be discussed later as it relates to policy support. RCT is a multidisciplinary theory that suggests that voters will support laws and regulations that benefit them the most (Riker, 1995). RCT will help connect the attitudes that members of the public may have against different groups of justice-involved people to how that affects their support for various policies or laws.

Attribution Theory

As mentioned above, attribution-based theories attempt to explain how what people perceive to be the cause of a problem influences their future behavior (Weiner, 2008). Attribution theory was developed from work by Fritz Heider (1958) who posited that it is natural for individuals to seek explanations for things that happen, especially under negative or unexpected circumstances (Spink & Nickel, 2018). Perceived attributions to behaviors are closely related to stigma; attributions are controllable causes of behavior that are used to blame a stigmatized target, which then justified further stigmatization (Hegarty & Golden, 2008). Attribution theory distinguishes two types of causes, internal and external (Gudjonsson, 1984; Heider, 1958). Internal causes are when the cause of a behavior is thought to be a personality or characteristic-based action, whereas external causes are due to societal or environmental factors.

There are numerous documented attributions to crime, with some being backed by fact or theory, and others derived from stigma, prejudice, or disdain. These include: the belief that people commit crimes due to a lack of education or spiritual guidance, that they are desperate, evil, ill or on drugs, they were influenced by the media or their peers, they have violent tendencies, or that mental illness or previous trauma has made them act out (Carroll et al., 1987; NetNewsLedger, 2019; Orlet-Fabregat & Perez, 1992; Weatherburn, 2001). Additionally, the theory considers perceived freedom to act, which allows an unconscious consideration of mutability when two options are both internal and external to determine which attribution is more severe (Snyder, 1976). For example, consider a person who commits an assault because they were angry compared to someone who commits an assault because they were experiencing hallucinations and feared for their life. In both cases, the attribution to crime is internal, however it is likely that the angry individual would likely be seen as more culpable for their crime than

the individual with hallucinations, as the latter can both be treated for why they committed that crime and was less in control at the time of the offense. Perceived culpability and mutability can in turn lead to differences in sentencing or other legal decision making, and depending on the context these differences may not always be just (Goodman-Delahunty & Sporer, 2010; Mallicoat & Brown, 2008; Maruna & King, 2009; Monterosso et al., 2005).

Applying this concept to the current study, research conducted around the inception of these theories suggest that there would be significant differences in attributions applied to individuals with mental illness than those with no mental illness (Gudjonsson, 1984). Specifically, responsibility is placed more heavily on individuals who committed crimes and have never had mental health issues *if* a person believes that people with mental illness are less in control of their behavior (Corrigan et al., 2003). Attributing criminal behavior to mental illness occurs through a series of assumptions, beginning with an outsider making this assumption. If they believe that the mental illness makes the person in question act in ways they typically wouldn't (e.g. committing a crime due to an illness itself), they are much more likely to place blame on the illness, rather than the person, resulting in more rehabilitative suggestions rather than punishment. On the other hand, if the person who has committed a crime has no history of mental illness, nor are they automatically believed to be acting due to illness, people would seek other attributions to explain the behavior. This opens the door to attribute the behavior to assumptions about criminality, which may be mitigating (e.g. history of trauma, only acting due to desperation) or aggravating (e.g. bad character, raised poorly).

With ambiguity in such situations, people may also rely on other factors to form their attribution, such as the race of the person, the crime they committed, or their own beliefs of justice-involved people in general (Vargas, 2014). While there are a number of explicit policies

in place for justice-involved people with mental illness intended to regulate their outcomes, other factors, such as race, have also been found to influence decision-making, resulting in judges or juries making presumptions of blame based on a characteristic that should not be considered (Rodriguez, 2013; Vargas, 2014). For example, research suggests that crime can be perceived as a "Black Phenomenon", where criminal behavior is simply attributed to the culture and environment of Black individuals (Chiricos et al., 2004; Chiricos et al., 2012; Unnever & Cullen, 2012). This presumption can lead to extremely negative beliefs about how likely Black individuals are to offend and reoffend, as well as their ability to change in the future which ultimately may impact their treatment by legal actors. If different attributions are being applied to characteristics such as race or mental health status in varying ways, even unconsciously, these systematic errors may severely impede the fairness of the justice system and the safety of various groups of people.

Intersectionality Theory

Intersectionality theory posits that belonging to numerous minority groups results in unique experiences, and the study of individuals with intersecting identities must be studied in its own context, rather than combining literature regarding single identities (Levine-Rasky, 2011). While many researchers look at the role of certain traits such as race/ethnicity, sex, socioeconomic status and more on various outcomes, few studies have considered the compounded effect of these identities. The Combahee River Collective was a group of Black feminists who wrote about their struggle of being Black women, and how the oppression is "experienced simultaneously" (Combahee River Collective, 1977/1995, p. 234). Not only did they argue that individuals in intersecting minority groups are more susceptible to prejudice or stigma, but they may be less served by laws, policies and advocates designed to help one, but not

all, facets of their identity (Cole, 2009). Later, a legal researcher and feminist wrote a critique suggesting the demarginalization of race and sex in research, citing many of the same concerns as the Combahee River Collective, but with an emphasis on the legal implications (Crenshaw, 1989; Crenshaw, 1993). Specifically, she advocated for Black women plaintiffs in discrimination and sexual violence cases, whose experiences are often misjudged as advocates for feminism and antiracism had historically failed to consider the impact of being a minority in both of those groups. Without studying the impact of the intersectional discrimination, the unique experiences of Black women were being simplified, leading to a lack of understanding of their distinctive struggles. For example, the combination of gender and class oppression, along with racially discriminatory employment and housing processes leading to a greater likelihood of being in violent relationships where they are unable to leave safely (Crenshaw, 1994). This experience is unique to Black women as they are oppressed in numerous ways that interact with each other and exemplifies the need to investigate biases and discrimination through an intersectional lens to fully understand both the experiences of individuals in multiple minority groups, as well as the perceptions of such people.

This critique led to an uptick in research of intersecting identities, and the split of intersectionality theories to additive theories of stigma. Since then, research has expanded intersectionality theory to not focus solely on race and sex, but also other societal issues including socioeconomic status, social identities, and mental illness (Bauer et al., 2021). Researchers also tend to differentiate between stigma and prejudice in this context (Goffman, 1963; Phelan et al., 2008). Historically, stigma refers to negative beliefs held against individuals for a trait that they have that prevents them from social acceptance (e.g. having a mental illness). Prejudice is applied to groups and is based upon a negative generalization to that group and its

members (e.g. race). While stigma, prejudice, and discrimination have specified contexts for use, researchers find that they are typically looking at the same types of elicited behavior from others and can be considered as a single entity and will therefore be used interchangeably in the current paper. It is suggested that when dealing with intersectionality in research, three questions are asked: 1) Who is included within this category, 2) What role does inequality play, and 3) Where are there similarities? (Cole, 2009). By doing so, researchers can better understand how being a member of multiple categories may shape the experience of stigma and lead to possible differential outcomes in the legal system. For the case of the current study, I seek to understand the effect of being Black with a diagnosis of mental illness and how it compares to being White with a mental illness in the context of the legal system. To this point, most research on justice-involved people with mental illness considers race as a variable but fails to integrate racial identities and the resulting unique experiences into research questions (Baskin-Sommers et al., 2014). As discussed, considering the intersectionality of these identities is imperative to ensure fair and just treatment to individuals that are members of more than one stigmatized identity. The role of inequality will be discussed in depth later in the paper, however both groups have historically been treated differently in both the community and in the justice system.

Stigma/Biases

Mental Illness

It is important to investigate the stigma of justice-involved people with mental illness, as holding certain negative attitudes towards this group makes it likely that researchers might find distinct attributions regarding why they commit crimes that are rooted in these stigmatizing attitudes. The current study will focus on severe mental illness (SMI), which most commonly includes psychotic disorders, bipolar disorder, and treatment-resistant major depressive disorder

(Evans et al., 2016). Although these disorders aren't always the most seen or the first to come to mind when mental illness is discussed, they are often found to be the most stigmatized due to their popular portrayals in media and other negative coverage (Perciful & Meyer, 2017; Quintero Johnson & Riles, 2018). Specifically, false narratives seen in films, television or misleading news stories perpetrate distorted views as to what disorders of severe mental illness are and the traits of people with such diagnoses (Batastini et al., 2014; Bourassa, 2018; Prenzler et al., 2013; Perciful & Meyer, 2017; Quintero Johnson & Riles, 2018; Ruiz & Miller, 2004). This ultimately impacts the way in which many people interact with those with SMI, especially regarding how people believe that person may act towards them, and how they attribute any behavior that may be seen as "atypical". For example, if a person with severe mental illness gets frustrated and reacts in an agitated manner due to their frustration, an observer who holds negative opinions about mental illness in general may consider their reaction to be more out of control and abnormal due to their illness, resulting in more fear or anxiety in the interaction. As one of the goals of the study is to parse apart the stigma of race from mental illness, the category of SMI was chosen due to its more extreme perceptions from members of the public, as well as the large body of work looking at the stigma of such disorders.

General Mental Illness Stigma

Myths surrounding what mental illnesses are and how they present contribute to the fear and concern surrounding these disorders (Benbow et al., 2011). The topic of mental illness is prevalent across movies and films, often depicting individuals in extreme states, associating them with violence, and using terms to describe them such as "psycho" or "crazy" (Wahl, 2003). Schizophrenia is one of the disorders receiving the most attention, yet it is often misconstrued. In reality, schizophrenia is a relatively uncommon disorder, and people with schizophrenia most

commonly experience negative symptoms (e.g. lack of emotion, lack of interest in activities) and basic auditory hallucinations (Akram et al., 2009; American Psychiatric Association, 2013; Quintero Johnson & Riles, 2018). However, research finds that the public tends to associate schizophrenia with extreme hallucinations, delusions and bizarre behavioral symptoms. When people tend to hold stereotypical views of disorders, or describe disorders based upon common film portrayals of such disorders, they are more likely to hold clichéd and negative perceptions of mental illness overall (e.g. violent, crazy, unpredictable), and report being more uncomfortable in interacting with diagnosed individuals (Quintero Johnson & Riles, 2018). These misconceptions are compounded by the fact that few people have opportunities to associate with individuals with schizophrenia, so many people cannot educate themselves or interact with people living functional lives with their diagnosis (Owen, 2007; Perciful & Meyer, 2016). When considering all disorders of severe mental illness, researchers find that people who believe that diagnoses that are medically based will be more stable and serious, resulting in a greater preference for social distance and perceptions that they are more dangerous (Dar-Nimrod & Heine, 2011; Haslam, 2011; Phelan, 2005). However, research struggles to establish a strong connection between mental illness and violence, and people diagnosed with severe mental illness are actually at a greater risk to be victims, rather than perpetrators of crime (Douglas et al., 2009; Wehring & Carpenter, 2011). This continued pattern of attributing crime to mental illness is likely due to the aforementioned misguided beliefs of mental illness, such as the perception that they are violent, unpredictable, dangerous or simply crazy. Holding such stigmatizing attitudes likely puts people at risk to use these heuristics when presented with ambiguous situations involving a justice-involved person, leading them to attribute crime to the mental illness itself. While this

connection between mental illness and the criminal justice system remains prevalent, it is often not for the reasons that people often believe.

Criminal Justice Biases

There is a breadth of research that focuses on the differential outcomes of individuals with mental illness across all critical points of the criminal justice system, starting with police interactions. Contact between police officers and individuals with SMI do not only occur in the context of arrest or patrolling, as police officers may need to act as first responders as well in situations such as mental health crises. In a first-responder context, police officers are tasked with de-escalation of emergent situations such as suicidal gestures or other psychiatric emergencies. However, police officers are rarely trained to the same degree as mental health professionals, which may result more stress and less optimal care (Prenzler et al., 2013). Additionally, and especially if an officer is unaware of a mental health condition, odd or "noncompliant" behavior exhibited by the person being called for may increase the anxiety or perception of dangerousness experienced by the officer, which in turn increases the rate at which people with SMI are arrested (Cueller et al., 2007; Teplin ,1984). When it is explicit that a person has a mental illness, officers report feeling more hypervigilant during interactions due to concern that the individual will be unpredictable and violent (Ruiz & Miller, 2004), however they also note that they do not change the way in which they approach such individuals (Cordner, 2006). Although on the surface it may seem admirable that officers don't report differential treatment, there may be situations in which an officer should approach situations with more caution and care. If a person is in active psychosis, and officers are aware, they may want to utilize different approaches and exercise greater patience when trying to talk to and gain compliance from the person in question. Research finds that a lack of knowledge of psychiatric issues and training in

mental health de-escalation leads to escalated violence and increased risk of injury or death for both officers and those interacting with them, which indicates that greater skills training, as well as use of the skills when needed is imperative for more positive outcomes between police officers and people with mental illness (Prenzler et al., 2013; Ruiz & Miller, 2004).

Individuals with SMI may also receive differential treatment during the sentencing phase, with one of the most powerful decision-makers being a judge. Judges not only may decide the fate of an individual during sentencing phases of court proceedings, but they also make bail decisions upon an individual's booking to jail. Some research suggests that individuals with mental illness are less likely to be released on personal recognizance (PR) bonds, meaning they must rely on monetary bails to leave jail prior to court proceedings (Massaro, 2004). This is likely due to concern that the individual is not in enough control to not commit another crime, or that they need medical help which jail can provide, both of which are attributes of mental illness (Sörman et al., 2020). Research has found that when looking at judge decision making in people with mental illness, the severity of the crime is one of the biggest factors. For example, while justice-involved people with mental illness have odds up to 50% greater than those without mental illness to spend time in jail when they commit low-level misdemeanor offenses (Hall et al. 2019; Stroud, 2018), there seems to be no differential treatment when they commit felony level offenses (Hall et al. 2019). Researchers believe that this is due to the discretion that is held by judges in misdemeanor cases, resulting in them looking to extralegal matters to influence their decision. Thus, negative attributions of people with mental illness results in judges being more likely to give harsher sanctions, contributing to the disproportionate amount of people with mental illness in the corrections system.

In juror research, findings are mixed. Some studies find that a diagnosis of a mental illness may result in more lenient sentences for a defendant (Barnett et al., 2007; Barnett et al., 2004; Sabbagh, 2011), while others find harsher sanctions imposed (Davidson & Rosky, 2014; Sandys et al., 2018). The finding of mental illness as an aggravating factor seems to be more salient with violent crimes, such as murder, as jurors may believe that the heinousness of the act is attributed to the mental illness and the person is dangerous, or that mental illness information is being brought up to manipulate the jury into being more sympathetic (Sandys et al., 2018). Additionally, jury research finds that individuals with mental illness are less likely to be given the option of parole in their sentencing, meaning that they would have to serve out their full punishment, rather than having community monitoring as an option (Sabbagh, 2011). This is likely due to people attributing the inability to complete terms of supervision with mental illness and the lack of control or stability individuals with disorders may experience. On the other hand, mental illness may be treated as a mitigating factor, as the individual is perceived as committing their crime due to illness and they need help rather than punishment (Corrigan et al., 2003; Markowitz & Watson, 2015).

Mental illness is also common in probation clients. Researchers find that probation officers rate their clients who are diagnosed with mental illness as being higher risk for reoffending as compared to those with no mental illness history, which often leads to greater levels of supervision and harsher punishment if any terms of probation are broken (Eno Louden et al., 2018; Eno Louden et al., 2008; Eno Louden & Skeem 2013; Gottfredson et al., 1982; Soloman et al., 2002). This is likely again due to attributing crime and related issues to mental illness, and being concerned of the longevity of the disorder influencing future antisocial behavior. While education programs for probation officers show success in reducing differential

treatment of their clients with mental illness and increasing problem solving tactics which ultimately better client outcomes, not all probation officers are required to be trained in the handling of clients with mental illness (Eno Louden et al., 2008; Link & Phelan, 2001; Pinfold et al., 2003). Overall, justice-involved people with mental illness are met with disadvantages at all intercepts of the criminal justice system due to distorted attributions of their behavior, their risk to reoffend and their need for extra monitoring. The increased attention placed on this group also puts them at greater risk for future charges, as they are more likely to be caught and sanctioned for any violations they may commit as compared to people without mental illness (Eno Louden et al., 2018; Eno Louden et al., 2008; Eno Louden & Skeem 2013). As such, this group continues to be disproportionally represented in the criminal justice system, with difficulty leaving the system once they enter. While the justice-system presents unique difficulties for people with mental illness, they also experience disadvantages upon their release back into the community.

Community Biases of Justice Involved People. While the previous sections discuss the implications of stigmatizing beliefs of community members in the legal setting, including voting for judges who make decisions, juries being made up of community members and attitudes by police and probation officers often reflect those of the public, these nonlegal actors also influence justice-involved people with mental illness after their release back into the community. Negative attitudes towards individuals with mental illness or prior justice-involved people may lead to discrimination in hiring practices and housing agreements, as well as negative social interactions (Bastastini et al., 2014; Bourassa, 2018; Norman et al., 2008; Saunders, 2003; Shankar et al., 2014). The maintenance of a job upon release from jail or prison is often required to satisfy terms or probation and parole (Andrews & Bonta, 2007; Roddy & Morash, 2020; Sheppard & Ricciardelli. 2020). Additionally, having a job and a regular schedule can be extremely beneficial

for managing mental illnesses while maintaining income and self-efficacy. However, being hired may be more difficult for individuals who have to disclose either prior justice involvement or mental health status due to both the stigma of those labels, but also as those with either of these labels are more likely to have less education or a shorter employment history (Rakis, 2005). Stigmas of people with prior justice-involvement to the workplace include beliefs that they will not be hard workers, they might be sneaky or dishonest, or that their skills may not be good enough to excel at the job they are applying to (Batastini et al., 2014; Bourassa, 2018; Graffam et al., 2008). Even if a person has the vocational skills required by a job, having previous criminal convictions may result in hiring managers viewing them as less employable (Varghese et al., 2009). On the other hand, those with diagnosed mental illnesses tend to be viewed as a drain of resources (especially human resources), a distraction from productivity of the workplace, or a hire that would require extra assistance and monitoring (Shankar et al., 2014). They are also more likely to be treated unfairly, including lower pay than someone without a mental illness might receive (Overton & Medina, 2008). Some research has applied intersectional work to this issue and examined the interaction of criminal justice involvement and mental illness in hiring patterns, finding that JIPMI are perceived as the worst candidates for hire (Batastini et al., 2014; Graffam et al., 2008). However, studies demonstrate that if employers are provided with information about the benefits of holding a job to individuals with mental illness or justice-involvement, they may be more likely to hire a person with those labels (Batastini et al., 2014).

Similar prejudicial trends are found in the context of housing (Norman et al., 2008). Research has found that even if told that an individual is stable, nonviolent, and medicated, 22% of housing managers refused to rent if that person had recently had a stay in a psychiatric hospital (Alisky & Ickowski, 1990). Additionally, individuals with SMI may be reliant on Social

Security Income (McApline & Warner, 2000), which may limit their options for housing, resulting in being forced to live in inadequate housing, or in areas that are not conducive to their disorder management (Kirby & Keon, 2006; Kyle & Dunn, 2008). In sum, these differences in how JIPMI are treated are likely coming from attributions including their illness prohibiting them from being in control or making them more prone to violence, that they are more likely to use drugs or that they cannot make money or get needed things in legitimate ways due to laziness or inability to work.

Race

Similar to mental illness, investigating the racial prejudice towards justice-involved people will shed light on the negative attitudes held towards the group and the distinct attributions to criminal behavior that may exist. Racial biases have also been documented for decades and are salient in the context of the criminal justice-system but have roots in systemic discrimination beginning over a century ago. Due to the prejudice experienced by Black individuals for hundreds of years, and the corresponding push back of various laws intended to further oppress them, Black individuals have since been associated with attributions including being prone to anger, violence, deviancy, and taking advantage of the US through abuse of welfare or other public assistance (Sklar, 1995; Unnever & Gabbidon, 2011). While prejudice, unconscious or not, can be seen across all races, the current paper will only be focusing on Black individuals and how they compare to decisions made for White individuals, as Black people are the most over-criminalized group, whereas White people are some of the least criminalized (Beck, 2021; Beckett et al., 2006; Berdejó, 2017; Kutateladze et al., 2012). Attributing crime to the Black experience is a very harmful thought pattern, but has been found to occur (Chiricos et al., 2004; Chiricos et al., 2012; Unnever & Cullen, 2012). This is often correlated with

prejudicial beliefs that Black people are simply more prone to commit crimes, that they have less regard for laws, and that they are an inherently violent race (Correll et al., 2011; Lundequam, 2021; Nosek et al., 2007; Unnever & Gabbidon, 2011; Wilson et al., 2017).The following section will discuss differential treatment in the justice system and after that has been attributed to racial factors and will note the discrimination that can be associated with being Black in the United States.

General Racial Prejudice. While explicit racism in America dates to the country's inception, solutions to inequality even after the end of slavery, were at best Band-Aids over bullet wounds. Policies set forth by the government and laws created a social hierarchy, with Whiteness being a necessary quality for opportunity (Lavalley & Johnson, 2022). The disadvantages of being Black spanned voting, healthcare treatment, education and treatment by the corrections system (Hoberman, 2012; Jones & Williams, 2018). Civil Rights Advocates continue to fight for the equality of all races, and they have made major progress from where our country started, however complete equality is still slightly out of reach. While policymakers and most residents of the United States would like to think that there are no longer structural inequalities in place, this is not the case. While major issues of the impact of laws on the prevalence of Black people in our corrections system will be discussed in the following sections, other systemic barriers remain in place that continue to harm the Black community and other ethnic minority groups (Lavalley & Johnson, 2022). One recent example is housing and neighborhood safety.

De-industrialization in the 1960-1970s hit the Black community harder than the White community, and housing discrimination, or "red-lining" led to segregation of White and Black communities through denial of insured mortgages for homes in or near predominantly Black

neighborhoods (Gross, 2017; Hammond & Jain, 2020). As neighborhoods were created for White families in what would later be more affluent areas of towns, Black neighborhoods reduced in value, ultimately becoming impoverished and underserved areas. Recent research using data from the US Census Bureau finds that 20.9% of Black Americans live in disadvantaged communities, compared to only 4.3% of White Americans (Christie-Mizell, 2022). Additionally, the disproportionate number of Black Americans living in disadvantaged communities is associated with a number of risk-factors to criminal activity including lack of afterschool activities, poor education resources and general over policing (Hinton et al., 2018). The cyclical nature of being stuck in disadvantaged neighborhoods, which lead to an increased risk of engaging in crime, making it difficult for the individual or their family to leave the neighborhood can result in generational patterns of poverty and criminal risk (Hinton et al., 2018).

Criminal Justice Biases. Black men make up around 13% of the population in the United States, but around 33% of those incarcerated (Hinton et al., 2018). Scholars argue that this disparity is not due to an increased risk of crime, but historical misattributions and discriminatory legal practices leading to the inaccuracy that Black individuals are more criminally active than other racial groups (Hinton et al., 2018). Research regarding racial attributions to crime have typically found that Black individuals are perceived as more negative and guilty than White individuals (Lundequam, 2021). Even in more general stigma research, participants are more likely to consider Black individuals to be bad (Nosek et al., 2007) and violent (Correll et al., 2011; Wilson et al., 2017).

Biases in the criminal justice system begin with the laws that allow for targeting of certain races at officer discretion. While officers may believe that they are doing right by society

in stopping what they perceive to be as suspicious individuals, there are certain systemic issues on top of attributional biases that lead to an over-policing of disadvantaged communities, disproportionately impacting Black people (Janetta et al., 2014; Massey & Denton, 1993; Mauer, 2007). For example, certain laws are in place such as hot spots policing, which is location-based patrolling in specific locations which are often in minority neighborhoods (Braga et al., 2012). Additionally, increased monitoring may impact individuals in these neighborhoods through policies such as the three-strikes law, which is designed to target repeated violent offenders but has had the unintentional consequence of impacting low-level and non-violent repeat individuals for crimes such as possession of controlled substances (Austin et al., 2000; Mauer, 2007). This is further impacted by other laws increasing the severity of punishment for crimes that are more common in communities with lower socioeconomic statuses, such as the increased punishment for possession of crack cocaine, leading to biased punishment for such communities (Beckett et al., 2006).

Racially biased decision-making is also present during court proceedings upon arrest, starting with pretrial judge determinations. While most people would like to believe that the legal system is fair, recent examples have shown that racial prejudice is alive and well in some people. In 2020, a federal judge in Michigan stated that the Black client "looked like a criminal", leading to the state overturning the decision due to the inappropriate nature of the comments (Che, 2023). While such biases may not always be quite this explicit, studies have found disparities in the treatment of Black justice-involved people. Attributing being Black itself as a risk factor for crime results in a stable view of Black individuals, which may lead legal actors to believe that justice-involved Black individuals are unable to desist from a criminal lifestyle, therefore requiring lengthier sentences and overall harsher sanctions. Black defendants are significantly

more likely to receive pretrial detention, which has shown to increase the likelihood of pleading guilty for a crime (Jones, 2013; Kutateladze et al., 2012; Spohn, 2009; Sutton, 2013). This finding is exasperated by the darker the skin of the individual has. Black defendants are also significantly less likely to get charges dropped as compared to White men, with one study finding that White defendants are up to 25% more likely for their highest charge to be dropped than their Black counterparts in misdemeanor cases (Berdejó, 2017). Additionally, dark-skinned Black men receive prison sentences up to a year and a half longer than White men, even when controlling for variables such as criminal history and disproportionate arrests due to racist policies (Eberhardt et al., 2006; Hochschild & Weaver, 2007; Spohn, 2009). Victimology may also change the punishment handed down by legal actors. In homicide cases, if a victim is White, defendants are over two times more likely to receive a death penalty if they are Black (Eberhardt et al., 2006).

Punishment of criminal cases may be mitigated by factors such as traumatic pasts or presence of illness; however these defenses rely on the support of legal actors to advocate for a client to be psychiatrically evaluated. Unfortunately, research suggests differential treatment by legal actors and medical professionals in the rate of evaluation and determination made for minority groups. As such, Black individuals are not only less likely to be diagnosed with a mental illness, but those with mental illness are significantly less likely to have their behavior attributed to that illness even if it was the driving force in their behavior (Thompson, 2010). Studies find that in examples of mass shootings, Black individuals are seen as acting on violent tendencies, whereas White individuals are more likely to be framed as having a mental illness and acting out of character (Duxbery et al., 2018). Such attributions can be mitigating and lead to a willingness to offer mental health services while incarcerated or allow for defenses such as not

guilty by mental disease or defect to be argued (Reznek, 2005), yet if Black individuals are automatically perceived as inherently criminal, rather than ill, it diminishes their chances of having their behavior attributed to external or mitigating causes. Contributing to this problem is the fact that Black people are less likely to receive a mental health diagnosis even when presenting with the same symptoms as a White counterpart (Pottick et al., 2007). In a study providing various clinical mental health providers with a vignette of a youth experiencing clinically antisocial symptomology, White youths were significantly more likely than Black youths to be rated as suffering from a mental health or psychiatric disorder. This is likely due to the notion that it is more normative for Black youths to display such behaviors, therefore it is not indicative of any larger issue in that population. On the other hand, White youths are not considered to be as violent or antisocial, so they are given the benefit of the doubt and thought to be struggling with mental illness. This attribution of Black youths being violent and White youths not being violent perpetuates the racial bias in the justice-system, by White youths being more likely to be diverted to special services as they are acting out of character when committing violent offenses, whereas the normative experience of a violent Black youth is being incarcerated and punished instead (Pickett et al., 2014). This translates to literature on adults as well, where Black justice-involved people are less likely to both be referred for psychiatric evaluation, and, when compared with White counterparts with similar symptomology, they are less likely to be diagnosed and provided services (Thompson, 2010). While rates of violent crime do tend to be higher in urban neighborhoods with large proportions of minority populations, most violent crimes are more associated with the context of the neighborhood, rather than racial tendencies (U.S. Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2016; Hollie & Coolhart, 2020). More punitive behaviors

towards racial minorities is also demonstrated in other areas of the legal system, such as during the probation process.

Research has shown that probation officer attitudes of various groups tend to reflect those of the community (Eno Louden et al., 2020). If the perception that Black individuals are more violent or a greater risk to the community is a pervasive, Black clients will continue to be disadvantaged while behaving the same as White clients. Disparities in the proportion of Black probation clients are clear, as 30% of the probation population is made up by Black adults, although they only make up 13% of the U.S. population (Horowitz & Utada, 2018). This is due to minorities not only being more likely to be arrested, but they are more likely to be charged with more offenses, leading to receiving higher risk scores due to more extensive criminal histories, a greater likelihood of being placed on probation, and being more likely to be found reported for violating probation leading to extra charges and more time spent in jail (Janetta et al., 2014). One study regarding probation officers' perceptions of their clients found that officers were more likely to attribute internal characteristics, such as personality traits, to Black clients and more external attributions, such as their parental upbringing, to White clients (Bridges & Steen, 1998). This finding held even after controlling for prior justice involvement and offense severity, indicating that race was the driving factor for probation officers' negative views of their Black clients. Such findings are problematic, as internal attributions of crime often contribute to harsher sanctions and more negative perceptions, such as being more responsible for their crime, proneness to violence or continued offending, as demonstrated in the same study. A recent study by Saunders and Midgette found that as officers spend less time with their clients, racial biases in responses to violations increase (2023). Specifically, it seems as though when they have clients

that need less supervision, the officers tended to rely on heuristics of Black and White clients leading to more punitive measures being taken against their Black clients.

Community Biases of Black Justice-Involved People. As mentioned earlier, obtaining housing and employment is essential for desistance from crime (Andrews & Bonta, 2007; Bastastini et al., 2014; Bourassa, 2018; Norman et al., 2008; Saunders, 2003; Shankar et al., 2014). However, being a person of color, especially with a criminal record, can also contribute to difficulties in reaching these goals. Pager and colleagues conducted a study in which they matched Black and White individuals and sent them to apply to various jobs, while manipulating if they did or did not have a criminal history and found two major issues (2009). First, there were fewer discussions to clarify the circumstances surrounding the criminal history in Black applicants, which contributed to significantly fewer callbacks. Second, and regardless of discussions during the application and interview process, Black applicants were overall offered significantly less jobs than White applicants in the same positions. Some researchers propose that the racial disparity in jobs post-incarceration may be due to the actual location of where jobs that are willing to hire justice-involved people are, which issues of red-lining and other housing disadvantages associated with Black individuals (Rucks-Ahidiana et al., 2020).

Research on neighborhood makeups find that minority justice-involved people are more likely to reside in low-income neighborhoods than White justice-involved people (Hipp et al., 2010; Morenoff et al., 2010). Other researchers have argued that the disparity of living prior to justice-involvement also needs to be considered, leading to studies that look at the impact of justice-involvement on neighborhood income changes. Massoglia and colleagues found that only White individuals had a significant change in moving to more disadvantaged neighborhoods after

incarceration, due to the fact that White justice-involved people are more likely to come from more advantaged neighborhoods in the first place so interaction impacts their living more (2013).

In sum, the core issues of these racial differences are that justice-involved people who are Black are acting normatively, so other attributions to their behavior are not needed, as they are simply offending because of the nature of their race. On the other hand, it is not as typical for a White person to commit crimes, therefore people seek other explanations as to why they commit crimes, which primarily are external in nature (Bridges & Steen, 1998; Goff et al., 2014).

The Intersection of Race, Mental Illness, and Crime

As discussed earlier, using an intersectional lens is imperative in order to truly understand the unique experiences of people who are part of multiple stigmatized groups. Few studies have considered the intersectionality of race and mental illness in the previously discussed questions. When looking at decisions being made in court, research finds that mental illness biases may be exacerbated by race (Maeder, 2020). Specifically, the more severe a disorder of mental illness is thought to be results in greater likelihood of guilty rather than not guilty by reason of insanity verdicts if a defendant is Black. Black defendants had odds six times greater to receive a guilty verdict if they have schizophrenia than if they have depression, a result not found in the White defendants. Semenza and colleagues looked at staff violence of correctional staff against JIPMI (2023). Their results illustrated a disproportionate amount of violence against Black inmates and individuals with mental illness. However, they did not find a significant interaction between race and mental illness diagnoses, suggesting that race serves as an independent risk factor of being a victim of staff violence. Additionally, Black adults with SMI are less likely to be employed than White even if receiving the same mental health services (Burke-Miller et al., 2006)

Policy

There are numerous ways for politicians and legal actors to control crime through policy. Some policies focus on rehabilitation, with the goal of long-term change that results in less crime (Andrews & Bonta, 2010). Other policies focus on punishment, which seek to limit crime through determent and incarceration. In each category, there are policies that have been successful, and others that may not have had the desired outcome. The following section will consider the various types of policies that have been implemented in the United States and how effective they have been in garnering support and reducing criminal activity. This is best understood in the context of Rational Choice Theory, which provides insight as to why certain policies continue to be supported despite lack of success, as well as ways in which policymakers may be able to encourage support for other types of policy.

Rational Choice Theory

Rational Choice Theory as applied to policy analysis is a family of theories, all of which seek to explain decision making in the context of voting and political support (Fischer & Miller, 2006). The theory was developed by William Riker, who combined economic and game-theoretic approaches to attempt to mathematically predict various political behaviors (Green & Shapiro, 1994). Rational choice theory begins with the assumption that people are rational beings who choose actions that are both feasible and maximize their utility through cost-benefit analysis. Additionally, people hold rank-ordered preferences, and support or make decisions based on the hierarchy of those desires. These preferences must also be consistent, or transitive. For example, in the context of victimization, if a person prioritizes (a) their safety over (b) incarcerating people who may be at higher risk to victimize them over (c) fair and just laws, it can be assumed that they also prioritize their own safety over fair and just laws.

Some researchers argue that the selfishness that is inherent in rational choice theory may simplify human nature too much (Sanchez-Cuenca, 2008). Specifically, although choices are made that, per the theory, are meant to increase utility, sometimes they increase utility in a way that the person is not aware of or does not even notice. While this critique is important, unintended consequences are not uncommon to find in decision making, and members of the public voting for or supporting various policies are likely still voting in the direction that benefits them the most, without considering all other factors. One example of a policy that seems to benefit the public but actually creates large systemic issues is the "Three Strikes Law". The idea of this law was that justice-involved persons who are found guilty of multiple serious offenses should be removed from society for either longer periods of time than the verdict would typically call for, or for life under supervision/incarceration (Clark et al., 1997). While the public voted such laws into place in a number of states, presumably for their own safety, there were numerous unintended consequences including the over-incarceration of non-violent offenders, excessive crowding in jails and prisons and oversaturated courts. The effects were more salient in states that failed to narrow the scope of the law to specific offenses such as California, but research finds that the numbers of people falling under this punishment were greater than initially expected (Austin et al., 1999; Chen, 2014; Clark et al., 1997). Overall, rational choice theory explains voting and policy support patterns through the presumption that people are most focused on how policies impact themselves. However, due to a lack of understanding of the criminal justice-system or other related agencies, their support can have unforeseen detrimental effects on justice-involved people which if educated about, may change their support regarding similar topics in the future. This theory identifies an area that may be crucial for educational

interventions of the public to reduce support for policies that may have consequences that they have not yet thought of and therefore cannot weigh prior to making decisions.

Punitive Policies

In the 1970s, the U.S. began implementing more punitive policies for incarcerated individuals as researchers began suggesting that 'nothing works' so the 'get tough on crime' approach became favored (Martinson, 1974; Baumgartner et al., 2014). However, as incarceration became the favored option for law breaking, issues arose such as overcrowding, continued offending and now, correctional facilities serving as the country's largest provider of mental health services despite not being equipped to handle such issues (Al-Rousan et al., 2017). Unfortunately, it has been common for states to increase funding allocate to policing and punishment rather than to direct funds to social services or prevention tactics (Dunbar, 2020; Smith et al., 2014). The direction of money to this line of crime control often results in unforeseen problems and a failure to reduce criminal activity. One example of a policy that was punitive and seemingly unsuccessful was the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA), which was adopted in 1996 and imposed a ban on welfare benefits and food stamps to people who were found guilty of committing a state or federal felony involving drug possession or distribution (Yang, 2017). Over 30 states have dropped out of this ban since its inception due to advocates pointing out the negative outcomes including increased re-offending due to the inability to meet basic needs such as food and housing. The revocation of driver's licenses is also a common policy for individuals convicted of a crime, and the process of getting your license back is expensive and time consuming (Barnett, 2003). Having no ability to drive not only creates difficulties in childcare, gaining and maintaining employment and

attending required probation and treatment meetings, but research suggests that because of these barriers, risk to reoffend is increased (Carson & Golinelli, 2013; Lynch & Sabol, 2001).

There are also various laws in place that incidentally punish those with lower SES and minority groups at disproportionate rates. One example is the aforementioned Three Strikes law, which allows for harsher punishment of repeat offenders with the intention of keeping repeat violent offenders off of the street longer (Austin et al., 1999; Mauer, 2007; Yang 2015). However, this law happens to impact many low-level nonviolent offenders, increasing the amount of people incarcerated overall, but it especially impacts minority groups. The 100:1 disparity is the law passed by Congress that punishes 5 grams of crack cocaine the same as 500 grams of powder cocaine, a powdered form of the substance that is more expensive and therefore more often used by upper class individuals (Ring & Rice-Minus, 2021). As crack cocaine was cheaper and more associated with racial minority groups, this led to disproportionate punishment as lower-SES individuals would be punished more harshly and more often than higher-SES individuals who were not only less targeting but could be in possession of more of the same drug yet be punished less severely. Additionally, mandatory minimum sentencing requires judges to impose a sentence of imprisonment of at least the time that is mentioned in a specific statute, designed to deter people from committing certain crimes (Sidhu, 2023). However, judge discretion is still allowed in the sentencing of these cases, and research has found that Black justice-involved people are significantly more likely to be charged with mandatory minimum sentences than similar White justice-involved people, resulting in a 4% average increase of length of sentence (Butcher et al., 2022; Gillete, 2020; Yang, 2015). People with mental health disorders already experience arrests and charges at disproportionate rates, increasing their likelihood to for mandatory sentencing as they may have more extensive criminal histories

(NSW Law Reform Commission, 1996). The same pattern follows for Black individuals, who tend to be overrepresented in both the criminal justice system, but also in those who are charged with the minimum sentencing guidelines (Butcher et al., 2022).

Incarceration itself is one of the most common forms of punishment for crimes, but the efficacy of detainment on recidivism is questionable (Ganapathy, 2018; United States Sentencing Commission, 2020; 2022). Although jails and prisons were designed to give people who offend time to reflect and pay penitence for their crimes, the ability for people to benefit from incarceration is dependent on several factors. First, research shows that the length of a sentence may impact recidivism rates, with a series of studies finding that individuals in federal custody were less likely to recidivate if their sentence was longer (United States Sentencing Commission, 2020; 2022). In matched groups, individuals sentenced to 60-120 months had odds 18% lower to recidivate than those who served an average of 39 months (United States Sentencing Commission, 2022). People who had sentences longer than 120 months had a odds of recidivism nearly 30% lower than those with an average sentence of 84 months. However, when people are sentenced 60 months or less, there is no different in recidivism from time incarcerated, indicating that desistance to crime through incarceration is only impactful for severe offenses requiring extensive jail time.

While some policies explicitly restrict the lives of justice-involved people after release from detention centers, secondary effects of policies that lead to incarceration for people who engage in illegal behavior, or post-incarceration policies, also contribute to difficulty maintaining a prosocial life (Lundgren et al., 2010). Such policies may have “collateral effects” on justice-involved people upon reentry, including financial strain, difficulty finding employment and jobs, as well as worsened medical and mental health (Lundgren et al., 2010). While these are not

necessarily goals of punitive policies, failure to assist during the re-entry process in combination with the barriers set forth by the criminal justice system and its corresponding label may keep justice-involved people feeling unable to move on from their past and out of compliance with terms of release (Brooker et al., 2020).

Rehabilitative Policies

On the other hand, some states have worked to adopt less carceral punishment for justice-involved people, most of which take a rehabilitative approach. Policies with the goal of rehabilitation tend to focus on treatment, either that of mental health disorders, criminal thinking or self-control (Andrews & Bonta, 2010; Bartos et al., 2015). Scholars have suggested that the current scheme of incarceration designed to enact fear of incarceration of the public and allow time for penance is not helpful, as recidivism rates stay high post-incarceration (Ganapathy, 2018). Rather than pure punishment, approaches like the Risk-Need-Responsivity Model (RNR) that include a full view of a justice-involved person's life including their risks to reoffend, and areas that will benefit the most from targeted services may be much more beneficial to be implemented across the country (Andrews & Bonta, 2010). While such interventions may not be policies in themselves, policymakers and other legal actors need to advocate for funding directed to prevention, rehabilitation and re-entry programming. Luckily, it seems as though the public is willing to direct funds to rehabilitative policies, if given the opportunity and knowledge of the option (Dunbar, 2020). Preventative and rehabilitative methods range from early intervention on deviancy to increasing access to mental health services and drug treatment (Bartos et al., 2015). As the economic implications of rehabilitative programs for justice-involved people are often on the forefront of concern, success of a program is commonly defined as saving one dollar in crime and incarceration costs per each dollar spent, rather than behavioral outcomes (Council of

Economic Advisers, 2018). However, the remainder of the section will primarily focus on studies regarding behavioral and psychosocial outcomes rather than monetary cost, although these two facets are closely intertwined.

There are a variety of rehabilitative approaches that should be dependent on the justice-involved person themselves. For individuals struggling with drug related crimes or antisocial behavior that is driven by drug use, substance abuse intervention programs may be the most effective and reducing criminal behavior (Belenko et al., 2013; Zarkin et al., 2015). Treatment diversion models have been shown to reduce both recidivism rates and drug use in justice-involved people, ultimately generation cost savings to the public and the criminal justice system. Some of the most promising models include Treatment Accountability for Safer Communities, Drug Treatment Alternative-to-Prison. Treatment Accountability for Safer Communities integrates substance abuse treatment with other processes in the criminal justice system, allowing for quick referrals, interventions, and monitoring (Anglin et al., 1999). Drug Treatment Alternative-to-Prison targets drug sellers at high-risk for felony charges, and rather than incarceration they divert to residential treatment for 18-24 months (Hynes & Swern, 2013). Retention rates are significantly higher than typical residential treatments, with a rate of 76%, and participants tend to recidivate and reincarcerate significantly less than non-participants (Belenko et al., 2004). Studies find that those involved in Treatment Accountability for Safer Communities receive significantly more treatment. Individuals who may attribute their crime to reactivity or a short-fuse may benefit from anger management interventions, which can be offered both in and out of corrections settings (Bahrami et al., 2016; McGuire, 2008). Recent evaluations of violence reduction studies through psychosocial interventions throughout the globe have found that there is success with this strategy overall (McGuire, 2008). Additionally,

such interventions can promote overall mental health as well (Bahrami et al., 2016). There are also treatment programs designed for justice-involved people in general. The Cognitive Life Skills program is administered in a group format to medium and high-risk offenders, with the goal of aiding the re-entry process by preparing for work, family, responsibility and more (Antonio & Crossett, 2017). In matched samples of justice-involved people, those who enrolled in the cognitive life skills program had a significantly lower chance of recidivating, and the benefits were more salient in high-risk individuals. Additionally, in the rare cases in which mental illness does directly contribute to criminal activity, mental health services and education on medication management may be some of the best interventions (Swartz et al., 2001). Another example of rehabilitative programming is specialty courts, which divert justice-involved people with mental illness from the traditional court and incarceration settings and place them with judges who have extra knowledge regarding mental illness and its interaction with crime. These programs increase the access to mental health or substance abuse services and tend to reduce recidivism through extra time with an understanding judge, continued programming and often with the accompaniment of positive reinforcement of both legal actors and other individuals in the programing (Godoy et al., 2023; Lindquist-Grantz et al., 2021).While the success of these interventions may be contingent on the alignment of goals by legal actors and mental health professionals, paying attention to mental health symptomology may need to be prioritized in some cases (Draine & Solomon, 2001; James, 2015; Lamb et al., 1998; Morrissey et al., 2009; Osher et al., 2003). Notably, programs designed to target mental health and substance abuse are estimated to have a cost return of $1.47 to $5.27 per taxpayer dollar, indicating that they may be extremely economically effective in addition to helping people (Council of Economic Advisers, 2018).

Other diversion policies enacted focus not on rehabilitation but reducing the jail and prisons population as it is many people believe that our current process of incarceration is unsustainable, especially for low-risk individuals (Cullen et al., 2002; Sims & Johnston, 2004; Thielo et al., 2015). One example of this is Prop 47 which was voted into action in California in 2014 (County of Los Angeles, n.d.). The goal of this policy was to reduce jail populations by making non-violent property crimes whose values do not exceed $950 as well as simple drug possession into misdemeanor offenses. By doing so, individuals who were stopped for such offenses may be punished monetarily rather than be placed into jail. Additionally, individuals who were already incarcerated may qualify to reduce their crime and be released early. Concerns of increased crime proved to be relatively unfounded, as Bartos and Kubrin found that there were no increases in multiple violent crimes and burglary after the passing of Prop 47 (2018). There was a moderate increase in larceny and motor vehicle theft, but it cannot be directly connected to Prop 47. Oregon and Texas have also followed suit, and enacted similar policies designed to lessen the jail population. A Texas study sought to measure public support for various types of justice-related policy changes and found that voters were supportive of rehabilitative policies, specifically when applied to non-violent and/or drug offenses (Thielo et al., 2015). While some states find that the public is very willing to support rehabilitative policies, such as diversion to substance abuse treatment, one major barrier is finding political actors who are willing to implement such reforms (Sundt et al., 2015; Thielo et al., 2015). These policies pertain greatly to justice-involved people with mental illness as they are primarily associated with low-level misdemeanor offenses (Compton et al., 2023; Hall et al., 2019) and Black individuals as they are disproportionately arrested for these crimes (Gase et al., 2016; Unnever & Gabbidon, 2011), and therefore both groups would benefit greatly from diversion when they are still considered to be

low-risk. Additionally, diversion from jail in any person is beneficial as it reduces likelihood that they spend time with other pro-criminal individuals and can create extreme stress and harm employment and familial relationships (Bernard et al., 2020; Gill & Murphy, 2017; Steadman et al., 1999).

Factors that Influence Attitudes towards Justice-Involved People

Policy support from members of the public is determined by their views and attitudes towards the groups in question, in this case, both justice-involved people and racial minorities. When it comes to policy support of criminal justice processes, a person's attitudes and beliefs regarding why people commit crime, their perceptions of people who offend, how much they know about the criminal justice-system and who is in it, as well as some of their own characteristics have been shown to play a role. The following section will discuss variables that may change the level of support for our two types of policies considered in the current study (punitive policies and rehabilitative policies) through their attitudes. A number of these variables intersect with each other, but each will be given individual attention.

Attributions to Crime

One of the major factors that sways criminal justice policy support is why a person believes crime is committed. As previously mentioned, people automatically draw conclusions regarding behaviors that they see or hear about, especially when they have difficulty understanding why someone would behave in that way (Vargas, 2014; Gudjonsson, 1984). Attributions for criminality in general range from individual factors such as being evil or bad, sick, or enjoying crime to external factors such as being raised poorly, having a traumatic past, or due to social disadvantage (Carroll et al., 1987; NetNewsLedger, 2019; Orlet-Fabregat & Perez, 1992; Weatherburn, 2001). Attributions can have mitigating or aggravating effects on perceptions

of a person who committed a crime, which often depends on a number of other factors, including characteristics of that person, or stigmatizing and prejudiced attitudes held by the perceiver.

Race of a justice-involved person has been found to impact attributions. Black justice-involved people are more likely to have individual factors be attributed to their behavior, such has a lack of intelligence, learned behavior of a lack of compassion (Updegrove et al., 2020). Such racial animus towards Black individuals is one of the strongest predictors of attributing crime to negative dispositions of Black individuals (Peffley et al., 2017). Specifically, research has found that White participants are extremely likely to attribute crime to personality-based factors of Black people who offend, rather than discrimination by the system as the reason for their overrepresentation (Peffley et al., 2017; Smiley & Fakune, 2016). Not only can the attribution beliefs influence prejudice, but they may also impact sentencing and perceptions of justice-involved people by legal actors. People who view crime overall as a "Black phenomenon" tend to be more punitive and less willing to support justice-involved people in being involved in re-enfranchisement such as allowing voting (Chiricos et al., 2004; Chiricos et al., 2012; Unnever & Cullen, 2012). This belief of Black people to be inherently criminal can lead to notions that they cannot be changed, which is likely the driving force in the more punitive attitudes towards this group (Thompson, 2010). Additionally, this belief leads to people not seeking alternative explanations to mitigate responsibility for their behavior, including psychiatric diagnoses. Even if psychiatric diagnoses are severe, such has schizophrenia, being Black with leads to greater likelihood of guilty verdicts as compared to not guilty by reason of mental disease or defect, than being White with the same diagnosis, as people are less likely to attribute the behavior to the mental illness (Maeder, 2020). However, the more a participant considers environmental factors, the less differences are seen in attribution endorsements of

Black and White justice-involved people, leading to fewer disparities seen during sentencing, and possible more consistent support in rehabilitative policies (Peffley et al., 2017; Updergrove et al., 2020).

When it comes to justice-involved people with mental illness, it is commonly believed that they are likely to engage in more violent crimes due to their "unpredictable" and "violent" nature (Ghiasi et al., 2023). It is possible that this is due to the desire to blame illness for the heinousness of certain crimes, such as mass shootings, however research demonstrates that mental illness is rarely the cause of criminal behavior, let alone violent criminal behavior (Peterson et al., 2014; Stuart, 2003). One of the few things that can connect mental illness with criminal behavior is substance abuse, which serves as a risk for criminal activity whether it is comorbid with mental illness or not (Pickard & Fazel, 2013; Stuart, 2003). One review found that the odds of violence in people with comorbid severe mental illness and substance abuse disorders were eight to ten times higher than the general population (Fazel et al., 2009). While risk for violent offenses was still elevated in individuals with schizophrenia, this was almost entirely mediated by the misuse of substances. However, despite the current body of research to negate the idea that people with mental illness are violent, the public still tends to hold this belief. The congruence of crime type and individual characteristics leading to varying attitudes towards a person and is instrumental to further investigate as a mechanism of decision making. When considering people with mental illness, examining the differential policy support across race and crime type will possibly illustrate a place to provide education in an attempt to correct misconceptions regarding these groups with the hope that more consistent support and sentencing will be applied.

Mutability

Mutability is defined as the tendency to change, while culpability is the belief that a person is responsible for their actions. These are closely related to attributions to crime and typicality perceptions, which can serve as driving forces in how mutable and culpable specific types of justice-involved people are, which then may influence policy support. In the context of crime, research finds that the perception that a persons' criminal proclivities are stable, or immutable, leads to higher ratings of culpability and therefore more punitive preferences towards that group (Sorby & Kehn, 2022). As mentioned earlier, Black individuals are more likely to be perceived as inherently criminogenic, which may also lead to the perception that they are much less likely to change their behavior, and therefore are more accountable for their actions (Chiricos et al., 2004; Chiricos et al., 2012; Unnever & Cullen, 2012). The displacement of responsibility has been found to contribute to ratings of mutability, where those who are believed to not be as responsible for their crime are more mutable (Vollum & Buffington-Vollum, 2010). This may result in more leniency towards people with mental illness. If people attribute crime to a mental illness, they are more likely to view the person who offended as not as responsible for their actions, therefore also perceiving that as more mutable. However, as previously noted, Black people are less likely to be diagnosed with a mental illness, and even if they are, they are less likely to have people attribute their criminal behavior to their mental illness, which puts them at further disadvantage for being perceived as mutable (Thompson, 2010).

Culpability

Closely related to mutability is culpability, or the belief that a person is to blame for their criminal behavior. Research often finds that people who are perceived as mutable, or who committed their crimes for factors outside of their control that can be changed, are either less

culpable for their actions or are less deserving of harsh sanctions (Alicke et al., 2008; Hanan, 2019; Sorby & Kehn, 2022). This may be a reason that people who believe that crime is a "Black phenomenon" are more likely to endorse punitive policies, rather than rehabilitative, as the belief that Black people are inherently criminal and cannot be changed are more accountable for their actions and they cannot be rehabilitated, only punished (Dunbar, 2020). In regard to mental illness, some research suggests that people with mental illness may be more likely to receive treatment based punishment, while other studies find mental illness to be an aggravating factor to punishment (Barnett et al., 2007; Barnett et al., 2004; Davidson & Rosky, 2014; Sabbagh, 2011; Sandys et al., 2018). However, the intersection of race and mental health status remains unresearched. If people perceive a certain group to be less mutable and more culpable, they are much more likely to support punishment-based justice policies, whereas those who perceive groups to be mutable and less culpable will be more likely to support rehabilitation in order.

Demographics and Political Orientation

A final component that may lead to differential support of criminal justice policies is a person's own characteristics, including their belief system and traits. Research has found that Black people are significantly more likely to support rehabilitative criminal justice policies and state that punitive policies are discriminatory against communities of color (Peffley et al., 2017; Unnever & Cullen, 2007). Black individuals are also more likely to support money being invested to education and job training programs to reduce crime (Thompson & Bobo, 2011). Similarly, Black people are significantly more likely to identify and democratic, which may lead them to be taking a more structural view of crime causation, believing that structural racism causes justice disparities (Thompson & Bobo, 2011). On the other hand, people who sway to

more conservative political beliefs tend to perceive crime as stemming from individual attributions, such as being inherently bad. Additionally, politically conservative individuals are more likely to hold negative stereotypes against people with severe mental illness, believing them to be dangerous and unpredictable (DeLuca & Yanos, 2016). As noted in previous sections, belief that crime is committed by a person who is either acting due to their internal characteristics, or that a person is dangerous, results in greater support for punitive, rather than rehabilitative policies (Sorby & Kehn, 2022). Therefore, it is likely that individuals who are more conservative will tend to support more punitive policies due to negative attitudes towards multiple groups of justice-involved people.

The Present Studies

The purpose of the studies was to examine the impact of race, mental health status and the intersection of these two facets on policy support and attributions to criminal behavior. While the current body of literature has focused resources into understanding the stigma and prejudice of these two groups in the criminal justice system, few studies look at the intersectionality. Additionally, researchers historically look at policy support through ratings of agreement, which may not be applicable to real life when support is quantified by either yes/no decisions or monetary allocation. Dunbar and colleagues (2020) developed an approach for this issue by asking participants to allocate money, which makes the need to prioritize a persons preferred policies more salient. Following this work, I measured support for different types of policy through budgeted money allocation for the justice-system in general, as well as specific groups of people who offend. I sought to understand how various attributions of crime may result in different stigmatizing beliefs that vary across race and type of crime, and how this may impact support for various policies.

Study 1

The goal of Study 1 was to uncover any differences in money allocation for various types of policies to reduce criminal behavior in justice-involved people when manipulating the information provided to participants regarding the nature of the relationship between mental illness and crime. Additionally, the study investigated the underlying attitudes and attributions to criminal behavior that may be contributing to potential differences.

- **Research Question 1a:** How does the provision of mental health information impact monetary policy support for the two types of policies?
    - In accordance with Rational Choice Theory, I hypothesized that individuals who were provided with information regarding the prevalence of mental illness in the corrections system would lead to more money allocation towards correctional-based rehabilitative policies. If participants assume that mental illness contributes to crime or that people with mental illness need services, they will be more likely to allocate money to increases the services provided in correctional facilities.
- **Research Question 1b:** Would the influence of mental health information on policy support be impacted by a participants' initial belief in the prevalence of mental illness in correctional facilities and how they are related?
    - I hypothesized that participants who believe that mental illness is common in jails and prisons, as well as believing that people with mental illness can change will amplify the effect of mental health information on supporting rehabilitative policies. Similar to Question 1a, participants will seek to keep their community safe by supporting rehabilitative policies in an attempt to reduce crime. This will likely be contingent on their perception of mutability of both justice-involved

people and people with mental illness, as believing that a person can heal and change will be imperative for not wanting punitive sanctions.

- **Research Question 2a:** What types of attributions to crime are most associated with the two types of policy?
    - In accordance with attribution theory, I hypothesized that individuals who attribute crime to more internal, stable factors (e.g. bad character) will be more supportive of punitive policies, whereas individuals who believe that crime is due to external or societal factors (e.g. mental illness, negative circumstances in childhood) will be more willing to support rehabilitative policies.
- **Research Question 2b:** Is the influence of mental health information on policy mediated by the type of attributions to crime?
    - Additionally, I hypothesize that individuals who are given mental illness prevalence information but attribute crime to more internal factors or will be more supportive of punitive policies, whereas individuals who are given the same information but believe that crime is due to external factors, will be more willing to support rehabilitative policies.

Study 2

Study 2 sought to expand upon findings in Study 1 by presenting participants with a short, undetailed vignette of a justice-involved person with schizophrenia, manipulating both race and type of crime, then measuring the money allocation to different types of policy recommendations. Comparing patterns of policy support between the two studies allows us to identify differences in crime-reduction tactics supported for Black and White justice-involved people with mental illness and isolate the effect of race on policy support for specific types of

people who offend. In addition to repeating some analyses from Study 1, Study 2 tested if the congruence of the crime type for race plays a role in such decisions. Third, the study explored the different types of attributions endorsed towards justice-involved people in general (Study 1) and specific groups of justice-involved people with mental illness (Study 2). Uncovering differences in why people believe certain groups of justice-involved people offend may allow us to target specific inaccuracies that may be instrumental in garnering public support for more equal and rehabilitative policies of criminal engagement.

- **Research Question 1:** How does money allocation vary by the race and type of crime in a vignette?
    - In accordance with research regarding intersectionality and attribution theories, I hypothesized that 1) vignettes depicting a Black individual will result in allocation towards more punitive policies than those depicting a White individual 2) vignettes depicting violent crimes will result in more money allocation to punitive policies than nonviolent crimes and 3) there will be an interactive effect of race and type of crime in that vignettes depicting crimes that are considered to be 'typical' to the race of the vignette will result in allocation towards more punitive policies.
- **Research Question 2:** How does money allocation differ when participants are provided with general information regarding the criminal justice system, as compared to a vignette of a specific justice-involved person?
    - I hypothesized that by providing information regarding a specific person, money allocation patterns will vary due to prejudice as explained by intersectionality theories. While the direction of this effect will vary by the vignette shown, I

expected that vignettes depicting a White man will replicate the results of Study 1 more than vignettes depicting a Black man. This hypothesis cannot be tested directly, as it compares Studies 1 and 2, but will be discussed.

- **Research Question 3a:** What attributions are most associated with each vignette?
    - Per attribution theory, Ihypothesized that participants will be more likely to attribute more internal, stable factors when provided with a vignette that they consider to be "normative" for that race (e.g. a Black person who violently offends, a White person who nonviolently offends). Alternatively, when provided with a vignette that depicts an "atypical" person who offends, participants will be more likely to attribute external factors.
- **Research Question 3b:** What types of attributions to crime are most associated with the two types of policy?
    - To compare attribution differences to Study 1, I reassessed the attributions most associated with policy support again in Study 2. I expected to find differences in the attributions supported of crime due to the increased amount of information provided to participants. Attribution theory suggests that more internal attributions will be indicated when participants are shown vignettes depicting a Black man, which may change the patterns found in Study 1.
- **Research Question 3c:** How do such attributions mediate the allocation of money to each type of policy?
    - Similar to question 3a, I hypothesized that vignettes that are considered to depicted normative people who offend and have internal attributions will result in more money allocation towards punitive policies, where those that depicted

atypical people who offend and are associated with more external or mutable will result in more money allocation towards rehabilitative policies.

Chapter 2: Study 1 Method

Participants

Prior to Study 1, I tested materials of the current study using the University of Texas at El Paso SONA platform, which utilizes undergraduate students for online surveys. After two pilot studies with sets of 100 students, I addressed any concern regarding the measures created for the study, as well as ensuring that the vignettes were received properly. Participants from SONA were above the age of 18 (see Appendix A1-7 for materials for the Pilot Study).

Participants for Study 1 were recruited from Amazon's CloudResearch Platform, which is a research platform that allows researchers to access participants from across the world and remains one of the largest crowdsourcing platforms available to researchers (Litman et al., 2017). CloudResearch is a practical method to gather data on a large scale all while working to utilize the best research practices. Previous research has demonstrated CloudResearch's ability to provide researchers with data with similar reliability to studies conducted in controlled settings (Horton et al., 2011). While limitations are associated with using online data collection tools (see Cheung et al., 2017; Sharpe Wessling et al., 2017), CloudResearch offers several recommendations to reduce the chances of gathering unusable or ungeneralizable data that were implemented. This included the integration of attention checks and a "Captcha" into our survey, limiting our participant pool to only individuals with a Human Intelligence Tasks (HIT) rate approval at 90-95% or above, and designing our measures in such a way to reduce attrition (Chandler & Shapiro, 2016).

The sample size for this study was determined by conducting an *a priori* power analysis using the G*Power software. Previous research on this area has identified effect sizes that are small to medium (Dunbar, 2020). Thus, to ensure that I was properly powered, I used an effect

size that is between these two cut off points. Therefore, with an α= .05, a targeted power of .80, and planning for 2 groups of participants, 274 participants were needed to identify a small-moderate effect (*f*= 0.17) in a one-way ANOVA design. Prior research has suggested that over 95% of participants on CloudResearch pass all formats of attention checks, and typically only 5% of participants begin the study and fail to complete it (Douglas et al., 2023; Litman, n.d.). Therefore, using a conservative 10% fail rate, to account for attrition I increased the target sample size to 310. I targeted equal numbers of men and women in both CloudResearch studies, however due to a lack of men available with our requirements, the final sample size was 295 individuals. 16 participants were excluded for missing or incomplete data, resulting in a final sample size of 279 participants who passed two or more attention checks. The final sample included 121 men (43.4%), 156 women (55.9%), and two people who identified as nonbinary (0.7%). Demographic information can be found in Table 1.

Eligibility requirements for this study included a minimum age of 18 years, being a resident of the United States, a HIT approval rate of 90% or above and belonging to the bottom 90% to 95% of productivity of CloudResearch to reduce the likelihood of being inattentive (https://go.cloudresearch.com/knowledge/what-is-the-naivete-feature). Additionally, although I did not target White participants, examining differences between participant race is a noted important future direction. Research suggests that Black participants are more likely to support rehabilitative criminal justice policies in general due to their knowledge of the structural racism in the legal system, which would skew results of the current study (Carll, 2017; Toch & Maguire, 2014).

Measures

Manipulation of Information

To compare policy support for justice-involved people in general to those with mental illness, I manipulated the information provided to the participants creating a two-group study. Participants were randomly assigned to either receiving information regarding the prevalence of people with mental illness in the criminal justice system (manipulation), or no information regarding mental illness (control condition). The control condition simply provided information of the current number of people in the criminal justice system overall, with data being taken from the Bureau of Justice Statistics most recent report (Al-Rousan et al., 2017; Carson & Kluckow, 2023). The most recently published government report uses data from the end of 2021; however they were the most recent numbers to come out prior to the beginning of data collection. The manipulation included much of the information from the control but also noted the proportion of people with mental illness in jails and prisons, providing a comparison of the proportion of people with mental illness in the community (Bronson & Berzofsky, 2017) (see Appendix B).

Policy Money Allocation Task

Upon reading the information provided, participants were provided with a hypothetical, unstated budget and asked to allocate their desired percentage to up to four policies, similar to the allocation procedure by Dunbar (2020). Policies were chosen based off their attention in media and research, with two policies being punitive and two being rehabilitative. The punitive policies included funding police to increase presence on the streets and funding the justice-system to create more facilities (Barnett, 2003; Dunbar, 2020; Lundgren et al., 2010). The rehabilitative policies included funding towards mental health and substance abuse services within correctional facilities and funds for residential diversion programs of justice-involved people with mental illness (Belenko et al., 2013; Dunbar, 2020). Each policy was listed in

randomized order (see Appendix C). Following this task, participants were asked their willingness to sign a petition for each of the four policies as a measure of actual real-world support of the policies. Descriptive statistics of the money allocation results, as well as each of the following measures can be found in Table 2.

Knowledge

Participants were measured on their current knowledge of people with mental illness in the criminal justice system prior to seeing any manipulations. Participants were asked to estimate both the percentage of people diagnosed with a mental illness in the United States justice system and the proportion of people who committed their crimes due to their mental illness. As knowledge of the state of the mental health crisis in corrections may lead to more sympathy for this group, measuring how accurate a person is in their perception of the contribution of mental illness to criminal behavior may help us to explain any biases seen in policy support and attitudes towards justice-involved people. Participants were asked each question and given a series of ranges that they could indicate as being true (e.g. 0-10%, 10%-20%, etc.) (see Appendix D1).

Racial Biases

To account for recent research discovering, as they suspect, moral credentialing when it comes to racial questions and manipulations in research, I asked a series of questions to deter participants from providing socially desirable answers in the money allocation task by allowing them to demonstrate their lack of prejudice first (Salerno et al., 2023). By asking participants explicit racial questions where they can answer in a way that "proves" that they are not racially biased, the study might find more intuitive and honest patterns in our money allocation task. To do so, I took a series of questions from the American National Election Studies and asked participants to rate how lazy/hardworking, violent/nonviolent, intelligent/unintelligent and

trustworthy/untrustworthy Black and White men are on a scale of 1-7 (diTonto et al., 2013) (see Appendix D2). A single score was created by subtracting the Black rating from the White rating, with positive scores indicating a greater agreement that the trait is associated White individuals, and a negative score indicating a greater association to Black individuals.

Attributions

As the attribution a person makes to criminal behavior greatly influences their reactions, and likely their policy decisions, participants in the pilot studies were asked to indicate from a list of options why they believe people commit crimes (Peffley et al., 2017; Thompson, 2010). This was asked after the money allocation task so that the study might identify differences in attributions applied to people who were primed with mental illness information and those who were not. Our pilot measure included a set of attributions that were gathered through a thorough sources of both news articles, OpEds and other non-academic resources, as well as academically based sources such as theoretical bases, research regarding attitudes of justice-involved people (Carroll et al., 1987; NetNewsLedger, 2019; Orlet-Fabregat & Perez, 1992; Weatherburn, 2001). By compiling a list with multiple types of sources, participants were offered a more thorough list of attributions to choose from, with the intention of light be shed on new attributions that guide decision making in the public. Participants were given the prompt, “People commit crimes for a variety of reasons. How likely is it that crime is committed due to the following reasons? You may choose as many or as few reasons as you would like.” Each attribution was then randomly presented on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (Never) to 7 (Always). Additionally, participants were given the option to fill in another crime attribution and rate it if they feel as though the list was not inclusive enough.

As this measure did not effectively measure attributions in the pilot study, I used an adapted version of Gudjonsson and Singh's Blame Attribution Inventory for Studies 1 and 2, which was also piloted to ensure validity after our modifications (1989). As this scale was initially developed for self-report use by individuals in jails or prisons, I adapted the questions to ask participants about the vignettes or manipulations. Each question was assessed on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 7 (Strongly Agree). An example of an adapted question is "At the time of the crime, they were fully aware of what they were doing". Out of the 24 items regarding internal/mental control and external blame, nine items are intended to be reverse coded, and the sum of each facet was used as a continuous various (see Appendix E1). The reliability for both facets was fair to good, with the external blame attribution component resulting in a Chronbach's alpha of α=.832, and the internal/mental element attribution component resulting in a Chronbach's alpha of α=.711.

Mutability

Mutability, or the belief that a person can change, was assessed to determine participants perceptions of the ability to rehabilitate people who offend. Mutability was be assessed through five questions adapted from Burton and colleagues (2020) and Maruna & King (2009). Questions will be rated on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 7 (strongly Agree). An example of an item includes "Most people who commit crime can go on to lead productive lives with help and hard work". Two items were reverse coded, and after determining acceptable reliability (α=.725), the sum of the items was used in analyses (see Appendix E2).

A second mutability measure regarding participants beliefs that people with mental illness can recover was used, adapted from Day and colleagues (2007). This series of questions were rated the same way, with an example of a question being "There are effective medications

for mental illnesses that allow people to return to normal and productive lives." Items were again reverse coded as needed, and the sum of their scores were used in analyses (α=.804) (see Appendix E3).

CAMI

To measure the attitudes regarding people with mental illness more specifically, participants filled out the Modified Community Attitudes Towards Mental Illness (CAMI), which is a 12-item questionnaire rated on a scale of 1 (Strongly disagree) to 5 (Strongly agree) (Sampogna et al., 2017). Research finds that more negative attitudes about mental illness can result in more punitive measures being taken against people in this group (Davidson & Rosky, 2014; Sandys et al., 2018). An example of an item is: "People with mental illness don't deserve our sympathy". Scores of this measure were summed, and a higher value on the CAMI indicated more negative attitudes towards people with mental illness (see Appendix E4). The reliability of this measure was good, with a Chronbach's alpha value of α=.817.

Attitudes Towards Defund the Police

As attitudes regarding the police have been disputed as of late, notably through the Defund the Police movement, I asked participants to rate their agreement to two questions to gauge their support of this notion (Lum et al. 2021). On a scale of 1 (Strongly disagree) to 5 (Strongly agree), participants rated whether they agree that police forces should be allocated less money and if police forces should be abolished. Additionally, there was an open-ended item asking participants to define the Defund the Police movement in their own words, which was explored (see Appendix E5).

Demographics

Finally, participants were asked several demographic questions including their gender, age, mental health and criminal history and their political orientation. Mental health history was assessed through two questions, one asking about any prior diagnosis and the second asking about severe mental illness. Prior criminal history asked about arrests or charges of both misdemeanor and felony crimes, as well as any time spent in jails or prisons. In both sets of questions, participants could opt not to answer. Political orientation was measured in two ways. First, they indicated their political leaning on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (Extremely Liberal) to 7 (Extremely Conservative). Second, participants were asked to indicate their party affiliation, with options including Republican, Democrat, Independent or Not Political (see Appendix F).

Procedure and Design

Prior to beginning the study, I obtained ethical approval by the University of Texas at El Paso Intuitional Review Board (IRB) for use of human subjects for the pilot SONA studies and the two CloudResearch studies. The pilot studies succeeded in 1) identifying flaws in the created attributions measure, but validating the modified Attributions measure as created by Gudjonsson & Singh (1989), leading to our use of this measure in Studies 1 and 2, and 2) finding a set of pictures used with our vignettes in Study 2 that did not differ significantly in perceptions of age, attractiveness, criminality and violence. For the first pilot study, 100 participants were recruited from the UTEP SONA system, who selected to join the study based on a brief description stating, “Attitudes towards people who commit crime.”. Participants were told that they can skip any questions that make them feel uncomfortable and end the study prematurely if necessary and were then asked for their consent to continue. If participants indicated that they did not wish to

move forward in the study, they were directed to a screen thanking them for their time. If they indicated that they did wish to move forward, they were directed to the study survey. Participants were asked to fill out the proposed attributions questions for Study 1, and they were shown 12 photos taken from the Chicago Face Database (6 black men and 6 white men) and asked to rate a variety of traits of each photo. Participants were then thanked for their time and granted .5 research credits upon their completion. The results of the first pilot study did not identify any photographs that were not significantly different from each other on the noted important facets, leading to a second pilot study with 16 new photographs which proved successful.

The measures for Studies 1 and 2 were then adapted based on the results of the pilot studies. Recruitment was done via Amazon's CloudResearch platform, with the sample being limited to US citizens who had a HIT (human intelligence task) rate of .90 or above and who were not in the 5-10% productivity level of workers. Participants who opted into the study were presented with an information sheet that outlined the general aims of the studies, as well as information regarding informed consent. Participants were told that they were able to leave questions blank and end the study at any time if they are uncomfortable. Participants were then asked if they wished to consent to the study. If they said no, they were directed to a screen thanking them for their time. If they said yes, they were directed to the online survey on Qualtrics, and randomly assigned to the control or experimental condition.

Prior to starting, participants completed a Captcha to reduce any bot responses (Oppenheimer et al., 2009). Participants then first answered the two knowledge questions to gauge their knowledge of the criminal justice system prior to any information being shown. After, they were shown their randomly assigned piece of information, either general information about the criminal justice system and facilities (N=138), or information regarding the prevalence

of people with mental illness in the criminal justice system (N=141). Upon reading their prompt, participants completed the money allocation task. This was completed second to not have any effects of the attitude surveys that were used as independent variables. Following the allocation task, participants completed the remaining measures in random order. Finally, participants filled out their demographic and political orientation questions, and were asked if they wish to sign a petition to show their support for the correctional rehabilitative or punitive policies separately to demonstrate real life support, rather than hypothetical money allocation only. Throughout the survey, attention checks were embedded to reduce any bot responses or inattentive participant data. One example of a question was "How many people are in the US criminal justice system", which was a piece of the information provided to them in the vignettes. The additional two attention checks were embedded in Likert scales of some of the measures (e.g. "To ensure that you are paying attention, please mark "Somewhat likely'"). Participants who failed the Captcha or two or more of these checks were excluded from analyses. Each participant was compensated $1.75 following completion of the study.

Analytic Strategy

Several steps were taken prior to analyzing the data to ensure that quality of the data. First, I ensured that the independent variable scales have acceptable reliability using the Cronbach's Alpha statistic, using a value of α=.70 (Nunnally, 1978). Next, I computed bivariate correlations of our independent and dependent variables to ensure that correlations are as expected and that there are not flaws in the data collection procedure. Significant correlations between the independent and dependent variables determined the variables that were used in our analyses, in accordance with our hypotheses.

To address the aims of the current studies I used two analytic approaches: regression and ANOVA. Our first set of analyses were a series of four ANOVAs, where I compared the differences between the control and information condition (0= control, 1= information) on the money allocated to our four policies as our measure of support (Research Question 1a). This allowed us to measure the differences in policy support by the type of information provided to each participant. Next, to assess how knowledge of mental illness in the justice system may influence policy support, I conducted a series of regressions, adding our continuous knowledge items in as independent variables to a regression model that included the dummy coded information condition variable (Research Question 1b). To understand the impact of different types of attributions on policy support, I regressed our attribution scores onto the policy support items, along with our dummy coded condition variable (Research Question 2a). Finally, I planned to conduct another series of regressions to test whether the attribution of crime mediates the effect of the information condition on policy support, with our dummy coded condition and attributions scores as the predictors, and our policy support as our dependent variables (Research Question 2b).

Chapter 3: Study 2 Method

Participants

For Study 2, participants were again recruited from Amazon's CloudResearch Platform (Litman et al., 2017). Our ANOVA models required the most people to achieve our desired power of .80, therefore I used this analysis to determine our needed sample size on G*Power. A one-way ANOVA with a small-moderate effect size (*f*= 0.17) with an α= .05, a targeted power of .80, and planning for 4 groups of participants required 384 people, which was the achieved sample size after removing participants for failed attention checks and missing or incomplete data (*N*=17) (Douglas et al., 2023; Litman, n.d.). The final sample included 151 men (39.3%), 222 women (57.8%), and 11 people who identified as nonbinary or other (2.8%). Procedures for Study 2 closely resembled those of Study 1, but the following section will discuss any deviation in measures, items, and methodology. See Table 1 for information regarding the participants from both studies.

Measures

Vignettes

Study 2 employed a 2 (race) x 2 (crime type) design. In each vignette, the participant was told that the vignette depicts a person with schizophrenia who has committed a crime. Participants were randomly assigned to one of four vignette conditions: either a Black or White male who committed a violent of nonviolent crime. A picture was included to provide a visual stimulus of the person described, rather than race being stated in the vignette. Pictures were taken from the Chicago Face Database created by Ma et al., (2015). Pictures were chosen to depict a young adult to middle aged person with a neutral facial expression, and were narrowed down in the pilot study to the two pictures that were used in this study. Pictures did not differ

significantly by age, attractiveness proneness to violent or nonviolent crime, or drug use, as determined by a series of t-tests (see Appendix G).

Table 1

Demographic Information of Participants

	Study 1 (*N*=279)		Study 2 *(N*=384)	
Variable	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Age in years	39.42	21.11	39.50	12.13
No. of Dependents[a]	.94	1.17	.88	1.30
	n	*%* of *P*s	*n*	*%* of *P*s
Gender				
Male	121	43.4	151	39.3
Female	156	55.9	222	57.8
Nonbinary/Other	2	.7	11	2.8
Political Orientation				
Extremely Liberal	44	15.8	62	16.1
Somewhat Liberal	57	20.4	70	18.2
Lean Liberal	28	10.0	46	12.0
In the Middle	83	29.7	115	29.9
Lean Conservative	20	7.2	30	7.8
Somewhat Conservative	34	12.2	35	9.1
Extremely Conservative	13	4.7	26	6.8
Household Income				
Under $29,999	57	20.4	70	18.2
$30,000 - $49,999	56	20.1	87	22.7
$50,000 - $74,999	62	22.2	87	22.7
$75,000 - $99,999	36	12.9	64	16.7
$100,000 - $149,999	43	15.4	45	11.7
$150,000 or More	25	9.0	31	8.1
Race/Ethnicity[a]				
Asian/Pacific Islander	15	5.4	39	10.2
Black	34	12.2	36	9.4
Hispanic/Latinx	41	14.7	44	11.5
White	212	76.0	297	77.3

Native American	4	1.4	6	1.6
Other	3	1.1	5	1.3
Education Level				
Middle School	1	.4	2	.5
High School Diploma	22	7.9	46	12.0
Some College	98	35.1	101	26.3
College Graduate	112	40.1	159	41.4
Graduate School	46	16.5	76	19.8
Field Interacting with MI				
No	211	75.6	291	75.8
I Don't Know	18	6.5	15	3.9
Yes	50	17.9	78	20.3
Psychologist/Counselor	2	4.0	9	11.7
Psychiatrist	3	6.0	0	0
Social Work	5	10.0	11	14.3
Nurse	8	16.0	11	14.3
Researcher	3	6.0	3	3.9
Other	29	58.0	43	55.8
Participant MI Diagnosis				
Prefer Not to Say	10	3.6	11	2.9
No	162	58.1	233	60.7
Yes	107	38.4	140	36.5
Severe Mental Illness[b]	55	51.4	71	50.7
Other MI	51	47.7	64	45.7
Prefer Not to Say	1	.9	5	3.6
Crime Arrest or Charged				
Prefer Not to Say	5	1.8	11	2.9
No	187	67.0	254	66.1
Yes	87	31.2	119	31.0
Sign Petition for Rehabilitative				
No	142	50.9	186	48.4
Yes	137	49.1	198	51.6
Sign Petition for Punitive				
No	234	83.9	298	77.6
Yes	45	16.1	86	22.4

Note. Study 1 N = 279. *Study 2 N=384.* % of *P*s = Participants. *MI* = Mental Illness. *SMI*

[a]Participants could indicate more than one race/ethnicity, all selections are reported here

[b]Severe Mental Illness refers to Major Depressive Disorder, Bipolar Disorder and Schizophrenia spectrum disorders, which was indicated to the participants in the question

Policy Money Allocation Task

Participants were instructed in a manner slightly different than in Study 1, so that they completed the money allocation text in regard to the vignette that they were provided with. Specifically, directions stated, "Imagine you have a large sum of money, and you need to decide how you want to split it across a number of policies and practices related to the criminal justice system. Considering the person you have read about, please allocate the money in accordance with how you would like them to be dealt with in the justice system". The policies to choose from were the same as in Study 1, and they again were randomized to prevent any ordering biases (see Appendix H). At the end of the study, participants again were asked their willingness to sign a petition for each of the four policies as a measure of actual real-world support of the policies.

Knowledge

Knowledge was measured with the same method as Study 1.

Racial Biases

Racial biases were measured with the same method as Study 1.

Attributions

Attributions were measured with the same method as Study 1, however participants were provided with different directions, encouraging them to use the vignette to make their attribution

determinations. They were provided with the prompt: “People commit crimes for a variety of reasons. Considering the *person* that you were told about prior to the money allocation task, please rank how much you agree with the following statements on a scale of 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 7 (Strongly Agree).” (see Appendix I1). The reliability of the external attributions subscale was very good, with a Chronbach’s alpha value of α=.830, and the internal/mental element reliability was good, with a Chronbach’s alpha value of α=.745.

Mutability

Mutability of justice-involved people was measured with the same questions as in Study 1, however the participants were directed to answer the question based on their vignette, and questions were reworded to follow suit. For example, rather than being asked “If a person has committed crime in the past, it does not necessarily mean that they will commit crime in the future”, it asked “Although this person has committed a crime, it does not necessarily mean that they will commit crime in the future” (α=.696). Mutability of mental illness was measured with the same questions as in Study 1 (α=.801) (see Appendix I2).

Culpability

Culpability was assessed using two questions adapted from Monterosso and colleagues (2010). The participants were instructed to answer the question in regard to the vignette that they were shown. The first question asked how much control they believe the person described had over their behavior and second, they were asked if the vignette is less to blame given the facts of their case. Each question was rated on a Likert scale of 1 to 7, with the scale adapting to the question, and the sum of the two items will be used as the measure of culpability (see Appendix I3).

Sympathy

Participants were also asked to rate how sympathetic they are to the person depicted in the vignette on a scale of 1 (Not at all sympathetic) to 7 (Extremely sympathetic), with the prompt asking, "How sympathetic are you to this person?" (Monterosso et al., 2010) (see Appendix I4).

CAMI

Attitudes towards people with mental illness were measured the same as in Study 1. The Chronbach's alpha value for Study 2 was α=.845.

Attitudes Towards Defund the Police

Attitudes towards defunding the police were measured the same as in Study 1.

Demographics

Demographic questions were the same as in Study 1.

Procedure and Design

The procedure for Study 2 replicated that of Study 1, with the noted differences in the measures used. Participants were consented using the same procedure, completed a Captcha, and were then randomly assigned to one of the four vignette conditions. Upon their assignment, participants first completed the knowledge items to avoid any effect of the independent variables. They were then shown their randomly assigned picture of either a Black or White young man, along with a brief vignette describing their crime and schizophrenia diagnosis. After reading the vignette, they completed the money allocation task. Following the task, they were shown the remaining measures in random order. Finally, participants filled out their demographic and

political affiliation information. Upon completion of the study, participants were thanked for their time and were awarded $1.20.

Table 2

Descriptive Statistics for Dependent and Independent Variables in Studies 1 and 2

	Study 1		Study 2	
Variable	M	SD	M	SD
Dependent Variables				
Please indicate the percentage of the funds that you'd like to allocate to… funding police to increase presence on the streets? (0-100)	18.85	18.43	19.05	18.83
… creating more jails and prisons to house people who commit crimes? (0-100)	9.83	11.08	9.95	11.81
… increasing access to mental health services for people in jails and prisons? (0-100)	36.79	15.70	36.71	16.86
… creating and maintaining residential treatment diversion programs for justice-involved people with mental illness? (0-100)	34.53	16.46	34.30	16.06
Independent Variables				
Knowledge: What proportions of people in correctional facilities are diagnosed with mental illness? (0-100)	52.19	22.00	51.02	21.62
Knowledge: What proportions of people committed their crimes due to mental illness? (0-100)	48.35	23.92	48.88	23.27
External Crime Attributions (15-105)	45.85	11.62	46.47	12.11
Internal Crime Attributions (9-63)	36.10	6.63	36.08	6.89
Mutability of Justice-Involved People (5-35)	25.03	4.82	24.78	4.61
Mutability of People with Mental Illness (6-42)	32.83	5.71	31.42	5.87
Community Attitudes Towards Mental Illness (CAMI) (12-60)	26.96	6.88	27.56	7.50
Racism[a] Intelligence (-6-6)	-0.07	1.06	-0.02	1.02
Racism Hardworking (-6-6)	-0.17	1.18	-0.14	1.18
Racism Violent (-6-6)	0.27	1.42	0.22	1.32
Racism Trustworthy (-6-6)	-0.19	1.17	-0.25	1.20
Defund the Police: Reduce Funding (1-5)	2.67	1.37	2.62	1.41
Defund the Police: Abolish the Police Force (1-5)	1.75	1.18	1.80	1.21

Note. The range of possible values is reported following each variable name.
[a]Indicates the difference of subtracting ratings of Black men from White

Analytic Strategy

The data preparation of Study 2 closely replicated the process of Study 1, particularly regarding data cleaning and verification of items to be used in analyses. To address the aims of

the current studies I again used two analytic approaches: regression and ANOVA. Similar to Study 1, our first analysis assessed the impact of the type of information provided to our participants on their policy support in an ANOVA (Research Question 1). Our four vignettes served as the grouping variable (1=White, nonviolent crime, 2=White, violent crime, 3=Black, nonviolent crime, 4=Black, violent crime), and post-hoc Scheffe's test were planned if significant differences were identified. Next, I generally looked at the differences in descriptive statistics between the policy support patterns of Study 1 and those of Study 2 (Research Question 2). I expected to find differing patterns of support to each type of policy when adding in specific crime and racial factors, however I cannot not directly analyze this question as data were collected from two different groups. To address Research Question 3a, I again regressed our four vignette types onto our measure of attributions to identify any differences of attributions to crime endorsed by the type of person depicted. Additionally, I conducted a series of regressions to assess the types of attributions that are endorsed most often by the four vignette conditions (Research Question 3b). While I could directly compare the results of Study 1 and 2 results of this research question, it was commented on. Finally, I planned to conduct a series of regressions using the attributions and the dummy coded condition variables as the predictors, and the policy support items as four separate outcomes (Research Question 3c). This analysis would indicate any differences in policy support based on both the information provided to participants while considering how they attribute crime and identify a possible mediation effect.

Chapter 4: Results

Study 1

The analyses for Study 1 began with bivariate correlations of the independent and dependent variables (see Tables 3 and 4). While doing so, it was discovered that the rehabilitative policies were not significantly correlated when looking at each condition separately (Control condition rehabilitative policies: r=.146, p=.088; Information condition rehabilitative policies: r=.139, p=.100), therefore all policies were analyzed separately. Because of this lack of correlation within condition, it no longer to collapse our policies into rehabilitative versus punitive for the analyses, therefore for the remainder of the studies each policy will be looked at individually to assess for unique predictors and patterns. However, correlations for the collapsed and individual policies across condition are shown.

When looking at the correlations for the independent variables and money allocation, the collapsed variables for allocation were used for the sake of brevity, which was appropriate given the strong correlations of policy when not broken down by condition. Rehabilitative policies collapsed was the only dependent variable used, as it has a perfect, negative correlation with support towards punitive policies, meaning the use of both variables in the correlation would be redundant. The correlations between attributions and policy support were strong (see Table 4). Endorsing either internal or external attributions for crime were associated with greater money allocation towards both rehabilitative policies, and less money allocated towards punitive policies. Attitudes towards people with mental illness were also significantly correlated with each of the four policies, with higher endorsement of negative attitudes towards this group being associated with greater money allocation towards punitive policies, and less money allocated to each of the rehabilitative policies. The perception that both people with mental illness and

justice-involved people can change was associated with significantly more money being allocated towards rehabilitation, and less towards more punitive policies. The racism items also indicated that having more positive views of White men than Black men was associated with greater money allocation towards the two punitive policies, and less money allocation towards rehabilitative policies. The variable with the largest correlation values was the defund the police variable, where greater support for the Defund the Police movement was significantly correlated with support of rehabilitative policies, and negatively correlated with punitive policies. The knowledge variables, or estimations of how many people in the justice-system have mental illness and how often that mental illness contributes to crime, were not consistently associated with policy support, nor was gender.

Table 3

Correlations of all Dependent Variables in Study 1

Variable	1	2	3	4	5
1. Money Towards Police	-				
2. Money Towards Facilities	.315**	-			
3. Money Towards MI Services	-.684**	-.490**	-		
4. Money Towards Diversion Programs	-.679**	-.558**	.142*	-	
5. Collapsed Punitive Money	.902**	.694**	-.742**	-.769**	-
6. Collapsed Rehabilitative Money	-.420**	-.694**	.742**	.769**	-1.00**

Note. * indicates $p<.05$. ** indicates $p<.001$.

Table 4

Correlations of IV and DVs in Study 1

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Collapsed Rehabilitative Money	-									
2. External Crime Attributions	.390**	-								
3. Internal Crime Attributions	.322**	.441**	-							
4. Attitudes Towards Mental Illness	-.442**	-.147*	-.207**	-						
5. Mutability of Justice-Involved People	.410**	.225**	.180**	-.576**	-					
6. Mutability of People with Mental Illness	.243**	-.132*	.113	-.554**	.464**	-				
7. Racism Intelligence	-.314**	-.208**	-.047	.328**	-.315**	-.254**	-			
8. Racism Hardworking	-.315**	-.286**	-.076	.249**	-.326**	-.153**	.676**	-		
9. Racism Violent	.274**	.333**	.077	-.318**	.328**	.171**	-.633**	-.699**	-	
10. Racism Trustworthy	-.355**	-.322**	-.139*	.324**	-.274**	-.208**	.568**	.603**	-.588**	-
11. Defund the Police	.510**	.602**	.243**	-.175**	.177**	-.090	-.273**	-.357**	.362**	-.367**

Note. * indicates $p<.05$. ** indicates $p<.001$.

Aim 1- Money allocation differences by condition, knowledge and perception of mutability

Aim 1 sought to identify differences in money allocation procedures by both the information condition assigned to the participants, as well as any potential differences above the information assigned, such as how much that person knows, or thinks they know, about the relationship of mental illness and crime. First, we assessed the difference of money allocation overall to each policy through *t*-testing against a value of 50, which would suggest a significant difference from over half of the money going to each policy subgroup. Participants consistently preferred to allocate money to the rehabilitative policies rather than punitive policies (M=71.32, $p<.001$), with the most money going towards increased mental health services while in correctional facilities, and the least amount of money being allocated to increasing the number of prisons and jails across the country. To address Aim 1a, a series of ANOVAs found that there was

no significant difference in money allocation to each of the four policies by the condition the participant was in (see Table 5).

Table 5

ANOVA Results for the Effects of the Condition on Money Allocation

Variable	*F*	*SE*	*p*	*95% CI*
Police Force	0.215	1.105	. 643	[-3.327, 5.376]
Correctional Facilities	0.064	0.664	.800	[-2.279, 2.953]
Mental Health Services	0.001	0.941	.972	[-3.775, 3.641]
Diversion Programming	0.430	0.987	.512	[-5.180, 2.590]

Aim 1b sought to investigate the impact of knowledge on money allocation beyond that of the condition shown to each participant (see Table 6). The results remained non-significant, with no models becoming significant after the addition of knowledge. However, in the regression predicting money allocated to the police ($F(3, 278) = 1.784$, p=.150), participants who believed there to be a greater prevalence of mental illness in the jails and prisons were less likely to allocate money towards the police force.

Table 6

Regression Results for Money Allocation Patterns by Knowledge

Variable	*B*	*SE*	*t*	*95% CI of B*	*p*	*sr*
Condition + Knowledge						
Police						
Constant	24.146	3.338	7.234	[17.575, 30.717]	<.001	-
Information Condition	1.255	2.200	.571	[-3.076, 5.587]	.569	.034
Knowledge Prevalence	-.113	.053	-2.142	[-.218, -.009]	.033	-.128
Knowledge Cause	-.001	.049	-.001	[-.096, .096]	.999	.000
Facilities						
Constant	10.590	2.023	5.236	[6.608 14.572]	<.001	-
Information Condition	.389	1.333	.292	[-2.236, 3.014]	.771	.018
Knowledge Prevalence	-.028	.032	-.872	[-.091, .035]	.384	-.053
Knowledge Cause	.010	.029	.351	[-.048, .068]	.726	.021
Services						
Constant	33.466	2.860	11.702	[27.836, 39.095]	<.001	-
Information Condition	-.192	1.885	-.102	[-3.902, 3.520]	.919	-.006

Knowledge Prevalence	.060	.045	1.317	[-.030, .149]	.189	.079
Knowledge Cause	.006	.042	.150	[-.076, .088]	.881	.009
Diversion						
Constant	31.798	2.992	10.629	[25.908, 37.687]	<.001	-
Information Condition	-1.453	1.972	-.737	[-5.335, 2.429]	.462	-.044
Knowledge Prevalence	.082	.047	1.720	[-.012, .175]	.086	.103
Knowledge Cause	-.017	.044	-.379	[-.102, .069]	.705	-.023

The current study also investigated the impact of perceptions of mutability of both justice-involved people and people with mental illness on money allocation, finding that the perception that justice-involved people can change is a significant predictor for allocation to each policy (see Table 7). The model regarding allocation to the police force was significant ($F(3, 278) = 10.760$, $p<.001$), and the perception that justice-involved people are amenable to change accounted for 28.5% of variance in the model ($sr=-.285$, $p<.001$). Participants who believed that people who have committed crimes can change for the better were less likely to allocate money towards this policy. Information condition ($sr=.015$, $p=.794$) and mutability of mental illness ($sr=-.003$, $p=.965$) were nonsignificant. The model for allocating money to create more correctional facilities was also significant ($F(3, 278) = 15.656$, $p<.001$), yet in this model both mutability of justice-involved people ($sr=-.262$, $p<.001$) and mutability of people with mental illness ($sr=-.124$, $p=.027$) were significant. Belief that both groups can change for the better resulted in less money allocated to this policy, and together they account for almost 40% of variance in the model.

Shifting into the rehabilitative policies, the model predicting support for increased mental health services within correctional facilities was significant ($F(3, 278) = 9.351$, $p<.001$), however mutability of justice-involved people was the only significant predictor ($sr=.209$, $p<.001$), accounting for over 20% of variance in the model. The perception that justice-involved people can change for the better resulted in more money being allocated to mental health services. The

same trend followed for money allocated to diversion programming for people with mental illness ($F(3, 278) = 11.394$, $p<.001$), where perceived mutability for justice-involved people was the only significant predictor, and accounted for just under 30% of variance in the model ($sr=.296$, $p<.001$).

Table 7

Regression Results for Money Allocation Patterns by Mutability

Variable	*B*	*SE*	*t*	*95% CI of B*	*p*	*sr*
Condition + Mutability						
Police						
Constant	49.660	6.981	7.113	[35.916, 63.404]	<.001	-
Information Condition	.551	2.103	.262	[-3.590, 4.691]	.794	.015
Mutability of PMI[a]	-.009	.208	-.044	[-.419, .401]	.965	-.003
Mutability of JIP[b]	-1.230	.246	-4.996	[-1.714, -.745]	<.001	-.285
Facilities						
Constant	35.850	4.099	8.745	[27.780, 43.920]	<.001	-
Information Condition	-.102	1.235	-.083	[-2.534, 2.329]	.934	-.005
Mutability of PMI	-.273	.122	-2.229	[-.513, -.032]	.027	-.124
Mutability of JIP	-.680	.145	-4.706	[-.965, -.396]	<.001	-.262
Services						
Constant	7.228	5.988	1.207	[-4.561, 19.016]	.228	-
Information Condition	.430	1.804	.238	[-3.122, 3.981]	.812	.014
Mutability of PMI	.308	.179	1.727	[-.043, .660]	.085	.099
Mutability of JIP	.768	.211	3.637	[.352, 1.183]	<.001	.209
Diversion						
Constant	7.263	6.217	1.168	[-4.975, 19.501]	.244	-
Information Condition	-.878	1.873	-.469	[-4.565, 2.809]	.640	-.027
Mutability of PMI	-.207	.185	-.144	[-.392, .338]	.886	-.008
Mutability of JIP	1.142	.219	5.210	[.710, 1.573]	<.001	.296

Note. [a]PMI indicates People with Mental Illness. [b]JIP indicates Justice Involved People.

Aim 2- Money allocation differences by attributions to criminal behavior

Aim 2a sought to identify differences in money allocation preferences by how the participant attributes criminal behavior. To address this aim, another set of regressions were conducted with the dummy coded condition variable, as well as the two variables regarding

external and internal attributions (see Table 8). Once attributions are added to the regression, significance emerges for each policy. When given the option to allocate money to the police ($F(3, 277) = 20.527$, $p<.001$), the perception of external or structural issues cause crime leads to a decreased likelihood to allocate money to this domain, making up 33.4% of the variance in the model ($sr=-.334$, $p<.001$). However, when looking at the second punitive policy, increasing the number of jails and prisons ($F(3, 277) = 7.107$, $p<.001$), the endorsement of internal attributions, such as elements related to ones' mental state, drives money allocation ($sr=-.218$, $p<.001$). In this model, those who believe that various internal attributions lead to crime, such as a loss of control or mental illness, are less likely to allocate funds to creating new correctional facilities.

The rehabilitative policies are also differentially impacted by the two types of attributions. The model assessing financial support to mental health services within correctional facilities was also significant ($F(3, 277) = 8.151$, $p<.001$), and suggests that increased endorsement of internal attributions causing crime results in significantly more money being allocated in this direction ($sr=.184$, $p=.002$), whereas external attributions do not quite reach significance ($sr=.111$, $p=.056$). However, external attributions ($sr=.297$, $p<.001$) emerges as the significant predictor again in the model looking at money allocation to diversion programming for people with mental illness ($F(3, 277) = 15.139$, $p<.001$). The more one believes that structural and societal issues lead to crime, the more money they wish to allocate to increasing diversion programming.

Aim 2b intended to test if attributions to crime mediated the impact of the information condition assigned to each participant on money allocation patterns. However, as the condition was not significantly related to money allocation, running mediation models was no longer appropriate.

Table 8

Regression Results for Money Allocation Patterns by Attributions

Variable	*B*	*SE*	*t*	*95% CI of B*	*p*	*sr*
Condition + Attributions						
Police						
Constant	55.747	5.867	9.503	[44.198, 67.296]	<.001	-
Information Condition	.552	2.047	.270	[-3.476, 4.581]	.787	.015
Internal Attributions	-.271	.173	-1.569	[-.611, .069]	.118	-.086
External Attributions	-.596	.097	-6.124	[-.788, -.405]	<.001	-.334
Facilities						
Constant	26.318	3.761	6.999	[18.915, 33.722]	<.001	-
Information Condition	.952	1.312	.762	[-1.630, 3.535]	.469	.042
Internal Attributions	-.415	.111	-3.746	[-.644, -.197]	<.001	-.218
External Attributions	-.043	.062	-.694	[-.166, .080]	.488	-.040
Services						
Constant	11.495	5.236	2.195	[1.187, 21.803]	.029	-
Information Condition	-.404	1.827	-.221	[-4.000, 3.191]	.825	-.013
Internal Attributions	.491	.154	3.186	[.188, .795]	.002	.184
External Attributions	.167	.087	1.917	[-.004, .338]	.056	.111
Diversion						
Constant	6.440	5.374	1.198	[-4.139, 17.019]	.232	-
Information Condition	-1.100	1.875	-.587	[-4.791, 2.590]	.558	-.033
Internal Attributions	.195	.158	1.229	[-.117, .506]	.220	.069
External Attributions	.473	.089	5.304	[.297, .649]	<.001	.297

A series of exploratory regressions were conducted post-hoc to identify the main attitudinal variables predicting policy support, as the condition provided to the participant did not. In these models, I regressed the condition onto each of the four policies again, along with mutability of the two groups of people, CAMI, attributions, ratings of support for the Defund the Police movement, and explicit racial bias items (see Table 9). In regards to directing funding towards the police force ($F(7, 276) = 15.261$, $p<.001$), Defund the Police proved to be the most significant predictor, accounting for over one-third of variation in the model, after considering the impact of other variables ($sr=-.318$, $p<.001$). Those who indicted greater support for the

Defund the Police movement were much less likely to allocate money towards the police force. Additionally, the more negative attitudes one holds against people with mental illness accounted for 11.5% of model variance above and beyond the other variables (*sr*=.115, *p*=.018), with participants who felt negatively about those with mental illness where less likely to allocate money towards rehabilitation, and more likely to allocate money towards punishment. Finally, those who believe that White men are more violent than Black men also played a significant role in predicting variance to allocate money towards the police (*sr*=.095, *p*=.049), with this group being more likely to allocate money towards the police. No other variables significantly predicted money allocation towards the police. Support for allocating money to creating and maintaining facilities was predicted by a number of variables ($F(7, 276) = 7.515$, $p<.001$). Mutability of justice-involved people (*sr*=-.131, *p*=.015), CAMI scores (*sr*=.129, *p*=.017), Defund the Police (*sr*=-.117, *p*=.031), and internal attributions (*sr*=-.159, *p*=.003) were all significant predictors above the other variables in the model. Believing that justice involved people can change, holding negative attitudes towards people with mental illness, supporting the Defund the Police movement and attributing crime to internal/mental element factors all resulted in less money allocated towards this policy.

Similar variables emerge as prominent predictors of the two rehabilitative policies. The model predicting money being directed towards mental health services within correction facilities was significant, ($F(7, 276) = 6.797$, $p<.001$), yet only support for the Defund the Police movement (*sr*=.225, *p*<.001), internal attributions of crime (*sr*=.128, *p*=.019), and the belief that Black men are more violent than White men (*sr*=-.137, *p*=.012) proved to be significant predictors. Being a greater advocate for the Defund the Police movement, attributing crime to internal factors, and believing that Black men tend to be more violent than White men resulted in

greater monetary support for mental health services in jails and prisons. Finally, financial support for diversion programs for justice-involved people ($F(7, 276) = 11.374$, $p<.001$) was predicted by CAMI scores ($sr=-.130$, $p=.011$), and support for the Defund the Police movement ($sr=.222$, $p<.001$). Believing that justice-involved people can change, having a more positive view of people with mental illness, and supporting the Defund the Police movement all resulted in greater money allocation towards diversion programming.

Table 9

Exploratory Regression Results of Attitudes in Study 1

Variable	*B*	*SE*	*t*	*95% CI of B*	*p*	*sr*
Condition + Attitudes						
Police						
Constant	55.538	12.876	3.925	[25.186, 75.890]	<.001	-
Information Condition	-.485	1.810	-.268	[-4.050, 3.080]	.789	-.013
Mutability of JIP	-.326	.242	-1.350	[-.803, .150]	.178	-.065
Mutability of PMI	-.187	.206	-.909	[-.592, 218]	.364	-.044
CAMI	.424	.177	2.389	[.075, .773]	.018	.115
Defund the Police	-3.338	.505	-6.612	[-4.332, -2.344]	<.001	-.318
External Attributions	-.180	.110	-1.638	[-.396, .036]	.103	-.079
Internal Attributions	-.160	.157	-1.022	[-.469, .148]	.308	-.049
Racism- Intelligence	1.910	1.232	1.551	[-.515, 4.336]	.122	.075
Racism- Hardworking	.815	1.200	.679	[-1.548, 3.178]	.498	.033
Racism- Violent	1.905	.961	1.982	[.012, 3.798]	.049	.095
Racism- Trustworthy	.209	1.041	.201	[-1.840, 2.258]	.841	.010
Facilities						
Constant	25.992	8.671	2.998	[8.919, 43.066]	.003	.016
Information Condition	.358	1.219	.294	[-2.043, 2.759]	.769	.016
Mutability of JIP	-.398	.163	-2.446	[-.719, -.078]	.015	-.131
Mutability of PMI	-.118	.138	-.852	[-.390, .155]	.395	-.046
CAMI	.287	.119	2.042	[.052, .522]	.017	.129
Defund the Police	-.740	.340	-2.175	[-1.409, -.070]	.031	-.117
External Attributions	.097	.074	1.317	[-.048, .243]	.189	.071
Internal Attributions	-.313	.106	-2.969	[-.521, -.106]	.003	-.159
Racism- Intelligence	-.108	.830	-.130	[-1.742, 1.536]	.896	-.007
Racism- Hardworking	.204	.808	.252	[-1.388, 1.795]	.801	-.014
Racism- Violent	.436	.648	.673	[-.839, 1.711]	.502	.036

Racism- Trustworthy	1.207	.701	1.722	[-.173, 2.587]	.086	.092
Services						
Constant	7.551	12.203	.619	[-16.476, 31.578]	.537	
Information Condition	.709	1.716	.413	[-2.670, 2.087]	.680	.022
Mutability of JIP	.314	.229	1.368	[-.138, .765]	.172	.074
Mutability of PMI	.286	.195	1.468	[-.098, .670]	.143	.080
CAMI	-.280	.168	-1.665	[-.611, .051]	.097	-.090
Defund the Police	1.981	.478	4.140	[1.039, 2.923]	<.001	.225
External Attributions	-.043	.104	-.411	[-.248, .162]	.682	-.022
Internal Attributions	.351	.149	2.360	[.058, .643]	.019	.128
Racism- Intelligence	-.858	1.168	-.735	[-3.157, 1.441]	.463	-.040
Racism- Hardworking	-.550	1.138	-.484	[-2.790, 1.689]	.629	-.026
Racism- Violent	-2.294	.911	-2.518	[-4.088, -.500]	.012	-.137
Racism- Trustworthy	-.869	.986	-.881	[-2.811, 1.073]	.379	-.048
Diversion						
Constant	15.919	12.176	1.307	[-8.055, 39.893]	.192	
Information Condition	-.582	1.712	-.304	[-3.953, 2.789]	.734	-.017
Mutability of JIP	.411	.229	1.798	[-.039, .861]	.073	.091
Mutability of PMI	.019	.194	.096	[-.364, .401]	.923	.005
CAMI	-.431	.168	-2.569	[-.761, -.101]	.011	-.130
Defund the Police	2.097	.477	4.392	[1.157, 3.037]	<.001	.222
External Attributions	.125	.104	1.205	[-.079, .330]	.229	.061
Internal Attributions	.123	.148	.830	[-.169, .415]	.408	.042
Racism- Intelligence	-.944	1.165	-.810	[-3.238, 1.350]	.419	-.041
Racism- Hardworking	-.468	1.135	-.413	[-2.703, 1.766]	.680	-.021
Racism- Violent	-.047	.909	-.052	[-1.837, 1.743]	.959	-.003
External Attributions	-.546	.984	-.555	[-2.484, 1.391]	.579	-.028

Overall, the results of Study 1 indicate that information regarding the prevalence of people with mental illness in the corrections system does not increase funding for rehabilitative policies. However, support for rehabilitative policies was already relatively high, no matter which condition participants were assigned to. The factors that do contribute to support of rehabilitative policies were more attitudinal based, such as how one attributes criminal behavior, attitudes towards mental illness, and attitudes towards the police. This prepares us for Study 2, as Study 1 established that given a vague prompt, people tend to support rehabilitative policies much more than punitive policies, and that this support is primarily driven by attitudes regarding

both mental illness, justice-involved people, legal actors and Black people. As priming for people to explicitly consider mental illness does not seem to alter money allocation patterns to punitive and rehabilitative policies, when race and crime type are added into the mix, any results indicating that the condition plays a significant role would indicate that either race or type of crime influence how people want justice-involved people with mental illness to be treated.

Study 2

Study 2 procedure mimicked Study 1 closely, and again began with a series of correlations. While the two rehabilitative policies (r=.148, p=.004) and two punitive policies (r=.374, p<.001) were significantly correlated in this study, I chose to remain consistent with procedures of Study 1 and analyze each of the four policies separately. The correlation patterns between the money allocation to each policy and the independent variables was similar between the two studies (see Tables 10 and 11). Internal attributions were associated with less allocation towards punitive policies and more allocation toward rehabilitative policies. The same was found for the external attribution scale, however there was not a significant correlation when it came to money allocation towards correctional facilities. Negative attitudes towards people with mental illness (CAMI) was significantly and negatively correlated with monetary support towards the two rehabilitative policies, and significantly and positively correlated with monetary support towards punitive policies. Belief that both justice-involved people and people with mental illness can change was significant correlated with all for policies, associated with each of the punitive policies in a negative direction, and the rehabilitative policies in a positive direction. Each of the four racism items were significantly correlated in the same way as Study 1, where positive views of White men than Black men was associated with greater money allocation towards the two punitive policies, and less money allocation towards rehabilitative policies. Support for the

Defund the Police movement was again significantly correlated with each policy as well, again in a negative direction for the punitive policies, and a positive direction with the rehabilitative policies. Knowledge and gender were again inconsistently correlated with the policy variables, so for the sake of uniformity and significance, they were left out of models in Study 2 as well.

Table 10

Correlations of all Dependent Variables in Study 1

Variable	1	2	3	4	5
1. Money Towards Police	-				
2. Money Towards Facilities	.374**	-			
3. Money Towards MI Services	-.706**	-.515**	-		
4. Money Towards Diversion Programs	-.665**	-.596**	.148*	-	
5. Collapsed Punitive Money	.905**	.734**	-.754**	-.761**	-
6. Collapsed Rehabilitative Money	-.905**	-.734**	.754**	.761**	1.00**

*Note. * indicates p<.05. ** indicates p<.001.*

Table 11

Correlations of IV and DVs in Study 2

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Collapsed Rehabilitative Money	-									
2. External Crime Attributions	.220**	-								
3. Mental Element Crime Attributions	.259**	.465**	-							
4. Attitudes Towards Mental Illness	-.505**	-.044	-.132*	-						
5. Mutability of Justice-Involved People	.447**	.125*	.185**	-.573**	-					
6. Mutability of People with Mental Illness	.278**	-.219*	.052	-.530**	.466**	-				
7. Racism Intelligence	-.274**	-.165**	-.047	.279**	-.302**	-.099	-			
8. Racism Hardworking	-.309**	-.084	-.052	.278**	-.309**	-.128*	.582**	-		
9. Racism Violent	.342**	.212**	.088	-.328**	.295**	.085	-.503**	-.451**	-	
10. Racism Trustworthy	-.308**	-.166**	-.14*	.301**	-.344**	-.139*	.598**	.572**	-.587**	-
11. Defund the Police	.439**	.496**	.20**	-.138*	.201**	-.096	-.204**	-.247**	.329**	-.253**

*Note. * indicates p<.05. ** indicates p<.001.*

Aim 1- Money allocation differences by condition

Prior to analyzing Aim 1, *t*-tests were conducted to identify whether there was a significant difference between the rehabilitative and punitive policies. To do so, a *t*-test was run on the collapsed rehabilitative policies against a value of 50. A significant deviation from 50 would indicate a significant proportion of money going towards that group of policies. This test indicated that money allocated to the two rehabilitative policies was significantly more than half (M=71.001, p<.001), illustrating the participants preference for rehabilitation as compared to punishment that was found in Study 1. Aim 1 sought to understand the impact that the type of vignette shown might have on money allocation. To do so, a series of ANOVAs were conducted using the conditions as a predictor, and money allocated to each of the four policies as the outcome. Similar to Study 1, the experimental condition provided to participants in the vignettes did not significantly influence policy support patterns (see Table 12). The models regarding money allocation towards the police force, (F(3, 383) = 0.970, p=.407), correctional facilities found similar patterns (F(3, 383) = 0.072, p=.975), mental health services within correctional facilities (F(3, 383) = 0.906, p=.438), and diversion programming (F(3, 383) = 1.140, p=.333), were all not significant.

Table 12

ANOVA Results for the Interaction Effects of the Condition

	Predictor	*Mean Difference*	*SE*	*p*	*95% CI*
Police					
	White – Black	2.238	1.923	.245	[-1.543, 6.018]
	Nonviolent – Violent	2.373	1.923	.218	[-1.408, 6.153]
Facilities					
	White – Black	0.462	1.210	.703	[-1.918, 2.841]
	Nonviolent – Violent	0.171	1.210	.888	[-2.209, 2.551]
MH Services					
	White – Black	-1.843	1.721	.285	[-5.228, 1.542]
	Nonviolent – Violent	-0.457	1.721	.791	[-3.841, 2.928]

Diversion					
	White – Black	-0.856	1.741	.623	[-4.279, 2.567]
	Nonviolent – Violent	-2.087	1.741	.231	[-5.510, 1.336)

Aim 2- Money allocation across the two studies

Aim 2 was to compare the results of policy money allocation across the two studies, specifically in the context of primed information. Money allocation patterns are nearly identical across the two studies, where I see that the most money is allocated towards mental health services, and the least to the creation and maintenance of more jails and prisons (refer to Table 2). Additionally, there were no significant differences across condition in Study 2. These results replicate those of Study 1, which found no differences between condition as well. Together, these indicate 1) the public is significantly more supportive of rehabilitative policies as compared to punitive policies and 2) any priming of information (mental illness, race, crime type) does not significantly change this preference for rehabilitation.

Aims 3

Aim 3a sought to uncover any potential differences in attributions to crime that may be supported after seeing a specific vignette. To do so, two regressions were run with the dummy coded condition variables as predictors, and each attribution category as the dependent variable (see Table 13). In predicting internal attributions, or those regarding the mental element to crime ($F(3, 383) = 7.746$, $p<.001$), seeing a violent condition, either Black ($sr=.164$, $p=.001$) or White ($sr=.198$, $p<.001$), seems to have a significant impact in endorsing such items. Regardless of race, those who read a vignette discussing a violent crime were more likely to endorse items that indicate that crime may be due to uncontrollable internal or mental factors. For external/societal attributions ($F(3, 383) =3.236$, $p=.022$), only those who saw the Black, violent vignette were more likely to endorse these items ($sr=.122$, $p=.016$). If this vignette was shown, participants

were more likely to endorse items that mention systemic issues or biases that lead to criminal behavior.

Table 13

Regression Results for Attribution Patterns by Condition

Variable	*B*	*SE*	*t*	*95% CI of B*	*p*	*sr*
Internal Attributions						
Constant	34.729	.686	50.649	[33.381, 36.077]	<.001	-
DC White Violent	3.324	.975	3.410	[1.407, 5.241]	<.001	.170
DC Black Nonviolent	-.561	.972	-.577	[-2.472, 1.351]	.564	-.029
DC Black Violent	2.624	.962	2.727	[.732, 4.517]	.007	.136
External Attribution						
Constant	45.125	1.225	36.831	[42.716, 47.534]	<.001	-
DC White Violent	1.481	1.742	.850	[-1.944, 4.906]	.396	.043
DC Black Nonviolent	-.820	1.737	-.472	[-4.236, 2.596]	.637	-.024
DC Black Violent	4.158	1.720	2.418	[.777, 7.539]	.016	.122

Note. DC indicates dummy coded.

Expanding upon these findings, Aim 3b was to understand what attributions, if any, are most associated with support for each of the four policies. For this aim, the dummy coded condition variables were regressed onto each of the four policies, with the addition of the two types of attributions as predictors (see Table 14). The model with allocating more money to the police ($F(5, 383) = 6.945$, $p<.001$) indicated that only the endorsement of internal ($sr=-.135$, $p=.006$) and external ($sr=-.154$, $p=.002$) attributions were significant in predicting money allocation. Those who endorsed these items, or those who endorse mitigating factors to crime overall, were less likely to allocate money to the police force. This result was somewhat replicated for money allocation to correctional facilities ($F(5, 383) = 2.799$, $p=.017$), where only internal ($sr=-.171$, $p<.001$) attributions was a significant predictor. Again, the endorsement of this mitigating factor resulted in less money being allocated to this particular correctional policy.

In regards to money allocation towards mental health services in correctional facilities ($F(5, 383) = 4.944$, $p<.001$), both external ($sr=.102$, $p=.042$) and internal ($sr=.141$, $p=.005$) attributions were significant predictors. In this case, participants who endorsed these items were more likely to allocate money towards bettering mental health services in the corrections system. Finally, the money allocation towards diversion programming ($F(5, 383) = 3.486$, $p=.004$) was significantly predicted by internal attributions ($sr=.129$, $p=.011$). Those who believe that crime may be due to mental illness or other mental health factors were significantly more likely to allocate money towards diversion programming.

Table 14

Regression Results for Money Allocation Patterns by Attributions

Variable	*B*	*SE*	*t*	*95% CI of B*	*p*	*sr*
Condition + Attributions						
Police						
Constant	47.993	5.287	9.077	[37.597, 58.389]	<.001	-
DC White Violent	-.051	2.695	-.019	[-5.349, 5.247]	.985	-.001
DC Black Nonviolent	-1.739	2.627	-.662	[-6.904, 3.425]	.508	-.033
DC Black Violent	-1.898	2.651	-.716	[-7.110, 3.315]	.475	-.035
Internal Attributions	-.428	.155	-2.751	[-.733, -.122]	.006	-.135
External Attributions	-.271	.087	-3.119	[-.442, -.100]	.002	-.154
Facilities						
Constant	21.537	3.403	6.329	[14.846, 28.229]	<.001	-
DC White Violent	.850	1.734	.490	[-2.561, 4.260]	.625	.025
DC Black Nonviolent	-.551	1.691	-.326	[-3.876, 2.773]	.745	-.016
DC Black Violent	.398	1.706	.233	[-2.957, 3.753]	.816	.012
Internal Attributions	-.338	.100	-3.381	-.535, -.142]	.001	-.171
External Attributions	.009	.056	.169	[-.101, .120]	.866	.009
Services						
Constant	15.867	4.791	3.312	[6.447, 25.287]	.001	-
DC White Violent	-3.547	2.442	-1.453	[-8.348, 1.254]	.147	-.072
DC Black Nonviolent	-.600	2.380	-.252	[-5.281, 4.080]	.801	-.013
DC Black Violent	.233	2.402	.097	[-4.490, 4.956]	.923	.005
Internal Attributions	.398	.141	2.823	[.121, .675]	.005	.141
External Attributions	.161	.079	2.040	[.006, .316]	.042	.102
Diversion						
Constant	14.603	4.894	2.984	[4.980, 24.225]	.003	-

DC White Violent	2.748	2.494	1.102	[-2.156, 7.652]	.271	.055
DC Black Nonviolent	2.891	2.431	1.189	[-1.889, 7.672]	.235	.060
DC Black Violent	1.267	2.454	.516	[-3.558, 6.091]	.606	.026
Internal Attributions	.101	.081	1.255	[-.057, .259]	.210	.063
External Attributions	.368	.144	2.559	[.085, .651]	.011	.129

Note. DC indicates dummy coded.

The final aim sought to explore the mediation effect of attributions on the condition shown with money allocation as an outcome, however this again was not appropriate as condition did not predict money allocation and there for cannot be mediated by another variable. However, to align with Study 1, I again ran an exploratory model including attitudinal variables to see which emerge as the most significant predictors of money allocation for each of the four policies (see Table 15). First was the model predicting money allocated towards the police (F(13, 383) = 16.274, p<.001), which had findings very similar to Study 1. Support for the Defund the Police movement (sr=-.306, p<.001) and negative attitudes towards people with mental illness (sr=.151, p<=.001) were again significant predictors of money allocation towards the police force in a negative direction, however the perception that crime is due to internal or mental factors also offered significant variance (sr=-.107, p=.010). Again, support for the Defund the Police movement account for a large portion of the variance, over 30% above and beyond other variables, making it an extremely strong predictor for support of this policy. The same four variables from Study 1 significantly predicted money allocation towards creating and maintaining correctional facilities in Study 2 (F(13, 383) = 11.977, p<.001). Internal attributions to crime (sr=-.094, p=.032), CAMI scores (sr=.242, p<.001), and Defund the Police (sr=-.120, p=.006) again each predicted a significant proportion of variance in money allocation to this punitive policy.

Similar to Study 1, attitudes towards people with mental illness (*sr*=-.102, *p*=.028) support for the Defund the Police movement (*sr*=.201, *p*<.001) and internal attributions of crime (*sr*=.113, *p*=.015) were significant predictors of allocating money to mental health services within jails and prisons (*F*(13, 383) = 7.797, *p*<.001). However, in Study 2, attitudes towards people with mental illness also accounted for significant variance in this model (*sr*=-.128, *p*=.006). Finally, financial support for diversion programs for justice-involved people (*F*(13, 383) = 14.015, *p*<.001) was predicted by perceptions of mutability of justice-involved people (*sr*=.113, *p*=.008), CAMI scores (*sr*=-.234, *p*<.001), and support for the Defund the Police movement (*sr*=.222, *p*<.001), just as it was in Study 1. For the case of each of the rehabilitative policies, more positive perceptions of people with mental illness, and being more prone to support the Defund the Police movement resulted in more money being allocated.

Table 15

Exploratory Regression Results of Attitudes in Study 2

Variable	*B*	*SE*	*t*	*95% CI of B*	*p*	*sr*
Condition + Attributions						
Police						
Constant	42.240	10.595	3.987	[21.406, 63.075]	<.001	-
DC White Violent	.339	2.299	.147	[-4.183, 4.860]	.883	.006
DC Black Nonviolent	-2.597	2.220	-1.170	[-6.964, 1.769]	.243	-.049
DC Black Violent	-2.343	2.262	-1.036	[-6.791, 2.104]	.301	-.043
Mutability of JIP	-.400	.227	-1.765	[-.846, .046]	.078	-.073
Mutability of PMI	-.088	.173	-.508	[-.429, .253]	.612	-.021
CAMI	.517	.142	3.648	[.238, .796]	<.001	.151
Defund the Police	-2.956	.401	-7.368	[-3.745, -2.167]	<.001	-.306
External Attributions	.050	.087	.574	[-.121, .221]	.566	.024
Internal Attributions	-.349	.135	-2.584	[-.615, -.083]	.010	-.107
Racism- Intelligence	.483	1.054	.459	[-1.589, 2.556]	.647	.019
Racism- Hardworking	1.515	.887	1.709	[-.228, 3.258]	.088	.071
Racism- Violent	-1.060	.786	-1.350	[-2.605, .485]	.178	-.056
Racism- Trustworthy	-.903	.945	-.956	[-2.761, .954]	.340	-.040
Facilities						

Constant	15.705	6.991	2.247	[1.959, 29.452]	.025	-
DC White Violent	.511	1.517	.337	[-2.472, 3.494]	.736	.015
DC Black Nonviolent	-1.009	1.465	-.689	[-3.890, 1.872]	.492	-.030
DC Black Violent	-.478	1.492	-.320	[-3.412, 2.457]	.749	-.014
Mutability of JIP	-.248	.150	-1.661	[-.543, .046]	.098	-.072
Mutability of PMI	-.198	.114	-1.727	[-.423, .027]	.085	-.075
CAMI	.518	.094	5.543	[.334, .702]	<.001	.242
Defund the Police	-.729	.265	-2.753	[-1.249, -.208]	.006	-.120
External Attributions	.062	.057	1.087	[-.050, .175]	.278	.047
Internal Attributions	-.192	.089	-2.149	[-.367, -.016]	.032	-.094
Racism- Intelligence	-.023	.695	-.032	[-1.390, 1.345]	.974	-.001
Racism- Hardworking	-.099	.585	-.170	[-1.249, 1.051]	.865	-.007
Racism- Violent	-.013	.518	-.025	[-1.032, 1.007]	.980	-.001
Racism- Trustworthy	.755	.623	1.211	[-.471, 1.981]	.226	.053
Services						
Constant	16.956	10.534	1.610	[-3.758, 37.671]	.108	-
DC White Violent	-3.862	2.286	-1.689	[-8.358, .633]	.092	-.078
DC Black Nonviolent	-.106	2.208	-.048	[-4.448, 4.235]	.962	-.002
DC Black Violent	.578	2.249	.257	[-3.844, 5.000]	.797	.012
Mutability of JIP	.091	.225	.402	[-.353, .534]	.688	.019
Mutability of PMI	.242	.172	1.403	[-.097, .581]	.161	.065
CAMI	-.311	.141	-2.204	[-.588, -.034]	.028	-.102
Defund the Police	1.738	.399	4.356	[.953, 2.522]	<.001	.201
External Attributions	-.012	.086	-.139	[-.182, .158]	.890	-.006
Internal Attributions	.329	.134	2.452	[065, .594]	.015	.113
Racism- Intelligence	-.944	1.048	-.900	[-3.004, 1.117]	.369	-.041
Racism- Hardworking	-1.040	.881	-1.179	[-2.773, .694]	.239	-.054
Racism- Violent	.488	.781	.625	[-1.048, 2.024]	.532	.029
Racism- Trustworthy	-.021	.939	-.023	[-1.868, 1.826]	.982	-.001
Diversion						
Constant	25.098	9.851	2.548	[5.727, 44.470]	.011	-
DC White Violent	3.012	2.138	1.409	[-1.192, 7.216]	.160	.060
DC Black Nonviolent	3.712	2.065	1.798	[-.347, 7.772]	.073	.077
DC Black Violent	2.243	2.103	1.067	[-1.892, 6.378]	.287	.045
Mutability of JIP	.558	.211	2.647	[.144, .973]	.008	.113
Mutability of PMI	.044	.161	.271	[-.273, .361]	.787	.012
CAMI	-.725	.132	-5.500	[-.984, -.466]	<.001	-.234
Defund the Police	1.948	.373	5.221	[1.214, 2.681]	<.001	.222
External Attributions	-.100	.081	-1.240	[-.259, .059]	.216	-.053
Internal Attributions	.211	.126	1.683	[-.036, .458]	.093	.072
Racism- Intelligence	.483	.980	.493	[-1.444, 2.410]	.623	.021

Racism- Hardworking	-.376	.824	-.457	[-1.997, 1.245]	.648	-.019
Racism- Violent	.585	.730	.801	[-.851, 2.021]	.424	.034
External Attributions	.169	.878	.193	[-1.558, 1.897]	.847	.008

Note. DC indicates dummy coded.

Chapter 5: Discussion

The current studies sought to investigate differences in policy support through a money allocation task after priming participants with information regarding mental illness, race and crime type. The goal was to understand if there are differences in the way the public wants certain intersectional groups of people who offend to be dealt with in the criminal justice system. I hypothesized that in the vignettes depicting Black men, participants would be more likely to allocate money towards punitive policies, as research has established various stereotypes regarding this group, including being prone to violence and criminality in general (Correll et al., 2011; Nosek et al., 2007; Unnever & Gabbidon, 2011; Wilson et al., 2017). However, the current studies had three major takeaways that were not consistent with the hypotheses. First, the studies found that regardless of priming information, participants were much more likely to support rehabilitative correctional policies, as compared to punitive policies. Second, though the information that participants were primed with did not significantly influence policy support, attitudes towards the identities tested did. Finally, the study found effects that suggest either a desire to appear socially just by the participants, or a preference to protect Black men from punishment. Each takeaway will be discussed in further detail.

Finding 1- People prefer rehabilitative attitudes overall

Results from both Study 1 and Study 2 show a significant trend towards the support of rehabilitative policies rather than punitive policies for justice-involved people overall. This did not change when the participants were primed to consider the prevalence of mental illness, indicating that either mental illness is already being connected to crime when people are asked about the criminal justice system, or that the type of rehabilitation and punishment of people who offend, with or without mental illness, is supported in a consistent manner. The overarching

results are consistent with recent literature that find that the public is more likely to support rehabilitation for people who offend (Dunbar, 2020). However, the study conducted by Dunbar also found that individuals who perceive crime to be a "Black phenomenon" tend to allocate more money to carceral interventions. The currents studies seem to find the opposite. No matter the condition they were primed with, rehabilitation was supported. Additionally, items regarding racial prejudice did not commonly predict money allocation. However, this is the first research project that the author is aware of that assessed support for this intersectional group that also includes people with mental illness, and intersectional groups are known to elicit different patterns of prejudice as compared to those who only have one identity (Cole, 2009; Levine-Rasky, 2011). In the current studies, it seems as though having a mental illness does not intersect with race in a way that makes certain group significantly more susceptible on its own. It is possible that this intersectional identity is what makes the current results different from those of Dunbar (2020).

The findings are promising, in that race, mental illness status, nor the type of crime one commits seem to dissuade the public from wanting rehabilitation for people who have committed crimes; however, it must be considered that the results of the current study may not be in line with the current state of the country. Recent studies still suggest that Black individuals are disproportionately arrested, charged with crimes, and incarcerated for longer periods of time (Gase et al., 2016; Janetta et al., 2014; Unnever & Gabbidon, 2011), as compared to White individuals. Until these trends change, it is only natural to conclude that bias exists, and punishment can still be preferred for certain races, by certain people. Therefore, while the studies suggest that attitudes towards special populations, regardless of what information they are primed with, drives policy support, discussing why the overarching support for certain groups of

people may be happening is crucial to the interpretation of this data. The results could be indication that the times are changing and more of the public is hoping for less biased treatment for people of racial minority groups and with mental illness, though one concern is that those results are due to social desirability factors or concern, rather than attitudes towards that group (Salerno et al., 2023). This will be discussed in further detail shortly.

Finding 2- Information provided does not change policy support, but attitudes do

Attitudes towards people who offend, people with mental illness, race, and the justice-system overall proved to be the strongest predictors of policy support. While support for the Defund the Police movement was significant in every exploratory regression model, attitudes towards people with mental illness and attributing crime to factors that relate to one's internal state were also consistent in predicting support for certain policies. Holding stigmatizing attitudes towards people with mental illness has commonly been tied to problematic behaviors towards that group, including harsher sanctions or the preference to remain distanced (Cueller et al., 2007; Hall et al. 2019; Massaro, 2004; Saunders, 2003; Shankar et al., 2014; Teplin ,1984). Attributing crime to reasons that may not be in a person's power to control has been shown to act as a mitigating factor in some cases, which seems to replicate in the current study (Corrigan et al., 2003; Markowitz & Watson, 2015). In the current research, I did not find mental illness status to elicit patterns of punishment. Rather, when participants endorsed internal or external attributions to crime, they were less likely to support punitive policies and more likely to support rehabilitation. This indicates a willingness to help justice-involved people with mental illness to get treatment, rather than to punish them more severely for their behavior. Further, mutability of mental illness did not often serve as a significant predictor of money allocation, which indicates that believing that people with mental illness can change may not be necessary to promote their

receipt of treatment. The lessened impact of mental illness may be due to the new wave of attitudes toward and openness regarding mental illness. Recent research has found significant reductions in stigma of certain mental illnesses throughout the last twenty years, with attitudes towards depression leading the way (Pescosolido et al., 2021). While these findings were only significant for depression at the time of publication, the trend bodes well for the future of mental illness stigma. In the current study, mention of schizophrenia did not dissuade individuals from allocating more money to rehabilitative policies in the corrections system, with similar allocation patterns being found to similarly designed research that does not consider mental illness as a factor (Dunbar, 2020).

Finally, mutability of justice-involved people was an inconsistent, but notable predictor. When participants rated justice-involved people as being able to break out of procriminal patterns and live productive lives, they were much more likely to support rehabilitative policies. In other words, if people believed that justice-involved people could be rehabilitated, they were significantly more willing to allocate money to correctional-based rehabilitative policies. While I cannot be sure if this trend towards mutability reflects a trend across the country, it is consistent with previous literature that when someone is perceived as immutable, they receive harsher punishment (Sorby & Kehn, 2022). Finding ways to help the public to understand that people with criminal histories are amenable to change and lead prosocial lives may continue the trend towards rehabilitative support. In sum, these three variables indicate possible areas of intervention, such as educating the public about 1) how criminality is not a life-long pattern for many people, 2) crime may occur in situations that make people act in ways they may not normally and the commission of crime does not encompass ones identify, and 3) myths regarding

mental illness, then more and more people may begin to support rehabilitation as compared to punitive reactions to crime when appropriate.

Finding 3- Social desirability or concern for stigmatized groups?

As previously mentioned, the results of the study could be taken at face value, which produces a positive future for certain groups of justice-involved people. Specifically, these findings could suggest that a Black man who commits a violent crime will not receive harsher treatment preferences from the current demographic sample of individuals (middle-class, college-educated, White adults) as compared to a White man who commits a nonviolent crime (Eberhardt et al., 2006; Hochschild & Weaver, 2007; Spohn, 2009). This study even found that the Black, violent condition elicits significantly less perceptions of culpability as compared to the other conditions ($F(1,383)=4.263$, $p=.040$). One option for this stems from recent research that has found that Black people who offend may be more capable of change than White people, and mutability is known to be correlated with culpability (Hughes et al., 2021; Vollum & Buffington-Vollum, 2010). This research compared across age and race and found that judges concluded that vignettes depicting Black justice-involved people in any age group were believed to be more capable being rehabilitated, are less intentional with their criminal actions and have more long-term goals than White counterparts. These results may be tied back to the notion that Black individuals face more structural disadvantages when it comes to the criminal justice system, placing them at higher risk for entanglement for reasons beyond their control, but people are working to change that (Lavalley & Johnson, 2022). If this is the case, research may start seeing trends that include more lenient perceptions and treatment of Black individuals who offend.

While achieving unbiased racial treatment in the legal system is something that should be an ultimate goal, it is unlikely that I have achieved it already. As previously discussed, research has consistently found Black individuals to be treated much more harshly by legal actors, including more common and negative interactions with the police, more charges being brought by lawyers, and longer sentences being handed down by judges (Berdejó, 2017; Gase et al., 2016; Janetta et al., 2014; Unnever & Gabbidon, 2011). Until research is able to illustrate changes in these trends, it is safe to assume that racial biases still exist in the legal system. This leads to the possibility that when providing responses to the study, participants in both the current study and possibly across other online crowdsourcing platforms, are either presenting as less biased for social desirability reasons, which has been cited as a barrier in recent research regarding racial differences (Salerno et al., 2023). Another prospect is that participants are overcorrecting for social and political issues that hinder the ability for Black individuals to receive fair treatment, especially in the context of the justice-system. The scope of the current study cannot directly test these theories; however, some exploratory analyses seem to agree with the idea that participants may be attempting to support policies that offer protection for Black individuals from inequitable treatment.

Specifically, upon further investigation of the Defund the Police movement variable, if data from those who indicated absolute opposition to the Defund the Police movement is the only group considered (i.e. those who scored a 2 on the variable and strongly disagreed with both defunding items), there are differences in the vignette shown by race in funding for mental health services in correctional facilities. However, this direction is counterintuitive to assumptions regarding who supports the Defund the Police movement (Jackson et al. 2023). Individuals were significantly more likely to allocate money to mental health services, but not either punitive

policy, if they saw either Black vignette rather than one of the White vignettes. This means that individuals who strongly support keeping funding directed towards the police force, who disagree with abolishing the police overall, and who saw a Black vignette, would prefer to direct their funds in this task towards mental health services significantly more than those who held the same beliefs about the police but saw a White vignette. Research has found individuals who oppose the Defund the Police movement tend to be more politically conservative, and often are more likely to identify with the police and their values (Jackson et al., 2023). This may illustrate the overcorrecting that could be unintentionally occurring in the participants in the current sample. Although people strongly believe the police still hold value to society, they may also fear for Black men who are involved in the justice-system and are overcorrecting for the safety of this demographic (Salerno et al., 2023). Additionally, if someone identifies with police values, such as public safety and fairness, they may ultimately be more likely to support rehabilitation for any race, either due (in the current study) the presence of mental illness, or overcorrection to perceived over policing in certain groups.

This may be more likely than social desirability responses for two reasons. First, the current study took several steps to mitigate social desirability effects, including the provision of an explicit racism scale to allow participants to demonstrate their lack of prejudice (Salerno et al., 2023), and designing the study to only be between-subjects so that participants were not comparing money allocation across racial conditions that they see. Second, many results were not in line with how someone may want to present in a socially desirable way, especially regarding Defund the Police and the explicit racism scales, suggesting that people were answering honestly. Some of the results found that the White conditions, especially the violent condition, resulted in the most financial support to the police force. This may also support the

notion that people believe in the value of the police but are concerned that the treatment towards Black and White suspects may be different, and it is too risky to promote police interactions for Black men. These conclusions are primarily speculation; however, the results of the current study are unique in a way that begs for future research to not only consider the way in which participants are trying to appear, but also to be mindful of the possible concerns that the public has for the safety of groups who have been historically treated poorly by legal actors and stigmatized for their identities.

Limitations and Future Directions

While the current study was conducted with care, there were a few limitations inherent to the design. First was the use of a convenience sample on Amazon's CloudResearch, which may not always accurately depict the current state of the world. Specifically, the demographic makeup of CloudResearch typically includes middle-aged, educated, White women who lean liberal (Moss et al., 2020). While the current study worked to regulate gender differences in hope that political beliefs may follow, the study sill skewed White and liberal. Second were the disparities between political orientation, specifically how this related to support for the Defund the Police movement as this proved to be a strong predictor of policy support. Future research may wish to investigate the impact of the political climate on support for these policies further, as well as consider implication of willingness to go out of their way to vote or express support for such policies. Additionally, as mentioned previously, results suggest some racial element that does not necessarily represent the current state of the US (Beck, 2021; Beckett et al., 2006; Berdejó, 2017; Kutateladze et al., 2012). Specifically, people reacted very positively to the Black vignettes, when news articles and previous research suggest an inherent racial bias against Black individuals, especially men, when it comes to criminal behavior. If this attitudinal shift is indeed

implemented in the real world, it is a wonderful thing, however, it may also be a social desirability bias found in current research that was not effectively reduced by providing participants a measure of racism to allow them to prove their lack of such. Or, it is possible that the current study would've benefitted from open-ended items allowing for participants to explain why they allocated money in certain ways, to see if concern for certain groups is driving policy support.

Conclusions and Implications

The current study sought to uncover the differences in stigma of justice-involved people with mental illness by race, and how that impacted related policy support. There is a large body of research regarding stigmatizing attitudes towards people with mental illness, prejudice against racial minorities and how both groups experience further discrimination when interacting with the criminal justice system. However, few studies have looked at the intersectionality of mental illness and race for justice-involved people, and the unique experiences that they may have.

Much of the negative assumptions regarding people with mental illness and Black individuals stem from misrepresentation and continued hateful rhetoric (Bourassa, 2018; Hinton et al., 2018; Ruiz & Miller, 2004). People with mental illness have been perceived as dangerous, violent and unpredictable, leading to members of the community believing that they should be monitored, especially if they engage in crime (Batastini et al., 2014; Perciful & Meyer, 2017; Quintero Johnson & Riles, 2018). Black men have often been perceived as short-fused, violent and too lazy to make a living in a legitimate way, leading to harsher sanctions due to the belief that crime is a norm for this group, and they must be punished in order to correct the pattern (Correll et al., 2011; Lundequam, 2021; Nosek et al., 2007; Unnever & Gabbidon, 2011; Wilson et al., 2017). While understanding where these misconceptions stem from is an important area of

research in the future, determining the impact of being primed with these intersected populations is important to understand the unique treatment that they might face.

Study 1 provided a general picture of stigma against people with mental illnesses in the justice-system through the use of a money allocation task. This study found that while participants were significantly more likely to allocate money to both of the rehabilitative policies, there are no differences in money allocation to when participants are oriented to the proportion of people with mental illness that exists in the United States criminal justice system. Rather, a participants' attitudes towards people with mental illness, belief that crime may be due to factors that cannot be controlled, mutability of justice-involved people, and their support of the Defund the Police movement seem to be the driving factors in money allocation to each of the policies.

Study 2 offered an insight as to how race and crime information influence attributions and attitudes. Despite the hypotheses, the study found that there were no differences by the information provided to participants in the four vignette conditions. Participants were still significantly more likely to allocate money towards rehabilitative policies, regardless of the race or type of crime they read about. While many results replicated those of Study 1 (attitudinal variables such as feelings towards people with mental illness, crime attributions, mutability of justice-involved people, and support of the Defund the Police movement were the most significant predictors), the study did uncover some interesting results regarding racial differences. Specifically, when looking at participants who were extremely opposed to the Defund the Police movement, money allocation patterns that seem to protect justice-involved people were more prevalent in those who saw the vignette depicting a violent, Black man. Additionally, the violent, Black vignette also elicited significantly less ratings of culpability as

compared to the other three vignettes. These results suggest that participants may believe in the importance of the police force but are aware of struggles that people of color may experience when it comes to interacting with law enforcement and are therefore answering in ways that protect this group. This may be intended to reduce racial biases experienced by Black individuals, especially men, in the corrections system (Sorby & Kehn, 2022; Thompson, 2010). However, there is also a chance that these results are due to social desirability of the participant pool.

Overall, the two studies found some differences in the way that the public wants to treat justice-involved people who are also Black and have mental illness. The results indicated that educational interventions, specifically those that target negative attitudes towards people who offend or people with mental illness in general may result in more support to rehabilitative corrections policies. Additionally, the results of Study 2 suggest that many members of the public may be taking protective measures for the benefit of Black individuals who are involved in the justice-system to limit their interaction with police and promote their ability to seek services while incarcerated. If this pattern of support continues, there is a possibility that rehabilitative correctional policies become more prevalent for everyone, but also that such increased attention brought to disparate treatment of Black justice-involved people may ultimately create other policies designed to protect them from any unfair and inequitable treatment they receive from legal actors.

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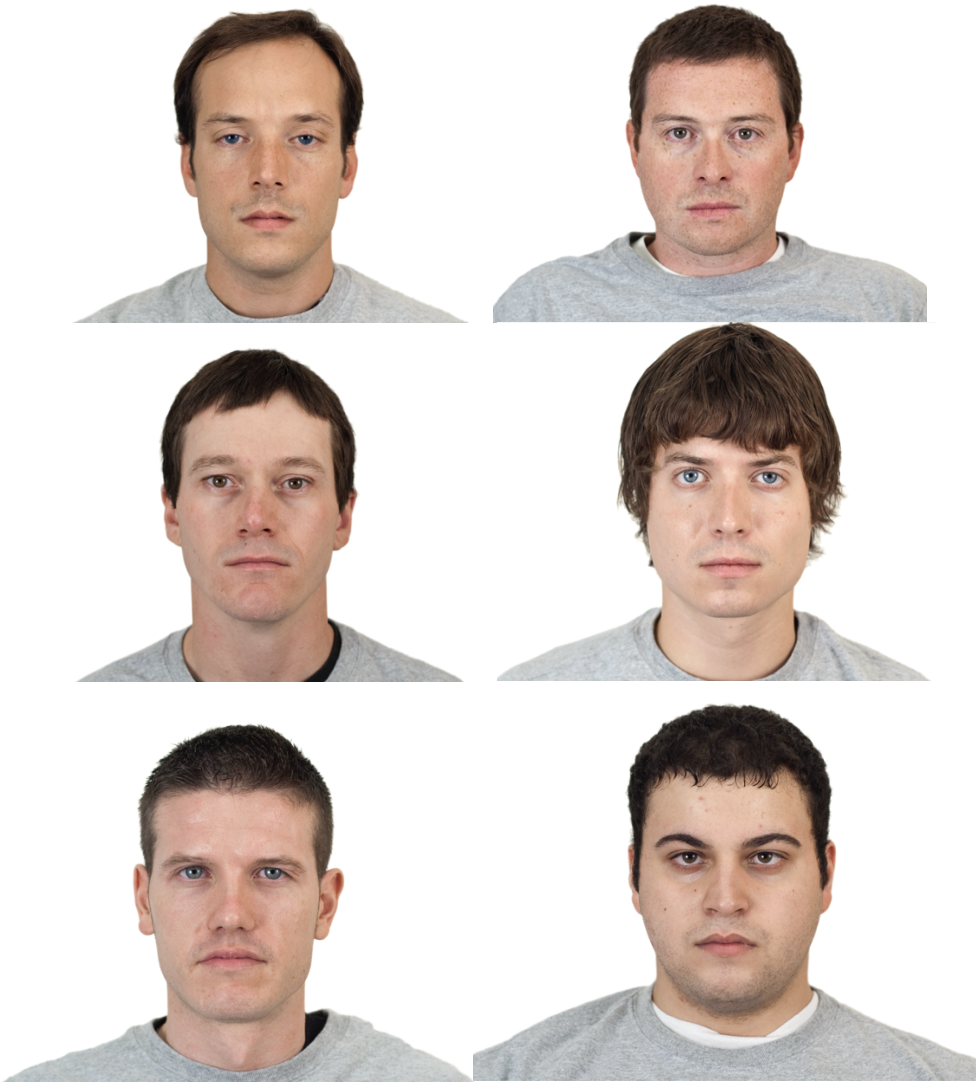
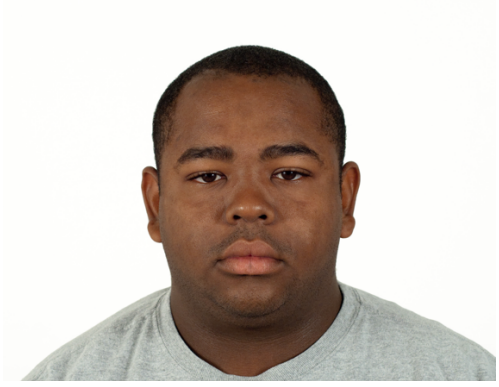
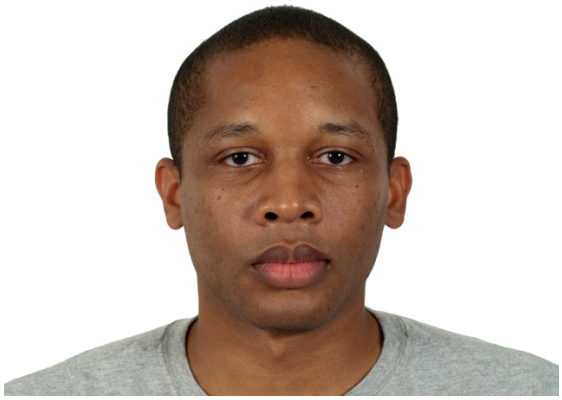
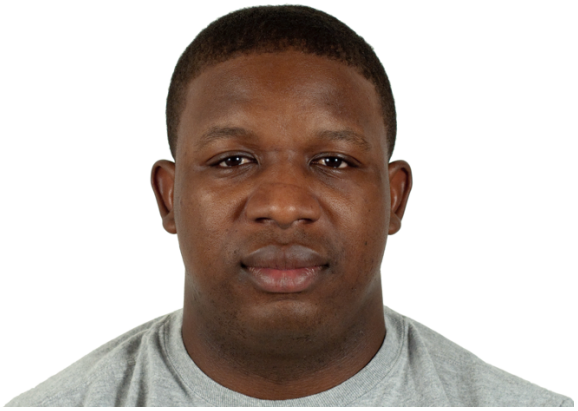
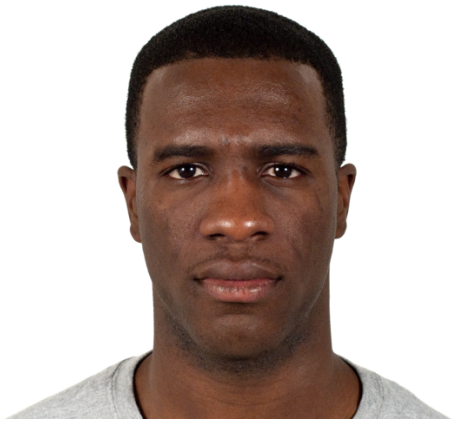
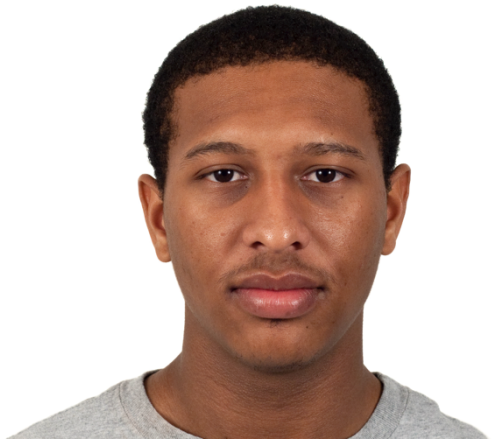
Appendix A

Pilot Study Measures

A1. Photos for Pilot Study



A2. Attractiveness

Please rate how attractive you believe this person is.
1 (Not at all) to 7 (Extremely)

A3. Likelihood of Criminal Engagement

Please rate how likely it is for this person to commit a violent crime.
1 (Not at all) to 7 (Extremely).

Please rate how likely it is for this person to commit a non-violent crime?
1 (Not at all) to 7 (Extremely).

A4. Likelihood of Mental Illness Diagnoses

Please rate how likely it is for this person to have a mental illness.
1 (Not at all likely) to 7 (Extremely likely).

A5. Age

Please indicate how old the individual in the vignette looks

A. 20-30
B. 30-40
C. 40-50
D. Other: ___

A6. Filler Questions

1 (Not at all) to 7 (Extremely)

1. Please rate how likely it is for this person to have a pet.
2. Please rate how likely it is for this person to be a part of the LGBTQ community.
3. Please rate how likely it is for this person to have a job.
4. Please rate how likely it is for this person to have a college degree.
5. Please rate how likely it is for this person to do drugs.

A6. Attributions for Pilot Study- Developed for this Study

People commit crimes for a variety of reasons. Please rank how often you believe people commit crime due to the following reasons on a scale of 1 (Never) to 7 (Always).

1. People are not educated (E) (U)
2. People are poor and desperate (E) (U)
3. People are evil (I) (S)
4. People have nothing better to do (E) (U)
5. People are on drugs (I) (U)
6. People were not raised right (E) (S)
7. People have symptoms of mental illness (I) (U)
8. People like to commit crime (I) (S)
9. People are influenced by the media (E) (U)
10. People do not have a religious affiliation to shape their moral compass (I) (U)
11. People have friends who commit crime (E) (U)
12. People are naturally rebellious (I) (S)
13. People are emotional (I) (S)
14. People are impulsive (I) (S)
15. People think they can get away with it (I) (U)
16. People are hateful or prejudiced (I) (S)
17. People are peer pressured (E) (U)
18. People are forced to commit crime (E) (U)
19. People have the opportunity to commit crime (E) (U)
20. People need to defend their beliefs (I) (S)
21. People are too lazy to make money in a legitimate way (I) (S)
22. People are violent (I) (S)
23. People experienced abuse (E) (S)

If there is another reason that people commit crime that was not listed please write it here and rank it: _____

Do you have any comments on how this question was asked? ____

**I=internal attribution, E=external attribution; S=stable factor, U=unstable factor*

A7. Attributions for Pilot Study- Modified from Gudjonsson, G. H., & Singh, K. K. (1989)

People commit crimes for a variety of reasons. Please rank how often you believe people commit crime due to the following reasons on a scale of 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 7 (Strongly Agree).

1. *They are entirely to blame for their crime(s).
2. They did not deserve to get caught for the crime(s) They committed.
3. *They are responsible for their criminal act(s).
4. They should not blame themselves for the crime(s) they committed.
5. *At the time of the crime(s) they were fully aware of what they were doing.
6. They would not have committed the crime(s) they did if they had not lost control of themselves.
7. *They should not blame other people for their crime(s).
8. Society is to blame for the crime(s) they committed.
9. They should not be punished for what they did.
10. *They were feeling no different to usual at the time of the crime(s).
11. In their case the victim(s) was largely to blame for their crime(s).
12. They would not have committed any crime(s) if they had not been seriously provoked by the victim(s)/society.
13. What they did was beyond their control.
14. *They deserved to be caught for what they did.
15. They were very depressed when they committed the crime(s).
16. *They were in no way provoked into committing a crime.
17. They must have been crazy to commit the crime(s) they did.
18. Other people are to blame for their crime(s).
19. They could have avoided getting into trouble.
20. They had very good reasons for committing the crime(s) they did.
21. They would certainly not have committed the crime(s) they did if they had been mentally well.
22. They were under a great deal of stress/pressure when they committed the crime(s).
23. *They were in full control of their actions.
24. *They have no excuse for the crime(s) they committed.

**indicates items that are reverse coded*

Appendix B

Study 1 Manipulation

Control Condition

Recent research finds that there are just under 1.8 million people incarcerated in the United States. These people may be either in jails or prisons, depending on the length and severity of their sentences. Jails also house individuals who have not yet gone to trial, but were unable to meet the requirements of bail.

Manipulation Condition

Recent research finds that there are just under 1.8 million people incarcerated in the United States. Around 44% of people in jails and prisons have been diagnosed with a mental health disorder, with the most common disorders being those of severe mental illness (major depressive disorder, bipolar disorder or schizophrenia). This is around 2-4 times higher than the rates of severe mental illness in the community.

Appendix C

Policy Money Allocation Task

C1. Allocation

Imagine you have a large sum of money, and you need to decide how you want to split it across a number of policies and practices related to the criminal justice system. Please indicate the percentage of the funds that you'd like to allocate to the following options, and ensure that your allocation adds up to 100%:

1. Funding police to increase presence on the streets
2. Creating more jails and prisons to house people who commit crimes
3. Increasing access to mental health services for people in jails and prisons
4. Creating and maintaining residential treatment diversion programs for justice-involved people with mental illness

C2. Behavioral Support

1. Would you like to sign a petition regarding your support for these rehabilitative correctional policies? (The rehabilitative policies were increased mental health services and diversion programs).
    a. Yes
    b. No
2. Would you like to sign a petition showing your support for these punitive policies? (The punitive policies include funding to increase police presence and creating more jails and prisons).
    a. Yes
    b. No

Appendix D

Knowledge and Biases Controls

D1. Knowledge

Please answer the following questions to the best of your ability.

1. What percentage of people in the criminal justice system have a mental illness?
    a. 0-10%
    b. 10-20%
    c. 20-30%
    d. 30-40%
    e. 40-50%
    f. 50-60%
    g. 60-70%
    h. 70-80%
    i. 80-90%
    j. 90-100%
2. When a person with mental illness commits a crime, how often is it directly related to their symptoms (ex. hearing voices)?
    a. 0-10%
    b. 10-20%
    c. 20-30%
    d. 30-40%
    e. 40-50%
    f. 50-60%
    g. 60-70%
    h. 70-80%
    i. 80-90%
    j. 90-100%

D2. Racial Biases

Please rate your agreement to the following statements on a scale of 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 7 (Strongly Agree).

Black men are…

1. Intelligent
2. Hardworking
3. Violent
4. Trustworthy

White men are…

1. Intelligent
2. Hardworking
3. Violent
4. Trustworthy

Appendix E

Attitudinal Measures

E1. Attributions for Pilot Study- Modified from Gudjonsson, G. H., & Singh, K. K. (1989)

People commit crimes for a variety of reasons. Please rank how often you believe people commit crime due to the following reasons on a scale of 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 7 (Strongly Agree).

1. *They are entirely to blame for their crime(s).
2. They did not deserve to get caught for the crime(s) They committed.
3. *They are responsible for their criminal act(s).
4. They should not blame themselves for the crime(s) they committed.
5. *At the time of the crime(s) they were fully aware of what they were doing.
6. They would not have committed the crime(s) they did if they had not lost control of themselves.
7. *They should not blame other people for their crime(s).
8. Society is to blame for the crime(s) they committed.
9. They should not be punished for what they did.
10. *They were feeling no different to usual at the time of the crime(s).
11. In their case the victim(s) was largely to blame for their crime(s).
12. They would not have committed any crime(s) if they had not been seriously provoked by the victim(s)/society.
13. What they did was beyond my control.
14. *They deserved to be caught for what they did.
15. They were very depressed when They committed the crime(s).
16. *They were in no way provoked into committing a crime.
17. They must have been crazy to commit the crime(s) they did.
18. Other people are to blame for their crime(s).
19. They could have avoided getting into trouble.
20. They had very good reasons for committing the crime(s) they did.
21. They would certainly not have committed the crime(s) they did if they had been mentally well.
22. They were under a great deal of stress/pressure when they committed the crime(s).
23. *They were in full control of my actions.
24. *They have no excuse for the crime(s) they committed.

**indicates items that are reverse coded*

E2. Mutability of Justice-Involved People

Adapted from Burton et al. (2020) and Maruna & King (2009)

Please read the following statements and indicate how much you agree with each one on a scale of 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 7 (Strongly Agree).

1. If a person has committed crime in the past, it does not necessarily mean that they will commit crime in the future
2. Most people who commit crime can go on to lead productive lives with help and hard work
3. Given the right conditions, a great number of people who commit crime can turn their lives around and become law-abiding citizens
4. Most people who commit crime are unlikely to change for the better*
5. Some people who commit crime are so damaged that they can never lead productive lives *

**indicates items that are reverse coded*

E3. Mutability of People with Mental Illness

Adapted from Day et al. (2007)

Please read the following statements and indicate how much you agree with each one on a scale of 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 7 (Strongly Agree).

1. People with mental illness can improve, whether it is through overcoming it, through getting it under control, or through some other means
2. There are effective medications for mental illnesses that allow people to return to normal and productive lives
3. There are no effective treatments for mental illnesses*
4. There is little that can be done to control the symptoms of mental illness*
5. Once someone develops a mental illness, he or she will never be able to fully recover from it*
6. People with mental illnesses will remain ill for the rest of their lives*

**indicates items that are reverse coded*

E4. Modified Community Attitudes Towards the Mentally Ill (CAMI)

The following statements express various opinions about mental illness and the mentally ill. The mentally ill refers to people needing treatment for mental disorders but who are capable of independent living outside a hospital. Please circle the response which most accurately describes your reaction to each statement. It's your first reaction which is important. Don't be concerned if some statements seem similar to ones you have previously answered. Please be sure to answer all statements.

1= strongly disagree, 2= disagree, 3= neutral, 4= agree, 5=strongly agree

1. One of the main causes of mental illness is a lack of self-discipline and will-power*
2. There is something about people with mental illness that makes it easy to tell them from normal people*
3. We need to adopt a far more tolerant attitude toward people with mental illness in our society
4. People with mental illness don't deserve our sympathy*
5. I would not want to live next door to someone who has been mentally ill*
6. It is frightening to think of people with mental problems living in residential neighborhoods*
7. Mental illness is an illness like any other
8. Virtually anyone can become mentally ill
9. The best therapy for many people with mental illness is to be part of a normal community
10. People with mental health problems are far less of a danger than most people suppose
11. People with mental health problems should not be given any responsibility*
12. Most people who were once patients in a mental hospital can be trusted as babysitters

**indicates items that are reverse coded*

E5. Attitudes Towards Defund the Police

Please indicate your agreement for the following questions on a scale of 1 (Strongly disagree) to 5 (Strongly agree)

1. Police departments should be given less money
2. Police departments should be abolished
3. Please tell us in your own words what the defund the police movement means: ____

Appendix F

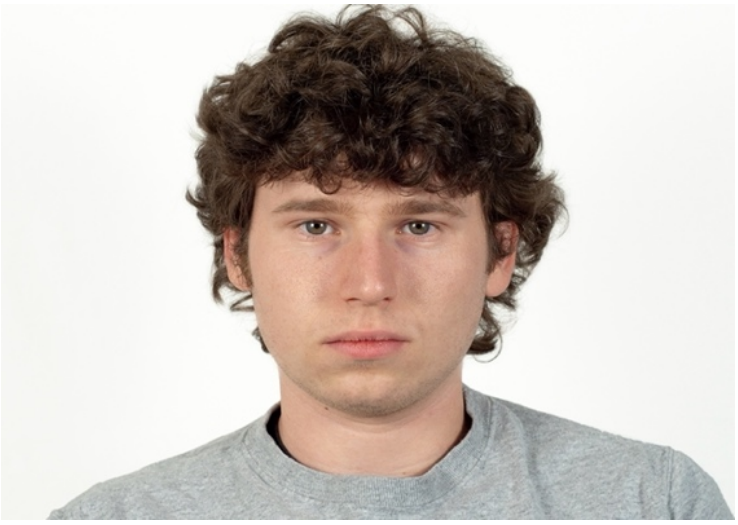
Demographics and Political Orientation

1. Please indicate your gender
    a. Male
    b. Female
    c. Nonbinary
    d. Other
2. What is your age? _____
3. What is your household income?
    a. Under $29,999
    b. $30,000 - $49,999
    c. $50,000 - $74,999
    d. $75,000 - $99,999
    e. $100,000 - $149,999
    f. $150,000 or More
4. What is the number of dependents you have? ____
5. Do you work in a field that commonly interacts with those with mental illness?
    a. No
    b. Yes
    c. Don't know
6. If yes, what field?
    a. Psychologist/counselor
    b. Psychiatrist
    c. Social Work
    d. Nurse
    e. Researcher
    f. Correctional Worker
    g. Lawyer
7. What is your highest level of education?
    a. Middle School
    b. High School Diploma
    c. Some College
    d. College graduate
    e. Graduate Degree
8. What is your race or ethnicity? Check all that apply.
    a. American Indian/Native American
    b. Asian/Pacific Islander
    c. Black/African American
    d. Hispanic/Latino
    e. White/Caucasian
    f. Other _____
9. Have you ever been diagnosed with a mental illness?
    a. Yes
    b. No
    c. I do not wish to answer this question

10. If you said yes to the previous question, was it a severe mental illness (Major Depressive Disorder, Bipolar Disorder, Schizophrenia-spectrum disorders)?
    a. Yes
    b. No
    c. Not applicable
    d. I do not wish to answer this question
11. Have you or someone in your immediate family ever been charged with or arrested for a crime?
    a. Yes
    b. No
    c. I do not wish to answer this question
12. How would you describe your political views?
    1. Extremely liberal
    2. Somewhat liberal
    3. Lean liberal
    4. In the middle
    5. Lean conservative
    6. Somewhat conservative
    7. Extremely conservative
13. Generally speaking, would you say that you usually think of yourself as a:
    1. Democrat
    2. Republican
    3. Independent
    4. Not political
14. Are you registered to vote?
    a. Yes
    b. No

Appendix G

Study 2 Vignettes



1. This man was recently arrested for aggravated assault. Upon arrest, police officers discovered that he has been diagnosed with schizophrenia.
2. This man was recently arrested for a nonviolent theft offense after stealing packages off a homeowner's porch. Upon arrest, police officers discovered that he has been diagnosed with schizophrenia.

3. This man was recently arrested for aggravated assault. Upon arrest, police officers discovered that he has been diagnosed with schizophrenia.
4. This man was recently arrested for a nonviolent theft offense after stealing packages off a homeowner's porch. Upon arrest, police officers discovered that he has been diagnosed with schizophrenia.

Appendix H

Study 2 Policy Money Allocation Task

Imagine you have a large sum of money, and you need to decide how you want to split it across a number of policies and practices related to the criminal justice system. Considering the person you have read about, please allocate the money in accordance with how you would like them to be dealt with in the justice system.

1. Funding police to increase presence on the streets
2. Creating more jails and prisons to house people who commit crimes
3. Increasing access to mental health services for people in jails and prisons
4. Creating and maintaining residential treatment diversion programs for justice-involved people with mental illness

Appendix I

Study 2 Attitudinal Measures

I1. Attributions

People commit crimes for a variety of reasons. *Considering the person that you were told about* prior to the money allocation task, please rank how much you agree with the following statements on a scale of 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 7 (Strongly Agree).

1. *They are entirely to blame for their crime(s).
2. They did not deserve to get caught for the crime(s) They committed.
3. *They are responsible for their criminal act(s).
4. They should not blame themselves for the crime(s) they committed.
5. *At the time of the crime(s) they were fully aware of what they were doing.
6. They would not have committed the crime(s) they did if they had not lost control of themselves.
7. *They should not blame other people for their crime(s).
8. Society is to blame for the crime(s) they committed.
9. They should not be punished for what they did.
10. *They were feeling no different to usual at the time of the crime(s).
11. In their case the victim(s) was largely to blame for their crime(s).
12. They would not have committed any crime(s) if they had not been seriously provoked by the victim(s)/society.
13. What they did was beyond my control.
14. *They deserved to be caught for what they did.
15. They were very depressed when They committed the crime(s).
16. *They were in no way provoked into committing a crime.
17. They must have been crazy to commit the crime(s) they did.
18. Other people are to blame for their crime(s).
19. They could have avoided getting into trouble.
20. They had very good reasons for committing the crime(s) they did.
21. They would certainly not have committed the crime(s) they did if they had been mentally well.
22. They were under a great deal of stress/pressure when they committed the crime(s).
23. *They were in full control of my actions.
24. *They have no excuse for the crime(s) they committed.

**indicates items that are reverse coded*

I2. Mutability of Justice-Involved People

Adapted from Burton et al. (2020) and Maruna & King (2009)

Please read the following statements and indicate how much you agree with each one on a scale of 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 7 (Strongly Agree) about the person depicted in the vignette.

1. Although this person has committed a crime, it does not necessarily mean that they will commit crime in the future
2. This person can go on to lead productive lives with help and hard work
3. Given the right conditions, a great number of people who commit crime can turn their lives around and become law-abiding citizens
4. This person is unlikely to change for the better*
5. This person is so damaged that they can never lead a productive life *

**indicates items that are reverse coded*

I3. Culpability

Please answer the following questions about the person in the vignette.

1. To what extent would you say that they had voluntary control over their behavior?
   1 (No voluntary control) to 7 (Complete control)
2. Given the specific facts about this person, is he less to blame? *
   1 (He is not at all to blame) to 7 (He is completely to blame)

**indicates items that are reverse coded*

I4. Sympathy

Please answer the following questions about the person in the vignette.

1. How sympathetic are you to this person?
   1 (Not at all sympathetic) to 7 (Extremely sympathetic)

Vita

Elena Vaudreuil completed her doctoral degree at the University of Texas at El Paso focusing on Legal Psychology. She received her undergraduate degree in psychology from the University of Wisconsin-Madison in 2016. During her time in Madison, she began her research at the Center for Healthy Minds studying benefits of meditation. However, she found her passion for justice-involved people while interning at the Mendota Mental Health Institute. With a plan to pursue a clinical degree, she attended Rosalind Franklin School of Medicine and Science and engaged in research regarding psychopathy and criminal behavior while completing her clinical internship at an emergency psychiatric hospital in Chicago. Elena chose to concentrate on research, leading her to the University of Texas at El Paso to work with Dr. Jennifer Eno Louden in the Mental Health and Criminal Justice Lab. There, she used her prior experiences to study people with various disorders of severe mental illness and how they become involved in the justice-system, how they are treated upon entry, and perceptions of justice-involved people with mental illness. She hopes that her research will ultimately influence policy on all levels, creating a safer and more fair experience for people with mental illness in the justice-system, and promoting ways to reduce stigma both in and out of a corrections context. Elena plans to work in industry after graduation, with a focus on bettering the way justice-involved people are treated.