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THE EFFECTS OF SPORTS TEAM ALLEGIANCE ON JURORS' PERCEPTIONS OF A
DEFENDANT

by

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the Honors in the Major Program in Psychology
in the College of Sciences
and in The Burnett Honors College
at the University of Central Florida
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Thesis Chair: Dr. Janan Smither

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ABSTRACT

ABSTRACT. This study examined the relationship between levels of sports team identification and sentence leniency. It was hypothesized that sharing the same sports team affiliation with the defendant would create bias in the form of juror leniency, and that highly identified fans would show more bias than lower identified fans. A case description of a hit and run accident, in which the defendant was described as a Tampa Bay Buccaneers fan, was read by 220 participants. Results showed a significant difference in recommended sentence length and levels of sympathy between the three groups (High Identity, Low Identity, & No Identity). However, contrary to the original hypothesis, participants who were highly identified with the Tampa Bay Buccaneers recommended a significantly longer sentence for the defendant and were less sympathetic than participants who had lower identification to the Buccaneers and those who had no Buccaneer identification. This paper discusses the relation of this finding with the Reverse Attractive Leniency Effect, as well as the Same-Sex Penalty Effect.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION.....	1
Factors that influence juror perceptions of a defendant	2
In-Group and Out-Group Bias	6
Sports fan Identification.....	8
Sports Affiliation as a Possible Extralegal Variable	11
METHOD.....	14
Participants	14
Materials	14
Procedure.....	17
RESULTS	19
Bivariate Correlation Analysis of Continuous Variables	19
Multivariate Analysis of SSIS Group on Continuous Dependent Variables	20
DISCUSSION.....	23
Relationship between SSIS group and Sentence Leniency	24
Relationship between Sex and Sentence Leniency.....	26
Limitations and Future Studies	27
APPENDIX A: SAMPLE SURVEY	30
APPENDIX B: CORRELATION TABLE OF CONTINUOUS VARIABLES.....	40
APPENDIX C: MULTIVARIATE ANALYSIS OF SSIS GROUP, SEX, AND DEPENDENT VARIABLES	44
APPENDIX D: TESTS OF BETWEEN SUBJECTS EFFECTS.....	46
APPENDIX E: POST HOC TESTS	48
APPENDIX F: SSIS GROUP AND DEPENDENT VARIABLE BAR GRAPHS	50
REFERENCES.....	52

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1 Demographics Sheet	31
Figure 2 Case Description.....	32
Figure 3 Football Affiliation Questions	35
Figure 4 Sports Spectator Identification Scale.....	36
Figure 5 Car Accident History Questions	38
Figure 6 Post Survey Questions	39

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1 Correlation Table of Continuous Variable	41
Table 2 MANOVA of SSIS Group, Sex, and Dependent Variables	45
Table 3 Tests of Between-Subjects Effects	47
Table 4 Post Hoc Tests	49
Table 5 SSIS Group and Mean Sentence Recommendation	51
Table 6 SSIS Group and Mean Ratings of Sympathy	51

INTRODUCTION

The United States justice system is unique to any other justice system in the world. Each one of its citizens holds the right to a fair, speedy trial, and is judged by a jury of their own peers. However, in a country of over 300 million people with vastly different backgrounds and beliefs, it is reasonable to expect that extralegal factors may influence courtroom decisions. Bias- positive or negative- may jeopardize an individual's right to a fair trial and can potentially cause the conviction of an innocent party or the acquittal of the guilty. Although efforts to reduced courtroom bias have been made, the potential for it has created skeptics and controversy.

In the case of *The State of Florida Vs. Casey Anthony*, the defendant who was a young and arguably attractive mother was accused of murdering her two-year old daughter. The media covered this case widely, releasing reports of Ms. Anthony's party habits after her daughter's disappearance, as well as what seemed like hard evidence against her. Polls from the Huffington Post and CBS news (2011) indicated that over fifty percent of Americans believed she was guilty of first degree murder, however the jury said otherwise. Casey Anthony was found not guilty of murder and was released on July 17th, 2011.

Whether or not extralegal factors affected the outcome of this case is hard to determine. Would the jury have convicted Ms. Anthony had she been older, non-white, less physically attractive or perhaps a man? Research on extralegal factors is needed to identify how

bias affects trial outcomes and how to avoid it. In this paper we will review defendant characteristics that have been found to influence juror decisions and explore the possible effects of sports team affiliation on jurors' perceptions of guilt.

Factors that influence juror perceptions of a defendant

In 1972 Dion, Berscheid and Walster demonstrated that physically attractive people received interpersonal advantages over unattractive people. It was proposed that humans hold a stereotype that physically attractive people are in essence good people, and are therefore ascribed more favorable personality traits, or in simpler terms, "what is beautiful is good". This evidence sparked much controversy and prompted researchers to explore the extent to which attractiveness affects interpersonal relations. One such area that was of particular importance was how physical attractiveness may affect judicial matters. If attractive people are assumed to be good people surely they would be found less guilty in trial. To test this hypothesis, Efran (1974) gave his students identical case descriptions with either an attractive or unattractive photo attached. As he predicted, students found the attractive defendant less guilty and recommended less severe sentences. This negative correlation between attractiveness and guilt has been termed the "Attractive Leniency Effect" (ALE) and has been found across men and women of varying ethnicities (Darby & Jeffers, 1988; Leventhal & Krate 1977; Stewart, 1985).

When discussing the effects of physical appearance in the courtroom, attractiveness is bound to be the most notable topic. However, there is another physical trait that has shown to provoke leniency in court. Evidence from small claims cases suggest that adults with a "Baby

Face” (i.e. big eyes, thin eye brows, curved face) are more likely to win cases involving intentional actions, and are asked to pay less in claims than a more mature faced defendant (Zebrowitz & McDonald, 1991). It is speculated that jurors and judges are more lenient to baby-faced individuals because they are perceived as being more honest and naïve.

Unfortunately the extent of courtroom bias is not limited to attractiveness and having a baby-face. There are many other variables besides physical appearance that may contribute to the confounding of an individual’s right to a fair trial. These variables include, but are not limited to, how attractive the juror considers themselves (Darby & Jeffers, 1988), race, (Espinoza & Willis-Esqueda, 2008; Wuensch, et al. 2002), sex (Ahola, 2009, 2010), and socioeconomic status (Mazzella & Feingold, 1994).

As soon as a defendant walks into the courtroom, judgments are made based on his or her appearance. Within seconds assumptions of a person’s attractiveness, race, gender, aggressiveness and likeability are established (Willis & Todorov, 2006). With these labels comes a set of beliefs or stereotypes that may impact jurors’ perceptions of guilt and responsibility. In a 2001 study by Abwender and Hough a mock trial was given to examine the effects of (1) defendant attractiveness by juror gender and (2) defendant race by juror race. Participants were asked to read a vignette of an accidental vehicular homicide in which the defendant’s race, attractiveness and gender was manipulated. The results indicated that all of these factors contributed to perceptions of defendant guilt and recommended sentence.

In the mock trial, male jurors recommended longer sentences for attractive defendants than unattractive ones, and female jurors reported opposite results (longer sentences for the unattractive defendant). The males who recommended more lenient sentences for the unattractive defendant also found the unattractive defendant less responsible for the accident. To explain this incongruity we look back to Dion, Berchshied and Walster's (1972) claim "what is beautiful is good" in that we hold the attractive person more accountable because we have higher expectations of them. Regarding race, an in-group favorability effect was found. When the defendant was described as black, black participants rated the defendant as less responsible and gave lesser sentences than white defendants. Hispanics rated black defendants as more responsible and recommended harsher sentences than white defendants. Finally white participants did not show any significant difference in responsibility ratings or sentencing between black or white defendants.

As seen in the Abwender and Hough (2001) study, as well as others, even the well-known ALE may not be as simple as once thought. Where attractiveness may create leniency in one type of case, it may create a reverse effect in another (Sigall & Ostrove, 1975). This type of interaction emphasizes the complicated nature of juror bias. Interactions between defendant characteristics, type of crime and individual juror beliefs makes it exceedingly difficult to distinguish where objectiveness ends and extralegal variables come into play. Fortunately, thanks to a rich body of literature, legislative and judicial officials can start to address the more common extralegal variables and interactions.

One such interaction that is needed to be addressed is crime type by stereotypes held about the defendant. When a crime does not fit a particular belief we hold about the defendant we may judge that defendant more leniently. Likewise if the defendant fits a stereotype we associate with the accused crime we may be more apt to convict (Espinoza & Willis-Esqueda, 2008). With interactions regarding gender it has been shown, in some case types, that judges and jurors show a “same-sex penalty effect”. That is a tendency to judge someone of their own sex more harshly than someone of the opposite sex (Ahola, 2010). However, in other crime types such as rape, there is an affinity to side with victims and defendants of your own sex (Selby, Calhoun & Brock, 1977). In addition, it has been found that women across all states and courts are sentenced more leniently than their male counterparts for the same crime (Ahola, 2009; Mazella & Reingold, 1994; Riger, et al. 1995).

Along with the above mentioned interactions, one of the most parsimonious interactions is the similarity between the defendant and juror. The more similar the juror is to the defendant the more lenient and sympathetic they will be in a trial (Selby, Calhoun & Brock, 1977; Towson, Zanna & MacDonald, 1984). For example, during the O.J. Simpson trial a national survey was conducted asking whether or not you felt the case against the ex-football star was “fairly strong.” Results showed that 77 percent of white Americans felt the case against O.J. was “fairly strong” but only 44 percent of black Americans agreed with that statement (Smolowe, 1994).

There is indeed a type of in-group bias reflected in this finding. We consider people who are similar to us to be part of our group because we have a common belief, background, heritage, lifestyle, etc. Even when we are expected to be completely objective, such as in a court room setting, the strength of these biases run deep. David Myers (2005, Chapter 15) suggests that this similarity leniency effect is produced because the juror identifies themselves with the defendant, and if the crime does not fit something they would do, the defendant probably did not do it either. Alternatively, perhaps there is a latent need to support those you view as being in your “group,” whatever that group maybe.

In-Group and Out-Group Bias

According to Social Identity Theory, who we are, that is, our self concept is comprised of the groups we belong to. This theory suggests that group affiliation offers social benefits that strengthen an individual’s self-esteem by promoting a sense of “we” or “us” (Hogg, 2003; Turner, 1991; Turner & Haslam, 2001). The types of groups we associate with are many, and they comprise the definition of ourselves. One’s religion, family, gender, school, and sports teams are just a few groups that an individual may define themselves by. The amount of allegiance we hold to each group varies. To some groups, we may be so highly identified that we are willing to do almost anything to preserve the well-being of that group, and in turn ourselves. In extreme circumstances people offer to sacrifice their lives for the sake of the group, e.g. Kamikaze pilots and suicide bombers.

Van Vugt and Hart (2004) define group loyalty as when an individual stays with a group even when leaving the group may seem to offer more benefits. This unwavering group loyalty is due more so to the positive impression they have of that group rather than adherence to non-abandonment norms or self-perception of time invested in the group (Van Vugt & Hart, 2004). In turn, this group affiliation creates an in-group /out-group bias. This bias includes both favoritism towards the in-group and abhorrence towards the out-group. Dependent on case type and individual juror opinions, this kind of bias could potentially have significant impact on trial outcomes.

The research surrounding group loyalty and affiliation has surfaced some interesting findings. How and why people form groups is of great interest to researchers in the field. In a series of studies in the early 1970s by Henri Tajfel, it was found that in-group bias can be created even in arbitrarily made groupings. Groups defined by nothing more than a coin flip showed favoritism toward other group members, even in the absence of direct benefit to themselves (Tajfel, 1970; Tajfel & Billig, 1974). Surprising as this finding was, it should be noted that not all group-biases are created equal. For example, individuals do not have the same level of allegiance to a randomized group member as they may their family.

Levels of bias can be manipulated under the correct circumstances. In Brewer's (1979) paper, she goes into great detail about factors that affect group biases. Two notable factors that increase bias are competition intensity between groups and intra-group similarity. When

competition intensity is high and explicit, there is greater cohesion within the in-group, and more hostility towards the out-group (LeVine & Campbell, 1972). However, competition is not needed to create bias. Just the presence of another group can create implied competition which can elicit a similar but weaker effect (Sherif, et al., 1961). This increase in bias seems to be due more so to an increase in in-group favoritism rather than out-group hostility (Brewer, 1979, 2007). In addition to explicit competition, intra-group similarity can also increase bias between groups: groups who share more similar traits show greater in-group favoritism than those who do not. By increasing homogeneity within the in-group and out-group, we can draw a clear line between “us” and “them”. With increased distinctiveness between groups comes a higher sense of assimilation within the group, as well as a more restrictive definition of who can be in the group (Brewer, 1991, 2007; Brewer & Leonardelli, 2001). When applying these concepts realistically, it is possible that having dual membership in two competing (implicit or explicit) groups can create complications. This may lead to the rejection of membership within either group. For example, if one describes themselves as a Yankees and Red Sox fan, neither Yankee nor Red Sox fans may accept that individual as a true fan. It would be contradictory to be highly identified in both.

Sports fan Identification

Sports pervade every country on this planet, and wherever there are sports there will undoubtedly be sports fans. The psychological processes that transform a timid, non-confrontational person to an unabashed screaming fan must be powerful, and the cause cannot

be attributed to team performance alone. As Edward Hirt points out, "Everyone is eventually going to lose" (Wang, 2006, para. 11). Similar to how people identify themselves by nationality, religion, or gender, sports spectators can identify themselves by the teams they support. Research on sports fans can help explain why fans follow their teams so ardently and also help understand the effects of fandom on social and psychological well-being. Research on the psychological effects of sports fandom and group membership indicate that the more likely explanation for fan allegiance lies in the social and psychological benefits one receives from being part of a larger group and the positive image one has of their group (Wann 2006; Van Vugt & Hart, 2004).

At times, the bond between fans is so strong that just the symbol of the sports team can communicate an instant connectedness to other fans that they are part of the same group and have shared values. These groups are clearly defined, which makes it easy to assess who is part of the in-group as well as who is part of the out-group. The presence of in-group/out-group bias between sports fans has been well documented. Fans of the same team show favoritism to fellow fans while showing abhorrence to fans of rival teams (Wann, et al., 2001; Wann & Grieve 2005). Wann and Grieve also found that this in-group/ out-group bias effect was most pronounced in highly identified fans versus lower identified fans.

When a fan identifies with a team, he or she is also identifying with a larger group, the fan base. This identification to other fans promotes social well-being through increased social

connections (Wann, 2007), leads to positive psychological health (Wann, 2006), and creates favoritism towards fellow fans (Wann & Grieve, 2005). Studies involving local sports team have shown that high identification with a local team was related to higher levels of collective self-esteem and positive emotion while lowering feelings of loneliness and alienation (Wann, 2006; Wann, Keenan & Page, 2009). This relationship between psychological health and fan identification has been termed the “Team Identification-Psychological Health Model”. Levels of team identification have also been correlated with other types of positive emotions such as the trustworthiness of others (Wann, 2007).

Wann and colleagues define team identification as, “The extent to which a fan feels a psychological connection to a team and the team’s performances are viewed as self-relevant” (Wann, et al., 2001). These feeling of self-relevancy have caused the formation of two preservation strategies fans use to preserve their own-self esteem: Basking in Reflected Glory (BIRFing) and Cutting off Reflected Failure (CORFing). BIRFing is done when the team we associate with does well. Although the fan has done no real action to assist in winning, he or she will feel a sense of vicarious glory. Fans will wear T-shirts displaying the team logo, and will refer to the team as “we” or “us” instead of “they” or “them”. According to Social Identity Theory this is a way of fulfilling our need to associate ourselves with powerful or successful groups (Hirt, et al., 1992). Conversely, when a team loses or does poorly fans will displaying signs of CORFing, by limiting their perceived association with the team. Interestingly, the tendency for BIRFing and CORFing is very much related to how highly identified the fan is with

his/her team. The more highly identified fan is more likely to engage in BIRFing and the less likely to CORF. Low to moderate identified fans showed opposite results (Wann & Branscombe, 1990).

As great as it is when ones team wins, as stated earlier, winning cannot be the cause of fandom. Perhaps the best known example of this is the Chicago Cubs baseball team. The Cubs have gone 103 years without one championship, yet their fan base continues to support them and come out to the games each season. In efforts to explain this kind of dedication, Fisher and Wakefield (1998) speculated that the role of sports fans to their teams is strong and long lasting and that that membership is not easily lost or changed. Comparable to the bond one may have between family members. Although it is part of human nature to want to associate ourselves with successful and powerful people, we work around their losses as to maintain self-esteem. To confirm his hypothesis Fisher and Wakefield (1998) conducted a study asking hockey fans why they support the teams they do. The study showed that when a team was successful, fans cited performance as the main reason for identification. However, when the team was unsuccessful, extra variables such as their likeness for individual players were cited as reasons for team identification.

Sports Affiliation as a Possible Extralegal Variable

In conclusion, this study will explore the possibility of sports team allegiance as a potential extralegal factor that can influence how a juror perceives a defendant. It is well-established that extralegal factors can affect how a juror perceives a defendant's guilt and level

of responsibility for an incident. Also well known is the bias created through group membership and level of affiliation. The more highly identified an individual is, the more likely he or she will show bias in the form of favoritism toward members of the in-group. Similarly, it is expected that a more highly identified sports fan will show more favoritism to fellow fans. Although we subscribe to many different groups, sports team affiliation is a powerful identification that may show considerable bias. In addition to bias created from sharing the same sports team, sports fans also have intense inter-group competition as well as distinctiveness between groups. Two factors that Brewer (2007) stated would increase favoritism towards the in-group and hostility towards the out-group.

Is in-group bias related to sports affiliation strong enough to evoke a significant difference of defendant responsibility and recommended sentence? This study will explore the extent of in-group/out-group bias of mock jurors towards a defendant sharing their same sports team affiliation. Considering the abovementioned evidence regarding juror bias and sports team affiliation the following hypotheses have been developed:

Hypothesis 1: Mock jurors sharing the same sports team affiliation as the defendant will show bias towards the defendant in the form of leniency in sentencing (ie. short sentence recommendation, higher ratings of sympathy, low ratings of responsibility, and increased likelihood of knowing someone who would do similarly).

Hypothesis 2: Within the group of mock jurors sharing the same sports team affiliation as the defendant there will be a positive correlation between level of positive bias and SSIS (Sports Spectator Identification Scale) score.

Hypothesis 3: There will be a non-directional sex effect across all participant types.

This last hypothesis was formulated because many, but not all, mock juror studies have found gender effects in various directions.

METHOD

Participants

Participants were recruited through the University of Central Florida's Sona-Systems and through the social networking sites Facebook.com and Reddit.com. The survey was completed by 273 participants, and 53 were excluded for not answering all four post study questions correctly. This left a total of 220 usable participants, 99 males and 121 females. Out of the usable participants 65.5% were White, 12.7% were Hispanic, 9.5% were Black, and 7.5% were Asian, and 5% identified themselves as "other". Ages of participants ranged from 18 to 59, with a mean age of 22. Out of the 220 participants 106 participants said that they do follow professional football, and 12 participants stated that the Tampa Bay Buccaneers were their favorite professional football team. In exchange for participation, University of Central Florida students received class credit. Those who completed the survey via the social networking sites received no compensation.

Materials

The current study was offered exclusively online and required access to an internet capable computer. Participants could access the study from either the University of Central Florida's Sona-Systems, or through direct links posted on Facebook.com and Reddit.com. Qualtrics.com was used as the survey host site. A demographics sheet was used to gather information regarding the participant's age, sex, current zip code, hometown, ethnicity and

whether or not they are a parent (Appendix A, fig.1). The rest of the survey was then broken down into five sections.

The first section included a one-page case description of a hit and run accident in which the defendant was a Tampa Bay Buccaneers fan. The case description included a synopsis of the accident as well as statements from persons involved (see Appendix A, fig.2). Briefly, the case describes a Tampa Bay Buccaneers fan that causes a severe accident while rushing to see his wife give birth to their first child. In addition to running a red light, the defendant also leaves the scene of the accident and continues to the hospital. The Tampa Bay Buccaneers were chosen as the defendant's choice team for its close proximity to the University of Central Florida. Following the case description were five questions regarding the respondents opinions of the case. Questions included how long the defendant should serve in jail on a scale of 0-72 months, how responsible the defendant was for the accident on a scale of 1-10 (10 being completely responsible), how sympathetic they are towards the defendant, how likely someone they know would act similarly, and finally a brief explanation for their answers.

Section II had a total of five potential questions (see Appendix A, fig.3). The first question asked participants if they follow professional football, yes or no. If the participant answered yes they were asked to list their favorite team, whom they consider to be their rival, how long they have been a fan of that team, as well as a brief explanation as to why they are

fans of that team. Participants who stated that they did not follow professional football skipped to section III.

Section III consisted of the Sports Spectator Identification Scale (See Appendix A, fig. 4). This measure was included because evidence has shown that level of fan identification can influence behavioral, affective, and cognitive reactions to events involving the team they identify with (Wann & Branscombe, 1993). The SSIS has been shown to be a reliable and valid assessment of how highly identified fans are to a particular team (Wann, 2006; Wann & Pierce, 2005; Wann & Branscombe, 1993). The questionnaire included 7 Likert-type items, all with positive scoring. The highest possible score on the SSIS is a 56, meaning you are a highly identified fan of a particular team, and the lowest possible score is a 7 (not a fan). For the purposes of this study all participants were asked to fill out the SSIS according to their feelings towards the Tampa Bay Buccaneers.

Following the SSIS, Section IV (see Appendix A, fig. 5) asked four questions regarding the participant's vehicular accident history. Participants were first asked if they have ever been in an accident, yes or no. If answered "yes", participants were asked the number of accidents they have been in, and the number of accidents they were responsible for and/or the victim of an accident. If answered "no" they skipped to section V.

The last and final section, section V (see Appendix A, fig. 6) was used to ensure that participants did read and understand the case description in Section I. Participants were asked

to write in the type of crime the defendant was being charged for, what kind of sporting event he was attending, what team the defendant was a fan of, and why the defendant was rushing to the hospital. Participants who did not answer all questions correctly were excluded from analyses.

Procedure

Participants unaffiliated with the University of Central Florida were able to access the survey online through one of the survey's posted links. Links to the survey were posted in various Facebook.com group sites, and "Subreddits" on Reddit.com. Many of these groups and "Subreddits" were associated with the Tampa Bay Buccaneers, Football, or the Greater Tampa area. Students of the University of Central Florida were able to access the survey through the University's psychological study website, *Sona- Systems*.

Once logged on to the survey participants read a summary explanation of the study that left out any mention of sports or fan identification. Knowing that the survey is mainly focused on sports team identification may have cause participants to list un-genuine answers. For this reason the study was entitled, in the participant's view, "Mock Juror Opinions of a Hit and Run Driver". Participants were then directed through all the sections of the survey, with the last page being a short debriefing on the true nature of the study. Sections were the same for all participants and each section was presented on a different page. Once participants moved on from a section they were not able to go back to change answers. Completing the survey took approximately thirty minutes.

In the first section participants were asked to imagine themselves as part of a jury trying the following case. A case description of a hit and run accident was then presented and read by the participant. Once the participant had fully read the case description, questions regarding the defendant's guilt and responsibility were asked. In section II we asked if the participant follows professional football. If yes, participants were asked to list the team they consider to be their favorite, as well as which team they consider to be their rival. If no, they did not need to answer these questions. In section III the participant was asked to complete the SSIS based on their sentiments towards the Tampa Bay Buccaneers professional football team. Next, in section IV, questions about the participant's history with vehicular accidents were asked. Lastly, section V consisted of four easy questions regarding the case description in section I.

RESULTS

Bivariate Correlation Analysis of Continuous Variables

Bivariate correlation analysis was used to explore the relationships between all continuous variables of this study; age, sentence recommendation (0 to 72 months), ratings of responsibility of the defendant (1-10, 1 being not responsible) , ratings of sympathy for the defendant (1-10, 1 being not sympathetic), likelihood of knowing someone who would act similarly to the defendant (KSAS) (1-10, 1 being you would know no one), length of football fandom, number of car accidents participant has been in, number of car accidents the participant was responsible for, and the number of car accidents in which the participant was not responsible. The following correlations were found to be significant.

Age was found to be positively correlated with responsibility ($r = .175, n = 220, p = .009$), length of football fandom ($r = .136, n = 220, p = .044$), number of car accidents ($r = .259, n = 156, p = .001$), number of car accidents in which the participant was responsible ($r = .173, n = 156, p = .031$), as well as number of car accidents in which the participant was not responsible ($r = .164, n = 156, p = .041$).

When looking at the relationship between sentence length and the abovementioned variables, only levels of sympathy were found to be significant. A negative correlation was found between sentence recommendation and sympathy ($r = -.370, n = 220, p < .001$). Sympathy was also found to be negatively correlated with ratings of responsibility ($r = -.174, n = 220, p =$

.010), and positively correlated with KSAS ($r = .412, n = 220, p < .001$), and the number of accidents in which the participant was held responsible ($r = .184, n = 156, p = .021$).

Lastly, the number of car accidents the participant has been in was negatively correlated to KSAS ($r = -.204, n = 156, p = .011$), and positively related to the number of accidents in which they were held responsible ($r = .570, n = 156, p < .001$), as well as the number of accidents in which they were not held responsible ($r = .714, n = 156, p < .001$) (see Appendix B, table 1).

Multivariate Analysis of SSIS Group on Continuous Dependent Variables

To interpret the relationship between SSIS score and the sentence recommendation length, participants were divided into three SSIS groups, no identification, low identification, and high identification. Group 1 consisted of participants scoring a 7 on the SSIS, the minimum score, meaning they had no identification to the Tampa Bay Buccaneers ($n = 84$). Group 2 consisted of participants scoring between 8 and 34, indicating a low identification with the Tampa Bay Buccaneers ($n = 115$). Lastly Group 3 consisted of participants scoring between 35 and 56, indicating a high identification with the Tampa Bay Buccaneers ($n = 23$). The cut-off score between the low and the high groups was determined by multiplying four (the lower end of a 8 point scale) by seven (the number of items on the questionnaire), which equals 34.

A multivariate test of SSIS group, sex, and the continuous variables (sentence recommendation, responsibility, sympathy and likelihood of acting similarly) were first examined (see Appendix C, table 2). No sex effect was found, $F(4, 211) = 1.44, p = .22$; Wilks'

Lambda= .97, and there was no sex by group interaction present, $F(8, 422) = .97, p = .39$; Wilks' Lambda= .97. However, a significant difference between the SSIS groups was found with the combined dependent variables, $F(8, 422) = 2.17, p = .029$; Wilks' Lambda= .92. When results for the dependent variables were analyzed separately two statistically significant differences were found, sentence recommendation $F(2, 214) = 4.98, p = .008$ and sympathy $F(2, 214) = 5.27, p = .006$ (see Appendix D, table 3). When examining mean scores for sentence length, the high identity group gave the longest sentence ($M = 36.26, SD = 25$), the low identity group gave the shortest sentence ($M = 20.68, SD = 20.64$), and the no identity group fell in between ($M = 23.94, SD = 22.77$). When looking at mean scores for sympathy it was found that the high identity group was the least sympathetic ($M = 4.83, SD = 2.17$), the low identity group was most sympathetic ($M = 6.15, SD = 2.3$), and the no identity group fell in between the other groups ($M = 5.35, SD = 2.47$).

Post-hoc comparisons using the Least Significant Difference Test (LSD) revealed that sentence recommendation lengths of the high identity group significantly differed from that of the low identity ($p = .002$) and the no identity ($p = .018$) groups, but sentence lengths of the low identity group did not significantly differ from those of the no identity group ($p = .303$). When examining sympathy it was found that the low identity group significantly differed from the high identity group ($p = .015$) and the no identity group ($p = .020$), but sympathy did not significantly differ between high identity and no identity groups ($p = .343$) (see Appendix E, table 4).

DISCUSSION

The case description was design to optimize range of recommended sentence. Although the defendant was clearly guilty of the crime, the case scenario was filled with extenuating circumstances that could have rationalized the perpetrator's actions (being a new father, wife in early labor). This allowed for participants to either focus on the crime at hand, leading to a harsher sentence, or allow the circumstances to justify his actions, leading to a lesser sentence. Based on the distribution of sentence length it seems that the scenario successfully elicited a wide range of sentence recommendations (range= 0-72, $M= 23.52$, $SD= 22.31$, mode= 12).

In our original hypothesis we asserted that jurors sharing the same sports team affiliation as the defendant would show bias in the form of lenient sentencing (i.e. shorter sentence recommendation, higher ratings of sympathy, lower ratings of responsibility, and more likelihood of knowing someone who would do similarly). Hypothesis 2 asserted that within the group of mock jurors sharing the same sports team affiliation as the defendant, there would be a positive correlation between bias and Sports Spectator Identification Scale (SSIS) score. Last, Hypothesis 3 predicted that there would be a non-directional sex effect across all participant types. Unfortunately, none of these hypotheses proved to be correct. However, a significant relationship between SSIS score and sentence recommendation was found in the opposite direction of what was originally predicted.

Relationship between SSIS group and Sentence Leniency

After conducting a MANOVA on SSIS group and sentence recommendation, a significant difference in sentence recommendation length was found between groups. Those who scored in the “high identity” Buccaneers group gave significantly longer sentence recommendations ($M= 36.26$) and were less sympathetic ($M= 4.82$) than either the “low identity” ($M= 20.67$, $M= 6.15$) or “no identity” groups ($M= 23.93$, $M= 5.35$) (Appendix F, Tables 5 and 6). This finding suggests that Buccaneers fans are perhaps harder on their own kind. It is possible that die-hard fans hold other fans more accountable because they feel a fellow Buccaneers fan should “know better” than to commit a crime such as a hit and run.

Similar cases have been reported in which juror sentencing has gone in the opposite direction of what we would generally expect. Before Sigall and Ostrove (1975) found a reverse Attractive Leniency Effect (ALE), it was widely accepted that attractive people, overall, were given more leniency in trial than unattractive people. This effect was explained under the cognitive assumption that attractive people are thought to also be good people (Efran, 1974). What Sigall and Ostrove found was that ALE was heavily dependent on type of crime. When the crime committed was something unrelated to attractiveness (burglary), attractive people were given lower sentences than unattractive people. However, when the crime was related to attractiveness (swindle) unattractive people were given lower sentences than attractive people. In further support of the reverse ALE, Abwender and Hough (2001) found that males gave lower

sentences to an unattractive female defendant and rated her less responsible than an attractive defendant for the crime of accidental vehicular homicide.

Explanation for the above findings, and perhaps the findings of this current study, can help be explained by Mazzella and Feingold's (1994) suggestion that attractive people may be held to a higher standard of judgment and behavior. When attractive people commit crimes that violate our schema of how an attractive person should behave we may be harsher in sentencing. Negligent vehicular homicide was included as one of those types of cases in which an attractive person should have "known better". In relation to our study, it could be argued that highly identified Buccaneers fans hold other Buccaneers fans to a higher standard of judgment and expected conduct, and that lower identified Buccaneers fans do not. The defendant's decision to run a red light, cause an accident, and leave the scene may have violated highly identified fan's expectations of what a fellow fan would do, causing harsher sentencing. Because lower identified fans are not as psychologically and behaviorally invested in the team, they may not have had such high expectations of other Buccaneers fans.

Another similar explanation for this finding can be related to Ahola's (2010) rationale for the "Same-Sex Penalty Effect", the effect that we judge people of our own sex more harshly. In her discussion she makes this argument:

"Perhaps we can more easily relate to a person of the same sex, and see ourselves in the same-sex perpetrator and therefore evaluate this person more harshly. When we

receive information about a more highly relatable person committing a crime, we may find fewer excuses for the person's behaviour, or it might awaken more feelings of anger and disgust." (p. 320)

Using this reasoning, it can be expected that highly identified Buccaneers fans would be more likely to ignore the irrelevant variables of the case that would cause a juror to give a more lenient sentence (e.g. new father, wife in early labor, other people around to help). Participants who could not identify with the defendant may have relied more heavily on the defendant's circumstances, rather than actual crime.

In contribution with the abovementioned effects, a third explanation for these findings may be the result of a cognitive salience effect. Research has shown that novelty items are more salient when encoding, and are more easily recalled later on (Geraci &Manzano, 2010). It could be that highly identified Buccaneers fans may have focused on the novelty of the defendant being a Buccaneers fan, causing them to ignore the extraneous variables of the case.

Relationship between Sex and Sentence Leniency

Hypothesis 3 predicted that there would be an effect between participant sex and sentence leniency. This study found no such effect. However, it should be noted that not all studies find a sex-effect on sentence recommendation (Ahola, 2010; Sigall &Ostrove, 1975). To better understand the effects of sex on this type of case, the sex of the defendant must be manipulated.

Limitations and Future Studies

Although the findings of this study are quite interesting, it is necessary to address some of the study's limitations. First, asking participants to imagine themselves as a juror on a web-based survey is quite different from being a juror in an actual courtroom. In an actual courtroom setting, jurors would have to deliberate on the guilt and responsibility of the defendant with several other people, potentially reducing bias. In addition, jurors are not asked to give a sentence recommendation. The jury's duty is to establish if the defendant is guilty or not guilty. Another limitation of this study was the participant pool. The majority of participants in this study were undergraduate psychology students from the University of Central Florida, creating a very narrow demographic. Although this study was open to the general public, it was difficult to get participants to take the survey without any kind of compensation. Lastly, the number of participants who listed the Tampa Bay Buccaneers as their favorite team was relatively low ($n=12$). This low number may be due to the location of the University of Central Florida (Orlando, FL not Tampa, FL) and that the Buccaneers did not have a good 2011-2012 season (4 wins, 12 losses). As noted early, lower identified fans tend to engage in "Cutting-off Reflected Failure" (CORFing), and may not have wanted to admit outright that the Buccaneers were their favorite team (Wann & Branscombe, 1990). This would explain the discrepancies between SSIS scores toward the Buccaneers, and what was listed as the participant's favorite team.

For future studies it would be beneficial to pick a sports team that belongs to the city you are conducting your research. Because this study explores differences between existing groups, and there is no manipulation, it is highly important to get well represented samples of each group. Had we chosen the Orlando Magic professional basketball team, who in addition to being a team of Orlando has also been having a relatively good season (28 wins, 16 losses), we may have gotten more self-described Magic fans. In addition, had we picked a more local team we may have had a more even distribution of SSIS scores.

To further explore the effects of sports team allegiance on jurors' perceptions of a defendant, a number of variables should be manipulated. First, it would be interesting to see if the defendant's sex could impact sentence recommendations. Previous research shows that overall males are judged more harshly than females (Ahola 2009, Ahola 2010). If the defendant was a female football fan, it is possible that we would find different results. Secondly, as noted before, type of crime can affect sentencing. This study should be replicated with various crime types such as burglary, swindle, homicide, and/or child molestation. Similar to how the reverse ALE was dependant on the nature of the crime (Sigall and Ostrove, 1975), opposite results may be found if the type of crime was changed. Lastly, the level of association between the defendant and target team should be manipulated. For example, results in sentence leniency may differ if the defendant was a major player of the Tampa Bay Buccaneers football team versus someone who is just a Tampa Bay resident

The research on courtroom bias is abundant and fast growing. The numbers of extralegal variables that influence courtroom decisions are many, and their interactions seem endless. However, there is a growing body of research on how to reduce bias. As of now, it seems the most effective way to reduce bias is to ask jurors to acknowledge their bias before judgment. Weiten (1980) found that the attractive leniency effect was absent when participants were given judicial instructions related to the criteria for a guilty sentence. By combining studies that identify bias, and ways to reduce bias, we come closer to ensuring the right to a fair trial for all people.

APPENDIX A: SAMPLE SURVEY

Demographics Questionnaire

Instructions: Please fill in all the follow information. All information on this questionnaire is kept strictly confidential.

Age: _____

Sex: Male or Female

Current Zip code: _____

Hometown: _____

Ethnicity: _____

Are you a parent? Yes or No

Figure 1 Demographics Sheet

Section I

Instructions: Imagine yourself as part of a jury deliberating the following case. Based solely on the following information provided, the judge would like to know your sentence recommendations for the defendant. Please carefully read all the information below and answer the questions following the case description.

State of Florida vs. Jeffrey Keller

Date of Incident: Sunday, October 17th 2010,

Location: Intersection of State Road 574 and North Himes Ave, Tampa FL

Charges: (1) Running a Red light- misdemeanor
(2) Leaving the scene of an accident- third degree Felony

Defendant: Jeffrey L. Keller

Synopsis: On October 17th, 2010 Mr. Jeffrey Keller was at Raymond James Stadium, Tampa FL watching the Buccaneers vs. Saints game with friends. At approximately 2:00pm Keller received a phone call from his mother that his wife was in labor at St. Joseph's hospital. Keller left Raymond James stadium immediately and sped to the hospital to see his wife. In doing so Mr. Keller ran a red light causing an accident in which he severely injured the driver of the other car. Mr. Keller did not stop, and continued to the hospital in which he was arrested one hour later (approx. 3:00pm) for running a red light, and leaving the scene of an accident.

Statement- Jeffrey L. Keller (Defendant): I was at the Buc's game with my three buddies when I got a phone call from my mom that Linda, my wife was going into labor at St. Joseph's Hospital. Linda has been having complications with her pregnancy, and the baby wasn't due for another month. Without thinking I left the game immediately. I knew I had to get over to the hospital to be with her, this was going to be our first child. When I came to the intersection of SR 574 and Himes I saw that the light was red, but I was in such a hurry I just slowed down to look for cars. I didn't see any. Then out of nowhere a car came flying down Himes and I hit the driver's side of the car. My car was still able to move, so I figured the accident couldn't be that bad. Plus there were a bunch of other people around to help. I know what I did was wrong, but I would never forgive myself if I wasn't there and something happened to my wife or child, or both.

Figure 2 Case Description

Statement- Renee Carlton (Witness): I was in the car directly behind Mr. Keller when he ran the red light at SR 574 and Himes. I saw Mr. Keller’s vehicle start to slow down, then at the last minute speed up to run the light. Another car was barreling down Himes Ave at the same time and Mr. Keller slammed right into the side of the other vehicle. I immediately got out of my car to see if the passengers were ok, but as I did I saw Mr. Keller’s vehicle take off down SR 574. I got the license plate number of the vehicle that left the scene (Mr. Keller’s car) and called 911. If necessary I am willing to testify in court.

Statement- Officer Samantha H. Henley: I arrived on the scene at 2:12pm on October 17th 2010. There was a severe accident at the corner of MLK and Himes. The paramedics took the victim straight to the hospital, and my partner took statements from surrounding witnesses. All witnesses described the same hit and run vehicle and stated he drove West down SR 574 towards St. Joseph’s hospital. I followed that lead and found the described car with matching tag parked at Saint Joseph’s hospital. Upon questioning, Mr. Keller admitted to running the red light and leaving the scene of the accident. I arrested him and brought him to the station for processing.

According to Florida State Law there is a maximum sentence for both charges of 6 years. One year maximum for the misdemeanor and a five year maximum for the third degree felony.

1) On a scale of 0-72 months, how long do you believe the defendant should serve in jail?

_____ Months

2) On a scale of 1- 10 with 1 meaning “not responsible” and 10 meaning “completely responsible,” how responsible do you think the defendant is for this accident? (please circle a response)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Case Description

3) Please briefly explain your rationale for your answers to questions 1 and 2.

4) On a scale of 1- 10 with 1 meaning “not likely at all” and 10 meaning “extremely likely,” How likely is it that you would commit the same crime in this scenario? (please circle a response)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

5) On a scale of 1- 10 with 1 meaning “not sympathetic at all” and 10 meaning “extremely sympathetic,” How much do you sympathize with the defendant (Mr. Keller)? (please circle a response)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Case Description

Section II

- 1) Do you follow professional football (NFL)? Yes or No

- 2) If you do follow a professional football team, please answer the following:
 - a. What is your favorite team? _____

 - b. Which team do you consider your rival? _____

- 3) How long have you been a fan of your favorite team? _____

- 4) Why are you a fan of the team listed above?

Figure 3 Football Affiliation Questions

Section IV

1) Have you ever been involved in a car accident?

Yes or No

2) How many car accidents have you been involved in?

3) Of those, how many were you held responsible for by the law enforcement?

4) Of those, how many were you **NOT** held responsible for by the law enforcement?

Figure 5 Car Accident History Questions

Section V

1) What crime did the defendant (Mr. Keller) commit?

2) What type of Sporting event was Mr. Keller at before the accident?

3) What team is Mr. Keller a fan of?

4) Why did Mr. Keller go to the hospital?

Figure 6 Post Survey Questions

APPENDIX B: CORRELATION TABLE OF CONTINUOUS VARIABLES

Table 1 Correlation Table of Continuous Variable

Correlations

		Age	SentRec	Responsibility	ActSim
Age	Pearson Correlation	1	.036	.175*	-.120
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.600	.009	.075
	N	220	220	220	220
SentRec	Pearson Correlation	.036	1	.112	-.094
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.600		.097	.166
	N	220	220	220	220
Responsibility	Pearson Correlation	.175*	.112	1	-.032
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.009	.097		.632
	N	220	220	220	220
ActSim	Pearson Correlation	-.120	-.094	-.032	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.075	.166	.632	
	N	220	220	220	220
Sympathy	Pearson Correlation	-.130	-.370**	-.174*	.412*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.054	.000	.010	.000
	N	220	220	220	220
LengthFan	Pearson Correlation	.136	-.041	-.039	.023
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.044	.543	.560	.731
	N	220	220	220	220
Num_CarAccid	Pearson Correlation	.259**	.104	.129	-.204*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.001	.196	.108	.011
	N	156	156	156	156
Num_YourFault	Pearson Correlation	.173*	-.047	-.036	-.011
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.031	.560	.656	.895
	N	156	156	156	156
Num_NotYourFault	Pearson Correlation	.164*	.114	.143	-.269*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.041	.156	.075	.001
	N	156	156	156	156

Correlation Table of Continuous Variables

		Correlations		
		Sympathy	LengthFan	Num_CarAccid
Age	Pearson Correlation	-.130	.136 [*]	.259 ^{**}
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.054	.044	.001
	N	220	220	156
SentRec	Pearson Correlation	-.370 ^{**}	-.041	.104
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.543	.196
	N	220	220	156
Responsibility	Pearson Correlation	-.174 ^{**}	-.039	.129
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.010	.560	.108
	N	220	220	156
ActSim	Pearson Correlation	.412 ^{**}	.023	-.204 [*]
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.731	.011
	N	220	220	156
Sympathy	Pearson Correlation	1	.007	.023
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.915	.775
	N	220	220	156
LengthFan	Pearson Correlation	.007	1	.072
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.915		.371
	N	220	220	156
Num_CarAccid	Pearson Correlation	.023	.072	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.775	.371	
	N	156	156	156
Num_YourFault	Pearson Correlation	.184 [*]	.124	.570 ^{**}
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.021	.123	.000
	N	156	156	156
Num_NotYourFault	Pearson Correlation	-.130	-.026	.714 ^{**}
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.105	.748	.000
	N	156	156	156

Correlation Table of Continuous Variables

		Correlations	
		Num_YourFault	Num_NotYourFault
Age	Pearson Correlation	.173*	.164*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.031	.041
	N	156	156
SentRec	Pearson Correlation	-.047	.114
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.560	.156
	N	156	156
Responsibility	Pearson Correlation	-.036	.143
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.656	.075
	N	156	156
ActSim	Pearson Correlation	-.011	-.269**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.895	.001
	N	156	156
Sympathy	Pearson Correlation	.184*	-.130
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.021	.105
	N	156	156
LengthFan	Pearson Correlation	.124	-.026
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.123	.748
	N	156	156
Num_CarAccid	Pearson Correlation	.570**	.714**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000
	N	156	156
Num_YourFault	Pearson Correlation	1	-.054
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.507
	N	156	156
Num_NotYourFault	Pearson Correlation	-.054	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.507	
	N	156	156

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* . Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

**APPENDIX C: MULTIVARIATE ANALYSIS OF SSIS GROUP, SEX, AND
DEPENDENT VARIABLES**

Table 2 MANOVA of SSIS Group, Sex, and Dependent Variables

		Multivariate Tests^c				
Effect		Value	F	Hypothesis df	Error df	Sig.
Intercept	Pillai's Trace	.953	1066.994 ^a	4.000	211.000	.000
	Wilks' Lambda	.047	1066.994 ^a	4.000	211.000	.000
	Hotelling's Trace	20.227	1066.994 ^a	4.000	211.000	.000
	Roy's Largest Root	20.227	1066.994 ^a	4.000	211.000	.000
Sex	Pillai's Trace	.027	1.439 ^a	4.000	211.000	.222
	Wilks' Lambda	.973	1.439 ^a	4.000	211.000	.222
	Hotelling's Trace	.027	1.439 ^a	4.000	211.000	.222
	Roy's Largest Root	.027	1.439 ^a	4.000	211.000	.222
SSIS_GRP	Pillai's Trace	.078	2.162	8.000	424.000	.029
	Wilks' Lambda	.923	2.168 ^a	8.000	422.000	.029
	Hotelling's Trace	.083	2.174	8.000	420.000	.028
	Roy's Largest Root	.066	3.520 ^b	4.000	212.000	.008
Sex * SSIS_GRP	Pillai's Trace	.035	.941	8.000	424.000	.482
	Wilks' Lambda	.965	.941 ^a	8.000	422.000	.482
	Hotelling's Trace	.036	.941	8.000	420.000	.482
	Roy's Largest Root	.031	1.639 ^b	4.000	212.000	.166

a. Exact statistic

b. The statistic is an upper bound on F that yields a lower bound on the significance level.

c. Design: Intercept + Sex + SSIS_GRP + Sex * SSIS_GRP

APPENDIX D: TESTS OF BETWEEN SUBJECTS EFFECTS

Table 3 Tests of Between-Subjects Effects

Tests of Between-Subjects Effects						
Source	Dependent Variable	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Corrected Model	SentRec	6743.607 ^a	5	1348.721	2.821	.017
	Responsibility	23.468 ^b	5	4.694	1.114	.354
	Sympathy	66.789 ^c	5	13.358	2.418	.037
	ActSim	41.137 ^d	5	8.227	1.050	.389
Intercept	SentRec	99010.851	1	99010.851	207.101	.000
	Responsibility	10100.085	1	10100.085	2397.543	.000
	Sympathy	3861.332	1	3861.332	698.990	.000
	ActSim	5404.982	1	5404.982	689.847	.000
Sex	SentRec	19.757	1	19.757	.041	.839
	Responsibility	13.082	1	13.082	3.105	.079
	Sympathy	1.325	1	1.325	.240	.625
	ActSim	7.160	1	7.160	.914	.340
SSIS_GRP	SentRec	4761.252	2	2380.626	4.980	.008
	Responsibility	2.558	2	1.279	.304	.738
	Sympathy	58.236	2	29.118	5.271	.006
	ActSim	28.683	2	14.341	1.830	.163
Sex * SSIS_GRP	SentRec	1911.020	2	955.510	1.999	.138
	Responsibility	3.277	2	1.639	.389	.678
	Sympathy	12.611	2	6.306	1.141	.321
	ActSim	7.814	2	3.907	.499	.608
Error	SentRec	102309.279	214	478.081		
	Responsibility	901.514	214	4.213		
	Sympathy	1182.170	214	5.524		
	ActSim	1676.699	214	7.835		
Total	SentRec	230783.000	220			
	Responsibility	17542.000	220			
	Sympathy	8431.000	220			
	ActSim	10806.000	220			
Corrected Total	SentRec	109052.886	219			
	Responsibility	924.982	219			
	Sympathy	1248.959	219			
	ActSim	1717.836	219			

a. R Squared = .062 (Adjusted R Squared = .040)

b. R Squared = .025 (Adjusted R Squared = .003)

c. R Squared = .053 (Adjusted R Squared = .031)

d. R Squared = .024 (Adjusted R Squared = .001)

APPENDIX E: POST HOC TESTS

Table 4 Post Hoc Tests

Bivariate Comparisons

LSD

Dependent Variable	(I) SSIS_GRP	(J) SSIS_GRP	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound
SentRec	1.00	2.00	3.2608	3.16030	.303	-2.9685	9.4901
		3.00	-12.3218*	5.15911	.018	-22.4910	-2.1527
	2.00	1.00	-3.2608	3.16030	.303	-9.4901	2.9685
		3.00	-15.5826*	4.99433	.002	-25.4270	-5.7382
	3.00	1.00	12.3218*	5.15911	.018	2.1527	22.4910
		2.00	15.5826*	4.99433	.002	5.7382	25.4270
Responsibility	1.00	2.00	.2971	.29666	.318	-.2876	.8819
		3.00	.0710	.48429	.883	-.8835	1.0256
	2.00	1.00	-.2971	.29666	.318	-.8819	.2876
		3.00	-.2261	.46882	.630	-1.1502	.6980
	3.00	1.00	-.0710	.48429	.883	-1.0256	.8835
		2.00	.2261	.46882	.630	-.6980	1.1502
Sympathy	1.00	2.00	-.7942	.33971	.020	-1.4638	-.1246
		3.00	.5276	.55457	.343	-.5655	1.6207
	2.00	1.00	.7942	.33971	.020	.1246	1.4638
		3.00	1.3217*	.53686	.015	.2635	2.3799
	3.00	1.00	-.5276	.55457	.343	-1.6207	.5655
		2.00	-1.3217*	.53686	.015	-2.3799	-.2635
ActSim	1.00	2.00	-.8088	.40457	.047	-1.6063	-.0113
		3.00	-.6262	.66046	.344	-1.9280	.6756
	2.00	1.00	.8088	.40457	.047	.0113	1.6063
		3.00	.1826	.63936	.775	-1.0776	1.4429
	3.00	1.00	.6262	.66046	.344	-.6756	1.9280
		2.00	-.1826	.63936	.775	-1.4429	1.0776

Based on observed means.

The error term is Mean Square(Error) = 7.835.

*. The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

APPENDIX F: SSIS GROUP AND DEPENDENT VARIABLE BAR GRAPHS

Table 5 SSIS Group and Mean Sentence Recommendation

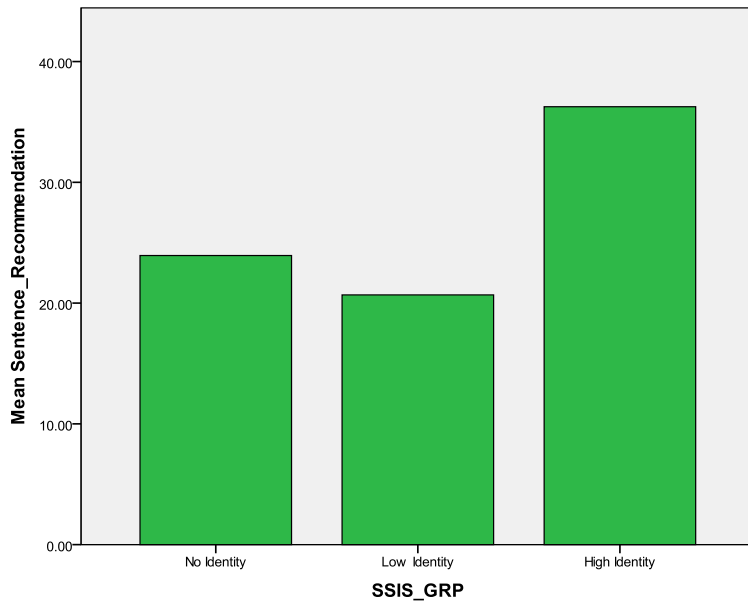
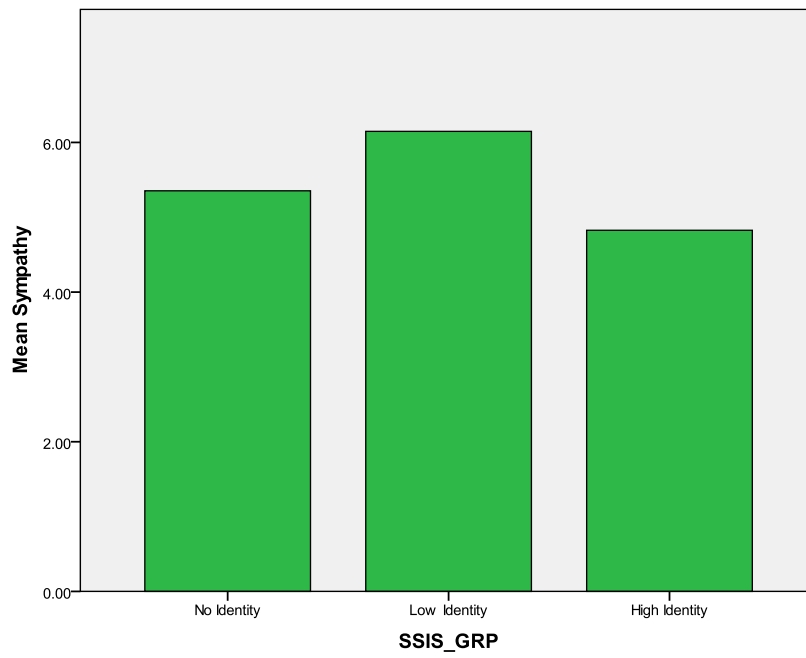


Table 6 SSIS Group and Mean Ratings of Sympathy



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