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Case Judgments And Juror Perceptions Of The Stereotypical Defendant

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CASE JUDGMENTS AND JUROR PERCEPTIONS OF THE STEREOTYPICAL DEFENDANT

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Mariah Sorby
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Abstract

Stereotypes and prejudice have been shown to bias information processing and decision making. There are physical traits that are stereotypically associated with criminals, i.e. tattoos, dark skin-tone, facial untrustworthiness, Afrocentric facial features. These features have been shown to influence verdict decisions and sentencing outcomes. However, there is a paucity of research investigating the additive effects of these features while also considering individual levels of prejudice and egalitarian views. The current research aimed to investigate the effects of several combinations of features on defendant verdict, sentencing, and criminal appearance ratings, rather than assessing the features in isolation, while controlling for prejudice and motivation to respond without prejudice. Study 1 examined the effects of tattoos, facial trustworthiness, and skin tone, and Study 2 examined the effects of tattoos, Afrocentric features, and skin tone. While controlling for the effects of prejudice and egalitarian views, physical traits did not have direct effects on case judgments but did affect perceived criminal appearance which in turn predicted verdict, suggesting criminal stereotype activation mediates the relationship between physical traits and case judgments. Additionally, prejudice and motivation to be non-prejudiced had several individual and interactive effects with physical traits, suggesting that the effects of physical traits may depend on individual attitudes. Implications and future directions are discussed.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In January of 2004, Keith Antoine Jackson was charged with the killing of Clinton Hodges. Before jury selection, Jackson filed a motion to allow the concealment of the teardrop tattoo on his face. He claimed that allowing the jury to see the tattoo would be prejudicial due to the underlying meaning associated with it. The court denied his request and he was later convicted of manslaughter and several firearm offenses that lead to his sentence of 25 years in prison. Jackson's defense team filed an appeal with the D.C. Court of Appeals to overturn the conviction, stating that denying the motion to conceal the tattoo was a violation of Jackson's rights to a presumption of innocence. However, the D.C. Court of Appeals upheld the conviction, stating that, "if the jury viewed Jackson as violent or aggressive, there is no reason to believe that this belief was caused (or bolstered in any significant way) by seeing and interpreting his tattoo" (B. Smith, 2008).

In a perfect world, the D.C. Court of Appeals would be correct in their statement that a tattoo would not influence jurors' perceptions. However, past research investigating the influence of extralegal factors, such as defendant appearance, has demonstrated otherwise. Society has preconceptions of the features stereotypically associated with criminals and these features have been shown to influence jurors' case judgments. The literature thus far has examined features, such as facial tattoos, in isolation, but tattoos along with other biasing features may have additive effects, such that the combination of multiple stereotypical traits could increase negative perceptions. If the jury was influenced by Keith Jackson's appearance, was it due to the presence of a facial tattoo, the fact that he was a Black man, or due to the fact that he was a Black man

with a tattoo? The current research aimed to investigate the effects of multiple criminal stereotypical features on juror judgments.

Stereotype Formation and Representation

Stereotypes are automatic, unintentional beliefs and expectancies about a social group (P. G. Devine, 1989) that are learned early in the lifespan (Mackie et al., 1996; Primi & Agnoli, 2002). C. L. Miller (1983) found that infants as young as seven months use gender categorization processes based on human voices. Categorization refers to the process through which humans perceive and place an unknown individual into a social category (Bodenhausen et al., 2012; Hamilton & Sherman, 1996; Macrae & Bodenhausen, 2000; Secord, 1958; Taylor, 1981; Zarate & Smith, 1990). Although categorization results in a loss of information due to a lack of attention to individuating characteristics (i.e., traits that separate the person as an individual), information gains and conservation of cognitive effort can also occur because once an individual is categorized, multiple features of that individual can be assumed based on the activated social category/categories (Quinn et al., 2007). Categorization progresses into the formation of stereotypes when the individual develops a set of beliefs about the group through acquired knowledge (P. G. Devine & Baker, 1991; DiDonato et al., 2011; Mackie et al., 1996) which can be positive (Czopp, 2008; Czopp et al., 2015; Kay et al., 2013; Shih et al., 2012) and negative (Blair, 2002; Dovidio et al., 1986; Riek et al., 2006; van den Bos & Stapel, 2009).

Stereotypes are apparent in any group that is salient to an individual, not just those based on race, gender, or other social categories (Brewer, 1988; Mackie et al., 1996; Stangor, 2016). There are two popular representations of how stereotypes form and become represented in cognition, the individualistic and collectivistic approaches (Fiske & Neuberg, 1990; Hilton & Von Hippel, 1996; Stangor & Schaller, 1996). The individualistic approach posits that positive

and negative stereotypes form from direct contact with members of the group, the encounters become encoded in memory, and those experiences are retrieved to use in subsequent encounters with other members of that group. The collectivistic approach posits that stereotypes are the product of the culture in which people are raised. Stereotypes may be learned and transmitted through sources such as parents, the media, and peers (Conway & Schaller, 2007; Fiske, 2005; Schaller & Conway, 2001; Sechrist & Stangor, 2001; Stangor, 2016). Stereotypes often govern the way we treat and think about different groups (Lyons & Kashima, 2003; Ruscher, 2001; Stangor & Schaller, 1996; Wheeler & Petty, 2001). There are multiple factors that influence the strength of stereotypes, such as source credibility (i.e., direct experience, parents) and how well developed the expectancy is (i.e., the association between the social group and the trait has been reinforced numerous times; Fiske, 1998).

Another important distinction in the stereotype literature is that of implicit and explicit bias or attitudes, which can be explained through the individualistic and collectivistic approaches. Implicit attitudes are those that occur outside of conscious awareness or control (Gawronski & Bodenhausen, 2006; Greenwald & Banaji, 1995; Hewstone et al., 2002; T. D. Wilson et al., 2000) and are commonly measured through response latency measures, such as the Implicit Association Task (IAT). The IAT consists of several trials in which the participant must match a prime (i.e., Black and White people) with positive or negative words (i.e., good and bad). For example, a negative implicit association towards Black people would end in a quicker and more accurate response tendency when asked to match “Black” and “bad” (Cunningham, Preacher, & Banaji, 2001; Fazio & Olson, 2003; Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz, 1998). Implicit attitudes are developed early in life through the collectivistic means of stereotype formation, such as parental attitudes and cultural norms (Greenwald & Banaji, 1995; Karpinski

& Hilton, 2001; Rudman, 2004; Stangor & Schaller, 1996). Explicit attitudes are those that are deliberate and a part of the conscious awareness of an individual (Gawronski & Bodenhausen, 2006; Hewstone et al., 2002; T. D. Wilson et al., 2000). These attitudes are measured through self-report measures, such as questionnaires. Explicit attitudes are more likely formed through the individualistic means of stereotype formation, such as personal experience and knowledge acquisition (Aboud & Amato, 2001; Stangor, 2016; Stangor & Leary, 2006; Stangor & Schaller, 1996).

Another origin of stereotype formation is an effect coined *illusory correlation*, in which people create an association between events that is not warranted by the given information (Hamilton & Gifford, 1976; Hamilton & Sherman, 1989; Hamilton & Sherman, 1994; Hilton & von Hippel, 1996; Mackie et al., 1996). People attend to distinctive or rare stimuli more than average, resulting in two distinctive events in one's environment being perceived to co-occur or have a causal relationship, even after experiencing these events together only once (Risen et al., 2007). For example, minority members (i.e., Black people) and undesirable events (i.e., crime) may be distinctive stimuli, especially to majority group members (i.e., White people). Therefore, experiencing an undesirable event with a minority group member is especially distinctive and becomes overemphasized in a person's subsequent judgments and decisions (Crocker, 1981; Denrell & Le Mens, 2011; Hamilton, 1981). Once formed and represented in cognition, there are various influences stereotype activation can have on information processing and perceptions.

Stereotype Outcomes

Stereotyping is an adaptive cognitive mechanism that efficiently categorizes and processes social stimuli in order to decrease the cognitive demand of evaluating each person as an individual (Hilton & Von Hippel, 1996; Mackie et al., 1996; Macrae et al., 1993; Zebrowitz,

1996). There are social benefits from stereotypes, especially from the viewpoint of majority group members (Burkley & Blanton, 2009; Czopp et al., 2015; Jost et al., 2004; Zebrowitz, 1996). For example, negative stereotypes about Black people can be partially explained by the need for White people to justify the former enslavement and current minority social status of Black people (Stangor & Schaller, 1996; Fiske, 2005). However, stereotypes can also be helpful in decision making, especially when there is limited or ambiguous information present (Bornstein & Greene, 2011; Brewer, 1996; D. J. Devine et al., 2009; Hugenberg & Sacco, 2008; Kahneman, 2011). For example, if a White man needs to make a social decision or judgment about unknown individuals (i.e., choosing people for a basketball team), the stereotypic knowledge of Black people may be used to compensate for the lack of individuating information about that person (i.e., Black people are athletic, therefore I will pick a Black man to be on my team; P. G. Devine & Baker, 1991; Hodge et al., 2008).

There are multiple cognitive biases and errors present in information processing and decision making that result from stereotype activation. There is an overall *in-group bias*, such that those in the in-group (i.e., part of the same social category) are seen more favorably than those in the out-group (i.e., part of a different social category; Bettencourt et al., 2001; Brewer, 1979; Brewer, 2007; Tajfel, 1981). For example, a White person would see another White person as a part of his/her in-group, but a Black or Asian individual would be a part of that person's out-group. The out-group is not only perceived unfavorably, but also as having less within group variance, a perception that has been coined the *out-group homogeneity effect* (Boldry et al., 2007; E. E. Jones et al., 1981; Judd & Park, 1988). For example, doctors perceive waitresses and hairdressers (Brauer, 2001) and men perceive women (Voci et al., 2008) as having limited within-group variability, meaning doctors see all waitresses as being inherently similar to each

other and men see all women as being inherently similar. Since people perceive members of an out-group as not significantly different from each other, this sets the stage for stereotyping, and out-group members are likely to be perceived as containing stereotypic traits associated with that group (Fiske, 1998; Hewstone & Hamberger, 2000; Shilo et al., 2018). However, to keep positive views of the in-group, people may exhibit the *black-sheep effect*, in which in-group members displaying negative traits are seen as different from the group and are viewed more negatively than those in the out-group (Marques, 1990; Marques & Paez, 1994; Rullo et al., 2015; Rutland et al., 2015). One study found that the black-sheep effect is present particularly when the in-group is of relatively high social status (i.e., upper-class) such that high-status individuals are more punitive towards the wrong-doings of in-group members than out-group members (i.e., lower-class) but low status individuals do not differ in their punitiveness towards in-group and out-group members (van Prooijen & Lam, 2007). Another bias that could be elicited, based on the in-group/out-group, is the *ultimate attribution error*, in which positive acts by an in-group member and negative acts by an out-group member are attributed to dispositional, internal traits, while negative acts by an in-group member and positive acts by an out-group member are attributed to situational, external factors (Hewstone, 1990; Khan & Liu, 2008; Pettigrew, 1979; Sekaquaptewa et al., 2003). One may perceive an in-group member in a physical altercation as using self-defense, but an out-group member in the same situation would be perceived as hostile and dangerous. Lastly, an activated stereotype can lead to confirmatory information processing strategies (C. S. Jones & Kaplan, 2003). The activation of a stereotype makes us create hypotheses about stereotyped individuals. The hypotheses we have are then tested by gathering information in a biased way (Costabile & Madon, 2019; Darley & Gross, 1983; Johnston, 1996, Trope & Thompson, 1997). That is, information that confirms a stereotype

is more likely to draw attention and be remembered better than information that disconfirms a stereotype (Bodenhausen, 1988; Bodenhausen & Wyer, 1985; Mussweiler, 2003).

Under certain circumstances, individuals are motivated to reduce stereotypic influences on their perceptions and behaviors towards others (Bodenhausen & Macrae, 1996; Kunda & Spencer, 2003; Moskowitz et al., 1999). Although some may choose not to endorse specific stereotypes, research shows that both prejudiced and non-prejudiced people have an idea of which stereotypes are prevalent in society (Lepore & Brown, 1997) and it takes conscious effort to suppress the activation of stereotypes when one's personal values are incongruent with the stereotype (P. G. Devine, 1989; P. G. Devine & Elliott, 1995). The process of stereotype suppression relates back to the individualistic approach of stereotype representation. When individuals have developed explicit attitudes, they can choose to behave and treat out-groups in ways that are aligned with their implicit attitudes or not (Stangor & Schaller, 1996; Uhlmann et al., 2012; Wheeler & Petty, 2001). When people have an unconscious goal to suppress stereotypes, the activation of stereotypes may be inhibited without much cognitive effort (Moskowitz & Li, 2011).

Prejudice

Negative stereotypes are theorized to have a bi-directional relationship with prejudice (Allport, 1954; P. G. Devine, 1989; E. R. Smith, 1993; Stangor, 2016). Prejudice and stereotype are distinct terms and it is important to differentiate them. Simply put, Stangor (2016) defined prejudice as "a negative attitude toward a group or toward members of the group" and stereotypes as "traits that we view as characteristic of social groups, or of individual members of those groups" (p. 4). Stereotypes have also been defined as the cognitive components of intergroup attitudes while prejudice is defined as the affective component (R. Brown, 1995;

Eagly & Chaiken, 1998; Fiske, 1998). Others have defined prejudice as a tendency to make assumptions, usually negative, about a person based on his/her social category membership (Brewer, 1994), which suggests that stereotypes are applied during information processing (von Hippel et al., 1995). For example, those who have higher levels of prejudice are more likely to apply negative stereotypes in judgments of the out-group or out-group members (Dotsch et al., 2011; Lepore & Brown, 1997; Locke et al., 1994). Negative interactions with out-group members can result in the formation of prejudice or the confirmation of preconceived negative beliefs (Pettigrew, 2008; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Stark et al., 2013). It has been proposed that negative interactions increase category salience, thus creating the impression that the out-group member is highly representative of their group as a whole (Dolderer et al., 2009; Paolini et al., 2010; Ratliff & Nosek, 2011).

Although prejudicial attitudes can be directed towards any group, racial prejudice has received the most attention within the literature, due to the complicated history of racial conflict in the United States (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2004). A century ago, negative attitudes and treatment of minorities in the United States was commonplace and accepted. As time passed, racial attitudes in the United States have shifted in that overt racial bias is no longer the norm and is perceived as unacceptable (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1998; 2000; 2004; Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986; Sommers & Ellsworth, 2001) and overall explicit interracial attitudes have become more positive (Bobo, 2001; Jackson et al., 1998; Schuman et al., 1997; T. W. Smith et al., 2011). However, racial disparities still persist in all arenas of life (Dovidio et al., 2002; Dovidio & Gaertner, 2004; 1998; Walker, 2001), such as income and wealth (Blank, 2001; M. L. Oliver & Shapiro, 2006; Sullivan et al., 2016), health (Levine et al., 2001; Smedley et al., 2003; Williams & Jackson, 2005), and education (Olneck, 2005; Quintana & Mahgoub, 2016).

The reasons for this contradictory pattern between positive explicit attitudes but persistent racial disparities have been investigated by several researchers, whom all conclude that this is evidence of a new type of subtle, contemporary prejudice (McConahay, 1986; Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986; Sears, 1988). More specifically, most White Americans feel as though they are not prejudiced, but they still have internal, unconscious negative feelings and biases towards minorities. This is a phenomenon termed *aversive racism* (Dovidio, 2001; Dovidio & Gaertner, 1998; 2004; Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986). As a result, aversive racism is often accompanied by a feeling of internal conflict within the individual, in which they do not personally adhere to prejudicial ideals or values and strive to be egalitarian (i.e., treat all groups equally), but still have underlying negative feelings of Black people, often displayed as discomfort or avoidance (P. G. Devine, 1989; Pearson et al., 2009). Additionally, studies investigating implicit and explicit attitudes towards Black individuals are congruent with aversive racism (Dovidio et al., 2001; Fazio & Dunton, 1997; Hofmann et al., 2005). For example, Dovidio and colleagues (1997) found that implicit attitudes towards Black individuals were more negative than self-reported, explicit attitudes.

The framework of aversive racism also posits that these individuals usually do not make prejudiced decisions when the situation is race salient or when their response could be interpreted as prejudiced. However, these individuals are more likely to be influenced by prejudice when the situation is race neutral or the person has non-race related explanations for their behavior (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1998; 2000; Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986; Sommers & Ellsworth, 2000; 2001; Son Hing et al., 2008). Several studies have provided evidence towards this idea through the investigation of Whites' decision-making towards Black people. Dovidio and Gaertner (2000) conducted studies in which participants were asked to make an employment

decision between a White and Black candidate that had strong, ambiguous, or weak qualifications. The authors found that participants did not discriminate between Black and White candidates when their qualifications were strong or weak but favored White over Black candidates when the qualifications were ambiguous (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000). Sommers and Ellsworth (2000; 2001) conducted several studies in which college students acted as mock jurors in a trial where race was either made salient or not salient. When race was not made salient, White jurors perceived a Black defendant as more guilty, aggressive, and violent than a White defendant. When race was made salient, perceptions of a White or Black defendant did not differ (Sommers & Ellsworth, 2000; 2001). Additional studies have found when jurors are exposed to inadmissible evidence, thus having a non-racial explanation for biased decision-making, they are more likely to view a Black defendant as guilty than a White defendant, but there are no significant differences when the evidence is admissible (Hodson et al., 2005; J. D. Johnson et al., 1995).

Numerous scholars have attempted to determine ways to reduce prejudicial attitudes (P. G. Devine et al., 2012; Dovidio & Gaertner, 1999; Monteith, 1993; Monteith et al., 1994; Oskamp, 2000; Paluck & Green, 2009). Although negative stereotypes may be learned through experiences with the out-group, intergroup contact is also an effective way to reduce prejudice and negative behavior towards the out-group (Allport, 1954; Dovidio et al., 2003; Dhont & Van Hiel, 2012; N. Miller, 2002; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000; Stangor, 2016). The social interaction may be more effective in reducing prejudice if certain elements are present, such as each person having equal status, sharing of a common goal, and the potential to build a relationship with that person (Allport, 1954; R. Brown & Hewstone, 2005), however a recent meta-analysis revealed that these elements are not necessary to reduce bias (Pettigrew et al., 2011). Reduction of bias

could occur through the process of de-categorization, in which a person begins to personalize and individuate an out-group member from the out-group (Brewer & Miller, 1984; Ensari & Miller, 2001; Ensari et al., 2012) or through creating a new common in-group including the out-group member (Dovidio et al., 1998; Dovidio et al., 2000). For example, after several interactions, a White man may come to no longer see his Black co-worker as a part of the out-group, since they work together (i.e., common in-group) and he has gotten to know his co-worker as an individual (i.e., de-categorization). Recently, researchers have been investigating how both positive and negative social interactions influence attitudes. Negative interactions tend to be more influential in attitude formation than positive interactions (Barlow et al., 2012; Baumeister et al., 2001). For example, Barlow et al. (2012) found negative contact with Black people increases prejudice, but an equivalent amount of positive contact does not always lead to a reduction of prejudice. However, positive interactions are more common than negative interactions, which compensates for and overcomes the power of negative interactions and creates overall positive attitudes (Graf et al., 2014). For example, Graf et al. (2014) found European people's negative experiences with differing nationalities had a more powerful effect than positive experiences, but positive experiences occurred three times as often as negative experiences, leading to an overall improvement in intergroup attitudes after contact.

Internal and External Motivation to be Non-Prejudiced

As previously mentioned, there has been a shift in racial attitudes in the United States that has resulted in the rise of egalitarian views of minority groups, as well as the motivation to control racial biases and appear non-prejudiced (P. G. Devine et al., 2002; Johns et al., 2008; Sinclair et al., 2005). As a result, several scholars have examined the role of motivation in reducing prejudiced behavior and responses (Butz & Plant, 2009; Dunton & Fazio, 1997; Plant &

Devine, 1998; Glaser & Knowles, 2008). Plant and Devine (1998) suggested that there are two motivational dimensions: internal and external. Internal motivation is the degree to which being non-prejudiced and egalitarian is important to one's personal values and self-concept (Plant & Devine, 1998; Butz & Plant, 2009). External motivation characterizes the desire to avoid violating social norms and to be perceived as socially acceptable by others (Crandall et al., 2002; Plant & Devine, 1998; Butz & Plant, 2009). These constructs work independently of each other and are associated with different goals (Plant & Devine, 1998; Plant et al., 2003; Plant et al., 2010). When anticipating an interracial interaction, White individuals that are higher in external motivation are more focused on avoiding being perceived as non-prejudiced, while those higher in internal motivation are focused on being approachable and egalitarian (Plant & Devine, 2009; Plant et al., 2010).

Butz and Plant (2009) identified four profile types based on the levels of internal and external motivation. People low in internal and external motivation are those that are not motivated to respond without bias and are likely to respond with prejudice across situations (Butz & Plant, 2009; Glaser & Knowles, 2008). People low in internal and high in external motivation are primarily motivated by social, normative pressures and are mostly motivated to respond without prejudice in public situations (Butz & Plant, 2009; Plant et al., 2003). People high in both internal and external motivation have an internal desire to be non-prejudiced, but are not always successful, especially in situations where prejudice is difficult to inhibit (i.e., implicit tasks; Amodio et al., 2003; P. G. Devine et al., 2002). Finally, people that are high in internal but low in external motivation are those that have a personal strive to be egalitarian, even without social pressures. *Self-determination theory* (Deci & Ryan, 1985; 2000) suggests the internalization of a goal is indicative of greater self-determination and thus leads to greater

success in accomplishing the goal. However, behavior that is regulated in response to external pressures is indicative of lower self-determination, which proves to be less effective in accomplishing the goal long term (Deci & Ryan, 1985; 2000). Therefore, those that truly adopt the goal of being egalitarian may over time successfully be able to control prejudice both implicitly and explicitly, as has been shown through several studies (Amodio et al., 2003; P. G. Devine et al., 2002; Moskowitz et al., 1999; 2000; Johns et al., 2008). More specifically, people that have high internal and low external motivation to be non-prejudiced have been shown to have lower levels of stereotype activation and lower implicit biases in response to seeing a Black man than the other three profiles (Amodio et al., 2003; P. G. Devine et al., 2002; Johns et al., 2008; Glaser & Knowles, 2008; Moskowitz et al., 1999; 2000; Plant et al., 2003). Though biases are present in multiple realms of social perception, more specific to the current research is how and which of these cognitive biases are present in the perception of criminals, one of society's most highly stigmatized out-groups.

The Criminal Stereotype

Stereotypes are developed and utilized based on the physical appearance of others, which leads to behavioral and personality trait inferences (Macrae & Bodenhausen, 2000; Todorov et al., 2015; Zebrowitz, 1996; Zebrowitz et al., 2007; Zebrowitz & Montepare, 2008). For example, voters have been shown to infer a candidate's personality traits based on his/her physical appearance, which in turn influences voting decisions (Olivola & Todorov, 2010). Although there may be a certain level of accuracy to the association between some physical traits and behavioral and personality traits (Jussim, 2005; Jussim et al., 2009; Naumann et al., 2009) this can lead to overgeneralization, in which people sharing similar physical traits will be assumed to

have similar behavioral and personality attributes (Fiske, 1989; Montepare & Dobish, 2003; Stangor, 1995; Stangor, 2016; Verosky & Todorov, 2013).

There are stereotypes pertaining to the physical characteristics of the typical offender of certain crimes, such as white-collar crimes or violent crimes (M. K. Maclin and Herrera, 2006; Skorinko & Spellman 2013). Society also holds stereotypes for the appearance of criminals in general, e.g., male, unattractive, tall, thin, beady eyes, dark clothes, dark hair (D. J. Devine & Caughlin, 2014; M. K. MacLin & Herrera, 2006). In one study, when participants were asked to sort six male face images into criminal categories (e.g., mass murderer, rapist, armed robber) or non-criminal occupations (e.g., clergyman, doctor, engineer), there were significant non-random results, suggesting participants agreed upon which faces looked more criminal than others (Goldstein et al., 1984).

It is widely accepted that there has been, and still is, differential treatment towards Black people in the United States (Coleman, 2016; Marable et al., 2007; Reich, 1981; Loury, 2002). Moreover, these disparities are highly apparent in our criminal justice system (Crutchfield et al., 2010; Davis, 2013; Petersilia, 1985; Pettit & Western, 2004; Warde, 2013), which is evidenced by race of the individual being a part of the criminal stereotype (Hurwitz & Peffley, 1997; M. B. Oliver et al., 2004; Welch, 2007). Eberhardt et al. (2004) proposed that there is a bidirectional association with Black people and crime, such that when a person thinks of crime, they automatically make an association to Black people and vice versa. This relationship could be due to the fact that poor, Black males are overrepresented in the convict population (Bales & Piquero, 2012; Mazzella & Feingold, 1994; Monk, 2018; Spohn, 2015), with the incarceration rate of Black males being six times that of White males (Bronson & Carson, 2019). Another explanation is that the media coverage of crime is disproportionately focused on young, poor,

Black males (D. J. Devine & Caughlin, 2014; Dixon, 2008; Dixon & Maddox, 2005; Hurwitz & Peffley, 1997), and this coverage tends to portray them in a threatening or violent manner (M. B. Oliver, 2003). This overrepresentation could create an illusory correlation between Black people and crime, as was mentioned earlier, so Black people and crime are disproportionately present in cognition and subsequent judgments. In one study, when people were asked to describe the cultural stereotype of African Americans, the most common answers were "aggressive, hostile, or criminal-like" (P. G. Devine, 1989, p. 8).

This stereotype is not only explicitly stated, but also present in automatic, implicit judgments, evidenced by studies utilizing the IAT (Dovidio et al., 1986; Wittenbrink et al., 1997). In addition, actions and objects are perceived differently depending on the race of the person involved. Research participants perceived actions ranging from a shove (Duncan, 1976) to asking for a piece of cake (Sagar & Schofield, 1980) as more threatening and mean when performed by a Black versus a White person. Weapons are more quickly identified when primed with a Black face, as well as tools are misidentified to be weapons when it is a Black man holding them compared to a White man (Payne, 2001). Subsequently, participants are more likely to mistakenly shoot an unarmed Black man and not shoot an armed White man (Correll et al., 2002; Correll et al., 2011; Glaser & Knowles, 2008), a phenomenon that has been coined the *biased evidence hypothesis*, such that when racial stereotypes are activated, ambiguous evidence is perceived in a racially biased manner (Levinson & Young, 2010).

Although Black people tend to be associated with crime in general, certain crimes are seen as more stereotypical in other races (M. K. MacLin & Herrera, 2006; Skorinko & Spellman, 2013). When research participants are prompted to match different races to crimes typical of that race, white people are matched with white collar crime, e.g., fraud, embezzlement, whereas

Black people are matched with blue collar and violent crime, e.g., theft, assault (Skorinko & Spellman, 2013; Smalarz et al., 2016; Sunnafrank & Fontes, 1983; Willis-Esqueda, 1997), a phenomenon that has been coined *race-crime congruency* (C. S. Jones & Kaplan, 2003). Race-crime congruency has repeatedly been shown to influence juror decision making. Black defendants accused of gang activity, grand-theft auto, or burglary and White defendants accused of hates crimes or embezzlement receive more guilty verdicts and harsher, longer punishments (i.e., sentences) compared to a person of the respective other race accused of the same crime (Gordon et al., 1988; C. S. Jones & Kaplan, 2003; Skorinko & Spellman, 2013). Overall, when someone sees a poor, young, person of color, a criminal stereotype is activated, especially when the crime is stereotype congruent.

Juror Decision Making

The juror decision-making literature is vast, including topics ranging from explanation-based cognitive models of decision making (D. J. Devine, 2012; Pennington & Hastie, 1986) to examining what type of evidence influences jurors most (Schweitzer & Nuñez, 2018). Considering the life-changing outcomes of these decisions, it is of the utmost importance to consider a multitude of possible factors that may influence the decision of jurors. The following section will cover two popular models of juror decision-making and the factors, both legally relevant and extralegal, that have been shown to affect juror decision-making.

There have been numerous models proposed to explain juror decision-making. Mathematical approaches that have been proposed, include the probability model (Moore & Gump, 1995) and the algebraic model (Slovic & Lichtenstein, 1971), however Pennington and Hastie's (1986) Story Model is more widely utilized and empirically supported (D. C. Brown & Doyle, 1996; D. J. Devine et al., 2001; Levitt et al., 2005). The Story Model is an explanation-

based approach that postulates jurors process and create a narrative story based on trial information and personal knowledge and experience, with causal events being linked together in a coherent mental image (Pennington & Hastie, 1986, 1988). Multiple stories may be constructed during the trial process, but the story that includes the most evidence presented at trial, is the most plausible, complete, and consistent, and the one that the juror is most confident in, will often be the one that the juror chooses to utilize. This story is then matched to the appropriate verdict decision (see Pennington & Hastie, 1991, 1992 for a review). The Story Model continues to be expanded upon within the juror decision-making literature to explain juror decisions in civil cases, for example (Huntley & Constanzo, 2003), juror attributions of rape (Olsen-Fulero & Fulero, 1997), and creating a juror decision scale (Willmott et al., 2018).

D. J. Devine (2012) also extended the Story Model with the Director's Cut Model. This model includes the consideration of juror and defendant individual characteristics (i.e., race, gender, socioeconomic status) that may lead to specific verdict preferences at trial. This model posits that jurors have preliminary ideas about trial-related events, based on juror and defendant individual characteristics, the charges involved, or media coverage of the crime (i.e., pretrial publicity). These ideas then interact with the evidence presented at trial, which leads to the creation of one or more stories that are evaluated through mental simulation, and one is chosen to directly reflect the verdict decision (D. J. Devine, 2012; D. J. Devine & Caughlin, 2014). This model posits that stereotypes and scripts (i.e., mental representations of events that commonly occur in a causal sequence) are fundamental to the construction of preliminary ideas before trial, as these structures interact with trial-related information to lead to a preliminary mental representation of the trial. This model also mirrors aspects relating to confirmatory information processing and stereotype congruency. Stereotypes and scripts lead to jurors processing and

evaluating evidence in different ways. For example, if the defendant has characteristics fitting into a juror's criminal stereotype, that may lead jurors to be biased towards a pro-conviction stance, and subsequently evaluating the evidence in a pro-conviction manner and reaching a pro-conviction story and verdict (Carlson & Russo, 2001; D. J. Devine, 2012; see D. J. Devine & Caughlin, 2014 for a review).

Prior works and meta-analyses have identified factors that influence juror decision making (D. J. Devine & Caughlin, 2014; D. J. Devine et al., 2001; D. J. Devine et al., 2016; Mazzella & Feingold, 1994). The most significant predictor of juror decisions is strength of evidence, such that if one side presents strong evidence during trial, jurors tend to reach verdicts in their favor (D. J. Devine et al., 2001; D. J. Devine et al., 2009; D. J. Devine et al., 2016; D. J. Devine & Caughlin, 2014; D. J. Devine et al., 2004). As far as what evidence is most influential to jurors, Schweitzer and Nuñez (2018) found that DNA evidence is most influential, with confession evidence and eyewitness testimony following closely behind. However, when the evidence is ambiguous, and does not clearly favor one side, jurors are more likely to utilize extralegal factors (i.e., factors that are not related to the case, such as stereotypes or personal knowledge) to guide decision making (D. J. Devine et al., 2009; Hugenberg & Sacco, 2008; Kalven & Zeisel, 1966; Reskin & Visher, 1986; Shoemaker et al., 1973). Kalvin and Ziesel (1966) coined this *the liberation hypothesis*, because jurors are "liberated" from the pressures of making a rule guided judgment but rather process ambiguous information through the lens of personal attitudes and stereotypes to reach decisions. For example, jurors tend to treat and react to out-group (i.e., other-race) defendants in a harsher manner (Mitchell et al., 2005; Sweeney & Haney, 1992; Ugwuegbu, 1979; Van Prooijen, 2006) and are more lenient with in-group (i.e., same-race) members (D. J. Devine et al., 2001), but only when case evidence is ambiguous,

which suggests that the jurors considered, explicitly or implicitly, the defendant's out-group status when making decisions. When the evidence is strong, jurors exhibit the black sheep effect, in which they are harsher towards in-group members than out-group members (Chadee, 1996; N. J. King, 1993). Additional factors that may influence juror decisions are juror and defendant characteristics, also called extralegal factors.

Extralegal characteristics

Certain traits have been shown to be influential in juror decision making, such as authoritarian personality and need for cognition. People high in authoritarianism are conventional, conservative, and have high respect for authority (Adorno et al., 1982; D. J. Devine et al., 2001). This trait has been shown to have one of the largest impacts on case outcomes (D. J. Devine & Caughlin, 2014), such that high-authoritarian individuals are conviction prone (A. M. Jones et al., 2015; Narby et al., 1993; Werner et al., 1982) and impose harsher punishments (Bray & Noble, 1978; D. J. Devine et al., 2001) than low-authoritarian individuals. Need for cognition (NFC) is the desire for and enjoyment of thinking or giving structure to and making sense of the world (Cacioppo & Petty, 1982; Cohen et al., 1955). Prior works have shown that those low in NFC are more likely to impose guilty verdicts (D. J. Devine & Caughlin, 2014) and harsher punishments (Sargent, 2004), e.g. the death sentence (Butler & Moran, 2007), than those high in NFC. Juror emotions are also influential in decision making (Bandes & Blumenthal, 2012; Feigenson, 2016; Pettys, 2007), such that certain emotions (i.e., happiness and anger) lead to heuristic, superficial information processing (Ask & Granhag, 2007; Ask & Pina, 2011; Bodenhausen et al., 1994; Curtis, 2013; Park & Banaji, 2000), while other emotions (i.e., sadness) lead to systematic information processing (Bless et al., 1990; Clore et al.,

1994; Semmler & Brewer, 2002). More relevant to the current research is how defendant characteristics influence juror decision-making.

Defendant characteristics that have been empirically influential in juror decision making are gender, socioeconomic status, prior convictions, attractiveness, and baby-faced appearance. Defendants that are male (Mazzella & Feingold, 1994; Pozzulo et al., 2010), have low socioeconomic status (SES; D. J. Devine & Caughlin, 2014; Osborne & Rappaport, 1985), and have prior criminal convictions (D. J. Devine et al., 2001; D. J. Devine & Caughlin, 2014; Greene & Dodge, 1995) receive more guilty verdicts and are punished more severely than females, those having higher SES, or those with no prior convictions, but meta-analyses reveal the effect sizes of gender and SES are relatively small (D. J. Devine & Caughlin, 2014; Mazzella & Feingold, 1994). Additionally, although the findings of racial bias in juror decisions has been fairly mixed (Mazzella & Feingold, 1994; Sommers, 2007), several meta-analytic reviews have found small, but significant, effects of race on juror decisions (D. J. Devine & Caughlin, 2014; Mitchell et al., 2005; Sweeney & Haney, 1992). These findings are hardly surprising, as these traits and characteristics are recognized as being stereotypically criminal (M. K. Maclin & Herrera, 2006). Physical attractiveness and baby-faced appearance are also linked to trial outcomes, such that the more attractive (D. J. Devine et al., 2001; B. D. Johnson & King, 2017; MacCoun, 1990; Sigall & Ostrove, 1975; Stewart, 1980) or baby-faced (i.e., small chin, large eyes, high eyebrows, short nose; Berry & McArthur, 1986; Montepare & Zebrowitz, 1998; Zebrowitz & McDonald, 1991) the defendant is, the more lenient jurors typically are. The *what is beautiful is good hypothesis* posits this may be due to the common assumption that attractive individuals possess positive traits and live better, more successful lives than unattractive individuals (Dion et al., 1972). Similarly, baby-faced adults are assumed to have child-like traits

(i.e., warm, naïve, honest, non-threatening; Berry & McArthur, 1998; Zebrowitz & McDonald, 2008). The positive associations that people have of attractive and baby-faced individuals makes them stereotypically inconsistent with criminality, thus explaining the lenient outcomes they receive.

Not only are physical traits individually influential in perceptions, but they have been shown to have an additive effect when combined. Steffensmeier et al. (1998) analyzed sentencing outcomes in Pennsylvania and found that young, Black males had harsher sentences than any other age-race-gender combination, and the interactive effect of age, race, and gender had a much larger effect than the categories individually. Spohn and Holleran (2000) expanded on these results, finding that young Black and Hispanic males had greater odds of receiving a prison sentence than older White males, as well as unemployed Black and Hispanic males having greater odds than employed White males. Similarly, Mexican Americans with low socio-economic status received more guilty verdicts and harsher sentences than Mexican Americans with high socioeconomic status or White Americans (Willis-Esqueda et al., 2008). This finding was expanded upon by showing participants defendants of differing ethnicity (i.e., Mexican or Canadian), immigration status (i.e., documented or undocumented), and socioeconomic status (i.e., high or low), and undocumented, low socioeconomic status Mexicans received more guilty verdicts and harsher sentences than any other combination of traits (Espinoza et al., 2015). These findings suggest that the presence of multiple traits with common stereotypes have a substantially larger effect on juror perceptions when combined versus individually. Furthermore, defendants possessing these traits may fit better into the criminal prototype compared to those possessing only one of the traits, leading to increased category salience and stereotype activation (Eberhardt et al., 2006; Ma & Correll, 2011). It is the goal of the current research to investigate

whether this interaction occurs with other stereotypically criminal traits, to create an image of the prototypical criminal (i.e., which traits best activate the criminal category and subsequent attributes), and to examine their effects on juror decisions and perceptions.

To summarize, stereotypes can be detrimental to interpersonal interactions and lead to multiple biases in information processing and subsequent decision making. One highly stereotyped out-group of society is criminals, and there are multiple traits empirically linked to the criminal stereotype (i.e., Black, male, poor). Furthermore, defendants with multiple stereotypically criminal traits are at a distinct disadvantage, even compared to those with one stereotypic trait. Therefore, it is essential to further investigate the interaction of stereotypically criminal traits and the impact they have on the decisions of those that are more likely to be influenced by criminal stereotypes, which are jurors. The traits chosen for the current studies have recently become prevalent in the literature and have elicited results that warrant further investigation of their effects. These traits are Afrocentric facial features, dark skin tone, facial untrustworthiness, and tattoos. The following sections provide a review of the effects of these traits on perceptions, decision-making, and trial outcomes.

Afrocentric Facial Features

Racial phenotypicality bias affects the treatment and life outcomes of individuals depending on how typical of their race they appear (Maddox, 2004). According to Blair, Judd, and Chapleau (2004), "Afrocentric features are those physical features that are perceived as typical of African Americans (e.g., dark skin, wide nose, full lips; p. 674)". The more Afrocentric a person's facial features are, the more they are associated with the negative stereotypes of Black people (Kleider, Cavrak, & Knuycky, 2012; Kleider-Offutt et al., 2017; Livingston & Brewer, 2002). Categorization is likely the process generating this association,

such that attributions are made about a person based on the social category in which his/her facial features fit into (Wilkins et al., 2010). It has also been proposed that the more one's facial features deviate from what is average or typical (i.e., very thin lips, eyes far apart), the more extreme personality traits that person is perceived to possess (Zebrowitz, 1996). Although Afrocentric facial features are primarily associated with Black individuals, there is a high variance in the extent people possess Afrocentric features within both Black and White populations (Blair, Judd, & Chapleau, 2004), and people have been shown to have a high consensus as to what extent Afrocentric features are present in individuals (Blair et al., 2002; Pizzi et al., 2005).

While there have been efforts made to recognize and overcome racial biases, people may not be as adept in recognizing their biases based on Afrocentric facial features. For example, one study showed that even when participants were made aware of the possible effect of Afrocentric features on their perceptions, they still had biased judgments (Pizzi et al., 2005). Further, it has been shown that people have more negative explicit and implicit attitudes toward those with more Afrocentric features compared to those with less Afrocentric features (Hagiwara et al., 2012). In fact, the "shoot/don't shoot" racial bias discussed earlier is even more pronounced with more Afrocentric Black targets compared to less Afrocentric Black targets (Kahn & Davies, 2011; Ma & Correll, 2011). In studies conducted by Blair et al. (2002), participants were tasked with giving probabilities that a series of faces had certain life scenarios. The people shown were Black or White and the life scenarios were either positively or negatively valenced, as well as stereotypically or not stereotypically associated with Black people. They found that both Black and White people with more Afrocentric features were given higher probabilities of having stereotypical and/or negatively valenced life scenarios. Blair, Judd, and Fallman (2004), used the

same design in later studies and found when participants were told to suppress the use of stereotypes in matching the faces to scenarios, they successfully suppressed the use of racial stereotypes, such that the tendency for participants to associate Black people with negatively valenced, stereotypic life scenarios was reduced. However, the instructions to suppress stereotype use did not affect the use of Afrocentric features as stereotypic cues, such that people with more Afrocentric features were matched more often with stereotypic and negatively valenced scenarios. In another study, participants were given information on how targets behaved in four different scenarios (i.e., aggressively or non-aggressively), and then were asked to estimate how the targets would behave in a fifth scenario. Black targets with more Afrocentric features were estimated to act out aggressively more often than Black targets with less Afrocentric features, above and beyond the effect of the behavioral information provided (Blair et al., 2005).

Afrocentric facial features have been shown to influence criminal sentencing decisions as well. Blair, Judd, and Chapleau (2004) had participants rate to what extent Black and White prison inmates possess Afrocentric facial features, and they found that Afrocentric features are a predictor of sentence length, such that inmates possessing more Afrocentric features serve prison sentences of 7-8 months longer than members of their respective race with less Afrocentric features. A more recent investigation of Afrocentric features within current White and Black inmates showed that as an inmate's face increased in Afrocentric appearance, the higher the odds became of them receiving harsher sentences (R. D. King & Johnson, 2016). In fact, J. P. Wilson and Rule (2015) found that those with more Afrocentric features were more likely to be sentenced to death. Similar results were found in another study, such that Black defendants with more Afrocentric facial features were more likely to receive a death sentence compared to

defendants with less Afrocentric features, especially when the victim was White (Eberhardt et al., 2006).

Although an effort to contain racial bias has been made, those with Afrocentric features are still being differentially treated. The overall conclusion from the available literature is that those with more Afrocentric facial features, beyond the effects of race itself, seem to invoke negative stereotypes and attitudes, create negative behavioral expectancies (i.e., expected to act out aggressively), and receive harsher outcomes in the justice system. This may be due to the fact that Afrocentric features are stereotypical phenotypes of Black people, therefore they are more likely to evoke the stereotypes associated with Black people (i.e., criminal). The severity of the outcomes already demonstrated in the literature for those with these features warrants further investigation into what extent they are salient in the criminal stereotype and influence juror attitudes and decision making.

Skin Tone

Another Afrocentric feature that has received a lot of attention in the literature is skin tone. Specifically, prior findings suggest there is a skin tone bias, in which those with lighter skin tone are perceived and treated better than those with darker skin tone (E. A. Adams et al., 2016; K. T. Brown et al., 1999; Hunter, 2007; T. Jones, 1999). When studies have examined people's automatic judgments of Black people with light or dark skin tone, more negative attitudes are exhibited towards those with darker skin compared to those with lighter skin. For example, participants responded faster to negative words after being primed with a dark-skinned face (Livingston & Brewer, 2002) and thought they would explicitly like dark-skinned Black people less than light-skinned Black people (Hagiwara et al., 2012). The stereotypes activated also vary depending on skin tone, such that both Black and White participants associate dark-skinned

Black people with negative Black stereotypes (e.g. criminal, poor, lazy), while light-skinned Black people are associated with positive Black stereotypes (e.g. intelligent, wealthy, rhythmic; Maddox, 2004; Maddox & Gray, 2002). Additionally, light-skinned Black men and women are perceived as more physically attractive than dark-skinned Black men and women when rated by Black participants (Hill, 2002). This differential perception of light and dark-skinned Black people could be due to the metaphorical association proposed by Gergen (1967), which is that starting in childhood, we start to symbolize colors with different traits and ideas, i.e. black is bad, horror, and gloom; white is good, joy, and purity.

Not only are light-skinned Black people perceived more positively, but they also have been shown to have more positive life outcomes. On average, light-skinned Black people report experiencing less discrimination than dark-skinned Black people (Klonoff & Landrine, 2000). Keith and Herring (1991) found that the lighter the skin tone a Black person has, the more education they would attain and the more likely they would acquire a professional job versus a laboring job. Two decades later, it was found that light skin tone is still a predictor of educational attainment and professional occupation status (Monk, 2014). In fact, light-skinned applicants have been shown to be considered for a job position more often than dark-skinned applicants (Wade et al., 2004). Consequently, light-skinned Black people have a moderately higher socioeconomic status than dark-skinned Black people (Hill, 2000; Hughes & Hertel, 1990). One recent publication has reported a possible explanation for the treatment disparities between light and dark-skinned Black people. Ryabov (2019) found that perceived attractiveness was a mediator of the relationship between skin tone and status attainment, such that when light-skinned Black people were perceived as more attractive, they also had higher status within society.

Not only do light-skinned Black people fair better in education and socioeconomic status, they also have more lenient outcomes in the criminal justice system compared to dark-skinned Black people. In one study, participants either saw a dark-skinned or light-skinned perpetrator and a piece of evidence presented at trial, and then were asked to rate to what extent that piece of evidence indicated the defendant was guilty or not guilty. Participants who saw the photo of the dark-skinned perpetrator judged the evidence as tending to indicate criminal guilt and were also more likely to believe that the defendant was guilty of armed robbery (Levinson & Young, 2010). Medium and dark-skinned Black convicts have been shown to receive sentences of 200-400 days longer than those of White and light-skinned Black convicts (Burch, 2015). However, R. D. King and Johnson (2016) found that dark-skinned Black and darker-skinned White people received harsher sentences compared to lighter-skinned individuals of their respective race. Finally, dark-skinned Black defendants were more likely to be sentenced to death than light-skinned Black defendants (Eberhardt et al., 2006).

Much of the literature has focused on interracial differences, but recently it has become apparent that there are disparities within races. Black people with dark skin, compared to Black people with light skin, are at a significant disadvantage in this country. As an Afrocentric feature, dark skin is also more likely to evoke the stereotypes associated with Black people. Interestingly, Hagiwara et al. (2012) found that skin tone and Afrocentric facial features work independently from each other and have additive effects, however they did not find an interaction, meaning Black people with dark skin and more Afrocentric facial features received more negative affective reactions than those with light skin and less Afrocentric facial features, but there was no significant difference between dark-skinned Black individuals with less Afrocentric features and light-skinned Black individuals with more Afrocentric features. Thus, the severity of the

consequences that dark-skinned Black people endure, along with the complex relationship skin tone has with Afrocentric facial features, warrants further investigation into the salience skin tone may have in juror decisions and the criminal stereotype. Moreover, prior research has suggested that another physical trait, facial trustworthiness, leads to perceptual and decision-making patterns similar to those of skin tone and Afrocentric features.

Facial Trustworthiness

People make trustworthiness judgments spontaneously based on a person's facial appearance (Willis & Todorov, 2006) and these judgments are relatively stable over time (Klapper et al., 2016). Impressions of facial trustworthiness may not necessarily be accurate, but there is a high consensus among participants as to whether a face looks trustworthy or not (Olivola et al., 2014; Rule et al., 2013). There are certain factors that influence trustworthiness perceptions, such as similarity to the self, typicality, facial structure, and emotional resemblance. Participants have been shown to be more trusting of faces that look similar to them (DeBruine, 2002; DeBruine, 2005), as well as trust those in their in-group in economic trust games by giving them more money than out-group members (Foddy et al., 2009; Van't Wout & Sanfey, 2008). This tendency to trust the in-group also applies to race, such that people tend to view own-race individuals as more trustworthy than other-race individuals (Salam et al., 2017; Stanley et al., 2011). Participants also perceive typical faces (i.e., not very attractive, nor very unattractive; Sofer et al., 2015) and those with lower facial width-to-height ratios (Kleisner et al., 2013; Ormiston et al., 2017; Stirrat & Perrett, 2010) as appearing more trustworthy. The *emotion overgeneralization effect* suggests that people whose facial appearance resembles an emotion may be perceived to have personality traits associated with that emotion (Montepare & Dobish, 2003; Zebrowitz, 1996). Facial trustworthiness has been empirically associated with an angry-

happy continuum, such that the angrier a face looks, the more untrustworthy it looks, and the happier a face looks, the more trustworthy it looks (Dong et al., 2014; Flowe, 2012; Oosterhof & Todorov, 2008; Oosterhof & Todorov, 2009). Interestingly, people that have high implicit prejudice perceive angry racially ambiguous faces as being Black rather than White (Hugenberg & Bodenhausen, 2004; Hutchings & Haddock, 2008). Furthermore, people high in prejudice may also see Black people as more untrustworthy, due to the connection between untrustworthy faces and angry expressions.

More pertinent to the current research, facial trustworthiness has been found to predict how criminal-looking an individual is perceived to be. Multiple studies have found that when participants rate targets as untrustworthy-looking, they also rate the targets as appearing more criminal or more likely to commit a crime (Flowe, 2012; Klatt et al., 2016; Korva et al., 2013). Funk and Todorov (2013) had participants rate how criminal a face appears after controlling for trustworthiness. Participants rated untrustworthy faces as significantly more criminal looking than trustworthy faces. J. P. Wilson and Rule (2015) conducted two studies investigating the role of facial trustworthiness on sentencing outcomes. In the first study, participants were asked to rate the trustworthiness of the faces of inmates who had been sentenced to either life in prison or sentenced to death. The faces of inmates who had been sentenced to death were more likely to be rated as untrustworthy than those sentenced to life in prison. In the second study, participants were asked to rate the faces of people who had been sentenced to life in prison or to death, but were later exonerated, and they found that those who had formerly been sentenced to death were less trustworthy looking than those formerly sentenced to life in prison. This finding suggests that an untrustworthy-looking face does not always correlate to untrustworthy or criminal behavior, but still influences outcomes and perceiver decisions. These same authors later found

that when participants were asked to assign inmates a sentence, their hypothetical assigned sentence matched the inmate's actual sentence, and facial trustworthiness was a unique predictor of both hypothetical and actual sentences (J. P. Wilson & Rule, 2016). Untrustworthy faces also activate confirmatory information processing, such that participants do not require as much evidence to find someone with an untrustworthy face guilty of a serious crime and have more confidence in their decision, compared to someone with a trustworthy face that is accused of the same crime (Porter et al., 2010).

Facial trustworthiness is one of the first judgments made upon meeting someone, and prior works have uncovered cues to trustworthiness, such as in-group similarity, face structure, and emotion resemblance. Findings from the available literature suggest that facial untrustworthiness activates a criminal stereotype and is consistent with the idea of stereotype congruency. Specifically, someone with an untrustworthy face may be criminal-stereotype congruent, and once the stereotype is activated, it does not take as much evidence to give a guilty verdict. The consequences that result from having an untrustworthy-looking face are substantial (i.e., receiving capital punishment), and therefore warrant a deeper look into the importance of this trait in juror decisions and the salience it may have in the criminal stereotype.

Tattoos

Unlike someone's facial appearance or race, tattoos are controllable features, which makes people feel justified in their stigma towards tattooed individuals (Larsen et al., 2014). For decades, tattoos have harbored negative attitudes in the Western world, due to their association with deviant groups such as bikers, gangs, and convicts (DeMello, 2000). The tattoo is the main physical characteristic associated with criminals (M. K. MacLin & Herrera, 2006), with 15 to 32% of inmates being tattooed (Manuel & Retzlaff, 2002; Palermo, 2004). However, tattoos are

growing in prevalence in mainstream society, with one estimate stating 24% of adults between the ages of 18-50 have at least one tattoo (Laumann & Derick, 2006), creating a need to understand perceptions of tattooed individuals.

Whether the stereotypes associated with tattooed individuals are accurate representations or not has been up for debate. Multiple studies have reported behavioral differences in tattooed college students, including that they are more sexually promiscuous (Burger & Kinkel, 2002; Koch et al., 2005), use more illicit drugs and alcohol (Drews et al., 2000; Koch et al., 2010), and are more inclined to engage in criminal activity (Zeiler & Kasten, 2016) than non-tattooed college students. There have also been reports of personality differences, such that tattooed individuals report to be high in sensation seeking (Wohlrab et al., 2007), extraversion, and need for uniqueness (Swami et al., 2012).

However, other studies have found that differences between tattooed and non-tattooed individuals are marginal. Tate and Shelton (2008) found that tattooed individuals scored lower on conscientiousness and agreeableness measures and higher on need for uniqueness measures, but the effect sizes were small. Another significant, but small, effect size was found in another study, such that tattooed adults were found to be higher in rebelliousness, anger, and verbal aggression than non-tattooed adults (Swami et al., 2015). Other studies have shown that tattooed individuals are more similar than different to non-tattooed individuals. Swami et al. (2016) found negligible differences between tattooed and non-tattooed individuals in risk-taking and impulsivity measures. Furthermore, another study found that when looking at a more diverse sample, there are virtually no differences between tattooed and non-tattooed people on several personality and behavioral traits (Broussard & Harton, 2018).

More relevant to the current research are the attitudes towards and perceptions of tattooed individuals. Several studies have found a pattern of negative implicit and explicit attitudes towards tattooed individuals. For example, through the IAT, Zestcott and colleagues have found that participants have an implicit preference for non-tattooed individuals compared to tattooed individuals (Zestcott et al., 2017; Zestcott et al., 2018). Other studies have found that participants rate tattooed individuals more negatively on several traits, such as competence, credibility, creativeness, determination, motivation, and trustworthiness, compared to non-tattooed images of the same person (Broussard & Hatton, 2018; Degelman & Price, 2002; Seiter & Hatch, 2005). Other attributions of tattooed individuals are that they are more likely to seek thrill, adventure, and new experiences, they are more prone to boredom, less inhibited (Wohlrab et al., 2009), and more threatening (B. D. Johnson & King, 2017). One thing that has been shown to attenuate negative attitudes and perceptions of tattooed individuals is participant possession of a tattoo (Broussard & Harton, 2018; Swami et al., 2012; Zestcott et al., 2017; Zestcott et al., 2018), illustrating another example of preferences towards the in-group.

In recent years, studies have shown that not all tattoos are perceived the same way. Burgess and Clark (2010) found that tribal tattoos are categorized as more aggressive and less friendly-looking than small, brightly colored tattoos. In another study, participants rated barbed wire and spider web tattoos as looking more dangerous and more typical of an offender than a butterfly or star tattoo (K. A. Brown et al., 2018). Timming and Perrett (2017) found that participants perceived a person with a violence or nudity-themed tattoo to be less trustworthy than a person with a nature-themed tattoo. Although negative implicit attitudes are not completely eliminated when someone has a tattoo with innocuous content, people have attenuated negative implicit attitudes towards tattoos that are positively-valenced (i.e., a heart)

compared to negatively-valenced (i.e., tribal-styled; Zestcott et al., 2017). A few studies investigating behavioral differences further demonstrates differences between tattoo styles. Zeiler and Kasten (2016) found people with aggressive tattoos have more of an inclination to criminal activity than those with friendly tattoos. Similarly, convicts with visible, anti-social themed tattoos have been shown to have a higher risk of re-offending and criminal thinking styles than convicts with friendly tattoos or no tattoos (Rozycki Lozano et al., 2011). J. Adams (2009) also found that there is a strong association between deviant behavior and those with visible tattoos. These findings strengthen the association between tattoos and criminal behavior.

Studies have found that specifically aggressive-themed tattoos are associated with crime, and subsequently trigger criminal stereotypes. That is, it is not the presence of tattoos in and of themselves that create negative perceptions, but the personal attributions made based on the tattoo. In the study conducted by K. A. Brown et al. (2018), when participants saw a defendant with a prison-styled tattoo, they perceived that defendant to be more dangerous, and subsequently found them to be guilty of assault more often. Funk and Todorov (2013) had a similar finding in which participants rated a defendant with a facial tattoo higher on a criminal appearance scale (i.e., criminal, aggressive, dangerous), and subsequently found them guilty more often. In addition, B. D. Johnson and King (2017) found that defendants with a facial tattoo were over twice as likely to receive a prison sentence compared to a defendant without a facial tattoo.

Tattoos are becoming increasingly common in society and they are especially prevalent in criminal populations. Whether the negative traits associated with tattoos are accurate representations of tattooed individuals are mixed. Overall, societal views of tattoos are shifting, specifically for innocuous, friendly-looking tattoos, while aggressive-looking tattoos still seem to

harbor negative attitudes. Prior works examining the effects of tattoos on juror decision making has focused on prison-styled tattoos, however that leaves a gap in the literature on aggressive-looking, but not prison-styled tattoos. Considering the popularity of tattoos in the criminal population and the adverse outcomes that occur when defendants have prison-styled tattoos, it is imperative that the effect of aggressive tattoos on juror decision making be investigated, especially as it pertains to Black people, another prominent group in the criminal justice system.

The Current Studies

The primary aim of the current studies was to investigate the salience of Afrocentric facial features, facial trustworthiness, skin tone, and tattoos, in the criminal-appearance stereotype. As previously mentioned, stereotypes have been shown to influence juror decision making. Therefore, the effect of criminal stereotypes on juror decisions and perceptions of defendants was investigated. People need less evidence to convict a person with an untrustworthy face, which can be attributed to stereotype activation (Porter et al., 2010). Afrocentric facial features have been shown to predict longer sentences in both White and Black people (Blair, Judd, & Chapleau, 2004), which is congruent with the stereotype literature assessing categorization (i.e., physical cues lead to placement in appropriate social category). Since each trait has been shown to independently activate a criminal stereotype, multiple combinations of these traits were assessed to determine which are most powerful in activating the criminal-appearance stereotype, thus leading to more pronounced negative perceptions. In addition, criminal appearance ratings and perceived dangerousness explain the relationship between tattoos and guilty verdicts, suggesting perceived criminal appearance is a significant mediator (Funk & Todorov, 2013; K. A. Brown et al., 2018). Furthermore, B. D. Johnson and King (2017) examined threatening appearance as a mediator of physical appearance and

sentencing decisions but found insignificant results. Hence, the current studies incorporated a broader criminal appearance measure which would be sufficient to detect a mediating link between stereotypical traits and verdict decisions if such a link were to exist. In addition, since prejudice has been shown to influence juror decisions (Cohn et al., 2009; Kleider, Knuycky,& Cavrak, 2012), both racial and tattoo prejudice were measured and accounted for. On the other hand, since egalitarian views and the motivation to appear socially desirable is so prevalent in society (P. G. Devine et al., 2002; Dunton & Fazio, 1997; Moskowitz et al., 2000; Moskowitz & Li, 2011; Glaser & Knowles, 2008), the motivation to respond without prejudice was also accounted for.

In Study 1, the main and interactive effects of tattoos, skin tone, and facial trustworthiness on juror perceptions were examined. As previously mentioned, past studies have investigated the effects of prison-styled tattoos on juror decision making, but there is a lack of published literature investigating aggressive tattoos in the juror decision making context. This is an important distinction, because prison-styled tattoos can bias the view of the perceiver, through the implication of having prior convictions (DeMello, 1993), towards a guilty verdict (D. J. Devine et al., 2001; D. J. Devine & Caughlin, 2014; Greene & Dodge, 1995). Aggressive tattoos (i.e., tribal, tigers, snakes, dragons) harbor their own strong prejudices (Zeiler & Kasten, 2016), so they may have a similar effect as prison-styled tattoos, without having the confounding effect of alluding to prior convictions. There is also a paucity of published literature investigating the interactive effects of race and tattoos on juror perceptions. Funk and Todorov (2013) found insignificant effects of facial trustworthiness on guilt decisions, but their stimuli may not have been distinct enough on ratings of trustworthiness to detect significant difference. Further, the published literature has not considered race/skin tone in conjunction with facial trustworthiness.

Therefore, Study 1 utilized a 3 (defendant skin tone: Black [Dark-skinned] vs. Black [Light-skinned] vs. White) x 3 (trustworthiness: trustworthy vs. neutral vs. untrustworthy) x 3 (tattoo: aggressive vs. non-aggressive vs. none) factorial design, controlling for levels of racial prejudice (McConahay, 1986), tattoo prejudice (Martin & Dula, 2010), and motivation to respond without prejudice (Plant & Devine, 1998).

In Study 2, the main and interactive effects of tattoos, skin tone, and presence of Afrocentric facial features on juror perceptions were examined. As previously mentioned, skin tone and Afrocentric facial features may have additive effects on perceptions, and previous literature has stressed the importance of investigating these variables separately (Hagiwara et al., 2012). Further, the published literature has not investigated these factors in conjunction with tattoos. Therefore, Study 2 utilized a 3 (Skin tone: Black [Dark-skinned] vs. Black [Light-skinned] vs. White) x 3 (tattoos: aggressive vs. non-aggressive vs. none) x 2 (Afrocentric features: more pronounced vs. less pronounced) factorial design, again controlling for the variables from Study 1.

Hypotheses

Physical Traits. It was hypothesized that there would be significant main effects of the physical traits, such that targets containing an aggressive tattoo, dark skin tone, an untrustworthy face, and more Afrocentric facial features would receive higher defendant guilt ratings, harsher sentences, and higher criminal appearance ratings than targets containing a non-aggressive/no tattoo, light/white skin tone, a trustworthy/neutral face, and less Afrocentric facial features, respectively (Study 1 & 2). It was also hypothesized that there would be significant two-way interactions, such that targets containing dark skin and an aggressive tattoo, dark skin and an untrustworthy face, an aggressive tattoo and an untrustworthy face, an aggressive tattoo and

more Afrocentric features, dark skin tone and more Afrocentric features, would receive higher defendant guilt ratings, harsher sentences, and higher criminal appearance ratings than targets with any other combination of the respective variables (Study 1 & 2). Lastly, it was hypothesized that there would be significant three way-interactions, such that targets containing an aggressive tattoo, dark skin, and an untrustworthy face (Study 1) or dark skin, more Afrocentric features, and an aggressive tattoo (Study 2) would receive higher defendant guilt ratings, harsher sentences, and higher criminal appearance ratings than any other combination of the respective variables.

Prejudice and Motivation to Respond Without Prejudice. Next, it was hypothesized that those with higher levels of racial prejudice would give more guilty verdicts, harsher sentences, and higher criminal appearance ratings, especially to dark-skinned and light-skinned Black defendants. Additionally, it was hypothesized that those with higher levels of tattoo prejudice would give more guilty verdicts, harsher sentences, and higher criminal appearance ratings, especially to defendants with tattoos. Lastly, it was hypothesized that participants with higher levels of internal and/or external motivation to respond without prejudice would give less guilty verdicts, more lenient sentences, and lower criminal appearance ratings.

Criminal Appearance Mediation. It was hypothesized that criminal appearance ratings would mediate the relationship between the stereotypical physical traits and defendant guilt ratings and sentences, such that the effect of the traits on defendant guilt ratings and sentencing would become insignificant once perceived criminal appearance was entered as a mediator (Study 1 & 2).

CHAPTER II

STUDY 1

METHOD

Participants

For Study 1, an a priori power analysis using G*Power 3.1 (Faul, Erdfelder, Buchner, & Lang, 2009) was conducted to determine minimum sample size. It was determined that 384 participants would be necessary to detect moderate effect sizes at $\alpha = .05$ and power = .80.

In total, Study 1 consisted of 653 individuals from Amazon's Mechanical Turk (Litman et al., 2016) who were compensated with $0.30 for their participation. Of these, 106 participants were excluded for failing attention checks, 12 were excluded for not being U.S. citizens, 49 were excluded for failing manipulation checks, and 60 were excluded for completing the study in under 6 minutes, i.e., one standard deviation below the mean completion time, suggesting limited effort or attention. Thus, analyses for Study 1 included 426 participants (age range 18-82, M_{age} = 41.09, *SD* = 13.79; 274 female; 346 White). Participants in Study 1 were randomly assigned to one condition in a 3 (defendant skin tone: Black [Dark-skinned] vs. Black [Light-skinned] vs. White) x 3 (trustworthiness: trustworthy vs. neutral vs. untrustworthy) x 3 (tattoo: aggressive vs. non-aggressive vs. none) factorial design, with cell sizes ranging from 15 to 17.

Stimuli/Materials

A pilot study was conducted to determine which face and tattoo images would be utilized in both studies. Images of 51 males (26 Black, 25 White) from the Chicago Face Database (Ma et al., 2015) were rated to what extent they look angry, trustworthy, aggressive, babyfaced, and attractive. Further, the images were assessed to what extent they possess facial features typical of an African American as well as their perceived race and age. Face images were digitally edited

using Adobe Photoshop to appear either more Afrocentric, less Afrocentric, more trustworthy, or less trustworthy. After the digitally edited photos were added, a total of 73 face images were included in the pilot study. Out of the 73 images, participants were randomly presented with 23 faces, approximately half Black and half White. Thirteen tattoo images (4 non-aggressive, 4 prison-styled, 5 aggressive) were also included in the study and were rated to what extent they look prison-styled, threatening, aggressive, attractive and peaceful. Out of the 13 images, participants were randomly presented with 4 tattoo images.

Three hundred and four participants from Amazon's Mechanical Turk participated in the pilot study. Data from 22 participants was excluded for failing the attention check. Data from an additional 13 participants was excluded for completing the survey in less than 300 seconds or greater than 2,000 seconds. The lower boundary was based on the minimum amount of time for participants to complete the pilot study without simply clicking through the questionnaire. The upper boundary was three standard deviations above the mean time to complete the study. This left 269 participants (84 male, age range from 19-73, $M = 40.43$ $SD = 13.14$) for analysis. Due to the nature of the randomization procedure through Qualtrics, certain face images were shown to participants more often than others. To create equal sample sizes (i.e. ~50) for each image, a random sample of data was taken from the images with sample sizes greater than 50. These random samples were then analyzed. The means of the trustworthiness and Afrocentric feature ratings of the face images were compared. The original data for the tattoo images were equal in sample size, therefore the original data was analyzed. The means of the aggressive and prison-styled ratings of the tattoo images were compared (See Table 1). One face image was chosen for each skin tone/facial trustworthiness condition in Study 1 (Dark-skinned, trustworthy: $M_{afro} = 5.88$, $SD = 1.42$, $M_{trust} = 4.88$, $SD = 1.32$; Dark-skinned, neutral: $M_{afro} = 5.72$, $SD = 1.91$, $M_{trust} =$

4.3, *SD* = 1.52; Dark-skinned, untrustworthy: M_{afro} = 5.79, *SD* = 1.85, M_{trust} = 3.28, *SD* = 1.28; Light-skinned, trustworthy: M_{afro} = 5.5, *SD* = 1.45, M_{trust} = 4.74, *SD* = 1.24; Light-skinned, neutral: M_{afro} = 3.74, *SD* = 1.58, M_{trust} = 3.87, *SD* = 1.38; Light-skinned, untrustworthy: M_{afro} = 3.49, *SD* = 1.74, M_{trust} = 3.49, *SD* = 1.46; White, trustworthy: M_{afro} = 1.4, *SD* = 0.9, M_{trust} = 4.56, *SD* = 1.43; White, neutral: M_{afro} = 1.76, *SD* = 1.65, M_{trust} = 4.04, *SD* = 1.32; White, untrustworthy: M_{afro} = 1.44, *SD* = 1.05, M_{trust} = 2.58, *SD* = 1.4). One aggressive tattoo (M_{agg} = 5.44, *SD* = 1.37; M_{prison} = 3.69, *SD* = 1.66) and one non-aggressive tattoo (M_{agg} = 2.29, *SD* = 1.43, M_{prison} = 2.53, *SD* = 1.71) was chosen to be utilized in the study.

A total of 27 images were developed to be used as stimuli in Study 1. There are three different versions of each face image: one with an aggressive tattoo, one with a non-aggressive tattoo, and one with no tattoo as a control. The tattoos were digitally edited onto the neck of the male images. Tattoo placement on the neck was chosen for two reasons. First, visible tattoos, such as those on the neck and face are perceived more negatively and associated more with deviant behavior than non-visible tattoos (K. A. Brown et al., 2018; J. Adams, 2009). Second, neck tattoos are relatively more common than facial tattoos in the population (Laumann & Derick, 2006).

Case Vignette

The vignette is an adaptation of those utilized by K. A. Brown et al. (2018), in which they investigated the effect of strength of evidence (i.e., strong and weak). K. A. Brown and colleagues did this by having the confidence of an eyewitness be 90% or 50%. Since I was not investigating strength of evidence as a factor, I instead had the eyewitness be 75% confident in their identification. The vignette describes an assault committed outside of a bar (see Appendix I). Assault was chosen as the crime for the following reasons. A stereotype of those with tattoos

is that they are more violent and aggressive (Swami et al., 2015), and assault has also been shown to be a stereotypical crime of people with tattoos (K. A. Brown et al., 2018). As mentioned above, violence and aggression is also a stereotype of Black men, and assault is a blue collar crime, which is stereotypically associated with Black men. This vignette contains ambiguous evidence against the defendant, in order for jurors to use extra-evidentiary variables, such as defendant or juror characteristics, to aid in their decision making. Additionally, when participants are presented with a highly ambiguous case, they are more likely to find the defendant guilty if the stereotypes associated with his/her appearance is congruent with the crime they are accused of (Dumas & Testé, 2006). Furthermore, some literature suggests that the more violent or serious the crime is, the more likely people will rely on crime stereotypes (Skorinko & Spellman, 2013). Since this case is ambiguous, stereotype-congruent, and violent in nature, it was hypothesized that this vignette would be effective in evoking stereotype use.

Covariate Predictors

Modern Racism Scale. The participants completed McConahay's (1986) Modern Racism Scale (MRS; $\alpha = .90$). This scale was utilized to measure the presence of racial prejudice. This scale contains six items and participants rated each item on a 5-point Likert scale (1=strongly disagree, 5=strongly agree), with higher scores corresponding to higher modern racism scores, except item 2 (reverse-coded). An example item is "Discrimination against blacks is no longer a problem in the United States" (See Appendix A).

Martin Stigma Against Tattoos Survey. The participants also completed Martin and Dula's (2010) Martin Stigma Against Tattoos Survey (MSATS; $\alpha = .96$; see Appendix B). This scale measures attitudes towards tattooed individuals. This scale contains seventeen items and participant rated each item on a 6-point Likert scale (1=strongly disagree, 6=strongly agree),

with higher scores corresponding to higher negative attitudes toward tattooed individuals, except item 1 (reverse-coded). An example item is "People with tattoos are more likely to be irresponsible."

Internal/External Motivation to Respond Without Prejudice. They also completed Plant and Devine's (1998) Internal Motivation to Respond Without Prejudice scale (IMS) and External Motivation to Respond Without Prejudice Scale (EMS) for both attitudes toward Black people (IMS_r, $\alpha = .87$; EMS_r, $\alpha = .89$) and tattooed individuals (IMS_t, $\alpha = .82$, EMS_t, $\alpha = .92$). These scales were utilized to determine if participants are purposefully responding without prejudice to look socially desirable and/or to respond in a way that matches their personal values. Prior research has shown that those scoring higher on the IMS respond more positively on explicit measures of attitudes (Zestcott et al., 2018). The IMS contains five items and the EMS contains five items. Participants rated each measure on a 9-point scale (1=strongly disagree, 9=strongly agree), with higher scores corresponding to higher motivation to respond with prejudice, except for item 2 in the IMS (reverse-coded). An example item from the IMS is "I am personally motivated by my beliefs to be nonprejudiced toward Black people (tattooed people)." An example item from the EMS is "I attempt to appear nonprejudiced toward Black people (tattooed people) in order to avoid disapproval from others."

Dependent Variables

Case Outcomes

Participants were asked to make judgments similar to those in other studies investigating the effects of defendant appearance on juror perceptions (K. A. Brown et al., 2018; Flowe, 2012; Funk & Todorov, 2013; J. P. Wilson & Rule, 2015). Participants were asked to make a dichotomous verdict preference (guilty or not guilty), followed by a rating of how confident they

were in their decision (1 = *not at all,* 7 = *very*). If a guilty verdict was given, participants were asked to give a sentence of either imprisonment or probation, following the United States Sentencing Commission Guidelines (2018; see Appendix J).

Criminal Appearance

Participants were also asked to rate the defendant on how trustworthy (reverse-coded), aggressive, dangerous, criminal, and honest (reverse-coded) they appear (order randomized; 1 = *not at all*, 7 = *very*; $\alpha = .79$). The average of these items was used as a measure of criminal stereotype activation and overall criminal appearance (see Funk & Todorov, 2013). To avoid demand effects, filler items were also included (i.e., to what extent the defendant looks attractive, friendly, baby-faced; See Appendix K).

Participant Characteristics

Lastly, participants were asked to respond to demographic items (i.e., gender, age, religious and political affiliations, whether they have or are planning to get a tattoo(s)). Participants were also presented with manipulation check items. They include questions determining whether or not they remember the defendant's tattoo possession, if the amount of evidence against the defendant was ambiguous, as well as whether they knew the purpose of the study (See Appendix L).

Procedure

This study was conducted via a survey through Qualtrics. After agreeing to participate, participants were shown an image of a hypothetical defendant (350 x 246 pixels), along with the assault case vignette. After reading the case vignette, participants were asked to give a verdict and rate their confidence in that verdict. If they found the defendant guilty, they were asked to give a preferred sentence. On the subsequent page, participants were presented the image of the

defendant again, along with the questionnaire containing criminal appearance questions. Next, participants were prompted to complete the MRS, MSATS, IMS_t, EMS_t, IMS_r, and EMS_r, as well as additional scales included as filler questionnaires, such as the Social Dominance Orientation Scale (Pratto et al., 1994; see Appendix E), Right-Wing Authoritarianism Scale (Rattazzi et al., 2007; See Appendix F), System Justification Scale (Kay & Jost, 2003; See Appendix G), and Need For Cognition Scale (Cacioppo et al., 1984; See Appendix H) in a randomized order. Finally, participants were asked to complete the demographic and manipulation check questionnaire.

RESULTS

Preliminary Analyses and Manipulation Checks

Prior to testing the main hypotheses of Study 1, analyses were conducted to test the effectiveness of the physical trait and vignette manipulations. On average, participants rated the strength of evidence against the defendant as moderate ($M = 3.83$, $SD = 1.68$), suggesting the vignette was effectively ambiguous. The effectiveness of the facial trustworthiness conditions was confirmed through the results of a one-way ANOVA, such that untrustworthy faces were rated as less trustworthy ($M = 3.37$, $SD = 1.22$) than neutral faces ($M = 3.72$, $SD = 1.22$) and trustworthy faces ($M = 4.04$, $SD = 1.32$), $F(2, 423) = 9.88$, $p < .001$. Another one-way ANOVA was conducted to determine if the skin tone conditions significantly differed in Afrocentric appearance. On average, participants rated dark-skinned faces as significantly more Afrocentric ($M = 5.97$, $SD = 1.29$) than light-skinned ($M = 4.52$, $SD = 1.61$) or White faces ($M = 1.52$, $SD = 1.21$), $F(2, 423) = 385.3$, $p < .001$. Thus, to ensure any outcomes were not unduly influenced, Afrocentric appearance was entered as a covariate in the analyses. Another analysis was conducted to ensure that participant tattoo possession was equivalent across the three tattoo

conditions. Results suggest no significant differences across tattoo conditions, $\chi^2(4) = 7.23$, $p = .123$. The sample for this study reported, on average, low levels of tattoo prejudice ($M = 40.89$, $SD = 19.75$) and low-to-moderate levels of racial prejudice ($M = 2.31$, $SD = 1.02$). Additionally, the sample reported moderate levels of external motivation to respond without prejudice to Black people ($M = 4.27$, $SD = 2.28$) and tattooed people ($M = 3.89$, $SD = 2.29$), but higher levels of internal motivation to respond without prejudice to Black people ($M = 7.16$, $SD = 1.86$) and tattooed people ($M = 6.57$, $SD = 1.88$). Correlations between the dependent variables and covariates can be found in Table 2.

Case Judgments

Verdict

In total, there were 290 (68.1%) "not guilty" and 136 (31.9%) "guilty" verdicts. A generalized linear model with a specified binary logistic link function was conducted to determine if the physical traits (i.e., tattoos, facial trustworthiness, skin tone), covariates (i.e., MRS, MSATS, IMS_r, EMS_r, IMS_t, EMS_t), Afrocentric appearance, or perceived criminal appearance were significant predictors of dichotomous verdict. MRS was a significant predictor, Wald $\chi^2(1) = 7.42$, $p = .006$. The direction of the beta ($b = 0.38$) suggests as racial prejudice increases, the likelihood of a guilty verdict increases. Perceived criminal appearance was a significant predictor, Wald $\chi^2(1) = 30.79$, $p < .001$. The direction of the beta ($b = 0.67$) suggests as perceived criminal appearance increases, the likelihood of a guilty verdict increases. Once perceived criminal appearance was entered, MRS became only marginally significant (Wald $\chi^2[1] = 3.71$, $p = .054$, $b = 0.28$). Tattoos, trustworthiness, skin tone, Afrocentric appearance, MSATS, IMS_r, EMS_r, IMS_t, and EMS_t were not significant predictors (see Table 3).

Confidence in Not Guilty Verdict

A generalized linear model analysis was conducted to test the predictors on confidence in a not guilty verdict. Afrocentric appearance was a significant predictor, Wald $\chi^2(1) = 9.32$, $p = .002$. Surprisingly and contrary to hypotheses, the direction of the beta ($b = 0.19$) suggests that as perceived Afrocentric appearance increased, confidence in a not guilty verdict also increased. Perceived criminal appearance was also a significant predictor, Wald $\chi^2(1) = 10.44$, $p = .001$, with the direction of the beta ($b = -0.28$) suggesting that as criminal appearance increased, confidence decreased. The physical traits and other covariates were not significant predictors (see Table 4).

Confidence in Guilty Verdict

A generalized linear model was conducted to test the predictors on confidence in a guilty verdict. Tattoo condition was a significant predictor (Wald $\chi^2[2] = 6.22$, $p = .045$), such that there was more confidence that defendants with a non-aggressive tattoo were guilty ($M = 5.7$, $SE = .13$) than defendants with no tattoo ($M = 5.2$, $SE = .16$). IMS_r was also a significant predictor, Wald $\chi^2(1) = 8.20$, $p = .004$. Surprisingly, the direction of the beta ($b = 0.18$) suggests that as internal motivation to respond without prejudice to Black people increased, confidence in a guilty verdict increased. The other physical traits, covariates, and criminal appearance were not significant predictors (see Table 5).

Supporting the hypothesis of an additive effect of multiple stereotypical traits, several two-way interactions were significant: skin tone x tattoo, Wald $\chi^2(4) = 16.7$, $p = .002$; trustworthiness x tattoo, Wald $\chi^2(4) = 26.5$, $p < .001$; skin tone x trustworthiness, Wald $\chi^2(4) = 9.64$, $p = .047$. Examination of the trustworthiness x tattoo interaction plot (see Figure 1) suggests that when the defendant had an untrustworthy face, there was more confidence that

defendants with an aggressive tattoo (M = 5.91, SE = 0.19) or non-aggressive tattoo (M = 5.77, SE = 0.23) were guilty compared to a defendant with no tattoo (M = 4.04, SE = 0.31). However, when the defendant had a trustworthy or neutral face, the differences between the tattoo conditions were insignificant (see Table 6). Examination of the skin tone x trustworthiness interaction plot (see Figure 2) suggests that when the defendant had an untrustworthy face, there was more confidence that a dark-skinned (M = 5.68, SE = 0.23) or light-skinned (M = 5.39, SE = 0.26) defendant was guilty compared to a white defendant (M = 4.65, SE = 0.28). However, when the defendant had a trustworthy or neutral face, the differences between skin tones were insignificant (see Table 7). The skin tone x tattoo interaction did not support the additive effect hypothesis, as the interaction plot (see Figure 3) suggests that when the defendants did not have a tattoo, there was more confidence that a dark-skinned defendant was guilty (M = 6.16, SE = 0.30) compared to a light skinned (M = 4.57, SE = 0.33) or white defendant (M = 4.83, SE = 0.29). However, when the defendants had a non-aggressive tattoo or aggressive tattoo, the differences between skin tones were insignificant (see Table 8). Further interpretation of these interactions will be discussed below.

Sentencing

Out of the 136 participants that provided a guilty verdict, six participants did not recommend a sentence, resulting in 130 sentencing recommendations. In total, there were 46 (35.4%) recommendations for probation and 84 (64.6%) recommendations for prison. A generalized linear model with a specified binary logistic function was conducted to test for any significant predictors of preferred sentence type. Interestingly, EMS_t was a significant predictor (Wald $\chi^2[1] = 7.96$, $p = .005$), with the direction of the beta (b = 0.44) suggesting as external motivation to respond without prejudice to tattooed individuals increased, the likelihood that the

defendant was sentenced to prison increased. In contrast, IMS_t was a significant predictor (Wald $\chi^2[1] = 5.04$, $p = .025$), with the direction of the beta ($b = -0.42$) suggesting as internal motivation to respond without prejudice to tattooed individuals increased, the likelihood that the defendant was sentenced to prison decreased.

There was also a significant two-way interaction between tattoo condition and MSATS (Wald $\chi^2[2] = 10.52$, $p = .005$). This interaction was further assessed with the PROCESS macro in SPSS (Hayes, 2017). More specifically, MSATS was examined as a moderator of the relation between tattoo condition and sentence type. Two moderation analyses were conducted to create all three relevant contrasts (i.e., Non-Aggressive – None [X_1]; Aggressive – None [X_2]; Non-Aggressive – Aggressive [X_3]), and test their interactions with MSATS on sentence type while controlling for the covariates and other physical traits. The results suggest that the contrasts, MSATS, their interaction, the other physical traits, and covariates accounted for a marginally significant amount of variance in sentence type, $R^2 = .22$, Wald $\chi^2(14) = 22.4$, $p = .07$. The interaction between tattoo condition and MSATS accounted for a significant proportion of variance, $\Delta R^2 = .09$, Wald $\chi^2(2) = 9.81$, $p = .007$. More specifically, the interaction between X_1 and MSATS was significant ($b = -0.09$, Wald $\chi^2[1] = 6.48$, $p = .011$), the interaction between X_3 and MSATS was significant ($b = -0.07$, Wald $\chi^2[1] = 7.01$, $p = .008$), and the interaction between X_2 and MSATS was not significant ($b = -0.01$, Wald $\chi^2[1] = 0.26$, $p = .619$). Surprisingly, examination of the interaction plot (see Figure 4) suggests at low levels of tattoo prejudice, defendants with a non-aggressive tattoo had a higher likelihood of being sentenced to prison than those with an aggressive tattoo. However, at high levels of tattoo prejudice, defendants with no tattoo were more likely to be sentenced to prison than those with a non-aggressive tattoo. The

other physical traits, covariates, or criminal appearance were not significant predictors (see Table 9).

A generalized linear model analysis was conducted to test the predictors on prison sentence length (in months; $n = 84$). Afrocentric appearance was a significant predictor (Wald $\chi^2[1] = 8.17$, $p = .004$) with the direction of the beta ($b = 0.51$) suggesting as Afrocentric appearance increases, the length of prison sentence also increases. Interestingly, IMS_r was a significant predictor (Wald $\chi^2[1] = 4.41$, $p = .036$), with the direction of the beta ($b = 0.48$) suggesting as internal motivation to respond without prejudice to Black people increases, the length of prison sentence also increases. In contrast, IMS_t was a significant predictor (Wald $\chi^2[1] = 4.6$, $p = .032$), with the direction of the beta ($b = -0.55$) suggesting as internal motivation to respond without prejudice to tattooed individuals increases, the length of prison sentence decreases. Additionally, there was a significant interaction between skin tone and facial trustworthiness, Wald $\chi^2(4) = 11.58$, $p = .021$. Contrary to the previously mentioned additive effect of stereotypical traits hypothesis, examination of the interaction plot (Figure 5) suggests that the dark-skinned, trustworthy ($M = 7.08$, $SE = 0.86$), light-skinned, neutral ($M = 6.69$, $SE = 0.76$), white, trustworthy ($M = 6.9$, $SE = 0.91$), and white, untrustworthy ($M = 6.96$, $SE = 0.87$) defendants were all given significantly longer sentences than the dark-skinned untrustworthy defendant ($M = 3.7$, $SE = 0.78$). The dark-skinned, trustworthy defendant was also given a longer sentence than the dark-skinned, neutral defendant ($M = 4.12$, $SE = 1.1$). All other comparisons were not significant (see Table 10) and the other physical traits, covariates, and criminal appearance were not significant predictors of prison sentence (see Table 11).

Another analysis was conducted to test the predictors on probation sentence length (in months; $n = 46$). Perceived criminal appearance was a significant predictor (Wald $\chi^2[1] = 4.19$, p

= .041), with the direction of the beta (b = .99) suggesting that as perceived criminal appearance increased, the length of sentence increased. All other predictors were not significant (see Table 12).

Criminal Appearance

A generalized linear model analysis was conducted to test the physical traits and covariates as predictors of perceived criminal appearance. Tattoo condition was a significant predictor (Wald $\chi^2[2] = 15.58$ $p < .001$), such that defendants with aggressive tattoos ($M = 4.04$, $SE = 0.08$) and non-aggressive tattoos ($M = 4.13$, $SE = 0.08$) appeared more criminal-looking than defendants with no tattoos ($M = 3.70$, $SE = 0.08$). Trustworthiness was a significant predictor (Wald $\chi^2[2] = 64.87$, $p < .001$), such that untrustworthy defendants appeared more criminal looking ($M = 4.47$, $SE = 0.08$) than the neutral ($M = 3.84$, $SE = 0.08$) or trustworthy ($M = 3.56$, $SE = 0.08$) defendants. Skin tone was a significant predictor (Wald $\chi^2[2] = 37.68$, $p < .001$), such that white defendants appeared more criminal looking ($M = 4.25$, $SE = 0.12$) than light-skinned ($M = 3.83$, $SE = 0.08$) and dark-skinned defendants ($M = 3.79$, $SE = 0.11$). MRS was a significant predictor (Wald $\chi^2[1] = 7.1$, $p = .008$), with the direction of the beta ($b = 0.37$) suggesting as racial prejudice increases, perceived criminal appearance increases. MSATS was a significant predictor (Wald $\chi^2[1] = 8.04$, $p = .005$), with the direction of the beta ($b = 0.01$) suggesting that as tattoo prejudice increases, perceived criminal appearance increases. Afrocentric features was a significant predictor (Wald $\chi^2[1] = 7.0$, $p = .008$), with the direction of the beta ($b = 0.09$) suggesting as a defendant's perceived Afrocentric appearance increases, perceived criminal appearance increases. The other covariates were not significant predictors (see Table 13).

The interaction between skin tone and MRS was significant (Wald $\chi^2[2] = 34.97$, $p < .001$). This interaction was further assessed with the PROCESS macro in SPSS (Hayes, 2017). More specifically, MRS was examined as a moderator of the relationship between skin tone and perceived criminal appearance. Two moderation analyses were conducted to create all three relevant contrasts (i.e., Light – Dark [X_1]; White – Dark [X_2]; Light – White [X_3]) and test each contrast's interaction with MRS while controlling for the other physical traits and covariates. The results suggest that the contrasts, MRS, their interactions, and the other predictors accounted for a significant amount of variance in perceived criminal appearance, $R^2 = .27$, $F(13, 412) = 11.88$, $p < .001$. The interaction between skin tone and MRS accounted for a significant proportion of variance, $\Delta R^2 = .06$, $F(2, 412) = 16.41$, $p < .001$. More specifically, the interactions between X_2 and MRS ($b = -0.59$, $t[412] = -5.20$, $p < .001$) and X_3 and MRS ($b = 0.59$, $t[412] = 4.75$, $p < .001$) were significant, while the interaction between X_1 and MRS was not ($b = 0.01$, $t[412] = 0.04$, $p = .969$). Examination of the interaction plot (see Figure 6) suggests at low levels of prejudice, white defendants appeared more criminal than those with light skin or dark skin. As racial prejudice increased, perceived criminal appearance of light-skinned and dark-skinned defendants increased and criminal appearance of white defendants decreased.

An additional stepwise linear regression analysis was conducted to estimate the unique variance explained by each physical trait. The covariates were entered into the first model, accounting for approximately 9% of unique variance, $F(6, 419) = 6.95$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .09$. Skin tone was entered into the second model, accounting for approximately 0% of unique variance, $F_{change}(1, 418) = 0.11$, $p = .737$, $R^2_{change} = .00$. However, as was mentioned in the skin tone x MRS analysis, the interaction accounted for 6% of unique variance. Facial trustworthiness was entered into the third model, accounting for approximately 10% of unique variance, $F_{change}(1,$

417) = 49.4, $p < .001$, $R^2_{change} = .10$. Tattoo condition was entered into the fourth model, accounting for approximately 2% of unique variance, $F_{change}(1, 416) = 8.06$, $p = .005$, $R^2_{change} = .02$ (see Table 14).

Criminal Appearance Mediation

Given that the physical traits were not significant predictors of dichotomous verdict, mediation analyses were conducted as indirect effect models using the PROCESS macro in SPSS (Hayes, 2017). Three separate analyses were conducted to test the indirect effects of the contrasts associated with each physical trait individually, while controlling for the effects of the other physical traits and covariates (see Figure 7). The indirect effect of tattoo contrasts X_1 (Non-Aggressive vs. None and X_2 (Aggressive vs. None) were significant, $a = 0.452$, $p < .001$; $c' = 0.298$ [0.125, 0.546] and $a = 0.352$, $p = .005$; $c' = 0.232$ [0.074, 0.448]; respectively. Contrast X_3 (Non-Aggressive vs. Aggressive) was not significant, $a = 0.099$, $p = .412$; $c' = 0.066$ [-0.091, 0.248]. Specifically, defendants with non-aggressive and aggressive tattoos elicited greater perceived criminal appearance ratings when compared to a defendant with no tattoo, which subsequently led to a higher likelihood of a guilty verdict ($b = 0.66$, $p < .001$; see Table 15). The indirect effect of facial trustworthiness contrasts X_1 (Neutral vs. Trustworthy), X_2 (Untrustworthy vs. Trustworthy), and X_3 (Untrustworthy vs. Neutral) were significant, $a = 0.301$, $p = .015$; $c' = 0.197$ [0.035, 0.388]; $a = 0.896$, $p < .001$; $c' = 0.584$ [0.354, 0.909]; $a = 0.595$, $p < .001$; $c' = 0.388$ [0.203, 0.67]; respectively. Specifically, defendants with an untrustworthy face elicited greater perceived criminal appearance ratings, which subsequently led to higher likelihood of a guilty verdict ($b = 0.65$, $p < .001$; see Table 16). Given that there was a significant interaction of skin tone x MRS on criminal appearance, a moderated-mediation indirect effect analysis was conducted to test the indirect effect of skin tone. The indirect effects of skin tone contrasts X_2

(White vs. Dark) and X_3 (Light vs. White) were significantly moderated by MRS (X_2: a = -0.063, p =.893; a_{int} = -0.59, p < .001; X_3: a = 0.327, p = .383; a_{int} = 0.59, p < .001). Contrast X_1 (Light vs. Dark) was not significant, a = 0.265, p =.39; a_{int} = 0.01, p = .969. Specifically, white defendants elicited greater criminal appearance ratings, which subsequently lead to higher likelihood of a guilty verdict (b = 0.691, p < .001), but only at low and moderate levels of racial prejudice (see Table 17).

DISCUSSION

Study 1 investigated the effects of stereotypically criminal traits (i.e., tattoos, dark skin tone, facial untrustworthiness) on criminal case judgments and perceived criminal appearance of the defendant, while accounting for and including the effects of prejudice and motivation to be non-prejudiced. Overall the findings of Study 1 were mixed concerning the a priori hypotheses (discussed below). In addition, there were significant effects that were considered and analyzed post hoc, such as the interactions between physical traits and prejudice or motivation to be non-prejudiced.

My hypotheses about the effects of the manipulated physical traits received mixed support from the findings of Study 1. None of the manipulated physical traits directly predicted dichotomous verdict or sentencing, which is incongruent with the hypotheses and past literature (Eberhardt et al., 2006; Funk & Todorov, 2013; B. D. Johnson & King, 2017; Levinson & Young, 2010; Porter et al., 2010), but is congruent with findings by K. A. Brown et al. (2018) in which defendant tattoos did not have a significant effect on verdict or perceived likelihood of guilt. Contrary to this finding, the participants of Study 1 had higher confidence in a guilty verdict when the defendant had a non-aggressive tattoo than when the defendant did not have a tattoo.

The hypothesis of multiple categories influencing case judgments more than individual categories was partially supported through the interactive effects of physical traits on confidence in a guilty verdict. Participants had more confidence that a defendant with two stereotypic traits (i.e., an untrustworthy face and a tattoo; Black and untrustworthy face) was guilty compared to a defendant with one stereotypic trait (i.e., an untrustworthy face and no tattoo; White and untrustworthy face). Furthermore, adding another stereotypic trait had the effect of removing disparities between conditions of another stereotypic trait, such that there was more confidence that a dark-skinned defendant was guilty compared to a light-skinned or white defendant, but when adding a tattoo, the differences in confidence between skin tones were not significant. This suggests that adding a tattoo to a white or light-skinned face was detrimental, while adding a tattoo to a dark-skinned face did not have a significant impact.

However, there was also evidence against this hypothesis through the interaction of skin tone x trustworthiness on prison sentence length, such that the defendant with both stereotypically criminal traits (i.e., Dark skin, untrustworthy) received significantly shorter prison sentences than several other defendants. Since both untrustworthy faces and those with dark skin tone have been shown to receive more severe sentences, it is unclear why the combination of the two traits would result in the opposite result. It is unlikely due to a motivation to be non-prejudiced to Black people, as I controlled for this construct. It is possible that the interaction of skin tone and facial trustworthiness does not have a similar interactive effect as has been shown with other traits in past literature (Espinoza et al., 2015; Spohn & Holleran, 2000; Steffensmeier et al., 1998; Willis-Esqueda et al., 2008). Although the materials were pilot tested, it is also possible that the face image manipulations did not have the expected effect and thus were not effective.

The role of prejudice, as well as internal and external motivation to respond without prejudice, in predicting case outcomes provided mixed support for the hypotheses. Participants with higher levels of racial prejudice were more likely to provide guilty verdicts, regardless of defendant skin tone. In contrast to hypotheses, the tattoo condition x tattoo prejudice interaction suggests highly prejudiced people recommended harsher sentences to defendants with no tattoos than those with a tattoo, which is counterintuitive to how prejudice usually influences judgments. Since motivation to be non-prejudiced was controlled, this finding is not likely due to social desirability concerns. In fact, the effects of internal and external motivation to respond without prejudice to tattooed individuals on sentencing recommendations were congruent with past literature (Amodio et al., 2008; Butz & Plant, 2009), such that those with higher levels of external motivation (i.e., largely motivated by external, social norms) were more likely to recommend a prison sentence, while those with higher levels of internal motivation (i.e., motivated by personal values) were less likely to recommend a prison sentence. Although the motivation to respond without prejudice scores are congruent with past literature, the way these constructs relate to prejudice scores does not. Past literature has shown that scores from prejudice scales are positively correlated with external motivation and negatively correlated with internal motivation (Plant & Devine, 1998; P. G. Devine et al., 2002; Hausmann & Ryan, 2004). However, the bivariate correlations of this study are the opposite (see Table 1). Further examination of the correlation tables shows a pattern of relationships between prejudice and motivation to be non-prejudiced towards Black people that is consistent with past literature, such that prejudice is positively correlated to external motivation and negatively correlated to internal motivation. The same pattern of internal motivation to respond without prejudice to tattooed individuals is present for prison sentence length. Surprisingly, internal motivation to respond

without prejudice to Black people had the opposite effect, such that higher internal motivation resulted in longer prison sentences. These results must be interpreted with caution. These are the results of the constructs across all tattoo and skin tone conditions, because the interactions between the conditions and prejudice were not significant.

The manipulated physical traits seemed to activate a criminal stereotype, as evidenced through the higher levels of perceived criminal appearance for those with tattoos and an untrustworthy face. Furthermore, although the overall consensus is that race has at least a small effect on juror decisions, it has been proposed that the effect of race is dependent on other factors, such as jury race composition (D. J. Devine et al., 2001), type of crime (Mazzella & Feingold, 1994), or juror social dominance orientation (Kemmelmeier, 2005). In a similar fashion, the results of this study suggest that skin tone interacted with racial prejudice to result in the activation of the criminal stereotype. Specifically, a white defendant was perceived as more criminal looking, but only at lower levels of racial prejudice. This provides evidence that skin tone itself is not directly influential in perceptions of defendants, but perceptions are dependent on levels of racial prejudice. As previously mentioned, negative stereotypes and prejudice seem to have a strong relationship, with those high in prejudice being more likely to apply negative stereotypes, and those with lower levels of prejudice are more likely to inhibit their activation (P. G. Devine, 1989; Lepore & Brown, 1997; Kawakami et al., 1998), which would explain low-prejudiced participants perceiving Black defendants as less criminal-looking than White defendants. Additionally, tattoo prejudice was predictive of higher criminal appearance ratings, but did not interact with tattoo condition. This finding, along with the main effect of racial prejudice on verdict decisions, suggests that those with more prejudicial attitudes toward tattooed

individuals are more inclined to have negative attitudes of others (i.e., perceive them as criminal looking) regardless of whether they have a tattoo or not.

The estimated effect sizes of the predictors on perceived criminal appearance reveal the salience of these traits and attitudes in activating a criminal stereotype. After accounting for the variance explained by the covariates, it was found that facial trustworthiness explained the most variance (10%), suggesting that out of all of the variables included in this study, this variable was the best predictor of criminal stereotype activation. Next, presence of a tattoo was a significant predictor, but was not as important as face trustworthiness. Lastly, skin tone alone did not explain a significant amount of variance in perceived criminal appearance (0%). However, skin tone's interaction with racial prejudice did explain a significant amount of variance (6%), further suggesting that the effect of skin tone on stereotype activation was dependent on individual difference in racial prejudice.

Lastly, perceived criminal appearance was a substantial predictor of several case outcomes, all in the hypothesized direction. More specifically, the higher in criminal appearance the defendant was, the more likely they were to receive a guilty verdict, the less confident participants were in a not guilty verdict, and the longer the given probation sentence was. Furthermore, since perceived criminal appearance was a measure of criminal stereotype activation, these results suggest that the activation of criminal stereotypes results in harsher criminal case outcomes, which is congruent with the findings of Funk and Todorov (2013). Not only was criminal stereotype activation a significant predictor of case judgments, but it was also the crucial link between the presence of stereotypical traits and case judgments. This is evidenced by the lack of significant direct effects of physical traits on case judgments, but the significant indirect effect of physical traits on case judgments through their influence on criminal

stereotype activation. This is partially congruent with findings of Funk and Todorov (2013), however their mediation model had significant direct effects of tattoos on case judgments that were lessened once criminal stereotype activation was added as a mediator. The indirect effects of the current model suggests the presence of physical traits, such as white skin (compared to Black skin and only at low and medium levels of racial prejudice), aggressive or non-aggressive tattoos (compared to no tattoos), and untrustworthy faces, only have an effect on case judgments through their activation of a criminal stereotype.

Although it was not one of the manipulated physical traits in this study, perceived Afrocentric appearance had significant effects on confidence in a not guilty verdict, prison sentence length, and perceived criminal appearance. The results suggest that as perceived Afrocentric facial appearance increases, the prison sentence length and extent to which the defendant looks criminal also increases, which is consistent with past research on Afrocentric facial features (Blair, Judd, & Chapleau, 2004; Kleider, Cavrak, & Knuycky, 2012; Pizzi et al., 2005). Interestingly, the more that the defendant appeared Afrocentric, the more confident participants were in a not guilty verdict. These results suggest that perhaps there are individual differences between those that rendered a guilty verdict and those that rendered a not guilty verdict that may explain the differential effects of Afrocentric appearance between these two groups. It is not likely that the individual difference is motivation to respond without prejudice, as I controlled for and included this construct in the model. The seemingly contradictory influences of Afrocentric features demonstrates the importance of further investigating the effects of these features in Study 2.

One limitation of the current study was that some of the effects on sentencing may not have been detectable due to only a minority of the sample (n = 130) giving a recommended

sentence, resulting in low power, $1-\beta = .29$. Since studies have found that there are discernable sentencing disparities among those with differing skin tone (Burch, 2015; R. D. King & Johnson, 2016), Afrocentric facial features (Blair et al., 2004; Eberhardt et al., 2006), and tattoos (B. D. Johnson & King, 2017), and sentencing has been suggested to be a more sensitive juror-decision outcome variable compared to verdict preferences (Barnett & Field, 1978; Sigall & Ostrove, 1975), especially with racial biases (Sweeney & Haney, 1992), the sentencing measure was adjusted to ensure more power in Study 2**.**

CHAPTER III

STUDY 2

METHOD

Participants

For Study 2, a G*Power 3.1 analysis (Faul et al., 2009) was conducted to determine minimum sample size. It was determined that 304 participants would be necessary to detect moderate effect sizes at $\alpha = .05$ and power = .80.

In total, Study 2 consisted of 548 individuals from Amazon's Mechanical Turk who were compensated with $0.30 for their participation. Of these, 116 participants were excluded for failing attention checks, 10 were excluded for not being U.S. citizens, 34 were excluded for failing manipulation checks, and 64 were excluded for completing the study in under 7 minutes, i.e., one standard deviation below the mean completion time, suggesting limited effort or attention. Thus, analyses for Study 2 included 324 participants (age range 18-78, M_{age} = 39.3, *SD* = 13.1; 195 female; 244 White). Participants in Study 2 were randomly assigned to one of eighteen conditions in a 3 (defendant skin tone: Black [Dark-skinned] vs. Black [Light-skinned] vs. White) x 2 (Afrocentric features: more vs. less) x 3 (tattoo: aggressive vs. non-aggressive vs. none) factorial design, with cell sizes ranging from 17 to 20.

Stimuli/Materials

The face images utilized in Study 2 were also tested in the pilot study mentioned above in Study 1. One face image was chosen for each skin-tone/Afrocentric condition, with the White, less Afrocentric image being the same image used in Study 1 for the White, neutral condition (Dark-skinned, more Afrocentric: M_{afro} = 6.29, *SD* = 1.39, M_{trust} = 3.97, *SD* = 1.1; Dark-skinned, less Afrocentric: M_{afro} = 5.1, *SD* = 1.62, M_{trust} = 3.78, *SD* = 1.31; Light-skinned, more

Afrocentric: M_{afro} = 4.67, *SD* = 1.54, M_{trust} = 4.18, *SD* = 1.28; Light-skinned, less Afrocentric: M_{afro} = 2.78, *SD* = 1.74, M_{trust} = 4.16, *SD* = 1.25; White, more Afrocentric: M_{afro} = 3.06, *SD* = 1.83, M_{trust} = 4.0, *SD* = 1.27; White, less Afrocentric: reported above). The tattoo images are also the same as those utilized in Study 1. A total of 18 images were developed to be used as stimuli in Study 2, with three different tattoo versions of the six face images. Unless otherwise noted below, all other materials and the procedure are identical to Study 1: MRS, α = .91; MSATS, α = .97; IMS_r, α = .85; EMS_r, α = .90; IMS_t, α = .80; EMS_t, α = .91.

Sentencing

To generate more power in assessing effects on sentencing, all participants, regardless of their verdict preference, were asked to provide a recommended sentence. After rendering their verdict, participants were told the defendant was found guilty and they were to give a recommended sentence of probation or prison. On the subsequent page, they were told to give a recommended length of sentence (See Appendix L).

RESULTS

Preliminary Analyses

Prior to testing the main hypotheses of Study 2, analyses were conducted to test the effectiveness of the physical trait and vignette manipulations. On average, participants rated the strength of evidence against the defendant as moderate (*M* = 3.63, *SD* = 1.69), suggesting the vignette was effectively ambiguous. The effectiveness of the Afrocentric conditions was confirmed through the results of an ANOVA, such that Afrocentric faces were rated as more Afrocentric (*M* = 4.83, *SD* = 1.86) than non-Afrocentric faces (*M* = 3.35, *SD* = 2.11), $F(1, 318) = 72.17$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .19$. This ANOVA also confirmed the findings of Study 1, such that those with dark skin (*M* = 5.60, *SD* = 0.15) are perceived as more Afrocentric than those with light

skin (M = 4.01, SD = 0.15) or white skin (M = 2.69, SD = 0.15), $F(2, 318) = 91.33$, $p < .000$, $\eta_p^2 = .37$. This ANOVA also resulted in a significant interaction between skin tone and Afrocentric facial features, such that the defendant with dark skin and more Afrocentric facial features (M = 6.45, SD = 0.21) appeared more Afrocentric than those with dark skin and less Afrocentric features (M = 4.74, SD = 0.21), light skin and more Afrocentric features (M = 4.33, SD = 0.21), light skin and less Afrocentric features (M = 3.68, SD = 0.21), white skin and more Afrocentric features (M = 3.74, SD = 0.21), and white skin and less Afrocentric features (M = 1.65, SD = 0.21), $F(2, 318) = 6.011$, $p = .003$, $\eta_p^2 = .04$. Other significant differences include: dark skin, less Afrocentric was perceived as significantly more Afrocentric than light skin, less Afrocentric and white skin, more Afrocentric; white skin, less Afrocentric are perceived as significantly less Afrocentric than all other cells in the interaction. This suggests that although Afrocentric facial features are accounted for, skin tone and its interaction with facial features significantly influences perceived Afrocentric facial appearance. Thus, this interaction must be kept under consideration when interpreting these effects on outcome variables. Again, an analysis was conducted to determine equality of participant tattoo possession across tattoo conditions and the results indicated no significant differences, $\chi^2(4) = 5.06$, $p = .281$. Similar to Study 1, the sample reported low levels of tattoo prejudice (M = 39.26, SD = 20.66), low-to-moderate levels of racial prejudice (M = 2.19, SD = 1.01), moderate levels of external motivation to respond without prejudice to Black people (M = 4.14, SD = 2.34) and tattooed people (M = 3.72, SD = 2.31), and higher levels of internal motivation to respond without prejudice to Black people (M = 7.44, SD = 1.68) and tattooed people (M = 6.89, SD = 1.81). Correlations between the dependent variables and covariates can be found in Table 18.

Case Judgments

Verdict

In total, there were 243 (75%) "not guilty" and 81 (25%) "guilty" verdicts. A generalized linear model with a specified binary logistic link was conducted to test the physical traits (i.e., skin tone, Afrocentric facial features, tattoos), covariates (MRS, MSATS, IMS_r, EMS_r, IMS_t, EMS_t), and perceived criminal appearance as predictors of dichotomous verdict. Perceived criminal appearance was a significant predictor of verdict (Wald $\chi^2([1] = 14.2$, $p < .001$) with the direction of the beta ($b = .62$) suggesting that as perceived criminal appearance increased, the likelihood that a defendant will be found guilty also increased. The physical traits and covariates were not significant predictors of verdict (see Table 19).

There was also a significant interaction between tattoo condition and IMS_t, Wald $\chi^2(2) = 8.79$, $p = .012$. This interaction was further assessed with the PROCESS macro in SPSS (Hayes, 2017). Two moderation analyses were conducted to create all three relevant contrasts (i.e., Non-Aggressive – None [X_1]; Aggressive – None [X_2]; Non-Aggressive – Aggressive [X_3]) and test each contrast's interaction with IMS_t, while controlling for the other physical traits and covariates. The results suggest that the contrasts, IMS_t, their interactions, and the covariates account for a significant amount of variance in verdict decisions, $R^2 = .21$, Wald $\chi^2(13) = 50.23$, $p < .001$. The interaction between tattoo condition and IMS_t alone accounted for a significant proportion of variance, $\Delta R^2 = .04$, Wald $\chi^2(2) = 9.4$, $p = .009$. More specifically, the interactions between X_1 and IMS_t ($b = .59$, Wald $\chi^2(1) = 8.92$, $p = .004$) and X_3 and IMS_t were significant ($b = .48$, Wald $\chi^2(1) = 4.83$, $p = .026$), while the interaction between X_2 and IMS_t was not significant ($b = .11$, Wald $\chi^2(1) = 0.53$, $p = .575$). Surprisingly, examination of the interaction plot (see Figure 8) suggests at low levels of internal motivation to respond without prejudice to

tattooed individuals, there was a higher probability that those with no tattoo would receive a guilty verdict than those with a non-aggressive tattoo. At high levels of motivation, those with a non-aggressive tattoo had a higher probability of receiving a guilty verdict than those with no tattoo. However, it is important to keep in mind that all of the probabilities of receiving a guilty verdict were below chance, since the majority of participants provided a not guilty verdict.

Confidence in Verdict

Generalized linear model analyses were conducted to test the predictors on confidence in verdict. The physical traits, covariates, and criminal appearance were not significant predictors of confidence in a not guilty verdict (see Table 20) or confidence in a guilty verdict (see Table 21).

Sentencing

Since all participants were asked to give a preferred sentence, a total of 225 participants (69.4%) recommended probation and 99 participants (30.6%) recommended prison. A generalized linear model analysis with a binary logistic link was conducted to test the predictors on preferred sentence type. Similarly to Study 1, EMS_t was a marginally significant predictor of sentence type (Wald $\chi^2[1] = 3.73$, $p = .054$) with the direction of the beta ($b = .17$) suggesting that as external motivation to respond without prejudice to tattooed individuals increases, the likelihood of a prison sentence increases. The other physical traits, covariates, and criminal appearance were not significant predictors of preferred sentence type (see Table 22).

Probation Sentence Length

Generalized linear model analyses were conducted to test the predictors on probation and prison sentence length. MRS was a significant predictor of probation sentence length (Wald $\chi^2[1] = 6.28$, $p = .012$) with the direction of the beta ($b = .88$) suggesting as racial prejudice increases,

the preferred length of sentence increases. The physical traits and other covariates were not significant predictors (see Table 23). Two additional analyses were conducted to determine if the significance of predictors on probation sentence length differed between those that gave a guilty verdict and those that gave a not guilty verdict. Of those who gave a not guilty verdict (n = 180), MRS was a significant predictor of probation sentence (Wald $\chi^2[1] = 7.6$, $p = .006$) with the direction of the beta ($b = 1.02$) suggesting that as racial prejudice increased, the sentence length also increased. The physical traits and other covariates were not significant predictors. Of those who gave a guilty verdict ($n = 45$), EMS_r was a significant predictor of probation sentence (Wald $\chi^2[1] = 5.82$, $p = .016$) with the direction of the beta ($b = -0.97$) suggesting as external motivation to respond without prejudice to Black people increased, the sentence length decreased. All other predictors were not significant.

Prison Sentence Length

Results revealed that there were not any significant predictors of prison sentence length (see Table 24). Once again, additional analyses were conducted to determine if the predictors of prison sentence length differed between those that gave a guilty verdict and those that gave a not guilty verdict. Of those who gave a not guilty verdict (n = 63), skin tone was a significant predictor (Wald $\chi^2[2] = 12.01$, $p = .002$), such that White defendants ($M = 6.57$, $SE = 0.43$) and dark-skinned defendants ($M = 6.38$, $SE = 0.48$) received longer sentences than light-skinned defendants ($M = 4.68$, $SE = 0.4$). Surprisingly, EMS_r was a significant predictor (Wald $\chi^2[1] = 5.26$, $p = .022$) with the direction of the beta ($b = 0.41$) suggesting as external motivation to respond without prejudice to Black people increased, prison sentence increased. In contrast, EMS_t was a significant predictor (Wald $\chi^2[1] = 4.11$, $p = .043$) with the direction of the beta (b =

-0.36) suggesting as external motivation to respond without prejudice to tattooed individuals increased, prison sentence decreased. All other predictors were not significant.

Of those who gave a guilty verdict (n = 36), skin tone was a marginally significant predictor (Wald $\chi^2[2] = 5.35$, $p = .069$), such that White defendants received longer sentences (M = 7.57, SE = 0.8) than dark-skinned defendants (M = 4.69, SE = 0.88). Afrocentric features was a marginally significant predictor (Wald $\chi^2(1) = 3.57$, $p = .059$), such that defendants with more Afrocentric facial features received longer sentences (M = 7.20, SE = 0.55) than defendants with less Afrocentric facial features (M = 5.52, SE = 0.60). Tattoos and the other covariates were not significant predictors. However, since the sample size in these analyses was low, these results should be interpreted with caution.

Criminal Appearance

A generalized linear model was conducted to test the physical traits and covariates as predictors of criminal appearance ratings. Tattoo condition was a significant predictor (Wald $\chi^2[2] = 23.5$, $p < .001$), such that defendants with aggressive tattoos (M = 3.82, SD = 0.09) and non-aggressive tattoos (M = 4.0, SD = 0.09) appeared more criminal-looking than defendants with no tattoos (M = 3.41, SD = 0.09). Afrocentric features were a significant predictor (Wald $\chi^2[1] = 15.1$, $p < .001$), such that defendants with less Afrocentric features appeared considered more criminal-looking (M = 3.94, SD = 0.07) than defendants with more Afrocentric features (M = 3.54, SD = 0.07). Skin tone was a significant predictor (Wald $\chi^2[2] = 6.25$, $p = .044$), such that white defendants appeared more criminal looking (M = 3.91, SD = 0.09) than light-skinned defendants (M = 3.6, SD = 0.09). Surprisingly, EMS_r was a significant predictor (Wald $\chi^2[1] = 9.42$, $p = .002$) with the direction of the beta (b = 0.11) suggesting as external motivation to

respond without prejudice to Black people increased, perceived criminal appearance increased. The other covariates were not significant predictors (see Table 25).

An additional stepwise linear regression analysis was conducted to estimate the unique variance explained by each physical trait. The covariates were entered into the first model, accounting for approximately 14% of unique variance, $F(6, 317) = 8.30$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .14$. Skin tone was entered into the second model, accounting for approximately 1% of unique variance, $F_{change}(1, 316) = 2.28$, $p = .132$, $R^2_{change} = .01$. The tattoo condition was entered into the third model, accounting for approximately 3% of unique variance, $F_{change}(1, 315) = 9.39$, $p = .002$, $R^2_{change} = .03$. Finally, Afrocentric features was entered into the fourth model, accounting for approximately 4% of unique variance, $F_{change}(1, 314) = 13.7$, $p < .001$, $R^2_{change} = .04$ (see Table 26).

Criminal Appearance Mediation

As was the case in Study 1, the physical traits were not significant predictors of dichotomous verdict, so the mediation analyses were conducted again as indirect effect models using the PROCESS macro in SPSS (Hayes, 2017). Three separate analyses were conducted to test the indirect effects of the contrasts associated with each physical trait individually, while controlling for the effects of all other physical traits and covariates (Figure 9). Similar to Study 1, the indirect effects of tattoo contrasts X_1 (Non-Aggressive vs. None) and X_2 (Aggressive vs. None) were significant, $a = 0.597$, $p < .001$; $c' = 0.357$ [0.166, 0.645] and $a = 0.417$, $p < .001$; $c' = 0.249$ [0.083, 0.506], respectively. Contrast X_3 was not significant, $a = 0.18$, $p = .165$; $c' = 0.108$ [-0.047, 0.301]. Specifically, defendants with a non-aggressive or aggressive tattoo elicited greater perceived criminal appearance ratings than defendants with none, and subsequently resulted in a higher likelihood of a guilty verdict, $b = 0.599$, $p < .001$ (see Table 27). The indirect

effects of skin tone contrast X_3 (Light vs. White) was significant, a = -0.313, p = .017; c' = -0.191 [-0.422, -0.033]. The contrasts X_1 (Light vs. Dark) and X_2 (White vs. Dark) were not significant, a = -0.111, p = .397; c' = -0.068 [-0.251, 0.11]; a = 0.202, p = .123; c' = 0.123 [-0.034, 0.356]; respectively. Specifically, white defendants elicited greater perceived criminal appearance ratings than light-skinned defendants, and subsequently resulted in a higher likelihood of a guilty verdict, b = .61, p < .001 (see Table 28). The indirect effect of Afrocentric features was significant, a = -0.394, p < .001; c' = -0.237 [-0.448, -0.095]. Specifically, defendants with less Afrocentric features elicited greater perceived criminal appearance ratings than those with more Afrocentric features, and subsequently resulted in a higher likelihood of a guilty verdict, b = 0.601, p < .001 (see Table 29).

DISCUSSION

Study 2 investigated the effects of stereotypically criminal traits (i.e., tattoos, dark skin tone, Afrocentric facial features) on criminal case judgments and perceived criminal appearance of the defendant, while accounting for and including the effects of prejudice and motivation to be non-prejudiced. Comparable to Study 1, the results provide mixed support for the hypotheses. Since the interactions between physical traits and the covariates were significant in Study 1, these effects were also examined. The current study aimed to add to the results from Study 1 in two ways. First, I hoped to further explore the effect of Afrocentric facial features on criminal stereotype activation and case judgments. Second, I utilized a more statistically powerful measure of sentencing to better examine any significant effects. Although some effects supported those from Study 1, there were also several non-significant effects and substantial, but unexpected effects that did not (discussed below).

Similar to the results of Study 1, the manipulated physical traits did not have a direct effect on dichotomous verdict decisions. However, a surprising interaction between tattoo condition and internal motivation to respond without prejudice to tattoos was revealed in which participants with less internal motivation to respond without prejudice were more likely to find a defendant with no tattoos guilty than a defendant with a tattoo, but participants with more internal motivation were more likely to find a defendant with a tattoo guilty than a defendant with no tattoo. A similar pattern was found with the significant interaction between skin tone and internal motivation to respond without prejudice to Black individuals on prison sentences. Those with less internal motivation recommended longer prison sentences for white and light-skinned defendants than for dark-skinned defendants, but there were no significant differences in those with higher motivation. This goes against my hypotheses and past literature, in which those with more internal motivation are more personally driven and often successful at responding without prejudice and those with less motivation are not as concerned with responding in a prejudiced manner (Amodio et al., 2003; Butz & Plant, 2009; P. G. Devine et al., 2002; Moskowitz et al., 2000; Plant & Devine, 2009), but the findings suggest those high in motivation were more likely to respond in a prejudiced direction and those low in motivation were more likely to respond without prejudice. It is possible that there was a confounding aspect of the white defendant images that was not accounted for and impacted decision making in an unexpected manner. More specifically, the white defendant images may have looked a certain way to participants that elicited an aversive reaction that was not anticipated, thus resulting in more negative reactions and decisions.

When examining sentencing outcomes, the most substantial effects came from analyzing sentencing recommendations of those responding with a guilty verdict separately from those who

responded with a not guilty verdict. Overall, these results suggest the effect of the predictors on sentencing recommendations were dependent on verdict preferences. Although Study 2 had a more statistically powerful sentencing measure than Study 1, skin tone was the only physical trait that emerged as a significant predictor of prison sentence length in those who responded with a not guilty verdict. Longer prison sentences were recommended for white and dark-skinned defendants than for light-skinned defendants. This is partially congruent with prior literature in which dark-skinned defendants receive harsher sentences than those with lighter skin (Burch, 2015; R. D. King & Johnson, 2016), however it was not hypothesized that white defendants would receive harsher sentences than light-skinned defendants. As previously mentioned, there may be an unexplained element of the male face images that were not accounted for and subsequently influenced decisions.

High racial prejudice predicted longer probation sentences in those responding with a not guilty verdict and higher tattoo prejudice predicted longer prison sentences in those responding with a guilty verdict. These results are congruent with hypotheses and replicate the effects of prejudice in Study 1, such that higher prejudice levels lead to harsher case judgments. External motivation to respond without prejudice to tattooed and Black people resulted in an interesting pattern of effects. For those responding with a guilty verdict, external motivation to respond without prejudice to Black individuals was significant, with participants having more motivation recommending shorter sentences. Although those with higher external motivation have been found to fail at responding without prejudice (Amodio et al., 2008; Hausmann & Ryan, 2004), it is possible that participants responding with a guilty verdict became aware of themselves possibly violating social norms, and consequently responded without prejudice in subsequent case judgments. However, higher external motivation to respond without prejudice to tattooed

individuals led to harsher recommended sentences. For those responding with a not guilty verdict, higher external motivation to respond without prejudice towards Black people led to longer sentences, but higher external motivation to respond without prejudice towards tattooed individuals led to shorter sentences. These results suggest that different verdict preferences, as well as different motivation to respond without prejudice target groups (i.e., Black and tattooed), result in differing patterns of sentencing recommendations. More specifically, motivation towards Black people and motivation towards tattooed people had differing effects on sentencing based on the verdict preference, and within verdict preferences, motivation towards Black and tattooed people had opposite effects on sentencing. The bivariate correlations (Table 18) were examined and identical correlation patterns to Study 1 were found among prejudice and motivation to respond without prejudice. Unlike Study 1, the internal motivation to be non-prejudiced measures were negatively correlated and the external motivation to be non-prejudiced measures were negatively correlated, which explains their differing effects on sentencing outcomes.

The manipulated physical traits once again seemed to activate a criminal stereotype, although not all in the hypothesized direction. The tattoo condition's effect on criminal appearance was identical to study 1, such that defendants with aggressive and non-aggressive tattoos were perceived as more criminal looking than those with no tattoos. On average, white defendants appeared more criminal looking than light-skinned defendants, but unlike in Study 1, skin tone's interaction with racial prejudice did not reach significance. Lastly, I predicted those with more Afrocentric facial features would appear more criminal than those with less Afrocentric facial features, but the opposite effect was found in the current study. Although the manipulation checks suggested that the Afrocentric conditions were sufficient, the results

contradict prior literature (Blair et al., 2004; 2005; Kahn & Davies, 2011; Ma & Correll, 2001). One explanation for this finding relates to the inability to fully separate the effects of skin tone and Afrocentric facial features, as the face images with dark skin were on average rated as having more Afrocentric facial features than those with light or white skin. This makes it difficult to determine the individual effects of these traits on judgments, as ratings of Afrocentric appearance largely differed based on skin tone. Additionally, several participants perceived the light-skinned, less Afrocentric males to be Hispanic, not Black. This is congruent with literature on perceptions of skin tone and Afrocentric features, such that when Black individuals have light skin and less pronounced Afrocentric features or are biracial, they are more likely to be mistakenly categorized as Hispanic or Middle Eastern (Chen et al., 2018; Nikolas et al., 2019). Since attitudes, stereotypes (O. H. MacLin & Malpass, 2001; Skinner et al., 2019), and criminal justice outcomes (Demuth, 2003; Demuth & Steffensmeier, 2004; Doerner & Demuth, 2010; Steffensmeier & Demuth, 2006; Turner & Johnson, 2005) have been shown to differ between Hispanics and Blacks, the decisions and judgments of participants perceiving these males as Hispanic may have differed compared to those perceiving the same males as Black.

Once again, the estimated effect sizes were examined to determine the salience of these traits in activating a criminal stereotype. Surprisingly, after accounting for the covariates, Afrocentric facial features explained the most variance (4%) of the manipulated physical traits, suggesting that the contrast between non-Afrocentric and Afrocentric faces was the best predictor of stereotype activation, led closely by tattoos (3%). Similar to Study 1, skin tone did not explain a significant amount of variance in stereotype activation (1%). Lastly, perceived criminal appearance (i.e., criminal stereotype activation) was a significant predictor of dichotomous verdict, further replicating Study 1 and findings of Funk and Todorov (2013).

Additionally, criminal stereotype activation was again the vital link between the manipulated physical traits and verdict decisions. The physical traits did not have direct effects on verdict, but had significant indirect effects on verdict through their activation of a criminal stereotype.

One limitation to the current study was the sentencing measure, as asking those responding with a not guilty verdict to give a sentencing recommendation threatens ecological validity and generalizability of the findings. Although other researchers have used this method to gather sentencing outcomes (Funk & Todorov, 2013) and the analyses were divided by verdict preference, it is still important to interpret these results with caution.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

These studies are unique from other research on physical appearance and juror decision making in several ways. First, two constructs that have been shown to be influential in external behavior and responses (i.e., prejudice and motivation to be non-prejudiced) were included and controlled for. By doing this, it was possible to investigate the effects of racial phenotypic traits and tattoos while controlling individual differences in attitudes about Black and tattooed individuals. Second, the effects of three traits were examined simultaneously, while other studies, at most, have examined one or two traits (Blair, Judd, & Chapleau, 2004; K. A. Brown et al., 2018; Burch, 2015; Funk & Todorov, 2013; B. D. Johnson & King, 2017; J. P. Wilson & Rule, 2015; 2016). Third, perceptions of neck tattoos and the possible effects of aggressive non-prison-styled content were examined, whereas prior research on juror perceptions of tattoos has only investigated prison-styled tattoos placed on the face or arm (K. A. Brown et al., 2018; Funk & Todorov, 2013).

The current studies add three substantial findings to the literature. First, the presence of physical traits, irrespective of the hypothesized direction, made the defendant appear more

criminal looking, thus activating a criminal stereotype. Criminal stereotype activation then led to a higher likelihood that the defendant would be found guilty of the crime. Put more simply, rather than the physical traits having a direct influence on juror decision-making, stereotype activation was the essential link between physical traits and juror judgments. Second, certain physical traits seem to be more predictive of criminal stereotype activation than others. Specific to my findings, facial trustworthiness was the best predictor of criminal stereotype activation, explaining 10% of the unique variance in criminal appearance ratings. Interestingly, the next best predictor was the interaction of skin tone with individual levels of racial prejudice (6%) while skin tone alone accounted for none of the variance. This finding leads to the third main finding which is the substantial effect of racial prejudice on juror perceptions and stereotype activation based on defendant skin tone.

Across both studies, there was competing evidence of the effects of Afrocentric facial features. When the perceived Afrocentric facial features rated by participants was used as a predictor in Study 1, more pronounced Afrocentric appearance resulted in higher criminal appearance and longer prison sentences. When Afrocentric facial features were explicitly manipulated in Study 2, those with less pronounced Afrocentric features were perceived as more criminal looking. There are three possible reasons for this discrepancy. First, it is possible that the manipulation of Afrocentric facial features in Study 2 was ineffective, even though ratings of Afrocentric facial appearance were in the hypothesized direction. Second, the subjective, continuous measure of Afrocentric facial features in Study 1 may have been a more sensitive and effective measure of Afrocentric facial appearance versus explicitly manipulating Afrocentric appearance as was done in Study 2. Third, since subjective ratings of Afrocentric facial features

differed significantly by skin tone, it is possible that these subjective ratings were not a function of only facial appearance, but a function of both skin tone and facial features.

There was a consistent pattern of results with the presence of tattoo on juror perceptions, such that the defendants that had either the aggressive or non-aggressive tattoo were perceived as more criminal looking than a defendant without a tattoo. It was hypothesized that tattoos with aggressive content may have a stronger negative effect on perceptions than tattoos with non-aggressive content based on past literature that suggests tattoo content has differential effects on perceptions (Burgess & Clark, 2010; Timming & Perrett, 2017; Zestcott et al., 2017). However, there were no significant differences between perceptions of aggressive tattoos and non-aggressive tattoos, with those with non-aggressive tattoos even being perceived more negatively than those with an aggressive tattoo. For example, in Study 1, participants who were presented with defendants with non-aggressive tattoos had more confidence that the defendants with non-aggressive tattoos were guilty than defendants with no tattoo, but there were no significant differences from those with an aggressive tattoo.

Based on past literature suggesting the presence of an additive effect of multiple marginalized social identities (i.e., ethnicity, socioeconomic status, gender) on decisions (Espinoza et al., 2015; Spohn & Holleran, 2000; Willis-Esqueda et al., 2008), it was predicted that the stereotypical physical traits would also have an additive effect on perceptions and decisions. Overall, the results did not support this hypothesis. This suggests that physical traits themselves do not have the same influence over decisions as the social identities associated with those traits. Thus, future research should investigate how physical traits influence the categorization of minoritized identities and subsequently how the presence of multiple minoritized identities influence juror decision-making and perceptions.

As previously mentioned, one of the largest limitations of the current research is that the face and tattoo images may not have been effective or realistic enough to elicit the expected effect. There also may have been some unknown variance in the images that resulted in the produced effects. Prior research suggests there are some physical features that influence juror decision making that were not consider in the design of the two studies, such as attractiveness (D. J. Devine et al., 2001; B. D. Johnson & King, 2017; MacCoun, 1990; Sigall & Ostrove, 1975; Stewart, 1980) and baby-faced appearance (Berry & McArthur, 1986; Montepare & Zebrowitz, 1998; Zebrowitz & McDonald, 1991). Although the manipulations were pilot tested individually, the images were not pilot tested after editing the tattoo images on the neck. Therefore, it is possible that the images were not realistic to participants, thus influencing their responses in an unanticipated direction.

Along with the issues of physical trait and tattoo image ineffectiveness come several other limitations. Although the case vignette was rated by participants as ambiguous, it is possible that aspects of the vignette influenced juror decisions in unanticipated ways. Past research suggests when jurors are provided with the instructions to only find the defendant guilty if the evidence proves the defendant is guilty beyond a reasonable doubt, the influence of prejudice over verdict decisions diminishes (Pfeifer & Ogloff, 1991; Rector et al., 1993). Thus, the "guilty beyond a reasonable doubt" instruction provided in the vignette may have diminished the effect of stereotype activation on decision making. Additionally, the crime of assault may not be as strongly associated with Black individuals as other crimes (i.e., drug crimes, burglary, gang activity; Gordon et al., 1988; Skorinko & Spellman, 2013) to have elicited the *race-crime congruency effect* in participants. It is also important to note that although I eliminated data of participants failing the attention check, it remains possible that the data was not as accurate or

valid as expected, as participants may not have put forth the required effort into answering the questions due to perceived low compensation. The homogeneity of the sample's demographic characteristics made it difficult to analyze effects based on participant race and gender. The ecological validity of the findings was also limited, as the design did not consider the effects of juror deliberation. However, findings of Bornstein (1999) suggest individual mock juror judgments are similar to those of jury deliberation judgments. Lastly, although the Internal and External Motivation to Respond Without Prejudice scales have been used for tattooed individuals in past research (Zestcott et al., 2018), the results suggest the use of these scales may only be appropriate for attitudes of Black individuals and not tattooed individuals.

Despite the limitations, there are several directions for future research to consider. First, in response to the limitations of the current research, future research should use case vignettes that involve crimes with stronger stereotypic associations and face image manipulations that control for as much between-image variability as possible. Additionally, future research should continue investigating Afrocentric facial features, how they interact with skin tone to influence race categorization processes, and subsequently how that impacts juror perceptions and decision making. If researchers are to continue investigating the unique effects of Afrocentric facial features, there is a need to determine the most effective way to measure or manipulate Afrocentric facial appearance independent from skin tone. Additionally, since tattoos did influence criminal stereotype activation, but past literature has found that tattoo content matters in how a person is perceived, future research should continue to investigate the effects of differing tattoo content on juror perceptions.

Considering the null and contradictory results of tattoo prejudice and internal and external motivation to respond without prejudice to tattooed individuals, future research could

benefit from developing new scales to measure these constructs as well as scales to measure these constructs for other marginalized social groups who are unfairly treated in the justice system (i.e., Muslims, Hispanics, lower classes). The strength of the relationship between stereotype activation and likelihood of a guilty verdict suggests it is paramount that scholars continue to investigate the physical traits and other factors that influence the activation of a criminal stereotype. Additionally, this study only investigated stereotype activation based on a violent crime. Future research should also investigate the effects of traits on stereotype activation for other types of crimes, such as white-collar or drug crimes. Several studies have found juror demographic characteristics are influential in decision making and attitudes (D. J. Devine et al., 2001; 2014; Mitchell et al., 2005; Zestcott et al., 2018), therefore future research should aim to collect a more diverse sample to further test the effects of participant characteristics on decisions and perceptions.

To conclude, this research prompts further consideration into the complexity of juror perceptions of physical appearance and the processes through which these perceptions affect decision making. Even as societal attitudes and norms continue to change towards equity and social justice, wide disparities still exist based on differences in physical appearance. Thus, it is crucial to continue examining why these disparities occur and what can be done to overcome them, especially within the system that was built to protect individuals from injustices.

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Pilot: Means of Face Image Afrocentricity and Trustworthiness

Image	Afrocentric Appearance	Trustworthiness
Study 1		
Dark/Trustworthy	5.88 (1.42)	4.88 (1.32)
Light/Trustworthy	5.50 (1.45)	4.74 (1.24)
White/Trustworthy	1.40 (0.90)	4.56 (1.43)
Dark/Neutral	5.72 (1.91)	4.30 (1.52)
Light/Neutral	3.74 (1.59)	3.87 (1.38)
White/Neutral	1.76 (1.65)	4.04 (1.32)
Dark/Untrustworthy	5.79 (1.85)	3.28 (1.28)
Light/Untrustworthy	3.49 (1.74)	3.49 (1.46)
White/Untrustworthy	1.44 (1.05)	2.58 (1.40)
Study 2		
Dark/Afrocentric	6.29 (1.39)	3.97 (1.10)
Dark/non-Afrocentric	5.10 (1.62)	3.78 (1.31)
Light/Afrocentric	4.67 (1.54)	4.18 (1.28)
Light/non-Afrocentric	2.78 (1.74)	4.16 (1.25)
White/Afrocentric	3.06 (1.83)	4.00 (1.27)
White/non-Afrocentric	1.76 (1.65)	4.04 (1.32)

Note. Standard deviation in parentheses.

Table 2

Correlations Among Covariates and Dependent Variables, Study 1

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. Verdict	---										
2. Verdict Confidence	.23**	---									
3. Sentence Type	N/A[a]	.14	---								
4. Sentence Length	N/A[a]	.16	.89**	---							
5. Criminal Appearance	.33**	-.03	.03	.09	---						
6. MRS	.24**	.02	-.01	.00	.25**	---					
7. MSATS	.20**	.02	.04	.08	.24**	.48**	---				
8. IMS_r	-.15**	.08	.02	.02	-.15**	-.56**	-.39**	---			
9. EMS_r	.13**	.01	.26	.06	.11*	.29**	.31**	-.07	---		
10. IMS_t	.12*	-.02	.15	.10	.06	.24**	.34**	-.03	.74**	---	
11. EMS_t	-.17**	.03	-.13	-.15	-.19**	-.39**	-.44**	.69**	-.03	.05	---

Note: * = $p < .05$; ** = $p < .01$; a = Only guilty responses were used for sentence recommendation analyses, so no correlation can be calculated

Table 3

Study 1 Verdict Parameter Estimates

Variable	*b*	*SE*	Wald χ^2	*p*	95% CI	
					LL	*UL*
Tattoo			1.21 (2)	.545		
Tattoo (X_1)	0.05	0.30	0.03 (1)	.869	-0.53	0.63
Tattoo (X_2)	0.29	0.29	0.99 (1)	.321	-0.28	0.85
Tattoo (X_3)	-0.24	0.27	0.75 (1)	.386	-0.77	0.30
Trustworthiness			2.12 (2)	.347		
Trustworthiness (X_1)	-0.30	0.29	1.10 (1)	.295	-0.86	0.26
Trustworthiness (X_2)	-0.41	0.29	1.98 (1)	.159	-0.99	0.16
Trustworthiness (X_3)	0.11	0.29	0.16 (1)	.691	-0.45	0.67
Skin Tone			1.50 (2)	.472		
Skin Tone (X_1)	0.29	0.31	0.86 (1)	.354	-0.32	0.89
Skin Tone (X_2)	-0.04	0.47	0.01 (1)	.925	-0.96	0.87
Skin Tone (X_3)	0.33	0.38	0.77 (1)	.38	-0.41	1.07
Afrocentric appearance	-0.03	0.09	0.14 (1)	.706	-0.20	0.14
MRS	0.28	0.15	3.71 (1)	.054	-0.01	0.56
MSATS	0.00	0.01	0.01 (1)	.943	-0.01	0.02
IMS_r	0.02	0.09	0.07 (1)	.797	-0.16	0.21
EMS_r	0.01	0.08	0.01 (1)	.938	-0.14	0.15
IMS_t	-0.11	0.09	1.51 (1)	.219	-0.29	0.07
EMS_t	0.08	0.08	0.98 (1)	.322	-0.08	0.23
Criminal Appearance	0.67	0.12	30.8 (1)	< .001***	0.43	0.91

Note. $N = 426$, Degrees of freedom in parentheses.
* $p < .05$,** $p < .01$,*** $p < .001$
X_1: Non-Aggressive vs. None; Neutral vs. Trustworthy; Light vs. Dark
X_2: Aggressive vs. None; Untrustworthy vs. Trustworthy; White vs. Dark
X_3: Non-Aggressive vs. Aggressive: Neutral vs. Untrustworthy; Light vs. White

Table 4

Study 1 Confidence in Not Guilty Verdict Parameter Estimates

Variable	*b*	*SE*	Wald χ^2	*p*	95% CI	
					LL	*UL*
Tattoo			0.83 (2)	.66		
Tattoo (X_1)	0.18	0.20	0.82 (1)	.365	-0.21	0.57
Tattoo (X_2)	0.11	0.20	0.29 (1)	.592	-0.28	0.50
Tattoo (X_3)	0.07	0.20	0.14 (1)	.714	-0.32	0.47
Trustworthiness			3.25 (2)	.197		
Trustworthiness (X_1)	-0.11	0.20	0.31 (1)	.579	-0.50	0.28
Trustworthiness (X_2)	0.25	0.22	1.40 (1)	.238	-0.17	0.68
Trustworthiness (X_3)	-0.37	0.20	3.20 (1)	.074	-0.76	0.04
Skin Tone			5.03 (2)	.081		
Skin Tone (X_1)	-0.06	0.22	0.07 (1)	.786	-0.48	0.36
Skin Tone (X_2)	0.55	0.34	2.69 (1)	.101	-0.11	1.21
Skin Tone (X_3)	-0.61	0.27	5.01 (1)	.025	-1.15	-0.08
Afrocentric appearance	0.19	0.06	9.32 (1)	.002**	0.07	0.31
MRS	0.00	0.11	0.00 (1)	.984	-0.21	0.21
MSATS	0.01	0.01	1.38 (1)	.24	-0.01	0.02
IMS_r	0.07	0.07	1.20 (1)	.274	-0.06	0.2111
EMS_r	0.01	0.06	0.06 (1)	.801	-0.10	0.13
IMS_t	0.02	0.06	0.09 (1)	.766	-0.11	0.14
EMS_t	-0.08	0.06	1.88 (1)	.17	-0.19	0.03
Criminal Appearance	-0.28	0.09	10.4 (1)	.001**	-0.44	-0.11

Note. $n = 290$. Degrees of freedom are presented in parentheses.
* $p < .05$,** $p < .01$,*** $p < .001$
X_1: Non-Aggressive vs. None; Neutral vs. Trustworthy; Light vs. Dark
X_2: Aggressive vs. None; Untrustworthy vs. Trustworthy; White vs. Dark
X_3: Non-Aggressive vs. Aggressive: Neutral vs. Untrustworthy; Light vs. White

Table 5

Study 1 Confidence in Guilty Verdict Parameter Estimates

Variable	*b*	*SE*	Wald χ^2	*p*	95% CI	
					LL	*UL*
Tattoo			6.22 (2)	.045*		
Tattoo (X_1)	-0.92	0.46	3.95 (1)	.047	-1.82	-0.01
Tattoo (X_2)	-1.36	0.47	8.44 (1)	.004	-2.27	-0.44
Tattoo (X_3)	-0.36	0.40	0.81 (1)	.367	-1.13	0.42
Trustworthiness			4.15 (2)	.125		
Trustworthiness (X_1)	-0.19	0.49	0.14 (1)	.704	-1.15	0.78
Trustworthiness (X_2)	-1.57	0.45	12.4 (1)	< .001	-2.44	-0.70
Trustworthiness (X_3)	0.28	0.40	0.48 (1)	.487	-0.51	1.06
Skin Tone			2.99 (2)	.224		
Skin Tone (X_1)	-1.87	0.51	13.5 (1)	< .001	-2.86	-0.87
Skin Tone (X_2)	-1.49	0.52	8.06 (1)	.005	-2.51	-0.46
Skin Tone (X_3)	0.75	0.38	3.90 (1)	.048	0.01	1.50
Afrocentric appearance	0.02	0.06	0.07 (1)	.789	-0.09	0.12
MRS	0.13	0.10	1.65 (1)	.199	-0.07	0.33
MSATS	-0.00	0.00	0.04 (1)	.834	-0.01	0.01
IMS_r	0.18	0.06	8.20 (1)	.004*	0.06	0.31
EMS_r	0.00	0.05	0.00 (1)	.986	-0.10	0.09
IMS_t	-0.01	0.06	0.03 (1)	.867	-0.13	0.11
EMS_t	-0.00	0.05	0.00 (1)	.974	-0.10	0.10
Criminal Appearance	-0.04	0.08	0.24 (1)	.626	-0.19	0.12
Tattoo x Trustworthiness			26.5 (4)	< .001***		
Tattoo x Skin Tone			16.7 (4)	.002**		
Skin Tone x Trustworthiness			9.64 (4)	.047*		

Note. $n = 136$
* $p < .05$,** $p < .01$,*** $p < .001$
X_1: Non-Aggressive vs. None; Neutral vs. Trustworthy; Light vs. Dark
X_2: Aggressive vs. None; Untrustworthy vs. Trustworthy; White vs. Dark
X_3: Non-Aggressive vs. Aggressive: Neutral vs. Untrustworthy; Light vs. White

Table 6

Study 1 Confidence in Guilty Verdict Trustworthiness x Tattoo Interaction Estimates

Image	*M*	*SE*
Trustworthy/None	5.63	0.27
Trustworthy/Non-Aggressive	5.71	0.21
Trustworthy/Aggressive	5.38	0.21
Neutral/None	5.89	0.26
Neutral/Non-Aggressive	5.63	0.24
Neutral/Aggressive	5.37	0.23
Untrustworthy/None	4.04	0.31
Untrustworthy/Non-Aggressive	5.77	0.23
Untrustworthy/Aggressive	5.91	0.19

Note. $n = 136$

Table 7

Study 1 Confidence in Guilty Verdict Skin Tone x Trustworthiness Interaction Estimates

Image	*M*	*SE*
Dark/Trustworthy	5.99	0.26
Light/Trustworthy	5.35	0.23
White/Trustworthy	5.37	0.26
Dark/Neutral	5.60	0.32
Light/Neutral	5.43	0.21
White/Neutral	5.86	0.26
Dark/Untrustworthy	5.68	0.23
Light/Untrustworthy	5.39	0.26
White/Untrustworthy	4.65	0.28

Note. $n = 136$

Table 8

Study 1 Confidence in Guilty Verdict Skin Tone x Tattoo Interaction Estimates

Image	*M*	*SE*
Dark/None	6.16	0.30
Light/None	4.57	0.33
White/None	4.83	0.29
Dark/Non-Aggressive	5.69	0.25
Light/Non-Aggressive	5.93	0.21
White/Non-Aggressive	5.49	0.28
Dark/Aggressive	5.43	0.26
Light/Aggressive	5.68	0.19
White/Aggressive	5.56	0.24

Note. $n = 136$

Table 9

Study 1 Sentence Type Parameter Estimates

Variable	*b*	*SE*	Wald χ^2	*p*	95% CI	
					LL	*UL*
Tattoo			4.04 (2)	.133		
Tattoo (X_1)	-4.42	1.70	6.72 (1)	.01*	-7.76	-1.08
Tattoo (X_2)	0.46	1.26	0.13 (1)	.717	-2.01	2.93
Tattoo (X_3)	-4.88	1.61	9.14 (1)	.003**	-8.04	-1.71
Trustworthiness			3.18 (2)	.204		
Trustworthiness (X_1)	0.92	0.56	2.71 (1)	.100	-0.18	2.01
Trustworthiness (X_2)	0.07	0.54	0.02 (1)	.893	-0.98	1.13
Trustworthiness (X_3)	0.84	0.57	2.18 (1)	.140	-0.28	1.97
Skin Tone			0.41 (2)	.814		
Skin Tone (X_1)	0.36	0.57	0.41 (1)	.521	-0.75	1.47
Skin Tone (X_2)	0.36	0.86	0.17 (1)	.680	-1.33	2.04
Skin Tone (X_3)	0.01	0.69	0.00 (1)	.991	-1.35	1.36
Afrocentric appearance	0.03	0.15	0.03 (1)	.857	-0.26	0.32
MRS	0.20	0.30	0.44 (1)	.506	-0.39	0.78
MSATS	-0.02	0.03	1.24 (1)	.265	-0.08	0.03
IMS_r	-0.20	0.18	1.16 (1)	.282	-0.56	0.16
EMS_r	0.11	0.14	0.61 (1)	.437	-0.16	0.37
IMS_t	0.42	0.19	5.04 (1)	.025*	0.05	0.78
EMS_t	-0.44	0.15	7.96 (1)	.005**	-0.74	-0.13
Criminal Appearance	-0.10	0.22	0.20 (1)	.652	-0.52	0.33
Tattoo x MSATS			10.5 (2)	.005**		
Tattoo (X_1) x MSATS	0.10	0.04	8.03 (1)	.005**	0.03	0.17
Tattoo (X_2) x MSATS	0.01	0.03	0.26 (1)	.613	-0.04	0.07
Tattoo (X_3) x MSATS	0.09	0.03	9.14 (1)	.002**	0.03	0.15

Note. $n = 130$; Degrees of freedom in parentheses.

* $p < .05$,** $p < .01$,*** $p < .001$

X_1: Non-Aggressive vs. None; Neutral vs. Trustworthy; Light vs. Dark

X_2: Aggressive vs. None; Untrustworthy vs. Trustworthy; White vs. Dark

X_3: Non-Aggressive vs. Aggressive: Neutral vs. Untrustworthy; Light vs. White

Table 10

Study 1 Prison Sentence Length Skin Tone x Trustworthiness Interaction

Image	*M*	*SE*
Dark/Trustworthy	7.08	0.86
Light/Trustworthy	4.99	0.73
White/Trustworthy	6.90	0.91
Dark/Neutral	4.12	1.10
Light/Neutral	6.69	0.76
White/Neutral	6.74	1.19
Dark/Untrustworthy	3.70	0.78
Light/Untrustworthy	5.49	0.92
White/Untrustworthy	6.96	0.87

Note. n = 84, Means measured in months

Table 11

Study 1 Prison Sentence Length Parameter Estimates

Variable	*b*	*SE*	Wald χ^2	*p*	95% CI	
					LL	*UL*
Tattoo			5.26 (2)	.072		
Tattoo (X_1)	-1.42	0.73	3.72 (1)	.054	-2.86	0.02
Tattoo (X_2)	-0.19	0.80	0.06 (1)	.815	-1.76	1.39
Tattoo (X_3)	-1.23	0.67	3.37 (1)	.067	-2.54	0.09
Trustworthiness			1.88 (2)	.391		
Trustworthiness (X_1)	-2.97	1.30	5.20 (1)	.023	-5.52	-0.42
Trustworthiness (X_2)	-3.38	1.05	10.3 (1)	.001	-5.45	-1.31
Trustworthiness (X_3)	-0.23	1.43	0.03 (1)	.875	-3.03	2.59
Skin Tone			3.10 (2)	.212		
Skin Tone (X_1)	-2.09	1.09	3.67 (1)	.055	-4.23	0.05
Skin Tone (X_2)	-0.19	1.37	0.02 (1)	.891	-2.87	2.50
Skin Tone (X_3)	-1.48	1.22	1.46 (1)	.227	-3.88	0.92
Afrocentric appearance	0.51	0.18	8.17 (1)	.004**	0.16	0.86
MRS	0.46	0.36	1.64 (1)	.201	-0.24	1.15
MSATS	-0.02	0.02	1.06 (1)	.303	-0.05	0.02
IMS_r	0.48	0.23	4.41 (1)	.036*	0.03	0.92
EMS_r	-0.14	0.17	0.60 (1)	.438	-0.48	0.21
IMS_t	-0.55	0.26	4.60 (1)	.032*	-1.05	-0.05
EMS_t	0.00	0.20	0.00 (1)	1.00	0.00	1.00
Criminal Appearance	0.13	0.28	0.20 (1)	.653	-0.43	0.68
Skin Tone x Trustworthiness			11.6 (4)	.021*		

Note. $n = 84$, degrees of freedom in parentheses.

* $p < .05$,** $p < .01$,*** $p < .001$

X_1: Non-Aggressive vs. None; Neutral vs. Trustworthy; Light vs. Dark

X_2: Aggressive vs. None; Untrustworthy vs. Trustworthy; White vs. Dark

X_3: Non-Aggressive vs. Aggressive: Neutral vs. Untrustworthy; Light vs. White

Table 12

Study 1 Probation Sentence Length Parameter Estimates

Variable	*b*	*SE*	Wald χ^2	*p*	95% CI	
					LL	*UL*
Tattoo			1.58 (2)	.454		
Tattoo (X_1)	-0.02	1.46	0.00 (1)	.989	-2.88	2.84
Tattoo (X_2)	1.16	1.23	0.89 (1)	.346	-1.25	3.57
Tattoo (X_3)	-1.18	1.14	1.07 (1)	.301	-3.41	1.05
Trustworthiness			1.78 (2)	.411		
Trustworthiness (X_1)	1.29	1.29	0.99 (1)	.319	-1.25	3.84
Trustworthiness (X_2)	-0.26	1.20	0.05 (1)	.829	-2.62	2.10
Trustworthiness (X_3)	1.55	1.21	1.65 (1)	.199	-0.82	3.92
Skin Tone			0.79 (2)	.676		
Skin Tone (X_1)	-0.05	1.28	0.00 (1)	.972	-2.56	2.47
Skin Tone (X_2)	1.70	2.35	0.52 (1)	.471	-2.92	6.30
Skin Tone (X_3)	-1.74	1.97	0.78 (1)	.376	-5.59	2.11
Afrocentric appearance	0.38	0.42	0.85 (1)	.357	-0.43	1.20
MRS	-0.57	0.72	0.63 (1)	.427	-1.98	0.84
MSATS	0.03	0.03	1.14 (1)	.286	-0.03	0.09
IMS_r	0.13	0.39	0.12 (1)	.735	-0.64	0.90
EMS_r	-0.24	0.36	0.44 (1)	.505	-0.93	0.46
IMS_t	0.15	0.35	0.18 (1)	.671	-0.54	0.84
EMS_t	0.07	0.34	0.04 (1)	.847	-0.60	0.74
Criminal Appearance	0.99	0.48	4.19 (1)	.041*	0.04	1.93

Note. $n = 36$

* $p < .05$,** $p < .01$,*** $p < .001$

X_1: Non-Aggressive vs. None; Neutral vs. Trustworthy; Light vs. Dark

X_2: Aggressive vs. None; Untrustworthy vs. Trustworthy; White vs. Dark

X_3: Non-Aggressive vs. Aggressive: Neutral vs. Untrustworthy; Light vs. White

Table 13

Study 1 Perceived Criminal Appearance Parameter Estimates

Variable	*b*	*SE*	Wald χ^2	*p*	95% CI	
					LL	*UL*
Tattoo			15.6 (2)	< .001***		
Tattoo (X_1)	0.44	0.12	14.1 (1)	< .001***	0.21	0.67
Tattoo (X_2)	0.35	0.12	9.09 (1)	.003**	0.12	0.58
Tattoo (X_3)	0.09	0.11	0.58 (1)	.447	-0.14	0.31
Trustworthiness			64.9 (2)	< .001***		
Trustworthiness (X_1)	0.28	0.12	5.79 (1)	.016*	0.05	0.50
Trustworthiness (X_2)	0.91	0.12	61.6 (1)	< .001***	0.68	1.13
Trustworthiness (X_3)	-0.63	0.11	30.1 (1)	< .001***	-0.86	-0.41
Skin Tone			37.7 (2)	< .001***		
Skin Tone (X_1)	0.07	0.29	0.05 (1)	.816	-0.50	0.64
Skin Tone (X_2)	1.84	0.33	30.5 (1)	< .001***	1.18	2.49
Skin Tone (X_3)	-1.77	0.32	30.1 (1)	< .001***	-2.40	-1.14
Afrocentric appearance	0.09	0.04	7.04 (1)	.008**	0.02	0.16
MRS	0.37	0.08	7.10 (1)	.008**	0.21	0.53
MSATS	0.01	0.00	4.72 (1)	.030*	0.00	0.01
IMS_r	0.00	0.04	0.00 (1)	.999	-0.08	0.08
EMS_r	0.02	0.03	0.22 (1)	.638	-0.05	0.08
IMS_t	-0.04	0.04	1.23 (1)	.267	-0.11	0.03
EMS_t	-0.02	0.03	0.21 (1)	.644	0.08	0.05
Skin Tone x MRS			35.0 (2)	< .001***		
Skin Tone (X_1) x MRS	-0.01	0.11	0.01 (1)	.911	-0.24	0.21
Skin Tone (X_2) x MRS	-0.60	0.11	29.5 (1)	< .001***	-0.81	-0.38
Skin Tone (X_3) x MRS	0.59	0.12	23.1 (1)	< .001***	0.35	0.82

Note. $N = 426$; Degrees of freedom in parentheses.

X_1: Non-Aggressive vs. None; Neutral vs. Trustworthy; Light vs. Dark

X_2: Aggressive vs. None; Untrustworthy vs. Trustworthy; White vs. Dark

X_3: Non-Aggressive vs. Aggressive: Neutral vs. Untrustworthy; Light vs. White

Table 14

Study 1 Criminal Appearance Model Summary

Model	R^2	$SE_{estimate}$	R^2 change	F change	p
1	.091	1.10	.091	6.95	< .001***
2	.091	1.10	.000	0.11	.737
3	.187	1.04	.096	49.4	< .001***
4	.202	1.03	.015	8.06	.005**

Table 15

Study 1 Criminal Appearance Indirect Mediation Model (Tattoo)

Model	Path	*b*	*SE*	*t/z*	*p*	95% CI	
						LL	*UL*
X_1 → M	a_1	0.45	0.12	3.65	< .001***	0.21	0.70
X_2 → M	a_2	0.35	0.12	2.86	.005	0.11	0.59
X_3 → M	a_3	0.10	0.12	0.82	.412	-0.14	0.34
M → Verdict	b_1	0.66	0.12	5.50[a]	< .001***	0.42	0.90
X_1 → Verdict	c_1	0.07	0.30	0.23[a]	.819	-0.51	0.65
X_2 → Verdict	c_2	0.31	0.29	1.10[a]	.271	-0.25	0.87
X_3 → Verdict	c_3	-0.25	0.27	-0.91[a]	.362	-0.78	0.28
X_1 → M → Verdict	c'_1	0.30	0.11			0.12	0.54
X_2 → M → Verdict	c'_2	0.23	0.10			0.07	0.45
X_3 → M → Verdict	c'_3	0.07	0.09			-0.09	0.25

Note. N = 426; 5,000 bootstrap samples. Skin tone, Trustworthiness, MRS, MSATS, IMS_r, EMS_r, IMS_t, EMS_t, Afrocentric appearance were included as covariates.

[a]z statistic.

X_1: Non-Aggressive vs. None; X_2: Aggressive vs. None; X_3: Non-Aggressive vs. Aggressive

Table 16

Study 1 Criminal Appearance Indirect Mediation Model (Trustworthiness)

Model	Path	*b*	*SE*	*t/z*	*p*	95% CI	
						LL	*UL*
X_1 → M	a_1	0.30	0.12	2.45	.014*	0.06	0.54
X_2 → M	a_2	0.90	0.12	7.26	< .001***	0.65	1.14
X_3 → M	a_3	-0.59	0.12	-4.85	< .001***	-0.84	-0.35
M → Verdict	b_1	0.65	0.12	5.48[a]	< .001***	0.42	0.89
X_1 → Verdict	c_1	-0.28	0.29	-1.00[a]	.319	-0.84	0.27
X_2 → Verdict	c_2	-0.41	0.29	-1.39[a]	.163	-0.99	0.17
X_3 → Verdict	c_3	0.13	0.28	0.44[a]	.661	-0.43	0.68
X_1 → M → Verdict	c'_1	0.20	0.09			0.04	0.39
X_2 → M → Verdict	c'_2	0.58	0.14			0.36	0.92
X_3 → M → Verdict	c'_3	-0.39	0.12			-0.67	-0.20

Note. N = 426; 5,000 bootstrap samples. Degrees of freedom in parentheses. Skin tone, Tattoo, MRS, MSATS, IMS_r, EMS_r, IMS_t, EMS_t, Afrocentric appearance were included as covariates.
[a]z statistic.
X_1: Neutral vs. Trustworthy; X_2: Untrustworthy vs. Trustworthy; X_3: Neutral vs. Untrustworthy

Table 17

Study 1 Criminal Appearance Moderated Mediation Model (Skin Tone x MRS)

Model	Path	*b*	*SE*	*t/z*	*p*	95% CI	
						LL	*UL*
X_1 → M	a_1	0.03	0.45	0.10	.921	-0.56	0.62
X_2 → M	a_2	1.83	0.34	5.35	< .001***	1.16	2.50
X_3 → M	a_3	-1.80	0.33	-5.44	< .001***	-2.45	-1.15
X_1 x MRS → M	int_1	0.01	0.12	0.04	.969	-0.23	0.24
X_2 x MRS → M	int_2	-0.59	0.11	-5.20	< .001***	-0.81	-0.37
X_3 x MRS → M	int_3	0.59	0.12	4.75	< .001***	0.35	0.84
M → Verdict	b_1	0.69	0.12	5.83[a]	< .001***	0.46	0.92
X_1 → Verdict	c_1	0.26	0.31	0.86[a]	.390	-0.34	0.87
X_2 → Verdict	c_2	-0.06	0.47	-0.13[a]	.893	-0.98	0.85
X_3 → Verdict	c_3	0.33	0.37	0.87[a]	.383	-0.41	1.06
Low MRS							
X_1 → M → Verdict	c'_1	0.02	0.14			-0.23	0.31
X_2 → M → Verdict	c'_2	0.79	0.24			0.41	1.33
X_3 → M → Verdict	c'_3	-0.77	0.20			-1.22	-0.45
Medium MRS							
X_1 → M → Verdict	c'_1	0.03	0.10			-0.17	0.23
X_2 → M → Verdict	c'_2	0.32	0.16			0.05	0.68
X_3 → M → Verdict	c'_3	-0.29	0.13			-0.58	-0.09
High MRS							
X_1 → M → Verdict	c'_1	0.03	0.14			-0.26	0.32
X_2 → M → Verdict	c'_2	-0.16	0.17			-0.50	0.18
X_3 → M → Verdict	c'_3	0.19	0.15			-0.10	0.49

Note. N = 426; 5,000 bootstrap samples. Degrees of freedom in parentheses. Trustworthiness, Tattoo, MSATS, IMS_r, EMS_r, IMS_t, EMS_t, Afrocentric appearance were included as covariates.
[a]z statistic. Low MRS = 1.17, Medium MRS = 2.33, High MRS = 3.50.
X_1: Light vs. Dark; X_2: White vs. Dark; X_3: Light – White
Index X_1 = 0.00 (0.08) [-0.17, 0.17], Index X_2 = -0.41 (0.11) [-0.66, -0.23], Index X_3 = 0.41 (0.10) [0.24, 0.65]

Table 18

Correlations Among Covariates and Dependent Variables, Study 2

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. Verdict	---										
2. Verdict Confidence	.13*	---									
3. Sentence Type	.17**	-.01	---								
4. Sentence Length	.20**	.03	.86**	---							
5. Criminal Appearance	.29**	-.01	.03	.05	---						
6. MRS	.22**	.14*	.01	.11	.29**	---					
7. MSATS	.22**	.11*	.04	.09	.30**	.63**	---				
8. IMS_r	-.13**	-.04	.00	-.06	-.22**	-.55**	-.47**	---			
9. EMS_r	.19**	.06	.06	.09	.29**	.51**	.53**	-.29**	---		
10. IMS_t	.18**	.14**	.10	.13*	.20**	.50**	.58**	-.25**	.75**	---	
11. EMS_t	-.06	.01	-.06	-.08	-.21**	-.30**	-.49**	.64**	-.23**	-.16**	---

Note: * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$

Table 19

Study 2 Verdict Parameter Estimates

Variable	*b*	*SE*	Wald χ^2	*p*	95% CI	
					LL	*UL*
Tattoo			0.09 (2)	.954		
Tattoo (X_1)	-3.98	1.46	7.40 (1)	.007	-6.85	-1.11
Tattoo (X_2)	-0.72	1.37	0.28 (1)	.598	-3.40	1.96
Tattoo (X_3)	-3.26	1.52	4.61 (1)	.032	-6.24	-0.29
Afrocentric Features	-0.11	0.29	0.14 (1)	.708	-0.69	0.47
Skin Tone			1.89 (2)	.390		
Skin Tone (X_1)	-0.05	0.34	0.02 (1)	.887	-0.72	0.63
Skin Tone (X_2)	-0.45	0.36	1.60 (1)	.206	-1.16	0.25
Skin Tone (X_3)	0.41	0.36	1.29 (1)	.257	-0.30	1.11
MRS	0.15	0.21	0.49 (1)	.484	-0.27	0.57
MSATS	0.01	0.01	1.26 (1)	.261	-0.01	0.03
IMS_r	-0.06	0.12	0.24 (1)	.622	-0.30	0.18
EMS_r	-0.01	0.09	0.01 (1)	.946	-0.19	0.18
IMS_t	-0.07	0.15	2.05 (1)	.152	-0.37	0.23
EMS_t	0.09	0.10	0.84 (1)	.359	-0.10	0.28
Criminal Appearance	0.62	0.16	14.2 (1)	< .001***	0.30	0.94
Tattoo x IMS_t			8.79 (2)	.012*		
Tattoo (X_1) x IMS_t	0.59	0.21	8.22 (1)	.004	0.19	1.00
Tattoo (X_2) x IMS_t	0.12	0.20	0.36 (1)	.547	-0.27	0.51
Tattoo (X_3) x IMS_t	0.47	0.21	4.91 (1)	.027	0.06	0.89

Note. $N = 324$. Degrees of freedom in parentheses.

X_1: Non-Aggressive vs. None; Light vs. Dark

X_2: Aggressive vs. None; White vs. Dark

X_3: Non-Aggressive vs. Aggressive: Light vs. White

Table 20

Study 2 Confidence in Not Guilty Verdict Parameter Estimates

Variable	*b*	*SE*	Wald χ^2	*p*	95% CI	
					LL	*UL*
Tattoo			0.47 (2)	.789		
Tattoo (X_1)	-0.12	0.22	0.31 (1)	.578	-0.54	0.30
Tattoo (X_2)	0.02	0.20	0.01 (1)	.939	-0.38	0.41
Tattoo (X_3)	-0.14	0.21	0.42 (1)	.519	-0.55	0.28
Afrocentric Features	-0.01	0.17	0.01 (1)	.933	-0.35	0.32
Skin Tone			1.13 (2)	.570		
Skin Tone (X_1)	0.19	0.21	0.88 (1)	.349	-0.21	0.60
Skin Tone (X_2)	0.19	0.21	0.84 (1)	.361	-0.22	0.59
Skin Tone (X_3)	0.01	0.20	0.00 (1)	.976	-0.39	0.40
MRS	0.10	0.12	0.70 (1)	.404	-0.14	0.34
MSATS	0.00	0.01	0.19 (1)	.662	-0.01	0.02
IMS_r	-0.03	0.08	0.18 (1)	.671	-0.18	0.12
EMS_r	-0.10	0.06	2.79 (1)	.095	-0.21	0.02
IMS_t	0.04	0.06	0.36 (1)	.551	-0.09	0.16
EMS_t	0.09	0.06	2.16 (1)	.141	-0.03	0.20
Criminal Appearance	-0.09	0.09	0.90 (1)	.344	-0.26	0.09

Note. $n = 24$

X_1: Non-Aggressive vs. None; Light vs. Dark

X_2: Aggressive vs. None; White vs. Dark

X_3: Non-Aggressive vs. Aggressive: Light vs. White

Table 21

Study 2 Confidence in Guilty Verdict Parameter Estimates

Variable	*b*	*SE*	Wald χ^2	*p*	95% CI	
					LL	*UL*
Tattoo			2.27 (2)	.322		
Tattoo (X_1)	0.26	0.30	0.72 (1)	.396	-0.34	0.86
Tattoo (X_2)	-0.12	0.29	0.17 (1)	.682	-0.69	0.45
Tattoo (X_3)	0.38	0.25	2.24 (1)	.135	-0.12	0.87
Afrocentric Features	0.33	0.22	2.26 (1)	.133	-0.10	0.77
Skin Tone			0.01 (2)	.995		
Skin Tone (X_1)	-0.02	0.26	0.01 (1)	.935	-0.53	0.48
Skin Tone (X_2)	0.00	0.27	0.00 (1)	.988	-0.53	0.54
Skin Tone (X_3)	-0.03	0.28	0.01 (1)	.930	-0.58	0.53
MRS	0.16	0.17	0.98 (1)	.323	-0.16	0.49
MSATS	0.00	0.01	0.00 (1)	.970	-0.01	0.02
IMS_r	0.05	0.10	0.26 (1)	.609	-0.15	0.26
EMS_r	0.00	0.09	0.00 (1)	.979	-0.16	0.17
IMS_t	0.06	0.10	0.31 (1)	.576	-0.14	0.25
EMS_t	0.08	0.09	0.91 (1)	.339	-0.09	0.25
Criminal Appearance	0.15	0.13	1.46 (1)	.227	-0.10	0.40

Note. $n = 81$

X_1: Non-Aggressive vs. None; Light vs. Dark

X_2: Aggressive vs. None; White vs. Dark

X_3: Non-Aggressive vs. Aggressive: Light vs. White

Table 22

Study 2 Sentence Type Parameter Estimates

Variable	*b*	*SE*	Wald χ^2	*p*	95% CI	
					LL	*UL*
Tattoo			0.59 (2)	.745		
Tattoo (X_1)	-0.24	0.32	0.56 (1)	.456	-0.86	0.38
Tattoo (X_2)	-0.16	0.30	0.29 (1)	.592	-0.76	0.43
Tattoo (X_3)	-0.07	0.31	0.06 (1)	.815	-0.68	0.53
Afrocentric Features	0.38	0.25	2.27 (1)	.132	-0.12	0.88
Skin Tone			0.84 (2)	.658		
Skin Tone (X_1)	0.13	0.30	0.19 (1)	.666	-0.46	0.73
Skin Tone (X_2)	-0.15	0.31	0.22 (1)	.636	-0.76	0.46
Skin Tone (X_3)	0.28	0.30	0.84 (1)	.360	-0.32	0.88
MRS	-0.03	0.18	0.02 (1)	.878	-0.39	0.33
MSATS	-0.00	0.01	0.17 (1)	.680	-0.02	0.01
IMS_r	0.11	0.11	1.04 (1)	.309	-0.10	0.33
EMS_r	-0.06	0.09	0.53 (1)	.469	-0.23	0.11
IMS_t	-0.14	0.10	2.02 (1)	.155	-0.33	0.05
EMS_t	0.17	0.09	3.73 (1)	.054	-0.00	0.34
Criminal Appearance	0.13	0.14	0.88 (1)	.350	-0.14	0.39

Note. $N = 324$

X_1: Non-Aggressive vs. None; Light vs. Dark

X_2: Aggressive vs. None; White vs. Dark

X_3: Non-Aggressive vs. Aggressive: Light vs. White

Table 23

Study 2 Probation Sentence Length Parameter Estimates

Variable	*b*	*SE*	Wald χ^2	*p*	95% CI	
					LL	*UL*
Tattoo			0.95 (2)	.622		
Tattoo (X_1)	0.05	0.61	0.01 (1)	.937	-1.15	1.25
Tattoo (X_2)	-0.47	0.60	0.62 (1)	.430	-1.65	0.70
Tattoo (X_3)	0.52	0.60	0.77 (1)	.381	-0.65	1.69
Afrocentric Features	-0.69	0.50	1.90 (1)	.168	-1.67	0.29
Skin Tone			0.57 (2)	.751		
Skin Tone (X_1)	0.19	0.60	0.10 (1)	.752	-0.99	1.37
Skin Tone (X_2)	-0.25	0.58	0.19 (1)	.665	-1.40	0.89
Skin Tone (X_3)	0.44	0.59	0.57 (1)	.452	-0.71	1.60
MRS	0.88	0.35	6.28 (1)	.012*	0.19	1.56
MSATS	-0.00	0.02	0.04 (1)	.840	-0.04	0.03
IMS_r	-0.22	0.22	0.97 (1)	.325	-0.65	0.22
EMS_r	-0.15	0.17	0.80 (1)	.372	-0.47	0.18
IMS_t	0.12	0.20	0.34 (1)	.559	-0.27	0.50
EMS_t	0.10	0.17	0.32 (1)	.570	-0.24	0.44
Criminal Appearance	-0.06	0.26	0.05 (1)	.817	-0.56	0.44

Note. $n = 225$

X_1: Non-Aggressive vs. None; Light vs. Dark

X_2: Aggressive vs. None; White vs. Dark

X_3: Non-Aggressive vs. Aggressive: Light vs. White

Table 24

Study 2 Prison Sentence Length Parameter Estimates

Variable	*b*	*SE*	Wald χ^2	*p*	95% CI	
					LL	*UL*
Tattoo			1.72 (2)	.422		
Tattoo (X_1)	-0.23	0.60	0.15 (1)	.698	-1.41	0.94
Tattoo (X_2)	0.51	0.58	0.77 (1)	.379	-0.63	1.66
Tattoo (X_3)	-0.75	0.58	1.63 (1)	.202	-1.89	0.40
Afrocentric Features	0.46	0.47	0.95 (1)	.330	-0.47	1.39
Skin Tone			3.08 (2)	.215		
Skin Tone (X_1)	-0.96	0.55	3.08 (1)	.079	-2.03	0.11
Skin Tone (X_2)	-0.52	0.60	0.77 (1)	.381	-1.69	0.65
Skin Tone (X_3)	-0.44	0.58	0.57 (1)	.449	-1.57	0.70
MRS	0.08	0.35	0.05 (1)	.817	-0.61	0.77
MSATS	0.01	0.02	0.11 (1)	.741	-0.03	0.04
IMS_r	0.01	0.20	0.00 (1)	.980	-0.39	0.40
EMS_r	0.15	0.16	0.94 (1)	.332	-0.16	0.47
IMS_t	0.06	0.17	0.14 (1)	.710	-0.28	0.40
EMS_t	-0.05	0.16	0.09 (1)	.766	-0.37	0.27
Criminal Appearance	-0.22	0.70	0.71 (1)	.398	-0.73	0.29

Note. $n = 99$

X_1: Non-Aggressive vs. None; Light vs. Dark

X_2: Aggressive vs. None; White vs. Dark

X_3: Non-Aggressive vs. Aggressive: Light vs. White

Table 25

Study 2 Perceived Criminal Appearance Parameter Estimates

Variable	*b*	*SE*	Wald χ^2	*p*	95% CI	
					LL	*UL*
Tattoo			23.5 (2)	< .001***		
Tattoo (X_1)	0.60	0.13	22.1 (1)	< .001***	0.35	0.85
Tattoo (X_2)	0.42	0.12	11.2 (1)	.001**	0.17	0.66
Tattoo (X_3)	0.18	0.13	2.04 (1)	.153	-0.07	0.43
Afrocentric Features	-0.40	0.10	15.1 (1)	< .001***	-0.60	-0.20
Skin Tone			6.25 (2)	.044		
Skin Tone (X_1)	-0.31	0.13	6.10 (1)	.013*	-0.56	-0.06
Skin Tone (X_2)	-0.20	0.13	2.46 (1)	.117	-0.45	0.05
Skin Tone (X_3)	-0.11	0.13	0.81 (1)	.368	-0.36	0.13
MRS	0.13	0.08	2.87 (1)	.090	-0.02	0.28
MSATS	0.00	0.00	0.47 (1)	.496	-0.01	0.01
IMS_r	-0.01	0.05	0.02 (1)	.899	-0.10	0.08
EMS_r	0.11	0.03	9.42 (1)	.002**	0.04	0.17
IMS_t	-0.06	0.04	2.02 (1)	.155	-0.14	0.02
EMS_t	-0.05	0.04	1.94 (1)	.164	-0.12	0.02

Note. $N = 324$.

X_1: Non-Aggressive vs. None; Light vs. Dark

X_2: Aggressive vs. None; White vs. Dark

X_3: Non-Aggressive vs. Aggressive: Light vs. White

Table 26

Study 2 Criminal Appearance Model Summary

Model	R^2	$SE_{estimate}$	R^2 change	*F* change	*p*
1	.136	0.99	.136	8.30	< .001***
2	.142	0.98	.006	2.28	.132
3	.167	0.97	.025	9.39	.002**
4	.202	0.95	.035	13.7	< .001***

Table 27

Study 2 Criminal Appearance Indirect Mediation Model (Tattoo)

Model	Path	*b*	*SE*	*t/z*	*p*	95% CI	
						LL	*UL*
X_1 → M	a_1	0.60	0.13	4.60	< .001***	0.34	0.85
X_2 → M	a_2	0.42	0.13	3.27	.001**	0.17	0.67
X_3 → M	a_3	0.18	0.13	1.39	.165	-0.07	0.43
M → Verdict	b_1	0.60	0.16	3.74[a]	< .001***	0.29	0.91
X_1 → Verdict	c_1	0.06	0.36	0.18[a]	.861	-0.64	0.77
X_2 → Verdict	c_2	0.06	0.36	0.18[a]	.859	-0.64	0.76
X_3 → Verdict	c_3	-0.00	0.33	-0.00[a]	.998	-0.65	0.64
X_1 → M → Verdict	c'_1	0.36	0.12			0.17	0.64
X_2 → M → Verdict	c'_2	0.25	0.10			0.09	0.49
X_3 → M → Verdict	c'_3	0.11	0.09			-0.06	0.30

Note. $N = 324$

[a]z statistic

X_1: Non-Aggressive vs. None; X_2: Aggressive vs. None; White vs. Dark; X_3: Non-Aggressive vs. Aggressive

Table 28

Study 2 Criminal Appearance Indirect Mediation Model (Skin Tone)

Model	Path	*b*	*SE*	*t/z*	*p*	95% CI	
						LL	*UL*
X_1 → M	a_1	-0.11	0.13	-0.85	.397	-0.37	0.15
X_2 → M	a_2	0.20	0.13	1.55	.123	-0.06	0.46
X_3 → M	a_3	-0.31	0.13	-2.40	.017*	-0.57	-0.06
M → Verdict	b_1	0.61	0.16	3.85[a]	< .001***	0.30	0.92
X_1 → Verdict	c_1	0.43	0.35	1.21[a]	.228	-0.27	1.12
X_2 → Verdict	c_2	0.54	0.35	1.54[a]	.124	-0.15	1.23
X_3 → Verdict	c_3	-0.11	0.33	0.34[a]	.736	-0.77	0.54
X_1 → M → Verdict	c'_1	-0.07	0.09			-0.25	0.10
X_2 → M → Verdict	c'_2	0.12	0.10			-0.03	0.35
X_3 → M → Verdict	c'_3	-0.19	0.10			-0.42	-0.04

Note. [a]z statistic

X_1: Light vs. Dark; X_2: White vs. Dark; X_3: Light vs. White

Table 29

Study 2 Criminal Appearance Indirect Mediation Model (Afrocentric Features)

Model	Path	*b*	*SE*	*t/z*	*p*	95% CI	
						LL	*UL*
X_1 → M	a_1	-0.39	0.11	-3.70	< .001***	-0.60	-0.18
M → Verdict	b_1	0.60	0.16	3.82[a]	< .001***	0.29	0.91
X_1 → Verdict	c_1	-0.06	0.28	-0.20[a]	.841	-0.61	0.50
X_1 → M → Verdict	c'_1	-0.24	0.09			-0.44	-0.09

Note. N = 324

X_1 = more Afrocentric – less Afrocentric

[a]z statistic

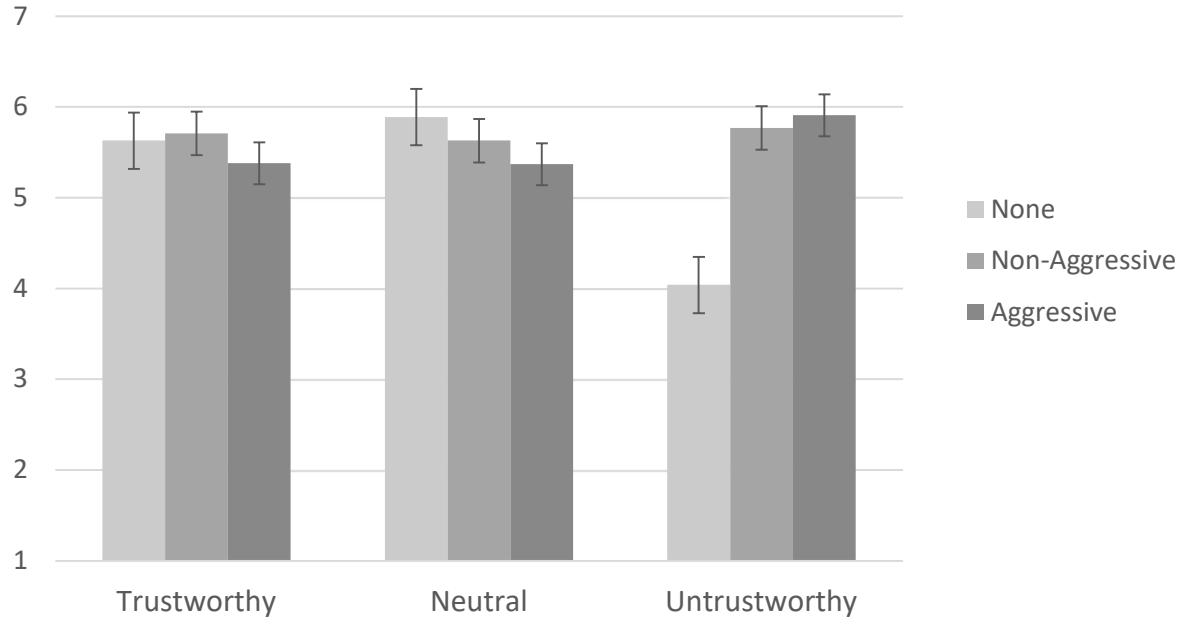


Figure 1. Defendant tattoo x trustworthiness interaction on guilty verdict confidence. Error bars represent standard error.

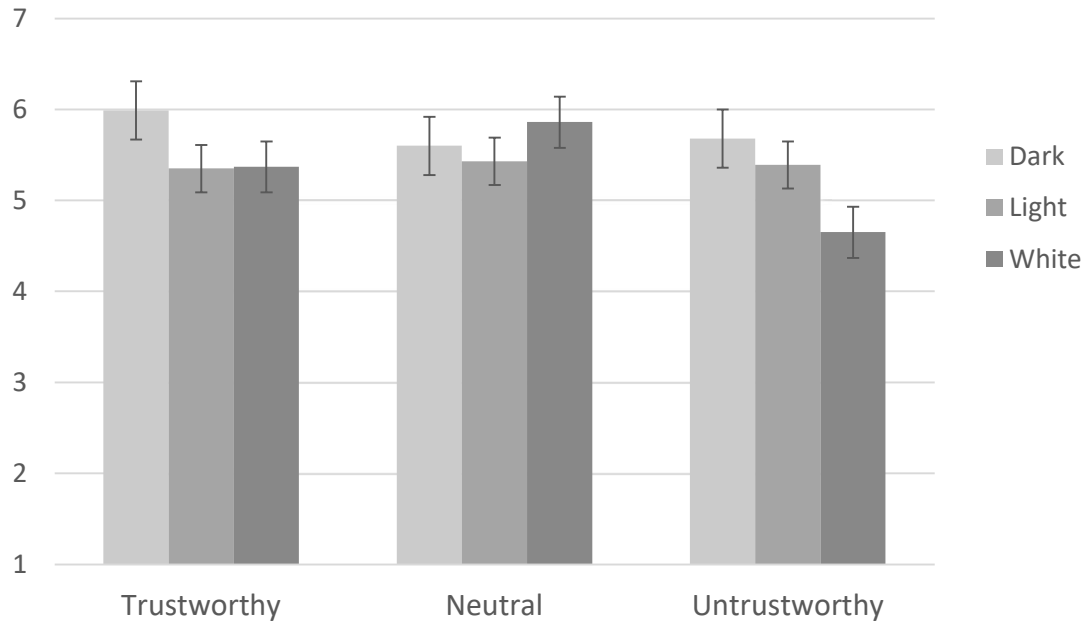


Figure 2. Defendant skin tone x trustworthiness interaction on guilty verdict confidence. Error bars represent standard error.

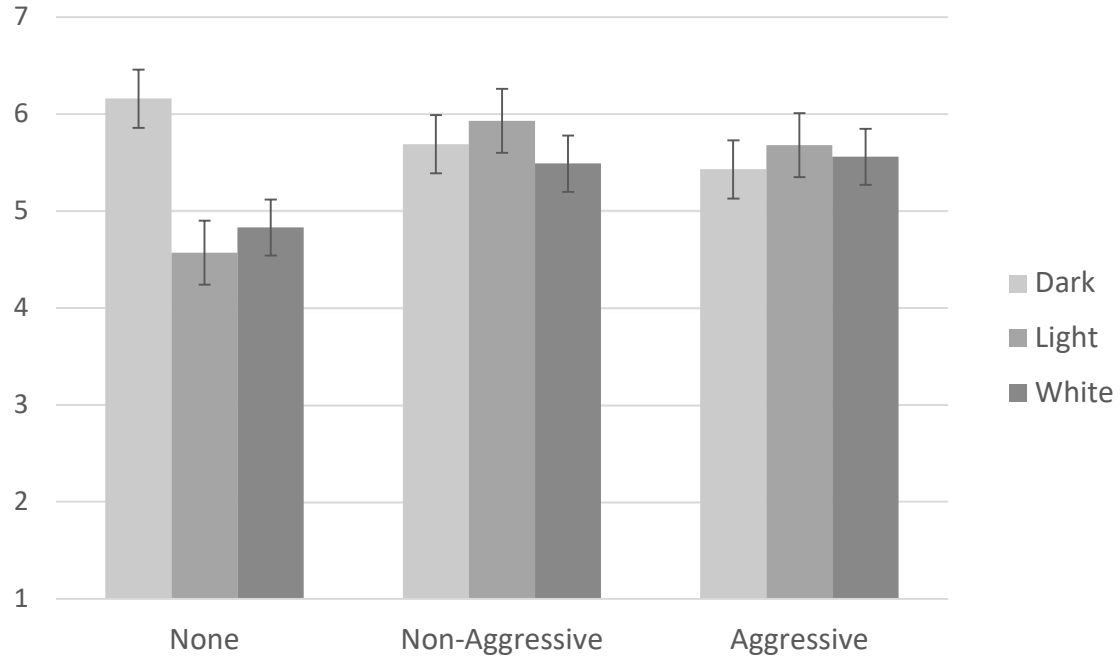


Figure 3. Defendant skin tone x tattoo interaction on guilty verdict confidence.

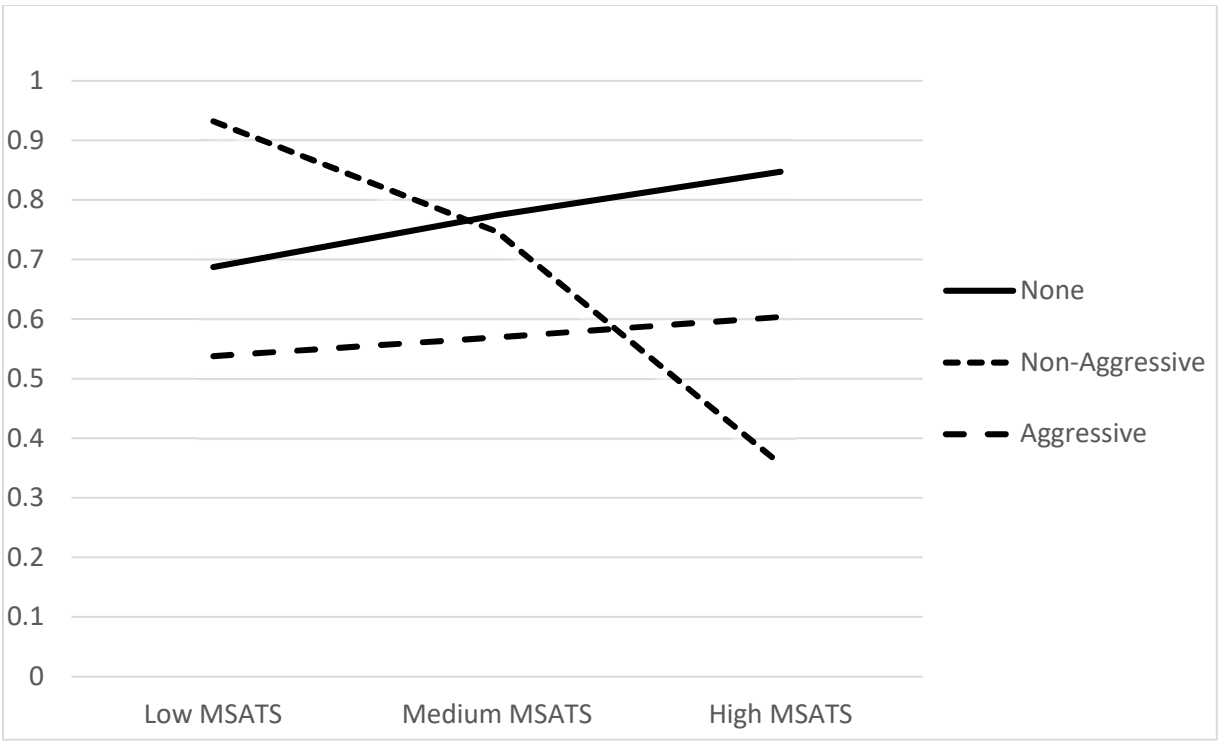


Figure 4. Defendant tattoo x MSATS interaction on sentence type.

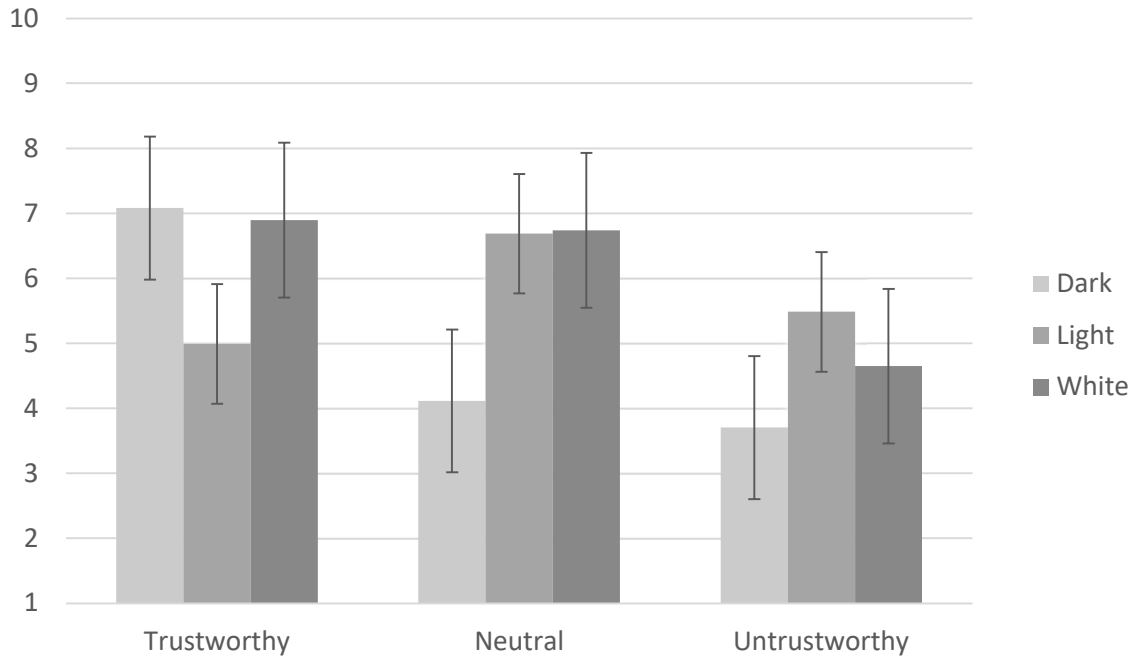


Figure 5. Skin tone x trustworthiness interaction on prison sentence length. Errors bars represent standard error.

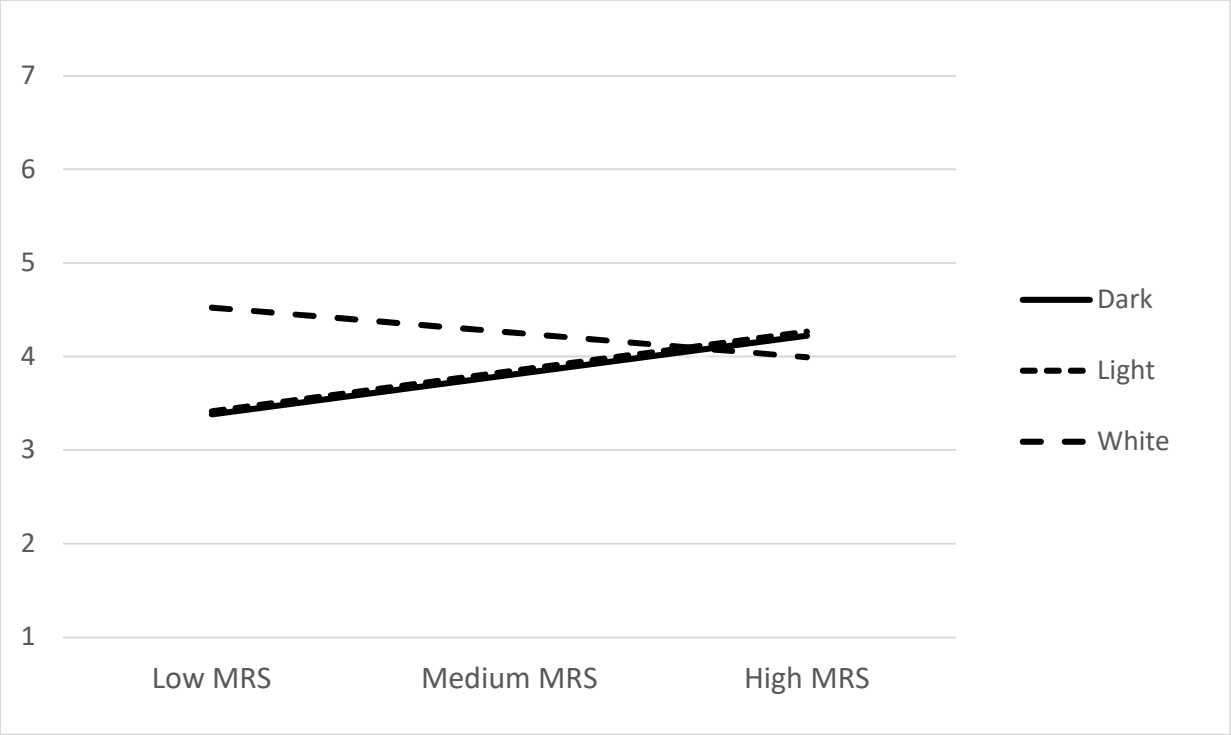


Figure 6. Defendant skin tone x MRS interaction on criminal appearance ratings.

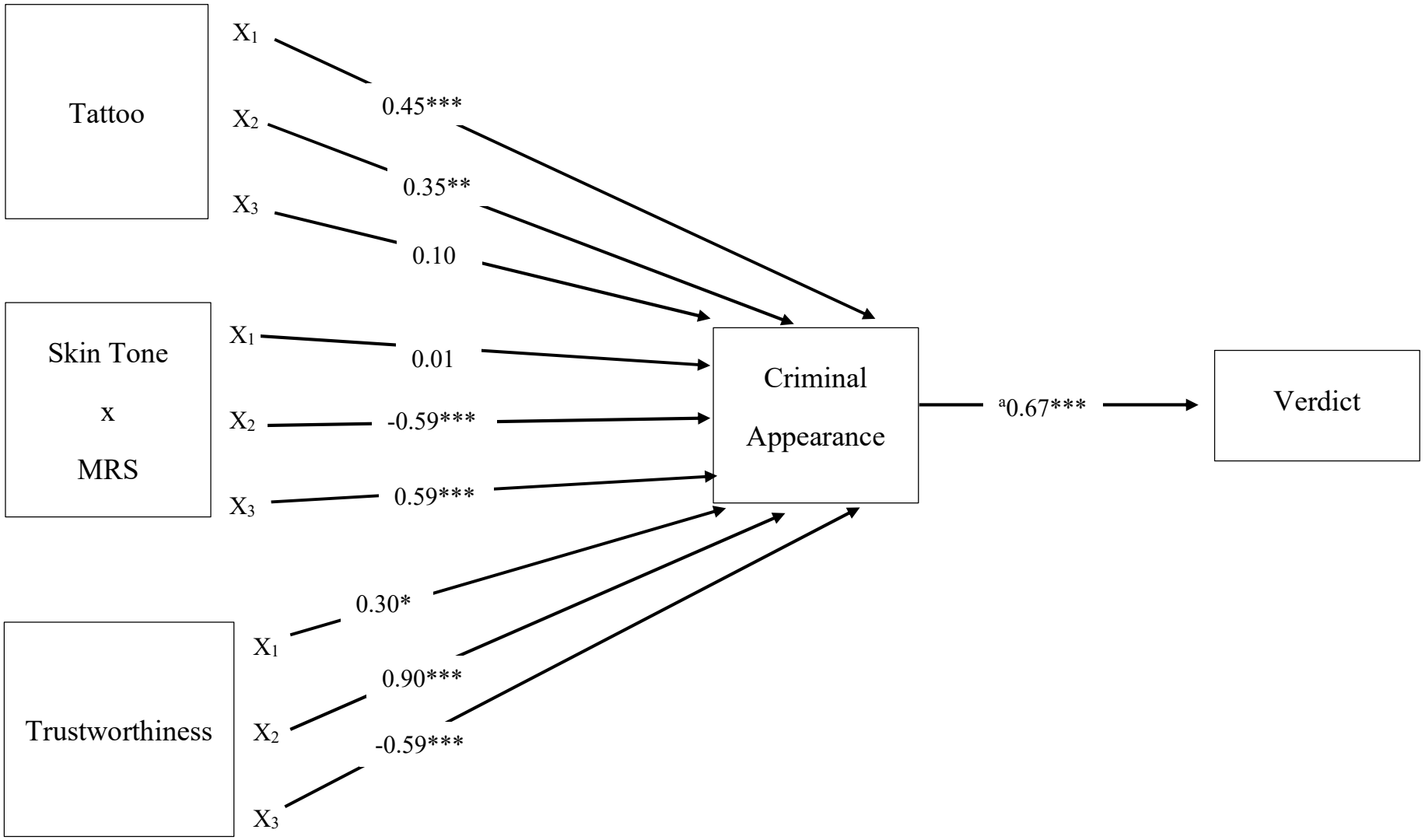


Figure 7. Study 1 Criminal Appearance Indirect Mediation Model.
[a]beta from dichotomous verdict analysis.
*p < .05 **p < .01 ***p < .001

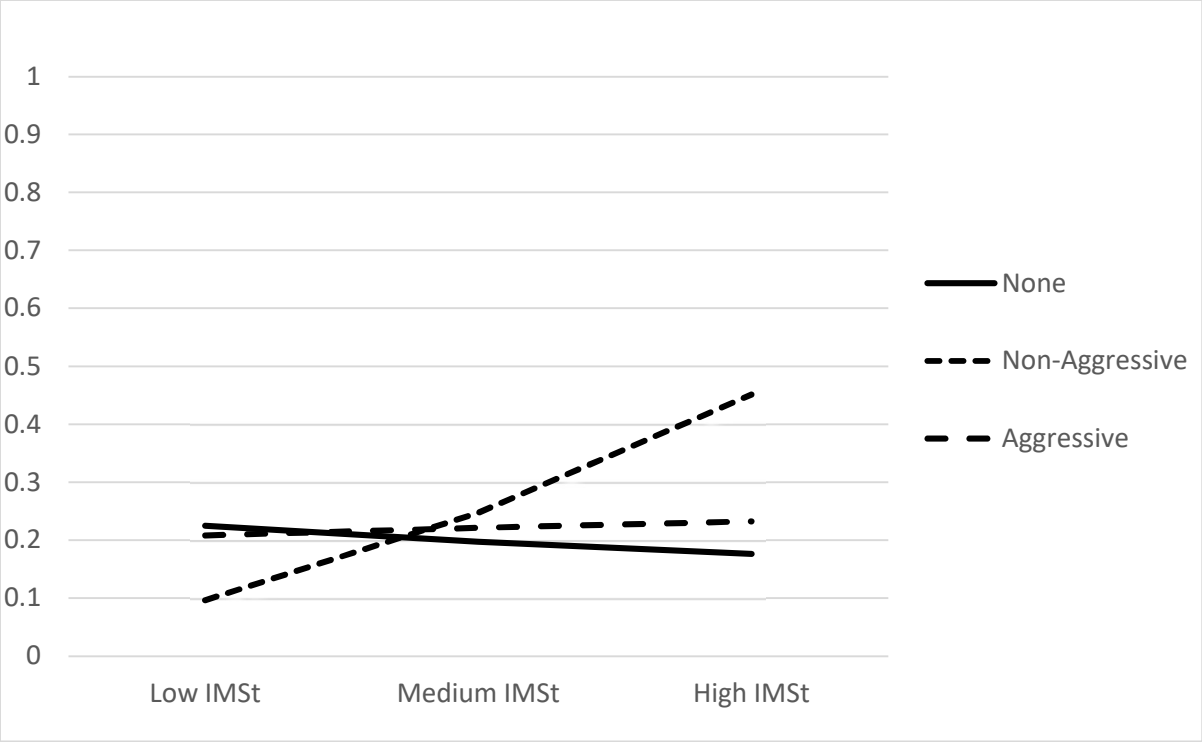


Figure 8. Defendant tattoo x IMS_t interaction on verdict.

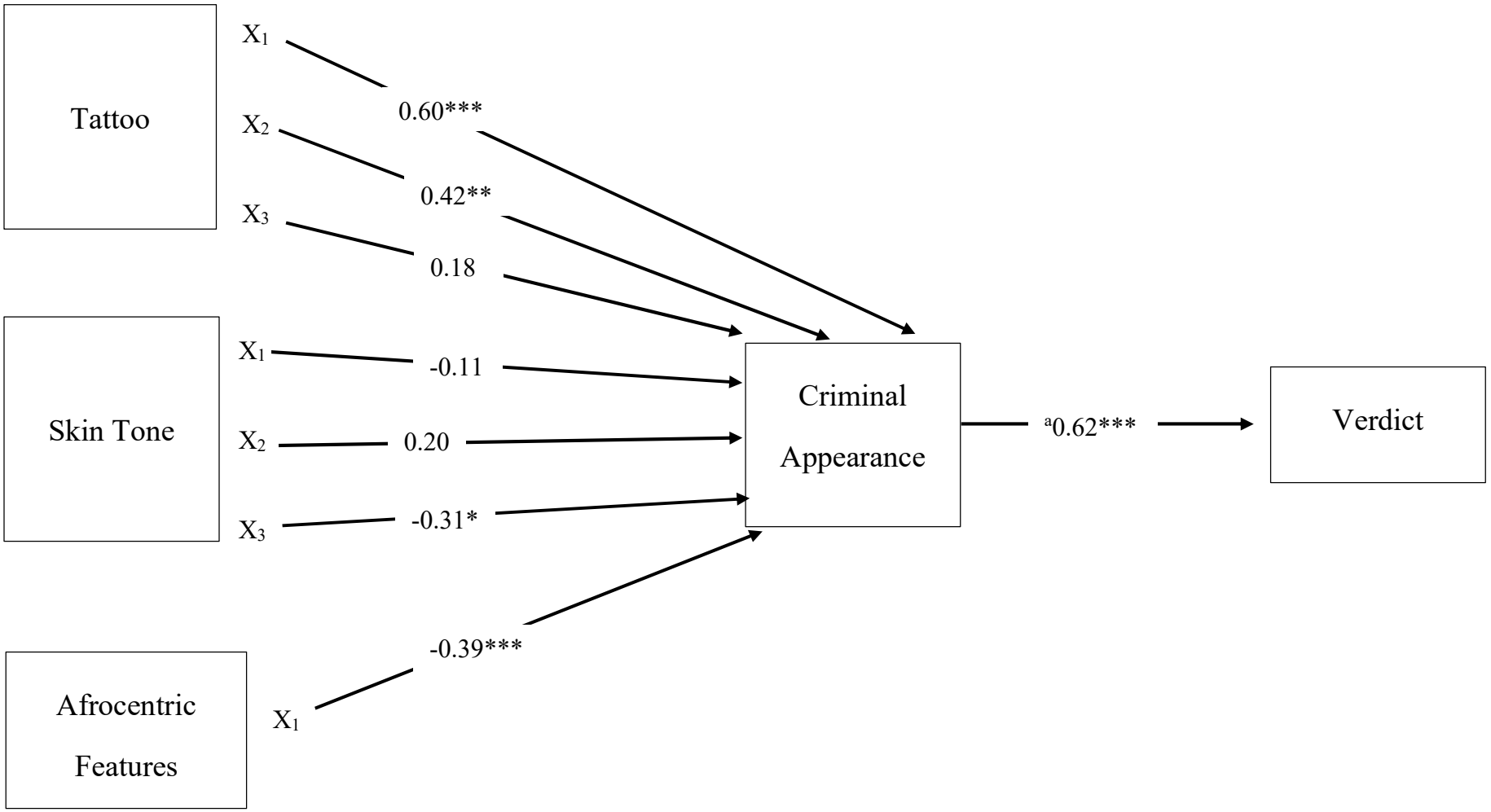


Figure 9. Study 2 Criminal Appearance Indirect Mediation Model. [a]beta from dichotomous verdict analysis.
*p < .05 **p < .01 ***p < .001

Appendix A
Modern Racism Scale

Indicate the degree to which you agree with these statements by typing the correct number from the following scale in front of each item.

1 = "Strongly Disagree"
2 = "Disagree"
3 = "Neither Agree Nor Disagree"
4 = "Agree"
5 = "Strongly Agree"

____ 1. Discrimination against blacks is no longer a problem in the United States.
____ 2. It is easy to understand the anger of black people in America.
____ 3. Blacks are getting too demanding in their push for equal rights.
____ 4. Blacks should not push themselves where they are not wanted.
____ 5. Over the past few years, blacks have gotten more economically than they deserve.
____ 6. Over the past few years, the government and news media have shown more respect to blacks then they deserve.

Appendix B
Martin Stigma Against Tattoo Survey

Instructions: Below are a series of statements with which you may either agree or disagree. For each statement, please indicate the degree of your agreement/disagreement by selecting the appropriate number from 1 to 6. Remember that your first responses are usually the most accurate.

Strongly Disagree					Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5	6

1. People from all walks of life get tattoos.
2. People with tattoos are more likely to spread disease and/or illness.
3. People that have tattoos are more likely to be irresponsible.
4. People that have numerous tattoos that are easily seen are probably seeking attention.
5. People that have visible tattoos should NOT be taken seriously.
6. People that get tattoos are more likely to be from a low income group.
7. Anyone that has been to prison is likely to have tattoos.
8. Most people who have tattoos are from minority groups.
9. Males usually get tattoos to appear tough.
10. Females usually get tattoos to appear cool.
11. People that get tattoos are more likely to have some type of mental illness.
12. People with tattoos are more likely to use illicit drugs in general.
13. People with tattoos are more likely to use needles to inject illicit drugs.
14. People with tattoos are more prone to violence.
15. People with tattoos are more sexually promiscuous.
16. People with tattoos are at greater risk for contracting HIV/AIDS.
17. People who commit crimes are more likely to have tattoos.

Appendix C

Internal and External Motivation to Respond Without Prejudice (Black people)

Instructions: Below are a series of statements with which you may either agree or disagree. For each statement, please indicate the degree of your agreement/disagreement by selecting the appropriate number from 1 to 9. Remember that your first responses are usually the most accurate.

Strongly Disagree								Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

1. Because of today's PC (politically correct) standards I try to appear nonprejudiced toward Black people.
2. I try to hide any negative thoughts about Black people in order to avoid negative reactions from others.
3. If I acted prejudiced toward Black people, I would be concerned that others would be angry with me.
4. I attempt to appear nonprejudiced toward Black people in order to avoid disapproval from others.
5. I try to act nonprejudiced toward Black people because of pressure from others.
6. I attempt to act in nonprejudiced ways toward Black people because it is personally important to me.
7. According to my personal values, using stereotypes about Black people is OK.
8. I am personally motivated by my beliefs to be nonprejudiced toward Black people.
9. Because of my personal values, I believe that using stereotypes about Black people is wrong.
10. Being nonprejudiced toward Black people is important to my self-concept.

Appendix D

Internal and External Motivation to Respond Without Prejudice (Tattooed people)

Instructions: Below are a series of statements with which you may either agree or disagree. For each statement, please indicate the degree of your agreement/disagreement by selecting the appropriate number from 1 to 9. Remember that your first responses are usually the most accurate.

Strongly Disagree								Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

1. Because of today's PC (politically correct) standards I try to appear nonprejudiced toward tattooed people.
2. I try to hide any negative thoughts about tattooed people in order to avoid negative reactions from others.
3. If I acted prejudiced toward tattooed people, I would be concerned that others would be angry with me.
4. I attempt to appear nonprejudiced toward tattooed people in order to avoid disapproval from others.
5. I try to act nonprejudiced toward tattooed people because of pressure from others.
6. I attempt to act in nonprejudiced ways toward tattooed people because it is personally important to me.
7. According to my personal values, using stereotypes about tattooed people is OK.
8. I am personally motivated by my beliefs to be nonprejudiced toward tattooed people.
9. Because of my personal values, I believe that using stereotypes about tattooed people is wrong.
10. Being nonprejudiced toward tattooed people is important to my self-concept.

Appendix E

Social Dominance Orientation

Instructions: Below are a series of statements with which you may either agree or disagree. For each statement, please indicate the degree of your agreement/disagreement by selecting the appropriate number from 1 to 7. Remember that your first responses are usually the most accurate.

Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

____1. Some groups of people are just more worthy than others.
____2. No one group should dominate society. R
____3. To get ahead in life, it is sometimes necessary to step on other groups.
____4. It's okay if some groups have more of a chance in life than others.
____5. All groups should be given an equal chance in life. R
____6. Inferior groups should stay in their place.
____7. Sometimes other groups must be kept in their place.
____8. It would be good if all groups could be equal. R
____9. We should strive to make incomes more equal. R
____10. If certain groups of people stayed in their place, we would have fewer problems.
____11. We should do what we can to equalize conditions for different groups. R
____12. In getting what your group wants, it is sometimes necessary to use force against other groups.
____13. We would have fewer problems if we treated different groups more equally.R
____14. Group equality should be our ideal. R
____15. It's probably a good thing that certain groups are at the top and other groups are at the bottom.
____16. We should increase social equality.R

Appendix F

Right Wing Authoritarianism Scale

Instructions: Please rate your agreement with the following statements using the scale provided:

Strongly disagree			Neutral			Strongly Agree
-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3

____1. Our country desperately needs a mighty leader who will do what has to be done to destroy the radical new ways and sinfulness that are ruining us.
____2. The majority of those who criticize proper authorities in government and religion only create useless doubts in people's mind.
____3. The situation in our country is getting so serious, the strongest method would be justified if they eliminated the troublemakers and got us back to our true path.
____4. What our country really needs instead of more ''civil rights'' is a good stiff dose of law and order.
____5. Obedience and respect for authority are the most important values children should learn.
____6. The fact on crime, sexual immorality and the recent public disorders all show we have to crack down harder on deviant groups and troublemakers, if we are going to save our moral standards and preserve law and order.
____7. What our country needs most is disciplined citizens, following national leaders in unity.
____8. Atheists and others who have rebelled against the established religions are no doubt every bit as good and virtuous as those who attend church regularly. R
____9. A lot of our rules regarding sexual behavior are just customs which are not necessarily any better or holier than those which other people follow. R
____10. There is absolutely nothing wrong with nudist camps. R
____11. Homosexuals and feminists should be praised for being brave enough to defy ''traditional family values''.
____12. Everyone should have their own lifestyle, religious beliefs, and sexual preferences, even if it makes them different from everyone else.
____13. People should pay less attention to the Church and the Pope, and instead develop their own personal standards of what is moral and immoral.
____14. It is good that nowadays young people have greater freedom ''to make their own rules'' and to protest against things they don't like.

Appendix G

System Justification Scale

Instructions: Below are a series of statements with which you may either agree or disagree. For each statement, please indicate the degree of your agreement/disagreement by selecting the appropriate number from 1 to 9. Remember that your first responses are usually the most accurate.

Strongly Disagree								Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

1. In general, you find society to be fair
2. In general, the American political system operates as it should
3. American society needs to be radically restructured
4. The United States is the best country in the world to live in
5. Most policies serve the greater good
6. Everyone has a fair shot at wealth and happiness
7. Our society is getting worse every year
8. Society is set up so that people usually get what they deserve

Appendix H

Need for Cognition Scale-Short Form

Instructions: For each of the statements below, please indicate to what extent the statement is characteristic of you. If the statement is extremely uncharacteristic of you (not at all like you) please select "1"; if the statement is extremely characteristic of you (very much like you) please select "5". Of course, a statement may be neither extremely uncharacteristic nor extremely characteristic of you; if so, please use the number in the middle of the scale that describes the best fit. Please keep the following scale in mind as you rate each of the statements below:

Extremely Uncharacteristic	Somewhat Uncharacteristic	Uncertain	Somewhat Characteristic	Extremely Characteristic
1	2	3	4	5

_____1. I really enjoy a task that involves coming up with new solutions to problems.
_____2. I would prefer a task that is intellectual, difficult, and important to one that is somewhat important but does not require much thought.
_____3. Learning new ways to think doesn't excite me very much.
_____4. I usually end up deliberating about issues even when they do not affect me personally.
_____5. The idea of relying on thought to make my way to the top appeals to me.
_____6. The notion of thinking abstractly is not appealing to me.
_____7. I only think as hard as I have to.
_____8. I like tasks that require little thought once I've learned them.
_____9. I prefer to think about small, daily projects to long-term ones.
_____10. I would rather do something that requires little thought than something that is sure to challenge my thinking abilities.
_____11. I find satisfaction in deliberating hard and for long hours.
_____12. I like to have the responsibility of handling a situation that requires a lot of thinking.
_____13. I feel relief rather than satisfaction after completing a task that required a lot of mental effort.
_____14. Thinking is not my idea of fun.
_____15. I try to anticipate and avoid situations where there is a likely chance I'll have to think in depth about something.
_____16. I prefer my life to be filled with puzzles that I must solve.
_____17. I would prefer complex to simple problems.
_____18. It's enough for me that something gets the job done; I don't care how or why it works.

Appendix I

Case Vignette

The defendant was charged with the physical assault of a man after an altercation outside a bar.

The Prosecution's main witness was a man who allegedly saw the altercation. The witness said he saw the fight begin when the victim accidentally bumped into the offender while waiting in line outside the premises at 8:30pm on April 12, 2019. The witness testified that the offender verbally abused the victim before throwing a punch, knocking the victim to the ground. The witness said the offender then continued to punch and kick the victim until bouncers approached, at which point, the offender fled the scene.

The Prosecution also called the police officer who attended the scene. The officer said he spoke to the witness, who described the event and the offender. The witness's description of the offender was used to find and arrest the defendant when he attempted to enter another bar in the area later that night. The officer testified that the witness was shown a photo-lineup, that included the defendant's photo, two days after the alleged assault. The witness subsequently selected the defendant from the photo-lineup.

When asked by the Defense lawyer during cross examination how confident he was in identifying the defendant as the offender, the witness stated that he was 75% confident that the defendant was the man he saw involved in the altercation.

The Defense argued that the defendant was not in the vicinity at the time of the altercation. They further argued that because the eyewitness was not 100% confident in their identification their testimony was unreliable and so should not be used as evidence that the defendant was the perpetrator. The Defense maintained that the witness was mistaken, and that the offender was another man of similar appearance to the defendant.

Your job as a juror in this case, is to decide whether the Prosecution has proved beyond a reasonable doubt that the defendant is guilty of the crime as charged. The charge against the defendant is physical assault. It is up to the prosecution to prove the case against the defendant. The defendant does not have to prove that they are innocent. You should take into account only the evidence presented and reach a verdict beyond reasonable doubt. If you are satisfied that the facts of the case demonstrate that the defendant committed the crime, then return a verdict of guilty. If you are not satisfied that the facts of the case demonstrate that the defendant committed the crime, then return a verdict of not guilty.

Appendix J

Study 1: Verdict/Confidence and Sentencing

1. Please enter your verdict in the present case for the charge of assault for the defendant.

a. Not Guilty b. Guilty

2. Using the scale below, how confident are you in your verdict?

Not at all Confident						Very Confident
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

3. The United States Sentencing Commission (2018) has recommended guidelines for sentencing individuals convicted of assault. These guidelines are as follows:

Assault:

If the offense is deemed to be simple assault, a sentence of 0-6 months imprisonment is appropriate
If 0 months imprisonment is chosen, a sentence of up to 3 years (36 months) of probation is appropriate.

If the victim sustained bodily injury, a sentence of 4-10 months imprisonment is appropriate ("Bodily injury" means any significant injury; e.g., an injury that is painful and obvious, or is of a type for which medical attention ordinarily would be sought).

Using the guidelines outlined above, please provide a recommended sentence in months for the defendant in this case:

_____ months imprisonment (If 0 months imprisonment, _____ months probation)

Appendix K

Perceptions of Defendant

_____ 1. To what extent does the defendant look trustworthy?

Not at all Trustworthy						Very Trustworthy
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

_____ 2. To what extent does the defendant look aggressive?

Not at all Aggressive						Very Aggressive
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

_____ 3. To what extent does the defendant look dangerous?

Not at all Dangerous						Very Dangerous
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

_____ 4. To what extent does the defendant look criminal?

Not at all Criminal						Very Criminal
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

_____ 5. To what extent does the defendant look honest?

Not at all Honest						Very Honest
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

_____ 6. To what extent does the defendant look attractive?

Not at all Attractive						Very Attractive
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

_____ 7. To what extent does the defendant look baby-faced?

Not at all Baby-faced						Very Baby-faced
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

_____ 8. To what extent does the defendant look similar to you?

Not at all Similar						Very Similar
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

_____ 9. To what extent does the defendant have facial features typical of an African American (i.e., full lips, wide nose)?

Not at all Typical						Very Typical
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Appendix L

Participant Characteristics and Manipulation Checks

Please provide the following information. All information collected will be kept anonymous and confidential.

1. Age: _____

2. Gender (circle one): Male Female Other

3. What is your ethnicity/race? White Mexican Other Latino Black Native American Caribbean Islander Asian Multi-ethnic Other

4. Do you have or are you planning on getting any tattoos? (circle one): Yes No

5. Are you a U.S. Citizen? (circle one): Yes No

6. If you are not a U.S. citizen, how long have you lived in the U.S.? (in years)

7. What is your religious affiliation? _____

8. How strong are your religious beliefs?

Not at all Strong						Very Strong
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

9. What is your political orientation?

Liberal			Moderate			Conservative
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

10. Using the scale below, how strong was the evidence against the defendant?

Very Weak						Very Strong
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

11. Did the defendant have any tattoos? (circle one): Yes No

12. Sometimes in psychology experiments people think there is more going on than what they are told. Did you have any thoughts along those lines during today's session?

☐ YES ☐ NO

If YES, please explain the thoughts you had: _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

13. If yes, at what point in the survey did you have these thoughts? For example, during the case judgments, during the social attitude questionnaires, etc.

_____

_____

Appendix M

Study 2: Verdict/Confidence and Sentencing

1. Please enter your verdict in the present case for the charge of assault for the defendant.

a. Not Guilty b. Guilty

2. Using the scale below, how confident are you in your verdict?

Not at all Confident						Very Confident
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

3. Imagine the jury found the defendant guilty of assault. Now it is your job to give a recommended sentence for the defendant.

The United States Sentencing Commission (2018) has recommended guidelines for sentencing individuals convicted of assault. These guidelines are as follows:

Assault:

If the offense is deemed to be simple assault, a sentence of 0-6 months imprisonment is appropriate
If 0 months imprisonment is chosen, a sentence of up to 3 years (36 months) of probation is appropriate.

If the victim sustained bodily injury, a sentence of 4-10 months imprisonment is appropriate ("Bodily injury" means any significant injury; e.g., an injury that is painful and obvious, or is of a type for which medical attention ordinarily would be sought).

Using the guidelines outlined above, please provide a recommended sentence for the defendant.

a. Probation b. Prison

4. Based on your recommendation of probation, please provide a recommended sentence length (in months).

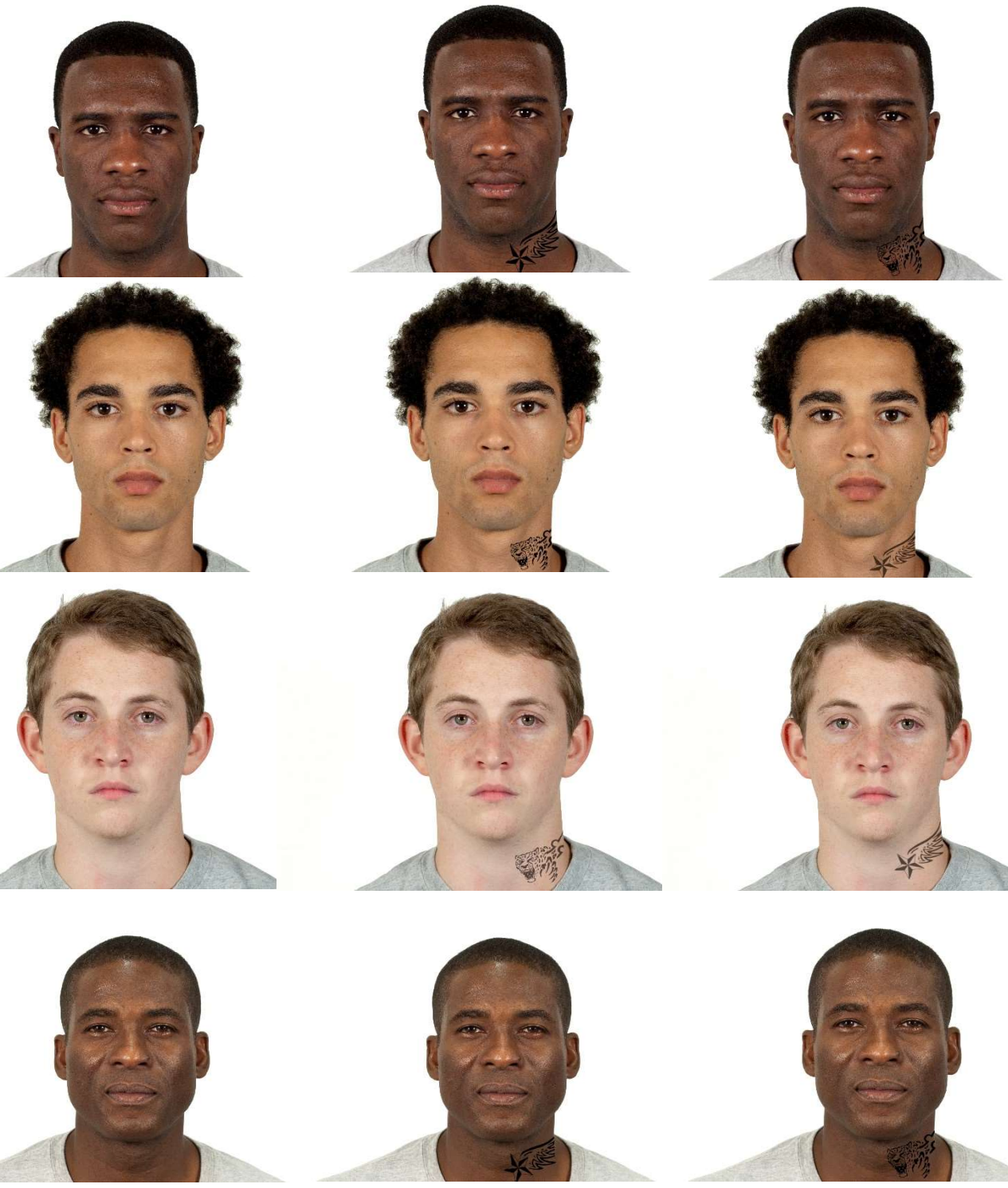
a. 3 b. 6 c. 9 d. 12 e. 15 f. 18 g. 21 h. 24 i. 27 j. 30. k. 33 l. 36

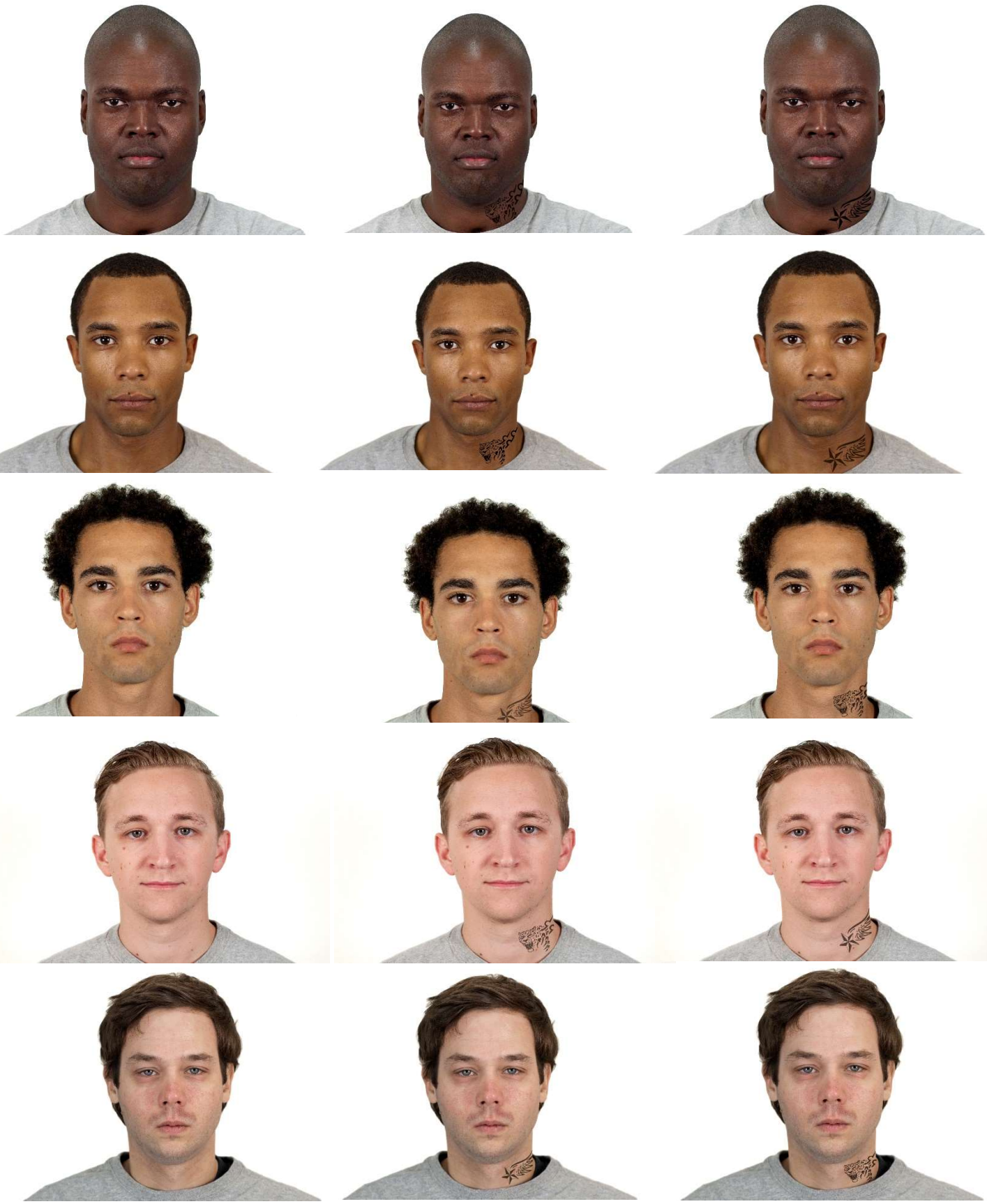
5. Based on your recommendation of prison, please provide a recommended sentence length (in months).

a. 1 b. 2. c. 3 d. 4 e. 5 f. 6 g. 7 h . 8 i. 9 j. 10

Appendix N

Study 1 Defendant Images





Appendix O

Study 2 Images