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The Influence of Phenotypic Variation on Criminal Judgement

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by

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(Under the Direction of Amy Hackney, Ph. D)

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to investigate the influence of phenotypic variation on criminal judgment. This study had two phases. In the first phase, participants rated multiple headshot photographs on the degree to which African American men possess pronounced Afrocentric features (fuller lips, broader nose, curlier hair, darker skin, etc.). The race of the participants predicted 34.2% of the variance in average skin color ratings above all other variables. White participants rated the Black faces as darker than any other participants rated the same faces. Researchers used the faces rated least, average, and most prototypical of Blacks as the targets for a criminal vignette in phase two. Controlling for participant political ideology and race, target Black prototypicality had a main effect on recommended years for the defendant to serve (Ruby & Brigham, 1996). The most prototypical defendant was more likely sentenced to prison time followed by a period of probation and to serve approximately six more years in the adult correction system than the least or average prototypical defendants. Phenotypic variation was a leading factor in the criminal judgment of African American men along with perceptions of the defendant, attitudes towards the legal system and Black people, and social Black

contact. These results have implications for understanding the saliency of phenotypic variation on target judgment and reevaluating the criminal legal process.

INDEX WORDS: Skin Color, Facial Features, Criminal Legal System, Discrimination, Stereotyping

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DEDICATION

This research is dedicated to the over 2 million Americans incarcerated in the prison industrial complex and their loved ones.

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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

The intent of this section is to address the literature on perceptions of Black men and criminal judgments of individuals based on phenotypic variation. Though African American men are typically treated unfairly within the criminal legal system, African American men possessing more pronounced Afrocentric facial features are most likely to face discrimination within the criminal legal system (Blair, Judd, & Chapleau, 2004). These individuals are perceived as more likely embodying the Black stereotype of criminality, and are therefore recommended to receive more severe sentences. Skin color is the most prominent, relied on feature for discerning another's racial affiliation, and the most historically-relevant feature of the major facial features (Clark & Clark, 1940). Skin color has proven to be a deciding factor for African Americans' financial and sociocultural capital (Hill, 2000). This real world impact of other people's judgment and actions towards African Americans should be examined within a laboratory setting to investigate whether prototypicality has an impact on judgment and actions. The current study assessed the saliency of pronounced Afrocentric features for African American men facing the criminal legal system and determines the factors that influence perceptions of African American men.

Phenotypic Variation

Phenotypic features are the observable physical characteristics due to one's genetic makeup and environment (Peaston & Whitelaw, 2006). The various combinations of these features are how humans cognitively recognize, describe, and categorize individuals (Ellis, Deregowski, & Shephard, 1975). These references to phenotypic features are based on the nine major facial features used to differentiate

individuals (e.g., nose, eyes, hair texture, lips, etc.). All human beings are logically of African descent because the cradle of human life is in Africa and thus the concept of possessing Afrocentric features refers to any person's features. More pronounced Afrocentric features refer to those characteristics more typical of members of the African diaspora (darker skin color, fuller lips, kinky hair, etc.) while less pronounced Afrocentric features refer to those characteristics more typical of other diasporas (lighter skin color, thinner lips, course hair, etc.). Phenotypic variation is the degree and spectrum of pronounced facial features (e.g. to possess less Afrocentric or more Afrocentric features). Studies investigating the influence of phenotypic variation have periodically covered its impact on health, socioeconomic opportunities, perceived prejudice, racial identity, self-esteem, and perceptions of beauty (Blumer, 1958; Bond & Cash, 1992; Carter, 1988; Coard, Breland, & Raskin, 2001; Cunningham et al., 1995; Demo & Hughes, 1990; Hall, 2007; Hersch, 2006; Hill, 2000; Klimentidis, Miller, & Shriver, 2008; Nassar-McMillan, McFall-Roberts, Flowers, & Garrett, 2006; Rondilla & Spickard, 2007). Consistent with the idea of eugenics, Lynn (2002) has attempted to explain that people possessing more pronounced Afrocentric features have lower intelligence levels due to their lack of Caucasian genes. These studies' findings display an unfortunate trend towards preferential regard for those possessing less pronounced Afrocentric features and discriminatory treatment towards those possessing more pronounced Afrocentric features.

Phenotypic-based discrimination against Black men possessing more pronounced Afrocentric features have dire consequences. In a study examining phenotypic features' influence on capital sentencing outcomes for African American men, a defendant possessing more pronounced Afrocentric features was twice as likely to receive the death

sentence compared to a defendant possessing less pronounced Afrocentric features (Eberhardt et al., 2006). In cases involving Black and not White victims, the defendants were sentenced to death equally; suggesting that the jury members were more concerned about punishing a Black defendant when he posed a threat to majority group members than if he was victimizing members in his own minority racial group. Phenotypic-based discrimination against Black men possessing more pronounced Afrocentric features has an impact on whether he is sentenced to death especially when there is a White victim involved. This displayed the reality of phenotypic variation's influence on people's judgment and the consequences for African Americans.

Phenotypic-based research is relevant to society by providing insight on a form of prejudice that permeates mere racial differences and focuses on discriminatory practices induced by racially-associated facial features. A study has shown that race did not account for the variation found in Florida inmates' sentence length; however, race and facial features became significant predictors of sentence length above all other criminal history variables, attractiveness, and babyness features when facial features were added to the regression model (Blair, Judd, & Chapleau, 2004). White and Black inmates possessing more pronounced Afrocentric features received longer sentences than their respective counterparts. The facial features bias in criminal sentencing is due to the association of Afrocentric features to negative African American stereotypes such as criminality (Devine, 1989). Though this may be interpreted as a positive turn towards a color-blind legal system, it is evidence of a less suppressible form of racial stereotyping in which individuals are not punished more harshly due to their racial affiliations but to the degree the individual possesses Afrocentric features.

Race is a common variable examined for inequalities and prejudices within the criminal legal system. Although Shoemaker, South, and Lowe (1973) did not manipulate race, they provided a framework for understanding the impact of phenotypic variation on perceived criminality. Shoemaker, South, and Lowe presented one group of participants with grayscale photographs of White men's headshots and asked them to rank the men, based on their picture, in order of most likely to commit a certain crime: homosexuality, murder, robbery, or treason. Another group of participants reported on the guilt of defendants in "ambiguous evidence" vignettes. Both groups finished with rating the guilt of the headshots with the vignettes. Overall, the investigators found that people had physical schemas of who would most and least likely commit a particular crime. Moreover, Shoemaker and colleagues delineated specific stereotypes for each crime. This exploitation of physical appearance for deciding "who looks like a criminal" and guilt is called facial stereotypes. Notably, men tended to use facial stereotypes when perceiving criminals more than women. Men's bias to facially stereotype criminal resembled men's over reliance of Black schemas based on pronounced Afrocentric features (Wade, Romano, & Blue, 2004).

Skin color has been rated the most significant phenotypic feature when assessing an individual's racial affiliation (Brown, Dane, & Durham, 1998). It retains a historical and sociocultural context for African Americans (Clark & Clark, 1940; Harrison & Thomas, 2009; Landreth & Johnson, 1953; Palmer & Masling, 1969; Parrish, 1946). Research has exposed the historical preference for lighter-skinned African Americans and a prejudice against darker-skinned African Americans (Coard, Breland, & Raskin, 2001; Cunningham et al., 1995; Marks, 1942; Porter, 1991; Secord, 1959). Even in the 21st

century, skin color still has a decisive impact on quality of life, job opportunities, social mobility, and clinical issues for people of color (Breland, 1998; Edwards, 1973; Goldsmith, Hamilton, & Darity Jr., 2006; 2007; Hersch, 2006; Hill, 2000; Hughes & Hertel, 1990; Hunter, 2007; Nassar-McMillan, McFall-Roberts, Flowers, & Garrett, 2006). Wade and colleagues (2004) found that lighter-skinned applicants received more positive employment-related ratings than darker-skinned applicants regardless of applicant's gender. Harrison and Thomas (2009) manipulated the skin color of an African American job applicant with Adobe Photoshop CS Software to examine the influence of skin color on rating scores of recommendation based on overall resume and hiring decisions. They found both ratings increased as a function of skin color (i.e. light and brown-skinned applicants received more positive ratings compared to the dark-skinned applicants). Investigating physical appearance's influence within the virtual realm, Rossen and colleagues (2008) found that medical residents expressed more empathy towards lighter-skinned virtual human agents than darker-skinned virtual human agents.

Maddox and Gray (2002) suggested that within-category distinctions such as Black skin tone are used to cognitively organize individuals. Participants were instructed to list culturally endorsed characteristics associated with different racial and skin tone groups. Participants listed more negative characteristics for dark-skinned Black men than light-skinned Black men. Light-skinned Blacks received more positive characteristics than dark-skinned Blacks. Dark-skinned Blacks also were described with more stereotypic characteristics while light-skinned Blacks were described with more counter stereotypical characteristics. Of the 22 individual categories of characteristics used to

describe Black men, dark skinned men were accredited as criminal, aggressive, and poor whereas light skinned men were accredited as kind and wealthy. Attractiveness was a significant category in which Black and White participants differed in perceptions of dark and light-skinned Black women but not men. This is in concordance with the concentrations of phenotypic-based research by sex; men with criminality and women with body image (Blair, Judd, & Chapleau, 2004; Bond & Cash, 1992). Viglione, Hannon, and DeFina (2011) contributed to women's phenotypic variation research the phenotypic partialities for lighter skinned women within the prison system. North Carolina correctional officers' ratings of female prisoners' skin tone at the time of admission were analyzed with maximum consecutive length, maximum incarceration date, and actual time served to check for systematic prison sentence leniency. Skin tone was negatively correlated with prison time such that lighter-skinned female inmates received more lenient prison time and lower maximum consecutive sentence length compared to dark skin inmates. These findings revealed the advantages of lighter skin color for African American women facing incarceration. Researchers expect the same leniency towards a light-skinned African American defendant facing incarceration.

CHAPTER 2 Criminal Legal System

Injustice within the Legal System

Since the reinstating of the death penalty by the U.S. Supreme Court in the late 1970's, the Southern states lead the implementation of capital punishment accounting for 80% of the total sentences of death in the United States. From a historical perspective, the South has utilized the criminal legal system to exercise racial oppression against people of color, especially African Americans (Fraser, 2010). African Americans are

approximately 12.6% of the population yet over 40% of the nation's prison inmates and over 20% of the death row population (Fraser, 2010; Rastogi, et al., 2011). In 2006, the Census Bureau found that approximately 1 out of 5 young Black adults were dwelling on a college campus while the other 4 were serving time in an adult correctional institution. Black male defendants are 6.5 times more likely than White male defendants to be found guilty and sentenced to serve prison time (Bureau of Justice, 2009). By the age of 30, nearly 33% of African American men would have been controlled by the criminal legal system through probation, incarceration, or both (Beck & Mumola, 1999). The reported increased criminal behavior by Black people could be that single-parent households, high neighborhood crime-rate and perceived approval of crime as a means, and low education attained are plaguing the Black community and ensnaring African American men into criminal situations, provoking police encounters, and thus leading to court appearances (Wright & Younts, 2009). Based on the research and reports, Black men do not fare well against the odds of imprisonment (Bureau of Justice, 2009).

The mass, disproportionate incarceration of young Black men seeks to satisfy the prison industry's necessity to fill empty prison beds and also to leave a multi-generational gap within the African American community (Smith & Hattery, 2010). The incarceration of Black men impacts the financial, human, and social capital of the African American community. The removal of young Black men from the community diminishes their personal career aspirations to stagnant, non-prestigious jobs, hampers the development of Black relationships and thus families, and supplies the prison system with exploitable labor leaving former-convicts without competitive skills or training for the workplace. After serving their time to society, Black ex-convicts are heavily scrutinized and more

likely to be overlooked due to their prior criminal history than White ex-convicts (Smith & Hattery, 2010). This is a barrier that previously incarcerated Black men must face and can be daunting enough to steer them back towards criminal activities as a means of income. Thus, the single-parent households, high neighborhood crime-rate and perceived approval of crime as a means, and low education attained that are reportedly mediating African Americans' increased criminal behaviors could be the product of the disproportionate imprisonment of Black men. This is the detrimental cycle that keeps the Black community impoverished and without positive male role models while the prison industrial complex enjoys profits and an abounding of workers. In a society that wishes to claim color-blindness, it is crucial for researchers to expose the reality that Black men have to face unique challenges in the criminal legal system. His physical appearance could be an underlining factor influencing his sentencing more so than his criminal factors.

Black Criminality

Black defendants are at a disadvantage within the criminal legal system through the biased perceptions of judges, police officers, and lay people who make up the jury (Albonetti, 1991). Steen, Engen, and Gainey (2005) looked at the consistency of judges' sentencing as a function of race and criminal stereotypicality. They theorized that incarceration would be due to how stereotypical the judges perceived the offenders. Black offenders were more unanimously incarcerated while White offenders varied more reasonably on offence severity and prior felony convictions. White offenders received more consideration in conviction; nonetheless, White drug offenders with and without priors were more unanimously incarcerated than the other White offenders. These results

suggested that drug dealers are stereotyped as dangerous and recidivistic. This specific stereotype could be superseding judges' preferential treatment of White offenders resulting in their impartial conviction of White drug dealers. Essentially, Steen, Engen, and Gainey provided support that an offender's stereotypicality can be decisive in criminal judgment and exposed the veracity that Black offenders are being sent to prison with less regard to the severity of the present offense and evidence of recidivism. The latter half of this statement could be possibly due to the cultural notion of Black criminality.

Black criminal stereotypes can be fostering more negative attitudes and actions towards Black people especially in those most likely to encounter the stereotypical violent/criminal-like Black man, law-enforcement officers. Ma and Correll (2011) looked at police officers and lay people's decisions to shoot White and Black men (armed or unarmed). Although lay people showed more racial bias than police officers, both failed to shoot armed White targets more than armed Black targets. Participants' accuracy to shoot armed Black men appeared to be related to the targets' stereotype congruency of dangerous Black man. Ruby and Brigham (1996) investigated college students and law enforcement officials' evaluations of criminal situations and suspects based on content, race, and socioeconomic status (SES). Participants read a vignette of a burglar suspect (ambiguous scenario), manipulating race (White or Black man) and SES (lower or upper class background), and reported his guilt and criminality. Officers differed from students by indicating the Black suspects to be, regardless of SES condition, guilty based on "gut-feelings" and evidence. This is peculiar because the vignette was created to be ambiguous on guilt. Officers' slant towards believing that

burglars were typically Black and of low SES could be due to their percentage of encountering Black burglars over White burglars and poor burglars over wealthy burglars. Specific to racializing burglars, presuming that White vs. Black burglars could more likely reach an even distribution than poor vs. wealthy burglars, the assumption of predominately Black burglars could also be persuaded by the memorability of Black criminals because of Black stereotypes. Peruche and Plant (2006) found that police officers differ from non-law enforcement officials on actions towards Black people. Specifically, police officers who held more negative attitudes towards Black people were more likely to shoot an unarmed Black suspect. However, more personal contact with Black people outside of police work neutralized this reaction for other police officers. These studies illustrated how one's attitudes towards Blacks and social Black contact influences actions taken towards them.

Reform for equality in the criminal legal system needs to begin amongst those who make careers out of interpreting and enforcing the law; nevertheless, it is important to tend to the prejudices of the average citizen as well. American democracy calls for its citizens to hear the charges brought upon a peer, but preconceived notions of stigmatized groups can shape a defendant's verdict. Lay people project their ideas of Black criminality on Black people while partaking in their civil duty of juror. White jurors were most likely to perceive violent offenders as dangerous when the offender was Black and victim was White (Bowers, Steiner, & Sandys, 2001). White jurors also perceived Black violent offenders as more dangerous than White violent offenders and were less remorseful towards Black violent offenders being released in less than ten years. It was only when a Black violent offender victimized a Black person that White jurors were

more lenient about the Black violent offender's release. Such findings demonstrate the relevance of the offender and victim's race on jury decision making.

Hurwitz and Peffley (1997) conducted Computer Assisted Telephone Interviews (CATI) to receive White respondents for their study. They predicted that stereotypes are influential in criminal judgments when the defendant "fits the image" of criminal. There was an interaction for race and crime such that respondents were least supportive of prison furloughs and assumed recidivism in the violent Black criminal condition. The respondents associated the stereotypes especially when the crime and criminal were stereotypical such as violent Black criminal rather than an astereotypical condition such as white-collar Black criminal. For instance, participants were less likely to rely on stereotypes with the astereotypical condition because committing embezzlement does not fit the schema of Black criminals as an "underclass racial stereotype". In addition, respondents with more negative attitudes towards Blacks were more likely to assume recidivism for the violent Black criminal but not the violent White criminal. They were also more stringent on Black inmates receiving prison furloughs, prisoner rehabilitation, and serving prison terms (punitive policies) than less negatively-bias respondents. This could relate to the stereotype of Black criminals being less likely to reform, less trustworthy, and more likely to recidivate. When it came to punitive policies, White respondents were more likely to be strict on crimes when the criminal was Black compared to White. Hurwitz and Peffley suggested that assumed social class plays a role on stereotype reliance based on crime type. They alleged that the stereotype activation was for an underclass racial stereotype, though neither was social class manipulated nor

aggressive thought activation checked. The surveys were also conducted on the telephone with only White respondents.

Abwender and Hough (2001) presented participants a negligent vehicular-homicide vignette with the race (Black or White) and attractiveness of the woman defendant manipulated. Participants indicated the defendant's guilt and the jail sentence she should serve. There was an interaction for participant's gender and defendant's attractiveness; female participants significantly gave more lenient sentencing to the attractive defendant compared to the unattractive defendant and to men's sentencing of the attractive defendant. Male participants were likely to find the defendant less responsible when the defendant was unattractive. This depicts the persuasion that physical appearance has on criminal judgment. These previous studies have showed that attitudes towards Blacks and phenotypic expression affects actions taken and decisions made towards African Americans and defendants (Hurwitz & Peffley, 1997; Ma & Correll, 2011; Peruche & Plant, 2006; Ruby & Brigham, 1996).

Dotsch, Wigboldus, and Knippenberg (2011) demonstrated how criminal stereotypes are activated based on phenotypic variation. Moroccan faces (noisy, unaltered faces, noisy, criminal-like faces, and noisy, stupid-like faces) were presented to Dutch participants who were asked to point out whether the noisy picture was a Moroccan face as quick as possible. Dotsch, Wigboldus, and Knippenberg explained that participants allocated criminal-like faces more as Moroccan than unaltered faces because the Dutch people stereotype Moroccans as criminalistic. This effect was most palpable for participants with more implicit prejudices compared to those with less implicit prejudices. For African American men, this means that those more prototypical in

physical appearance would be more likely subjugated to the Black stereotype of being criminals. This study demonstrated the impact of implicit racial attitudes on perceptions of criminal faces.

People rely on facial features for stereotyping (Blair, Judd, & Fallman, 2004). Blair, Judd, and Fallman (2004) conducted four experiments to examine the influences of racial category and features-based stereotyping on social judgments and found that feature-based stereotyping has significantly lower controllability than racial-based stereotyping. African and European American male targets possessing more pronounced Afrocentric features were more often described with the stereotypical African-American attributes. The reverse was found with African and European American males possessing less pronounced Afrocentric features. Instructions to suppress Afrocentric feature-based stereotyping were also ineffective to decrease the reliance on feature-based stereotyping (Livingston, 2001). Participants were unable to avoid using racially associated facial features when judging targets. Livingston (2001) primed participants with either faces possessing more or less pronounced Afrocentric features (broader nose, fuller lips, darker skin, kinky hair, etc.), asked them to read a paragraph describing an actor's ambiguously negative behaviors, and instructed them to report their impressions. When primed with African American faces possessing more pronounced Afrocentric features, participants elicited more negative ratings and evaluations of the actor's actions. Participants that were primed with African American faces possessing more pronounced Afrocentric features also gave the most negative ratings and evaluations. This study implied that although individuals may be able to suppress racial biases in their attempt for political correctness, another type of physical prejudice, feature-based stereotyping, emerges and

takes precedence in perception and social judgment. The research findings reflected previous research in regards to the central role that racially-associated facial features play on perceptions and social judgment (Blair, Judd, Sadler, & Jenkins, 2002; Eberhardt, Dasgupta, & Banaszynski, 2003; Fiske, 1991). These findings are important because they suggest people's unconscious need to categorize individuals within the context of a social group based on the individual's phenotype features.

Dixon and Maddox (2006) conducted a study manipulating race and skin tone on perceptions of perpetrators in a newscast. The dark skinned Black perpetrator invoked the most emotional concern in heavy news viewers and was more memorable than a White perpetrator. These findings contribute to the literature's general consensus that those possessing the most pronounced Afrocentric features are most likely subject to discriminatory treatment. The heightened emotional concern for the dark skinned perpetrator could be due to the association of Blacks with criminality. The dark skinned perpetrator could be viewed as congruent with affirming the Black criminal stereotype, hence making the darker-skinned target easiest to remember. Current researchers expected Black prototypicality (Afrocentric features and skin color) to mediate Black criminality activation in a manner congruent with the literature; more pronounced Afrocentric features and darker skin color activates Black criminal stereotype.

Summary

Overall previous research provides the basis for current researchers' understanding of the shortcomings in criminal legal system equality. Race is a categorical practice derived from an individual's phenotypic features; variation in pronounced Afrocentric facial features influenced by ancestral homelands which are

genetically passed down to the individual. Race is viewed as a key component in criminal legal system inequality, but it is facial stereotyping based on racially-associated features that is the root of the systematic discrimination. Because of the cultural stereotypes of Black men as dangerous, recidivistic lawbreakers, police are more likely to arrest them. When Black men enter the courtroom they are again scrutinized through the lens of their cultural stigma; however, they are not alone in this regard. People of the jury and judges are implicitly attending to a defendant's Afrocentric features, thus leaving White defendants who happen to possess more pronounced Afrocentric features subject as well to the Black stigma of possibly being more likely blameworthy of their accused transgressions and a threat to society (Blair, Judd, & Chapleau, 2004). Individuals have proven to be able to suppress racial biases, yet phenotypical biases seem to be more implicit and difficult to control (Blair, Judd, & Fallman, 2004).

The strengths of current research literature are what it asserts; real world criminal sentences are influenced by phenotypic variation. Physical appearance makes a difference on criminal judgment and this is due to feature-based stereotyping being a robust heuristic used when judging defendants despite racial affiliation (Abwender & Hough, 2001; Blair, Judd, & Chapleau, 2004; Dotsch, Wigboldus, van Knippenberg, 2011; Eberhardt et al., 2006; Todorov, Said, Engell, & Oosterhof, 2008; Viglione, Hannon, & DeFina, 2011). Black violent offenders are viewed as more criminalistic than White violent offenders for the same crimes just as burglars are assumed to be Black and not White because people have face stereotypes of what a criminal of a particular crime looks like (Ruby & Brigham, 1996; Shoemaker, South, & Lowe, 1973; Steen, Engen, & Gainey, 2005). African Americans' skin color impacts people's judgment of them and a

single phenotypic feature that yielded significant results during hiring and interview studies (Harrison & Thomas, 2009). Darker skinned Black men are more likely to be categorized as criminalistic and aggressive compared to lighter skinned Black men because darker skin color is associated more readily with Blacks, invokes negative attitudes towards a target, and arouses emotional concern in the perceiver (Dixon & Maddox, 2006). It is important to acknowledge that more social Black contact prompts less biases and discrimination towards them (Peruche & Plant, 2006)

Whether the activation of aggression and criminality is mediating the decision maker's criminal judgment of African American male defendants is not known. The majority of the literature on factors in criminal legal decisions presented studies in which criminal records databases were analyzed. Further research on phenotypic features' influence on criminal judgment needs to be conducted in a laboratory setting. Skin color has a real world impact on African Americans' lives and darker skin color has proven to be associated with offenders (MacLin & Herrera, 2006). These are the gaps the current study addressed within a laboratory setting.

CHAPTER 3 CURRENT STUDY

This current study was comprised of two phases. In the first phase participants rated multiple headshot photographs on the degree to which African American men possess pronounced Afrocentric features (fuller lips, broader nose, curlier hair, darker skin, etc.). These ratings were used to create a spectrum from most prototypical to least prototypical headshots. The second phase used the most, average, and least prototypical faces as the targets for a criminal vignette. Participants read a criminal charge

accompanied with one of the headshot photographs and gave a criminal judgment of defendant.

The design of this study continues where Shoemaker, South, and Lowe (1973) left off on face stereotypes, Blair, Judd, and Chapleau (2004) on Afrocentric features and criminal judgment, Eberhardt and colleagues (2006) on Black males' Afrocentric features on criminal sentencing, Viglione, Hannon, and DeFina (2011) on skin color biases within the criminal legal system, and Maddox and Gray (2002) on schemas of African American men via skin color. Shoemaker, South and Lowe did not address racially-associated facial features but did suggest that future research is needed to investigate the extent of major facial features on facial stereotypes of criminals. Studies that pertain to the criminal legal system are typically not experimental and more preoccupied with real prisoners, unaltered situations, and judges' sentences. One of the major limitations in the past research that has studied the influence of Afrocentric features on criminal judgment is the lack of experimental control. Past researchers presented participants with real criminals for them to rate pronounced Afrocentric features. The concern is that they did not manipulate the criminal situation of which the offenders were convicted. The participants' perceptions of the criminal situation were not of concern in these studies, just the reality of the judges' decisions. The benefit of the current study design was that it assessed ratings of pronounced Afrocentric features in Phase 1, and involved the participants with a criminal judgment decision in Phase 2. Participants were engaged as decision makers and provided insight on individuals' attitudes towards the African American defendants. The current study also allowed for to the creation of a spectrum of pronounced Afrocentric features to choose the desired target defendants from, to test

pronounced Afrocentric features' impact on criminal judgment for defendants of the same criminal vignette, and to evaluate the weight skin color holds within the criminal legal system for defendants of the same criminal vignette.

Past research has shown that more prototypical Black faces evoked distinctive thoughts and judgments about an African American target (Blair, Judd, & Fallman, 2004; Hagiwara, Kashy, & Cesario, 2012; Livingston, 2001). Blair, Judd, and Fallman's (2004) study supported the notion that less pronounced Afrocentric features are less likely to evoke African American stereotypes. For this reason, Phase 2 included targets whose prototypicality ratings were high, low, and average. Based on the literature, phenotypic variation in Phase 2 influenced participants' criminal judgment.

Word-stem completion tasks were incorporated to test whether activation of aggression and violent thoughts were mediating the effect of phenotypic variation on criminal sentencing (Anderson et al., 2004). While past research has found that individuals are more likely to assume an African American man possessing more pronounced Afrocentric features are more aggressive than an African American man possessing less pronounced Afrocentric features, testing for the mediation of aggressive thoughts allowed current researchers to explain the phenomenon of African American men with more Afrocentric features being more scrutinized and discriminated against in the criminal legal system (Blair, Chapleau, & Judd, 2005). Results were discussed in terms of legal and social implications. Findings contributed to the scope of facial features-based research and discrimination research. The study extended the literature on African American men's phenotypic variation affecting criminal legal decisions by assessing the significance of skin color; one phenotypic feature known to solely impact

African Americans' livelihood. The current results also benefited other researchers' perspective on the saliency of skin color on target judgments and be implemented to understand perceptions of people of color globally (Bianchi, 2002; Fergus, 2009; Uhlmann, et al., 2002; Pierre, 2008).

The current researchers illustrated the severity of unintentional acts of discrimination against individuals possessing more pronounced Afrocentric features (Valla, Ceci, & Williams, 2011). Banks (2009) suggested that because relying on facial feature-based stereotyping is more of an automatic association and less suppressible form than racial stereotyping, law makers are reluctant to create unintentional acts of discrimination laws. However, more data and research could provide support for legally addressing this less suppressible form of stereotyping, whether through anti-discrimination laws or more directed sensitizing training for legal system professionals.

CHAPTER 4 HYPOTHESES

Phase 1

It was hypothesized that ratings for targets' pronounced Afrocentric features, skin color, and aggressiveness would be positively correlated. We expected that participants would rate skin color as the most important of the nine major facial features when deciding on the race of another person (Brown, Dane, & Durham, 1998). The purpose of Phase 1 was to assess the weight that each phenotype feature had on evaluating a target.

Phase 2

Criminal judgment encompassed verdict (guilty or not guilty), criminal sentencing (prison, probation, or both), length of sentence (years), and assumed recidivism. Assumed recidivism is the perceived likelihood to commit crimes again. A main effect

for phenotypic variation was predicted such that the most prototypical defendant was expected to receive the most severe judgment. Based on the literature, more Afrocentric features and darker skin color has influenced participants to indicate more negative evaluations of a target and activate more Black stereotypes such as criminality and aggression (Hagiwara, Kashy, & Cesario, 2012, Livingston, 2001; Maddox & Gray, 2002). Thus, it was hypothesized that participants who viewed the most prototypical defendant would use more aggression and violence-related words to complete the word blanks compared to participants who viewed the least prototypical defendant. Derived from Peruche and Plant's (2006) study, it is known that personal contact with and attitudes towards Black people affect actions taken against them within the criminal context. It was hypothesized that those with less social Black contact would recommend a more severe judgment than those with more social Black contact. Those with negative attitudes towards Blacks were also expected to recommend a more severe judgment than those holding positive attitudes towards Blacks (Dotsch, Wigboldus, & Knippenberg, 2011).

CHAPTER 5 METHODS

Participants

Over 200 participants were recruited through the psychology department's online SONA system and other GSU classes. No participant was denied participation due to their age, gender, or race.

Procedure

Phase 1

Participants were the first students, regardless of demographics, that signed up for the study. They were shown multiple headshot photographs and made a single global assessment of the African American men based on the degree to which they possess pronounced Afrocentric features. The headshot photographs were selected from the Florida Department of Corrections Offender Search. Pictures of African American males between the ages of 18 and 25 convicted of property crimes or theft were obtained. Participants also rated the photographs on levels of kindness, aggressiveness, dominance, symmetry, likeability, physical attractiveness, competency, and babyfacedness (Blair, Judd, & Chapleau, 2004; Rule, Ambady, & Adams, 2009; Porter et al., 2008). Participants also assessed whether the offender looked generally trustworthy and indicated what type of crime he was most likely in prison for (Porter et al. 2008; Shoemaker, South, & Lowe, 1973). Participants then rated the importance of nine major facial features when deciding on the race of another person (Brown, Dane, Durham, 1998; Peruche & Plant, 2006). The demographics measure included questions about: serving on a jury, negative experiences with the courts or police, being a victim of a crime in the past year, age, gender, race, school classification, political ideology and degree major. Participants from this phase were not able to participate in Phase 2.

Phase 2

Participants were whoever signed up for this phase as long as they did not participate in Phase 2. Participants were asked to imagine themselves as a juror in a trial, and to read the criminal charge and vignette accompanied with a headshot image. The criminal vignette was a burglary situation that occurred in Freehold, New Jersey in early August of 2009. He (name not indicated) was charged (burglary, theft, and possession of

burglary tools) and sent to jail on $50,000.00 bail. Based on ratings from Phase 1, the current researchers chose the most, average, and least prototypical African American men. Participants were randomly assigned to one of the conditions. After viewing the stimulus materials, participants completed the dependent variables in the following order: 1) a word-completion task to measure the activation of aggressiveness, 2) criminal judgment decisions; followed by measures assessing 3) attitudes towards Black people, 4) attitudes toward the legal system, 5) implicit racial associations. The order of the attitudes towards Black people and attitudes toward the legal system were counterbalanced. Participants then rated the importance of nine major facial features when deciding on the race of another person separately and denoted the extent of their Black and White interacts at work, at school, and socially. These measures assessed the weight that each phenotype features has on evaluating a target and the influence that Black personal contact has on actions taken against them (Brown, Dane, & Durham, 1998; Peruche & Plant, 2006). The demographics measure included questions about: serving on a jury, negative experiences with the courts or police, being a victim of a crime in the past year, age, gender, race, school classification, political ideology and degree major.

CHAPTER 6 MEASURES

Global Assessment of Physical Appearance Measure was for Phase 1. It was used to make a single global assessment of the African American men based on the degree to which they possess pronounced Afrocentric features. The measure also includes ratings levels of kindness, aggressiveness, dominance, symmetry, likeability, physical

attractiveness, competency, and babyfacedness (Blair, Judd, & Chapleau, 2004; Rule, Ambady, & Adams, 2009; Porter et al., 2008).

The word completion task was utilized to measure aggression activation. Participants were presented with 98 word stems that are missing letters. They were given three minutes to fill in the missing letters to make a word in the English language (e.g. _ I G H T, making "fight" would be considered towards aggression activation; "night" would be considered a nonaggressive response). Dr. Craig Anderson, whom the word completion task is copyrighted under, stated that 48 of the 98 word stems do not yield aggression-related words. No word stem can only be completed with an aggressive word; nonetheless, 2 word stems out of the 98 have two possible aggressive words to only one possible neutral word. 13 word stems out of the 98 have an equal ratio of possible aggressive to neutral words (e.g. 1:1 or 2:2). Aggression activation scores were determined by the number of word stems completed with aggressive words divided by the total number of those stems completed (Anderson et al., 2004). This type of word-stem completion task has been shown to be a valid indicator of aggressive concept accessibility (Greitemeyer, 2011) and predictive of aggressive thought, feeling, and behavior activation (Anderson et al., 2010; DeWall & Bushman, 2009).

Criminal Judgments included questions such as "The defendant is guilty/ not guilty", "The defendant should receive not guilty/ probation/ prison time/ probation and prison time", "If guilty, the defendant should serve a total sentence of…", "If imprisoned, how likely is the defendant to commit a burglary and theft upon release", "If imprisoned, how likely is the defendant to commit other offenses upon release", "The defendant will be cautious about his actions in the future", and "If imprisoned, the

defendant will have success pursuing his college aspirations upon release". The questions regard verdict, sentence, recidivism, and future success.

The General Attitudes toward the Legal System (GATLS; Schiffhauer & Wrightsman, 1995) and the *Subscale: Attitudes towards Fairness from the Attitudes toward the Criminal Legal System* (ATF; Martin & Cohn, 2004) were used to measure attitudes toward the legal system. Some of the items from the GATLS and ATF include "If accused of a crime, I feel confident that I would receive a fair trial.", "Too many criminals are out on parole", "Most of our laws are fair and just", and "Minorities are often given unfair punishments". The GATLS is comprised of two subscales (confidence and leniency in legal system) and filler items totaling to 35 items. Responses range from -3 (*strongly disagree)* to 3 *(strongly agree).* The ATF subscale is comprised of 14 items with responses ranging from -2 *(strongly disagree)* to 2 *(strongly agree).*

The *Attitudes towards Blacks Scale* (ATB; Brigham, 1993) contained 20 items addressing explicit racism against African Americans. Items are worded as such, "Black and White people are inherently equal" and "It is likely that Blacks will bring violence to neighborhoods when they move in." Participants can response from 1 (*strongly disagree)* to 7 (*strongly agree).*

The *Race Implicit Association Test* (RIAT; Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz, 1998) was comprised of two questionnaires and a task in which participants must quickly sort words and pictures in categories. Several of these measurements have been utilized in tandem before by other researchers to explore racial scales' convergence and legal attitudes' implications within a criminal context (Brigham & Wasserman, 1999; Payne,

Burkley, & Stokes, 2008). All measures and criminal vignette are included in the appendices.

CHAPTER 7 ANALYSES

Phase 1

Correlations were ran to see if ratings of Afrocentric features and skin color were related to ratings of aggressiveness, dominance, kindness, likeability, physical attractiveness, competence, and babyfaceness. Linear regressions were conducted to see if social Black contact predicted ratings of Afrocentric features, skin color, or aggressiveness.

Phase 2

An ANCOVA controlling for political ideology was conducted to evaluate the significance of pronounced Afrocentric features on criminal judgment (Ruby & Brigham, 1996). Pearson's correlation assessed the relation between attitudes towards Blacks and social Black contact. Multiple regressions were ran for study condition, attitudes towards Blacks, and personal Black contact on aggression activation. Hierarchical linear and multiple regression models were incorporated to report the amount of variance found in criminal judgment. Bootstrapping was used to examine the effect of aggression activation on the relationship between phenotypic conditions and criminal judgment (Shrout & Bolger, 2002).

PHASE 1 RESULTS

Demographics

Seventy seven percent of the participants were White, 20% were Black, 1.7% were Latino, and 1.7% were Asian (N = 60). The majority of the sample were women

(71.7%) and the age range was 18-24 years old (M = 19.22, SD = 1.31) (Table 1). Because there were too few of Asian and Latino participants, they were grouped together with Black participants as others. Asian and Latino average skin color ratings and social Black contact were closer to Black participants' scores than White participants' scores. White was coded as 0 and the other races as 1 for the hierarchical linear regression analysis. The race of the participants predicted 34.2% of the variance in average skin color ratings above all other variables with an observed power of 1.0 [$F(1, 43) = 23.84$, $p < .001$] ($f^2 = .52$) (Table 4). White participants rated the Black faces as darker than any other participants rated the same faces (Figure 1). White participants (M = 4.11, SD = 1.73) reported significantly less social contact with Blacks than Black participants (M = 6.83, SD = .39), $t(56) = 5.39$, $p < .001$ (d = -.74) (Table 5). This preference for own-race social contact was apparent amongst Black participants as well; Black participants (M = 4.25, SD = 2.3) significantly reported less social contact with Whites than White participants (M = 6.65, SD = .82), $t(56) = 5.89$, $p < .001$ (d = -.57) (Table 7). An ANCOVA controlling for social Black contact revealed how social Black contact partially mediates the relationship between race and average skin color ratings (Table 6). Sixty-eight percent (68.2%) of the variance in Black social contact was predicted by race and Black contact at school with an observed power of 1.0 [$F(2, 57) = 64.24$, $p < .001$] ($f^2 = .52$) (Table 7). Both race ($\beta = .32$, $t = 4.89$, $p < .001$) and Black contact at school ($\beta = .62$, $t = 8.01$, $p < .001$) were positively associated with social Black contact such that White participants and those with less Black contact at school had less social Black contact.

Skin color (M = 7.88, SD = 2.41) was rated the most importance feature when assessing individual's racial affiliation (Brown, Dane, & Durham, 1998) (Table 8). Skin color (M = 6.22, SD = 3.0) was second only to eyes (M = 7.32, SD = 2.38) in assessing another's physical attractiveness (Table 9).

Prototypicality

Prototypicality regards the ratings of both Afrocentric features and skin color. The inmate that was viewed as the most prototypical African American man (AM) was rated highest in Afrocentric features (M = 7.6, SD = 1.5) and darkest in complexion (M = 6.7, SD = .79) (Table 2). Correlations were ran for AM's prototypical ratings and personality trait ratings. As hypothesized, AM's skin color ratings were correlated with aggression (r = .25, p = .03) and kindness (r = -.30, p = .008) ratings (Table 3). The darker participants perceived AM, the higher they perceived his aggression and conversely the lower they perceived his kindness. The inmate viewed as average in prototypicality (AL) was rated closest to the average skin color rating of M = 5.13, SD = .57 (M = 4.97, SD = 1.04) and average Afrocentric features rating of M = 6.61, SD = 1.03 (M = 6.36, SD = 1.68) (Table 2). The inmate viewed as the least prototypical African American man (AN) was rated lowest in Afrocentric features (M = 3.80, SD = 1.89) and lightest in complexion (M = 2.63, SD = 1.24) (Table 2). Only AN's skin color and Afrocentric features ratings were significantly correlated (r = .21, p = .034) such that perceived Afrocentric features increased along with perceived darker skin color (Table 3). AM (r = .19, p = .051) and AL's (r = 19, p = .054) skin color and Afrocentric features ratings were marginally correlated (Table 3). Average skin color and average Afrocentric features ratings were not significantly correlated (p > .05).

PHASE 1 DISCUSSION

The purpose of Phase 1 was to identify the least, most, and average prototypical African American men out of the set of inmates. Ratings of prototypicality were significantly predicted by race above all other factors. People in general associate more negative person evaluations and show less legal leniency to African Americans perceived as darker in skin complexion compared to those perceived as lighter in skin complexion (Livingston, 2001; Maddox & Gray, 2002). For AM, his highly prototypical physical appearance invoked traits associated with Black criminality (i.e., highly aggressive and unlikely to be kind in person). Ratings of physical appearance may seem superfluous in research on criminal judgment; however, a juror's limited encounters with Black people could exacerbate the perception of the Black criminal and justify harsher actions taken towards a Black defendant. This data provided insight on possible interventions that could combat the catalyst of physical appearance influencing assumed personality traits which could impact criminal judgment.

Phase 1 illustrated how participants' race and prior exposure to Black people impacted African American male inmates' ratings of prototypicality just as much as the men's phenotypic expression. Taking the criminal legal context into a laboratory setting makes for an optimal next step after Phase 1. Phase 2 sought to affirm real-world findings on the influence of phenotypic variation within the criminal legal system (Valla, Ceci, & Williams, 2011). Researchers have already investigated Afrocentric features and skin color's impact on criminal judgments for the individuals and their respective crimes (Blair, Judd, & Chapleau, 2004; Viglione, Hannon, & DeFina, 2011). AM, AL, and AN were paired with the same crime and researchers collected data to see if the defendant's

prototypicality significantly affected people's sentencing and assumed recidivism. Political ideology has revealed to be a dominating factor on perceptions of Black males, thus a post hoc ANCOVA was used to explore results between phenotypic conditions (Ruby & Brigham, 1996). Phase 2 looked to equalize the crime and vary the perceived defendant, and to reveal phenotypic variation as being a salient factor in criminal judgment.

PHASE 2 RESULTS

Demographics

There were slightly more women (53.5%) than men (46.5%) in the sample. Fifty-nine percent (59.4%) of the sample identified as White, 33.7% as Black, 2% as Latino, 1% as Asian and 4% as other race (N = 101). Ages ranged from 18 to 35 with a mean age of 20.4 years old. A majority of the sample had never served jury duty (97%). The sample was economically stratified with approximately a third of the sample coming from a household making more than $80,000 annually (33.7%) and a quarter of the sample came from a household making under $20,000 annually (25.7%). The greater part of the sample was moderate in political ideology (38.6%) while 8.9% were stark conservatives and 7.9% were stark liberals. Fifty-four percent (53.5%) of participants have had a negative experience with law enforcement in the past year, but only 28.7% have had a negative experience with the court system in the past year.

Similar to the sample in Phase 1, Latino, Asian, and other race participants were grouped with Black participants. White was coded as 0 and other races as 1 for the multiple regression analysis. Forty-four percent (44.4%) of the variance in Black social contact was predicted by race and Black contact at school with an observed power of 1.0

[$F(2, 98) = 40.94$, $p < .001$] ($f^2 = .52$) (Table 15). Both race ($\beta = .24$, $t = 3.20$, $p = .002$) and Black contact at school ($\beta = .59$, $t = 7.73$, $p < .001$) were positively associated with social Black contact such that White participants and those with less Black contact at school had less social Black contact. Race had a main effect on IAT scores, $t(91) = 2.82$, $p = .006$ ($d = .61$), and was marginally significant on ATB scores, $t(92) = 1.86$, $p = .066$ ($d = .40$) (Table 16). White participants who possessed more automatic preferences for White people ($M = 3.73$, $SD = 2.29$) and marginally more negative attitudes towards Blacks ($M = 2.69$, $SD = .77$) than Black participants respectively ($M = 2.33$, $SD = 2.29$; $M = 2.38$, $SD = .78$).

Contrary to the hypothesis, neither study condition, social Black contact, ATB scores, nor IAT scores significantly predicted aggression activation in a multiple regression, $p > .05$. Furthermore, the Sobel test and bootstrapping technique revealed that the relationship between study condition and years recommended was not significantly mediated by aggression activation as measured by the word-completion task, $p > .05$. Eleven percent (10.9%) of the variance in aggression activation was significantly predicted by GATLS leniency scores ($\beta = -.25$, $t = -2.57$, $p = .012$) and the defendant's likeability ($\beta = -.28$, $t = -2.91$, $p = .004$) with an observed power of .89 [$F(2,95) = 6.95$, $p = .002$] ($f^2 = .52$) (Table 18).

A multiple linear regression indicated that race, ATB scores, ATF scores, and GATLS leniency scores predicted 32.5% of the variance in political ideology with an observed power of 1.0 [$F(4, 93) = 12.67$, $p < .001$] ($f^2 = .52$) (Table 17). ATB scores ($\beta = -.21$, $t = -2.23$, $p = .029$), ATF scores ($\beta = -.37$, $t = -3.96$, $p < .001$), and GATLS leniency

scores (β = -.20, t = -2.28, p = .025) were negatively related to political ideology. Race (β = .27, t = 3.21, p = .002) was positively related to political ideology.

Manipulation Checks

A General Linear Model was used to check for study conditions' manipulations while controlling for political ideology and race (Ruby & Brigham, 1996). Race was controlled for as well because it predicted skin color ratings and was related to social Black contact in Phase 1. The study conditions had a significant effect on ratings of Afrocentric features, [F(2, 95) = 13.96, p < .001], and skin color, [F(2, 95) = 45.56, p < .001] (Table 10). A Bonferroni post hoc test for ratings of Afrocentric features indicated that AN (M = 4.25, SD = 1.87) was significantly rated least in pronounced Afrocentric features (d = -.51). AL (M = 6.44, SD = 1.73) and AM's (M = 6.57, SD = 2.05) ratings of Afrocentric features did not significantly differ (p > .05). A Bonferroni post hoc test for ratings of skin color indicated that AM (M = 5.67, SD = .88), AL (M = 4.74, SD = 1.11), and AN (M = 3.25, SD = 1.08) significantly differed from each other. There was no significant order effect for legal system measures and ATB scores on IAT scores or preceding measures, p > .05.

The significant factors predicting 53.3% of the defendant's skin color ratings were the study condition, IAT scores, perceived Black stereotypicality, and Afrocentric features ratings with an observed power of 1.0 [F(5, 94) = 23.59, p < .001] (f^2 = .52) (Table 14). The study condition (β = -.46, t = -6.36, p < .001) was negatively related to the defendant's skin color ratings such that the most prototypical defendant condition received the darkest skin color ratings. Afrocentric features ratings (β = .32, t = 4.24, p <

.001), perceived Black stereotypicality (β = .24, t = 3.34, p = .001), and IAT scores (β = .16, t = 2.23, p = .28) were positively related to the defendant's skin color ratings. ATB scores (β = .14, t = 1.94, p = .56) were marginally associated with the defendant's skin color ratings.

Criminal Judgment

The defendant was found guilty 86% of the time by participants. Thirty-three percent (32.7%) recommended just probation while 30.7% recommended prison time with probation and 24.8% recommended just prison time. Based on the criminal vignette, the defendant averaged a recommended length of 12.15 years in the adult correctional system with 31.7% of participants assuming he is somewhat likely to recidivate. Close to half of the participants (42.6%) perceived it unlikely for him to be successful in pursuing his future aspirations.

Sentence Recommended

A hierarchical linear regression model revealed that the defendant's Afrocentric features ratings (β = .27, t = 2.68, p = .009) was the greatest predictor of 6% sentence recommended above all legal system measures, race, implicit attitudes, social Black contact, and study condition with an observed power of .70 [F (1, 95) = 7.17, p = .009] (f^2 = .52) (Table 12). As hypothesized, participants that perceived the defendant as possessing more pronounced Afrocentric features recommended harsher sentencing such as prison followed by probation.

Years Recommended

Controlling for race and political ideology, prototypicality had a main effect on recommended years for the defendant to serve with an observed power of .61 [F(2, 95) =

3.31, $p = .037$] (Ruby & Brigham, 1996) (Table 10). A LSD pairwise comparison revealed that AM's ($M = 16.21$, $SD = 13.61$) recommended years to serve was significantly different than AL ($M = 10.28$, $SD = 11.02$) and AN's ($M = 9.46$, $SD = 11.49$) recommended years to serve ($d = 0.58$) (Figure 2). AN and AL did not statistically differ, $p > .05$.

Although the multiple regression including aggression activation, attitudes towards the legal system, attitudes towards Black people, and implicit racial associations was statistically significant in predicting 12% of the variance in years recommended as hypothesized [$F(6, 87), = 3.12$, $p = .008$], a multiple regression incorporating study condition, GATLS confidence scores, IAT scores, and perceived defendant's future caution accounted for 17.8% of the variance in years recommended with an observed power of .97 [$F(4, 94) = 6.30$, $p < .001$] ($f^2 = .52$) (Table 11). Study condition ($\beta = -.22$, $t = -2.34$, $p = .019$) and perceived defendant's future caution ($\beta = -.19$, $t = -2.06$, $p = .042$) were negatively associated with years recommended. GATLS confidence scores ($\beta = .24$, $t = 2.61$, $p = .011$) and IAT scores ($\beta = .24$, $t = 2.55$, $p = .012$) were positively associated with years recommended. The ATF scores were also correlated with the GATLS subscales for confidence that the system works ($r = .74$, $p < .001$) and cynical beliefs that the system is too lenient ($r = -.30$, $p = .003$).

Assumed recidivism

A Hierarchical Linear Regression Model showed perceived defendant's future caution ($\beta = -.42$, $t = 4.44$, $p < .001$) as the strongest predictor needed to predict 17.1% of assumed recidivism with an observed power of 1.0 [$F(1, 90) = 19.71$, $p < .001$] ($f^2 = .52$)

(Table 13). The more cautious participants thought the defendant would be in the future, the less likely they assumed he would recidivate.

PHASE 2 DISCUSSION

The purpose of Phase 2 was to pair Black male faces that differed in ratings of prototypicality to illustrate the saliency of phenotypic variation on criminal judgment. Hypotheses were supported regarding phenotypic variation; harsher criminal judgment was associated with more pronounced Afrocentric features, more prototypical appearance, and more implicitly negative attitudes towards Blacks. Afrocentric features' ratings were related to sentence recommendations such that participants who perceived the defendant as possessing more pronounced Afrocentric features were most likely to sentence him to harsher punishment (Eberhardt et al., 2006). The main effect and effect size for prototypicality on recommended years supported the importance of Afrocentric features and skin color on the severity of criminal judgment and the automaticity feature-based stereotyping (Blair, Judd, & Chapleau, 2004; Blair, Judd, & Fallman, 2004). For the same offense, AM was more likely sentenced to prison time followed by a period of probation and to serve approximately six more years in the adult correction system than AN or AL. These findings on prototypicality reflected current researchers affirming that African Americans' phenotypic variation is a decisive factor on attitudes and actions taken towards them (Hagiwara, Kashy, & Cesario, 2012; Kahn & Davies, 2011). In addition, the more negative implicit or explicit attitudes participants held towards Blacks, the darker in skin color the participants perceived the defendant. The positive relationship between the defendant's Afrocentric features ratings and skin color ratings was not surprising; the positive relationship found between stereotypicality of actions and

skin color ratings, however, deserves attention. If participants viewed the defendant as being more stereotypical of Black males based on his criminal activities, then participants perceived the defendant as being darker in skin color (Livingston, 2001; MacLin & Herrera, 2006; Maddox & Gray, 2002). Perceiving the defendant as being darker in skin color and thus more typical of African Americans could be justification for the participants to align the defendant with Black stereotypes (Dixon & Maddox, 2006). Participants' darker perceptions of Black faces could be justification for participants, who already possess implicit and somewhat explicit negative attitudes towards Blacks, to classify the defendant within the Black stereotype (Devine, 1989). Participants perceived the defendant to be darker in skin color if they were in the most prototypical defendant condition, rated the defendant high in Afrocentric features, perceived the defendant to be acting stereotypically Black, or possessed implicit or explicitly biases against Black people. The physical perception of the defendant was influenced by participants' preexisting attitudes towards Blacks, cultural notions of Black criminals, and the manipulated study conditions.

The demographic-based factors pointed out the impact of legal attitudes, racial attitudes, and social contact on criminal judgment. GATLS confidence scores suggested that participants more confident in the legal system recommended harsher criminal judgment than other participants. The individuals possessing more confidence in the legal system may be driven towards a longer prison sentence including probation believing that the adult correctional system would be beneficial to the defendant's rehabilitation. Perceiving the defendant to more likely to recidivate lengthened the given sentence. Judgment of the defendant's future caution predicted assumed recidivism.

Participants who assumed the defendant to be less cautious about his future actions recommended longer sentences possibly assuming the defendant would revert back to criminal activities upon release **(**Dotsch, Wigboldus, & Knippenberg, 2011). Assuming the defendant would recidivate led participants to recommend more adult correctional supervision in the form of serving more time in prison and being required to report to a probation officer for a period of time upon release. The attitudes and preferences of participants were powerful enough to sway their perception of the defendant as to fit what concepts were most congruent with their attitudes and ideologies (Oliver at el., 2004).

The finding that GATLS leniency scores and defendant likeability negatively predicted aggression activation suggested that those participants who felt less cynicism towards the legal system being too lenient and those who perceived the defendant as unlikable held more aggressive thoughts during the criminal judgment process. The lack of significance for ATB scores on criminal judgment and defendant perception could be due to the automatic nature of feature-based stereotyping (Blair, Judd, & Fallman, 2004).

Although GATLS leniency scores predicted years recommended, aggression activation and defendant likeability did not predict criminal judgment. Participants low on legal system cynicism may be focusing less on the flaws of the legal system and more on the defendant's blatant offense. Participants that disliked the defendant may have ruminated more on his criminal actions than participants that liked him. Phenotypic variation was a leading factor in the criminal judgment of African American men along with negative perceptions of the defendant, attitudes towards the legal system and Black people, and social Black contact.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

As early as Aristotle, researchers have theorized about the impact of phenotypic expression on person evaluation and personality causation, coined physiognomic (Corsini, 1959). This current study reflected the bearing of physiognomic and results found amongst incarcerated African Americans based on physical appearance and the traits attributed to them (Blair, Judd, & Chapleau, 2004; Eberhardt et al., 2006; Viglione, Hannon, & DeFina, 2011). Black male defendants are generally regarded within the criminal stereotype. The degree of negative regard is dependent on the phenotypic expression of the defendant (Rossen et al., 2008). Within the same racial group (Black), those possessing more pronounced features germane to a group stereotype (more prototypical features and criminality) are more readily recognized as group members and subjected to the group's stigmas compared to group members possessing less pronounced features (Dotsch, Wigboldus, & Knippenberg, 2011). Less prototypical appearance on Black faces decreased the severity of negative evaluation (Dixon & Maddox, 2006). Within the criminal legal context, this preferential treatment is revealed through the significant difference in criminal judgment (Eberhardt et al., 2006). On average, participants felt that the defendant should spend 12 years in the adult correction system. The vital factor participants relied on for sentencing was whether participants perceived the defendant as looking more typical of African Americans, more so than legal attitudes or assumed recidivism. Years recommended to spend in the adult correctional system increased nearly 50% if participants thought he looked more prototypical of African Americans or if participants held implicit biases against Black people. AN and AL's less prototypical appearances allowed them to receive more leniency in criminal judgment while AM was subjugated to more severe criminal judgment.

Phase 1 provided data on the personality traits attributed to the Phase 2 defendants. AM was punished more because his physical appearance made him "fit the image" of Black criminal (Hurwitz & Peffley, 1997). AM's skin color was correlated with aggression ratings in Phase 1. His severe criminal judgment could be due to threat or aggression activation based on his AM's prototypicality. Unfortunately, aggression activation did not mediate criminal judgment, so stereotype and threat activation affecting criminal judgment is only an assumption. Nonetheless more prototypical appearance for Blacks has been associated with emotional concern and criminal judgment (Blair, Judd, & Chapleau, 2004; Dixon & Maddox, 2006; Eberhardt et al., 2006). AL and AN's findings could be due to the negative perception of Blacks as a race and less prototypicality could be a buffer against negative affect, but does not increase positive affect (Hagiwara, Kashy, & Cesario, 2012). Phase 2 illustrated the scientific merit of investigating the influence of phenotypic variation on criminal judgment within a controlled setting as well as illustrated the association between prototypicality and stereotypicality (Devine, 1989).

Participants were unaware of their gradient discrimination of Blacks based on phenotypic variation because race was being held constant. Black race was an overarching category for the targets in the study conditions and still participants showed less favorable judgment toward the most prototypical defendant (Dotsch, Wigboldus, & Knippenberg, 2011). The least and average prototypical defendants' phenotypic conditions ameliorated the negative effects of being Black in the criminal legal context. Participants relied on the physical appearance as a cue for Black stereotypicality (Shoemaker, South, & Lowe, 1973). Although the physical appearance of the defendant

differed significantly amongst conditions and in criminal judgment, participants' perceptions of the defendants' physical prototypicality were shaped by his behavioral stereotypicality (Blair et al., 2002; Hurwitz & Peffley, 1997; Shoemaker, South, & Lowe, 1973). These facial stereotypes were further impacted by negative explicit and implicit Black attitudes (Eberhardt, Dasgupta, & Banaszynski, 2003).

The incorporation of attitudes towards the legal system measurements enriched the data and predicted political ideology. Being White, perceiving the legal system to be nondiscriminatory, believing the legal system to be too lenient, and possessing more explicitly negative attitudes towards Blacks were related to a more conservative political ideology. Based on the regression model, more conservative individuals may be alienating themselves from minorities through their explicitly negative attitudes towards the group, stern stance on more severe punishment for offenders by the legal system, and lack of acknowledging legal system inequalities.

White students socialized with Black students at a significant lower rate than with other White people, which impacted average ratings of skin color. White students also held more implicit but not explicit preferences for White over Black people. The absence of a statistically significant relationship between IAT and ATB scores contributed to the literature debating the legitimacy of implicit association tests' relation to explicit measures of attitudes (Hewstone, Rubin, & Willis, 2002). Both phases illustrated how participants spent an overwhelming amount of their social time with racial in-group members. White participants were socializing with White people at the same rate as Black participants were socializing with Black people. This explains the significantly darker skin color ratings of Black men by White participants compared to Black

participants; Whites had less social Black contact than Blacks had and consequently perceived Blacks as generally darker than Blacks perceived their racial in-group members (Chiroro & Valentine, 1995; Michel, Caldara, & Rossion, 2006). Darker skin color is associated with Black stereotypes and has invoked negative neurological responses from White participants (Maddox & Gray, 2002; Ronquillo et al., 2007). Because of their extensive social Black contact, other race participants could be identifying inmate faces as medium complexion, compared to average White ratings of somewhat dark complexion, to avoid perceiving the inmates aligned with the Black stereotype of poor, aggressive criminal (Chiroro & Valentine, 1995; Maddox & Gray, 2002; Ruby & Brigham, 1996). White participants spent less time with Black people socially and thus were not frequently exposed to the variety of phenotypic expressions categorized as Black, in turn affecting how they perceived racial outgroup members (Levin, 1996; Young et al., 2012).

Incorporating the jigsaw classroom technique on the university level can begin to improve social-racial relations. Aronson's jigsaw classroom is a technique developed in the 1970's to help socialize the newly integrated schools in America (Aronson et al., 1977). The jigsaw technique has continued to be implemented within classrooms and has shown to improve interracial relations and group cooperation (Aronson, 2000). Black contact at school predicting social Black contact suggested that intervening on Black contact at the school level can encourage social Black contact and modify perceptions of African Americans (Chiroro & Valentine, 1995). A jigsaw classroom allows for students whom would not have conversed to form academic relationships. Learning more about different people could foster a desire to hang-out and socialize outside the classroom,

thus diversifying one's social group (Davies et al., 2011). More exposure to stigmatized groups could impact subjective visual perceptions and assumed personal traits of the group's members.

The significance of attitudes towards the legal system and assumed recidivism on criminal judgment were expected and important factors. The merit of ratings of the target's prototypicality and stereotypicality, attitudes towards Blacks, and social Black contact confirmed that prejudices and discriminatory practices linger within the 21st century criminal legal system (Alexander, 2010; Fraser, 2010). Participants all read the same non-violent, criminal situation of an 18 year ago, African American male committing his first offense. After being sentenced to an average length of twelve years in the adult correction system, the defendant would return back into his community without the social, financial, or human capital needed to positively impact his community or support himself. Even if the defendant earned a degree while in prison, it can still be difficult for Black ex-convicts to receive employment compared to White ex-convicts (Smith & Hattery, 2010). Thus, reverting back to criminal activities, as approximately a third of the participants assumed, could be viewed as the only feasible means of making an income. The defendant falls into the detrimental cycle of increased criminal behaviors and possible re-incarceration. This continues the business objective of the prison industrial complex and keeps young Black men separated from the Black community (Wright & Younts, 2009). Based on Phase 2 results and the literature, the most prototypical African Americans are especially being persecuted by individuals involved in the criminal legal process (Blair, Judd, & Chapleau, 2004; Eberhardt et al., 2006). The phenotypes they received from their biological parents and ancestral homelands is

associated with the 40% Black population rate of American prison inmates and the 33% rate of African American men being charged with a crime before they are 30 years ago (Beck & Mumola, 1999; Bureau of Justice, 2009; Rastogi, et al., 2011). These statistics drive individuals, especially those with more implicit biases towards Blacks, to rely on Black criminal stereotypes when evaluating a criminal defendant.

Legal decision makers and individuals employed by the criminal legal system should take into consideration the saliency of the defendant's phenotype expression, their own explicit and implicit attitudes towards Blacks, and their assumed attributes of a criminal defendant. Interventions can begin on the social level or the institutional level. Social Black contact can modify perceptions of Black people's physical traits (Aronson, 2000; Michel, Caldara, & Rossion, 2006). Perceiving Black people to be darker than others can increase the thought of a Black person's prototypicality being associated with their stereotypicality, hence the reliance of Black criminal stereotypes and more negative evaluation of an individual based on darker skin color (Blair et al., 2002; Blair, Judd, & Chapleau, 2004). Facilitating more diverse contact at school can increase more social Black contact just as facilitating more diverse contact at the workplace could modify perceptions of African Americans (Lebrecht et al., 2009). From the institutional level, police and correctional officers, judges, and lay people selected for jury should be informed of the potential bias they may possess based on demographic factors such as social contact. Judges especially should be conversant on research implicating that the physical appearance of a defendant can influence their criminal judgment of the defendant.

LIMITATIONS

One is obligated to participate in the civic duty of serving on a jury; however, there are exceptions. Showing proof of college enrollment is one way to get out of jury duty. Thus, judgments made by a college sample cannot truly represent the population most likely to be active jury members. Only two participants in Phase 2 ever served on a jury. Nonetheless, the decisions made by this college sample alluded to what individuals believe to be just punishment for an individual's actions. The physical appearance of the defendant is more important than those of a color-blind ideology would rather admit and this current study's design exposed this reality by controlling for criminal situation. Researchers should consider receiving participation from judges and participants from a courthouse where people are waiting for jury selection. Another possible limitation is in the interpretation of the "Your Household Annual Income" question. Some participants may be legally independent, or have entered their personal income since starting college and not their parents' household. There is no way to check if participants understood whether to enter their parents' income and not their own income. On demographic sections of surveys, future researchers should always state clearly if they want the participants' income or the income of the participants' former or current caregivers.

FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Ratings of skin color were a significant factor in this study. Current researchers' future direction is to assess the saliency of skin color in discrimination within the criminal legal decision process by utilizing Adobe Photoshop CS Software to control for individual differences within the manipulation. Manipulating skin color instead of facial features would allow the current researchers to control for variability of individual face differences and add credibility to the photograph headshots as being unaltered. By

digitally altering the skin color of the target, the current researchers would be able to present the same target faces within multiple conditions (light, medium, and dark skin) and thus would be able to control for individual differences in faces.

Gagne and colleagues (2006) conducted a study in which the target's skin color was altered by applying make-up. Participants viewed a videotape of the target reading a speech in different lighting conditions. Participant's ratings of speech-reading performance increased for light and dark skin conditions as foot-candles' illumination levels increased. Gagne and colleagues illustrated how illumination properties influence people's perception of target skin color which in turn affected evaluations of the target. Brooks and Gwinn (2010) suggested that simply altering the skin tone between study conditions does not affect the target's perceived racial typicality. Participants did not rate the racial typicality significantly different for the morphed, target face when arranged with all-Black or all-White faces. These studies are not interpreted as skin tone having an insignificant influence on people of color's reality, but as a cautious on research design. African American findings regarding preferential regard for lighter skin color and discriminatory treatment towards darker skin color are akin to those regarding Latino and Asian individuals (Telles, 2004; Dixon, Dixon, Li, & Anderson, 2006; Glenn, 2008). Although Gagne and colleagues utilized a real person's face compared to Brooks and Gwinn who morphed faces, both studies alluded to the possible constraint of manipulating skin color as the phenotypic variable to study; image illumination. It is imperative that current researchers acknowledge this, incorporate high quality images of targets, and include manipulation checks for picture quality, target skin color and realism, and perceived deception.

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APPENDIX A

GLOBAL ASSESSMENT OF PHYSICAL APPEARANCE

Face #

Instructions: Please make a single, global assessment of the degree to which each face displays…

1.	Physical attractiveness	1 Not at all	2	3	4 Moderate	5	6	7 Extremely
2.	Babyfaced-ness	1 Not at all	2	3	4 Moderate	5	6	7 Extremely
3.	Aggression	1 Not at all	2	3	4 Moderate	5	6	7 Extremely
4.	Dominance	1 Not at all	2	3	4 Moderate	5	6	7 Extremely
5.	Symmetry	1 Not at all	2	3	4 Moderate	5	6	7 Extremely
6.	Likeability	1 Not at all	2	3	4 Moderate	5	6	7 Extremely
7.	Kindness	1 Not at all	2	3	4 Moderate	5	6	7 Extremely
8.	Competency	1 Not at all	2	3	4 Moderate	5	6	7 Extremely

9. What age does this person appear to be? _____ years old

10.	Ethnicity	White	Black	Latino	Asian	Native American	Other: _____		
11.	Facial features typical of African Americans	Not at All 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Very Much 9
12.	Skin Complexion	Very Light	Light	Somewhat Light	Medium	Somewhat Dark	Dark	Very Dark	
13.	Does this person appear to be generally trustworthy?						Yes	No	
14.	This offender most likely committed…		Assault & Battery	Drug Crime	Fraud/ Embezzlement	Murder	Property Crime/ Theft	Sex Crime	

Face #

INSTRUCTIONS: Research suggests that the image quality of a photograph can influence observers' judgment. For this reason, please complete the following questions on the photograph.

		Very Slight or not at all	A Little	Moderately	Quite a Bit	Very Much
1	The illumination of the image is _____ bright.	0	1	2	3	4
2	The image is _____ blurry or distorted.	0	1	2	3	4
3	I can make out the facial features of the individual enough to recognize him in person.	0	1	2	3	4

APPPENDIX B

AGGRESSION ACTIVATION

INSTRUCTIONS: This is a word-completion task. Please complete all the items by filling in the missing letters as quickly as possible to make a word in the English language.
You have 3 minutes.

Code#_____

1. b_h___
2. in__re
3. ex_e__
4. mu__er
5. pr__e
6. spea_
7. fli__er
8. expl__e
9. w__m
10. ki__
11. t_p_
12. h_r_
13. a_t_r
14. cho_e
15. s_mp__
16. att_c_
17. c_mp__t
18. des____
19. sh_l_
20. sho_t
21. r_p__t
22. str__e
23. l__e
24. b_rn
25. st_r_o
26. p__son
27. p_st_r
28. m__gle
29. bl_nd
30. sn_re
31. b_e
32. h_t
33. g__pe
34. sm_ck
35. sm__e
36. kn___
37. t_ne
38. s__b
39. sh_r_
40. dr__n
41. p__ne
42. ang__
43. fl__t
44. fi__t
45. p_ck
46. ha_e
47. a_t
48. c_t
49. w_n
50. a_e
51. _ry
52. wa_
53. f_m_
54. sl_p
55. b__k
56. r_pe
57. fo_e_t
58. off___
59. l__on
60. cr__l
61. c_e_te
62. st_r_y
63. m_tc_
64. f_r__
65. t__te
66. n__t_
67. w__d_w
68. w__ked
69. vis__n
70. en_age
71. scr__n
72. h_tr_d
73. t_l_ph___
74. dis__s_ed
75. c_nt__l
76. prov__e
77. p_nb_ll
78. out___e
79. c_ll
80. r_de
81. m_n_ge
82. ins___
83. s_d_
84. b__t
85. br__ze
86. rev__t
87. coo_
88. s__y
89. d__r
90. sm_ck
91. fr__t
92. _unch
93. sh_re
94. a_use
95. cl__r
96. h_nt
97. w_t_r
98. s_ash

APPPENDIX C

CRIMINAL JUDGMENTS

INSTRUCTIONS: Please imagine that you have been asked to serve as a juror on this case.

1	James is...	Not Guilty (0)	Guilty (1)

2

James should receive...	Not Guilty *Only if selected Not Guilty (0)	Probation (1)	Prison time (2)	Prison time & Probation (3)

If you found James not guilty, enter "0".

3 By Georgia law:

Burglary is punishable up to 20 years

Theft is punishable up to 10 years

Possession of burglary tools is punishable up to 5 years

If guilty, James should serve a total sentence (be it just probation, prison, or both) of____ years.

INSTRUCTIONS: Imagine that a jury found James guilty and a judge sentenced him.

		Very Unlikely	Unlikely	Somewhat Unlikely	Somewhat Likely	Likely	Very Likely
4	If imprisoned, how likely is James to attempt a burglary and theft upon release?	1	2	3	4	5	6
5	If imprisoned, how likely is James to commit other offenses upon release?	1	2	3	4	5	6
6	James will be cautious about his actions in the future.	1	2	3	4	5	6
7	If imprisoned, James will have success pursuing college aspirations upon release.	1	2	3	4	5	6

APPPENDIX D

ATTITUDES TOWARDS BLACKS SCALE

INSTRUCTIONS: Each of the following reflects attitudes towards Black people. Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with each statement by circling the appropriate number aside the statement. Use the following scale:

		Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neutral	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1	If a Black person were put in charge of me, I would not mind taking advice and direction from him or her.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2	If I had a chance to introduce Black vistors to my friends and neighbors, I would be pleased to do so.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3	I would rather not have Black people live in the same neighborhood I live in.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4	I would probably feel somewhat self-conscious dancing with a Black person in a public place.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5	I would not mind it at all if a Black family with about the same income and education as me moved in next door.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6	I think that Black people living in America look more similar to each other than White people do.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7	Interracial marriage should be discouraged to avoid the "who-am-I"? confusion which the children feel.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	I get very upset when I hear a White person make a prejudicial remark about Black people.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9	I favor open housing laws that allow more racial integration of neighborhoods.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10	It would not bother me if my new roommate was a Black person.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11	It is likely that Black people will bring violence to neighborhoods when they move in.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12	I enjoy a funny racial joke, even if some people might find it offensive.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13	The American government should take decisive steps to override the injustices Black people suffer at the hands of local authorities.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14	Black and White people are inherently equal.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15	Black people are demanding too much too fast in their push for equal rights in America.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
16	White people should support Black people in their struggle against discrimination in America.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
17	Generally, Black people are not as smart as Whites.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
18	I worry that in the next few years I may be denied my application for a job or a promotion because of preferential treatment given to minority group members.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
19	Racial integration (of schools, businesses, residences, etc.) has benefitted both White and Black people.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
20	Some Black people in America are so touchy about race that it is difficult to get along with them.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

APPPENDIX E

GENERAL ATTITUDES TOWARD THE LEGAL SYSTEM

INSTRUCTIONS: Each of the following reflects an opinion about the legal system and the courts. Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with each statement by circling the appropriate number aside the statement. Use the following scale:

		Strongly disagree	Moderately disagree	Slightly disagree	Neutral	Slightly agree	Moderately agree	Strongly agree
1	The punishments given to criminals accurately reflect the crimes they have commited.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2	The skills of lawyers determine the verdicts more than the truth.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3	High standards of honesty and justice prevail in American courts.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4	A defendant accused of child molestation will receive a fair trial.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5	If accused of a crime, I feel confident that I would receive a fair trial.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6	Too many criminals are out on parole.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7	The media unfairly biases potential jurors against a defendant by publicizing information about him or her prior to trial.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	Police brutality is more common than people think.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9	If a defendant has enough money he or she will be able to buy an acquittal.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10	As a group, judges are more impartial and fair than people in general.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11	The courts system is "color blind"; race of the defendant does not influence the outcome.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12	Juries base their decisions only on the evidence given in court.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13	Defendants who are guilty often "get off" because of technicalities.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14	I think that plea bargaining is a reasonable way to serve justice, given the demands on the court's time.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15	Claims that the police have "planted" evidence are almost always made by guilty people.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

APPPENDIX E

GENERAL ATTITUDES TOWARD THE LEGAL SYSTEM

INSTRUCTIONS: Each of the following reflects an opinion about the legal system and the courts. Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with each statement by circling the appropriate number aside the statement. Use the following scale:

		Strongly disagree	Moderately disagree	Slightly disagree	Neutral	Slightly agree	Moderately agree	Strongly agree
16	If you have a lot of money, you have a good chance of being able to "get off" even if you committed the crime.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
17	Too many criminals are let free because of prison overcrowding.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
18	Only those who committed a crime are ever convicted.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
19	Judges are more lenient in the sentences they gave if the defendant is wealthy.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
20	Too many criminals slip through the cracks because of loopholes in the legal system.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
21	Jurors assume that a defendant is innocent until he or she is proven guilty.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
22	Too often, criminals are successful in pleading that they are not guilty by reason of insanity.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
23	Jurors are often intimidated by defendants who are known criminals.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
24	When a suspect confesses to the police, he or she does so voluntarily.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
25	Jurors are capable of accurately determining the innocence or guilt of a defendant.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
26	Since witnesses at a trial are under oath, you can assume they are telling the truth.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
27	The police do a good job of investigating crimes.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
28	Court-appointed attorneys and public defenders do as good a job as personally hired attorneys.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
29	Defense attorneys waste too much time and energy helping people to get off easy.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
30	Parole boards let too many still-dangerous offenders out on parole.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
31	Pleas of insanity are often just ploys to get off easy.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
32	Police will often keep a suspect in custody even when they don't have any firm evidence against him or her.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
33	The Supreme Court is, by and large, an effective guardian of the Constitution.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
34	Upstanding citizens have nothing to fear from the police.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

APPPENDIX F

SUBSCALE: ATTITUDES TOWARD FAIRNESS FROM THE ATCLS

INSTRUCTIONS: Each of the following reflects an opinion about the legal system and the courts. Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with each statement by circling the appropriate number aside the statement. Use the following scale:

		Strongly disagree	Disagree	Undecided	Agree	Strongly Agree
1	Most of our laws are fair and just.	1	2	3	4	5
2	Juries often base decisions on their prejudices instead of facts.	1	2	3	4	5
3	Minorities are often given unfair punishments.	1	2	3	4	5
4	Judges usually make fair decisions.	1	2	3	4	5
5	Most defense attorneys are as fair to the defendant and the victim as possible.	1	2	3	4	5
6	Police officers unfairly harass certain groups such as minorities and high school kids.	1	2	3	4	5
7	Prosecuting attorneys are out to get the defendant.	1	2	3	4	5
8	Most prosecuting attorneys are as fair to the victim and defendant as possible.	1	2	3	4	5
9	Police officers treat everyone equally because they are able to ignore prejudice.	1	2	3	4	5
10	There are too many laws that impose on personal freedom.	1	2	3	4	5
11	Judges tend to let bias and prejudice affect their decisions.	1	2	3	4	5
12	Juries make fair decisions most of the time.	1	2	3	4	5
13	Defense attorneys don't have the time or resources to do their jobs well.	1	2	3	4	5
14	The punishment given usually fits the crime.	1	2	3	4	5

APPPENDIX G

RACIAL IMPLICIT TEST INSTRUCTIONS

Please proceed to the Harvard Implicit Test website:
https://implicit.harvard.edu/implicit/Study?tid=-1

- Click “Go to the Demonstration Tests”
- Click “I wish to proceed”
- Click “Race IAT”

IMPLICIT ASSOCATION TEST INSTRUCTIONS:
You will complete three tasks: two brief questionnaires and an IAT in which you will sort words and pictures into categories as quickly as possible. You should be able to complete the tasks in less than 10 minutes total. When you finish, you will receive your results as well as more information about the test and the performance of others.

You have completed the African American - European American IAT.

Your Result

YOUR RESULTS WILL BE HERE.

Please enter your score in its entirety.
Strong automatic preference for White people = 6
Moderate automatic preference for White people = 5
Slight automatic preference for White people = 4
Slight automatic preference for Black people = 3
Moderate automatic preference for Black people = 2
Strong automatic preference for Black people = 1
Little to no automatic preference between Black and White people = 0
Too many errors = leave blank

APPPENDIX H

MANIPULATION CHECK QUESTIONNAIRES

1	What would you estimate James' household annual income is?	5k-19k (1)	20K-39k (2)	40k-59k (3)	60k-79k (4)	More than 80k (5)

		Very Slight or Not at All	A Little	Moderately	Quite a Bit	Very Much
2	To what extent are James' actions stereotypical of African American males?	1	2	3	4	5
3	To what extent do you think James is intelligent?	1	2	3	4	5
4	How likeable is James?	1	2	3	4	5
5	To what extent is James physically attractive?	1	2	3	4	5

1	Based on his physical appearance, to what extent does James look typical of African American males?	Not at All 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Very Much 9
2	James' skin complexion	Very Light (1)	Light (2)	Somewhat Light (3)	Medium (4)	Somewhat Dark (5)	Dark (6)			Very Dark (7)

APPPENDIX I

IMPORTANCE OF FACIAL FEAUTRES SCALES

Please rate the importance of nine major facial features when deciding on the race of another person. 9 = most important, 1 = least important**

**Use each number ONLY ONCE.

CHEEKS	HAIR
EARS	MOUTH
EYEBROWS	NOSE
EYES	SKIN COLOR
FOREHEAD	

Please rate the importance of nine major facial features when deciding on the physical attractiveness of another person. 9 = most important, 1 = least important**

**Use each number ONLY ONCE.

CHEEKS	HAIR
EARS	MOUTH
EYES	NOSE
EYEBROWS	SKIN COLOR
FOREHEAD	

APPPENDIX J

DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONS

1	To what extent do you interact with Whites at work? (Please only skip if you do not work)	Not at All 1	2	3	Moder-ately 4	5	6	A Great Deal 7
2	To what extent do you interact with Blacks at work? (Please only skip if you do not work)	Not at All 1	2	3	Moder-ately 4	5	6	A Great Deal 7
3	To what extent do you interact with Whites at school? (Please only skip if you do not attend school)	Not at All 1	2	3	Moder-ately 4	5	6	A Great Deal 7
4	To what extent do you interact with Blacks at school? (Please only skip if you do not attend school)	Not at All 1	2	3	Moder-ately 4	5	6	A Great Deal 7
5	To what extent do you interact with Whites during your personal time (socially)?	Not at All 1	2	3	Moder-ately 4	5	6	A Great Deal 7
6	To what extent do you interact with Blacks during your personal time (socially)?	Not at All 1	2	3	Moder-ately 4	5	6	A Great Deal 7

7	I have had at least one negative personal experience with a police officer in the past year.	Yes (1)	No (2)
8	I have had at least one negative personal experience with the legal court system (including fines or charges) in the past year.	Yes (1)	No (2)
9	I have served on a jury before.	Yes (1)	No (2)

3) RACE/ETHNICITY: __(1)__White/Caucasian American __(2)__Black/African American __(3)__Latino American __(4)__Asian America __(5)__Native American Other (specify): __(6)__

(If other race, enter "6" and write the race in under otherRace. If multiethnic, enter one race in Race column and the other in the multiRace column.)

4) COLLEGE/UNIVERSITY: _____ 5) MAJOR: _____

(Write in college and major. If dual major, write in second major in secondMAJOR column.)

6) YOUR HOUSEHOLD ANNUAL INCOME (circle a number):

5k-19k	20-39k	40k-59k	60k-79k	More than 80k
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)

7) POLITICAL IDEOLOGY (circle a number):

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Conservatism Liberalism

APPPENDIX K

CRIMNINAL VIGNETTE

James is an 18-year-old male who was arrested recently for allegedly burglarizing a home in Statesboro, GA. Police were able to apprehend the defendant based on a witness who reported his suspicious activity and gave a detailed description to authorities. When police arrived at the scene they found an open window, a television sitting on the front porch, and a ransacked home. The defendant was stopped in his vehicle near the home and was found in possession of burglary tools and some of the stolen goods from the home. He was charged with burglary, theft, and possession of burglary tools. He was sent to the Bulloch County Jail on $50,000.00 bail. James is pleading not guilty to all charges. If convicted this will be James' first offense.

APPPENDIX L

PROTOTYPICAL FACES

LEAST

AVERAGE

MOST

PHASE 1 FREQUENCIES TABLE 1

Phase 1 Frequencies

Gender				
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Female	43	42.2	71.7	71.7
Male	17	16.7	28.3	100.0
Total	60	58.8	100.0	
Missing System	42	41.2		
Total	102	100.0		

Race				
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
White	46	45.1	76.7	76.7
Black	12	11.8	20.0	96.7
Latino	1	1.0	1.7	98.3
Asian	1	1.0	1.7	100.0
Total	60	58.8	100.0	
Missing System	42	41.2		
Total	102	100.0		

Descriptive Statistics					
	N	Minimum	Maximun	Mean	Std. Deviation
yourAGE	59	18.00	24.00	19.2203	1.31395
Valid N (listwise)	59				

PHASE 1 PROTOTYPICALITY RATINGS TABLE 2

Phase 1 Prototypicality Ratings

Descriptive Statistics			
	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
AAtypicality4	6.3627	1.67562	102
skinColor4	4.9706	1.03843	102
AAtypicality5	7.6078	1.49028	102
skinColor5	6.6961	.79340	99
AAtypicality 6	3.7980	1.88971	99
skinColor6	2.6337	1.23873	101

PHASE 1 MOST PROTOTYPICAL TARGET'S CORRELATIONS TABLE 3

Phase 1 Most Prototypical Target's Correlations

Correlations					
		skinColor5	AAtypicality5	Aggress5	Kind5
skinColor5	Pearson Correl.	1	.191	.255*	-.303**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.054	.026	.008
	N	102	102	76	76
AAtypicality5	Pearson Correl.	.255*	.179	1	-.563**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.026	.122		.000
	N	102	102	76	76
agress5	Pearson Correl.	.255*	.179	1	-.563**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.026	.122		.000
	N	76	76	76	76
kind5	Pearson Correl.	-.303**	-.135	-.563**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.008	.247	.00	
	N	76	76	76	76

PHASE 1 PREDICTOR OF AVERAGE SKIN COLOR RATINGS TABLE 4

Phase 1 Predictor of Average Skin Color Ratings
Regression

Model Summary									
					Change Statistics				
Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	R Squared Change	F Change	df1	df2	Sig. F Change
1	.597	.357	.342	.45550	.357	23.836	1	43	.000
2	.640	.409	.316	.46439	.052	.674	5	38	.646

a. Predictors (Constant), Wht_0_others_1
b. Predictors (Constant), Wht_0_others_1, raceSkinColor, income, gender, PI, blackATsocial

ANOVA						
Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	4.945	1	4.945	23.836	.000
	Residual	8.922	43	.207		
	Total	13.867	44			
2	Regression	5.672	6	.945	4.384	.002
	Residual	8.195	38	.216		
	Total	13.867	44			

a. Predictors (Constant), Wht_0_others_1
b. Predictors (Constant), Wht_0_others_1, raceSkinColor, income, gender, PI, blackATsocial
c. Dependent Variable AVG_skincolor_scores

Coefficients						
		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients		
Model		B	Std. Error		*t*	Sig.
1	(Constant)	5.330	.078		68.228	.000
	Wht_0_others_1	-.771	.158	-.597	-4.882	.000
2	(Constant)	5.381	.441		12.192	.000
	Wht_0_others_1	-.706	.208	-.547	-3.390	.002
	blackATsocial	-.043	.049	-.137	-.870	.390
	Income	-.013	.054	-.031	-.246	.807
	PI	-.004	.056	-.009	-.068	.946
	Gender	-.191	.166	-.152	-1.156	.255
	raceSkinColor	.033	.029	.144	1.127	.267
Dependent Variable	AVG_skincolor_scores					

Excluded Variables						
						Collinearity Statistics
Model		Beta In	*t*	Sig.	Partial Correl.	Tolerance
1	blackATsocial	-.149	-.988	.329	-.151	.656
	income	-.051	-.416	.679	-.064	.998
	PI	-.013	-.095	.924	-.015	.851
	gender	-.130	-1.038	.305	-.158	.949
	raceSkinColor	.129	1.052	.299	.160	1.000
a. Predictors in the Model	(Constant), Wht_0_others_1					
b. Dependent Variable	AVG_skincolor_scores					

OWN-RACE SOCIAL CONTACT TABLE 5

Own-race social contact
T-Test

Independent Samples Test										
		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
									95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
		F	Sig.	*t*	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	Lower	Upper
whitesATsocial	Equal variances assumed	36.898	.000	5.889	56	.000	2.40217	.40792	1.58501	3.21936
	Equal variances not assumed			3.557	11.742	.004	2.40217	.67527	.92729	3.87706
blackATsocial	Equal variances assumed	12.159	.001	-5.391	56	.000	-2.72246	.50538	-3.73703	-1.71224
	Equal variances not assumed									

PHASE 1 ANCOVA FOR AVERAGE SKIN COLOR RATINGS TABLE 6

Phase 1 ANCOVA for Average Skin Color Ratings
Univariate Analysis of Variance

Tests of Between-Subjects Effects								
Dependent Variable	AVG_skincolor_scores							
Source	Type II Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.	Partial Eta Squared	Noncent. Parameter	Observed Power
Corrected Model	4.714	2	2.357	10.151	.000	.306	20.303	.981
Intercept	88.613	1	88.613	381.650	.000	.892	381.650	1.000
blackATsocialWhite	.090	1	.090	.390	.536	.008	.390	.094
	2.479	1	2.479	10.677	.002	.188	10.677	.892
Error	10.680	46	.232					
Total	1304.607	49						
Corrected Total	15.394	48						

a. R Squared = .306 (Adjusted R Squared = .276)
b. Computed using alpha = .05

PHASE 1 PREDICTORS OF BLACK SOCIAL CONTACT TABLE 7

Phase 1 Predictors of Black Social Contact
Regression

Model Summary									
					Change Statistics				
Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	R Squared Change	F Change	df1	df2	Sig. F Change
1	.832	.693	.682	1.06454	.693	64.236	2	57	.000

a. Predictors (Constant), Wht_0_others_1

ANOVA						
Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	145.589	2	72.794	64.236	.000
	Residual	64.595	57	1.133		
	Total	210.183	59			

a. Predictors (Constant), blacksATskool, Wht_0_others_1
b. Dependent Variable blackATsocial

Coefficients						
		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients		
Model		B	Std. Error	Beta	*t*	Sig.
1	(Constant)	-.276	.569		-.485	.630
	Wht_0_others_1	1.686	.345	.381	4.891	.000
	blackATskool	.844	.105	.624	8.011	.000

a. Dependent Variable blackATsocial

PHASE 1 MOST IMPORTANT FEATURE ASSESSING RACE TABLE 8

Phase 1 Most Important Feature Assessing Race

Descriptive Statistics			
	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
raceEyes	60	5.4333	2.30230
raceNose	60	6.6333	2.16260
raceHair	60	6.3833	2.17140
raceCheeks	60	3.1833	2.01260
raceEyebrows	60	2.7333	2.16964
raceForehead	60	3.4500	1.96085
raceMouth	60	5.6833	1.64153
raceSkinColor	60	7.8833	2.40826
raceEars	59	3.8136	1.98681
Valid N (listwise)	59		

PHASE 1 MOST IMPORTANT FEATURE ASSESSING PHYSICAL ATTRACTIVENESS TABLE 9

Phase 1 Most Important Feauture Assessing Physical Attractiveness

Descriptive Statistics			
	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
PAEyes	60	7.3167	2.37567
PANose	60	6.1667	1.75795
PAHair	60	6.0500	2.31740
PACheeks	60	3.7000	2.10970
PAEyebrows	60	3.3833	2.28549
PAForehead	60	4.5254	1.92404
PAMouth	60	5.6667	2.00564
PASkinColor	59	6.2203	2.97732
PAEars	60	3.6167	1.87844
Valid N (listwise)	58		

PHASE 2 ANCOVA ON YEARS AND MANIPULATION CHECKS TABLE 10

Phase 2 ANCOVA on Years and Manipulation Checks
General Linear Model

Tests of Between-Subjects Effects									
Source	Dependent Variable	Type II Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.	Partial Eta Squared	Noncent. Parameter	Observed Power
Corrected Model	Years	1239.612	4	309.903	2.237	.071	.086	8.949	.636
	Look typical of AA males	103.390	4	25.847	7.214	.000	.233	28.857	.994
	Skin complexion	100.707	4	25.177	25.960	.000	.522	103.841	1.000
Intercept	Years	3126.949	1	3126.949	22.574	.000	.192	22.574	.997
	Look typical of AA males	478.861	1	478.861	133.654	.000	.585	133.654	1.000
	Skin complexion	350.854	1	350.854	361.772	.000	.792	361.772	1.000
PI	Years	255.508	1	255.508	1.845	.178	.019	1.845	.270
	Look typical of AA males	5.488	1	5.488	1.532	.219	.016	1.532	.232
	Skin complexion	8.843	1	8.843	9.1198	.003	.088	9.118	.848
WhiteRnot	Years	36.368	1	36.368	.263	.610	.003	.263	.080
	Look typical of AA males	1.287	1	1.287	.359	.550	.004	.359	.091

	Skin complexion	.124	1	.124	.128	.722	.001	.128	.064
number	Years	944.558	2	472.279	3.409	.037	.067	6.819	.628
	Look typical of AA males	100.061	2	50.031	13.964	.000	.227	27.928	.998
	Skin complexion	88.377	2	44.189	45.564	.000	.490	91.127	1.000
Error	Years	13159.576	95	138.522					
	Look typical of AA males	340.370	95	3.583					
	Skin complexion	92.133	95	.970					
Total	Years	28859.250	100						
	Look typical of AA males	3670.00	100						
	Skin complexion	2254.00	100						
Corrected Total	Years	14399.187	99						
	Look typical of AA males	443.760	99						
	Skin complexion	192.840	99						

a. R Squared = .086 (Adjusted R Squared = .048)
b. Computed using alpha = .05
c. R Squared = .233 (Adjusted R Squared = .201)

d. R Squared = .522 (Adjusted R Sqaured = .502)

Pairwise Comparisons					
Dependent Variable	(I) condition	(J) condition	Mean difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.*
LSD Test					
Years	Light/low afro	Medium/avg afro	-.944	2.912	.747
		Dark/high afro	-7.068*	2.943	.018
	Medium/avg afro	Light/low afro	.944	2.916	.747
		Dark/high afro	-6.124*	2.920	.039
	Dark/high afro	Light/low afro	7.068*	2.943	.018
		Medium/avg afro	6.124*	2.920	.039
Bonferroni Test					
Look typical of AA males	Light/low afro	Medium/avg afro	-2.215*	.469	.000
		Dark/high afro	-2.094*	.473	.000
	Medium/avg afro	Light/low afro	2.215*	.469	.000
		Dark/high afro	.121	.470	1.000
	Dark/high afro	Light/low afro	2.094*	.473	.000
		Medium/avg afro	-.121	.470	1.000
Bonferroni Test					
Skin complexion	Light/low afro	Medium/avg afro	-1.521*	.244	.000
		Dark/high afro	-2.311*	.246	.000
	Medium/avg afro	Light/low afro	1.521	.244	.000
		Dark/high afro	-.789*	.244	.005
	Dark/high afro	Light/low afro	2.311	.246	.000

		Medium/avg afro	.789	.244	.005

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

Univariate Tests									
Dependent Variable		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.	Partial Eta Squared	Noncent Parameter	Observed Power
Years	Contrast	944.558	2	472.279	3.409	.037	.067	6.819	.628
	Error	13159.576	95	138.522					
Looks typical of AA males	Contrast	100.061	2	50.031	13.964	.000	.227	27.928	.998
	Error	340.370	95	3.583					
Skin Complexion	Contrast	88.377	2	44.189	45.564	.000	.490	91.127	1.000
	Error	92.133	95	.970					

a. Computed using alpha = .05

PHASE 2 PREDICTORS OF YEARS RECOMMENDED TABLE 11

Phase 2 Predictors of Years Recommended
Regression

Model Summary									
					Change Statistics				
Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	R Squared Change	F Change	df1	df2	Sig. F Change
1	.265	.070	.061	11.54980	.070	7.336	1	97	.008
2	.460	.211	.178	10.80610	.141	5.604	3	94	.001

a. Predictors (Constant), darkSkintone

ANOVA						
Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	978.543	1	978.543	7.336	.008
	Residual	12939.583	97	133.398		
	Total	13918.126	98			
2	Regression	2941.578	4	735.395	6.298	.000
	Residual	10976.548	94	116.772		
	Total	13918.126	98			

a. Predictors (Constant), darkSkintone
b. Predictors (Constant), darkSkintone, cautious n future, LAWworksTOTAL, IAT score
c. Dependent Variable years
b. Predictors (Constant), darkSkintone, cautious n future, LAWworksTOTAL, IAT score

Coefficients						
		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients		
Model		B	Std. Error		*t*	Sig.
1	(Constant)	16.382	1.981		8.271	.000
	darkSkintone	-6.621	2.445	-.265	-2.708	.008
2	(Constant)	9.572	6.069		1.577	.118
	darkSkintone	-5.541	2.323	-.222	-2.386	.019
	LAWworksTOTAL	.222	.085	.240	2.607	.011
	IAT score	1.204	.472	.237	2.549	.12
	Cautious n future	-1.852	.899	-.190	-2.059	.042
Dependent Variable	years					

Excluded Variables						
						Collinearity Statistics
Model		Beta In	*t*	Sig.	Partial Correl.	Tolerance
1	LAWworksTOTAL	.240	2.512	.014	.248	.994
	IAT score	.231	2.392	.019	.237	.977
	Cautious n future	-.160	-1.640	.104	-.165	.996
a. Predictors in the Model	(Constant), darkSkintone					
b. Dependent Variable	years					

PHASE 2 PREDICTOR OF SENTENCE RECOMMENDED TABLE 12

Phase 2 Predictor of Sentence Recommended
Regression

Model Summary									
					Change Statistics				
Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	R Squared Change	F Change	df1	df2	Sig. F Change
1	.265	.070	.060	.98962	.070	7.173	1	95	.009

a. Predictors (Constant), Look typical of AA males

ANOVA						
Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression Residual Total	7.024 93.037 100.062	1 95 98	7.024 .979	7.173	.009

a. Predictors (Constant), look typical of AA males
b. Dependent Variable sentence

Coefficients						
		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients		
Model		B	Std. Error		*t*	Sig.
1	(Constant) Looks typical of AA males	1.024 .129	.290 .048	.265	3.528 2.678	.001 .009

Dependent Variable sentence

Excluded Variables						
						Collinearity Statistics
Model		Beta In	*t*	Sig.	Partial Correl.	Tolerance
1	fairTOTAL LAWworksTOTAL	.098 .137	.986 1.383	.327 .170	.101 .141	.990 .993

	LAWlenientTOTAL	.147	1.487	.140	.152	.988
	ATBscore	-.140	-1.423	.158	-.145	.99
	Blacks@social	-.032	-.327	.745	-.034	1.000
	IATscore	.185	1.877	.064	.190	.983
	0=dark, 1=mid/lite	-.100	-.976	.332	-.100	.942
	0=Wht, 1=others	-.009	-.095	.925	-.010	.995

PHASE 2 PREDICTOR OF ASSUMED RECIDIVISM TABLE 13

Phase 2 Predictor of Assumed Recidivism
Regression

Model Summary									
					Change Statistics				
Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	R Squared Change	F Change	df1	df2	Sig. F Change
1	.424	.180	.171	1.18028	.180	19.705	1	90	.000
2	.500	.250	.102	1.22818	.070	.508	14	76	.921

a. Predictors (Constant), cautious n future
b. Predictors (Constant), cautious n future, fairTOTAL, skin complexion, aggressTOTAL, 0=Wht, 1=others, estimate income, Blacks@social, IAT score, ATBscore, LAWlenientTOTAL, look typical of AA males, stereo of AA males, PI, 0=dark, 1mid/lite, LAWworksTOTAL

ANOVA						
Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression Residual Total	27.451 125.375 152.826	1 90 91	27.451 1.393	19.705	.000
2	Regression	38.185	15	2.546	1.688	.071
	Residual	114.641	76	1.508		
	Total	152.826	91			

a. Predictors (Constant), cautious n future
b. Predictors (Constant), cautious n future, fairTOTAL, skin complexion, aggressTOTAL, 0=Wht, 1=others, estimate income, Blacks@social, IAT score, ATBscore, LAWlenientTOTAL, look typical of AA males, stereo of AA males, PI, 0=dark, 1mid/lite, LAWworksTOTAL
c. Dependent Variable Do crimes again

Coefficients						
		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients		
Model		B	Std. Error		*t*	Sig.
1	(Constant)	5.438	.463		11.743	.000
	Cautious n future	-.454	.102	-.424	-4.439	.000
2	(Constant)	4.655	1.990		2.339	.022
	Cautious n future	-.458	.118	-.428	-3.892	.000
	IAT score	.111	.062	.202	1.809	.074
	Estimate income	-.026	.163	-.017	-.159	.874
	Look typical of AA males	-.006	.075	-.009	-.079	.937
	Skin complexion	-.038	.146	-.040	-.257	.798
	Black@social	.076	.079	.107	.970	.335
	PI	.028	.108	.032	.254	.800
	ATBscore	.091	.191	.055	.477	.634
	AggressTOTAL	-.180	2.043	-.009	-.088	.930
	fairTOTAL	.020	.029	.116	.697	.488
	LAWworksTOTAL	-.007	.017	-.073	-.451	.653
	LAW lenientTOTAL	-.003	.019	-.017	-.140	.889
	0=dark, 1=mid/lite	-.199	.351	-.074	-.567	.572
	0=Wht, 1=others	.399	.310	.152	1.288	.202
Dependent Variable	Do crimes again					

Excluded Variables						
						Collinearity Statistics
Model		Beta In	*t*	Sig.	Partial Correl.	Tolerance
1	IAT score	.138	1.447	.151	.152	.989
	Estimate income	.013	.138	.890	.015	.976
	Look typical of AA males	-.066	-.681	.497	-.072	.964
	Skin complexion	-.032	-.334	.739	-.035	.989
	Black@social	-.021	-.215	.830	-.023	.999
	PI	.045	.465	.643	.049	.989
	ATBscore	.000	-.001	.999	.000	.979
	AggressTOTAL	-.039	-.405	.686	-.043	.994
	fairTOTAL	.050	.526	.600	.056	1.000
	LAWworksTOTAL	.032	.332	.740	.035	.995

	LAW lenientTOTAL	-.004	-.041	.968	-.004	.963
	0=dark, 1=mid/lite	-.031	-.322	.748	-.034	.990
	0=Wht, 1=others	.106	1.110	.270	.117	1.000

a. Predictor (Constant), cautious n future
Dependent Variable Do crimes again

PHASE 2 PREDICTORS OF SKIN COLOR RATINGS OF DEFENDANT TABLE 14

Phase 2 Predators of Skin Color Ratings of Defendant
Regression

Model Summary									
					Change Statistics				
Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	R Square Change	F Change	df1	df2	Sig. F Change
1	.746[a]	.557	.533	.95358	.557	23.594	5	94	.000

a. Predictors (Constant), ATBscore, IAT score, stereo of AA males, 0=dark, 1=mid/lite, look typical of AA males

ANOVA[b]						
Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	107.274	5	21.455	23.594	.000[a]
	Residual	85.476	94	.909		
	Total	192.750	99			

a. Predictors (Constant), ATBscore, IAT score, stereo of AA males, 0=dark, 1=mid/lite, james look typical of AA males
b. Dependent Variable skin complexion

Coefficients[a]						
Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	2.452	.474		5.171	.000
	0=dark, 1=mid/lite	-1.334	.210	-.455	-6.357	.000
	IAT score	.093	.042	.156	2.228	.028
	Stereo of AA males	.291	.087	.242	3.334	.001
	Look typical of AA males	.211	.050	.317	4.243	.000
	ATBscore	.239	.123	.135	1.939	.056

a. Dependent Variable skin complexion

PHASE 2 PREDICTORS OF SOCIAL BLACK CONTACT TABLE 15
Phase 2 Predictors of Social Black Contact
Regression

Model Summary									
					Change Statistics				
Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	R Square Change	F Change	df1	df2	Sig. F Change
1	.675	.455	.444	1.37194	.455	40.941	2	98	.000

a. Predictors (Constant), Blacks@school, 0=Wht, 1=others

ANOVA						
Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	154.118	2	77.059	40.941	.000[a]
	Residual	184.457	98	1.882		
	Total	338.574	100			

a. Predictors (Constant), Blacks@school, 0=Wht, 1=others
b. Dependent Variable: Blacks@social

Coefficients[a]						
		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients		
Model		B	Std. Error	Beta	t	Sig.
1	(Constant)	1.022	.466		2.196	.030
	0=Wht, 1=others	.904	.283	.242	3.195	.002
	Blacks@school	.657	.085	.586	7.728	.000

a. Dependent Variable Blacks@social

PHASE 2 T-TEST ON BLACK ATTITUDES TABLE 16

Phase 2 T-Test on Black Attitudes
T-Test

Independent Samples Test										
		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
									95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	Lower	Upper
IAT score	Equal variances assumed	.199	.657	2.821	91	.006	1.40000	.49622	.41431	2.38569
	Equal variances not assumed			2.823	66.155	.006	1.40000	.49594	.40987	2.39013
ATBs core	Equal variances assumed	2.278	.135	1.863	92	.066	.31039	.16660	-.02049	.64128
	Equal variances not assumed			1.858	68.131	.067	.31039	.16704	-.02291	.64370

PHASE 2 PREDICTORS OF POLITICAL IDEOLOGY TABLE 17

Phase 2 Predictors of Political Ideology
Regression

Model Summary									
					Change Statistics				
Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	R Square Change	F Change	df1	df2	Sig. F Change
1	.594[a]	.353	.325	1.25676	.353	12.666	4	93	.000

a. Predictors (Constant), LAWlenientTOTAL, 0=Wht, 1=others, fairTOTAL, ATBscore

ANOVA						
Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	80.020	4	20.005	12.666	.000[a]
	Residual	146.888	93	1.579		
	Total	226.908	97			

a. Predictors (Constant), LAWlenientTOTAL, 0=Wht, 1=others, fairTOTAL, ATBscore
b. Dependent Variable PI

Coefficients[a]

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	9.189	1.117		8.223	.000
	0=Wht, 1=others	.846	.263	.273	3.209	.002
	ATBscore	-.402	.181	-.206	-2.225	.029
	fairTOTAL	-.069	.017	-.366	-3.958	.000
	LAWlenientTOTAL	-.036	.016	-.204	-2.282	.025

a. Dependent Variable PI

PHASE 2 PREDICTORS OF AGGRESSION ACTIVATION TABLE 18

Phase 2 Predictors of Aggression Activation
Regression

Model Summary									
					Change Statistics				
Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	R Square Change	F Change	df1	df2	Sig. F Change
1	.357[a]	.128	.109	.06382	.128	6.954	2	95	.002

a. Predictors (Constant), LAWlenientTOTAL, Likeable?

ANOVA[b]						
Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	.057	2	.028	6.954	.002[a]
	Residual	.387	95	.004		
	Total	.444	97			

a. Predictors (Constant), LAWlenientTOTAL, Likeable?
b. Dependent Variable AggressTOTAL

Coefficients[a]						
		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients		
Model		B	Std. Error	Beta	t	Sig.
1	(Constant)	.338	.042		8.082	.000
	Likeable?	-.021	.007	-.280	-2.912	.004
	LAWlenientTOTAL	-.002	.001	-.247	-2.568	.012

a. Dependent Variable AggressTOTAL

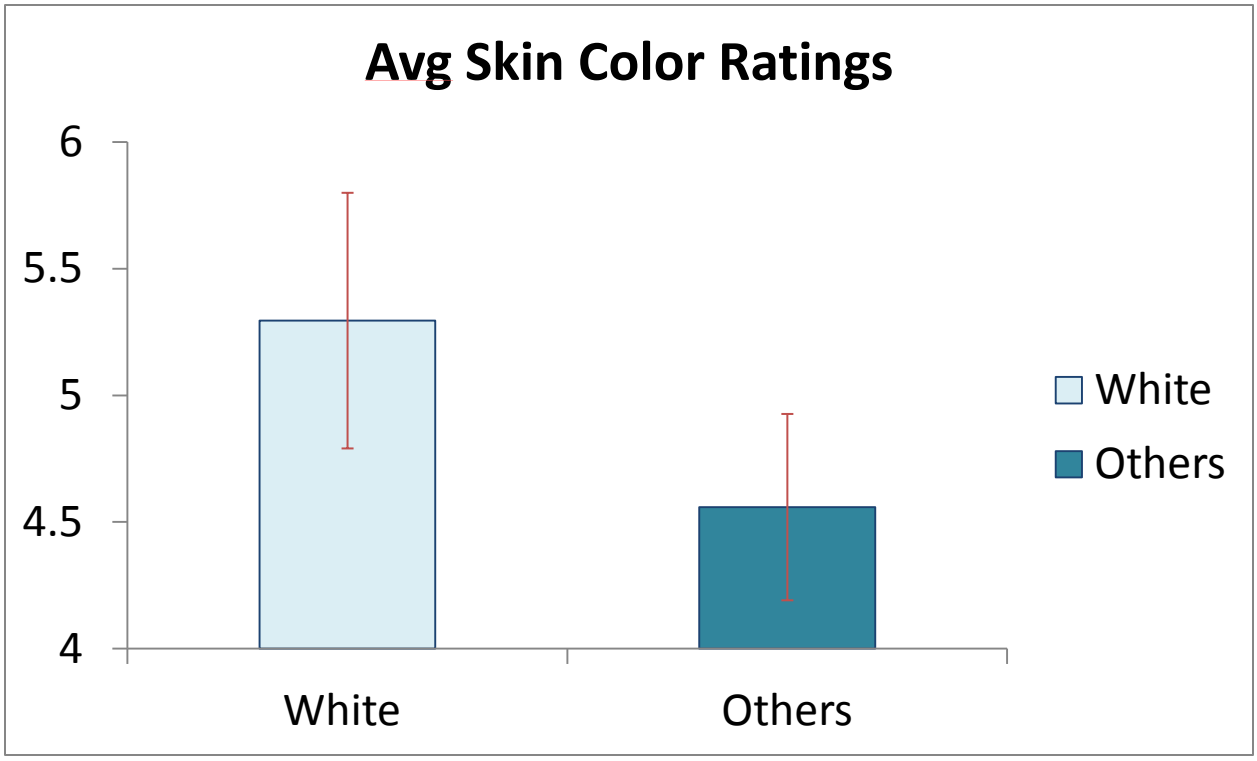

Figure 1: Race and Average Skin Color Ratings, $p < .001$

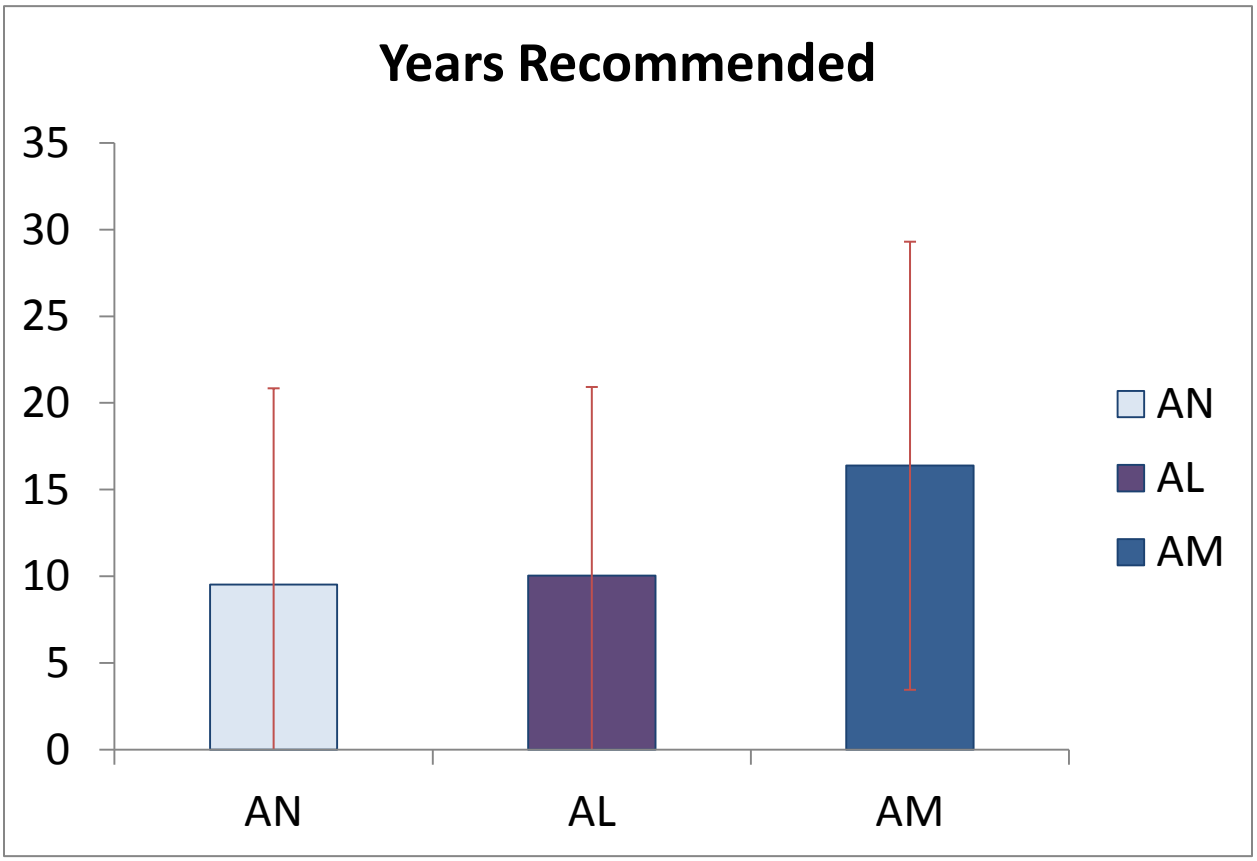

Figure 2: Prototypicality and Years Recommended, $p = .037$