

Crime and prejudice:

The influence of appearance on blame amongst perpetrators and victims

A thesis submitted to the Psychology Program in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Bachelor of Science (Honours), Division of Social Science

© Tanisha B. C. Thomas

Grenfell Campus

Memorial University of Newfoundland

April 2016

Approval

The undersigned recommend acceptance of the thesis

Crime and prejudice:

The influence of appearance on blame amongst perpetrators and victims

Submitted by Tanisha B. C. Thomas

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

Bachelor of Science, Honours.

Dr. Kelly Warren

Thesis Supervisor

Dr. Daniel Nadolny

Alternate Reader

Grenfell Campus

Memorial University of Newfoundland

April 2016

Acknowledgements

First of all, I need to thank my supervisor, Kelly Warren, for being an outstanding guide in my honours thesis journey. She has been not only kind and helpful, but also motivational and especially determined to keep me on track and on time, all in order to produce my best work. Thank you for being supportive of my ideas and my direction for this project.

As well, I thank and sincerely congratulate Nathan Wells and Nikita Wells for being bold enough to participate as the characters pictured in my study: Patrick and Patricia. The time you took as volunteers, being pasted up with black makeup and drawn on with pens, washing your faces until they were raw, and standing in the corner trying not to laugh or cry while I took the pictures will be forever appreciated.

Certainly, I would love to thank my parents for always being supportive of my education choices, and ultimately sending me off to college in the first place, as I know you had always been anticipating it since the day I was young. I am also thankful for the rest of my family and friends for being interested in my studies and constantly wishing me well.

Lastly, I want to thank my participants for being, well, participants and giving me my results. As well, thank you to Dr. Nadolny for being my alternate reader, and to the entire Psychology program and staff here at Grenfell for such a wonderful experience.

Table of Contents

Approval Page.....	ii
Acknowledgements.....	iii
Table of Contents.....	iv
List of Appendices.....	v
Abstract.....	vi
Introduction.....	1
Method.....	10
Participants.....	10
Materials.....	10
Procedure.....	11
Results.....	13
Differences between the Alleged Perpetrator and the Victim.....	13
Differences in Perception of Innocence When a Man Versus a Woman was Shown.....	16
Perception of Innocence as a Function of Appearance.....	17
Discussion.....	22
Limitations and Future Research.....	25
Conclusion.....	27
References.....	28
Appendices.....	32

List of Appendices

Appendix A. Male and Female Photos.....32

Appendix B. Aggravated Assault Scenarios.....33

Appendix C. Online Questionnaires.....35

Appendix D. Informed Consent Screen.....39

Appendix E. Debriefing screen.....41

Abstract

Stereotypes based on characteristics such as age, race, and gender influence opinions in a criminal context. Yet, to date research has largely assessed whether perpetrators, rather than victims, are judged differently. Furthermore, although facial features can be a source of unconscious bias, research has failed to assess whether perceptions based on facial features affect the criminal context. To better understand the relationship between stereotypic facial features and gender, and whether this varies across perpetrators and victims, participants were asked to answer questions about an aggravated assault scenario after viewing an image of a person described as the victim or the alleged perpetrator. Images varied in gender and in presence or absence of tattoos or gothic makeup. Participants sympathized with the victim regardless of gender, but discrepancies were stronger if the victim was female than male. Neutral and tattooed faces were judged more harshly than faces with gothic makeup, regardless of gender.

Crime and prejudice:

The influence of appearance on blame amongst perpetrators and victims

People are commonly treated differently because of stereotypes regarding age, race, gender, sexual orientation, and religion. In fact, research shows that this bias appears to carry over into a criminal context. Hate crimes, for example, are very common, with 1,538 hate crime cases reported in Los Angeles, California alone, between 1994 and 1995 (Dunbar, 2006). Of these, 35.8% were motivated by sexual orientation bias, 52.7% were classified as involving racial/ethnic bias, and 11.1 % were brought on by religious bias (Dunbar, 2006). Surprisingly, given the prevalence of such crimes, there is little research to suggest whether cases involving victims with particular stereotypic characteristics are judged differently than those without such characteristics.

The research that has been carried out assessing perceptions of people in cases where stereotypical characteristics are in question has largely looked at whether perpetrators, rather than victims of crimes, are judged differently based on their race, gender, or age. Race has been researched very thoroughly, but findings regarding particular biases are somewhat mixed. For example, in a study that assessed juvenile offender case judgements, male mock jurors were more biased overall against African-American offenders than they were against Caucasian offenders and were subsequently more likely to doubt the validity of the evidence in cases that differed from their expectations (Stevenson & Bottoms, 2009). Furthermore, people believed that African Americans were more likely to harm Caucasians than Caucasians were to harm African Americans (Stevenson & Bottoms, 2009). Following from this, cases involving an African American perpetrator and a Caucasian victim were thought to more commonly

occur than cases involving both African American perpetrators and victims or both Caucasian perpetrators and victims (Stevenson & Bottoms, 2009). In this same study, people were also more likely to report being afraid of convicting an innocent Caucasian suspect than of convicting an innocent African-American suspect (Stevenson & Bottoms, 2009). In contrast to this study, others have found participants perceived Caucasians committing hate crimes against African-Americans as more negative than African-Americans committing hate crimes against Caucasians (Marcus-Newhall, Blake & Baumann, 2002). When actual cases are assessed, African-Americans are typically given more severe charges than Caucasians (Horowitz & Pottieger, 1991). Regardless, of the direction of the bias, in all cases described there are differences in the perceptions as a function of the race of the individuals involved and not just the specifics of the case.

Certainly, stereotypes are alive and prominent, but while race has probably been the most researched stereotypic characteristic, it is not the only factor that needs to be considered. Male defendants are found to be more critically judged and are sentenced to longer times than female defendants for equal crimes (Ahola, Christianson & Hellström, 2009). In fact, in one study, an abuse crime that involved a male perpetrator was thought to require significantly more police action and to include more perceived harm to a child victim than a similar abuse crime that was described as including a female perpetrator (Kite & Tyson, 2004). Lending from the warmth ideal we typically have for women, it is possible that women are seen as less capable of violence or as being accidentally involved with crimes (Ahola et al., 2009). Regardless, female perpetrators who commit similar crimes to male perpetrators appear to be judged differently. Unfortunately, not much

research has focused on this gender difference; thus, in this study both male and female perpetrators were compared as well as male and female victims.

In addition to the general characteristics just discussed, certain facial features can be a source of unconscious bias. For example, Kleider, Cavrak, and Knuycky (2012) showed that stereotypical facial features, regardless of demographics, are sorted in our minds, and are sometimes put into a criminal category. This was also demonstrated by Arendt, Steindl, and Vitouch (2015) who found that when exposed to stereotypical news stories briefly mentioning African Americans, people were more hostile when presented with dark-skinned faces than when presented with light-skinned faces. As well, individuals described as having stereotypical African-American faces and those described as having Caucasian faces with stereotypical African-American features (e.g., darker skin, wider nose, and fuller lips) were more often thought to have jobs in criminal categories (e.g., drug dealer) than jobs in neutral categories (e.g., artist or teacher) (Kleider et al., 2012). While these experiments looked at natural stereotypical facial features, it is unknown whether artificial facial features, such as tattoos and gothic makeup, would have a similar effect as these are part of a stereotyped subculture. An assessment of this was a goal of the current study.

Face typicality has been shown to be an important concept in attractiveness and trustworthiness. Extremely atypical and very attractive or very unattractive faces are perceived as the least trustworthy (Sofer, Dotsch, Wigboldus, & Todorov, 2015). Moreover, males and females were said to be more dominant and less trustworthy if their faces were noted as highly criminal in appearance, usually having features such as long unkempt hair, dark hair, beady eyes, scars, and tattoos (Flowe & Yovel, 2012). If neutral

faces were thought to contain even some quantity of anger, they were also seen as less trustworthy, as angry faces were most associated with being a criminal (Flowe & Yovel, 2012). In line with that, Schönenberg and Jusyte (2014), in their study on the hostile attribution bias toward ambiguous facial cues (i.e., faces that do not show any specific emotions), found that participants who were aggressive, as opposed to neutral, thought that ambiguous facial cues were actually hostile. It was also noted that only ambiguous faces including various amounts of anger elicited biased interpretations (Schönenberg & Jusyte, 2014). Since hostility is often paired with such things as crime it may be possible that participants in studies are simply misinterpreting faces as hostile and thus, more criminal-like. As well, it could be also seen that the nature and personality of the person viewing a face, such as aggressiveness, can influence the way in which a person is criminalized. Though trustworthiness was not assessed in this study, participants' perspectives on certain facial features were collected to gain insight for the reasoning on the rest of the responses.

As with stereotypes regarding age, gender, and race, research findings regarding appearance carry over into the criminal justice system, and faces play a big role. Having an allegedly untrustworthy face, for example, has actually predicted death sentences in Florida, both for actual criminals and for innocent people (Wilson & Rule, 2015). Could it be that we have simply come to know "criminal faces" without knowledge of any crime at all? Is there something about the face that primes our bias? There is a lack of research connecting facial features, facial trustworthiness, and the effects of facial characteristics like tattoos and gothic makeup. The possibility of a connection between these and the influence of such a relationship on perceptions of those involved with the criminal justice

system was examined in the current study. Empirical research on tattoos has been limited, focusing mostly on deviance and young adults. A study by Heywood and colleagues (2012) collecting demographic data found that while women were less likely to have tattoos, women in their 20s were getting tattoos more than any other age group across both sexes. Women with tattoos were ranked as not so physically attractive, more likely to be sexually promiscuous, and to be heavier drinkers, than non-tattooed women, and the beliefs were amplified as number of tattoos increased (Swami & Furnham, 2007). Certainly, it is quite clear from the study that tattoos can be associated with defiance and revolt (Heywood et al., 2012). These attributes are often associated with crime, but to date no research has assessed the relationship between women with tattoos and criminal deviance, nor has any research assessed whether tattoos simply make women seem more likely to be criminals due to typical deviant behaviours associated with tattoos.

Even children have been shown to have a strong bias towards men with tattoos. Children from the age of 6 to early adolescence make an association between tattooed individuals and negative attributes (Durkin & Houghton, 2000). This means that deviant stereotypes of people with tattoos are already strongly understood and recognized by children and thus seem to be widely embedded in society (Durkin & Houghton, 2000).

Furthermore, those who believe there is something wrong with getting tattoos often also believe that tattoos are associated with drug use, violence, promiscuity, and criminal behaviour (Dickson, Dukes, Smith, & Strapko, 2014). But is this true or merely an aspect of societal bias? Research shows that decreasing levels of education have been associated with tattoos amongst males and females, as was smoking and a greater number of lifetime sex partners (Heywood et al., 2012). Similarly, another study found that

students with tattoos were more likely to use alcohol and marijuana, to drink and drive, have risky sex, engage in oral sex, use alcohol and marijuana before sexual intercourse, and to have numerous lifetime partners than those without tattoos (King & Vidourek, 2013). Individuals who have four or more tattoos were reported as being as much as ten times more likely to be involved in deviant behaviour, like marijuana use and to have arrest histories, than non-tattooed individuals (Koch, Roberts, Armstrong, & Owen, 2010). But where does crime really fit into this? The research is almost impossible to find. A longitudinal report by Jennings, Fox and Farrington (2013) suggests that childhood personality traits like “daring disposition, low nonverbal intelligence, nervous/withdrawn, extraversion, neuroticism, and psychomotor impulsivity” are positively correlated with tattoos and being convicted of crime throughout life.

While these behaviours and traits have been found to be linked with having tattoos, it is questionable as to whether these behaviours impact how a person with tattoos is seen by others, or if these behaviours are overrepresented in the world of tattoos. People report having fewer stigmas towards tattoos when they have family and friends with tattoos. Having personal contact with tattooed people lets individuals see that stigmas can be misleading, and those who believe this are more likely to take a partner who also has tattoos (Dickson, Dukes, Smith, & Strapko, 2014). The present study was used to evaluate whether facial tattoos can predict perceived criminality when the participant’s personal views on the topic are taken into account.

Another pop culture facial feature of interest with little to no research is gothic makeup. While gothic makeup is seen as a feature of style, a case including the death of a girl said otherwise. In 2007, Sophie Lancaster was beaten to death for, as the court

ruled, looking like a Goth in Lancashire, northern England. The judge called the incident a hate crime rather than an assault on a member of a subculture group since, even though she was not part of a recognized minority which is typically targeted in a hate crime, she was still singled out due to her differences (Garland, 2010). Criminal victimization due to personalized appearances has not been sufficiently recognized in the research, but could certainly help provide information to the justice system and the field of psychology. Perceptions of those with gothic makeup were incorporated into this experiment along with perceptions of those with facial tattoos to determine whether this type of facial feature can affect how a person is criminalized or victimized, as both of these features are visual and distinct.

Correlations have been made between tattoos, body art, and deviance, but similar connections between tattoos or gothic makeup and crime have not been assessed, specifically when both defendants and victims of a crime are considered. In 2013, Funk, Todorov, and Lamb found that tattooed offenders, more so than non-tattooed offenders, were more likely to be called guilty for a crime. Yet, once guilt was certain, both tattooed and non-tattooed offenders received the same amount of punishment. No known study has assessed whether something similar would be seen with gothic makeup.

Despite findings suggesting judgements of others are often based on appearance, there is little research assessing whether specific facial features can have an impact in a criminal justice perspective. Can facial characteristics like tattoos or gothic makeup, for example, influence our perceptions of individuals as either criminals or as victims? Very few studies have assessed whether tattooed offenders are judged differently than non-tattooed offenders, and no known studies have assessed differences in perceptions of

tattooed versus non-tattooed victims or whether perceptions of offenders or victims who wear gothic makeup are different from those who do not. In the present study, differences between the opinions of male versus female perpetrators and victims and between the opinions of perpetrators and victims who have no obvious stereotypical facial features versus those with facial tattoos or gothic makeup were examined. This was done to determine whether there were differences in perceptions of the same scenario as a function of gender or of the distinct facial characteristics of those involved. Thus, the purpose of the present study was to evaluate how perpetrator or victim appearance influences the perception of blame in the case of an aggravated assault.

To be precise, the study was designed to assess the following questions: 1. Is there a significant difference between the ostensible perpetrator and the victim overall? This question was largely developed to serve as a manipulation check. It was hypothesized that the victim would be seen as more innocent than the perpetrator since this should be reflective of reality. 2. Are there significant differences in perceptions of responsibility and innocence due to the gender of the alleged perpetrator or victim? Are females seen as more innocent in general? Does this difference hold for both victims and alleged perpetrators? Given that Ahola et al. (2009) found males are treated more critically than females for equal crimes it was thought that results of the present study would also show males being perceived more harshly than females. And 3. Are there significant differences between participants' perceptions of the person depicted as a function of appearance; specifically, are faces that are neutral in appearance seen as more innocent than faces with tattoos and faces with gothic makeup? It was thought, if stereotypes do exist against these facial features, people would have more bias towards

the victims and less sympathy as many people might think that these features are associated with deviance. A study by Dickson et al. (2014) showed that tattoos were believed to be highly correlated with drug use, violence, promiscuity, and criminal behaviour. It was difficult to generate any clear hypotheses with respect to victims as research on victims and in particular the association with these facial features is nearly nonexistent.

Method

Participants

Through convenience sampling, 215 participants were recruited from Grenfell Campus, Memorial University of Newfoundland and from the general public through an online survey. There were 162 women and 42 men, with average ages of 27.00 ($SD = 10.87$) and 25.00 ($SD = 13.67$) years, respectively. There were also 3 individuals who reported a gender other than male or female and 8 participants who did not specify a gender. All participants were over the age of 19 years, unless they were university students, in which case they were considered as mature minors. Participants who failed to complete the majority of the survey were removed.

Materials

Photos. Six headshot photos were used (See Appendix A). These pictures were of one Canadian male and one Canadian female between the ages of 17-23 years. Permission was obtained to include these photos in the survey. Each photo represented one of six descriptions: neutral male/female, male/female with facial tattoos, and male/female with black gothic makeup. In order to keep appearance as consistent as possible across conditions, makeup was used to create the tattoo and gothic makeup photos. The pictures contained a full-face camera angle, normal daytime fluorescent lighting, a blank and neutral background, a neutral facial expression, medium hair colour, a black shirt, and no facial hair or scars. The tattoos were not overwhelming but were meant to be neutral in design (i.e. a teardrop, a lotus flower, and a simple cursive word).

Scenario. The scenarios presented to participants described an aggravated assault. A witness, “Sheila”, heard noises and investigated. She was described as finding her neighbour laying a jacket over his/her partner, who had been stabbed. The neighbour said she was told that the couple was walking down the street when they were attacked. One of the partners was described as suffering injuries that required hospital treatment, but was described as being expected to survive. The other partner was described as being arrested but not charged with the assault (See Appendix B). This scenario was based on ideas from a real story.

Questionnaires. There were two versions of the same questionnaire (one referring to a perpetrator, and one referring to a victim) (See appendix C). The questionnaire included questions on a 7-point Likert scale (e.g. where 1 is ‘*not at all*’ or ‘*not likely*’ and 7 is ‘*very much*’ or ‘*very likely*’) that assessed perceptions of the scenario. These questions asked about perceptions of aggressiveness, delinquency, responsibility, the length of sentence that should be required, seriousness of the crime, and the likelihood of the person being described having a mental disorder. For example, one of the questions was “How responsible is the victim for this crime?” Participants who were assigned to the gothic makeup or tattoo conditions were asked about their perceptions of individuals who wear gothic makeup or individuals who have facial tattoos respectively. Finally, participants were asked six demographic questions.

Procedure

Participants were notified of the study through social media (e.g., Facebook), email, or course websites, and were provided with a link to the online survey. After clicking on the link, participants were directed to the survey where they were presented

with an informed consent screen (See Appendix D). By clicking ‘next’, participants’ consent was assumed. First, participants were shown one of the six photos (male/female; neutral, gothic makeup, or facial tattoos) and asked if the person shown was someone that they knew. This was done to ensure knowing the person shown did not influence the results and to ensure participants actually looked at the photo. If participants said the person shown was someone they knew, they were taken to a thank-you screen where they were told they could not participate as their answers might not have been as objective as needed. If participants were not familiar with the person in the picture, they proceeded to the next screen.

Next, participants were given instructions to read the aggravated assault scenario. The picture was presented as being the victim or the suspected perpetrator and participants were informed that the person’s headshot was simply being shown to make the atmosphere more true-to-life. Instructions said that participants should pretend as though they were reading about this case in a newspaper and to indicate how they would feel as they were reading it. After reading the scenario and clicking next, the appropriate perpetrator or victim version of the questionnaire was presented. Finally, upon completion of the questionnaire, participants were debriefed and thanked for their participation. Participants were also provided with a textbox to leave comments, and information about who to contact to learn the results of this study and when the results would be available (See Appendix E).

Results

Participant responses were compared in order to assess whether there were differences in the perceptions of the likelihood that the person described had been involved in past crimes or would be involved in future crimes. Differences in perceptions of alleged perpetrator blame and victim blame were also assessed. Of particular interest was whether or not perceptions differed according to the gender of the individual shown, the appearance (neutral, tattoos, gothic makeup) of the individual shown, or whether the person shown was described as the victim or as the alleged perpetrator. Preliminary analysis was carried out to determine whether there were differences in perceptions as a function of participant gender. There were no main effects of participant gender or interactions of participant gender with the other variables of interest so participant gender was removed from all further analysis.

Differences between the Alleged Perpetrator and the Victim

To determine whether there was a difference between perceptions of the alleged perpetrator and the victim, MANOVAs were completed (Hypothesis 1). For ease of analysis, the results were divided according to the role the person shown in the picture was described as playing in the crime, that is, whether the individual shown was described as being the victim or as being the alleged perpetrator. A 2 (gender of person shown; man versus woman) X 3 (facial appearance of person shown; neutral, tattoos, or gothic makeup) MANOVA was used to look at the effects of gender and appearance across the various questions when the person in the picture/scenario participants were shown was described as the victim. There was a statistically significant difference in how questions were answered based on the gender of the person shown, $F(11, 92) =$

8.473, $p < .001$; Wilk's $\Lambda = 0.50$, partial $\eta^2 = .50$. There was no main effect of appearance or a gender x appearance interaction. Follow-up ANOVAs were conducted to determine the questions for which answers differed according to gender. There were significant gender differences in the perception of the likelihood that Patrick had been involved in a crime before, $F(1,102) = 6.90$, $p = .01$, partial $\eta^2 = .06$, that Patricia had been involved in a crime before, $F(1,102) = 5.87$, $p = .02$, partial $\eta^2 = .05$, that Patricia would be involved in another crime in the future, $F(1,102) = 12.73$, $p = .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .11$, that Patrick was responsible for the stabbing, $F(1,102) = 27.39$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .21$, and that Patricia was responsible for the stabbing, $F(1,102) = 19.13$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .16$.

Post-hoc pairwise comparisons were conducted to determine the direction of the gender differences. Participants were more likely to perceive that Patrick had been involved in a crime before if the victim was the woman ($M = 4.25$, $SD = 1.48$) than if the victim was the man ($M = 3.49$, $SD = 1.45$), mean difference = 0.77, $p = .01$, 95% CI [.189, 1.35] and were more likely to perceive Patrick as being responsible for the crime if the victim was the woman ($M = 3.93$, $SD = 1.58$) than if the victim was the man ($M = 2.43$, $SD = 1.42$), mean difference = 1.50, $p < .001$, 95% CI [0.93, 2.06]. In contrast, participants were more likely to perceive that Patricia had been involved in a crime before if the victim was the man ($M = 3.86$, $SD = 1.57$) than if the victim was the woman ($M = 3.19$, $SD = 1.23$), mean difference = 0.68, $p = .02$, 95% CI [0.12, 1.23], to perceive that Patricia would be involved in a crime in the future if the victim was the man ($M = 3.92$, $SD = 1.49$) than if the victim was the woman ($M = 2.97$, $SD = 1.22$), mean difference = 0.95, $p = .001$, 95% CI [.42, 1.48], and to perceive Patricia as being more

responsible for the crime if the victim was the man ($M = 3.47$, $SD = 1.58$) than if the victim was the woman ($M = 2.22$, $SD = 1.48$), mean difference = 1.26, $p < .001$, 95% CI [.69, 1.83].

A second 2 (gender of person shown; male versus female) X 3 (facial appearance of person shown; neutral, tattoos, or gothic makeup) MANOVA was used to look at the effects of gender and appearance across the various questions when the person in the picture/scenario participants were shown was described as the alleged perpetrator. There was a statistically significant difference in how questions were answered based on the gender of the person shown, $F(11, 77) = 4.32$, $p < .001$; Wilk's $\Lambda = 0.62$, partial $\eta^2 = .38$. There was no main effect of appearance or a gender x appearance interaction. Follow-up ANOVAs were conducted to determine the questions for which answers differed according to gender. There were significant gender differences in perceptions of the likelihood that Patrick had been involved in a crime before, $F(1, 87) = 6.24$, $p = .014$, partial $\eta^2 = .07$, and would be involved in another crime in the future, $F(1, 87) = 8.79$, $p = .004$, partial $\eta^2 = .09$, a significant gender difference in the perception of how responsible Patrick was for the stabbing, $F(1, 87) = 10.17$, $p = .002$, partial $\eta^2 = .11$, and a significant gender difference in the perception of how responsible Patricia was for the stabbing, $F(1, 87) = 19.89$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .19$.

Post-hoc pairwise comparisons were conducted to determine the direction of the gender differences. They revealed that participants were more likely to perceive Patrick as having been involved in a crime before if the alleged perpetrator was the man ($M = 3.89$, $SD = 1.35$) than if the alleged perpetrator was the woman ($M = 3.26$, $SD = 1.34$), mean difference = 0.63, $p = .014$, 95% CI [0.13, 1.12], to perceive that Patrick would be

involved in a crime in the future if the alleged perpetrator was the man ($M = 4.20$, $SD = 1.58$) than if the alleged perpetrator was the woman ($M = 3.36$, $SD = 1.33$), mean difference = 0.84, $p = .004$, 95% CI [0.28, 1.41], and to perceive Patrick as responsible for the crime if the alleged perpetrator was the man ($M = 3.37$, $SD = 1.52$) than if the alleged perpetrator was the woman ($M = 2.38$, $SD = 1.42$), mean difference = 1.00, $p = .002$, 95% CI [.38, 1.62]. In contrast, participants were more likely to perceive Patricia as responsible for the crime if the alleged perpetrator was the woman ($M = 3.55$, $SD = 1.83$) than if the alleged perpetrator was the man ($M = 1.98$, $SD = 1.53$), mean difference = 1.57, $p < .001$, 95% CI [0.87, 2.26].

In both MANOVAs, when the person shown was described as the alleged perpetrator, participants were more likely to think that he/she had been involved in past crimes and would be involved in future crimes than if he/she was seen as the alleged victim. Similar findings were seen when responsibility for the crime was assessed.

Differences in Perception of Innocence When a Man Versus a Woman was Shown

In order to assess the differences in perceptions of innocence between the man and woman described in the scenario (Hypothesis 2), paired sample t -tests were used to compare perceptions when the man was shown to perceptions when the woman was shown. Specifically, comparisons were made between perceptions of the likelihood of involvement in past crimes, likelihood of involvement in future crimes, and perceived responsibility for the crime. Overall gender differences were assessed as well as differences when the person seen was described as the victim and when the person seen was described as the alleged perpetrator.

In general, participants were significantly more likely to think that the man, Patrick ($M = 3.71$, $SD = 1.44$) had been involved in a crime before than the woman, Patricia ($M = 3.38$, $SD = 1.40$), $t(213) = 3.72$, $p < .001$, $r^2 = .06$, and that the man ($M = 3.73$, $SD = 1.45$) was more likely to be involved in another crime in the future than the woman ($M = 3.43$, $SD = 1.42$), $t(212) = 2.96$, $p = .003$, $r^2 = .04$. There was no overall difference in perceptions of the man's versus the woman's responsibility for the crime. Looking at the victim only, participants were significantly more likely to think that the male victim ($M = 3.85$, $SD = 1.49$) had been involved in a crime before than the female victim ($M = 3.55$, $SD = 1.43$), $t(116) = 2.24$, $p = .027$, $r^2 = .04$. There were no gender differences in perceptions of the male versus female victim's likelihood to be involved in future crimes or in the perceptions of victim responsibility for the crime.

When the person shown was described as being the alleged perpetrator, participants were significantly more likely to think that the man ($M = 3.56$, $SD = 1.37$) had been involved in a crime in the past than the woman ($M = 3.18$, $SD = 1.35$), $t(96) = 3.22$, $p = .002$, $r^2 = .10$, and that the man ($M = 3.77$, $SD = 1.48$) would be involved in another crime in the future than the woman ($M = 3.55$, $SD = 1.42$), $t(95) = 3.01$, $p = .003$, $r^2 = .04$. There were no perceived gender differences in responsibility when the person shown was described as being the alleged perpetrator.

Perception of Innocence as a Function of Appearance

In order to assess the differences in perceptions according to the appearance of the alleged perpetrator and victim (Hypothesis 3), one-way between subjects ANOVAs, with appearance (neutral, tattoos, makeup) as the independent variable, were used. Specifically perceptions of the likelihood that the alleged perpetrator was telling the truth

and of the believability of the story told by the alleged perpetrator were compared. Separate analyses were carried out for the scenario when participants were shown the alleged perpetrator and the scenario when participants were shown the victim. When the person shown was described as being the victim, there was no significant difference across appearance in perceptions of the likelihood that the alleged perpetrator was telling the truth, $F(2, 113) = 1.67, p = .196, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .03$. There was also no significant difference across appearance in perceptions of the believability of the alleged perpetrator's story, $F(2, 108) = .68, p = .507, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .012$. See Table 1 for descriptive statistics.

Similar results were seen when the person shown was described as being the alleged perpetrator (see Table 1). There was no significant difference across appearance in perceptions of the likelihood that the alleged perpetrator was telling the truth, $F(2, 95) = 2.37, p = .099, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .05$. There was also no significant difference across appearance in perceptions of the believability of the alleged perpetrator's story, $F(2, 94) = .60, p = .552, \eta^2_p = .01$.

Table 1

Descriptive Statistics Based on Appearance for Questions on Truthfulness and Believability

Facial Appearance	Questions	
	How likely is it that the perpetrator is telling the truth?	How believable do you think the perpetrator's story was?
Neutral		
<i>M</i>	3.70	3.70
<i>SD</i>	1.42	1.42
Tattoos		
<i>M</i>	3.83	3.93
<i>SD</i>	1.32	1.63
Gothic Makeup		
<i>M</i>	4.13	3.79
<i>SD</i>	1.25	1.44
n = 215		

Questions regarding Patrick and Patricia were also examined for differences in perceptions as a function of appearance. A 2 (gender of person shown; man versus woman) X 3 (facial appearance of person shown; neutral, tattoos, or gothic makeup)

MANOVA was used to look at the effects of gender and appearance across the various questions when the character in the picture/scenario was described as a victim.

Participants who saw the teardrop tattoo as being a sign of criminal behaviour were removed from this analysis. There was no statistically significant difference in how questions were answered based on the person's appearance. However, given the hypotheses, planned comparisons for appearance were assessed. Participants were more likely to perceive Patricia as responsible for the crime if the victim appearance was depicted as neutral ($M = 3.10$, $SD = 1.70$) than with tattoos ($M = 2.11$, $SD = 1.88$), (mean difference = 0.99, $p = .028$, 95% CI [.11, 1.86]), participants perceived the alleged perpetrator as feeling more guilty if the victim shown was neutral in appearance ($M = 4.59$, $SD = 1.63$) than if the victim had gothic makeup ($M = 3.70$, $SD = 1.71$), (mean difference = 0.89, $p = .04$, 95% CI [0.64, 1.72]), and participants were more likely to perceive the alleged perpetrator as having a mental illness if the victim had gothic makeup ($M = 4.68$, $SD = 1.45$) than if the victim had tattoos ($M = 3.54$, $SD = 1.23$), (mean difference = 1.15, $p = .02$, 95% CI [0.21, 2.09]).

A second 2 (gender of person shown; man versus woman) X 3 (facial appearance of person shown; neutral, tattoos, or gothic makeup) MANOVA was used to look at the effects of gender and appearance across the various questions when the person in the picture/scenario participants were shown was described as the alleged perpetrator. There were significant appearance differences in perceptions of the likelihood that Patrick had been involved in a crime before, $F(2, 69) = 5.80$, $p = .005$, partial $\eta^2 = .14$, and would be involved in another crime in the future, $F(2, 69) = 3.43$, $p = .038$, partial $\eta^2 = .09$, and in the likelihood that Patricia had been involved in a crime before, $F(2, 69) = 11.51$, $p <$

.001, partial $\eta^2 = .25$, and would be involved in another crime in the future, $F(2, 69) = 5.67, p = .005$, partial $\eta^2 = .14$

Comparisons were conducted to determine the direction of the appearance differences. Participants were more likely to perceive Patrick as having been involved in a crime before if the alleged perpetrator was neutral in appearance ($M = 3.95, SD = 1.33$) than if the alleged perpetrator had gothic makeup ($M = 2.91, SD = 1.25$), (mean difference = 1.04, $p = .001$, 95% CI [0.43, 1.65]) and were more likely to perceive that Patrick would be involved in a crime in the future if the alleged perpetrator appearance was neutral in appearance ($M = 4.08, SD = 1.57$) than if the alleged perpetrator had gothic makeup ($M = 3.13, SD = 1.40$), (mean difference = .94, $p = .011$, 95% CI [.22, 1.66]). Similarly, participants were more likely to perceive Patricia as having been involved in a crime before if the alleged perpetrator was neutral in appearance ($M = 3.85, SD = 1.36$), than if he/she had tattoos ($M = 2.64, SD = 1.32$), (mean difference = 1.21, $p = .002$, 95% CI [.46, 1.96]), or gothic makeup ($M = 2.44, SD = 1.12$), (mean difference = 1.41, $p < .001$, 95% CI [0.80, 2.02]) and were more likely to perceive that Patricia would be involved in a crime in the future if the alleged perpetrator was neutral in appearance ($M = 3.78, SD = 1.38$) than if the alleged perpetrator had gothic makeup ($M = 2.67, SD = 1.19$), (mean difference = 1.11, $p = .001$, 95% CI [0.45, 1.76]).

Discussion

Previous research has shown that there are certain characteristics that are perceived more harshly and are stereotyped against more often than others, particularly when such things as race and gender are considered (Horowitz & Pottieger, 1991; Marcus-Newhall et al., 2002; Stevenson & Bottoms, 2009). Facial features, specifically, have been found to be an object of stereotyping (Flowe & Yovel, 2012; Kleider et al., 2012). Facial characteristics appear to be related to crime, creating perceptions of a stereotypically “criminal face” (Wilson & Rule, 2015). Yet, to date, not much research has been completed assessing differences in perceptions of crimes as a function of the appearance of those who were involved. In the present study, the possibility that characteristics like facial tattoos and gothic makeup would influence people’s perceptions of individuals as criminals was assessed. Additionally, since past research has generally assessed the influence of appearance on perceptions of perpetrators of crime, and hardly anything can be found in terms of victims, perceptions of individuals as victims were assessed. Using the literature, it was hypothesized that victims would be seen as more innocent than perpetrators (Hypothesis 1), women would be seen as more innocent than men (Hypothesis 2), and faces that were neutral in appearance would be seen as more innocent than those with tattoos or gothic makeup, (Hypothesis 3).

The first hypothesis that the the differences between the perpetrator and the victim would be significant was supported. Participants thought that the perpetrator would be significantly more likely to have prior and future involvement in crime, and would be more responsible for the assault than the victim. This was true regardless of whether the man or the woman was shown as the perpetrator or as the victim. These findings are

consistent with what we would expect if we were to simply consider an assault ourselves. Generally, we would assume the perpetrator and not the victim would be responsible for the assault.

There was a significant difference in perceptions of innocence between the woman and the man (Hypothesis 2). Participants thought that the man was more likely to have been involved in a crime in the past and that he would be more likely to be involved in another crime in the future than the woman. Past research has most often found that men are treated more harshly and are perceived as more able to be harmful than women (Ahola et al., 2009; Kite & Tyson, 2004). This finding appears to have been replicated in the present study

The finding that those who were neutral in appearance were not perceived as more innocent than those with tattoos or with gothic makeup was the opposite of what was expected (Hypothesis 3). In terms of perceptions regarding the likelihood of prior and future involvement in crime, when the face that was shown was neutral in appearance, it was thought that there was an increased likelihood of involvement as compared to when the face had gothic makeup for both Patrick and Patricia, and regardless of whether they were depicted as the perpetrator or as the victim. This finding is somewhat inconsistent with past research. Funk and Todorov (2013) saw that the perceived likelihood of reoffending or being involved in crime again was seen as significantly higher for individuals with tattoos; this was not seen in the present study.

With such a small amount of research in this area, it is hard to say why this is the case. It may just be that results of the present study fit with societal perceptions. The literature suggests that features such as tattoos are related to a form of criminal

appearance (Flowe & Yovel, 2012); however, there is no evidence to show that a face without tattoos is actually much more criminal in appearance than a face with tattoos. As well, it seems the idea of tattoos is changing. Burgess and Clark (2010), researched the origins of tattoos and noted the past relationship of tattoos with delinquency may be disappearing, as contemporary tattoo designs are bringing with them new and positive associations. Consistent with Burgess and Clark's (2010) research, non-tattooed individuals in the present study were largely judged as indistinguishable from those with tattoos. As society is becoming more familiar and comfortable with body art practices, those with traditional and tribal tattoos are still being judged more harshly but not necessarily those with contemporary and cute tattoos (Burgess & Clark, 2010). This could explain the current findings. Closely related to this, participants may have had tattoos themselves, making it less likely that they would have a tattoo prejudice. Participants' own experiences with tattoos were not assessed. Burgess and Clark (2010) also found that those with tattoos or those considering a tattoo had less tattoo-based prejudices so this too could potentially explain the lack of differences in perceptions between those who were neutral in appearance and those who had tattoos.

Looking at the face with gothic makeup, it seems that participants perceived the alleged perpetrator with gothic makeup as being significantly more likely to tell the truth than the alleged perpetrator with tattoos on his/her face. It seemed that the individual with gothic makeup was receiving sympathy in comparison to the individuals with tattoos. Past research on the topic of males wearing makeup is extremely hard to find, but what has been found is that groups of men who wear makeup are thought to identify as 'Metrosexual', and to wear the makeup as a source of beautification or amplification

of masculine facial contours (Hall, Gough, & Seymour-Smith, 2012). Alternatively, it could be seen from the outside as a sign of homosexuality as heterosexual males wearing makeup are not considered a norm, and makeup is typically associated with females or gay men (Hall et al., 2012). It may be that participants viewed these images as depicting a homosexual or metrosexual man, and they may have seen these individuals as less likely to be involved in the crime described – an assault against a female. In terms of females, there is no research to explain why differences in appearance might have occurred, but it is possible that women are seen as less capable of being violent or simply end up involved in crimes accidentally (Ahola et al., 2009). From there, females wearing gothic makeup may just be seen as normal. In fact, in the open-ended responses regarding participants, perceptions of individuals wearing gothic makeup were largely positive. More research should study this phenomenon.

When the victim was considered separately from the perpetrator, it was shown that Patricia was perceived as less responsible for the stabbing when the victim had tattoos than when the victim was neutral in appearance. It could have been that Patricia was seen as less responsible because the person with the tattoos was more deserving of an assault. On the one hand, participants seem to be equating tattoos with those who are neutral in appearance, but here it seems they are assuming tattooed male victims are blameworthy. This is a very complex finding, and more exploration should be done to further assess the outcome.

Limitations and Future Research

Unquestionably, the present study is not without limitations. In terms of tattoos, it is possible that the crime used was not serious enough to show significant differences

between the neutral and tattoo facial characteristics. Adding several different scenarios of varying levels of seriousness might have shown varying perceptions. If a crime that is seen as committed more often by someone with tattoos (if there is such a thing) was used, differences according to appearance may have appeared.

Similar to this, those who saw the teardrop tattoo as being a sign of serious criminal behaviour had to be removed from some analyses as their presence introduced a confound to the study. Changing the types of tattoos shown, the size of the tattoo, and the placement of the tattoo, or showing multiple types and combinations of tattoos could also change the outcome of participants' perceptions. Trying different variations of tattoos in the future might narrow down the essence of tattoos' place in perceptions of crime.

As there is nearly no research on gothic makeup, or cosmetics, and their relationship with crime, it is of interest to find whether people think that males who wear makeup are homosexual, or merely have a softer personality type. It would be useful to look at makeup alone, and more research needs to be done, particularly for males, as it is unclear what the perceptions males wearing makeup are.

Furthermore, participants answered the questionnaire individually and did not consult with a larger group of people to make their decisions. As suggested by Funk and Todorov (2013), it may be difficult to apply these results to jury discussion as those discourses are often made in groups. Personal opinions are often overruled or regulated by the majority of the group in such situations; thus, future studies should try this same setup with groups of people.

Conclusion

Despite limitations, the present study did indeed show the presence of specific facial features, like tattoos and gothic makeup, can affect our perceptions of people as perpetrators or victims, as can gender. This was most often the case when participants were asked for their perceptions surrounding the likelihood of Patrick's and Patricia's prior and future involvement in crime, responsibility for the crime, and their truthfulness and guilt with respect to the crime. These results indicated that more research should be done with both perpetrators and victims who have tattoos, as tattoos are becoming increasingly popular, and there are questions with respect to the public's and the justice system's perspectives on tattoos, as well as makeup. Several studies on tattoos in the past have simply looked at the relationship between tattoos and deviance (Dickson et al., 2014; Heywood et al., 2012; Swami & Furnham, 2007). Only a few have actually looked at their relationship with crime. Funk and Todorov (2013), for example, found that tattooed offenders are more likely to be seen as guilty than non-tattooed offenders. This finding in particular showed that studying facial characteristics is important as they can be a source of bias, whether conscious or unconscious, and this unfair discrimination can be dangerous in the criminal justice system. These biases could make room for misinterpreted crimes, prejudiced court cases, and could even lead to wrongful conviction, simply because of the connotations that come along with tattoos. Conversation surrounding the effects of such prejudices towards tattoos and gothic makeup needs to be established so that preventative measures might be made.

References

- Ahola, A., Christianson, S., & Hellström, A. (2009). Justice needs a blindfold: Effects of gender and attractiveness on prison sentences and attributions of personal characteristics in a judicial process. *Psychiatry, Psychology and Law, 16*, 90-100. doi: 10.1080/13218710802242011
- Arendt, F., Steindl, N., & Vitouch, P. (2015). Effects of news stereotypes on the perception of facial threat. *Journal of Media Psychology: Theories, Methods, and Applications, 27*, 78-86. doi: 10.1027/1864-1105/a000132
- Burgess, M., & Clark, L. (2010). Do the "savage origins" of tattoos cast a prejudicial shadow on contemporary tattooed individuals? *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 40*, 746-764. doi: 10.1111/j.1559-1816.2010.00596.x
- Dickson, L., Dukes, R., Smith, H., & Strapko, N. (2014). Stigma of ink: Tattoo attitudes among college students. *The Social Science Journal, 51*, 268-276. doi: 10.1016/j.soscij.2014.02.005
- Dunbar, E. (2006). Race, gender, and sexual orientation in hate crime victimization: Identity politics or identity risk? *Violence and Victims, 21*, 323-337.
- Durkin, K., & Houghton, S. (2000). Children' and adolescents' stereotypes of tattooed people as delinquent. *Legal and Criminological Psychology, 5*, 153-164. doi: 10.1348/135532500168065
- Flowe, H., & Yovel, G. (2012). Do characteristics of faces that convey trustworthiness and dominance underlie perceptions of criminality? (Perceptions of criminality). *PLoS ONE, 7*, E37253.

- Funk, F., & Todorov, A. (2013). Criminal stereotypes in the courtroom: Facial tattoos affect guilt and punishment differently. *Psychology Public Policy and Law, 19*, 466-478. doi: 10.1037/a0034736
- Garland, J. (2010). 'It's a mosher just been banged for no reason': Assessing targeted violence against goths and the parameters of hate crime. *International Review of Victimology, 17*, 159-177. doi: 10.1177/026975801001700202
- Hall, M., Gough, B., & Seymour-Smith, S. (2012). "I'm METRO, NOT Gay!": A discursive analysis of men's accounts of makeup use on YouTube. *The Journal of Men's Studies, 20*, 209-226. doi: 10.3149/jms.2003.209
- Heywood, W., Patrick, K., Smith, A. M. A., Simpson, J. M., Pitts, M. K., Richters, J., & Shelley, J. M. (2012). Who gets tattoos? Demographic and behavioral correlates of ever being tattooed in a representative sample of men and women. *Annals of Epidemiology, 22*, 51-56. doi: 10.1016/j.annepidem.2011.10.005
- Horowitz, R., & Pottieger, A. (1991). Gender bias in juvenile justice handling of seriously crime-involved youths. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 28*, 75-100.
- Jennings, W. G., Fox, B. H., & Farrington, D. P. (2013). Inked into crime? An examination of the causal relationship between tattoos and life-course offending among males from the Cambridge study in delinquent development. *Journal of Criminal Justice, 42*, 77-84. doi: 10.1016/j.jcrimjus.2013.12.006

- King, K. A., & Vidourek, R. A. (2013). Getting inked: Tattoo and risky behavioral involvement among university students. *The Social Science Journal, 50*, 540-546. doi: 10.1016/j.soscij.2013.09.009
- Kite, D., & Tyson, G. (2004). The impact of perpetrator gender on male and female police officers' perceptions of child sexual abuse. *Psychiatry, Psychology and Law, 11*, 308-318. doi: 10.1375/pplt.2004.11.2.308
- Kleider, H., Cavrak, M., & Knuycky, S. (2012). Looking like a criminal: Stereotypical black facial features promote face source memory error. *Memory & Cognition, 40*, 1200-1213. doi: 10.3758/s13421-012-0229-x
- Koch, J. R., Roberts, A.E., Armstrong, M. L., & Owen, D. C. (2010). Body art, deviance, and American college students. *The Social Science Journal, 47*, 151-161. doi: 10.1016/j.soscij.2009.10.001
- Marcus-Newhall, A. P., Blake, L., & Baumann, J. (2002). Perceptions of hate crime perpetrators and victims as influenced by race, political orientation, and peer group. *American Behavioral Scientist, 46*, 108-5. doi: 10.1177/0002764202046001008
- Schönenberg, M., & Jusyte, A. (2014). Investigation of the hostile attribution bias toward ambiguous facial cues in antisocial violent offenders. *European Archives of Psychiatry and Clinical Neuroscience, 264*, 61-69. doi: 10.1007/s00406-013-0440-1
- Sofer, C., Dotsch, R., Wigboldus, D., & Todorov, A. (2015). What is typical is good. *Psychological Science, 26*, 39-47. doi: 10.1177/0956797614554955

Stevenson, M., & Bottoms, B. (2009). Race shapes perceptions of juvenile offenders in criminal court. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 39*, 1660-1689. doi: 10.

1111/j. 1559-1816. 2009. 00499. x

Swami, V., & Furnham, A. (2007). Unattractive, promiscuous and heavy drinkers:

Perceptions of women with tattoos. *Body Image, 4*, 343-52. doi: 10. 1016/j.

bodyim. 2007. 06. 005

Walker, C., & Woody, W. (2011). Juror decision making for juveniles tried as adults: The

effects of defendant age, crime type, and crime outcome. *Psychology, Crime &*

Law, 17, 659-675.

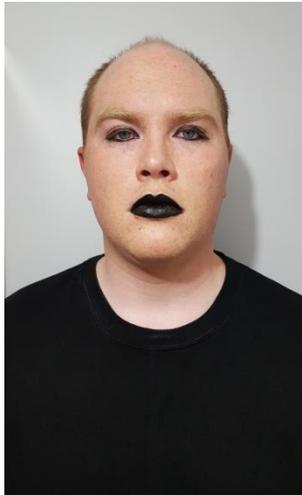
Wilson, J., & Rule, N. (2015). Facial trustworthiness predicts extreme criminal-

sentencing outcomes. *Psychological Science, 26*, 1325-1331. doi: 10.

1177/0956797615590992

Appendix A

Patrick/Patricia Harris



Appendix B

Aggravated Assault Scenario (Male Perpetrator)

On Friday night, police received a call about a stabbing that had taken place roughly one hour before the call. The next morning investigators interviewed Sheila Miller who had been on the scene. She had been watching TV when she heard a loud noise outside. Sheila went to investigate and found her neighbour Patricia lying on the sidewalk as her boyfriend, Patrick was laying a jacket over a wound on the victim's chest. Patrick shoved a cellphone at Sheila and when she picked up a 911 dispatcher was on the phone. As Sheila spoke with the operator, Sheila reports she overheard Patrick saying someone had just attacked them and ran away.

Patricia was transported to the hospital. She suffered serious injuries but will survive. Patrick has since been arrested and is being held on suspicion of "aggravated assault" but he denies the charge. The investigation is still ongoing.

Aggravated Assault Scenario (Female Perpetrator)

On Friday night, police received a call about a stabbing that had taken place roughly one hour before the call. The next morning investigators interviewed Sheila Miller who had been on the scene. She had been watching TV when she heard a loud noise outside. Sheila went to investigate and found her neighbor Patrick lying on the sidewalk as his girlfriend, Patricia was laying a jacket over a wound on the victim's chest. Patricia shoved a cellphone at Sheila and when she picked up a 911 dispatcher was on the phone. As Sheila spoke with the operator, Sheila reports she overheard Patricia saying someone had just attacked them and ran away.

Patrick was transported to the hospital. He suffered serious injuries but will survive. Patricia has since been arrested and is being held on suspicion of "aggravated assault" but she denies the charge. The investigation is still ongoing.

Appendix C

Survey (Patrick is the Perpetrator)

Now that you have read the scenario, please answer the following questions on a scale of one to seven. Please read each question carefully as the endpoints for the questions may vary according to the question asked.

1. How serious would you rate the crime described?
1(Not at all serious) 2 3 4 5 6 7(Very serious)
2. How likely is it that Patrick has been involved in a crime before?
1(Not at all likely) 2 3 4 5 6 7(Very likely)
3. How likely is it that Patricia has been involved in a crime before?
1(Not at all likely) 2 3 4 5 6 7(Very likely)
4. How likely is it that Patrick will be involved in another crime in the future?
1(Not at all likely) 2 3 4 5 6 7(Very likely)
5. How likely is it that Patricia will be involved in a crime in the future?
1(Not at all likely) 2 3 4 5 6 7(Very likely)
6. How responsible is Patrick for the stabbing?
1(Not at all responsible) 2 3 4 5 6 7(Very responsible)
7. How responsible is Patricia for the stabbing?
1(Not at all responsible) 2 3 4 5 6 7(Very responsible)
8. Patrick/Patricia has claimed he/she was not the person who stabbed the victim.
How likely is it that he/she is telling the truth?
1(Not at all likely) 2 3 4 5 6 7(Very likely)

If Patrick is actually the person who stabbed his girlfriend:

9. How believable do you think his story was?
1(Not at all guilty) 2 3 4 5 6 7(Very guilty)
10. How guilty do you think he feels?
1(Not at all guilty) 2 3 4 5 6 7(Very guilty)
11. How likely is it that he has a mental illness?
1(Not at all likely) 2 3 4 5 6 7(Very likely)
12. How long do you believe he should be sentenced to for this crime? (Open-ended)

If the participant is in the tattoo condition, he/she will also be asked the following questions:

1. How comfortable are you with tattoos?
1(Not at all comfortable) 2 3 4 5 6 7(Very comfortable)
2. How many tattoos are okay? (open-ended)
3. Are tattoos fashion accessories?
1(Not at all) 2 3 4 5 6 7(Very much so)
4. Are tattoos social statements?
1(Not at all) 2 3 4 5 6 7(Very much so)
5. Did the person in the picture you saw have tattoos? (Yes/No/Uncertain)

If the participant is in the makeup condition, he/she will also be asked the following questions:

1. How comfortable are you with gothic makeup?
1(Not at all comfortable) 2 3 4 5 6 7(Very comfortable)
2. How much gothic makeup is okay? (open-ended)
3. Is gothic makeup a form of art?
1(Not at all) 2 3 4 5 6 7(Very much so)
4. Is gothic makeup a social statement?
1(Not at all) 2 3 4 5 6 7(Very much so)
5. Was the person in the picture you saw wearing gothic makeup?
(Yes/No/Uncertain)

Demographic questions:

1. How old are you? (open-ended)
2. What is your gender (Male; Female; Other)
3. What is your nationality/ethnicity? (open-ended)
4. What province/country do you live in? (Open-ended)
5. How religious are you?
1(Not at all religious) 2 3 4 5 6 7(Very religious)
6. What level of education do you currently have?
(Elementary school (grades 4-6); Middle School (grades 7-9); High school (Grades 10-12); Currently completing an undergraduate degree; Undergraduate degree, certificate, or trade; Graduate Degree)

Survey (Patricia is the Perpetrator)

Now that you have read the scenario, please answer the following questions on a scale of one to seven. Please read each question carefully as the endpoints for the questions may vary according to the question asked.

13. How serious would you rate the crime described?

1(Not at all serious) 2 3 4 5 6 7(Very serious)

14. How likely is it that Patrick has been involved in a crime before?

1(Not at all likely) 2 3 4 5 6 7(Very likely)

15. How likely is it that Patricia has been involved in a crime before?

1(Not at all likely) 2 3 4 5 6 7(Very likely)

16. How likely is it that Patrick will be involved in another crime in the future?

1(Not at all likely) 2 3 4 5 6 7(Very likely)

17. How likely is it that Patricia will be involved in a crime in the future?

1(Not at all likely) 2 3 4 5 6 7(Very likely)

18. How responsible is Patrick for the stabbing?

1(Not at all responsible) 2 3 4 5 6 7(Very responsible)

19. How responsible is Patricia for the stabbing?

1(Not at all responsible) 2 3 4 5 6 7(Very responsible)

20. Patrick/Patricia has claimed he/she was not the person who stabbed the victim.

How likely is it that he/she is telling the truth?

1(Not at all likely) 2 3 4 5 6 7(Very likely)

If Patricia is actually the person who stabbed her boyfriend:

21. How believable do you think her story was?

1(Not at all guilty) 2 3 4 5 6 7(Very guilty)

22. How guilty do you think she feels?

1(Not at all guilty) 2 3 4 5 6 7(Very guilty)

23. How likely is it that she has a mental illness?

1(Not at all likely) 2 3 4 5 6 7(Very likely)

24. How long do you believe she should be sentenced to for this crime? (Open-ended)

If the participant is in the tattoo condition, he/she will also be asked the following questions:

6. How comfortable are you with tattoos?
1(Not at all comfortable) 2 3 4 5 6 7(Very comfortable)
7. How many tattoos are okay? (open-ended)
8. Are tattoos fashion accessories?
1(Not at all) 2 3 4 5 6 7(Very much so)
9. Are tattoos social statements?
1(Not at all) 2 3 4 5 6 7(Very much so)
10. Did the person in the picture you saw have tattoos? (Yes/No/Uncertain)

If the participant is in the makeup condition, he/she will also be asked the following questions:

6. How comfortable are you with gothic makeup?
1(Not at all comfortable) 2 3 4 5 6 7(Very comfortable)
7. How much gothic makeup is okay? (open-ended)
8. Is gothic makeup a form of art?
1(Not at all) 2 3 4 5 6 7(Very much so)
9. Is gothic makeup a social statement?
1(Not at all) 2 3 4 5 6 7(Very much so)
10. Was the person in the picture you saw wearing gothic makeup?
(Yes/No/Uncertain)

Demographic questions:

7. How old are you? (open-ended)
8. What is your gender (Male; Female; Other)
9. What is your nationality/ethnicity? (open-ended)
10. What province/country do you live in? (Open-ended)
11. How religious are you?
1(Not at all religious) 2 3 4 5 6 7(Very religious)
12. What level of education do you currently have?
(Elementary school (grades 4-6); Middle School (grades 7-9); High school (Grades 10-12); Currently completing an undergraduate degree; Undergraduate degree, certificate, or trade; Graduate Degree)

Appendix D

Informed Consent Form*Perceptions of Aggravated Assault*

The purpose of this Informed Consent Form is to ensure you understand the nature of this study and your involvement in it. This consent form will provide information about the study, giving you the opportunity to decide if you want to participate.

Researchers: This study is being conducted by Tanisha Thomas as part of the course requirements for Psychology 4951-061 Honours Project in Psychology II. I am under the supervision of Dr. Kelly Warren in the Psychology Program at Grenfell Campus.

Purpose: The study is designed to investigate perceptions of an aggravated assault. The results will be used to write an honours thesis. The study may also be used in a larger research project and may be published in the future.

Task Requirements: You will be asked to read a scenario and complete a questionnaire. There are no right or wrong answers or ratings; I am only interested in your opinions. You may omit any questions you do not wish to answer.

Duration: The questionnaire will take approximately 15 minutes to complete.

Risks and Benefits: There are no obvious risks or benefits involved with your participation in this study.

Anonymity and Confidentiality: Your responses are anonymous and confidential. Please do not put any identifying marks on any of the pages. IP addresses will not be collected. All information will be analyzed and reported on a group basis. Thus, individual responses cannot be identified.

Although I am not collecting any identifying information, the on-line survey company that is hosting this survey is located in the United States and as such is subject to US laws. The US Patriot act allows authorities access to the records of internet service providers. Therefore, anonymity and confidentiality cannot be guaranteed. If you choose to participate in this survey, you understand that your responses to the survey questions will be stored and may be accessed in the USA. The security and privacy policy for the web survey company can be found at the following link:
<https://www.surveymonkey.com/mp/policy/privacy-policy/>.

Right to Withdraw: Your participation in this research is totally voluntary and you are free to stop participating at any time. However, once you complete this survey and click submit, your data cannot be removed because identifying information is not being collected and therefore individuals cannot be linked to their responses.

Contact Information: If you have any questions or concerns about the study, please feel free to contact me at tthomas@grenfell.mun.ca or my supervisor, Dr. Warren at kwarren@grenfell.mun.ca. As well, if you are interested in knowing the results of the study, please contact me or Dr. Warren after May 2016, or you can attend the undergraduate student research conference.

This study has been approved by an ethics review process in the psychology program at Grenfell Campus, Memorial University of Newfoundland and has been found to be in compliance with Memorial University's ethics policy.

-

By proceeding to the next page, consent is implied.

Appendix E

Debriefing script

Thank you for participating in this study. Your contribution is truly appreciated. If you have any questions, comments, or concerns, please leave them in the textbox below.

The person in the photo is a member of the general public and has not committed or taken part in any crime. He/she simply agreed to have his/her photo shown as part of the study as I was interested in whether people's perceptions of crime vary depending on a picture. Please feel free to share the link for the study with people who might be willing to participate. If you have any questions or concerns, please feel free to contact me at tthomas@grenfell.mun.ca or my supervisor, Dr. Kelly Warren at kwarren@grenfell.mun.ca.

If you would like to learn the results of this study when it has been completed, you can attend the undergraduate student research conference or contact one of us after May 2016.