

WHAT'S IN A MUGSHOT: VISUAL CHARACTERISTICS NEWSPAPER MEDIA
EMPHASIZE BASED ON RACE AND GENDER

by

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Abstract

The media has a substantial role in providing knowledge about criminality to the public.

Previous research has demonstrated that many media representations of crime and criminality perpetuate racial stereotypes and myths. The current study examines photographs in newspapers to investigate if a person of color has a higher chance of being presented by their mugshot over White individuals in crime stories. In addition the analysis examines how female offenders are presented in newspaper crime stories compared to men. To date, there has been no published research on the influence gender and race has on mugshot portrayals in newspaper media. The current study addresses this gap through an ethnographic content analysis of newspaper crime stories from widely circulated newspapers published between August 1, 2014 and October 31, 2014. The analyses are also informed by social constructionism and labeling theory.

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Dedication

I want to dedicate this piece to my mentors who believed in me and guided me throughout this extensive process, and who made sure that I would be able to publish something that I felt mattered to our society. I want to thank my parents who supported me and listened to me through the mountains and valleys of writing this paper. I also want to thank my fiancé Trenton, who was and is a great support system and empathetic academic who wants to pursue a life of academics and adventure with me. I also want to dedicate this piece to my friends who cheered me on and let me litter their minds with the knowledge I was gaining that I felt was too important to not share. Lastly, for those who have been mischaracterized based on a photo printed in a newspaper, this is for you.

Chapter 1 - Introduction

In March 2015, there were two separate stories written in a local Iowa newspaper highlighting crimes that had taken place in the community. These stories were similar in that the culprits were both groups of three men that had been arrested for local burglaries. What was different about these stories was the races of the men arrested for the crime and the photos used to accompany the story. One group, which included white male suspects, was shown with professional yearbook photos, and the other group of minority male alleged burglars had their mugshots displayed across the page. This differential treatment has led some to question the motivation and actions of news media when including pictorial representations accompanying crime stories of white and minority offenders (Siede, 2015).

Mass media coverage of crime has been the focus of several studies, with most resulting in a growing criticism of the way the public is informed about crime through these means. Although America is transitioning to welcome a digital world where having the latest technology is a sign of affluence and sophistication, receiving local and world news from a newspaper, both digital and print, is still a common practice. According to a study completed by the Media Insight Project (2014), online and print newspapers are the top sources of information for individuals interested in a variety of topics, including politics, sports, and crime. In fact, 88 percent of Americans report that they receive their news directly from a news organization; this can include a newspaper, TV newscast, website, or newswire (American Press Institute, 2014). These findings reinforce the importance of the media to the American people and why getting up-to-date, accurate information is crucial.

Because newspaper media is one of the main ways Americans receive their information on topics such as crime and public safety, it is imperative that this information accurately reflects

the reality of the crime problem. In 2014, the total number of arrests for all chargeable offenses totaled 8,730,665 (UCR, 2014). Of those arrested for these offenses, 69% were White and 28% were Black. American Indian or Alaskan Native and Asian or Pacific Islander totaled 2.6% of arrests combined. These statistics may be surprising to frequent media consumers given how African American men are often overrepresented in media images of race and crime as criminals, are perceived as dangerous, and assumed guilty (Oliver, 2003; Sadler et al., 2012). Although minorities are overrepresented in arrest records compared to the proportion of the population, the raw numbers reveal that most people arrested are White. Research on stereotyping in the United States reveals persistent racial prejudice among Whites, particularly regarding characterization of African Americans as violent and aggressive (St. John & Heald-Moore, 1996). This speaks to the amount of influence the media can have by the stories it publishes and the ways in which the stories impact its readers.

When understanding that minority individuals are disproportionately assumed to be criminals over White individuals, society can begin to see how important media is in the presentation of crime to the general public. Not only do disproportionate numbers of crime stories on non-White compared to White alleged offenders matter, but also the quality and type of pictorial representations (e.g., mugshot) of these individuals used in these stories may sway how people feel viewing these alleged criminal activities. Furthermore, there is a dearth of research regarding how pictorial representations of alleged offenders vary by gender. Although most offenders are male, there has been an increase in the proportion of female offenders arrested for crimes (FBI, 2012). As a result, the purpose of this study will be to identify how racial and ethnic minorities are being portrayed in print media as compared to their White counterparts and how women arrested for criminal activity are being presented in their pictorial

representations in the media as compared to their male counterparts. In order to accomplish this task, I will be completing a systematic examination of pictorial racial and gender representations of mugshots in print media.

This research is important due to its contribution to the larger body of literature. Previous research has found that media outlets emphasize the negative perceptions and stereotypes one may have against minority groups, especially when non-White males are disproportionately depicted as criminal suspects (Dixon, 2007; Dixon & Linz, 2000a, 2000b). This may also affect juror perceptions for those individuals facing trial proceedings for their crimes. Little to no research exists that examines if mugshots or other negative pictorial representations are being used at an increased rate for African American men and women as compared to White men and women when a crime story is being presented to the public. This information could offer an explanation or support existing media-based explanations as to why the public may have the perception that African American men are more “criminal” or “dangerous” when reading a crime story.

Chapter 2 - Literature Review

Crime in the News

Crime stories have become an intrinsic component of modern media. Research indicates that stories pertaining to crime can account for up to 50% of news coverage (Chermak, 1995; Graber, 1980; Maguire, Sandage, & Weatherby, 1999; Surette, 1992). Media representations and crime-related media consumption have appeared to raise fear of crime by elevating perceptions of risk and victimization (Callanan, 2012). Studying crime in the news is important for a few reasons: (1) Much of what society knows comes directly from the media (Pollak & Kubrin, 2007); (2) Media uses stories to sway public opinion (Chermak, 1994; Surette, 1992); and (3) The media “presents a world of crime and justice that is not found in reality” (Surette, 1992, p. 246). All things considered, this creates an unbalanced understanding of crime. In a review of the research, Heath and Gilbert (1996) find that the relationship between media presentations and crime is dependent on characteristics of the message and the audience to whom it is presented. In terms of audience effects, fear of victimization depends in large part on who is viewing the crime stories. Media use will affect audience members’ mental images of social reality by cultivating the view that the real world is comparable with what is depicted by the mass media (Gerbner & Gross, 1976). An important factor is whether audience members have direct experience as a victim or possess characteristics that could make them vulnerable. For example, Liska and Baccaglini (1990) find that the media’s influence was stronger for females, Whites, and the elderly, whom are the groups least likely to be victimized, which is termed the ‘victimization paradox’. In general, there is an overrepresentation of crime in the news (Chermak, 1998; Chermak & Chapman, 2007; Graber, 1980; Humphries, 1981), and the number of crime stories have led to news organizations assigning values of newsworthiness to determine which stories receive

coverage.

An important consideration of the role of newsworthiness is the perception of crime as a social threat. Specifically, the manner in which crime news is reported can have varying effects on the readers and their perceptions or fear of crime (Heath, 1984). The presentation of an abundance of local crime news, versus stories from other locales (which could give readers a feeling of safety), can lead to an increased level of fear by the readers (Heath, 1984; Liska & Baccaglini, 1990). Other factors, such as the level of sensationalism of the crime and the proportion of crimes that are random in who they affect, are also indicators of an increased fear of crime and social threat (Heath, 1984). As availability for coverage may be limited due to either time or space constraints, the media typically focuses on cases that are the most extreme to capture the audience's attention (Chermak, 1994; Pollak & Kubrin, 2007; Weiss & Chermak, 1998). For example, cases that receive coverage are considered to be "high amplitude" (Johnstone et al., 1994), or more specifically "those which deviate most from what is statistically normal" (Chermak, 1994, p. 580).

Because members of society often lack any direct experience with the criminal justice system, they rely on the mass media as a primary source of information about crime and its control (Callanan, 2012; Kort-Butler & Hartshorn, 2011). Crime is considered a central component of entertainment in Canadian and North American society (Dowler, Fleming, & Muzzatti, 2006). In the realm of entertainment, the popularity of crime drama shows depict a portrayal of crime that is less than realistic, however borrowing story lines from real-life events paint the picture of its legitimacy (Eschholz, Mallard, & Flynn, 2004). Surrette (2007, p.17) argues that these portrayals of crime can best be described as "infotainment," a highly stylized, edited, and formatted form of entertainment that is disguised as informative or realistic. As a

result of this, actual crimes which demand attention for their serious and violent components are being compromised by being presented from an entertainment angle and called “hard news;” this reinforces the claim that the media is misrepresenting components of crime news, making it less of a credible source when discussing the reliability of public news and information. The media will typically depict crime rates as escalating regardless of actual offending statistics (Beckett & Sasson, 2004). Furthermore, Heath and Gilbert (1996) report stronger links between media and fear when the issue is a “societal concern” as opposed to personal fear (Tyler & Cook, 1984) for apprehension about “the world is out there” mentalities versus the immediate neighborhood (Heath & Petraitis, 1987) and for urban as opposed to rural settings (Zillman & Wakshlag, 1985). For these reasons, scholars believe that the inaccurate depictions of crime and punishment in the media explain “much of the public’s interest in criminal justice, as well as the limited extent of their knowledge of the criminal justice system” (Roberts & Stalans, 1997, p. 3).

Prior research has shown media exposure is associated with less accurate perceptions of the extent and nature of crime (Stalans, 1993). Dowler and colleagues (2006) contend that crime news is deemed newsworthy if it is violent and sensationalized, perhaps due to special-interest issues, which in turn plays to the fears of a broad spectrum of viewers and as a result paints a distorted picture of crime and criminality. Our natural curiosity is sparked by these images and stories of extreme cases of crime, and thus become fixed in anticipation for the developing story. A further criticism stems from the media’s depiction of offenders and victims; the media is seen as fostering stereotypes (Halloran, 1978; Surgeon General, 1971) by providing a misleading conception of the characteristics of victims and offenders. Relatedly, research has indicated that the media plays an active role in constructing social phenomena in situations where there are few other information sources (Gunter, 1987; Soulliere, 2003; Surette, 2007). Because the average

person will not likely have personal experience with crime or the criminal justice system (2007), a “the general public’s knowledge of justice is drawn significantly from the media” (Surette, 1984, p. 5). With little information available, readers are free to draw conclusions about what they read and see from the media, even if these presumptions are incorrect.

Research based on group differences suggests personal experience with crime moderates media effects in one of two ways (Chiricos, Padgett, & Gertz, 2000; Gerbner et al., 1980). The substitution thesis indicates that individuals with little or no personal experience with crime will use media as a substitute for their lack of experience and thus establish opinions of crime based on these media representations (Gerbner et al., 1980; Hans & Dee, 1991). Alternatively, the resonance thesis suggests if viewers have personal experiences with crime, media representations can relate to their own experiences, which reinforce existing opinions and reactions to crime (Gerbner et al., 1980). The type of crime-related media also appears to matter. Of previous studies on the topic, researchers found that television news and crime-reality programs have more influence on fear of crime than television crime dramas (Chiricos et al., 1997; Weitzer & Kubrin, 2004); however the content and framing of information about crime also matters. In essence, news media has a large influence over readers, which shapes how the individual reading the story will interpret the events and could include reinforcing a stereotype by the way a suspect is portrayed.

Media Representations of Crime and Race

Scholars suggest that the media’s biased coverage of crime is a key factor perpetuating inaccurate stereotypes about victims and offenders (Pickett & Chiricos, 2012; Welch, 2007). There are considerable differences between the reality of crime and justice and the depictions of

these in the media. For instance, studies find that media coverage of crime disproportionately reports on violent crime, the rarest and most serious types of offenses, and American males as perpetrators; it underrepresents White offenders and non-White victims and deemphasizes or ignores contextual causes of offending (Dixon & Linz, 2000a, 2000b; Dorfman & Schiralsi, 2001). White individuals are arrested and convicted at a rate higher than that of African American individuals for property crime offenses. In terms of raw numbers, we should expect to see more stories on White offenders because there are more White offenders than African American offenders. These discrepancies in proportionate crime reports due to the media's biased coverage may impact the public's perception of the crime problem in America.

Exposure to these biased messages can have significant consequences: Media consumption of the overrepresentation of African American males in crime-related news stories strengthens the belief of an association between African Americans and their propensity to offend, leading to race-related evaluations (Dixon, 2007). Furthermore, research on media and judiciary decision-making indicates Whites are: (a) more likely to view an African American (as opposed to White) defendant as guilty, (b) increasingly apt to perceive a African American perpetrator as more memorable than a White perpetrator (Dixon & Maddox, 2005), and (c) more prone to misidentify or falsely acknowledge having seen a African American suspect even when none are depicted (Dixon, 2007, 2008; Gilliam & Iyengar, 2000; Oliver, 1999; Oliver & Fonash, 2002). One study by Oliver and Fonash (2002) found that White media consumers were more likely to incorrectly identify the race of suspects when presented with newspaper accounts of different types of crime: African Americans were misidentified in violent crime stories whereas White suspects were more often wrongly chosen in nonviolent crime articles. This misidentification has resonating consequences, including incorrect attributions of blame and overexaggerated beliefs about

criminality to the detriment of persons within that group (Allport, 1954).

As research has indicated, African Americans are grossly overrepresented in media portrayals of criminals, are often perceived as dangerous, and are assumed to be guilty compared to their White counterparts (Oliver, 2003; Sadler et al., 2012). The racial identity of a victim of a crime is one of the most important elements in the presentation of a crime story (Dowler, 2004; Weiss & Chermak, 1998; Sorenson, Manz, & Berk, 1998; Dixon & Linz, 2000b). Additionally, while African Americans are over-represented as perpetrators of crime when examining comparisons in arrest records, Whites are under-represented as perpetrators but over-represented as victims (Dixon & Linz, 2000a; Oliver, 2003). It is consistently shown that in one view or another, the media very much focuses on the element of race when presented with a story on crime as this relates to the story's newsworthiness which can impact readership.

The criminalization of African American men has been more than symbolic. As Chambliss (1995) points out, "so ubiquitous is the pattern of discriminatory law enforcement that the effect has been to criminalize an entire population" (p. 250). Examination of national newsmagazines allows exploration of media representation at the national level, thus contributing to an understanding of the symbolic significance in the national public sphere (Barlow, 1998, p. 155). In the late 1960s, a symbolic linkage was formed between the problem of crime and civil rights-related violence. A cover story in Time magazine focused on African American violence in Harlem, NY began a barrage of cover stories on crime and African American riots from 1964 to 1968, which helped to sediment the symbolic connection between young Black males and crime for years to come (Barlow, 1998). These articles "contribute to a shift from traditional to modern, symbolic racism", yet "the magazines appear to have made an effort to avoid direct references to race and thereby avoid charges of racism" (Barlow, 1998, p. 177). This criminalization has likely

contributed to the fragmentation of African American struggles for racial justice and equality.

In a study of local crime newscasts, Dowler (2004) argues that in both American and Canadian newscasts, racial images saturate media portrayals of criminality and victimization, minority crime victims receive less attention and sympathy than White victims, and crime stories involving minority offenders are full of racial stereotypes. Entman (1992) reports that news stories featuring African American suspects being detained by police officers, being handcuffed, and being dressed poorly were more likely than that same presentation to feature a White suspect. Research and public opinion polls of people's attitudes and beliefs about crime revealed that White individuals experience greater fear of crime when in the presence (or assumed presence) of an African American (Moeller, 1989; St. John & Heald-Moore, 1995). The media uses these photos and depictions to replicate society's perceived stereotypes, however Sadler, Correll, Park, and Judd (2012) suggest that it is in fact more likely that stereotypes influence our behavior without awareness or intention.

There can be conflicting images presented by the media when discussing the topic of race. Given that media content is perceived as "realistic," it is thought to have the strongest effect on viewers' beliefs and cognitions (Potter, 1986; 1988). By utilizing priming theory, Johnson, Adams, Hall, and Ashburn (1997) examined how exposure to crime stories in the media affected viewers' judgments concerning another crime situation. Their findings indicated that many viewers already had stereotypes of the "violent black male" as part of their cognitive structure, and once this is in place, exposure to violent crime alone is sufficient to bring this stereotype to mind and influence future judgments. Sadler et al. (2012) contend that the association between minorities (specifically African American and Latino) and crime at a "societal level may have consequences for police behavior at the individual level" (p. 289). Violent crime rates and the

proportion of non-Whites in a patrolled area have been associated with increased threat perception (Cureton, 2001), even if there is no viable threat present, which increases the propensity of viewing racial and ethnic minorities as suspects.

We can understand that media representations of crime and justice can influence viewers' judgments and decisions about criminal policy (Kleck & Kates, 2001; Robbers, 2005). In a study by Dixon and Linz (2000), the authors examined a variety of predictors questioning if news stories about crime featured information such as the defendant's prior arrest or conviction records, a defendant's reported confession, or derogatory statements about a defendant's character. Their results indicated that news stories were significantly more likely to feature racialized publicity (i.e., having the individual's race as the predominant focus of crime causation) when the defendant was African American or Latino and the victim was White. Entman (1992, p. 347-348) explored whether African Americans accused of crimes "were depicted in ways that tend to make them look more threatening and less individualized than Whites, thereby reinforcing negative stereotypes." For example, presenting a grouping of African Americans all in similar outfits, such as prison jumpsuits, it becomes harder to tell each person apart. Facial expressions showing anger or what could be perceived as menacing could also communicate a threat to someone viewing the story. Also interesting is the geographic location in regards to previous perceptions of race: Blalock (1967, p. 167) states that the relationship between minority group prevalence and discrimination may be enhanced in places such as the South, where Whites hold exaggerated fears regarding the criminal inclination of African Americans. Publishers spend substantial amounts of money to provide eye-catching visuals to capture readers' attention; so powerful are these visual images that readers will opt for the pictorial first and written word second (Evans, Watson & Willows, 1987; Woodward, 1989;

Enteman, 2011).

A potential reason for this alleged discrepancy between Whites and African Americans could be due to perceived competition between races, which could be interpreted as a threat. Ousey and Lee (2008) note from Blalock's (1967) work that the basic racial threat argument suggests that as the dominant social group, Whites view African Americans and other non-White minority groups as potential competitors who may challenge their position in society. As a result of this, with African Americans (non-Whites) becoming more prevalent within society and less segregated in given residential areas, it is hypothesized that Whites will perceive a greater threat and therefore move to protect the existing status quo via a variety of discriminatory methods, which include unjustly focusing criminal justice resources at their non-White competitors (Ousey & Lee, 2008). It appears that historical stereotypes are still very prevalent in today's society, where even living in proximity to someone of a different race is cause for conflict, with nothing in place to provoke the other person other than simply being there. As the literature has indicated, race is an important social construct when exploring how the news media present crime stories. Another equally salient construct is gender.

Media Representations Regarding Gender of Alleged Criminal Offenders

It is important to consider the crime trends and media representations of female offenders. In 2014, 1,390,576 women were arrested for criminal activity; this accounted for 26.4% of the total arrests for 2014 (UCR, 2014). Men tend to offend at a higher rate than women in all crime categories except prostitution and shoplifting, and the crime gap is greater for serious crime and less for mild forms of law breaking such as minor property crimes (Steffensmeier & Allan, 1995; UCR, 2014). From this gender difference, it is inferred that women are different than men in

their capacity and motivation for violence. An area of research that potentially conflicts with this pattern is partner violence, in which some researchers have found women can be as physically aggressive as men, if not more so, within intimate relationships (Archer, 2000, 2002, 2006; Graham-Kevan & Archer, 2003), though it is important to note that women are consistently found to have more severe injuries than males resulting from these violent exchanges (Capaldi et al., 2009). Additionally, in examining how arrest rates have evolved over the years, women's arrest rates have increased 2.9% between 2003-2012 whereas men's arrest rates have decreased 12.7% between 2003-2012 (FBI, 2012). Despite these increases in female arrests, the proportion of female offenders in media accounts remains the same (Johansson-Love & Fremouw, 2009).

In contrast to the larger body of research on race and media messages, there have been fewer studies examining gendered representations of crime in the media. Media reception research has suggested that audience characteristics such as gender and age influence the way media messages are received (Morgan & Shanahan, 1997; Shrum & Bischak, 2001). Gender is the most significant demographic correlate of fear of crime, with women consistently reporting higher levels of fear than men (Akers et al., 1987; Ferraro, 1995; Hale, 1996; Haynie, 1998; Madriz, 1997; Stanko, 1992; Warr, 1984). This "gender-fear paradox" has often been attributed to women's heightened sense of vulnerability (Fisher & Sloan, 2003; Gilchrist et al., 1998; Hughes et al., 2003; Schafer et al., 2006; Stanko, 1992), which could be explained by Warr's (1984) idea of the "shadow hypothesis," based on the idea that women's fear stems from the dominant threat of sexual victimization. Even considering fear unrelated to sexual victimization, women still have higher levels of fear because the fear of sexual victimization is ever present (Ferraro, 1995; Warr, 1984). It may not be too far off to suggest women have a higher fear of crime because they overestimate their chances of victimization.

The roles that young children learn in relation to their gender--to be masculine is to be physically strong and to be feminine is to be physically weak--support the social construction of crime roles insofar that males are traditionally thought of as perpetrators and females are conceptualized as victims (Goodey, 1997; Hollander, 2001; Stanko, 1992). These ideas of crime focused around gender reinforce media depictions in which males are usually the perpetrator and the female is the victim (Chermak, 1995). Past research suggests that women are most commonly depicted as victims of crime in the media (Bjornstrom, Kaufman, Peterson, & Slater, 2010; Chermak, 1995; Paulsen, 2003; Peelo, Francis, Pearson, & Soothill, 2004; Prichard & Hughes, 1997; Weiss & Chermak, 1998), even though women are 10 times less likely to be victimized than men. Rye, Greatrix, and Enright (2006), for example, studied the effects of gender for the victim and perpetrator on attributions of blame and responsibility found that “perpetrators are not solely evaluated on the basis of the crimes they commit” and that generally “a female perpetrator was held less culpable for the crime than a male perpetrator was. A male perpetrator and female victim dyad resulted in the greatest perpetrator blame and least victim blame” (p. 646). From this, we see that attributions of blame combined with judgments of responsibility for both the perpetrator and victim (if stated or known) factor into acceptance of correction assignments, which is consistent with the literature on the decision-stage theory (Alicke, 2000; Mantler et al., 2003).

Within the last decade in North America there has been a growth of criminal cases of female secondary school teachers in sexual relationships with students. Cavanagh offers a compelling argument for why, when women represent only a small minority of sexual offenders, there has been a disproportionate concern with “the sexual proclivities of female teachers”—whom, she says, “rarely commit the sexual misdemeanors of concern” (2007, p. 10). Cavanagh

places the transgressions of the White female teacher at the basis of her research. These cases focusing on teacher/student relationships both vilify and eroticize the criminal act. In this regard, it seems that “the more beautiful the perpetrator”, the greater the media coverage (CNN, 2006). One way feminist visual theorists have complicated the understanding of representations of women in film and media is through the notion of the ‘pornographic technique’ (Cavanagh, 2007, p. 88). This refers to the simultaneous eroticization and punishment of sexually assertive women and the apparent gender bias in the prosecution and sentencing of female offenders and a double standard in constructions of the child victim (Angelides, 2010). The concern of women getting more lenient sentences than men for similar crimes is not only due to good looks and the resultant inability of male judges to see women as sexual abusers, but also due to the apparent inability of judiciaries to see many of these boys as victims (Angelides, 2010).

Much of the literature which focuses on the media’s coverage of women’s crimes deals with the murder of family members, especially husbands or partners and children, and with how representations of such murders position the woman as mad, evil and/or a victim herself (Allen, 1998; Meloy & Miller, 2009). Jewkes (2009) examines how female perpetrators are described through the use of some standard narratives on sexuality and sexual deviance and makes relevant the woman’s physical attractiveness or the lack of it. Through this, women are turned into stereotypes, such as the femme fatale who transgresses ideals about female sexuality and passivity, the bad wife who transgresses codes of female domesticity, and the bad mother in breach of gendered norms on women being maternal and nurturing, as well as fabricating associations with mythical monsters and madness (Skilbrei, 2012). Humphries (2009) identified similar processes in which media coverage of crimes involving women, either as victim or perpetrator draws on readily available dichotomies. At the core of this is the way a division is

made between ‘good’ and ‘bad’ women. These interpretations are not based on gender alone, but are created in the intersection of gender, race, ethnicity, sexuality and class and are made possible by the way scholarly knowledge on crime and victimhood is gendered (Skilbrei, 2012). Dichotomies such as control/lack of control, dark/blonde, cold/warm are brought into play in media coverage (Skilbrei, 2012). Morrissey (2003) points to how a polarization between women takes place in the media response to female murderers; they are either totally innocent or totally guilty, whereas men’s deviant acts are placed on a continuum. Much analysis of media on female perpetrators of serious crime places them as victims of men, which is best exemplified through situations in which the female is the perpetrator, yet her criminality is still categorized as a result of her victimhood (Morrissey, 2003).

For cases in which the defendant is a female, it is important to investigate if cultural assumptions about appropriate femininity are made in regards to media coverage. Ferrell, Hayward and Young (2008, p. 126) argue the need for an analytical qualitative media analysis. This fits within feminist concerns over how norms and behaviors out of the ordinary are treated in the media. The fact that men are overrepresented as perpetrators of serious crimes has consequences in terms of visibility in media coverage of crime, but also in theory development on crime (Skilbrei, 2012). Based on feminist criminology, bringing in gender involves focusing on gendered meanings and implications of crime and victimhood, including policies and how gender intersects with other inequality regimes or identity categories. These perceptions about gender-appropriate behaviors and roles may be intersected by norms and practices related to class, ethnicity, ‘race’ and sexuality (Daly & Maher, 1998; Rice, 1990).

Media Representations of Race/Ethnicity and Gender of Alleged Criminal Offenders

Race and gender have been found to have an effect on the amount of celebrated coverage a crime will receive. Race has been shown to be the most significant predictor of prominent coverage (Buckler & Travis, 2005; Gruenewald et al., 2009; Lundman, 2003; Paulsen, 2003; Pritchard & Hughes, 1997; Weiss & Chermak, 1998). The presence of White victims has consistently been followed with an elevated word count (Buckler & Travis, 2005; Gruenewald et al., 2009; Paulsen, 2003; Pritchard & Hughes, 1997; Weiss & Chermak, 1998), more articles (Buckler & Travis, 2005; Gruenewald et al., 2009; Paulsen, 2003; Pritchard & Hughes, 1997; Weiss & Chermak, 1998), and more front-page articles (Lundman, 2003) than for African American or Hispanic victims. Females, as compared to males, have also been shown to be more significant predictors of all three types of celebrated coverage (Buckler & Travis, 2005; Lundman, 2003; Paulsen, 2003). Celebrated coverage, as it is called, can be measured in terms of premium or front-page placement in the paper (Chermak, 1998; Gruenewald et al., 2009; Johnstone et al., 1994; Lundman, 2003; Paulsen, 2003). It can be also measured across higher word counts for the stories (Buckler & Travis, 2005; Gruenewald et al., 2009; Paulsen, 2003; Pritchard & Hughes, 1997; Weiss & Chermak, 1998, Chermak, 1998; Johnstone et al., 1994; Wilbanks, 1984) or an increased number of articles for the incident (Buckler & Travis, 2005; Gruenewald et al., 2009; Paulsen, 2003; Pritchard & Hughes, 1997; Weiss & Chermak, 1998).

Few media studies focus on race, gender, and crime simultaneously, but the following study is a notable exception. In a study completed by Schildkraut and Donley (2012), news reporting in *The Baltimore Sun* was examined for homicides that occurred in Baltimore, Maryland, between January 1 and December 31, 2010. The study examined the factors that contribute to newsworthiness for certain victims (p. 181). This study expanded on Gruenewald et al.'s (2009) research by examining the impact of factors such as age, homicide weapon, and

income levels found salient in previous studies within a homogeneous population and examined predictors of general and prominent news coverage. Approximately 73% of homicides occurring in Baltimore in 2010 received some form of coverage in *The Sun* (Schildkraut & Donley, 2012). In looking at race coverage of the victim, their results indicated that African American victims are more than six times more common than White victims. Female victims, a group that comprises only 9% of the victim population, received less celebrated coverage on average than male victims (Schildkraut & Donley, 2012, p. 191). The homicides were considered newsworthy when they contained unusual or out of the ordinary elements (Gruenewald et al., 2009; Meyers, 1997). In mostly urban areas, the victims are predominantly African American (Meyers, 1997). As a result of this, journalists may not consider these victims to be especially newsworthy, although some will still receive coverage (Pritchard, 1985).

News studies that have explored the representation of African Americans either explicitly target men or implicitly neglect women while typically concluding that Blacks are portrayed as both a problem and threat to society (Meyers, 2004, p. 97). Black feminist theorists argue that the convergence of male supremacist and White supremacist ideologies is reflected in stereotypes of Black women. Collins (1991) points out that racism, sexism, and poverty are normalized and naturalized by defining African American women as “stereotypical mammies, matriarchs, welfare recipients, and hot mamas” (p. 67). “Neutrality” is won through the choice of words and use of language, the delimiting of arguments so that truly oppositional positions are never presented as legitimate considerations, and the framing of stories so that they appear not to be ideological at all, but instead seem natural and grounded in everyday reality (Meyers, 2004, p. 96). Some discourses are privileged and more likely to shape meaning because they carry the weight of cultural assumptions and expectations (Eco, 1990).

Through the established literature, researchers are recognizing the importance of studying the intersections of race and gender in criminological studies (Skilbrei, 2012; Berard, 2013; Brewer, 1993), but when it comes to media representations, very little is known. Based on how media presents crime to the public, readers may think they know how crime is being shaped by media accounts, however this is inaccurate with regards to offender race and possibly inaccurate with regards to gender. The following section will detail a recent situation that illustrates the importance of accurate news stories and visual depictions in crime news reporting.

Current Events: Visual Depictions of Offenders in the News

The Iowa newspaper The Gazette delivered two different stories in March 2015 regarding two groups of individuals committing nearly the exact same crime, one day apart (Siede, 2015). One of these groupings consisted of African American men and the other grouping was all White. The emphasis of this article, which sparked the initial interest in the topic at hand, was the presentation of the groupings: the African American men had their mugshots across the top of the page (Herminston, 2015a) while the White men had yearbook photos (Herminston, 2015b). The Gazette claimed accessing the mugshots for the White men would have to be made through a formal request (Siede, 2015), yet it appears the newspaper had no issue obtaining the mugshots of the African American individuals. Both of these stories appeared on the satirical website BoingBoing. The site ran the stories highlighting the discrepancy between the photos, calling into question the newspaper's pictorial selection practices (Siede, 2015).

Further investigation of the news release uncovered that The Gazette editors provided an explanation as to why the African American individuals had their mugshots publicly displayed faster than the White individuals. The organization claimed that the department that arrested the

White men required a formal request to be made to acquire the mugshots while the department that arrested the African American men had these photos readily available (Carros, 2015). Therefore, it was at the newspaper's discretion to publish the stories without both sets of mugshots, even though this decision appeared to show favor to the White individuals as the photo associated with their story did not additionally lend credence to the perception of 'criminal' whereas the mugshots of the African American men could be perceived as doing so. This circumstance reinforces Bodenhausen's (1988) finding that Whites assume greater guilt of African American criminal suspects accused of crimes than of White criminal suspects accused of the same offenses. Additionally, Woodward (1989, p. 101) described the pictorial as the "dominant and defining" element of the story and others have claimed that visual information is recognized and remembered for longer durations than verbal information alone (Levie, 1987; Mayer, 1989; McDaniel & Pressley, 1989; Peeck, 1987). Thus, the issue of pictorial utilization speaks for itself.

A majority of previous research on mugshots has been related to eyewitness testimony used in convictions for participation in a crime. Lashmar (2013) notes that media comparisons have focused on African Americans (or minorities in general) versus Whites, which have allowed for mugshots to convey meaning, and this meaning allows society to construct images of 'the other,' 'the lesser,' or 'sub-human' on the grounds of demographic variables. He continues that as the 19th century progressed, there began a cultural shift towards a dehumanizing format of the judicial photograph (mugshot) (p. 66). Lashmar also raises an interesting point considering the historical relationship between crime, spectacle, and punishment and thus concludes his article noting that these photographs have been used in the media as a way to exclude certain groups, seeking to separate wider society.

The impact of media messages is far-reaching and may have many unintended consequences (Tyler & Cook, 1984; Heath & Petraitis, 1987; Heath & Gilbert, 1996). For example, journalists have the ability to present alleged suspects in a manner that is supportive of their presumed guilt or innocence. By displaying this person via a mugshot, the media is applying the label of “criminal” to the accused offender, whether or not the accused is in fact guilty. This label can have detrimental consequences for not only the accused, but also for the public viewing the picture and reading the story, as this representation may contribute to increased fears of victimization (Tyler & Cook, 1984; Heath & Petraitis, 1987; Heath & Gilbert, 1996).

Chapter 3 - Theory

There are two main theoretical frameworks employed in this study: social constructionism and labeling theory. Addressing intersections of gender, race, and crime has become a priority as feminist scholars have highlighted the necessity of a study for topics such as crime and delinquency (Berard, 2013). Acknowledging the significance of gender as well as racial and ethnic inequalities when addressing the social patterning of deviance and crime is imperative when considering we live in multi-ethnic capitalist societies (Berard, 2013). The deviant subculture literature poses an examination of social roles that is consistent with analyzing systems of belief and conduct in terms of illuminating the social basis and social relevance of patterned action orientations (Berard, 2013, p. 320). To further understanding of the subject, research will also be examining social constructionism and labeling theory, which will include discussion pertaining to moral panics and consequences of possessing the label.

Social Constructionism

This research is informed by the social constructionism genre of labeling theory. A genre approach focuses on how people use and interpret the media and actively participate in reproducing social power relations. A genre can also be viewed as one part of an overall model examining the cultural aspects of mass communication (Ridell, 1998). Social constructionism has been foundational in elucidating the creation, maintenance, and consequences of social stratification systems (Harris, 2004). The central premise of social constructionism is that meaning is not inherent and that the central concerns of constructionist inquiry are to study what people “know” and how they create, apply, contest, and act upon these ideas (Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Best, 2000; Blumer, 1969; Gubrium & Holstein, 1990). These theories will be

instrumental in deciphering the ways in which individuals are portrayed in the media, specifically by identifying the characteristics that are highlighted when presenting each individual to the public in a crime story.

Humans are seen as active in the creation of their world while also being malleable in their communication with others. In their interaction people act in relation to the meaning others have of them, and in so doing they incorporate some of the others' definitions into their own definitions of themselves (Cooley, 1902; Blumer, 1969). Social constructionist and interactionist theorists see humans as creative beings, acting according to meanings they impart to situations that confront them. Thus, human activity is a socially creative process by which humans take things into account before they act (Einstadter & Henry, 2006). Berger and Luckmann (1966) describe a series of interconnected social processes through which humans create institutionalized social phenomena that are seen as having an independent existence outside of the people who created them. Social constructionists also present a variation of social order that depicts society as a constructed reality. In this view, society is regarded as a continuation of the social construction, which is how individuals construct their social worlds (Pfuhl & Henry, 1993).

Labeling Theory

As Box (1981, p. 208) says, "Clearly the organizing assumption in labeling theory is that officially registered individuals sometimes undergo an identity change from being normal to being deviant." Labeling theorists emphasize that attention should be placed on understanding how meaning is created within interactions (Becker, 1963; Lemert, 1972; Tannenbaum, 1938) and have illuminated two core concepts of the theory: (1) How and why certain behaviors and

individuals warrant a deviant label, citing power differentials that can defend against the application of such labels (Becker, 1963; Chambliss, 1973); and (2) Understanding what the consequences are for having such a label. Some of the consequences could include impacting the formation of an individual's identity, thus impacting their desire to offend in the future and the ways in which these relationships unfold (Brenburg & Krohn, 2003; Brenburg et al., 2006; Matsueda, 1992; Sampson & Laub, 1997). Other implications for such a label could include a self-fulfilling prophecy in which the individual feels the only appropriate path to take is deviance due to the deviant label already being associated to their identity. Anyone can be labeled as "criminal" if his or her deviance becomes subjected to the scrutiny of the criminal justice system, but this is typically the fate for the powerless (Duster, 1970).

In an important implication for labeling theory, deviant stigma is a devalued identity that is placed upon a person. This stigma tends to create negative behavioral expectations and attributions of character among those who meet the stigmatized individual (Ulmer, 2010). Deviance becomes the repeated rule breaking, which emanates from the belief that the person actually is the identity type s/he has been labeled. Further "deviance amplification" comes from expansion of deviant behavior as those labeled now engage in other deviance in order to conceal their identity (Young, 1971). Labeling theory argues that additional crime and deviance (beyond what is considered normal for a society) are brought about as a self-fulfilling prophecy by some people's responses to the stigmatizing effects of excessive overreaction by society's control agents to their expression of individuality and diversity (p. 210). Labeling theorists argue that whether a deviant label is successfully applied depends on negotiation and this process involves power relations (Schur, 1971). Those who find themselves potentially labeled as criminal and who have considerable resources are much better able to resist the label than those who lack

resources.

Crime is indeed a social problem, and it produces material consequences producing social and personal harm. Chambliss (1995) describes the creation of a moral panic about crime in the 1960s, illustrating the process through which politicians, law enforcement officials, and the news media raised crime to the level of a major social problem. A moral panic is one that can be considered an alarmist reaction to crime. These reactions are usually intended to appeal to citizens' fears often for the purpose of advancing a political agenda (e.g., increased expenditures in the criminal justice system). Alarmist reactions to crime offered by state managers further contribute to moral panic because seemingly credible authorities and political leaders deliver their messages. Additionally, state managers add a heightened sense of anxiety and urgency to an emerging moral panic. Taken together, alarmist reactions to crime advance the dominant ideology because they create the demand for greater expenditure in the criminal justice system (Welch, Fenwick, & Roberts, 1997). In their fear-driven creation of "moral panics" social constructionists argue that crime and deviance can be created where it does not exist and subsequently acted toward as if it were real, including finding people to classify, stigmatize, and demonize as offenders even though they may be innocent of any offense (Cohen, 1972; Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 1994).

Laub and Sampson (2003; Sampson & Laub, 1993) among others demonstrate that arrests and convictions among young offenders tend to have effects throughout the life course, producing negative consequences and disadvantages in education, employment, family life, substance abuse, and later criminal behavior. Being publicly labeled as a deviant is the first step in the process in embodying a deviant role as this label spurs changes in self-identity and involvement in deviant social groups, which ultimately increases an individual's participation in

deviance (Becker, 1963; Lemert, 1972). Research has shown that being labeled a deviant can produce detrimental consequences on an individual's self-identity (Matsueda, 1992), educational attainment, and employment outcomes (Bernburg & Krohn, 2003, Davies & Tanner, 2003; De Li, 1999; Pager, 2003; Sweeten, 2006; Tanner et al., 1999; Western, 2002). These studies make note of the negative repercussions of fastening a deviant label on an individual.

By being labeled as 'deviant' by others, rule breakers are consequently excluded from resuming normal roles within the community (Mankoff, 1971). Jock Young (1971) refers to this as "deviance amplification" wherein the reaction creates the deviance the reactors wanted to prevent (a self-fulfilling prophecy), and as reactions become more severe, the deviance and crime become more severe as well. An example of deviance amplification through the labeling process would be the ex-convict who, by being labeled as "socially disabled/deviant," is unable to find legitimate work and, as a result, engages in further crime as a criminal career (Irwin, 1970). The label serves as a "master status" indicating a whole set of stereotypical behaviors associated with an identity that is more prominent than all others (Einstadter & Henry, 2006, p. 228). In such a circumstance, the media showing a mugshot of an African American man in a newspaper with a story documenting his perceived criminal activity would thus allow for "criminal" to be his master status more so than any other label.

Criticisms of the media include claims that news coverage of crime and other social problems distort the public's understanding of social problems and prevent their remedy (Altheide, 1997; Cohen, 1972; Cohen & Young, 1973; Ericson, 1991; Fox, 2013). The idea of moral panic epitomizes this position, and since being termed so by Stanley Cohen and Jock Young (1973), it has become a familiar term in public criticisms of news (Garland, 2008). Socially useful news serves society and the public, rather than that of the government and elite

(Konkes & Lester, 2015, p. 2). Within the context of moral panics, socially useful news may amplify scandal in order to serve the purpose of informing and holding those in government and other institutions accountable, but it does not allow for the amplification of scandal to distract from discussion (Konkes & Lester, 2015). Panics and other distortions often occur when matters relating to crime become contested in the news.

Social constructionism and labeling theory relate to the present study in the way that people are able to interpret the media which is made available to them, thus allowing them to reinforce social power relations that minority suspects are oftentimes viewed as ‘menacing’ more-so than White individuals (Entman, 1992). Labeling theory uncovers how an individual can attain a deviant label, how some groups of individuals can avoid such a label based on race and socioeconomic advantages, and the implications a deviant label can have for an individual. The groups and categories an individual belongs to contribute to one’s self-concept and self-definition by furnishing the beliefs and behaviors associated with these groups (Billig & Tajfel, 1973; Hogg, Terry, & White, 1995). In effect, these provide a general sense of identity. This relates to mugshot presentations in the media due to minority individuals rarely being presented by the media in the same way as White individuals are, which can negatively influence their sense of identity. To further underscore this point, Lemert recognized the implications of a deviant label in the 1950s, and his findings are still relevant today when he explains that the misconduct of members of racial minorities attract more publicity than those who are from the majority. He goes on to say it is “the habit of many newspapers to call attention to the fact that the person committing the crime is a Negro or a Mexican, or an Indian, or an alien” (2010, p. 327). He concludes the thought saying this publicity builds the stereotype against the minority individual in question and heightens the societal reaction to future offending (2010).

Placing a mugshot of a minority against a distinguished photo of a White individual, such as one from a yearbook, potentially shows differential treatment. By not presenting each individual in the same way, where one may have a more intimidating or severe appearance, there is a visual discrepancy between how one individual is presented as compared to the other. This reiterates Lashmar's (2013) claim that using mugshots are an example of the media searching out the "drama" and fear elicited in the public when the suspect is pictured (p.85); this could be an example of skewing the meaning of a judicial photograph in order to influence perceived guiltiness.

Chapter 4 – Statement of the Problem

The question to be explored in this research is: When photo representations for alleged criminals are available, are mugshots used more often for non-White men as compared to any other race or gender? Because my research is specifically focused on the media, a content analysis will be the most effective way to gather, code, and interpret the data I will be collecting. Through my research, I intend to explore if and how minority individuals are portrayed differently than White individuals in print media and whether these representations vary by gender. I am seeking to question what message print media are sending to their readers by the photos it publishes accompanying crime stories.

This question is important in discovering if the media is seemingly criminalizing individuals purely based on the photo used to present the individual and their crime to the public. While it is true there are minorities being arrested at a higher rate than White individuals, and there is a potential discrepancy by departments in releasing mugshots to the public, the newspaper publishing the story is in control over the decision of which pictures are released in the stories it publishes. As a result, this research will explore if media companies are presenting more African Americans in mugshot photos than they are for White individuals. Consuming such messages has been shown to provoke prejudicial responses among White viewers (Dixon, 2007, 2008; Dixon & Maddox, 2005). Also, due to the social significance of such findings, it is important to consider how identities beyond race/ethnicity impact these outcomes. This is impactful because of the nature of the message; if it is prejudicial, then it could reinforce stereotypes and these prejudices could have dire consequences for the targets of this negative content.

Chapter 5 - Methods

For this research project, I conducted an ethnographic content analysis. In general, ethnography is a description of people and their culture (Schwartz & Jacobs, 1979). In this regard, human beings engaging in meaningful behavior guide the mode of inquiry and orientation of the investigator (Altheide, 1987). Glaser and Strauss (1967) suggest products of social interaction can be studied reflexively, looking at one feature in the context of what is understood about other features, as this allows for constant comparison; similar to how this research will be conducted. An ethnographic content analysis is focused on documenting and understanding the communication of meaning through the highly interactive nature of the researcher and the data (Altheide, 1987). The data collection and organization will include finding, recording, and counting the number of times each categorical unit is mentioned or shown in a crime story (Altheide, 1987); these include gender, age, race, crime, photo used, and clothing worn in the photo. Data is often coded conceptually so that one item may be relevant for several purposes (Altheide, 1987), which will allow it to provide great descriptive information.

Although categories and units guide the study, others are allowed and expected to emerge throughout the study. Thus, ethnographic content analysis is embedded in “constant discovery” and “constant comparison” of relevant situations, settings, images, meanings, and nuances (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). I am able to reach my research goals through use of an ethnographic content analysis by the extensive reviewing of details that will be conducted for each crime story, which is a story published by a media company focused on the execution, continuation, or completion of a crime. There will be a partial listing of the categories that categorical units will fall into (gender, age, race, photo used, and clothing worn in the photo), which I will then be able to examine and count these units to verify if one race and gender is seemingly receiving

differential treatment from media companies over the other by being shown with a non-compromising photo.

Data Collection

To assess the pictorial representations of alleged offenders, I explored crime stories, which were defined as newspaper stories focused on a recent criminal event or development, specifically including those focused on arrests, charges, or convictions.¹ These crime stories were located in the following five newspapers: *USA Today*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *The New York Times*, *Los Angeles Times*, and *The Washington Post*. The newspaper selection is based off of ranked circulation statistics compiled from assorted news sites that list five of the top daily newspapers pertaining to differing years; these were the most commonly cited based on highest amounts readership for a newspaper periodical (Audit Bureau Circulation, 2007). I focused on newspaper articles published from August 1, 2014-October 31, 2014. These dates were chosen due to an interest in the media frenzy surrounding the Ferguson, Missouri shooting in August 2014, and other similar news events. By incorporating this date and beginning in the first month the altercation occurred, this would help me in examining the potential impact of these events on newspaper pictorial representations of crime.

To complete the data collection, I utilized Kansas State University's Interlibrary Loan services to source out microfilm for the five daily newspapers for the present analysis. Due to these newspapers being nationally circulated, there was overlap between stories. Therefore, any stories that were repeated among the five were omitted; however, due to human error in this

¹ Certain cases, such as those involving defendants who had previously gone to trial and were being sentenced, were omitted from this research as the current focus is on active prosecutions.

study there is a chance some stories have been repeated in the analysis.

Data Analysis and Validity Strategies

Furthermore, I performed an inductive analysis of the photos shown to represent individuals arrested for criminal activity (property, drug, or violent crime), the newspaper(s) presenting the story, the crime and arrest's geographic location, and identifying any racially-coded language in the article. I examined the text corresponding to the crime-related news story because previous research has shown that statements containing prejudicial information about criminal suspects, such as prior arrests, were significantly more likely to be associated with African American defendants (Dixon & Linz, 2002). All of the aforementioned details will provide information to decipher if newspaper media companies were showing African American men with mugshots at a higher rate than any other race or gender. Through my examination, I explored how newspaper media companies potentially impact African American men; the inclusion of proportionately more news stories accompanied by negative pictorial representations may perpetuate an over-heightened awareness of African American male crime over any other race or gender.

Thousands of articles were examined during this data collection to locate crime stories. After a crime story was found, information was documented in an Excel file containing information of the suspect's gender, race, age, whether the suspect was arrested, charged, or convicted, a section outlining if there was a photo at all, no photo, or a mugshot, the clothing worn in the photo, and the date if it was available. To eliminate avoidable assumption making, if names were listed within the article but no indication of if the suspect was male or female, this was coded appropriately within the data collection as being coded "not stated".

To make sense of the data, grounded theory analysis was applied. Glaser (1978) has explained grounded theory as a perspective-based methodology, and as a result, individual perspectives vary. Charmaz explains that “[c]onstructivism assumes the relativism of multiple social realities, recognizes the mutual creation of knowledge by the viewer and the viewed, and aims toward interpretive understanding of subjects’ meanings” (2000, p. 510). Grounded theory focuses on conceptualizing the latent theory patterns, and constructivism is built on joining interactive, interpreted, and produced data with an epistemological bias to achieve a credible and accurate description of data collection. Using a deductive latent content analysis, distinctions between mugshots and all photos were discovered from hypothesis testing. This method was chosen based on content analyses typically being used to analyze the content and meaning of words and images from that of a newspaper and effectively tease out the nuance of the other photos. What began as manifest coding transitioned into latent coding as it is the process of identifying the deeper meaning and symbols of the photos and words being counted. Because latent messages are not obvious, this is where description moves to interpretation. Some of the categories in which newspaper articles were coded include: the suspect’s gender, race, age, whether the suspect was arrested, charged, or convicted, a section outlining if there was a photo at all, no photo, or a mugshot, the clothing worn in the photo, and the date if it was available. At the end, the researcher was able to report the frequency of White males and females being shown with a photo or mugshot, or no photo, compared to non-White males and females.

After coding all of the manifest data in the articles, the researcher next looked for slightly deeper meaning, or the latent content of these images. For example, examining how many individuals are shown with an angry or menacing facial expression as opposed to an aloof expressionless face, and even considering if the suspect is smiling in the mugshot. As such the

researcher analyzed to what degree there was a shift in messages over time in the mugshot photo, what evidence there was that certain races or genders were shown to be more criminal or dangerous, and how many remained neutral in their level of perceived criminality by being shown with a neutral mugshot. Once this is completed, the researcher moved into deeper interpretations of the data, drawing from a range of theoretical literature. Glaser and Strauss (1967) posit that as the researcher becomes immersed in the data, analysis is advanced through the grounded process of constant comparison until discrete patterns and themes emerge. From a social constructivist perspective, words and images have no inherent meaning, and instead meaning can only be understood in the context in which the mugshot photo is consumed, which would be in a public, daily periodical by the general audience of media consumers and the message these photos are conveying.

As these theorists would agree, what has developed as a result of utilizing a grounded theory analysis is a less rigid methodology with greater focus on the search for meaning within the context of viewing the mugshot and the message(s) it is trying to send, as opposed to the testability of certain results. At the base of the approach, however, is a microanalysis of the data through constant comparison. This is an analytic process where all units of data are compared to each other to raise questions and discover assorted points of the data. This also assures that all data will be analyzed rather than potentially disregarded on the grounds of not meeting thematic expectations (Rodwell, 1998). By increasing the researcher's sensitivity to the data and its meaning, constant comparison allows for identification of variations or patterns of the data and thus classification for concept grouping (Rodwell, 1998). In addition, I engaged in collaborative data conferences regarding coding the mugshots throughout the data analysis process.

Chapter 6 – Results

It is imperative at this time to explicitly describe each photo category. A “mugshot” is a judicial photograph that is taken upon arrest of a criminal suspect; typically the person is facing the camera and may be seen wearing department of corrections issued clothing, however it is not always clear depending on the dimensions of the photo. There were other pictures accompanying crime news stories (e.g., non-mugshot photos). A “non-mugshot suspect photo” is a photo of the suspect that is not a mugshot photo, which includes a photo of the suspect in or out of court. A “non-suspect person photo” can include the suspect’s family, the victim’s family, or the perpetrator’s family. Lastly, there is a “non-person photo” that includes an item or place related to the crime. Due to this research being primarily focused on mugshots, the quantitative analysis reflects this focus. Further qualitative analysis will involve all other non-mugshot photos. These tables and figures can be found in the appendices.

There were 292 crime stories relevant to this research, involving 378 individuals. For a majority of these crime stories, there was no accompanying photo; specifically, 66.8% (n=195) of crime stories did not have a photo and 33.2% did (n=97). There were 32 available mugshots and 65 non-mugshot photos. These non-mugshot photos included photos of the perpetrator in a non-mugshot suspect photo, non-suspect person photos that included other people related to the crime (e.g., victims, the victim’s family or the perpetrator’s family), and non-person photos that include the places the crime occurred or items used in the crime. The detailed analysis of these photos will follow in this order below.

Of the mugshots available, White mugshots comprised 48% of the data (n =15) and non-White mugshots comprised 52% (n=17), with 23% African American (n=8), 16% Hispanic or Latino (n=5), 10% Middle Eastern (n=3), and 3% categorized as “Other” (n=1) due to an unclear

mugshot photo. Additionally, in comparing men to women, men's mugshots comprised 84% (n=27) of the sample and women's mugshots comprised 16% (n=5). There were more mugshots for White females (n=3) than there were for non-White females (n=2), however there were fewer mugshots for White males (n=12) than there were for non-White males (n=15). Throughout the rest of the results, detailed information will be provided regarding the mugshot photos and the non-mugshot photos and analyzed by race and gender.

Quantitative Analysis

All quantitative analysis was completed using SPSS Version 22. The quantitative portion of this study is noteworthy for several reasons, which include deciphering if the data has statistical significance when compared against each other to discover if non-White men have their mugshot shown in pictorial representations of crime news at a higher rate than any other race or gender. Cross-tabulations are essential for this research because they help in deciphering the frequencies in which these mugshots and non-mugshot photos are being shown. These tables record the frequency at which subjects in this study have the specific characteristics described in the cells of the table (i.e., categorical units) (Qualtrics, 2011). These frequencies provide a wealth of information about the relationship between variables and in this instance, aid in drawing conclusions about the data and whether one race or gender is having their mugshot or non-mugshot photo shown at a higher frequency than the other.

When examining the frequencies of race, the chi-square results indicated that there was not a statistically significant relationship between race and showing a non-mugshot suspect photo or a mugshot ($\chi^2 (1) = 1.298, p > .260$). This means that a White person is equally likely to have a mugshot photo or a non-mugshot photo shown in a newspaper crime story than it is for a non-White person (Table 1). The chi-square results also indicated there was also not a significant

relationship between gender and showing a non-mugshot photo or mugshot, ($\chi^2(1) = 0.176, p > .680$). These results indicate that it is equally likely for a man to have a photo or mugshot shown in a newspaper crime story as it is for a woman, and that there is no difference in the frequency at which they are shown (Table 2).

In a three-way cross-tabulation of the variables (Photo * Race * Gender)², the representation of non-White men was 12% higher than for White men; among women, non-Whites were represented at 10% higher than White women in which the chi-square results indicated that the relationship was not statistically significant, ($\chi^2(1) = 1.298, p > .260$). These results indicate that it is equally likely for a White man or woman to have any photo shown in a newspaper crime story as it is for a non-White man or woman (Table 3). Additionally, a three-way cross-tabulation of the variables (Mugshot * Race * Gender) also found the representation of non-White men was 12% higher than for White men; among women, non-Whites were represented at 10% higher than White women and the chi-square results produced findings indicating that the relationship was also not statistically significant, ($\chi^2(1) = 1.298, p > .260$). This means that it is equally likely for a White person to have a mugshot shown in a newspaper crime story as it is for a non-White person and there is no variation in gender (Table 3).

Qualitative Analysis

In reference to the qualitative analysis of the 32 mugshots, there were a handful of themes that were apparent within these photos. In many of these photos, the suspect appears expressionless in their mugshot photo (i.e., the suspect is not displaying any emotion and is staring into the camera) (n=17). Women were more likely than men to smile in their mugshot

² Mugshots were only compared to non-mugshot suspect photos.

(2:1, respectively) and men more often avert their gaze from the camera (n=3), as if they are intentionally not making eye-contact when the photo is taken. This is an interesting finding when considering that previous research on advertisements has found that men are often depicted as dominant and looking directly into the camera whereas women will often avert their gaze in submission (Conley & Ramsey, 2011). A total of 8 mugshots were shown with a menacing or angry expression in the mugshot, however 7 of these mugshots came from non-White individuals, whereas only one was of a White male. Facial expression assessments were made by looking at eyebrow and jawline positioning of the individuals pictured with a mugshot (for examples, reference Figure 2). Lastly, one White man appeared disheveled in his mugshot by the level of his personal grooming (i.e., by the way that his head and facial hair appeared unkempt and dirty and his eyes were wild and his gaze was averted from the camera). As a limitation to this research, because the mugshot photo frames the suspect's face, it is impossible to see what the suspect is wearing, making it difficult to discern if individuals are being portrayed differently when there is less to compare in the photos. Additionally, the lighting and picture quality are not always the best, making the photo fuzzy in certain instances. This is likely the result of the photo being viewed in microfilm format.

Non-Mugshot Suspect Photo Analysis

There were a total of 65 non-mugshot photos, which included any pictorial shown that was not a mugshot. Of these 65 photos, there were specifically non-mugshot suspect photos that showed suspects not looking at the camera (n=40); this included photos where the suspect was not looking at the camera or the photo was taken from a side angle, effectively giving readers a profile view of their face and body. What is communicated through photos such as these is that this would be the view the newspaper reader would have, had that individual been in the same

place (such as the courtroom) as the perpetrator. This is also a message of surveillance because by the perpetrator being viewed from an angle that is behind their body or to their left or right, it is seemingly communicating that the individual is being watched at all times, and that these are candid photos. As an example of this, there was a photo of a woman in court who was accused of killing her son in fear that her ex-husband had been abusing him. The photo taken of her was captured from her left side and depicted her in the courtroom, sitting down and pushing the hair from her face. Based on her facial expression, she appeared to be deep in thought or communicating to her lawyer. She is seemingly unaware that a photographer is in the room, or is too focused on her conversation to notice that she is being photographed.

There were many different depictions of individuals of different races, many of who are men, shown in these side-angle photos. Some men were wearing business attire (n=3), shown in suits and ties (n=18), while others were in prison jumpsuits and their appearance was far less distinguished (n=5). In looking at the racial distributions of these photos, most of the individuals shown in these non-mugshot suspect photos were White (n=31), less than half of that number were of African Americans (n=12), and even less were of Hispanics or Latinos, Middle Easterners or those classified as “Other” (n=9). There were four White individuals and one non-White individual shown wearing a prison jumpsuit and only one of the five women was shown wearing a prison jumpsuit; the others were wearing business attire appropriate for their court appearances. Based on photo evidence, it appears that three of the five women had spent time styling their hair and may have applied makeup and jewelry.

In terms of how individuals were portrayed in these images, there was a photo of an African American man with a do-rag on his head, visible cornrows, with his head bent as the judge is speaking to him in court. Selected images such as these have been found to

communicate a criminogenic image of an African American man that allows others to assume he is a “gang member” (Muniz, 2014). In comparison, a vast majority of White men appeared to be well dressed in the photos showing them in court. There was only one photo of a White man in court who was not wearing a suit and tie, however he was still wearing a collared shirt. Many of these photos show the accused looking away from the camera, even when it is pointed right in front of them. This almost gives the impression that the accused is avoiding ‘eye-contact’ with the camera, as if that could lessen their accountability for the crime. Of the men who are Middle Eastern (n=2), they both had a beard.

In addition, there were seven photos of athletes. Three of these photos were of African American football players wearing their football uniforms. It is assumed that these photos are taken from a football game as the individuals had visible sweat and, gauging from their facial expressions, were very tired (Figure 5). Of the football players, two were arrested for child maltreatment or abuse and one had been arrested for theft. Another photo of an athlete was that of a hockey player. He too was shown in his uniform and hunched over at his waist, looking straight in front of himself so that the angle of the photo was taken on his right side. It seems as though running the story with an accompanying uniform-clad photo reminds the viewer that the individual is an athlete of a specific sport, because that is likely the most common lens in which that individual is viewed. There was also a female soccer player in this sample. She was shown walking out of court with her husband, but there was also an additional photo of her in a game. She is the goalie on her team, and in the photo, viewers can see the net behind her and the expression on her face is very focused as if she is about to make a play. Lastly, there was a photo of a baseball player who had recently been suspended for using performance-enhancing drugs.

Unlike the other men, he was shown in business attire, however like the other men he was not looking at the camera when the photo was taken.

In the photos of individuals photographed in court or leaving court (n=20), they are mostly men who are dressed in a suit and tie (n=18). This was consistent between all races and did not fluctuate as a result of assumed socioeconomic status. By this, it is meant that non-White men were no less likely to be wearing a suit and tie than a White man was. Conversely, there were also individuals shown in court who were wearing prison jumpsuits (n=5) (Figure 4). This was likely at trial when the suspect was already in custody and awaiting a verdict of conviction. This still fits within the proposed definition of ‘crime story’ based on these newspaper stories focusing on a recent criminal event or development, that specifically were stories focused on arrests, charges, or convictions.

There were four women shown in or leaving court, three of whom were dressed in business attire while the other woman was wearing a prison jumpsuit. There was no major difference in race between these women, although there were no African American women in the non-mugshot suspect photo sample. Of the two women who were shown in business attire in court, their hair was styled and both appeared to be wearing makeup. The woman who was shown in a prison jumpsuit looked more unkempt than the other women, however this may have been because she was already in custody and did not have the ability to groom herself as she normally would.

Non-Suspect Person Photo Analysis

There were four photos of police officers accompanying the crime story. These were photos depicting surveillance or protection, as they were most often seen with large guns, on top of buildings, or inspecting police vehicles. There was one instance that officers were shown at a

press conference and standing at a podium speaking to the audience. Due to the officers most often being depicted in the sense that they are protecting the community, it is reasonable that they are carrying large weapons and seen patrolling the streets and grounds of the areas they have been assigned.

As a contrast to the perpetrator photos, there are also photos of groups rioting. This was more common towards the beginning of the sample when, in accordance to the timeline, the shooting of Michael Brown occurred in Ferguson, Missouri in which many people, mostly non-White, were outraged. The photos depicted individuals holding signs and seemingly yelling with their mouths open and fists raised, whereas there were also photos of the many prayer vigils held after the shooting showing individuals with their heads bowed and holding candles. There were some police officers shown in these photos, mostly wearing riot gear and what looked to be bracing for contact. Conversely, there was also one photo of a large group of White individuals protesting climate change in the Financial District in New York. The interesting thing about this photo was that the individuals in the photo appeared very aggressive, pushing against police officers and seemingly screaming by the appearance of their faces, yet the officers also shown in the photo were resisting without force. There was no riot gear, no pepper spray, just faces that looked like they were struggling against the weight of resistance from the rioters. This was a very different dynamic from what was transpiring in Ferguson in the sense that although the White individuals shown rioting appeared much more aggressive than the African Americans, the officer resisting the White individuals seemed far less concerned with his safety than he would had he been resisting a group of African Americans (based on the photo of the Ferguson riot).

There were a total of three photos of the perpetrator's family in the sample. These individuals were often shown "in action," whether that meant leaving court (n=2) in which the perpetrator was likely on trial or being sentenced, or at a press conference in which they were shown speaking at a podium to a group of people (n=1). In every photo, these families looked distraught and as if they were trying to evade attention. These individuals and families were shown with hats pulled down over their eyes, heads down, or being held by another family member in comfort. There seemed to be a message communicating that these families were victims of the repercussions of the perpetrator's actions, because their lives were being negatively affected by the perpetrator's actions and choices.

Lastly of pictorial representations of people, there were photos of the victim (n=5). Of these photos, there were two photos of White women, one photo of a non-White woman, and two photos of non-White males-one of which was an infant. All of these photos were accompanied by another photo in the article. For instance, there was a crime story about a husband and his wife murdering his ex-wife. In the story, there was a photo of the deceased victim, who was shown smiling, and also a picture of the gun used to kill her. In all of the photos showing the deceased victim, the victim was shown smiling, which effectively communicates that perhaps the victim was undeserving of their crime, This is not to say victims ever deserve violence acted out against them, only that by showing the victim in a way that assumed him/her as happy, friendly, and approachable, then perhaps the person who committed this crime really did not have a good reason to do so.

Non-Suspect General Photo Analysis

Alternatively, there were also photos associated with the crime story depicting the dwelling that the crime took place in (n=6). These photos were likely taken from the street, based on the angles

of the photo and the spacing from the building. The crimes associated to the homes were mostly that of abuse or murder (n=5) and one of embezzlement and fraud. The photos that depicted homes consisted of single-family dwellings, a duplex, an apartment, and RV. It was difficult to ascertain the value of the homes, as the photo was taken from the front of the home and did not show the surrounding area (Figure 6). There were toys by the home in one of the photos, indicating that one or more children lived in the home.

In addition, there were photos of items associated with the crime (n=2). These included weapons or personal items of the victim's. In one of these photos, the victim was shown with a photo of the pistol used to kill her. In the other, there was a scene from a shooting in which an officer was killed. The photos included with the story were of the victim in his uniform, a photo of the victim's gear placed outside of his home where the shooting occurred, and another photo of an officer patrolling with an unidentified man sitting in the back of the car. These photos are important for providing the viewer with additional context to the crime and the elements related to it.

Text Analysis

Regarding racialized text within the articles, there were three articles that made explicit reference that there was a disparity of races between the suspect and the victim, i.e., a White suspect and non-White victim (Figure 1). Regarding two of the football players that had been arrested, one for abuse and one for theft, the articles simultaneously mentioned the men's recent athletic highlights along with their criminal activity. Adrian Peterson was arrested for disciplining his child in the same way that he had been as a young boy, however the fact that he is a professional athlete was not lost in the article. Additionally, Rick Perry was arrested for corruption, which is a crime atypical for a White, upper middle class man. In an article not used

in this analysis, Perry was even shown smiling in his mugshot, and the related text mentioned that he said he was going out for ice cream afterwards. Had Perry been any other race but White, this behavior would likely not be considered appropriate or humorous.

In considering the differences between the messages the mugshots are eliciting and the non-suspect photos, it appears that giving the reader a visual for the perpetrator or the scene or the victim is all for the purpose of providing context. Without being provided with these pictorial representations of who committed the crime, where it is said to have taken place, and who was hurt as a result or what was used to hurt the victim, the reader is subsequently left to fill in the rest of the details through their imagination. By placing a mugshot of the perpetrator with the crime story, there is a visual, and likely physical, if it is a printed newspaper, representation of who committed the crime, giving the public a clear depiction of who can be labeled as responsible for the crime. These pictorial representations give the viewer the ability to make assessments of the alleged offender, which may or may not be impacted by commonly held stereotypes and reinforced by the quality of selected photographs. It becomes all the more important to encourage consciousness in viewing these mugshots and photos in crime stories.

Chapter 7 – Discussion

Several studies have examined how media messages and depictions exacerbate racial stereotypes (Dowler, 2004; Sadler et al., 2012; Holt, 2013). Academic literature is full of studies showing how racial stereotypes are formed (Devine, 1989), the media's role in perpetuating them (Dixon & Linz, 2000b; Dixon, 2008), and their consequences for non-Whites (Abraham & Appiah, 2006). This study demonstrated how crime, gender, media and race interact in ways that may influence audiences' perceptions of those being shown in newspaper media crime story pictorials. The primary aim of this study was to decipher if non-White men were having their mugshots shown in newspaper crime stories at a higher rate than any other race of gender. This research is an important contribution in the literature, due to the dearth of research on pictorial representations of crime in general and the public interest in these discrepancies (Siede, 2015).

I analyzed 97 total photos for this project, which included mugshot photos, non-mugshot suspect photos and non-person photos. The overall results and findings of this study were consistent with previous research. Of those arrested in 2014, 69% were White and 31% were other races and ethnic groups (UCR, 2014), there should have been more mugshots of White individuals than there were for non-White individuals if the news media had a more accurate representation of offenders.³ This however, was not the case. In total, there were 17 non-White mugshots as compared to 15 White mugshots. These results call for further research of this bias against non-Whites in efforts to discover if this misrepresentation is happening on a large scale and the long-term impact of these media selections.

³ The UCR measures of race do not account for ethnicity, so Hispanics and non-Hispanics are spread throughout racial categories.

Although the quantitative findings are not statistically significant, they are consistent with prior research as African American men are often overrepresented in media images of race and crime as criminals, are perceived as dangerous, and assumed guilty (Oliver, 2003; Sadler et al., 2012). Further, research on stereotyping in the United States reveals persistent racial prejudice among Whites, particularly regarding characterization of African Americans as violent and aggressive (St. John & Heald-Moore, 1996). This is a major issue for general society because they are inherently being taught that non-Whites are more criminal and dangerous than White individuals when actual arrest and offending statistics show otherwise. By mainstream media consistently playing up the “violent black male” in television shows, movies, and even in newspapers, society is being encouraged to view non-Whites in a stereotyped manner. Consistent with arrest records (UCR, 2014) and scholarly research that notes men are more often conceptualized as offenders than women (Goodey, 1997; Hollander, 2001; Stanko, 1992), more men’s mugshots were presented in the newspapers compared to women’s in the current study. As such, the mugshot representations by gender are consistent with offending patterns.

The interaction of race and gender was also explored in this study: non-White men were shown more often with a mugshot than White men and White women were shown with a mugshot more often than non-White women. Furthermore, non-Whites were shown more often with a menacing or angry expression in their mugshot compared to Whites. This has implications for the label a person receives upon having their mugshot shown with a crime story. Because non-Whites are the minority group in power relations (Duster, 1970), it is possible that non-White individuals being shown with a mugshot have a weaker ability to defend themselves against a criminal stereotype being applied to their identity (Schur, 1971), thus creating a self-fulfilling prophecy of criminality in that negative traits (such as the criminal label) can be

overexaggerated to the detriment of persons within that group (Allport, 1954). Because non-Whites and especially African Americans are more likely to be characterized as criminal (Oliver, 2003; Sadler et al., 2012), this deviant identity and subsequent stigma placed against them allows for the continued perpetuation of criminal stereotypes.

The classifications of “non-mugshot suspect photos” and “non-suspect person photos” were apparent throughout viewing the images and provided the most concise groupings of the photos that were not of mugshots. While there were some slight racial differences in the photos, there was nothing to suggest that one race was seemingly being represented more often than the other. Gender differences were consistent with previous research (Morrisey, 2003) as men appeared in crime stories more often than women, and women were presented as victims more often than men.

Past research has made it clear that placing these identities against alleged offenders have the capability of impacting future deviance to the degree that it is brought about as a self-fulfilling prophecy by some people’s responses to the stigmatic effects of excessive overreaction by society’s control agents to their expression of individuality and diversity (Young, 1971). Much like priming theory, simply reading a crime story can illicit an image of the perpetrator, who is more often thought of to be a non-White individual. Johnson, Adams, Hall, and Ashburn (1997) examined how exposure to crime stories in the media affected viewers’ judgments concerning another crime situation. Their findings indicated that many viewers already had stereotypes of the “violent black male” as part of their cognitive structure, and once this is in place, exposure to violent crime alone is sufficient to bring this stereotype to mind and influence future judgments. In considering the possible effects of this, none are positive or constructive. This was demonstrated during the present mugshot photo analysis as the majority of mugshots

shown with a menacing expression were of non-White individuals. This is a direct example of how these mugshots could influence viewers' judgments about non-Whites when mugshots depicting anger are the photos chosen to accompany the crime story. These menacing expressions could be tied with guilt of the suspect shown in the photo. In addition, these mugshots may have broader implications when considering juror perceptions in reference to the gender and race of the individual shown in the photo and how these may factor into one's perception of guiltiness or apparent criminality. Past research (Sommers & Ellsworth, 2000) has found that in mock interracial trials, White mock jurors rated the African American defendant more guilty than the White defendant. Conversely, African American mock jurors demonstrated same-race leniency, suggesting racial issues are relevant for jurors in interracial cases.

There are limitations to this research study. The first is a small sample size. Due to a low base rate of African American, Middle Eastern, Hispanic or Latino, and "Other"; these races had low frequencies of mugshot presentations and leaving each as individual categorical units within the race variable would not provide a meaningful representation within the analysis. By having a larger sample and subsequent base rate of each aforementioned race, the results could stretch further and be more representative for the general population. Additionally, drawing data from more than the aforementioned five newspapers could also extend the representative nature of the research. By extending the newspaper selection, data could be collected from newspapers that could offer a different perspective (e.g., conservative, liberal, rural, and urban) and these results can be confounded further by drawing additional conclusions from the photo analysis.

Furthermore, a longer sampling timeframe would be an area for future research.

There was also a limitation in definitively distinguishing race when viewing the crime stories through a microfilm reader. Grainy images and photographic negatives produced low-

quality pictorials; however, extra caution was taken to differentiate race between mugshots through the constant comparison of grounded theory and confirmation made within the article through any racialized text. Future researchers should examine other forms of media that have clearer images, including Internet and television, to make these assessments.

Furthermore, it could also be telling if non-Whites and Whites are portrayed differently depending on the crime for which they were arrested; such as if non-Whites were shown with a mugshot more often when arrested for violent crimes whereas Whites were shown with a mugshot at a higher rate when arrested for property crimes. Given the pattern of this research's results, these non-White subgroups are disproportionately affected by harsher newspaper media portrayals. This allows privileged groups of people to continue to hold these incorrect representations about marginalized groups because there is not enough in the media proving otherwise and these individuals have a harder time resisting their criminal label. As such, scholars should investigate whether or not the criminal charges impact the photo selection of alleged offenders.

The current results have both individual and societal implications based on the fact that these photos are public information. These photos are published in newspapers and those viewing the photos are able to make judgments and place attributions of blame based on what they see in the photo. In essence, this is an issue of fairness and how no one race or gender should be shown in a way to promote favor against another individual accused of a crime. These incidences of discrimination are not isolated in that they only affect the accused, but in fact those within the social network of the accused may also feel the effects of these negative pictorials (Winnick & Bodkin, 2009; Goffman, 1963). This research has implications for all media viewers in that everyone who views a photo and reads a story is able to make an assessment based on

what they read and see and if a White individual is being shown with a mugshot at a decreased rate when their arrest rates are at an increased rate, this poses a problem for media constructing realistic depictions of criminality. Prior literature has examined how White privilege may play a role in stigma management (Winnick & Bodkin, 2009); however, this assessment was beyond the scope of the present study. Something else to consider regarding the differences in photos chosen to represent an individual arrested for criminal activity is cumulative disadvantage (Hagan & Foster, 2003). This would indicate that non-Whites might have a larger disadvantage as compared to Whites if there are no other photos available to accompany their crime story but a mugshot. This may be based on socioeconomic status or social class which relates to a possible lack of opportunity that would enable one to have professional photos taken (such as if the individual was a member of a sports team or attended school to have a yearbook photo taken) or photos taken by family and friends.

In sum, race still matters. Stereotypes are still rampant, held by individuals and society in general. Crime, race, and gender have always been connected; however, the arrest records have shown to be disproportionate to actual offending rates. It is speculated that a majority of the public's knowledge about crime and justice is formed through media consumption (American Press Institute, 2014). As a result of this, it is imperative that we understand how the media influences public attitudes. Possibly without intention, print media companies are actively constructing messages of guilt and/or fear by publishing more negative images of non-White male alleged offenders compared to their counterparts. The implications from this study provide a necessary start for future research to explore further the difference in media portrayals of mugshots between race and gender, and academia should look forward to how these studies can help shape both individual and societal perspectives. The disproportionate showing of non-White

mugshots means that media companies are not providing unbiased representations of criminality. This is a problem at the basic level of media fairness, not a nod to non-White individuals' assumed misconduct.

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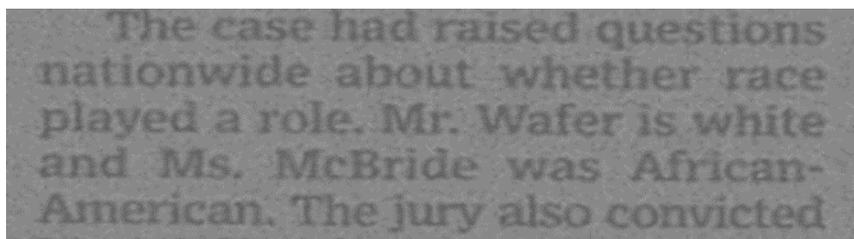
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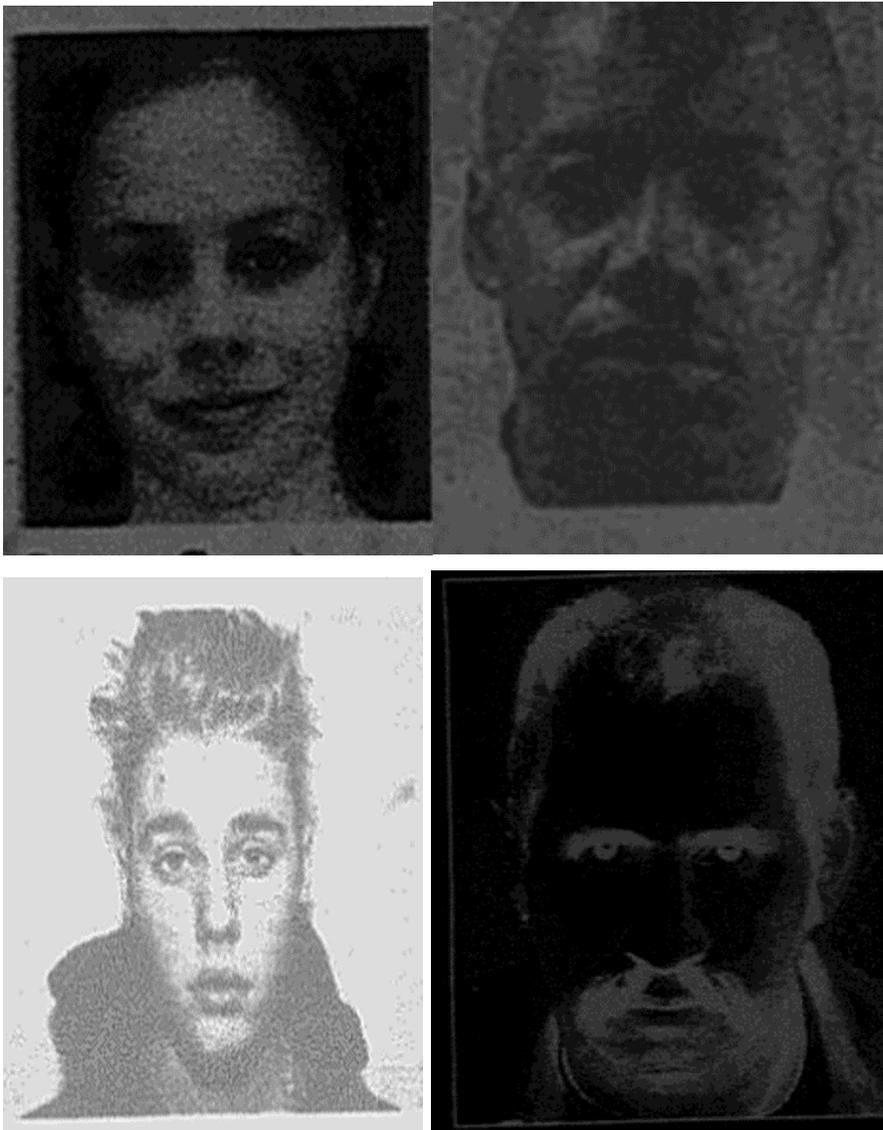
Appendix A - Figures

Figure 1: Text excerpt from a Wall Street Journal article highlighting the differences in race between the perpetrator and victim. In this story the suspect was charged with murdering the victim



The case had raised questions nationwide about whether race played a role. Mr. Wafer is white and Ms. McBride was African-American. The jury also convicted

Figure 2: Example of smiling, expressionless, and menacing facial expressions in mugshot photo



Note: Upper left suspect is smiling. Upper right and lower left suspects are expressionless. Lower right suspect has menacing expression.

Figure 3: Example of expressionless facial expressions in mugshot photo with a difference in race

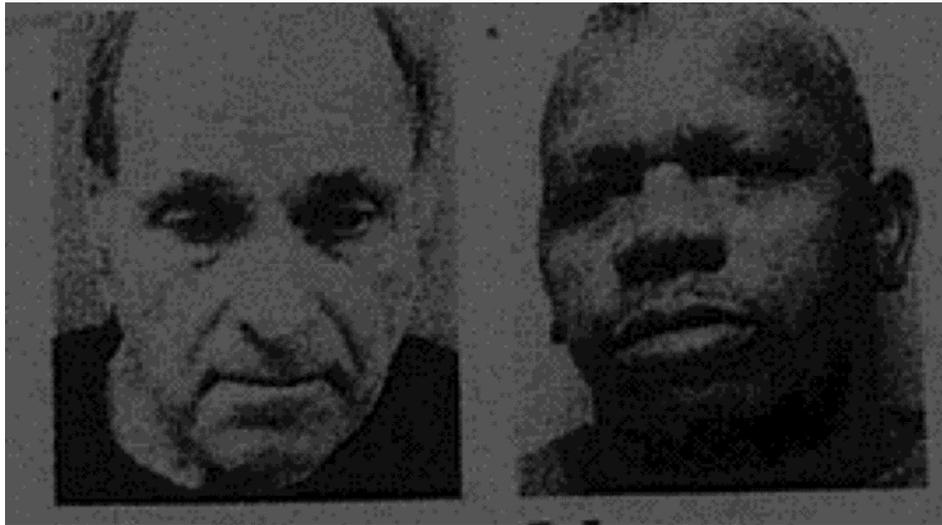


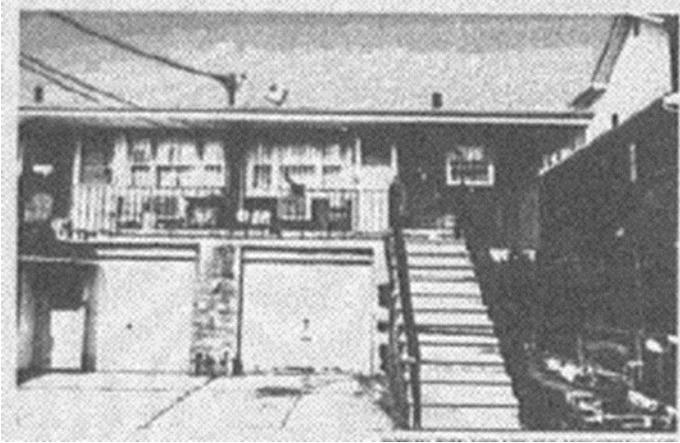
Figure 4: Example from USA Today article showing the suspect being escorted to court



Figure 5: Example of suspect shown in sports uniform, likely at a game



Figure 6: Example of photo of home or building in which crime occurred



Appendix B - Tables

Table 1:

Cross-Tabulation of Non-Mugshot Suspect Photos compared to Mugshot Photos divided by Race (N=84)

	White	Non-White	Total
Non-Mugshot Suspect Photo	31 (67.4%)	21 (55.3%)	52
Mugshot	15 (32.6%)	17 (44.7%)	32
Total	46 (100.0 %)	38 (100.0%)	84 (100%)

Table 2:

Cross-Tabulation of Non-Mugshot Suspect Photos compared to Mugshot Photos divided by Gender (N=84)

	Female	Male	Total
Non-Mugshot Suspect Photo	10 (66.7%)	42 (60.9%)	52
Mugshot	5 (33.3%)	27 (39.1%)	32
Total	15 (100.0%)	69 (100.0%)	84 (100%)

Table 3:

Cross-Tabulation of Non-Mugshot Suspect Photos compared to Mugshot Photos divided by Gender and Race (N=84)

	Male		Female		Total
	White	Non-White	White	Non-White	
Non-Mugshot Suspect Photo	24 (66.7%)	18 (54.5%)	7 (70.0%)	3 (60.0%)	52
Mugshot	12 (33.3%)	15 (45.5%)	3 (30.0%)	2 (40.0%)	32
Total	36 (100.0%)	33 (100.0%)	10 (100.0%)	5 (100.0%)	84 (100%)