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Olivia K. Thompson
University of Northern Iowa

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UP CLOSE AND PERSONAL: EXAMINING THE ROLE

RACE PLAYS IN PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS OF

LAW ENFORCEMENT

An Abstract of a Thesis

Submitted

in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts

Olivia K. Thompson

University of Northern Iowa

July, 2016

ABSTRACT

Perceived racial biases of police officers may impact encounters with Blacks and negatively impact relations between Black communities and police officers. Understanding factors that influence public perceptions of law enforcement may help researchers and policy makers target intervention programs to improve relations. This study examined the role race plays in public perceptions of a routine traffic stop and local local law enforcement. White and Black participants, recruited at public places in a midsize city in Iowa, read a vignette about a Black or White individual who was pulled over by a White police officer. Participants then answered questions regarding whether the police officer was justified in pulling the individual over and about their perceptions of the local police. Black participants were less likely to agree that the traffic stop was justified compared to White participants, regardless of race of the driver. In addition, Black participants were less likely to give local law enforcement satisfactory ratings for their quality of policing and were also less likely to report feeling a sense of community cohesion compared to White participants. These findings suggest that Blacks may hold negative views of police officers in general, rather than only believing that the police are biased against Blacks. These negative views may lead to distrust between Black communities and police officers, which may ultimately have negative outcomes for both parties involved.

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This Study by: Olivia Thompson

Entitled: Up Close and Personal: Examining the Role Race Plays in Public Perceptions of Law Enforcement

has been approved as meeting the thesis requirement for the

Degree of Master of Arts

_____   _____
Date   Dr. Helen Harton, Chair, Thesis Committee

_____   _____
Date   Dr. Kim MacLin, Thesis Committee Member

_____   _____
Date   Dr. Carissa Froyum, Thesis Committee Member

_____   _____
Date   Dr. Kavita R. Dhanwada, Dean, Graduate College

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CHAPTER 1

RACE AND THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM

Laws lay out a set of rules and stipulations that guide behavior and help maintain order within a relatively complex society (Hemmens, Brody, & Spohn, 2010). The criminal justice system is the governing authority that enforces these guidelines and implements some form of punishment to violators. However, it is important to note that law and justice are not identical. As Hemmens et al. (2010) state, "Law can be in accordance with justice, but it can also be the farthest thing from it" (p. 8). Law is in agreement with justice when it serves to respect and protect even the "lowliest person" (p. 8). Justice is not accomplished if the law violates this basic principle. Because the criminal justice system and other governing authorities are comprised of people, errors are bound to exist. One potential error that has been brought to light over the years has been the differential treatment of Black men within all levels of the criminal justice system.

The media has focused on the role that race played within police-citizen encounters in its coverage of the recent killings of unarmed Black men such as Michael Brown, Eric Garner, Tamir Rice, Tony Robinson, Walter Scott, and Freddie Gray (Bloom & Imam, 2014; Fantz & Botelho, 2015; McLaughlin, 2014). All fatal police-citizen encounters ultimately begin with some interaction. If someone believes that he or she is being targeted based on a characteristic such as race, it may impact the way in which that person interacts with the police officer. Blacks and Whites may perceive an encounter with a police officer in completely different ways based on negative expectations, past

experiences, and vicarious experiences (Bureau of Justice Statistics [BJS], 2008; Dixon, Schell, Giles, & Drogos, 2008; Warren, 2011).

In the current study, I examined participant responses to a routine traffic scenario and perceptions of local law enforcement. Participants read a vignette about a Black or White individual who was pulled over for an ambiguous reason by a White police officer and judged whether the police officer was justified in pulling the individual over. Participants also completed a survey on opinions about police officers within their community.

Examining public perceptions of police officers may shed light on how law enforcement agencies can be better-informed and equipped to interact with community members. The current issue of racial injustice within the criminal justice system is not a new one. Recent instances of police brutality may reflect much deeper conflicts between the rights of the Black community and the legal tactics used to further exert power and control over Black lives. (Weiner, 1976). To truly understand the current response of the Black community, one must also understand the history of the mistreatment of Blacks by police officers, the current racial disparities that pervade the criminal justice system, and the possible sources of these discrepancies that negatively impact Black communities.

<u>A Brief Overview of the History of Racial Blas
in Law Enforcement in the U.S.</u>

The main duties of a police officer are to maintain order and enforce laws. In addition, however, police officers serve other important functions. Historically, they have served to impose the dominant perspective within society, while punishing those who deviate from the norm (Weiner, 1976). By the middle of the 19th century, most

cities in the U.S. had modern police organizations similar to those in place today. In the 1800s, because slave owners were particularly worried about slave revolts, units known as "slave patrols" or "alarm men" were organized by the police to capture runaways, search houses for weapons, and discourage slaves from gathering together (Reichel, 1999). As cities in the North began to expand due to industrialization, there was a concern among the public about the growing number of Blacks entering these cities. As a result, Blacks were often singled out by laws such as those that banned Blacks from living within certain communities or even entering particular establishments (Williams, 2004).

As racial tensions escalated, race riots began to break out in major cities such as New York City, Detroit, and Birmingham. In many of these instances, Blacks were not met with protection from police officers but instead left to defend themselves, while some police officers even attacked Blacks (Williams, 2004). After WWII, Blacks were no longer content with the mirage of freedom that had been promised to them after the Civil War. One of the most famous demonstrations took place in Birmingham in 1963. When peaceful protesters would not comply with orders, Blacks of all ages were beaten, attacked by police dogs, and sprayed with fire hoses (Williams, 2004). During these instances of grave oppression, the federal government was slow to act and local governments continued to treat Blacks as second-class citizens (Williams, 2004).

Since the 1960s, race-based tactics and policies continue to be used in redefined ways such as through the use of zero-tolerance policies, stop-and-frisk programs, and the war on drugs (Block & Obioha, 2012). Zero tolerance policies, which were based off of

a larger scale initiative for gun violence control by the Clinton administration, were designed to be more punitive and also deter potential offenders from committing crimes (Casella, 2003). One of the well-known zero tolerance models was known as the "three-strikes you're out" model. Under this model, people who have been previously convicted of violent crimes or serious felonies may receive a mandatory sentence of 25 years after committing their third offense of any kind (Zimring, Hawkins, & Kamin, 2001).

The "three-strikes you're out" model has been adopted in many schools as a way to curb school violence. However, unlike offenders, many students are only given one strike and may be expelled from school for engaging in disruptive behavior, carrying weapons, or possessing illegal drugs, or even tobacco (Casella, 2003). Under the Gun Free Schools Act (1994), schools were given the discretion to decide which behaviors warranted disciplinary action. This change has been related to disparities in the rates that minority students are suspended or expelled compared to White students. Although zero tolerance policies are colorblind in theory, minority students are suspended and expelled at higher rates than White students. For example, rates of suspension for Black students are two to three times higher than suspension rates for White students (Skiba, 2000). According to data from the U.S. Department of Education (2014), these disproportionate suspension and expulsion rates are not the result of different patterns of behavior by Black and White students, but due to the fact that Black students receive harsher discipline compared to their White counterparts. As a result, many Black students are at a higher risk for being placed within the juvenile justice system, as suspended and expelled students are often left unsupervised and are more likely to drop out. These

factors increase the likelihood of involvement within the criminal justice system (America Academy of Pediatrics, 2003).

Another race-based tactic that has been used to intentionally target Blacks is New York City's stop-and-frisk program. Under the program, police officers may stop and question an individual and then search him or her for drugs, weapons or other illegal items. From 2002 to 2011, Blacks and Latinos made up nearly 90% of stops; however, 88% of the stops were of innocent civilians. In addition, guns are found in less than 0.2 percent of stops, and yet stop-and-frisks have increased more than 600% within New York City ("Stop and Frisk Facts," n.d.). Race was the best predictor of whether someone would be stopped by the New York Police Department, even after controlling for crime rates and social conditions. In addition, Blacks were more likely than Whites to be stopped in areas with low crime rates and in predominantly White neighborhoods. Policies such as these conveniently convey the message that Blacks are targeted because they engage in higher levels of crime; however, this is not the case. Based on the previous findings, it appears that the differential treatment of Blacks is unwarranted and is used as a tactic to keep Blacks in their place (Cook, 2014; Geller, 2014; Nunn, 2002).

<div align="center">Racial Disparities in Incarceration Rates</div>

One unjust outcome that has derived from race-based tactics such as these is the incarceration of Blacks at disproportionate rates (Block & Obioha, 2012). Over the last three decades, the U.S. incarceration rate has soared well above that of any other developed country (BJS, 1985). For example, the number of people in prison or jails has jumped from 503,586 in 1980 (BJS, 1995) to 2,266,832 in 2010 (BJS, 2011a). A meta-

analysis of over 32 studies showed that Black and Hispanic offenders were more likely to be sentenced to prison than their White counterparts in the U.S., especially if they were male, young, and unemployed, even when controlling for type and severity of offense (Spohn, 2000). If incarceration rates continue the current trend, one in every three Black males will be incarcerated at some point in their lives, whereas only 1 in 17 White males will be incarcerated (BJS, 2003).

These increased rates of incarceration are largely due to the initiation of the "War on Drugs" in the 1970s, which led to the formation of the U.S. Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA) and a growing number of drug arrests (Western, 2006). The "War on Drugs" is another policy initiative that targeted ethnic minorities. The DEA primarily targeted Blacks living in low-income housing in inner cities due to laws focusing on crack cocaine versus powder cocaine (which is a drug favored by richer and predominantly White individuals). In 2009, 17.8% of state prisoners had been incarcerated due to drug offenses. With 1,638,846 arrests made in 2010 for "drug abuse violations," it became the largest category of arrest (Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI], 2011). The increase in drug-related arrests primarily reflects arrests for possession (81.9% of drug arrests in 2010) rather than arrests for sales or manufacture (FBI, 2011). The bulk of these drug-related arrests are of Blacks and Hispanics, despite the fact that they are a minority in the total U.S. population (Crutchfield & Weeks, 2015; Western, 2006). In 2008, 28.3% of arrests and 34.8% of drug abuse violation arrests were of Black adults, despite the fact that Black men accounted for 12.5% of the U.S. population (FBI,

2008), and, more importantly, despite that fact that Whites and Blacks use drugs at relatively equal rates (Cook, 2014).

<div align="center">Driving While Black</div>

Not only are there racial disparities in terms of arrest and incarceration rates there are also racial disparities at lower levels of the criminal justice system, as when individuals are pulled over by police officers. Several studies suggest that Blacks are pulled over at higher rates than their White counterparts (Alpert, Dunham, & Smith, 2007; Knowles, Persico, & Todd, 2001). After complaints of racial profiling by Black defendants, Lamberth (1994) found that Black drivers were 4.85 times more likely to be stopped than White drivers on the New Jersey Turnpike from 1988 to 1991, even when controlling for driving habit differences. A more recent content analysis of videotaped interactions taken during Cincinnati Police traffic stops showed similar discrimination (Dixon et al., 2008). The traffic stops of Black drivers took 2.6 minutes longer than that for White drivers, and they were more likely to involve multiple police officers compared to traffic stops of White drivers. Compared to White drivers, Blacks were three to five times more likely to (a) be asked if they were carrying weapons or drugs (b) be asked to exit their vehicle, and (c) to be searched. Although the police officer's race or similarity in race between the police officer and driver did not affect characteristics of the stop, police officers' communication quality was more positive in the same race interactions as opposed to different race interactions.

While research evidence suggests that Blacks are disproportionately targeted during traffic stops, estimates of the extent of the problem vary across studies (BJS, 2001;

Parker, 2001; Smith et al., 2003). For example, according to San Diego Police department data, Blacks were 50% more likely to be pulled over than any other racial group (Perry, 2003). The Riverside California Police study (Gaines, 2006) revealed that Black drivers were 25% more likely than Whites to be pulled over. A more modest estimate from the North Carolina Highway Patrol suggested that Black drivers were 17% more likely than White drivers to be pulled over (Zingraff et al., 2000). Although these findings suggest that the degree of racial profiling may vary across jurisdictions, it is apparent that discrepancies exist between Blacks and Whites.

As might be expected, many Blacks are aware of these racial discrepancies involved in traffic stops. In a policing survey, Blacks were less likely (76.8%) compared to Whites (87.6%) to believe their most recent traffic stop encounter was justified (Durose, Smith, & Langan, 2007). A 1999 Gallup poll reported that 42% of Blacks and 72% of young Black men believed that they had been pulled over by the police based on their race, whereas only 6% of Whites and 10.9% of young White men believed that they had been pulled over by the police based on their race. Out of the Blacks who reported having been stopped due to their race, 69% indicated that it had occurred three times or more. Even Blacks who were highly educated and financially stable reported having been stopped on the basis of race, ruling out the possibility that these findings were due to socioeconomic variables. More recently (BJS, 2008), 26% of Blacks reported that they had been stopped due to their race or other illegitimate reasons, with only 14% of Whites believing that they had been stopped for illegitimate reasons. Because Blacks may

perceive that they are being stopped for illegitimate reasons, it may impact how they react in a police-citizen encounter, potentially resulting in poor outcomes.

<div align="center">Black Men and the Use of Force by Police</div>

Before an arrest occurs, some form of interaction must take place between a police officer and an individual. It is likely that because White Americans perceive Blacks as more threatening than their White counterparts (Lois, Klinger, & Vila, 2014), police officers may take a more hostile approach when dealing with a Black person. It is also likely that a Black person might expect that race may have played a role in why he/she was pulled over (Gallup Poll, 1999; Kennedy, 1997; Weitzer & Tuch, 2002), resulting in negative outcomes.

Possibly due to this increased likelihood of a hostile interaction between Black citizens and police officers, Blacks are more likely to be the recipients of force by police officers. Based on data from the Police-Public Contact Survey (PPCS) and the Survey of Inmates in Local Jails (SILJ), roughly 1.7% of all police-civilian encounters and 20% of arrests resulted in the use or threat of force, with Blacks being the most likely recipient of force (Hickman, Piquero, & Garner, 2008). Overall, in 2008, 1.4% of police officers had used or threatened the use of force in their most recent encounters with civilians according the Department of Justice (DOJ), and Blacks were more likely than Whites or Hispanics to have force used or threatened against them (BJS, 2011b), despite being a numerical minority within the U.S.

Blacks are also more likely than Whites to be the recipients of lethal force (Gabrielson, Jones, & Sagara, 2014). It is difficult to obtain accurate estimates of the use

of lethal force from official sources because many police departments fail to file fatal police shooting reports (Gabrielson et al., 2014). Despite this setback, there remains value in the data, as many of the reporting police departments are located in larger cities, and approximately 1,000 police departments have filed reports over the last 33 years. From 2010 to 2012, there were 1,217 deadly shootings reported involving police officers. Out of these 1,217 police shootings, Black males ages 15 to 19 were killed at a rate of 31.17 per million, whereas their White counterparts were killed at a rate of 1.47 per million (Gabrielson et al., 2014). In 2014, ProPublica, a data journalism outlet, revealed that Black males are 21 times more likely to be shot by a police officer than are White males.

There have been a number of recent reports by the Department of Justice (DOJ) that address the issue of the use of excessive force on Blacks by police officers. For example, in 2014, the U.S. DOJ concluded that there were clear and consistent patterns of use of excessive force exhibited by the Albuquerque Police Department, as well as the Cleveland Police Department, in violation of the Fourth Amendment (DOJ, 2014a; DOJ, 2014b). Following the fatal shooting of 18-year-old Michael Brown by a White police officer, the DOJ issued a similar report to the Ferguson Police Department located in Ferguson, Missouri (DOJ, 2015). In Missouri, young Black males are killed twice as often by police officers compared to young White males (DOJ, 2015).

CHAPTER 2

REASONS FOR DIFFERENTIAL TREATMENT
OF BLACKS BY POLICE OFFICERS

Blacks appear to be treated differently within all levels of the criminal justice

system, which may help explain public perceptions of police officers. However, it is also

important to understand the theoretical explanations behind such discrepancies, as change

can only occur through understanding the complexities of race and prejudice. In

addition, it is also important to examine how the differential treatment of Blacks is

perpetuated through the use of stereotypes and news media.

Theoretical Explanations

Several theories may help explain the differential treatment of ethnic minorities

by police officers and other criminal justice agencies. Realistic conflict theory (RCT)

posits that conflict stems from these different groups having different goals and

competing over real or imagined limited resources such as money, political power, or

social status (Campbell, 1956). There are many factors that can divide people into

separate groups such as socioeconomic status and race/ethnicity.

When a group of individuals are in competition with another group for limited

resources, feelings of resentment may surface, resulting in attempts to remove or disable

the source of competition (Campbell, 1956). Groups may remove or disable their source

of competition by enhancing their capabilities and skills, while making the other group

appear less desirable. For example, Blacks may be perceived as a threat to Whites,

because Whites feel that they are in competition over limited resources such as money,

jobs, and social status. As a result, negative attitudes and perceptions about Blacks may

be formed and influence how Whites (especially those in authority positions) treat Blacks. Group conflict can only be avoided if common goals are in place that benefit everyone (Campbell, 1956).

The integrated threat theory (Stephan & Stephan, 2000), which addresses the role that fear plays in causing prejudice, expands on RCT by adding three additional types of threat: symbolic threats, intergroup anxiety, and negative stereotypes. Realistic threats, as in RCT, deal with both real and perceived threats to the very existence or being of ingroup members. Symbolic threats, on the other hand, refer to perceived group differences in morals, values, and beliefs. These group differences are perceived as threats to the worldview of the ingroup.

Intergroup anxiety is another type of threat in which ingroup members feel personally threatened during intergroup interactions, because they are concerned with potential poor self-outcomes such as being embarrassed, rejected, or even teased (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). Lastly, negative stereotypes highlight the relationship between stereotypes and prejudice, in that stereotypes are used to relay a set of expectations about the behaviors of outgroup members. These negative expectations may lead to negative interactions between ingroup and outgroup members. Together, these perceived types of threats serve to further separate dominant members of society from ethnic minorities (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). For example, police officers may feel as though Blacks threaten their overall well-being and have different values. In addition, police officers hold negative stereotypes about Blacks. These negative expectations may

impact how police officers interact with Black citizens, and in turn how these citizens respond in an encounter.

Social dominance theory (SDT) also helps explain the differential treatment of Blacks by police officers (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). SDT is centered around intergroup power. More specifically, SDT states that oppression, discrimination, and prejudice are tactics used to organize societies into group-based hierarchies. Within these hierarchies, members of the dominant group possess a disproportionate share of goods (e.g., powerful roles, good jobs), whereas members of subordinate groups possess few of these goods, and instead are the recipient of negative outcomes such as poor housing and poor health (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999).

One of the core assumptions of SDT is that there are many factors working at different levels in order to maintain a social hierarchy. For example, Black people may experience negative encounters with police officers during a traffic stop in which police officers may use race/based tactics that clearly "put them in their place" and remind Blacks of their standing in the social hierarchy. However, oppression runs much deeper than individual instances and operates at the systematic level, which is evident in the laws and policies that single out young, disadvantaged Black men. For example, although the Fair Sentencing Act of 2010 reduced the sentencing disparity between the amount of crack cocaine and powder cocaine needed to seek federal criminal penalties from a 100:1 weight ratio to an 18:1 weight ratio, this legislation is still biased. The 18:1 ratios means that people who are charged and convicted of offenses involving crack cocaine will face longer sentences than people who are charged and convicted of offenses involving the

same amount of powder cocaine. Blacks tend to prefer crack cocaine over powder cocaine, resulting in not only a greater number of Blacks incarcerated but also harsher penalties for them (Schmalleger & Smykla, 2013).

Finally, scapegoat theory (Weatherly, 1961) also posits that prejudice and negative attitudes toward another group function as a way for a group to blame their existing problems (e.g., economic despair) on a specific target. Scapegoating is also more likely to occur when a group of people has a past history of negative experiences. When the oppressed group feels as though they are being singled out, it may result in tension between the ingroup and outgroup. For example, it may be that Black men are targeted within the criminal justice system (and therefore make up a disproportionate rate of arrests and incarcerations), as a way for society to conveniently place the blame of current crime rates onto Blacks (Weatherly, 1961).

<center>Stereotypes</center>

Data on deadly force encounters suggest that either (a) Black men act in a manner that requires police officers to use deadly force more often and/or (b) police officers may hold racial biases toward Blacks. Racial biases may, in part, be formed through stereotypes. A stereotype is a belief that members of a particular group disproportionately hold specific traits or characteristics (Allport, 1954). When people endorse a stereotype, the mental connection between the trait and the group is stronger than it is for other groups (Allport, 1954). Stereotypes serve many functions including (but not limited to): (1) helping to explain the world by categorizing new and incoming information (Allport, 1954); (2) serving as cognitive shortcuts (Allport, 1954; Asch,

1952); and (3) helping to predict and understand the behavior of outgroup members (Allport, 1954). Stereotypes allow people to very quickly and efficiently process information about other people without using large amounts of cognitive energy.

Stereotypes may be formed through direct encounters with members of a particular group or through indirect encounters such as hearing about a particular incident from a family member or friend (Allport, 1954). Inaccurate stereotypes can also be formed through illusory correlation (Hamilton & Gifford, 1976), which is the tendency for individuals to perceive that there is a relationship between two variables when, in fact, there is no relationship (Hamilton & Sherman, 1989). For example, one may conclude that most criminals are Black, because when he or she has watched the news, the criminals were usually Black. Because ethnic minorities are few, by definition, and crime tends to be unusual (depending on the location), when those two variables are paired together in the news media, it is likely to lead to an inaccurate perception of Blacks as criminals.

There are many other mechanisms by which inaccurate stereotypes may be formed. Individuals tend to link others' behavior (especially the behavior of out-group members) to inborn traits rather than situational factors (Jones & Harris, 1967). At the group-level, this phenomenon is called the ultimate fundamental attribution error (Pettigrew, 1979). Instead of questioning existing institutional structures that may negatively impact Black communities, Whites may internalize the idea that a Black person is inherently a criminal. Humans are also more likely to perceive out-groups as less differentiated than groups they belong to, which is known as the out-group

homogeneity effect (Park & Rothbart, 1982). Because individuals tend to view out-group

members as "all the same," stereotypes are very easily applied across all members of a

group. If a White person hears that a Black person robbed a store, it may be assumed that

all Blacks steal or engage in criminal activity.

One of the most heavily endorsed stereotypes about Blacks is that they are highly

linked to criminality (Flowe, 2012; MacLin & Herrera, 2006). In fact, those with darker

skin tones are perceived as more likely to be a criminal than those with lighter skin tones

(Maddox & Gray, 2002). Police officers rely heavily on race to make judgments about

criminality (Maddox & Gray, 2002) and are more likely than college students to view

Blacks as guilty (Ruby & Brigham, 1996).

Even people who explicitly reject stereotypes of Blacks may still hold implicit

biases. One measure of the endorsement of implicit stereotypes is through the implicit-

association test, also known as the IAT (Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz, 1998).

Generally, participants are instructed to press a certain key when they read a word or an

attribute associated with two target concepts or groups. Implicit bias is measured through

reaction time. In a well-known IAT study (Greenwald et al., 1998), White and Black

participants were faster at pairing the phrase "pleasant" with White faces compared to

Black faces, even when participants did not explicitly report racial bias in other measures.

This finding suggests that people may unknowingly internalize stereotypes about

outgroup members and that Blacks may also internalize these negative stereotypes.

Implicit racial biases may influence people to react negatively to minorities in a

manner that lead to altercations. For example, when participants were shown videos of

Black and White faces changing from hostile to happy expressions, Whites were able to

perceive hostility sooner in Black than White faces and it took them longer to perceive

happiness in Black than White faces (Hugenberg & Bodenhausen, 2003). More

importantly, the extent to which implicit bias was present was correlated with the strength

of the individual's implicit negative attitudes towards Blacks.

One way in which stereotypes have been examined among police officers is by

having them participate in video game simulations in experimental settings in which

Black and White confederates are pictured either holding a gun or a non-threatening

object such as a wallet or cell phone (Correll, Park, Judd, & Wittenbrink, 2007; Glaser &

Knowles, 2008; Greenwald, Oakes, & Hoffman, 2003). If the confederate is holding a

weapon, the participants are instructed to press the shoot button because the suspect poses

an immediate threat to their lives. On the other hand, if the confederate is holding a non-

threatening object, then the participants are instructed to press the "don't-shoot" button.

When the suspect is armed, police officers are faster at shooting a Black suspect

than a White suspect and tend to shoot more unarmed Black suspects than White

suspects. This tendency is referred to as shooter bias. When suspects do not fit the

typical stereotype associated with race—in which case the suspect is an unarmed Black

man or an armed White man—participants take more time before shooting, which

suggests that unconscious racial biases exist. The delayed response time indicates that

what the police officer is viewing is inconsistent with his existing cognitive schema (that

a Black man is more likely to carry a weapon than his White counterpart). As a result,

the police officer is attempting to resolve this conflict, which is evident in the delayed

response time (Correll et al., 2007; Glaser & Knowles, 2008). These findings of unconscious racial biases may affect police-citizen encounters, because a police officer could accidently mistake a non-threatening object for a gun simply due to the color of the suspect's skin, as has occurred in many cases including those of Keith Childress, Rumain Brisbon, DeCarlos Moore, Reginald Dewayne Wallace, as well as others (Cassidy, 2014; Elfrink, 2011; King, 2016; Sarrio, 2010).

It may not be shocking to learn that shooter bias is related to racial stereotypes. Participants who report that dangerousness and violence are part of the cultural stereotypes about Blacks are more likely to exhibit shooter bias in the decision-to-shoot simulations (Correll, Park, Judd, & Wittenbrink, 2002). These findings may emerge due to the fact that people strive to have a positive self-image that includes seeing oneself as unprejudiced (Devine, 1989). However, even if people do not fully endorse a stereotype about a specific group, it still may result in discriminatory behavior. For instance, when participants were primed with an overrepresentation of armed Black suspects in the decision-to-shoot simulation, they were more likely to exhibit stronger shooter bias in subsequent trials when the proportion of armed Blacks and Whites was equal (Correll et al., 2007). These results support the notion that implicit stereotypes may place everyone, including police officers, at risk for engaging in discriminatory behavior.

<u>News Media's Portrayal of Blacks</u>

These stereotypes may be reflected in the media's negative portrayal of Blacks within the news (Dixon, 2008). The numbers of poor Blacks who are well-equipped to work are often overrepresented in network news (Dixon, 2008). In addition, young

Blacks are often overrepresented in the news as offenders and seen less often as victims compared to their White male counterparts. Blacks are also more likely than Whites to be portrayed as being involved in drug and violent crimes as opposed to non-violent crimes (Dixon, 2008). Blacks are four times more likely to be featured as criminals than police officers on TV news (Dixon, Azocar, & Casas, 2003). The text used in crime-related news also differs depending on the race of the offender. Incriminating information such as prior arrests and other aggravating evidence is more likely to be presented with Black rather than White defendants, especially in cases involving White victims (Dixon & Linz, 2002).

This overrepresentation of Black criminals on the news may in turn play a role in the perpetuation of negative stereotypes about Blacks. There is a correlation between levels of news consumption and negative perceptions of Blacks, such that as news consumption increases, participants are more likely to perceive Blacks as having lower income (Armstrong & Neuendorf, 1992). Exposure to a disproportionate number of Black suspects on the news is also associated with people having negative judgments of hypothetical Black and racially unidentifiable suspects (Dixon, 2008) and perceptions of Black men as violent (Mastro, Lapinski, Kopacz, & Behm-Morawitz, 2009). In addition, participants who report paying more attention to crime news are more likely to find hypothetical Black and unidentifiable suspects guilty (Dixon, 2008).

CHAPTER 3

PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS OF POLICE

Because Blacks appear to be targeted at disproportionate rates within the criminal

justice system, Black community members may have differing views on the perceptions

of police officers than White community members (Schuck, Rosenbaum, & Hawkins,

2008). These perceptions of the police may be linked to certain behaviors such as

reporting crimes, cooperating with the police, and serving as witnesses in criminal

proceedings (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Taylor, Wyant, & Lockwood, 2015). Public

perceptions also influence whether people have confidence in police agencies and other

agents throughout the criminal justice system (Kochel, Parks, & Mastrofski, 2013).

Some of the most important factors that shape public perceptions of local police are

race/ethnicity, poverty, direct encounters, and vicarious experiences (Lurigio, Greenleaf,

Flexon, 2009; Schuck & Rosenbaum, 2005; Schuck et al., 2008; Stewart, Baumer,

Brunson, & Simons, 2009; Weitzer & Tuch, 2006).

Impact of Race on Public Perceptions of the
Police and the Criminal Justice System

Race is one of the best predictors of public perceptions toward the police (Brown

& Benedict, 2002; Lurigio et al., 2009; Schuck et al., 2008). Whites and ethnic

minorities tend to perceive that they are dealt with differently by the police, even in

places where ethnic minorities are few in number (Stewart et al., 2009). The first public

opinion survey of public perceptions of the police in the U.S., which was conducted over

100 years ago (Du Bois, 1899), revealed that Blacks tended to report being arrested on

more questionable grounds and receive harsher sentences for similar crimes compared to

Whites. Even today, Black and White Americans tend to have very different views of the criminal justice system (Pastore & Maguire, 2007; Reisig & Parks, 2000; Weitzer & Tuch, 1999). For example, in 2001 the Race, Crime, and Public Opinion Survey, only 38% of Whites compared to 89% of Blacks viewed the criminal justice system as biased against Blacks. What is even more alarming is that 56% of Whites believed that Blacks are treated fairly in the criminal justice system, compared to only 8% of Blacks (Bobo & Thompson, 2006).

Similar findings emerge when shifting focus from perceptions of the criminal justice as a whole to perceptions about police officers. While most people tend to hold positive views of police officers, there appears to be a racial divide in Blacks' and Whites' views. A comprehensive literature review of over 92 studies concluded that Black individuals across the U.S. were more likely to hold negative views and attitudes toward the police compared to Whites (Peck, 2015). Blacks are more likely to resent the police (Jefferson & Walker, 1993) and feel as though they have not been treated with respect (Tyler & Huo, 2002). Because race often intersects with other demographic characteristics such as socioeconomic status and social class, race may further help explain why Blacks tend to hold unfavorable views of police officers, especially when Blacks are more likely to live in poverty than Whites (U.S. Department of Education, 2007; Schafer, Huebner, & Bynum, 2003).

<div align="center">Impact of Poverty on Public
Perceptions of the Police</div>

The condition of the neighborhood in which one lives also shapes perceptions (Reisig & Parks, 2000; Weitzer & Tuch, 2005). Hostile and aggressive policing in lower

income, minority neighborhoods has been linked to direct negative experiences with the

police, resulting in poorer evaluations of police officers (Brunson, 2007; Weitzer, 2002).

Residents living in poor, crime-ridden neighborhoods may view the police as responsible

for their neighborhoods' condition, because the police force is viewed as a governmental

entity. As a result, residents may displace their dissatisfaction with their community onto

the police (Schuck et al., 2008). For example, residents living in poor socioeconomic

neighborhoods in Chicago and Indianapolis are less satisfied with the police than those

who live in higher socioeconomic neighborhoods (Reisig & Parks, 2000).

<div align="center">

Impact of Direct Encounters on Public
Perceptions of the Police

</div>

Some other important factors that impact public perceptions of the police include

direct encounters with police officers (Schuck & Rosenbaum, 2005; Skogan, 2005;

Warren, 2011). Individuals who have had recent encounters (of any type) with the police

tend to have more negative views toward them compared to those who have not had

recent contact with the police, unless the resident initiated contact (Skogan, 2005). In

addition, victims of crime tend to be less satisfied with police officers than those who

have not been a victim of crime (Smith, 1983), unless the officer responded in a timely

manner and provided adequate services to the victim (Parks, 1976). Lastly, the way in

which the person believes he or she is treated during an interaction may largely impact

perceptions of the police. The treatment by the officers in an encounter (whether the

police officer was polite, helpful, fair, and so on) is a major factor in resident satisfaction

with the police (Skogan, 2005).

Impact of Vicarious Experiences on Public
Perceptions of the Police

Not only do direct encounters influence public perceptions of the police, but vicarious experiences may also leave a damaging impression about the police (Brunson, 2007; Warren, 2011). Vicarious experiences include indirect contacts with the police through stories from others (Warren, 2011). People who report hearing negative stories about the police from family and friends are more likely to perceive police officers as disrespectful in their own police encounters (Warren, 2011). Blacks are more likely to hear negative accounts of police mistreatment. For example, 40% of Blacks reported knowing someone who had been physically mistreated by the police, compared to only 17% of Whites (Gallup Poll, 1991). These experiences are even more damaging to relations between police officers and Black communities when the individual is familiar (a friend or family member) to the person giving his/her account of the police encounter (Rosenbaum, Schuck, Costello, & Ring, 2005). Whites are more likely to hear about negative accounts of police mistreatment from news outlets, whereas Blacks report hearing these accounts more frequently from friends and family members (Rosenbaum et al., 2005). In fact, many minority parents instruct their children on how to properly behave themselves when interacting with police officers. These instructions may inadvertently pass on negative connotations about the police, therefore enhancing the race gap in public perceptions of the police (Rosenbaum et al., 2005).

CHAPTER 4

SCENARIO STUDIES

Polls, government statistics, and sociological studies have established that Blacks appear to be treated differently and believe they are treated differently within the criminal justice system. Another approach that is commonly used in psychology to study race effects in criminal justice settings is through the use of experimental research. Experimental studies allow for control over extraneous variables so that one can determine a cause and effect relationship. These studies primarily focus on how participants perceive Black versus White police officers or victims, or on how Whites and ethnic minorities differ in their views of the police. For example, White liberal participants are more likely to be sympathetic (as measured by perceptions of double jeopardy) when a police officer involved in an altercation with a motorist was Black rather than White (Nail, Harton, & Decker, 2003). On the other hand, White conservative participants were more likely to be sympathetic when a police officer involved in an altercation with a motorist was White rather than Black. Nail, Harton, and Barnes (2008) replicated the previous double jeopardy paradigm and showed that, for liberal participants, there was only a bias in favor of the Black police officer when the initiator of the assault was unspecified. When the police officer initiated the altercation, White liberals showed a bias in favor of the White police officer.

Other researchers have examined how perceptions of Black and White participants differ. When participants read a hypothetical scenario about a recent incident in Chicago, in which a police officer had been accused of beating either a White or Black

driver (Hurwitz & Peffley, 2005), White participants tended to view the criminal justice system as color-blind, in that race of the victim had no bearing on judgments of fairness in terms of the police officer's punishment and whether or not the police department conducted a thorough investigation. On the other hand, Black participants tended to be more suspicious of the criminal justice system, especially when the individual in the incident was Black and believed the criminal justice system was unfair to begin with. Using a different scenario, involving police officers who stop and search either two Black or White men near a drug house, findings were replicated from the previous study.

CHAPTER 5

CURRENT STUDY

Both government statistics and several studies have revealed that there are stark

differences in how Blacks and Whites view police officers and the criminal justice

system (Pastore & Maguire, 2007; Peck, 2015; Schuck et al., 2008). Blacks tend to view

police officers as racially biased and unfair, which may be largely due to the differential

treatment of Blacks, evident by the overrepresentation of Blacks being pulled over,

arrested, incarcerated, and even involved in deadly encounter with police officers.

Although previous experiments have examined how Blacks and Whites view police-

citizen encounters and how they differ in their general opinions of police, no studies to

my knowledge have examined how race influences views of an ambiguous traffic stop

encounter, since most police-citizen encounters occur during traffic stops (BJS, 2008).

These police-citizen encounters may ultimately lead to a deadly encounter, especially if

an individual believes he or she was pulled over for an illegitimate reason such as race. If

Black participants perceive an ambiguous traffic stop as unjustified in this study, it may

inform police officers on how to better address racial and ethnic minorities. In addition, a

less serious situation may result in fewer extreme responses. An ambiguous situation

may also allow for more pronounced racial differences, as people must draw inferences

based upon limited information (Nail et al., 2003). Because Blacks may hold more

negative views towards police officers, it may influence how they interpret an ambiguous

situation. It was expected that Black participants would rate the traffic stop as less

justified when the driver was Black versus White and White participants would rate the traffic stop as less justified when the driver was White versus Black.

In addition to examining a hypothetical police-citizen encounter, I also examined the perceptions of a specific police department and whether public perceptions varied based on race of the respondent. While other national studies have examined public perceptions of police officers, there may have been differences in neighborhoods/areas where people live, which inevitably influence perceptions. By examining a specific police department, I was able to control for some of these extraneous variables. In addition, many of the previous studies examining public perceptions of police officers were conducted in much larger, urban areas. This study was conducted in a mid-sized city, which may yield considerably different results because police styles, practices, and patterns of crime may vary based on location. Due to the past history of the mistreatment of Blacks within Waterloo, Iowa, high levels of segregation, and increased crime rates among Blacks (Kinney, 2000; Loewen, 2005; "People surprised about crime statistics," 2014) it was expected that Black people would have heightened negative perceptions toward the local police.

<u>The History of Racial Bias in Iowa and Waterloo</u>

As context plays a vital role in public perceptions of police officers, it is important to examine the past history of treatment of Blacks within the city from which participants were selected. The Midwest, especially Iowa, tends to be associated with positive stereotypes in general. Iowans have been portrayed as friendly and hardworking. However, Iowa has not always welcomed outsiders, particularly Blacks, with open arms

into their communities. In the early 1900s, there were fewer than 20 Blacks in Waterloo,

Iowa. By 1920, this number had grown to nearly 1,000. One reason for this large influx

of Blacks moving to Waterloo was a national railroad strike that closed down the Illinois

Central Railroad's shop at the Waterloo rail yard from 1911-1912 (Kinney, 2000).

Waterloo was one of the major crossroads between Chicago, Saint Louis, and

Minneapolis. Therefore, the strike had the potential to tie up railroad service throughout

the Midwest. When the railroad station failed to attract new employees locally, it began

advertising in the South, allowing Blacks the ability to travel to the North in hopes of a

promising future (Kinney, 2000).

Many Blacks decided to move to the North, because it was perceived as safer and

offered better employment and housing opportunities (Kinney, 2000). However, as

Blacks began to arrive in Waterloo, they were welcomed with resentment for (1) being

Black and (2) being strike breakers. Blacks lived wherever they could find housing that

was affordable, which happened to be near the railroad yard located on the east side of

Waterloo (Kinney, 2000). While some cities restricted Blacks from living in certain

areas, other cities restricted Blacks from even living within city limits (referred to as

sundown towns). A Sundown town is a legal jurisdiction that operates to keep Blacks or

other minority groups from living within its borders (Loewen, 2005). In this manner,

towns are easily able to remain all-White. The term "sundown" defines the time when

Blacks were supposed to leave town. There are at least 40 towns in Iowa suspected of

having been sundown towns, including Cedar Falls (Loewen, 2005), the neighboring city

to Waterloo. Since the Civil Rights Act of 1968, which prohibited discrimination in the

sale, rental, and financing of housing, the number of sundown towns has decreased, although remnants of such "laws" remain (Loewen, 2005).

When alcohol was outlawed in 1912, bootleggers relocated to the poorer neighborhoods near the east side, which soon became notorious for crime (Kinney, 2000). The local media began to blame a large part of the crime problem on the Black community and the area was nicknamed "Smokey Row." Although illegal, local real estate agents developed restrictive covenants, banning all minorities from moving into new residential areas. As a result, Blacks were forced to continue to live in crime-ridden areas. In 1916, the city's Board of Realtors requested that an ordinance be passed that would ban the sale of houses to Blacks in predominantly White neighborhoods. Although the City Council refused to pass the ordinance, realtors secretly imposed the ban (Kinney, 2000).

By the end of WWII, most Blacks lived on the east side and recreational facilities and other opportunities were still restricted or banned for Blacks. As the Waterloo branch of the NAACP gained more momentum and followers, Blacks began to see change and reform. Both White and Black union Rath employees began filing discrimination law suits and eventually on September 13, 1968, racial tensions came to a head when a fight at a football game led to a full-blown riot resulting in a fire that destroyed a local business. National Guard troops were sent to Waterloo to diffuse the situation. The Black Hawk County grand jury ruled that the community must work together to resolve issues leading to racial tensions, including the end of de facto segregation in local schools and housing discrimination (Kinney, 2000).

Despite the civil rights movement and breakthroughs within the Waterloo community, in 2009, out of the 20 cities in Iowa with populations that exceed 25,000 people, Waterloo, Iowa, was ranked the most segregated city (Jamison, 2009). At the time, 14% of the Waterloo population was Black, and roughly 30-41% of Black residents were receiving housing-related assistance (Jamison, 2009). As of 2015, with a population of 68,406, 77% of the population is White, while 15% of the population is Black ("Population demographics for Waterloo, Iowa," n.d.). Waterloo continues to be highly segregated, with a high concentration of Blacks still living near the east side. In addition, Waterloo is reported as being safer than only 13% of other cities in the U.S. While many community members consider it a safe city, instances of violent crime (4.27 per 1,000 residents) and property crime (37.56 per 1,000 residents) in 2014 were all higher than the overall average in Iowa (2.71 and 21.94) as well as the national average—3.8 and 27.3 ("People surprised about crime statistics," 2014).

<center>Summary and Hypotheses</center>

The current study examined the extent to which Blacks and Whites viewed an ambiguous traffic stop involving a Black or White driver differently. The current study also examined the perceptions of a police department in a mid-sized city.

Researchers recruited White and Black participants at public places in Waterloo, Iowa. Participants read a vignette about a police-citizen encounter and the individual being pulled over was either White or Black. Participants answered questions regarding whether the traffic stop was justified and completed the Community Policing Evaluation

Survey (CPES; McKee, 2001), which examines public perceptions of local law enforcement.

I hypothesized that (1) Black participants would rate the traffic stop as less justified when the person being pulled over was Black rather than White; and that (2) White participants would rate the traffic stop as less justified when the person being pulled over was White rather than Black. I predicted these hypotheses based on the past history of the mistreatment of Blacks and the ingroup favoritism bias (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), in that Blacks would be more sympathetic to the Black driver and Whites would be more sympathetic to the White driver. The ingroup favoritism bias involves favoring members of one's ingroup over outgroup members which may be expressed through the evaluation of others or the allocation of resources. I also predicted that (3) Black participants would have more negative perceptions of the Waterloo Police Department compared to White participants given the fact that Black participants may have experienced or have heard or know someone who has experienced differential treatment by police officers.

CHAPTER 6

METHOD

<u>Design</u>

The study was a 2 (race of the individual being pulled over: White vs. Black) x 2 (participant race: White vs. Black) between-subjects factorial design with perceptions of fairness of the traffic stop as the dependent variable.

<u>Participants</u>

After selecting a two-group between subjects design, specifying two factors each with 2 levels (race of driver: Black vs. White, race of participant: Black vs. White), Power Analysis for General ANOVA Designs (PANGEA) estimated that I needed a total of 225 participants to have power of .84 (Westfall, 2015). Others have suggested that 50 participants per condition is sufficient (Simonsohn, Nelson, & Simmons, 2014), which would suggest 200 participants.

The study included 276 participants, 117 men and 152 women. Fifty-one percent of participants were White and 49% were Black. Participants were on average 43.93 years old (*SD*= 15.88). Most participants (74%) reported having a higher education. Black and White participants were similar in gender and age. However, Whites attended college at higher rates than Blacks (Table 1).

Table 1

Composition of Black Versus White Participants

Variable	Blacks	Whites	Statistic	df	Significance Level
Gender % male	41%	43%	$X^2 = .06$, Cramer's $V = .02$	1	$p = .81$
Age	$M = 42.35$, $SD = 14.53$	$M = 46.20$, $SD = 16.56$	$t = 1.93$	244	$p = .06$
Education Level % Attended College	67%	81%	$X^2 = 13.20$, Cramer's $V = .23*$	6	$p = .04$

* 4 cells had an expected count less than 5.

A community sample was recruited at the local public library, the bus station, and the Martin Luther King Jr. Center of Hawkeye Community College in Waterloo, Iowa.

<u>Procedure</u>

Three experimenters (1 Black, 2 Asian) approached individuals who appeared to fit the criteria for the study (Black or White and over the age of 18) and invited them to take part in a study about their perceptions of a traffic stop and the police as part of a school project, using a script (Appendix A, H, & I for training materials). Upon giving consent, participants were handed clipboards with survey packets. Participants read the consent form, and if they chose to participate in the study, they turned the page and read one of two vignettes (randomly assigned).

Race of the individual (Black vs. White) being pulled over was manipulated by including a stereotypical name associated with a specific race (Jamal Jackson or David Jones) as well as a picture of the driver. Pictures of the drivers were chosen from Ma,

Correll, and Wittenbrink's (2015) Chicago Face Database and matched on age and attractiveness from the database. The picture of the police officer, chosen from Google Images, depicted a police officer in uniform. The picture was chosen because the police officer was a White man with an expressionless face that appeared to match the expression of the drivers.

A pilot study ($N = 40$) using a sample of mTurk workers tested whether or not the pictures of the drivers would be an adequate prime of race. The pilot study also tested whether the vignette would prompt some variability among responses. The pilot test revealed that most mTurk workers correctly recalled the race of the driver in the scenario. There was also good variability in terms of whether or not mTurk workers rated the traffic stop as justifiable. Vignettes were modelled on the style of previously used vignettes examining modern and aversive racism (e.g., Harton et al., 2006; Nail et al., 2003). The vignette was as follows:

> After eating lunch with friends at a nearby café, 30-year old *David Jones/Jamal Jackson* stood by his 2010 Toyota Corolla, as he said goodbye to his friends. As *David/Jamal* pulled out of the parking lot, he noticed a police officer following him. About four blocks down the road, the police officer turned on his light, signaling for him to pull over. Officer Dan Richardson approached the car slowly and asked *David/Jamal* for his license and registration. After going back to his car for about five minutes, the police officer returned to *David's/Jamal's* car and told him that he was going five miles over the speed limit.

After reading the vignette, participants answered questions about the police-citizen encounter (Appendix D). In addition, participants completed a subset of questions from the Community Policing Evaluation Survey (Appendix E). Half of the participants completed the Community Policing Evaluation Survey prior to reading the vignette and answering questions about the police-citizen interaction. Lastly, participants completed a

demographics questionnaire (Appendix F). Following the demographics questionnaire,

participants were asked to report the race of the individual being pulled over and the

officer (without looking back to the vignette). Then participants were thanked and given

a debriefing form describing the purpose of the study and contact information for the

primary investigator and faculty advisor (Appendix G). Surveys were placed in a large

manila envelope when completed.

<div align="center">Measures</div>

Community Policing Survey

The Community Policing Evaluation Survey (CPES; McKee, 2001) examines

perceptions of local law enforcement agencies within communities. The CPES was

developed as a standardized tool for evaluating community-police programs/agencies.

The CPES consists of 20 items including four subscales that examine: (1) Quality

of Contact with Police, (2) Perceptions of Crime, (3) Personal Fear, and (4) Community

Cohesion. Some of the sample questions from the CPES include: "In general, how polite

are the police in this area when dealing with people around here?" and "How big of a

problem is people being attacked or beaten up by strangers in this area?" In a previous

study (Pate & Annan, 1989), each item loaded heavily on only one factor and

nonsignificantly (.400 or less) on the other factors. The factor loadings indicated a high

level of internal consistency among the item scores. Based on the factor analysis, it

appears that the CPES has good reliability.

Participants completed nine items from the CPES due to time constraints.

Participants answered two questions from each subscale (with the exception of three

questions each for both Quality of Contact with Police and Personal Fear). The items were chosen by selecting the two items that loaded highest on each subscale in a factor analysis (McKee, 2001). In the original survey, McKee (2001) referred to the participant's neighborhood as "your area." For this study, the term was changed to "Waterloo" to be more specific.

Perceptions of Guilt and Punishment

Participants first responded to a multiple choice question item asking them to infer what might happen next in the encounter, with responses including, "He gets a citation or ticket," "He is arrested," "He gets a written warning," "He gets a verbal warning," or "Other." Then participants responded to one open-ended question asking about other factors that might have affected why the individual was pulled over (Appendix D). These responses were coded by the researcher and one other person for inter-rater agreement. The inter-rater agreement of the researcher and coder was 96%. For items with discrepancies, the primary raters' coding was used.

Justifiable Stop

Participants then responded to 4 items that assessed whether or not the traffic stop was justifiable on a 5-point scale from "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree." Sample questions included, "Race played a role in why David/Jamal was stopped." and "The officer was just doing his job." These four items were combined to form the dependent variable scale. The scale items were found to be highly reliable (4 items; $\alpha = .88$).

<u>Judgments about Race</u>

Participants also responded to 5 items related to judgments about the driver's race within the traffic stop encounter on a 5-point scale from "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree." Sample questions included, "David is likely to believe that race was a factor in being pulled over." and "David is likely to cooperate."

<u>Demographics</u>

Participants indicated their age, ethnicity, gender, highest level of education, occupation, and current neighborhood (Appendix F). Participants also answered seven questions regarding previous contact with police (Appendix F), with questions such as, "Have you been pulled over by the police in the last five years?"

CHAPTER 7

RESULTS

<u>Preliminary Analyses</u>

A chi-square test of independence was performed to examine the effectiveness of the manipulation checks for race of the driver and police officer. Most people (72%) correctly recalled the race of the driver in the scenario, but participants were more likely to correctly recall the race of the driver when the driver was Black (76%) rather than White (68%), X^2 (3, $N = 260$) = 97.06, $p < .001$, Cramer's $V = .61$. Black participants who were in the White driver condition were more likely to incorrectly recall the driver as Black (38%) compared to White participants (7%), X^2 (3, 114) = 17.12, $p = .001$, Cramer's $V = .39$. Most people (86%) correctly recalled the race of the police officer in the scenario, regardless of their race, X^2 (3, $N = 242$) = 4.91, $p = .18$, Cramer's $V = .14$. For the main hypotheses regarding whether the traffic stop was justified, I only included participants who correctly answered the manipulation check regarding the driver's race, which left 187 participants for these analyses, 82 men and 103 women. Fifty-five percent of participants were White and 46% of participants were Black. Participants were on average 43.75 years old ($SD = 15.32$). Most participants (78%) reported having a higher education. Black and White participants were similar in gender, age, and education level (Table 2).

Table 2

Composition of Black Versus White Participants Who Correctly Answered Manipulation

Check for Traffic Stop Scenario

Variable	Blacks	Whites	Statistic	df	Significance Level
Gender % male	43%	44%	X^2 = .05, Cramer's V = .02	1	p = .82
Age	M = 43.18, SD = 13.97	M = 45.25, SD = 16.20	t = .89	171	p = .37
Education Level % Attended College	74%	81%	X^2 = 5.38, Cramer's V = .18*	6	p = .50

* 4 cells had an expected count less than 5.

I also examined whether participants who correctly answered the manipulation check differed from those who did not correctly answer the manipulation check. There were no differences between these groups on gender, race, age, education level, number of times pulled over, whether or not they believed they had a good reason for being pulled over, or their ratings of quality of police contact, perceptions of crime and disorder, personal fear, or community cohesion (Table 3).

Table 3

Comparison of Participants Who Answered the Manipulation Check Correctly vs. Not

		Correctly Recalled	Incorrectly Recalled	Statistic
Race	Blacks	45%	57%	X^2 (1, 255) = 2.89, *p* = .09, Cramer's *V* = .11)
Gender	Women	55%	58%	X^2 (2, 271) = .49, *p* = .78, Cramer's *V* = .04
Age		*M* = 43.75; *SD* = 15.32	*M* = 44.33; *SD* = 17.21	*t*(259) = -.27, *p* = .79, *d* = .04
Education Level	Less than high school	3%	2%	X^2 (6, 271) = .5.05, *p* = .54, Cramer's *V* = .14
	High school/GED	20%	32%	
	Associates Degree or Vocational Training	14%	14%	
	Some college	27%	21%	
	Bachelor's Degree	25%	22%	
	Master's Degree	9%	6%	
	Doctorate/Professional Degree	3%	2%	
Number of Times Pulled Over		*M* = 2.46; *SD* = 2.83	*M* = 1.80; *SD* = 2.61	*t*(266) = 1.82, *p* = .07, *d* = .24
Good Reason for Being Pulled Over in Recent Traffic Stop		*M* = 3.23; *SD* = 1.36	*M* = 3.20; *SD* = 1.46	*t*(220) = .14, *p* = .89, *d* = .02
Quality of Police Contact		*M* = 3.12; *SD* = 1.08	*M* = 3.06; *SD* = 1.21	*t*(260) = .37, *p* = .71, *d* = .05
Perceptions of Crime and Disorder		*M* = 3.60; *SD* = .94	*M* = 3.75; *SD* = 1.01	*t*(270) = -1.24, *p* = .22, *d* = .15
Personal Fear		*M* = 2.48; *SD* = .93	*M* = 2.64; *SD* = 1.05	*t*(266) = -.1.33, *p* = .18, *d* = .16
Community Cohesion		*M* = 3.16; *SD* = 1.23	*M* = 3.23; *SD* = 1.11	*t*(270) = -.49, *p* = .63, *d* = .06

To examine experimenter effects, I tested whether race of the research assistant influenced whether the traffic stop was justified. I conducted a one-way analysis of variance which did not yield a main effect of the research assistant's race, $F(1, 183) = .04$, $p = .85$, $\eta^2 = .05$, such that the average response as to whether participants believed the traffic stop was justified was not significantly higher for the Black researcher ($M = 2.90$, $SD = .56$) than for the Asian researchers ($M = 2.92$, $SD = .54$). I also tested whether race of the research assistant influenced ratings of the local police department. I conducted a one-way analysis of variance which did not yield a main effect of the research assistant's race for ratings of quality of policing, $F(1, 261) = .01$, $p = .93$, perceptions of crime and disorder, $F(1, 271) = 2.05$, $p = .15$, personal fear, $F(1, 267) = .01$, $p = .92$, or community cohesion, $F(1, 271) = .26$, $p = .61$. Participants' average ratings on the community policing survey were not significantly different for Black researchers than for Asian researchers.

There was also no effect for order, $F(1, 183) = .14$, $p = .71$, such that the average response as to whether participants believed the traffic stop was justified was not significantly different for participants who received the traffic stop scenario first ($M = 2.89$, $SD = .54$) compared to participants who received the community policing survey first ($M = 2.92$, $SD = .57$). I also tested whether the order of the survey influenced ratings of the local police department. I conducted ANOVAs which did not yield a main effect of the order of the survey for ratings of quality of policing, $F(1, 261) = .02$, $p = .90$, perceptions of crime and disorder, $F(1, 271) = .21$, $p = .65$, personal fear, $F(1, 267) = 1.73$, $p = .19$, or community cohesion, $F(1, 271) = .01$, $p = .93$. Participants' average

ratings on the community policing survey were not significantly different for participants who received the traffic stop scenario first compared to participants who received the community policing survey first (Table 4).

Table 4

Mean Ratings of Community Policing based on Order of the Survey

Subscale	Received Traffic Stop Scenario First		Received Community Policing Survey First	
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Quality of Police Contact	3.11	1.10	3.10	1.15
Crime and Disorder	3.62	.92	3.67	1.01
Personal Fear	2.45	1.00	2.61	.94
Community Cohesion	3.19	1.15	3.18	1.24

<u>Vignette Analyses</u>

<u>Justifiable Traffic Stop</u>

To test my main hypothesis, I ran a 2 (race of individual being pulled over: White vs. Black) x 2 (race of participant: White vs. Black) ANOVA with ratings of whether or not the traffic stop was justified as the dependent variable. There was a main effect of race of the participant, $F(1, 170) = 17.06$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .03$. Black participants were less likely to agree that the traffic stop was justified compared to White participants (Figure 1). However, the main effect of race of the driver was non-significant, $F(1, 170) = .004$,

$p = .95$, $\eta^2 = .03$, such that there was no difference in responses to the traffic stop for those who read the White driver scenario compared to those who read the Black driver scenario (Figure 1). The interaction effect between race of the driver and participant was also non-significant, $F(1, 174) = 1.11$, $p = .29$, $\eta^2 = .01$.
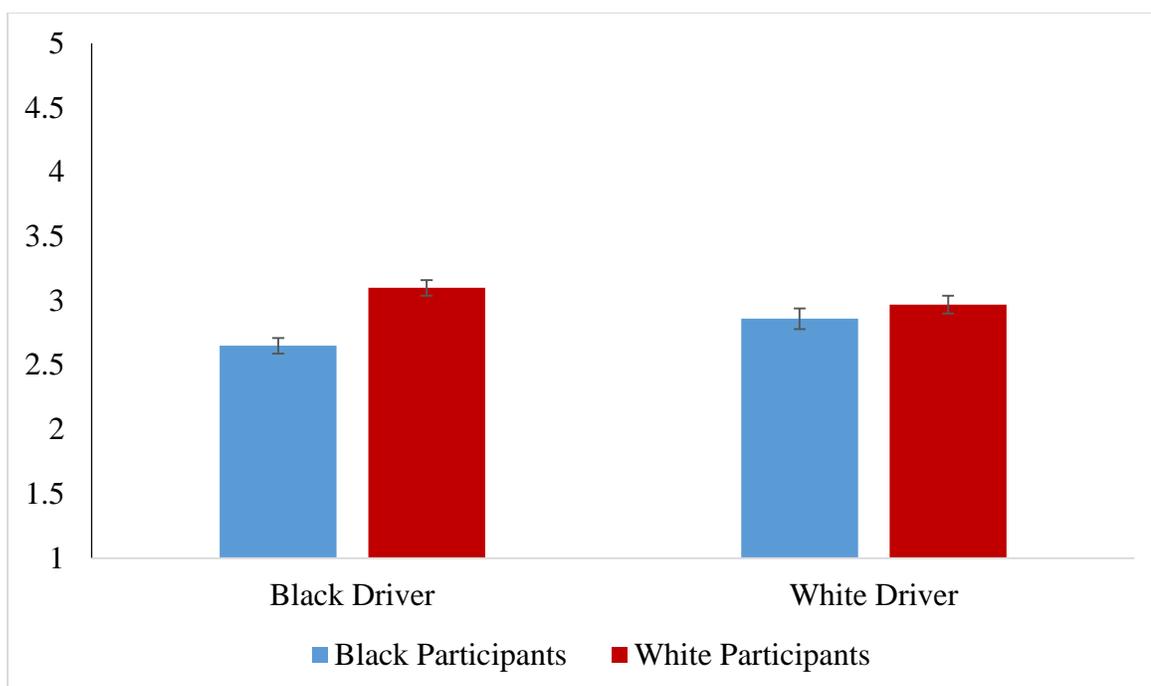
Note: Error bars represent the standard error from the mean.

Figure 1. Ratings of Whether or Not the Traffic Stop was Justified as a Function of Participant Race and Race of Driver.

Participants also chose what would likely happen next to the driver from a list. A chi-square test of independence revealed there were no significant differences in responses of Black and White participants in the White driver condition, $X^2(4, N = 75) = 3.28$, $p = .51$, Cramer's $V = .21$ (note: 4 cells had an expected count less than 5). Both Black and White participants who were in the White driver condition were likely to

believe that the driver would receive a verbal/written warning or ticket at similar rates

(Table 4). However, there were significant differences in responses of Black and White

participants in the Black driver condition, X^2 (5, $N = 100$) = 11.68, p = .04, Cramer's V =

.34 (note: 5 cells had an expected count less than 5). White participants in the Black

driver condition were more likely to respond that the driver would get a ticket, and Black

participants in the Black driver condition were more likely to respond that the driver

would be searched (Table 5).

Table 5

Participants' Reports as to What Would Happen Next to the Driver

What is likely to happen next to the driver?	White Participant/ White Driver Condition	Black Participant/ White Driver Condition	White Participant/ Black Driver Condition	Black Participant/ Black Driver Condition
Verbal Warning	35%	33%	19%	14%
Written Warning	20%	5%	12%	9%
Citation/Ticket	30%	43%	**52%**	**29%**
Car or Person is Searched	11%	14%	**14%**	**40%**
Arrested	0%	0%	0%	5%
Other	4%	5%	3%	3%

Note: Bold items are those that were significantly different.

Open-Ended Items

Participants also listed the reasons why they thought the individual in the scenario was pulled over, which were later coded into themes. The researcher coded each response by placing similar responses into themes. Thirteen themes emerged. Then, another researcher individually coded each response, and results were compared. The inter-rater agreement of the researcher and coder was 96%. For items with discrepancies, the primary raters' coding was used.

Because participants could list more than one reason why they thought the individual in the scenario was pulled over, chi-square tests were conducted for each reason to see whether it was listed more often by Black or White participants or for Black or White drivers. There were no significant differences between responses of Black and White participants for reasons given for the White driver being pulled over. White and Black participants were likely to report that the White driver was pulled over for speeding. There were significant differences between responses of Black and White participants for reasons given for the Black driver being pulled over. White participants were more likely to report that the Black driver was pulled over for speeding, whereas Black participants were more likely to report that the Black driver was pulled over for being Black (Table 6).

Table 6

Reasons Listed for Traffic Stop

Reason for being pulled over	White Participant /White Driver Condition	Black Participant /White Driver Condition	Statistic	White Participant /Black Driver Condition	Black Participant /Black Driver Condition	Statistic
Speeding	41%	27%	X^2 (1, N = 76) = 1.22, p = .27, Cramer's V = .13	**64%**	**16%**	X^2 (1, N = 100) = 25.15, p < .01, Cramer's V = .50
Driving While Black	2%	9%	X^2 (1, N = 76) = 2.16, p = .14**, Cramer's V = .17	**19%**	**62%**	X^2 (1, N = 100) = 18.30, p < .01, Cramer's V = .43
Meeting Quota	9%	0%	X^2 (1, N = 76) = 2.18, p = .14, Cramer's V = .17**	0%	0%	.
Suspicion	24%	18%	X^2 (1, N = 76) = .31, p = .58, Cramer's V = .06*	10%	5%	X^2 (1, N = 100) = .71, p = .40 Cramer's V = .08**
DUI/ Drugs	4%	0%	X^2 (1, N = 76) = .84, p = .36, Cramer's V = .11**	0%	0%	X^2 (1, N = 100) = 1.40, p = .24, Cramer's V = .12**
Abuse of Power	6%	0%	X^2 (1, N = 76) = 1.27, p = .26 Cramer's V = .13**	2%	2%	X^2 (1, N = 100) = .05, p = .82, Cramer's V = .02**

(table continues)

Reason for being pulled over	White Participant /White Driver Condition	Black Participant /White Driver Condition	Statistic	White Participant /Black Driver Condition	Black Participant /Black Driver Condition	Statistic
Boredom	15%	27%	X^2 (1, $N =$ 76) = 1.61, $p =$ .20, Cramer's $V = .15*$	12%	14%	X^2 (1, $N =$ 100) = .08, $p = .78$, Cramer's $V = .03$
Unsure	7%	9%	X^2 (1, $N =$ 76) = .06, $p = .81$, Cramer's $V = .03**$	2%	5%	X^2 (1, $N =$ 100) = .49, $p =$ .48, Cramer's $V = .07**$
Improper Use of Turn Signal	0%	0%	.	2%	0%	X^2 (1, $N =$ 100) = 1.40, $p =$ .24, Cramer's $V = .12**$
Broken Taillight	0%	0%	.	0%	0%	.
Just Doing His Job	0%	5%	X^2 (1, $N =$ 76) = 2.49, $p =$ .12, Cramer's $V = .18**$	0%	0%	.
Turned on Lights Late	0%	5%	X^2 (1, $N =$ 76) = 2.49, $p =$ .12 Cramer's $V = .18**$	0%	0%	.
Easy Ticket	2%	0%	X^2 (1, $N =$ 76) .41, p = .52, Cramer's $V = .07**$	0%	0%	.

Note: Bold items are those that were significantly different.
* 1 cell has expected count less than 5.
** 2 cells have expected count less than 5.

In the following analyses, I examined whether participant variables were related to whether the participants rated the traffic stop as justified. I ran separate correlations for both the Black and White driver conditions to control for possible effects of the manipulation. Participants' age and the number of times pulled over did not influence whether participants rated the traffic stop as justified. However, participants who believed they had a good reason for being pulled over in their most recent traffic stop were more likely to rate the traffic stop scenario as justified in both the Black and White driver condition. In addition, participants who with higher levels of education were more likely to rate the traffic as justified in the White driver condition (Table 7).

Table 7

Bivariate Correlations Among Whether Participants Rated the Traffic Stop as Justified and Participant Variables

Variable	White Driver	Black Driver
Age	-.02	.07
Education Level	.22*	.10
Number of Times Pulled Over	-.16	-.12
Good Reason for Being Pulled Over	.46**	.30**

$*p \leq .05 **p \leq .01 ***p \leq .001$
Note: *n* ranged from 82 to 101
Correlations with education level are Spearman correlations.
All other correlations are Pearson correlations.

To examine whether gender may have affected responses as to whether or not participants believed the traffic stop was justified, I conducted a 2 (participant race: White vs. Black) x 2 (driver's race: White vs. Black) x 2 (gender: men vs. women) ANOVA. There was no main effect of gender nor any gender interaction effects (p's > .32, $\eta^2 < .03$). Gender did not seem to affect perceptions of how justified the traffic stop was (Table 8).

Table 8

Mean Ratings of Whether or Not the Traffic Stop was Justified as a Function of

Participants' Gender

Participant Race	Driver's Race	Gender	*M*	*SD*	*n*
Black	White	Men	2.85	.29	5
		Women	2.73	.59	16
	Black	Men	2.68	.61	28
		Women	2.66	.56	29
White	White	Men	3.07	.52	24
		Women	2.99	.41	29
	Black	Men	3.00	.54	18
		Women	3.19	.45	24

Because adding participants' neighborhood to the 2 (participant race) x 2 (driver's race) ANOVA resulted in very small cell sizes, I tested the effects of participants' neighborhood on whether or not participants believed the traffic stop was justified with a one-way ANOVA. In addition, I combined the two downtown Waterloo categories (east and west of the river) together and the Cedar Falls and "other" categories together. There was a significant overall effect by neighborhood, $F(5, 174) = 2.35$, $p = .04$, $\eta^2 = .03$, but Tukey's b post hoc test did not reveal any significant differences between groups (Table 8).

Table 9

Mean Ratings of Whether or Not the Traffic Stop was Justified as a Function of

Participants' Neighborhood

Neighborhood	M	SD	n
East Waterloo	2.79	.57	77
Downtown Waterloo	3.00	.57	17
West Waterloo	2.88	.53	41
South Waterloo	3.13	.43	15
Far Western Waterloo	3.28	.36	10
Cedar Falls/Other	2.90	.54	20

Other Response Items Analyses

I also correlated other response items with whether or not participants rated the traffic stop as justified for both the Black and White driver conditions. Participants who believed race played a role in the traffic stop were less likely to rate the traffic stop as justified in both the White and Black driver condition. There were no significant relations between whether people believed the driver was likely to cooperate and whether or not participants rated the traffic stop as justified in either the White or Black driver conditions. Lastly, there was a significant relationship between whether or not participants believed the driver was likely to think that race was a factor in being pulled over and whether or not participants believed the traffic stop was justified in the Black driver condition. Participants who believed the driver was likely to think that race was a factor in being pulled over were more likely to rate the traffic stop as justified in the Black driver condition (Table 10).

Table 10

Bivariate Correlations Among Whether Participants Rated the Traffic Stop as Justified

and Other Response Items

Variable	White Driver	Black Driver
Race played a role in why David/Jamal was stopped.	-.24*	-.54**
David/Jamal is likely to cooperate.	-.19	.10
David/Jamal is likely to believe that race was a factor in being pulled over.	-.21	-.22*

$*p \leq .05$ $**p \leq .01$ $***p \leq .001$

To examine whether participant race or the driver's race affected these other response items, I conducted a 2 (participant race: White vs. Black) x 2 (driver's race: White vs. Black) ANOVA. There was a main effect of race of participant, $F(1, 168) = 12.14$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .05$, such that Black participants were more likely to believe race played a role in why he was pulled over. In addition, there was a main effect of race of driver, $F(1, 168) = 59.82$, $p = .001$, $\eta^2 = .04$, such that participants in the Black driver condition were more likely to believe race played a role in why he was pulled over compared to participants in the White driver condition. There was no interaction effect between participant race and the driver's race, $F(1, 168) = 2.99$, $p = .09$, $\eta^2 = .01$. There were also no main effects of participant race or driver's race nor interaction effects on whether or not participants believed the driver would cooperate with the police officer (ps $> .05$, η^2 s $< .04$). Lastly, there was no main effect of participant race nor interaction effects, (ps $> .05$, η^2s $< .03$) on whether or not participants believed the driver would

think race was a factor in being pulled over. However, there was a main effect of the driver's race, $F(1, 171) = 164.06$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .05$, such that participants in the Black driver condition were more likely to believe the driver would think race was a factor in being pulled over (Table 11).

Table 11

Mean Ratings of Other Response Items as a Function of Participant Race and Driver's

Race

Race played a role in why David/Jamal was stopped.	Participant Race	Driver's Race	*M*	*SD*	*n*
	Black	White	2.30	1.34	20
		Black	4.02	1.14	56
	White	White	1.98	.79	54
		Black	3.07	1.24	42
David/Jamal is likely to cooperate.	Participant Race	Driver's Race	*M*	*SD*	*n*
	Black	White	3.86	.79	21
		Black	4.03	.86	58
	White	White	3.72	.56	54
		Black	3.80	.80	42
David/Jamal is likely to believe that race was a factor in being pulled over.	Participant Race	Driver's Race	*M*	*SD*	*n*
	Black	White	2.00	1.22	21
		Black	4.17	.92	58
	White	White	2.06	.98	54
		Black	3.95	.88	42

Community Policing Survey Analyses

The next set of analyses were conducted to evaluate participants' reports of the local police departments. Subscales for the community policing survey included quality of contact, community cohesion, perceptions of crime and disorder, and personal fear. It is important to note that there was a wording mistake on the response options for the two questions pertaining to perceptions of crime and disorder. Participants were asked how big of a problem certain crime is in Waterloo and the response option was as follows: *no problem, hardly a problem, no opinion, somewhat of a problem, and strongly agree*. Strongly agree should have been replaced with *a big problem*. Only 28 participants received the survey with the wording mistake. I examined whether or not the first 28 responses for the subscale of perceptions of crime and disorder were different from the remaining participants, and the responses were similar for participants who received the survey with the wording mistake ($M = 3.66$, $SD = .96$) and those who did not receive the survey with the wording mistake ($M = 3.54$, $SD = .95$), $F(1, 270) = .40$, $p = .53$, $\eta^2 = .06$. As a result, all participants were included in the analyses.

There was a significant relationship between race of the participant and quality of police contact. Compared to White participants, Black participants were less likely to give local law enforcement satisfactory ratings for their quality of policing, $F(1, 232) = 21.40$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .10$. There was also a significant relation between participant race and perceptions of community cohesion, $F(1, 232) = 4.93$, $p = .03$, $\eta^2 = .02$. White participants were more likely to report feeling a sense of community cohesion compared to Black participants. Participants reported having similar perceptions of crime and

disorder, $F(1, 232) = .01$, $p = .92$, $\eta^2 = .00$, and personal fear, $F(1, 232) = .22$, $p = .64$, η^2 $=.00$, regardless of race (Table 12).

Table 12

Mean Ratings of Community Policing within Waterloo

	Blacks		Whites		Eta Squared
Subscale	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	
Quality of Police Contact	2.70	1.00	3.40	1.12	.10***
Crime and Disorder	3.64	.98	3.65	.95	.00
Personal Fear	2.58	.98	2.48	.90	.00
Community Cohesion	3.01	1.17	3.37	1.21	.02*

*$p \le .05$ **$p \le .01$ ***$p \le .001$

I also examined whether gender affected these results, using a set 2 (race of participant: White vs. Black) x 2 (gender: men vs. women) ANOVAs. There was no main effect of gender on quality of police contact, $F(1, 237) = 1.00$, $p = .32$, $\eta^2 = .10$; however, there was an interaction effect of gender and participant race on quality of police contact, $F(1, 237) = 8.45$, $p = .004$, $\eta^2 = .10$. White women were more likely to give satisfactory ratings for their quality of policing compared to men, $F(1, 121) = 7.30$, $p = .01$, $\eta^2 = .09$. For Black participants, there were no differences between men (*M* =

2.86, $SD = 1.01$) and women ($M = 2.61$, $SD = .98$) on their ratings for quality of policing, $F(1, 116) = 1.92$, $p = .17$, $\eta^2 = .12$. There were no main effects of personal fear, $F(1, 241) = 2.82$, $p = .09$, $\eta^2 = .12$, crime and disorder, $F(1, 245) = .71$, $p = .40$, $\eta^2 = .07$, or community cohesion, $F(1, 245) = .60$, $p = .44$, $\eta^2 = .12$, nor any interaction effects ($p > .07$, $\eta^2 > .12$), (Table 13).

Table 13

Mean Ratings of Community Policing within Waterloo by Race and Gender

Subscale	Participant Race	Gender	*M*	*SD*	*n*
Quality of Police Contact	Black	Men	2.86	1.01	48
		Women	2.61	.98	70
	White	Men	3.12	1.14	53
		Women	3.65	1.02	70
Perceptions of Crime & Disorder	Black	Men	3.50	1.06	51
		Women	3.73	.92	73
	White	Men	3.65	.98	52
		Women	3.64	.93	73
Personal Fear	Black	Men	2.33	.82	49
		Women	2.74	1.05	71
	White	Men	2.46	.92	51
		Women	2.46	.85	74
Community Cohesion	Black	Men	3.11	1.14	50
		Women	2.95	1.20	73
	White	Men	3.15	1.18	52
		Women	3.55	1.20	74

I also examined the relationship between participants' neighborhood and perceptions of the local police to see if individuals living in different neighborhoods reported less positive views of the local police. Participants reported having similar perceptions regardless of where they lived for quality of policing, $F(7, 251) = 1.88$, $p = .07$, $\eta^2 = .05$, crime and disorder, $F(7, 260) = 1.02$, $p = .42$, $\eta^2 = .03$, personal fear, $F(7,256) = 1.49$, $p = .17$, $\eta^2 = .04$, and community cohesion, $F(7, 260) = 1.09$, $p = .37$, $\eta^2 = .03$ (Table 14).

Table 14

Mean Ratings of Community Policing by Location

Subscale		*n*	*M*	*SD*
	East Waterloo	101	2.83	1.10
Quality of Police Contact	Downtown Waterloo (west of the river)	12	3.33	1.27
	Downtown Waterloo (east of the river)	12	3.08	.79
	West Waterloo	63	3.17	1.28
	South Waterloo	19	3.18	.96
	Far Western Waterloo	12	3.75	.92
	Cedar Falls	15	3.07	1.02
	Other	18	3.50	.86
Perceptions of Crime and Disorder	East Waterloo	104	3.68	.99
	Downtown Waterloo (west of the river)	11	3.18	1.33
	Downtown Waterloo (east of the river)	13	3.42	1.06
	West Waterloo	65	3.68	.97
	South Waterloo	20	3.45	.96
	Far Western Waterloo	13	4.08	.76
	Cedar Falls	15	3.53	.74
	Other	20	3.68	.78

Subscale		*n*	*M*	*SD*
Personal Fear	East Waterloo	102	2.71	1.01
	Downtown Waterloo (west of the river)	12	2.36	.85
	Downtown Waterloo (east of the river)	13	2.72	1.03
	West Waterloo	64	2.55	1.04
	South Waterloo	18	2.11	.96
	Far Western Waterloo	13	2.67	.99
	Cedar Falls	15	2.31	.83
	Other	20	2.23	.61
Community Cohesion	East Waterloo	104	3.03	1.20
	Downtown Waterloo (west of the river)	12	3.33	1.23
	Downtown Waterloo (east of the river)	13	2.92	.81
	West Waterloo	64	3.16	1.24
	South Waterloo	20	3.75	1.03
	Far Western Waterloo	13	3.31	1.52
	Cedar Falls	15	3.17	.94
	Other	20	3.35	1.27

I also correlated participant variables with perceptions of the local police department to examine whether participant age and education level were related to participants' perceptions. Participants who were older were more likely to give the local police officers satisfactory ratings for their quality of policing. Participants who attained a higher level of education reported lower ratings for perceptions of crime and disorder and personal fear. Lastly, participants who were older or attained a higher level of education were more likely to report having a higher sense of community cohesion compared to younger participants (Table 15).

Table 15

Bivariate Correlations Among Participants' Perceptions of Local Police Department,

Age, and Education Level

Subscale		White and Black Driver
Quality of Police Contact	Age	.16*
	Education Level	.07
Perceptions of Crime & Disorder	Age	.05
	Education Level	-.15*
Personal Fear	Age	-.08
	Education Level	-.21**
Community Cohesion	Age	.27**
	Education Level	.15*

*$p \le .05$ **$p \le .01$ ***$p \le .001$
Note: *n* ranged from 248 to 261
Correlations with education level are Spearman correlations.
All other correlations are Pearson correlations.

Additional Analyses

The next set of analyses evaluated participants' reports of their previous

experiences with the local police department. An independent samples *t*-test was

performed to examine the relation between participant race and the number of times

he/she was pulled over more often in the last 5 years in Black Hawk County. Black

participants (*M* = 2.60, *SD* = 2.95) reported being pulled over more often than White

participants (*M* = 1.84, *SD* = 2.41) in the past five years, *t*(248) = -2.24, *p* = .03, *d* = .28.

A 2 (race of participant: Black vs. White) x 2 (gender: men vs. women) ANOVA was performed to examine the the relation between race of participant and gender on the perceptions of their last traffic stop encounter (measured on a 5-point Likert scale). Black participants (M = 2.85, SD = 1.43) were less likely to agree that the police officer had a legitimate reason for pulling them over compared to White participants (M = 3.63, SD = 1.21), $F(1, 200)$ = 17.40, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .15$. There were no main effects of gender nor interaction effects between gender and race ($ps > .05$, $\eta^2s > .14$). Compared to White participants, Black participants were also more likely to believe that their race or ethnicity influenced why they were pulled over, $F(1, 198)$ = 79.31, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .24$. There were no main effects of gender nor interaction effects between gender and race ($ps > .05$, $\eta^2s > .17$). Lastly, Black participants were more likely than White participants to believe that their race or ethnicity negatively affected how they were treated during the traffic stop encounter, $F(1, 198)$ = 56.48, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .21$. There were no main effects of gender nor interaction effects between gender and race ($p > .05$, $\eta^2 > .17$); (Table 16).

Table 16

Mean Ratings of Perceptions of Most Recent Traffic Stop Encounter by Race and Gender

Perceptions of Recent Traffic Stop Encounter					
The police officer had a good reason for pulling you over.	Participant Race	Gender	*M*	*SD*	*n*
	Black	Male	2.72	1.52	46
		Female	2.95	1.36	61
	White	Male	3.38	1.34	45
		Female	3.85	1.06	52
Your race or ethnicity affected why you were pulled over.	Black	Male	3.23	1.36	44
		Female	2.92	1.35	61
	White	Male	1.71	.92	45
		Female	1.56	.78	52
Your race or ethnicity negatively affected how you were treated.	Black	Male	3.16	1.28	45
		Female	2.88	1.21	60
	White	Male	1.98	1.08	45
		Female	1.65	.93	52

Participants then reported how the police officer treated them in their last traffic stop encounter in Black Hawk County. Participants could check as many response options as they would like, and a chi-square test was conducted for each response by participant race. When asked about their most recent contact with a police officer in

Black Hawk County, significantly more Blacks reported that the police officer was rude in their most recent traffic stop than Whites, X^2 (1, $N = 245$) $= 6.71$, $p = .01$, Cramer's $V =$ .17. Blacks and Whites reported being treated similarly on all factors such as the police officer being helpful, X^2 (1, $N = 243$) $= 3.23$, $p = .07$, Cramer's $V = .12$, talking down to the driver, X^2 (1, $N = 245$) $= .56$, $p = .46$, Cramer's $V = .05$, showing the driver respect, X^2 (1, $N = 245$) $= .14$, $p = .71$, Cramer's $V = .02$, and using or threatening the use of force, X^2 (1, $N = 245$) $= .15$, $p = .70$, Cramer's $V = .03$ (Table 17).

Table 17

How Participants Were Treated During Most Recent Traffic Stop

Most Recent Encounter with a Police Officer	Participant Race	%	*n*
The police officer was helpful.	Black	20%	24
	White	30%	38
The police officer talked down to me.	Black	14%	17
	White	11%	14
The police officer showed me respect.	Black	43%	51
	White	45%	57
The police officer used or threatened the use of force.	Black	6%	7
	White	5%	6
The police officer was rude.	Black	28%	33
	White	14%	18
Never been pulled over	Black	13%	16
	White	23%	29

I also examined participants' outcomes of their most recent traffic stop. Because participants could list more than one outcome, chi-square tests were conducted for each outcome to see whether there were significant differences between the outcomes of Blacks and White participants. Both Black and White participants reported receiving

verbal warnings, written warning, citations/tickets at similar rates in addition to being

searched and arrested at similar rates (Table 18).

Table 18

Participants' Reports of Outcomes of Most Recent Police-Citizen Encounter by Race

Consequences of Most Recent Traffic Stop	Whites	Blacks	X^2
Verbal warning	37%	41%	X^2 (1, $N = 204$) = .34, $p = .56$, Cramer's $V = .04$
Written warning	14%	7%	X^2 (1, $N = 203$) = 3.35, $p = .07$, Cramer's $V = .13$
Citation/Ticket	45%	46%	X^2 (1, $N = 204$) = .00, $p = .95$, Cramer's $V = .00$
Car or person is searched	21%	17%	X^2 (1, $N = 204$) = .48, $p = .49$, Cramer's $V = .05$
Arrested	13%	11%	X^2 (1, $N = 204$) = .23, $p = .63$, Cramer's $V = .03$
Rather not say	3%	7%	X^2 (1, $N = 204$) = 1.30, $p = .25$, Cramer's $V = .08$*

CHAPTER 8

DISCUSSION

Black participants were less likely to agree that a traffic stop scenario they read about was justified compared to White participants, regardless of the driver's race. I originally hypothesized that Black participants would rate the traffic stop as less justified when the person being pulled over was Black rather than White and White participants would rate the traffic stop as less justified when the person being pulled over was White rather than Black, as people may be more sympathetic to members of their own racial group, exhibiting the ingroup favoritism bias (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). The fact that Black or White participants did not tend to favor the driver that belonged to their racial ingroup may be due to methodological reasons such as low power due to the large number of people who had to be excluded from the analyses because of missing the manipulation check. An examination of the means suggests that there may have been a tendency for the Black participants in particular to see the traffic stop as less justified for the Black than the White driver, but this difference was not statistically significant.

There was some evidence to suggest that Black participants were more likely to see bias when the driver was Black. When asked to list the reasons why the individual was pulled over during a traffic stop, White participants were more likely to say that the Black driver was pulled over for speeding, whereas Black participants were more likely to say that the Black driver was pulled over for being Black. Participants who believed race played a role in the traffic stop were more likely to rate the traffic stop as less justified. In addition, when asked what would happen next in the traffic stop scenario,

Black participants were more likely to say that the Black driver would be searched, whereas White participants were more likely to say that the Black driver would receive a citation or ticket. Based on these findings, Blacks are aware of the fact that they are often the target of differential treatment compared to Whites, although this does not explain why Black participants rated the traffic stop as less justified regardless of the driver's race and why there were no differences for White participants. Black participants may have believed that police officers are likely to abuse their power and pull over anyone for questionable reasons but will be more punitive with Black drivers.

Participants' age, gender, education level, or number of times pulled over did not generally affect whether or not participants rated the traffic as justified. These findings are unexpected, as one might expect men to rate the traffic stop as less justified compared to women, given the fact that Black men have been one of the main targets of differential treatment within the criminal justice system (BJS, 2003; Block & Obioha, 2012; Gabrielson et al., 2014). One might also expect participants who reported being pulled over at higher rates to rate the traffic stop as less justified, as individuals tend to report less satisfaction with law enforcement when a police officer initiates contact versus a resident initiating the contact (Skogan, 2005). However, there are many other factors that influence perceptions of the police. Based on the results, previous experience with police officers also plays a role in perceptions of the police. For example, participants who believed they had a good reason for being pulled over in their most recent traffic stop were more likely to rate the traffic stop scenario as justified.

Participants were also asked to report the number of times they had been pulled over in the past five years as well as how the police officer treated them in their most recent traffic stop. Blacks were pulled over more often than Whites and were more likely to report that the police officer was rude to them compared to White participants. Because Blacks are aware that they are treated differently within the criminal justice (Block & Obioha, 2012; Cook, 2014; Geller, 2014; Nunn, 2002) it may lead to further feelings of general distrust of police officers, which may ultimately have a poor influence on outcomes for both parties involved.

I also hypothesized that Black participants would have more negative perceptions of the Waterloo Police Department compared to White participants. Contrary to predictions, both Blacks and Whites reported similar ratings for the perceived crime levels in Waterloo such as the likelihood of being attacked or robbed as well as how worried they were to be the victim of a crime within Waterloo. This finding may have emerged because participants may be equally exposed to crime-related stories within their local news media outlets, resulting in similar ratings between Black and White participants. It is unlikely that these findings are due to Black and White participants living in different neighborhoods, as participants reported having similar perceptions regardless of where they lived within Waterloo.

Compared to White participants, Black participants were less likely to report that local police officers were helpful and polite. In addition, Black participants were less likely to report being close to neighbors and relying on them in times of difficulty compared to White participants. These findings support the existing literature on public

perceptions of police officers in that Blacks tend to report overall less satisfaction with the police (Lurigio et al., 2009; Schuck et al., 2008). Because Blacks were less likely to report being able to rely on others in their neighborhood, they may place blame on police officers for the conditions of their neighborhood, which may also help explain their evaluations of the local police. Black participants may also report that the local police officers are not helpful and polite, because there may be an over presence of police officers within Black communities, which may make community members feel as though Blacks are being blamed for crime rates and that police officers are not focusing on crime perpetrated by Whites. Although participants did not differ in their perceptions of the quality of contact by neighborhood, it may be that there are differences in policing styles within specific parts of these neighborhoods. Overall, these findings suggest that there needs to be a focus placed on how police officers can build meaningful relations with the Black community.

It is also important to discuss how these ratings of the local police department in a highly segregated ("People surprised about crime statistics," 2014), mid-sized city may differ from other areas. One of the original studies (McKee, 2001) that used the Community Policing Evaluation Survey was conducted in Hattiesburg, a mid-sized city located in Mississippi. Residents in Hattiesburg tended to give police officers higher ratings for their quality of contact ($M = 3.90$, $SD = .76$) than local residents ($M = 3.10$, $SD = 1.13$). In addition, Hattiesburg residents tended to report having a higher sense of community cohesion ($M = 3.80$, $SD = .91$) than local residents ($M = 3.18$, $SD = 1.19$). These findings could be because of the increased diversity in Hattiesburg—50% of

residents are White and 47%, Black ("Hattiesburg, Mississippi statistics and demographics," n.d). Because there is a relatively equal number of Whites and Blacks, police officers may be better trained to deal with different racial and ethnic groups. In addition, half of participants in the Hattiesburg sample were known victims and there was also an overrepresentation of females (67.3%) in the sample. As stated previously, people who initiate contact with police are more likely to hold favorable views of police officers. It is likely that victims reached out to police officers for help (Skogan, 2005). In addition, women are more likely than men to have favorable attitudes towards the police than men (Dukes & Hughes, 2004). Hattiesburg residents also tended to report being more fearful ($M = 3.87$, $SD = .86$) than local residents ($M = 2.53$, $SD = .97$), which may be the result of different patterns of crime or even due to different levels of exposure of news media coverage of crime. Lastly, both Hattiesburg residents ($M = 3.56$, $SD = .92$) and local residents ($M = 3.65$, $SD = .96$) reported similar ratings of perceptions of crime and disorder.

It would be interesting to examine whether there are differences between mid-sized cities and larger, urban areas using the CPES. People may be less skeptical of police officers in a more racially integrated city, as people may be more open-minded and interact with police officers from different racial/ethnic backgrounds.

<div align="center">Limitations and Future Research</div>

There are several limitations to the current study. While most people correctly answered the manipulation check asking about the race of the driver, about 30% of participants did not. One theme that emerged was that participants were more likely to

correctly recall the race of the driver when he was Black (76%) than White (68%). This finding seemed to largely be due to Black participants misremembering the White driver as Black. Black participants in particular may be more likely to perceive a questionable traffic stop as an event that would involve a Black person, or they may have had a similar experience that may have influenced how they interpreted the scenario.

Participants also read a vignette about a police-citizen encounter. As a result, participants may not have reacted in the same manner as they would have if they had watched a video of the interaction or actually had been in the situation. In addition, given the nature of the study, it was not feasible to use a cover story, which may have led participants to respond in a socially desirable way.

Although it was important to include a community sample instead of a college-aged sample, because college students may not be representative of the general population (Henrich, Heine, & Norenzayan, 2010), these findings cannot be generalized beyond a mid-sized Midwestern city. Because the sample is from a highly segregated city (Jamison, 2009), results may differ from other areas. This study could be replicated in other major cities to examine whether the study yields similar results. In addition, participants tended to have a higher level of education (67% of Blacks and 81% of Whites attended college), which is not be representative of the general population, as 33% of the total Black population nationally have attained at least a two-year college degree compared to nearly half (47%) of Whites (Kolodner, 2016). It is possible that the recruitment sites consisted of a higher percentage of college-educated people. In the future, it would be important to include other broad recruitment sites.

As there appear to be differences in how Black and White people perceive police-citizen encounters, future studies could examine the differences in how police officers directly interact with citizens during traffic stops. Although it has been established that Blacks are pulled over at higher rates and report being treated unfairly during police-citizen encounters, few empirical studies have focused on whether or not Blacks are treated differently than Whites from an objective viewpoint during real-life traffic stops. A study in Cincinnati (Dixon et al., 2008) noted the differential treatment of Blacks compared to Whites, in that Blacks were pulled over for 2.6 minutes longer than White drivers and were more likely to involve multiple police officers compared to traffic stops of White drivers. Black drivers were also three to five more times likely to be asked (a) if they were carrying weapons or drugs, (b) to exit their vehicle, and (c) to be searched. However, more research needs to be conducted on police-citizen encounter due to differences among jurisdictions.

<div align="center">Implications</div>

Blacks tended to have an overall negative view of police officers compared to Whites. Blacks' perceptions appear to be an accurate portrayal of their experiences, as they have been systematically targeted through the use of strategic policies such as the War on Drugs initiation, stop-and-frisk programs, and zero-tolerance policies and others. These negative experiences may have led Black communities to further distrust police officers. In order to completely restore trust within Black communities, there need to be changes in these policies that disproportionately single out Blacks. However, a more local

approach to repairing relationships may be to monitor and hold police officers accountable for their actions.

Body-worn cameras have also been associated with a reduction in the number of complaints filed against police officers. More specifically, the Mesa Police Department randomly assigned 50 police officers to wear body-worn cameras and compared them to another 50 police officers without body-worn cameras over a one-year period (Rankin, 2013). Even when controlling for demographics, police officers without the body-worn cameras had nearly three times as many complaints as the police officers with the body-worn cameras and had 40% fewer total complaints during the implementation of body-worn cameras than the prior year. These promising findings suggest that accountability may be key in breaking down barriers and re-building trust between police officers and Black communities.

Police officers may also be held accountable by collecting race data on traffic stops and other police-citizen encounters to examine whether police agencies are, in fact, engaging in racial profiling and other bias-based policing behavior. By collecting race data, police agencies have been able to improve community relations by identifying whether racial profiling exists and seek solutions. In addition, race data also provide legal protection to agencies, who have faced lawsuits for engaging in racial profiling (McMahon, Garner, Davis, Kraus, 2002; Ross, Fazzalaro, Barone, & Kalinowski, 2016). If there is a strong presence of bias-based policing behavior, then police agencies can investigate the ways in which they can better-train their police officers, which would inevitably make local police officers safer when dealing with community members.

Another area that may help improve police-citizen relations deals with intergroup communication. Deadly encounters involving police officers and citizens often arise from an interpretation (or misinterpretation) of verbal and nonverbal cues that a participant perceives as distrust, disrespect, or anger (Schlenker & Leary, 1982). Neither party may be at fault for the existing conflict, as each participant perceives their own reaction as justified in the particular situation (Dixon et al., 2008).

Differences in communication styles may play a significant role in some of the tension reported between Black community member and police officers. Communication accommodation theory (CAT), which focuses on the dynamics of intercultural communication, has recently been applied to the study of police-citizen interaction patterns (Giles, 2002; Giles, Willemyns, Gallois, & Anderson, 2007). The two main processes that form the basis of the theory are convergence and divergence. Convergence involves adapting to each other's behaviors and speech patterns during an interaction. Police officers who engage in accommodation are more likely to be positively evaluated by community members, which may promote trust and compliance among citizens (Hajek et al., 2006). Divergence, on the other hand, is associated with negative reactions and may be perceived as rude, insulting, and hostile (Dixon et al., 2008).

Because traffic stops are perceived as one of the most dangerous situations that police officers may encounter while on duty (Pinizzotto, Davis, & Miller, 1997) police officers are trained to be on their guard. For these reasons, it may be unlikely that a police officer would attempt to accommodate the driver. This resistance to convergence may be further exaggerated when a police officer encounters an individual from a

negatively stigmatized social group (Giles, 2001). Future intervention programs may focus on how police officers can improve interpersonal communication with community members, and as a result, increase trust within Black communities.

Local Implications

Shifting focus from general implications to local implications, despite the fact that Blacks tended to report that local police officers were less helpful and polite than did Whites, many people still gave satisfactory ratings for their quality of police contact. It is important to note that people living in East Waterloo tended to give less satisfactory ratings compared to those living in other areas. The local police department may want to focus on the ways in which this area is different from others within Waterloo and begin improving police-citizen relations in this neighborhood.

The Waterloo police department has taken a step toward building trust within Black communities through the use of body-worn cameras. They recently bought roughly 150 body-worn cameras (Jamison, 2015). Body-worn cameras allow police agencies to be more transparent to the public and allow agencies to evaluate and improve officer performance. Body-worn cameras may also help resolve any police officer-involved incidents such as deadly encounters. In addition to body-worn cameras, the Waterloo Police Department may also want to examine race data collected during patrols for possible bias and offer intergroup communication training to their police officers.

Conclusion

Black participants rated a traffic stop as less justified than White participants regardless of the driver's race. Black participants also reported that the local police

officers were less helpful and polite compared to White participants. These findings suggest that Blacks may not trust their local police department, which may be the result of past experiences with police officers. In order to re-build meaningful relationships between police officers and Black communities, local police departments must show their community members that they are trustworthy and are willing to hold their fellow officers accountable for their actions. The use of body-worn cameras within police departments may be the first step towards re-building trust; however, it is not a permanent solution. Police misconduct must be met with consequences. There is not a simple solution to the issue; however, police officers can start by recognizing and addressing the ways in which they have failed Black communities and begin tending to the concerns of Black community members.

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APPENDIX A

SCRIPT

Researchers will approach potential participants and make the following points using comfortable language:

- Give name
- Study is for school project
- Looking at public perceptions of routine traffic stops and the police
- Approximately 5 minutes to complete
- Anonymous

Here is an example of what someone might say:

"Hi, do you have a few minutes? My name is _____ and I am doing a school project on public perceptions of traffic stops and the police. This will take about 5 minutes to complete and is completely anonymous. Would you be willing to participate?"

APPENDIX B

CONSENT FORM

Project Title: Public Perceptions
Name of Investigators: Olivia Thompson, Helen C. Harton, Ph.D.
If you participate, you will read a brief scenario related to a traffic stop and answer questions about it. You'll also provide some demographic information and opinions about the area.
It should only take about 5 minutes.
It's voluntary—you don't have to do this, and you can stop in the middle if you want.
Risks are similar to day-to-day life.
There are no benefits to you for participating other than feeling good about helping with a student project.
All your responses are anonymous. No names are collected.
I'll give you information at the end of the study with contact information for the researchers and the research ethics board at UNI.
You have to be 18 or older to participate.

If you want to participate, please turn the page to indicate your consent.

APPENDIX C

SCENARIOS

David Jones   Dan Richardson

After eating lunch with friends at a nearby café, 30-year old David Jones stood by his 2010 Toyota Corolla, as he said goodbye to his friends. As David pulled out of the parking lot, he noticed a police officer following him. About four blocks down the road, the police officer turned on his light, signaling for him to pull over. Officer Dan Richardson approached the car slowly and asked David for his license and registration. After going back to his car for about five minutes, the police officer returned to David's car and told him that he was going five miles over the speed limit.

Jamal Jackson   Dan Richardson

After eating lunch with friends at a nearby café, 30-year old Jamal Jackson stood by his 2010 Toyota Corolla, as he said goodbye to his friends. As Jamal pulled out of the parking lot, he noticed a police officer following him. About four blocks down the road, the police officer turned on his light, signaling for him to pull over. Officer Dan Richardson approached the car slowly and asked Jamal for his license and registration. After going back to his car for about five minutes, the police officer returned to Jamal's car and told him that he was going five miles over the speed limit.

APPENDIX D

POLICE-CITIZEN ENCOUNTER QUESTIONNAIRE

Based on the scenario, please answer the following questions.

1. What is likely to happen next to David?

___ He gets a citation or ticket.
___ His car or person is searched.
___ He is arrested.
___ He gets a written warning.
___ He gets a verbal warning.
___ Other _____

2. What reasons do you think the officer had for pulling David over?

_____

_____

_____

For each of the following statements, please put an "X" in the box you agree with most:

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
3. David should have been stopped by Officer Richardson.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
4. Officer Richardson was right in pulling David over.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
5. Race placed a role in <u>why</u> David was stopped.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
6. Officer Richardson was just doing his job.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
7. Officer Richardson did <u>not</u> have a good reason to pull David over.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
8. David is likely to cooperate.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
9. David is likely to believe that race was a factor in being pulled over.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

APPENDIX E

COMMUNITY POLICING SURVEY

Please circle the answer that describes how you feel about <u>your local police and community.</u>

1. **In general, how polite are the police in Waterloo when dealing with people around here?**

    Very impolite   Somewhat impolite   No opinion   Somewhat polite   Very polite

2. **In general, how helpful are the police in Waterloo when dealing with the people around here?**

    Not at all helpful   Not very helpful   No opinion   Somewhat helpful   Very helpful

	No Problem	Hardly a Problem	No Opinion	Somewhat of a Problem	Big Problem
3. **How big of a problem is people being attacked or beaten up by strangers in Waterloo?**	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
4. **How big of a problem is people being robbed or having their money, purses or wallets taken?**	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Always
5. **How often are you worried that someone will try to break into your house <u>while no one is there?</u>**	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
6. **How often are you worried that someone will attack you or beat you up when you are outside in Waterloo?**	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

7. **How often are you worried that you will get shot when you are in Waterloo?**

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
8. **If you had to borrow $25 for an emergency, you could turn to your neighbors.**	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
9. **You know several people in your neighborhood well enough to ask a favor.**	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

APPENDIX F

DEMOGRAPHICS

For demographic purposes, please complete the following questions by marking the most appropriate answer or answers.

10. What is your gender?

_____ Male   _____ Female   _____ Other

11. What is your race/ethnicity? (Mark all that apply)

_____ White
_____ Black or African American
_____ Hispanic/Latino
_____ Native American or American Indian
_____ Asian / Pacific Islander
_____ Other, please specify _____

12. What year were you born? _____

13. What is your occupation? _____

14. Where do you live?

_____ East Waterloo (east of the river)
_____ Downtown Waterloo (west of the river)
_____ Downtown Waterloo (east of the river)
_____ West Waterloo (west of University Ave. to Kimball Ave.)
_____ South Waterloo (south of Ridgeway)
_____ Far western Waterloo (west of Kimball Ave.)
_____ Cedar Falls
_____ Somewhere else: _____

15. How long have you lived there? _____

16. What is the highest level of schooling you have completed?

     ____ Less than high school degree
     ____ High school/GED
     ____ Associates Degree or Vocational Training
     ____ Some College
     ____ Bachelor's Degree
     ____ Master's Degree
     ____ Doctorate or Professional Degree

17. Have you ever worked in law enforcement?
     ____ Yes   ____ No

18. About how many times have you been pulled over in the last 5 years?

     _____

19. In your <u>most recent encounter with a police officer during a traffic stop in Black Hawk County</u>, how would you describe the attitude of the police officer? (Check all that apply)
     ____ The officer was helpful.
     ____ The officer talked down to me.
     ____ The officer showed me respect.
     ____ The officer used or threatened the use of force.
     ____ The officer was rude.
     ____ Never been pulled over.

Thinking of **the last time** you were pulled over, to what extent would you say…

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
20. The police officer had a good reason for pulling you over.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
21. Your race or ethnicity affected why you were pulled over.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
22. Your race or ethnicity negatively affected how you were treated.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

23. In your most recent encounter with a police officer while in your car, did any of the following happen? (Mark all that apply)

    ___ You got a citation or ticket.

    ___ Your car or person was searched.

    ___ You were arrested.

    ___ You got a written warning.

    ___ You got a verbal warning.

    ___ I would rather not say.

24. Without looking back, what do you think the race/ethnicity of the driver was in the scenario?

    ____ White, non-Hispanic

    ____ African American

    ____ Hispanic or Latino

    ____ I don't remember.

25. Without looking back, what do you think the race/ethnicity of the police officer was in the scenario?

    ____ White, non-Hispanic

    ____ African American

    ____ Hispanic or Latino

    ____ I don't remember.

APPENDIX G

DEBRIEFING FORM

Thank you for your participation in our study!

This study looks at how race may affect public perceptions of a traffic stop as well as perceptions of the local police. In this study, you read a story about an interaction between a citizen and a police officer. In some cases, the picture showed a White man who was pulled over, and in others, it was a Black man. We are interested in whether the race of the citizen has an effect on how people view the traffic stop.

If you would like further information in the future, or want to know the results, you can email me at thompsoo@uni.edu, or my faculty advisor, Dr. Helen Harton at helen.harton@uni.edu. You can also reach me through the psychology department at the University of Northern Iowa at 319-273-2235.

APPENDIX H

RA TRAINING SHEET

These are the following objectives of the training session:
1. **Learning the script**
    When approaching people, we will use the following script:
    - Give name
    - Study is for school project
    - Looking at public perceptions of routine traffic stops and the police
    - Approx. 5 minutes to complete
    - Anonymous

2. **Learning the procedures**
    - Give participants some privacy to complete the study. Don't make them feel uncomfortable by hovering over them.
    - To protect privacy, allow participants to place their surveys in a large manila envelope when completed.
    - Because race of the researcher may influence participant responses, it will be marked on the surveys as to which researcher(s) recruited participants.

3. **Knowing <u>when</u> to approach people**
    - Approach participants who appear to be over the age of 18.
    - Target people who are by themselves or in couples or groups.

4. **Knowing <u>how</u> to approach people**
    - Obviously, follow the script.
    - Get straight to the point—remember time is precious.
    - Be polite and courteous.
    - Keep eye contact.
    - Don't read directly from the sheet.
    - Don't act strange around racial/ethnic minorities…i.e. being overly friendly, shouting "Oh, you're Black! Please participate in my study."
    - Stress that information will be kept anonymous and that names are not recorded.
    - At the end of the study, offer participants a debriefing form and answer any questions that they might have.

- Even if they say no—tell participants to have a nice day and thank them anyway.
- Don't avoid people based off of certain characteristics (i.e. homeless, etc.).

APPENDIX I

FAQ SHEET

Here are some possible questions (with answers) that people might ask:

1. **Q:** What do I get out of participating in this research project?
    A: While there are no direct benefits for you, it would really help me out in completing this project.

2. **Q:** What is this study even about?
    A: This study looks at how race may affect public perceptions of a traffic stop and the police.

3. **Q:** Why are you studying this topic?
    A: I am studying this topic, because the community's opinion truly matters and needs to be voiced on this topic.

4. **Q**: What will be done with the results of the study?
    A: The results of this study may be used in a future follow-up study and may also be presented at conferences. However, the data collected is anonymous.

5. **Q:** How can I find out the results of the study?
    A: If you would like know the results, you can send an email to Olivia Thompson, at thompsoo@uni.edu, or Dr. Helen Harton at helen.harton@uni.edu. (Let them know that the emails are listed at the bottom of the debriefing sheet).