

Perceptions of Officers who Use Force in Police-Civilian Interactions

by

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ABSTRACT

Police officers in America interact with civilians on a daily basis as function of their job, and the way people perceive police officers can either help or hurt officers in performance of their duties. I conducted an experiment to test whether people perceive a police officer's use of force differently depending on the officer's race and gender. First, when an officer uses force, I propose competing hypotheses that a female officer will be viewed as less favorable than a male officer; however, because female aggression is less expected, I also predict that they will be viewed as more favorable than male officers. Second, when an officer uses force, I predict that a Black officer will be viewed as more aggressive than a White Officer. Lastly, I predict that perceptions of the officer (i.e., perceived aggression and emotional reactivity) would mediate the relationship between officer gender and attitudes towards the officer. Using an experimental survey design with a video of a police-civilian interaction, I found support that female officers were viewed more favorably than male officers when force was used. I found no support that Black officers would be viewed as more aggressive than White officers. Lastly, I found partial support that perceptions of the officer mediated the relationship between officer gender and attitudes towards the officer.

Keywords: Perceptions, police, aggression, gender

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
LIST OF TABLES	v
LIST OF FIGURES	vi
INTRODUCTION	1
Attitudes and Perceptions of the Police	2
Media depictions of Police Use of force	2
Biased Perceptions of Video Evidence	3
Officer Gender and Perceptions of Force	5
Gender Stereotypes	7
Officer Race and Perceptions of Force	9
Intersection of Race and Gender	11
Overview of the Current Study and Hypotheses	12
Gender Hypotheses	12
Race Hypotheses	13
Moderated Mediation Hypotheses	13
METHODS	14
Participants and Design	14
Procedure	15
Materials	15
Officer Photographs	15
Video Manipulation	16
Measures	16

	Page
Perceptions of Officer Aggression	17
Perceptions of Officer’s Emotional Reactivity	17
Trust and Confidence in the Officer.....	17
Officer Effectiveness	17
Manipulation and Attention Checks.....	18
RESULTS	18
Perceptions of Officer Aggression	18
Perceptions of Officer’s Emotional Reactivity.....	19
Trust and Confidence in the Officer.....	20
Officer Effectiveness	21
Moderated Mediation: Officer Gender.....	22
Trust and Confidence in the Officer.....	22
Officer Effectiveness	23
Moderated Mediation: Officer Race	24
Trust and Confidence in the Officer.....	24
Officer Effectiveness.....	25
DISCUSSION.....	25
Theoretical Contributions.....	26
Applied Implications	28
Limitations and Future Directions.....	30
CONCLUSION.....	31

	Page
REFERENCES	33
APPENDIX	
A VIGNETTE AND MEASURES	46

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. Correlations Between Dependent Variables	37
2. Mean (SD) Perceptions of Officer Aggression as a Function of Officer Use of Force, Gender, and Race	38
3. Mean (SD) Perceptions of Emotional Reactivity as a Function of Officer Use of Force, Gender, and Race	39
4. Mean (SD) Trust and Confidence in the Officer as a Function of Officer Use of Force, Gender, and Race	40
5. Mean (SD) Perceptions of Officer Effectiveness as a Function of Officer Use of Force, Gender, and Race	41

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1. Moderated Mediation Model for Trust in the Police by Officer Gender	42
2. Moderated Mediation Model for Officer Effectiveness by Officer Gender	43
3. Moderated Mediation Model for Trust in the Police by Officer Race.....	44
4. Moderated Mediation Model for Officer Effectiveness by Officer Race	45

INTRODUCTION

Police officers in America serve a vital and important role within our society. They are tasked with deterring crime, investigating criminal activity and arresting suspects. However, often times they are also tasked with responding to people in distress, mediating disputes and helping out the community. The vast and diverse roles police officers play within society makes them vulnerable to heavy scrutiny in the eyes of the public. One of the most controversial issues with policing is police use of force against civilians. There were 963 incidences of police-civilian altercations that resulted in fatal force in 2016 (Fatal Force, 2017). That translates to approximately 2.6 people killed every day in America by the hands of the police. These include all incidents that resulted in the death of a civilian, whether or not the death was ruled justified. When the police misuse their legally given powers and utilize excessive force to enforce the law, it can have a negative effect on how people view the police (e.g., Jefferis & Kaminski, 1997; Weitzer, 2002). People might react differently to these incidents based on the officer's race and gender. Women are often stereotyped as being gentle and nice, while men are often stereotyped as being aggressive and dominant (Prentice & Carranza, 2002, Ruble, 1983). African American men are stereotyped as especially aggressive and criminal (Devine & Elliot, 1995). Thus, I conducted an experimental investigation to determine whether people would perceive the same video of the same act of force during a police-civilian interaction differently depending on whether they believed the officer to be a man versus a woman and Black versus White.

Attitudes and Perceptions of the Police

Determining what affects the public's attitudes toward the police is important because they can influence their attitudes toward police legitimacy and, in turn, their compliance and cooperation with the police. For example, the more people believe that the police treat people fairly (i.e., "procedural justice") the more they perceive police as being legitimate. Police legitimacy is the perceived obligation to obey lawful authority and trust in the institutions and individual police officers. In turn, perceiving the police as legitimate increases the public's compliance, cooperation, and empowerment of the law (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). Trust in police is also a predictor of the public's cooperation with the police (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). One way in which media exposure of police excessive force can hurt public opinion of the police is by decreasing their trust in police. Constantly viewing the police doing something unethical can lead the public to trust in the police less, which in turn might decrease their willingness to cooperate and comply with the law.

Media Depictions of Police Use of Force. A longitudinal study of Cincinnati residents from 1984-1995 revealed that their opinion regarding the extent to which police used excessive force typically declined over the years, but in 1995, people's opinions increased sharply back to the highest levels evident in 1984 (Jefferis & Kaminski, 1998). The researchers believe that the spikes in people's perception of the police using too much force were related to highly publicized local (rather than national) events of police misconduct in immediately previous years. A similar longitudinal study assessed attitudes toward the police directly following publicized incidents of police use of force against civilians by the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) and the New York Police

Department (NYPD) over a 20-year period (Weitzer, 2002). After each publicized incident, public opinion of the LAPD and NYPD became more negative; they reported the police as using more excessive force and exhibiting poorer job performance.

Reactions to publicized cases of police misconduct depend, however, on perceiver race. In Weitzer's (2002) study, the general trend of attitudes towards the police followed the same pattern for both Whites and African Americans, but Whites tended to hold more favorable views of the police than African Americans overall. Weitzer and Tuch (2004) measured people's opinions about police effectiveness on controlling crime, community policing, and media coverage of the police in metropolitan areas. Among both White and Black participants, perceiving the police as engaging in community policing led to more favorable opinions about the police. However, frequent media exposure to police misconduct negatively influenced Black, but not White, participants' perceptions of the police. Thus, there is evidence that media exposure of police excessive force negatively influences people's perception of the police in general and this might be a stronger effect among African Americans.

Biased Perceptions of Video Evidence

Will people perceive a police-civilian interaction differently depending on the race and gender of the officer? What if the interaction is caught on video? In today's society, more police departments are requiring officers to wear and use body cameras. The purpose of these cameras is to offer what is considered to be objective evidence of an encounter to a reviewing party. However, it is possible that a person's cultural worldview or identity can influence how they perceive an event. When people witness an event, their perception of what actually occurred will depend on whether or not they are led to

believe the event aligns with their worldview (Kahan, Hoffman, Braman, & Evans, 2012). For example, people who watched a video of a political protest disagreed about “objective” facts (e.g., whether protesters in the video obstructed pedestrians), depending on whether they were randomly assigned to believe that the protesters’ message was either consistent or inconsistent with their own political beliefs.

Group identification with actors in a video involving a physical altercation can influence which actor people fixate their attention on, and in turn their punishment decisions about those actors. For example, when participants viewed video evidence of a police officer-civilian altercation, participants who weakly identified with the police (the outgroup) were more punitive toward the officer—but only when they focused their attention on the officer (i.e., the outgroup member) (Granot, Balcetis, Schneider, & Tyler, 2014). Thus, it is possible that people might view the exact same ostensibly “objective” video evidence differently as a function of expectations based on the viewers’ cultural worldview and intergroup dynamics. Viewers might filter the interaction through their own expectations and stereotypes that are triggered by being told the officer’s gender and race, which might result in different perceptions of the officer and, in turn, different levels of trust in the officer.

There are also a few experimental studies that manipulate aspects of a police interaction with a civilian to see if they influence perceiver’s attitudes toward the specific officer. For example, one study found that if an officer uses profanity it decreases participants’ perception on the quality of the interaction and makes them view the officer as using more excessive force (Patton, Asken, Fremouw, & Bemis, 2017). Further, the video study also showed that female officers were perceived as using more excessive

force versus male officers. When taking into account participant gender, female participants rated female officers (versus male officers) as using more excessive force against a male suspect (versus female suspects) and male participants found it more excessive when female officers arrested female suspects (versus male suspects). Another study investigated how the race of an officer affects perceptions of violence against a Black suspect. It demonstrated that when a pair of officers arrest a Black suspect, two White officers were perceived to be more violent compared to pairings that included at least one Black officer (i.e., mixed race pairings or two Black officers) (Levin & Thomas, 1997). Few studies, however, have investigated the intersectional effects of an officer's gender and race within the same study—a gap in the literature that the current study fills.

Officer Gender and Perceptions of Force

Law enforcement has been primarily a profession filled with men. Although more women take up the job every year, the increase each year is relatively small. In 2008, women made up only 16% of all federal sworn law enforcement officers (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2010). Further, there is somewhat mixed support for the possibility of gender differences in the degree to which male and female officers utilize force. Arrest reports and use of force reports from a large suburban police department revealed no officer gender differences in the amount of verbal or physical coercion (Hoffman & Hickey, 2005). Yet, female officers used less levels of force than their male counterparts, and suspects had fewer minor injuries when dealing with female officers compared to male officers. Using data from The Project on Policing Neighborhoods (POPEN), which attached field observers to officers in four major cities, researchers demonstrated that male and female officers did not substantially differ in the amount of physical or verbal

coercion towards suspects (Paoline & Terrill, 2004). The only gender difference revealed that male officers tended to use more force against male suspects than against female suspects. In contrast, female officers did not use different levels of force against male and female suspects. Thus, some studies show minimal differences in the use of force between male and female officers.

In contrast, other studies find more gender differences. Surveys collected from several major metropolitan police departments between 1996 and 1997 revealed that female officers used less force than male officers (Shuck & Rabe-Hemp, 2007). Further, the pairing of female-female officers utilized less force than male-male officers. Additionally, when a female officer was the lead and arresting officer, less force was used than when a male officer was the lead and arresting officer. These results are consistent with another study that found that male officers used higher levels of force than female officers (Garner, Maxwell, & Heraux, 2002). It is unclear whether the public has differential expectations for how much male and female officer's use force, which I address in the current study.

There is evidence demonstrating that women are effective police officers: female officers were responsible for less monetary payout of civil liabilities, received fewer allegations of excessive force, and had fewer civilian complaints against them than their male counterparts (Lonsway et al., 2002). Yet, people might perceive them as less effective in a police officer's role because the job requires behavior that is counter-stereotypical for women. It is important to determine whether perceptions of female officers' use of force is affected by observers' gender stereotypes due to the relationship between perceived legitimacy and compliance with police. If gender stereotypes and

biases influence how people perceive situations where force is used depending on the officer's gender, this could affect their trust in the officer and ultimately whether they comply.

Gender Stereotypes. Stereotypes towards women are still prevalent in today's society. People expect and prefer men to be aggressive, assertive, dominant, decisive and to act as a leader, while they expect and prefer women to be kind, gentle, emotional, polite, patient and to express tender feelings (Prentice & Carranza, 2002; Ruble, 1983). Both men and women associate men with having higher authority than women, and when primed with pictures of men and women in high or low authority positions, participants implicitly associated more negative judgments towards women in the high authority condition. Additionally, only men displayed negative judgments towards women on explicit attitude measures while women did not (Rudman & Kilianski, 2000). These studies suggest that female officers, for whom it is necessary to take on stereotypically masculine traits for their job, would be violating stereotypes.

Unfortunately, women are often punished when violating gender stereotypes across many domains. In the context of hiring decisions, participants rated female job candidates as having less social skills and as less hireable than their male counterparts for a manager position (Rudman & Glick, 2001). Overall, agentic men were viewed as having more social skills than agentic women. When the manager position was for a feminized position (versus masculine), agentic men were viewed as more hireable than agentic women, yet agentic men and women were rated similarly hireable when the job was masculine. Additionally, people who implicitly viewed women as communal and men as agentic explicitly viewed women (versus men) as less likeable. Women are also

punished for displaying counter-stereotypical emotion, such as anger (Fabes & Martin, 1991). For example, participants rated male CEOs giving a talk on leadership effectiveness similarly when the male CEOs displayed anger versus no emotion, but rated female CEOs as less effective leaders when they displayed anger or sadness compared to no emotion (Lewis, 2000). In a jury deliberation setting, male jurors exert more influence over group members than female jurors presenting the exact same arguments when they express anger—a gender difference that is not apparent when they express the same arguments without anger (Salerno & Peter-Hagene, 2015; Salerno, Peter-Hagene, & Jay, in press).

These studies suggest that participants might be less favorable toward female officers who exert force relative to male officers because doing so would violate gender stereotypes. This prediction is supported by the one study that has investigated the effect of gender on perceptions of an officer's use of force, which showed perceived excessive force predicted lower trust in the police and fewer positive attitudes for female (versus male) officers (Patton et al., 2017).

There is also reason to believe, however, that gender stereotypes might lead to *more* favorable attitudes toward female (versus male) officers who exert force. Gender stereotypes might shape how people perceive and interpret an act of aggression, such as “objective” video evidence of a police-civilian interaction. Because dominant and aggressive behavior is so stereotypically unexpected from women relative to men, participants might perceive that same behavior from a woman as more warranted by the situation and more acceptable. In other words, “if a woman is exerting force, it *must* have been necessary!” In support, when participants read vignettes where acts of aggression

across multiple scenarios varied by gender of the aggressor, participants rated the same act of aggression by a woman as less aggressive and more acceptable than by a man (Harris & Knight-Bohnhoff, 1996). Another study, however, did not find gender effects on perceived level of aggression or acceptability of aggression (Stewart-Williams, 2002). The vignette study that found gender effects might have found them because the stimuli was in written form, so people might have been envisioning the aggression differently based on gender. For example, they might have envisioned more violent or extreme force by a male aggressor compared to a female target in their mind. To control for this possibility, I will extend this research to video evidence where participants view the exact same act of force (but in which the gender of the officer is not clear) to test whether an act of force by an officer they believe to be female will be perceived as more acceptable and less aggressive than the same exact act of force by an officer they believe to be male.

Officer Race and Perceptions of Force

This study not only aims to investigate gender differences in perceptions of an officer who exerts force, but also racial differences. In contrast to women (for whom exerting force is counter-stereotypical), exerting force would be stereotypical for African Americans. Negative stereotypes toward African Americans have persisted but have fluctuated somewhat across decades (Devine & Elliot, 1995). More specifically, African Americans are stereotyped to be aggressive, criminal and hostile. These racial stereotypes might translate to people perceiving African American officers' aggressive actions differently compared to White officers. After watching a live altercation between two confederates, participants rated the Black offender as more aggressive overall, with black offenders with white victims being perceived as the most aggressive combination

compared to all other racial combinations (Duncan, 1976). This effect even translates to children, participants rated black offenders as more threatening and mean compared to white offenders regardless of the race of the victim (either Black or White) (Sagar & Schofield, 1980).

Perceiving Black offenders as more aggressive than White offenders is in line with research that demonstrates people perceive greater threat from African Americans relative to White targets. For example, participants perceived Black faces to be greater in height, weight, strength, and fighting ability compared to White faces (Wilson, Hugenberg, & Rule, 2017). This threat stereotype has been demonstrated to have serious implications specifically for police-civilian interactions. These biases against Black faces also led participants to believe that an officer was more justified to use force against a Black suspect compared to a White suspect (Wilson et al., 2017). Further, when participants are primed with an African American (versus White) face they are (a) slower to correctly identify non-threatening objects and words (Todd, Thiem, & Neel, 2016), and (b) quicker to identify a handgun and to misidentify the hand tool as a gun (Payne, 2001). In other words, Black faces were more associated with threatening objects than White faces, and were less associated with non-threatening objects—this reveals an implicit association between African Americans and threat. Implicit associations between African Americans and threat have also been demonstrated in “shoot/don’t shoot” decision tasks (e.g., Correll, Urland, & Ito, 2006). Participants engaged in a computer simulation during which they saw either a Black or White man holding either a handgun or a small object like a wallet or cellphone. Using a point-based reward system, participants had to decide to shoot or not shoot the man quickly. Participants shot the armed Black male more

quickly than the armed White male, and decided to not shoot unarmed White male more quickly than unarmed Black male. All of these studies show support that people are more likely to associate African Americans with threatening images, words or behaviors. These stereotypes and associations might result in people perceiving an act of force from an African American police officer as more aggressive than the same act of force from a White officer, which in turn might result in more negative perceptions of the officer.

Intersection of Race and Gender

Previous studies demonstrating that African Americans are perceived as more threatening than White targets all used Black males as the prime or as the target (Correll et al., 2006; Payne, 2001; Todd et al., 2016). Previous research demonstrating that men are stereotyped as more aggressive and are often perceived as more aggressive than women (Harris & Knight-Bohnhoff, 1996; Prentice & Carranza, 2002; Ruble, 1983) do not take race into account. It is rare, however, for studies to test the intersectional effects of gender and race within the same study. Rare exceptions have demonstrated that gender and race might have an interactive effect. For example, research investigating biases against women in the workplace has found that Black women were harassed more often compared to only women or only minorities due to their double minority status (Berdahl & Moore, 2006). Other researchers argue that persons who do not prototypically identify with one group (e.g., Black women) will go unnoticed (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008)—perhaps because they do not easily fit a salient stereotype; that is, people may fail to recognize how a double minority fits the framework of a stereotypical group because they belong to more than one minority group. I conducted exploratory tests of the intersectional effect of officers' gender and race. Because the literature is small and

mixed, I did not make any *a priori* hypotheses about Black female officers relative to other groups.

Overview of the Current Study and Hypotheses

There have been no experimental investigations (that I know of) on how the gender and race of an officer might affect perceptions of an officer who exerts force during an interaction with a civilian. The purpose of the current study is to test whether participants perceive an officer's actions differently and, as a result, have different attitudes towards the officer as a function of the officer's gender and race. In the current study, participants will view a video of a police-civilian altercation. I randomly assigned participants to view a segment of a police-civilian interaction that either does or does not include exertion of force (i.e., the officer throwing the civilian to the ground). The video was purposely chosen for its very low resolution, which makes the use of force (or lack thereof) obvious, but in which the race and gender of the officer is obscured. This enabled me to show the same exact interaction, but manipulate whether the participant believes the officer to be Black or White and male or female by showing a uniformed portrait that is ostensibly the officer in the video. Further, the race of the suspect was also ambiguous but the gender of the suspect was clearly male. Afterward, I assessed participants' perceptions of the officer (i.e., the officer's emotional reactivity, aggression) and attitudes toward the officer (i.e., trust and confidence in the officer, perceived effectiveness).

Gender Hypotheses. I hypothesized a significant interaction between officer gender and use of force on perceptions and attitudes toward the officer. In the no force condition, I predicted no differences in how the male and female officer is perceived. In

contrast, when the officer uses force, I expected gender differences in perceptions and attitudes toward the officer. I tested competing hypotheses, however, regarding the direction of the officer gender effect. On the one hand, women are often punished for violating stereotypes, which would support the prediction that use of force by a female officer will be viewed less favorably than a male officer. On the other hand, because aggression is unexpected from women, when female officers do use force it might be viewed as less aggressive and more favorable than the same use of force by a male officer.

Race Hypotheses. I hypothesized a significant interaction between officer race and use of force on perceptions and attitudes toward the officer. In the no force condition, I predicted no differences in how the Black and White officers are perceived. In contrast, when the officer uses force, I predicted that racial stereotypes of Black targets as aggressive and threatening will lead participants to rate the Black officer more negatively than the White officer.

Finally, I also conducted exploratory analyses regarding the potential interaction between officer race and gender, but did not have specific predictions *a priori*.

Moderated Mediation Hypotheses. Lastly, I predicted that perceptions of the officer (i.e., perceptions of aggression and emotional reactivity) will mediate the effect of officer gender (when they occur) on attitudes toward the officer (i.e., trust and confidence in the officer, perceived effectiveness)—but only when the officer uses force. More specifically, in the force condition (and depending on which of the competing hypothesis argued above is supported) I expected female officers to be perceived as more aggressive and more emotionally reactive than male officers, which in turn would decrease reports

of trust, confidence, and effectiveness regarding the officer because female officers will be punished for violating stereotypes. Or, alternatively, in the force condition I predict that participants will perceive female officers as less aggressive and less emotionally reactive than male officers (because their aggression is so unexpected), which in turn will increase reports of trust, confidence, and effectiveness regarding the officer. I expect similar patterns to emerge for Black versus White officers. Perceptions of the officer (i.e., perceptions of aggression and emotional reactivity) will mediate the effect of officer race (when they occur) on attitudes toward the officer (i.e., trust and confidence in the officer, perceived effectiveness)—but only when the officer uses force. More specifically, in the force condition, I expected Black officers to be perceived as more aggressive and more emotionally reactive than White officers, which in turn would decrease reports of trust and confidence, and effectiveness regarding the officer.

Methods

Participants and Design

A sample of 600 participants was recruited through Amazon’s online research participation system (*Mechanical Turk*) to watch a video of a police-civilian encounter and complete a questionnaire about the incident. Participants were compensated \$1.00 for participation in the study. Participants were excluded from analyses for failing manipulation checks and/or attention checks ($n = 63$, 10.5%). The final sample included 537 participants (52% Female; 79% White/Caucasian, 6.5% Hispanic/Latino, 6.5% African American, 8% Other; $M_{\text{age}} = 38$ years, $SD = 11.60$).

Participants were randomly assigned to one of eight conditions: (1) a White male officer exerting no force, (2) a White male officer exerting force, (3) a White female

officer exerting no force, (4) a White female officer exerting force, (5) a Black male officer exerting no force, (6) a Black male officer exerting force, a (7) a Black female officer exerting no force, or (8) a Black female officer exerting force.

Procedure

After providing consent, participants were shown a photograph of the officer they were randomly assigned to, read a brief summary of a video about a police-civilian interaction, and then watched the video of a police-civilian interaction. Participants were given instructions to watch the video in its entirety and were told they would not be able to advance to the next section for at least 60 seconds, which is just over the length of the video. The video was presented to the participants twice during the experiment. The video was first shown at the beginning of the study before measures were taken and the video was shown for the second time to participants half way through the measures. After watching the video, participants then completed the dependent variable measures, manipulation and attention checks, and demographic information. To ensure the race and gender manipulation was salient to the participants, a photo of the officer was shown before each set of measures that asked about the officer specifically, a total of seven times.

Materials

Officer Photographs. I manipulated the race and gender of the officer via photographs with the officer in uniform. I created a set of four photographs for each category to ensure that the effects I find are not due to idiosyncratic characteristics of any one photograph. All photographs displayed an officer in their standard duty police uniform from chest level up, and all officers displayed similar facial expressions. All

officers had a badge on display but any identifying marks (i.e., department name) were removed. In other words, within each officer demographics condition (i.e., White male officer, White female officer, Black male officer, Black female officer), the participant was randomly assigned to view one of four photographs that was consistent with the category to which they were randomly assigned. For example, a participant assigned to the White male condition would have viewed one of four photographs of a White male officer. The participant was told that the officer in the photograph had seven years of experience on the force and would be in the video they are about to watch.

Video Manipulation. I manipulated whether participants viewed a video of an officer using force or no force to apprehend a suspect. Participants were told that an officer was responding to a call about a person acting disorderly, that the suspect doesn't cooperate, and that the end result is the suspect's arrest. Both the no force and force conditions were videos approximately 50 seconds in length. It starts with the officer talking to the suspect and then placing handcuffs of the suspect. The force condition starts with the officer talking to the suspect and then ends after the officer throws the suspects to the ground and wrestles with him. Both videos depict different portions of the same police-civilian interaction, so the setting and actors are held constant across force conditions.

Measures

All measures for which we report analyses are listed below. We assessed additional variables that did not exhibit robust effects of our manipulations. For transparency, I report all measures in the appendix to this thesis, but for brevity and

clarity's sake I only report measures for which we found consistent effects of my manipulations.

Perceptions of Officer Aggression. Participants selected where they thought the officer in the video fell on a 5-point scale ranging from *Not at all aggressive* to *Very Aggressive*.

Perceptions of Officer's Emotional Reactivity. Participants completed a 4-item scale to assess their perceptions of the officer's emotional reactivity (e.g., "The officer in the video experienced their emotions very strongly/intensely", $\alpha = .96$) on 5-point Likert scale, ranging from *0 not at all* to *4 completely*. This scale was modified from previous research assessing individuals' perceptions of their own emotional reactivity. (Nock, Wedig, Holmberg, & Hooley, 2008).

Trust and Confidence in the Officer. Participants completed a 5-item scale assessing their trust and confidence in the officer depicted in the video (e.g. "I have confidence that the police officer in the video can do their job well") on 7-point Likert scales ranging from *1 strongly disagree* to *7 strongly agree* ($\alpha = .95$). This scale was modified from previous research assessing attitudes toward police officers in general to refer to the specific officer in the video (Tyler, 2005).

Officer Effectiveness. Lastly, participants completed a 5-item scale assessing their belief in the effectiveness of the officer in the video (e.g., "The officer in the video can effectively contain violent encounters") on 7-point Likert scales ranging from *1 strongly disagree* to *7 strongly agree* ($\alpha = .83$). This scale was modified from previous research assessing attitudes toward police officers in general to refer to the specific officer in the video (Leger, 1997).

Manipulation and Attention Checks. Participants were asked to report the race and gender of the officer who had been presented to them. Participants were given categorical options to choose from for race (i.e., White, Black, Other) and gender (i.e., Male, Female, Other). To ensure participants were paying attention, they were given response options on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from *Strongly disagree* to *Strongly Agree* and were asked to select *Strongly Agree*.

Results

Perceptions of Officer Aggression

To test my hypothesis regarding perceptions of the officer's aggression, I conducted a 2 (Use of Force: Force, No Force) x 2 (Officer Gender: Male, Female) x 2 (Officer Race: White, Black) Between-Subjects Analysis of Variance (ANOVA). For correlations between all dependent variables see Table 1, and see Table 2 for all descriptive statistics on officer aggression. There was a significant main effect for the use of force, such that participants believed that the officers in the use of force condition were significantly more aggressive ($M = 4.24, SD = 0.82$) than officers in the no force condition ($M = 2.40, SD = 0.91$), $F(1, 530) = 606.87, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .53$. There was a marginally significant main effect for officer race, such that participants perceived White officers ($M = 3.34, SD = 1.23$) as significantly more aggressive than Black officers ($M = 3.30, SD = 1.30$), $F(1, 530) = 3.06, p = .081, \eta_p^2 = .01$.

There was a marginally significant interaction between officer race and the use of force, $F(1, 530) = 3.67, p = .056, \eta_p^2 = .01$. To probe the interaction, I conducted simple effects tests within each level of the use of force. Participants in the no force condition viewed the White officers as more aggressive ($M = 2.53, SD = 0.96$) than the Black

officers ($M = 2.26$, $SD = 0.85$), $F(1, 530) = 6.80$, $p = .009$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$. In contrast, for participants in the force condition, there was no significant difference in perceptions of aggression between officer race, $F(1, 530) = 0.01$, $p = .91$, $\eta_p^2 < .001$.

Additionally, there was a significant interaction between officer gender and the use of force, $F(1, 530) = 3.86$, $p = .05$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$. To probe the interaction, I conducted simple effects tests within each level of the use of force. For participants in the no force condition there was no significant difference in perception of aggression between officer gender, $F(1, 530) = 0.59$, $p = .44$, $\eta_p^2 = .001$. However, in the force condition, participants perceived male officers as using significantly more force ($M = 4.35$, $SD = 0.77$) than female officers ($M = 4.14$, $SD = 0.86$), $F(1, 530) = 4.01$, $p = .046$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$. All other main effects and interactions were not significant, $F_s \leq 0.78$, all $p_s \geq .38$.

Perceptions of Officer's Emotional Reactivity

To test my hypothesis regarding perceptions of the officer's emotional reactivity, I conducted a 2 (Use of Force: Force, No Force) x 2 (Officer Gender: Male, Female) x 2 (Officer Race: White, Black) Between-Subjects Analysis of Variance (ANOVA). See Table 3 for all descriptive statistics. There was a significant main effect for officer gender, such that participants perceived male officers to be significantly more emotionally reactive ($M = 1.75$, $SD = 1.43$) than female officers ($M = 1.59$, $SD = 1.34$), $F(1, 530) = 7.86$, $p = .005$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$. There was also a significant main effect of use of force, such that participants perceived officers in the force condition to be significantly more emotionally reactive ($M = 2.61$, $SD = 1.18$) than officers in the no force condition ($M = 0.72$, $SD = 0.80$), $F(1, 530) = 488.88$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .48$.

Additionally, there was a significant two-way interaction between officer gender and the use of force, $F(1, 530) = 7.40, p = .007, \eta_p^2 = .01$. To probe the interaction, I conducted simple effects tests within each level of the use of force. For participants in the no force condition, there was no significant difference of perceived emotional reactivity as a function of officer gender, $F(1, 530) = 0.004, p = .95, \eta_p^2 < .001$. However, in the force condition participants perceived the male officers to be significantly more emotionally reactive ($M = 2.88, SD = 1.06$) than the female officer ($M = 2.40, SD = 1.23$), $F(1, 530) = 15.08, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .03$. All other main effects and interactions were not significant, $F_s \leq 0.87, \text{all } p_s \geq .35$.

Trust and Confidence in the Officer

To test my hypothesis regarding trust and confidence in the officer, I conducted a 2 (Use of Force: Force, No Force) x 2 (Officer Gender: Male, Female) x 2 (Officer Race: White, Black) Between-Subjects Analysis of Variance (ANOVA). See Table 4 for all descriptive statistics. There was a significant main effect for use of force, such that people were significantly more trusting of the officers in the no force condition ($M = 5.36, SD = 1.19$) than the officers in the force condition ($M = 3.76, SD = 1.76$), $F(1, 529) = 159.66, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .23$. Additionally, there was a significant two-way interaction between officer gender and the use of force, $F(1, 529) = 4.86, p = .028, \eta_p^2 = .009$. To probe this interaction, I conducted simple effects tests within each level of the use of force. As predicted, for participants in the no force condition, simple effects revealed no significant effect of officer gender, $F(1, 529) = 0.56, p = .45, \eta_p^2 = .001$. However, for participants in the force condition, participants were significantly more trusting of female officers ($M = 3.94, SD = 1.72$) than male officers ($M = 3.51, SD = 1.73$), $F(1, 529) =$

5.56, $p = .019$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$. All other main effects and interactions were not significant, $F_s \leq 1.33$, all $p_s \geq .25$.

Officer Effectiveness

To test my hypothesis regarding attitudes toward the officer's effectiveness, I conducted a 2 (Use of Force: Force, No Force) x 2 (Officer Gender: Male, Female) x 2 (Officer Race: White, Black) Between-Subjects Analysis of Variance (ANOVA). See Table 5 for all descriptive statistics. There was a marginally significant main effect of officer race, such that participants perceived Black officers as marginally more effective as a police officer ($M = 4.78$, $SD = 1.36$) than White officers ($M = 4.65$, $SD = 1.37$), $F(1, 530) = 2.97$, $p = .085$, $\eta_p^2 = .006$. There was also a significant main effect of use of force, such that participants perceived the officers in the no force condition as a more effective police officers ($M = 5.18$, $SD = 1.09$) than the officers in the force condition ($M = 4.25$, $SD = 1.45$), $F(1, 530) = 75.08$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .12$.

Additionally, there was a significant interaction between officer gender and use of force, $F(1, 530) = 13.98$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$. To probe this interaction, I conducted simple effects tests within each level of the use of force. In the no force condition, participants perceived the male officer to be significantly more effective at his job ($M = 5.38$, $SD = 1.05$) than the female officer ($M = 5.00$, $SD = 1.10$), $F(1, 530) = 5.97$, $p = .015$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$. In contrast, in the force condition, participants perceived the female officer to be significantly more effective at her job ($M = 4.46$, $SD = 1.39$) than the male officer ($M = 4.01$, $SD = 1.49$), $F(1, 530) = 8.08$, $p = .005$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$. All other main effects and interactions were not significant, $F_s \leq 1.32$, all $p_s \geq .25$.

Moderated Mediation: Officer Gender

To test the hypothesis that perceptions of the officer's aggression and emotional reactivity would mediate the effect of my manipulations on attitudes toward the officer (trust and confidence, officer effectiveness) when the officer uses force, I conducted a moderated mediation analysis using Hayes PROCESS Macro (2012). The models included simultaneous mediators. Because I found gender (Coded: 0 = female, 1 = male), but not race, effects I tested whether female officers who use force were perceived as less aggressive and emotionally reactive than male officers who use force, which in turn made participants trust them more and think that they were more effective at their job. I ran one model with trust and confidence in the officer as the outcome and a second model with officer effectiveness as the outcome.

Trust and Confidence in the Officer. My hypothesis was supported for perceptions of aggression and emotional reactivity. The indirect effect of officer gender on trust in police through perceived aggression was significantly moderated by the force manipulation, moderated mediation index = 0.05, $SE = 0.03$, 95% $CI [0.002, 0.15]$ (See Figure 1). There was a significant indirect effect of officer gender on trust in police through perceived aggression in the force condition, $M_{IndirectEffect} = -0.04$, $SE = 0.02$, 95% $CI [-0.11, -0.005]$, but not in the no force condition, $M_{IndirectEffect} = 0.01$, $SE = 0.02$, 95% $CI [-0.03, 0.07]$. More specifically, men were perceived as marginally more aggressive in the force condition than were women, $b = 0.19$, $SE = 0.10$, $t = 1.91$, $p = .057$, 95% $CI [-0.01, 0.39]$. In turn, perceiving the officer as more aggressive significantly decreased their trust in police, $b = -0.21$, $SE = 0.06$, $t = -3.52$, $p < .001$, 95% $CI [-0.33, -0.09]$

The indirect effect of officer gender on trust in police through perceived emotional reactivity was also significantly moderated by the force manipulation, moderated mediation index = 0.38, $SE = 0.14$, 95% $CI [0.14, 0.67]$ (See Figure 2). There was a significant indirect effect of officer gender on trust in police through perceived emotional reactivity in the force condition, $M_{IndirectEffect} = -0.40$, $SE = 0.11$, 95% $CI [-0.63, -0.20]$, but not in the no force condition, $M_{IndirectEffect} = -0.02$, $SE = 0.08$, 95% $CI [-0.16, 0.14]$. More specifically, men were perceived as more emotionally reactive than women in the force condition, $b = 0.47$, $SE = 0.11$, $t = 4.17$, $p < .001$, 95% $CI [0.25, 0.69]$. In turn, perceiving the officer as more emotionally reactive significantly decreased participants' trust in police, $b = -0.86$, $SE = 0.06$, $t = -15.75$, $p < .001$, 95% $CI [-0.97, -0.75]$.

Officer Effectiveness. My moderated mediation hypotheses were supported for perceptions of officer emotional reactivity, but not perceived aggression, as an explanation for the effect of officer gender on perceptions of officer effectiveness. The indirect effect of officer gender on officer effectiveness through perceived emotional reactivity was significantly moderated by the force manipulation, moderated mediation index = 0.35, $SE = 0.13$, 95% $CI [0.11, 0.61]$ (See Figure 3). There was a significant indirect effect of officer gender on officer effectiveness through perceived emotional reactivity in the force condition, $M_{IndirectEffect} = -0.36$, $SE = 0.10$, 95% $CI [-0.56, -0.16]$, but not in the no force condition, $M_{IndirectEffect} = -0.01$, $SE = 0.07$, 95% $CI [-0.15, 0.12]$. More specifically, men were perceived as more emotionally reactive than women in the force condition, $b = 0.46$, $SE = 0.11$, $t = 4.12$, $p < .001$, 95% $CI [0.24, 0.68]$. In turn, perceiving the officer as more emotionally reactive significantly decreased participants'

belief of the officer's effectiveness, $b = -0.79$, $SE = 0.05$, $t = -16.91$, $p < .001$, 95% $CI [-0.88, -0.69]$.

The indirect effect of officer gender on officer effectiveness through perceived aggression was not significantly moderated by the force manipulation, moderated mediation index = 0.03, $SE = 0.02$, 95% $CI [-0.002, 0.10]$ (See Figure 4). Despite the moderated mediation index not being significant, the pattern was the same. There was a significant indirect effect of officer gender on officer effectiveness through perceived aggression in the force condition, $M_{IndirectEffect} = -0.02$, $SE = 0.02$, 95% $CI [-0.07, -0.0004]$, but not in the no force condition, $M_{IndirectEffect} = 0.01$, $SE = 0.01$, 95% $CI [-0.01, 0.05]$.

Moderated Mediation: Officer Race

Trust and Confidence in the Officer. The indirect effect of officer race on trust in the police through emotional reactivity was not significantly moderated by the force manipulation, moderated mediation index = 0.05, $SE = 0.14$, 95% $CI [-0.21, 0.32]$ (See Figure 5). There was not a significant indirect effect of officer race on trust in police through emotional reactivity in both the force condition, $M_{IndirectEffect} = 0.03$, $SE = 0.11$, 95% $CI [-0.19, 0.25]$, and in the no force condition, $M_{IndirectEffect} = 0.08$, $SE = 0.08$, 95% $CI [-0.07, 0.24]$. The indirect effect of officer race on trust in the police through perceived aggression was not significantly moderated by the force manipulation, moderated mediation index = 0.05, $SE = 0.4$, 95% $CI [-0.006, 0.14]$ (See Figure 6). There was not a significant indirect effect of officer race on trust in police through perceived aggression in both the force condition, $M_{IndirectEffect} = -0.01$, $SE = 0.02$, 95% CI

[- 0.06, 0.03], and in the no force condition, $M_{IndirectEffect} = 0.04$, $SE = 0.03$, 95% CI [- 0.005, 0.10].

Officer Effectiveness. The indirect effect of officer race on officer effectiveness through emotional reactivity was not significantly moderated by the force manipulation, moderated mediation index = 0.04, $SE = 0.13$, 95% CI [- 0.20, 0.29] (See Figure 7).

There was not a significant indirect effect of officer race on officer effectiveness through emotional reactivity in both the force condition, $M_{IndirectEffect} = 0.03$, $SE = 0.10$, 95% CI [- 0.16, 0.23], and in the no force condition, $M_{IndirectEffect} = 0.07$, $SE = 0.07$, 95% CI [- 0.07, 0.21]. The indirect effect of officer race on officer effectiveness through perceived effectiveness was not significantly moderated by the force manipulation, moderated mediation index = 0.03, $SE = 0.02$, 95% CI [- 0.002, 0.09] (See Figure 8). There was not a significant indirect effect of officer race on officer effectiveness through perceived aggression in both the force condition, $M_{IndirectEffect} = - 0.007$, $SE = 0.01$, 95% CI [- 0.04, 0.01], and in the no force condition, $M_{IndirectEffect} = 0.02$, $SE = 0.02$, 95% CI [- 0.001, 0.06].

Discussion

Previous research has shown that women are often punished when they violate gender stereotypes and are typically stereotyped as being more emotional than men (Fabes & Martin, 1991; Rudman & Kilianski, 2000). Surprisingly, my results did not support these findings and therefore suggest that they might not generalize to all professional contexts. Female officers were not punished for violating gender stereotypes by exerting force and were actually rewarded. In cases where the officer used force, female officers were viewed as less aggressive, less emotionally reactive, more

trustworthy, and more effective as an officer than male officers. These findings support previous research that viewed women as less aggressive than men when committing the same act (Harris & Knight-Bohnhoff, 1996; Stewart-Williams, 2002). These findings were not general gender effects because they did not manifest in the no-force control condition, demonstrating that it is specific to female officers using force. Further, they cannot be explained by them assuming that a woman would exert less extreme force than a man because they saw the exact same act of force in a video. Contrary to the rest of the results, one scenario found that when an officer does not use force that male officers were viewed as more effective than female officers.

The hypothesis that Black officers would be viewed less favorably and more aggressive than White officers was not supported; in contrary, when the officer did not use force, White officers were viewed as somewhat more aggressive than Black officers—although this effect was only marginally significant. Lastly, there was a marginal effect that Black officers were viewed as more effective than White officers, regardless of whether the officer used force or not. The study did not lend support to previous studies demonstrating intersectional effects of race and gender, leading to unique treatment of Black women (Berdahl & Moore, 2006; Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008). Female officers who exerted force were treated more favorably than were male officers—regardless of whether they were Black or White.

Theoretical Contributions

There was support for the hypothesis that the relationship between officer gender and perceptions of police trust and officer effectiveness would be explained by differential perceptions of the officer's aggression and emotional reactivity. In the force

condition, male officers were perceived as more aggressive and more emotionally reactive than female officers, which in turn, decreased participants trust in the police. Additionally, emotional reactivity mediated the relationship between officer gender and perceptions of officer effectiveness, but perceived aggression did not. Specifically, men were perceived as more emotionally reactive, which in turn, decreased participants' belief of the officers' effectiveness. I can be sure that participants' differing perceptions of the interaction can be attributed to their expectations of officers of different genders because participants viewed the exact same police-civilian interaction video (respective to the force condition they were assigned). This suggest that people will perceive the same act differently when presented via "objective video" evidence based on their gender expectations, which is in line with research that states people can perceive an event differently depending on their worldview (Kahan et al., 2012).

Female officers being viewed more favorably than male officers when using force is surprising given that participants viewed the exact same video altercation. The information given in the vignette was very limited, no information was given about the suspect, and the video of the incident was low resolution and obscure; this allows some variability in participants' interpretations of the incident. Because of the ambiguity of the situation, participants might have believed that the force used by a female officer was more justified than force used by a male officer. Specifically, if a female officer felt the need to use force to subdue the suspect, she must have had a good reason to do so. It is, however, surprising that the race of the officer did not play much of a role on ratings of aggressiveness and officer effectiveness.

The findings presented here in this study are uncommon. First, it is very rare to find an instance where women are not punished for violating gender stereotypes. Second, it is not common for men being perceived as being more emotionally reactive and, as a result penalized, relative to a woman committing the same act. This suggests that the scenario presented in this study provides a rare context that produced effects that contradict the typical finding that women are penalized for violating stereotypes and perceived as generally more emotionally reactive than men (Fabes & Martin, 1991; Lewis, 2000; Salerno & Peter-Hagene, 2015; Salerno, Peter-Hagene, & Jay, in press). One difference between the current study and previous studies is the protagonist's profession in the vignette. In my study, a police officer is a role where they are expected to use coercion to subdue a suspect in order to execute their job successfully—regardless of the gender of the officer. Thus, if a suspect resists physically, an officer will have to use coercion to stop them. In other studies, where the role in the vignette is that of a CEO or a manager, aggression or using force are not central to the job. In other words, gender non-conforming behavior from a woman might be perceived as appropriate when the job specially requires those non-conforming actions or in the extreme situation of life and death circumstances where their safety is at risk.

Applied Implications

Participants in the no force condition were more trusting of the officer, perceived the officer to be more effective and to be less emotionally reactive compared to those who saw the officers exert force. Given the steady stream of negative publicity police officers receive when using excessive force, people might have more negative judgments of the police when they witness them use force. However, in this study, it makes sense

that participants would have more favorable judgments of the officer in the no force condition because the suspect gives little to no provocation. These findings underscore the importance of officers being able to resolve a situation without the use of force when possible. Additionally, it demonstrates the negative impact excessive force can have on a police department. Being that the police often require civilian cooperation to conduct their investigations, it would behoove the police to maintain those relationships as much as possible by avoiding use of force whenever possible.

The findings presented in this study provide some insight on how people perceive law enforcement officers. Participants having more favorable judgments of female officers provides law enforcement agencies with valid reasoning for recruiting more women into law enforcement. Having more favorable judgments of law enforcement can lead to greater cooperation with the public. While the present results support the implication that public favor of female officers may lead to more trust and cooperation with law enforcement, it is important to note that I only investigated the public's perceptions of the officer's capabilities and not the actual performance of the officer. This is important because public perception of police effectiveness is not necessarily a valid measurement of police performance. Additionally, women can be less wary of joining a male dominated field such as law enforcement if they are concerned about negative feedback due to violating gender norms because this study has demonstrated the opposite effect.

In an era where police video surveillance is widely prevalent, the police are under constant scrutiny for any and all actions they have with the public. With video recordings, the public is supposed to have "objective evidence" to help them form opinions of an

incident. This study provides evidence that people's perceptions and attitudes of an event can differ due to the gender expectations that hold for a profession such as law enforcement. These differing opinions could lead to differing judgments on punishment towards the officer when they exercise excessive force.

Limitations and Future Directions

There are several limitations to this study that need to be addressed. First, participants were recruited and completed the study online. I attempted to make my manipulations as salient as possible, and included manipulation and attention checks. I had no way to verify, however, that all participants included in the study watched the entire video clip of the interaction. Second, I did not have any control measures for how the participants perceived the suspect in the video. Although it was clear that the suspect was male, I cannot address the possibility that people might have made different assumptions about the suspect's race depending on the demographics of the officer. Lastly, because the photographs of the officers presented to the participants were not the officer in the video, it is possible some photographs were more believable as the officer in the video than others—that is, participants might have believed my manipulation to different degrees based on condition.

For future research, it would be beneficial to manipulate the gender of the suspect and investigate how it can influence people's perceptions of police-civilian interactions. Because of the ambiguity of the scenario, participants were allowed to make their own assumptions on the gender of the suspect. Previous research has shown that aggression of a male towards a female is viewed as less favorable than aggression of a male or female towards a male (Harris & Bohnhoff, 1996). Thus, it is necessary to investigate whether

these effects hold true in a profession where aggression is part of the job. Would a male officer be punished more than a female officer when showing aggression or using force towards a female (versus male) suspect?

The effects in this study were found when the officers used excessive force but not in the no force condition. Future research should investigate differences between excessive force and when force is more justified (i.e., armed or resisting suspect). As I found, male officers were actually viewed as more effective than female officers when they did not utilize force. In a situation where a suspect is armed and force is justified, people may still have more favorable views of male officers. Another implication of my finding is to investigate whether favorable judgments of the officer lead to favorable judgments of punishment. If an officer uses excessive force (more force that is necessary to control the situation) then it's likely the officer should be punished for doing so. If participants showed more favorable perceptions of female officers when using excessive force, it is possible that they also be more lenient towards female officers when rendering judgments of punishment.

Conclusion

Women serving in law enforcement are a minority, but having women in law enforcement may prove more beneficial for police departments because of how the public perceives female police officers. The research presented here provides support that more diversity within police departments can lead to more favorable judgments from the public; specifically, when a female officer uses force they are viewed as more favorable than male officers. Therefore, police departments may improve people's perceptions of their officers simply by hiring more female officers. Trust and confidence in the police

are viewed as a subset of police legitimacy. When people view the police as more legitimate they are more likely to cooperate and comply with law enforcement. Thus, it is important that researchers continue to investigate how reactions to officers' use of force might depend on gender given that these factors can influence people's judgments towards the police and in turn, how the public cooperates with law enforcement.

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Table 1

<i>Correlations Between Dependent Variables</i>				
Measure	1	2	3	4
1. Aggression	--			
2. Emotional Reactivity	.77	--		
3. Police Trust	-.63	-.74	--	
4. Officer Effectiveness	-.52	-.68	.84	--

Table 2

Mean (SD) Perceptions of Officer Aggression as a Function of Officer Use of Force, Gender, and Race

Condition	No Use of Force		Use of Force	
	<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>n</i>
White Officer				
Male Officer	2.54 (0.89)	67	4.33 (0.85)	49
Female Officer	2.53 (1.02)	70	4.15 (0.79)	78
Black Officer				
Male Officer	2.17 (0.85)	64	4.38 (0.70)	71
Female Officer	2.34 (0.85)	67	4.13 (0.93)	72

Note. Higher values indicate more perceived aggression

Table 3

Mean (SD) Perceptions of Emotional Reactivity as a Function of Officer Use of Force, Gender, and Race

Condition	No Use of Force		Use of Force	
	<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>n</i>
White Officer				
Male Officer	0.78 (0.90)	67	2.89 (1.23)	49
Female Officer	0.75 (0.83)	70	2.45 (1.17)	78
Black Officer				
Male Officer	0.66 (0.70)	64	2.86 (0.93)	71
Female Officer	0.68 (0.76)	67	2.34 (1.29)	72

Note. Higher values indicate more perceived emotional reactivity

Table 4

Mean (SD) Trust and Confidence in the Officer as a Function of Officer Use of Force, Gender, and Race

Condition	No Use of Force		Use of Force	
	<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>n</i>
White Officer				
Male Officer	5.44 (1.13)	67	3.47 (1.83)	49
Female Officer	5.20 (1.29)	70	3.81 (1.63)	77
Black Officer				
Male Officer	5.41 (1.26)	64	3.55 (1.67)	71
Female Officer	5.38 (1.09)	67	4.08 (1.82)	72

Note. Higher values indicate greater trust in the police

Table 5

Mean (SD) Perceptions of Officer Effectiveness as a Function of Officer Use of Force, Gender, and Race

Condition	No Use of Force		Use of Force	
	<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>n</i>
White Officer				
Male Officer	5.30 (1.04)	67	4.03 (1.63)	49
Female Officer	4.85 (1.24)	70	4.29 (1.29)	78
Black Officer				
Male Officer	5.46 (1.05)	64	3.99 (1.40)	71
Female Officer	5.15 (0.91)	67	4.63 (1.49)	72

Note. Higher values indicate greater perceived officer effectiveness

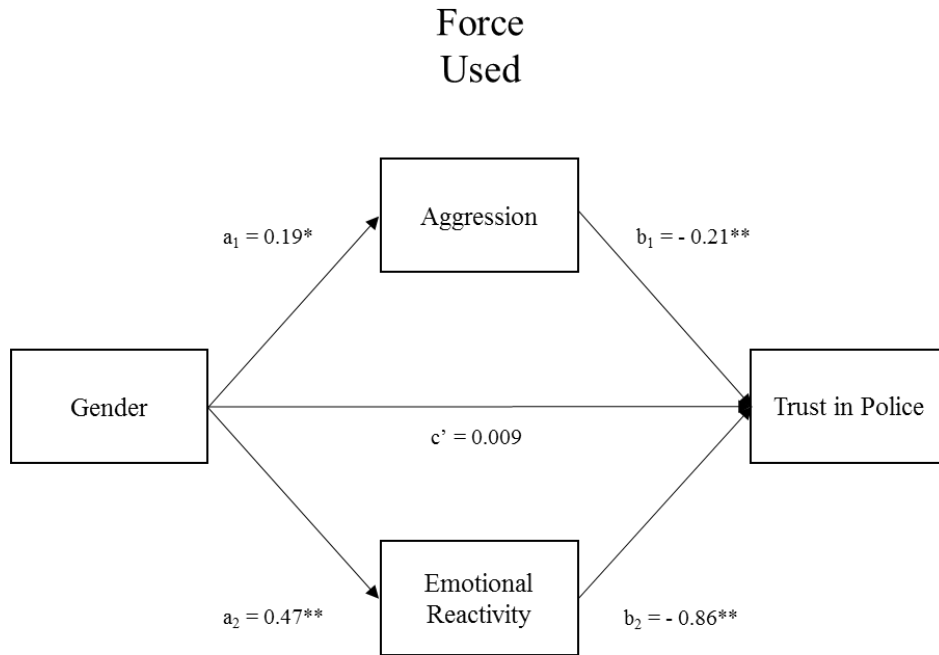


Figure 1. Gender coded: 0 = female, 1 = male * $p < .10$, ** $p < .05$

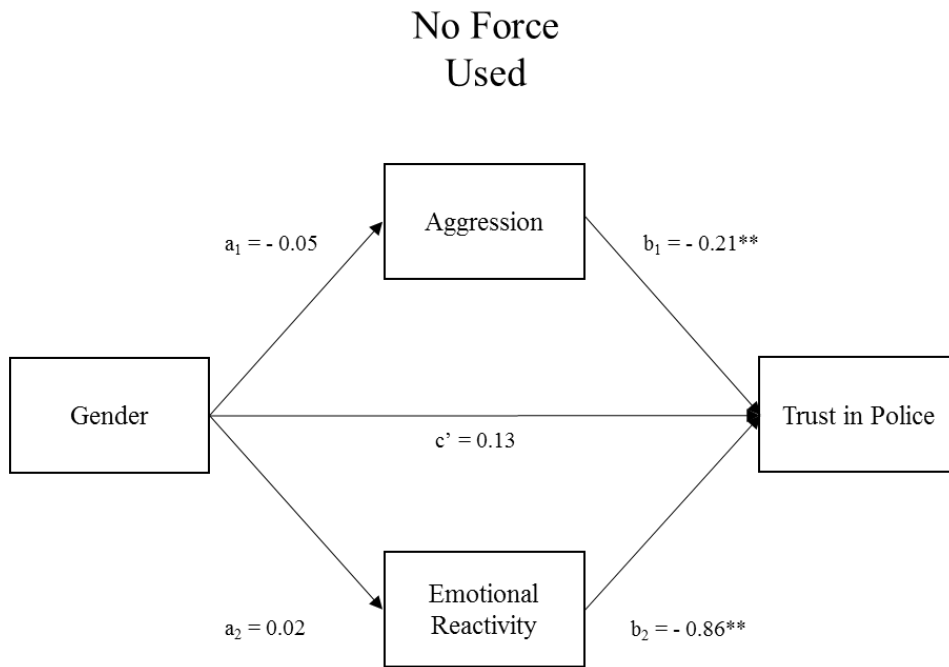


Figure 2. Gender coded: 0 = female, 1 = male * $p < .10$, ** $p < .05$

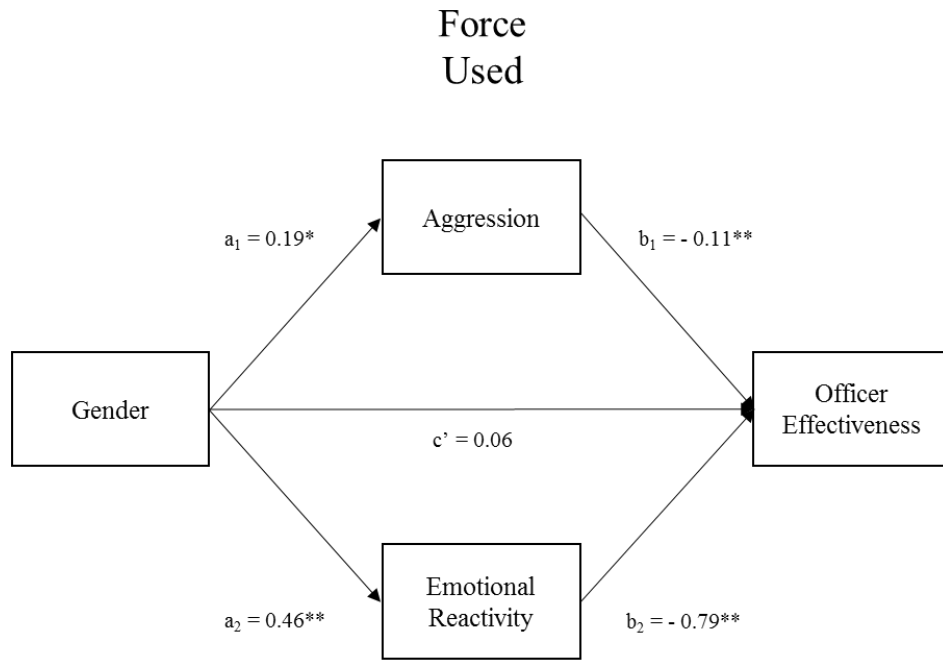


Figure 3. Gender coded: 0 = female, 1 = male * $p < .10$, ** $p < .05$

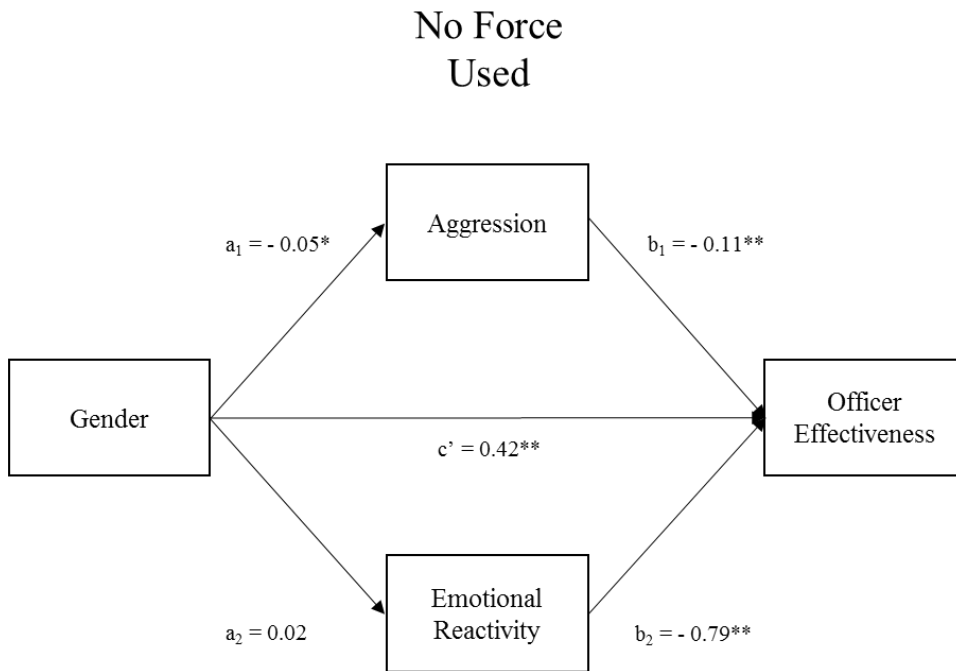


Figure 4. Gender coded: 0 = female, 1 = male * $p < .10$, ** $p < .05$

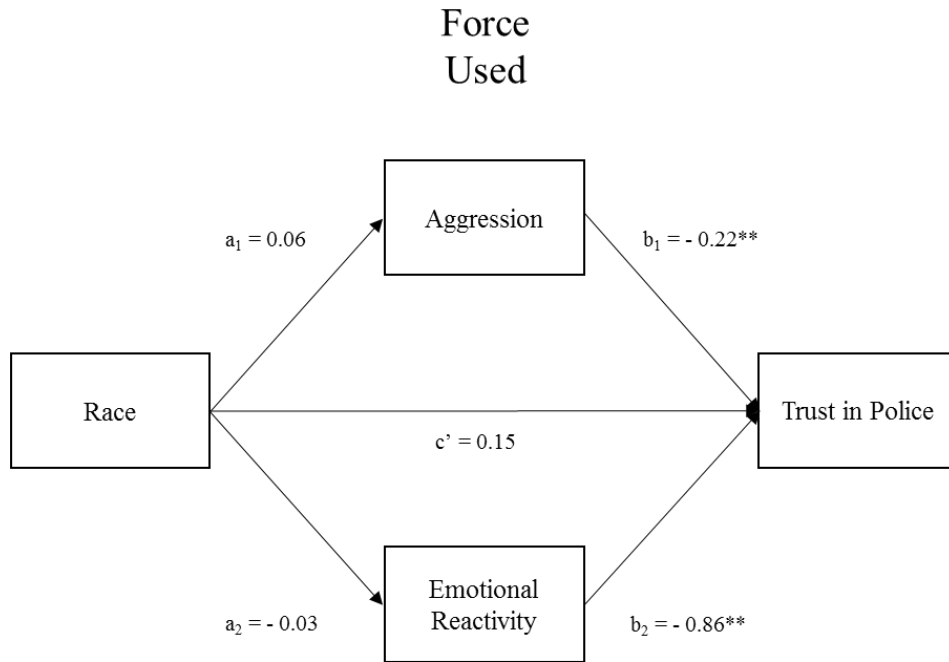


Figure 5. Officer race coded: 0 = White, 1 = black, * $p < .10$, ** $p < .05$

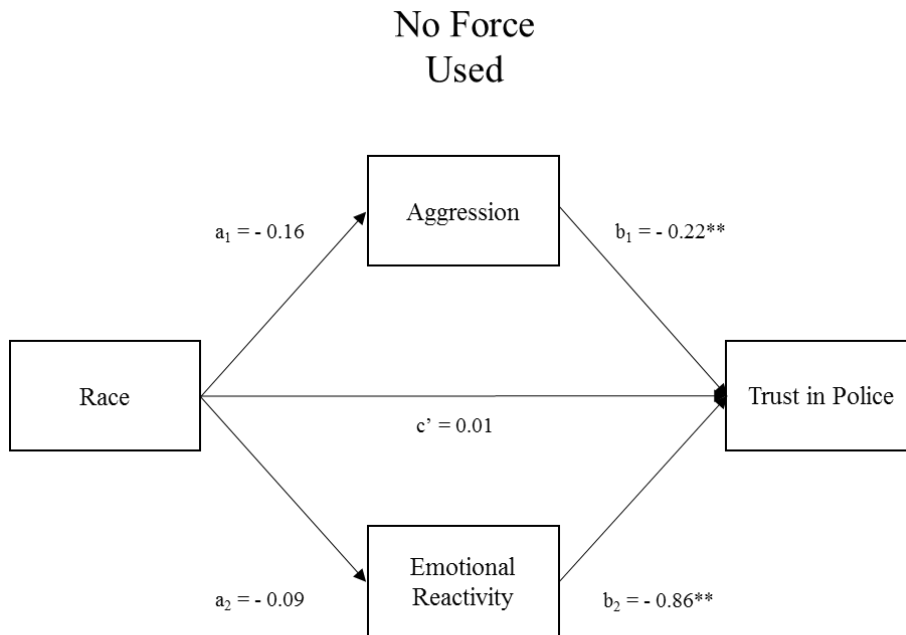


Figure 6. Officer race coded: 0 = White, 1 = black, * $p < .10$, ** $p < .05$

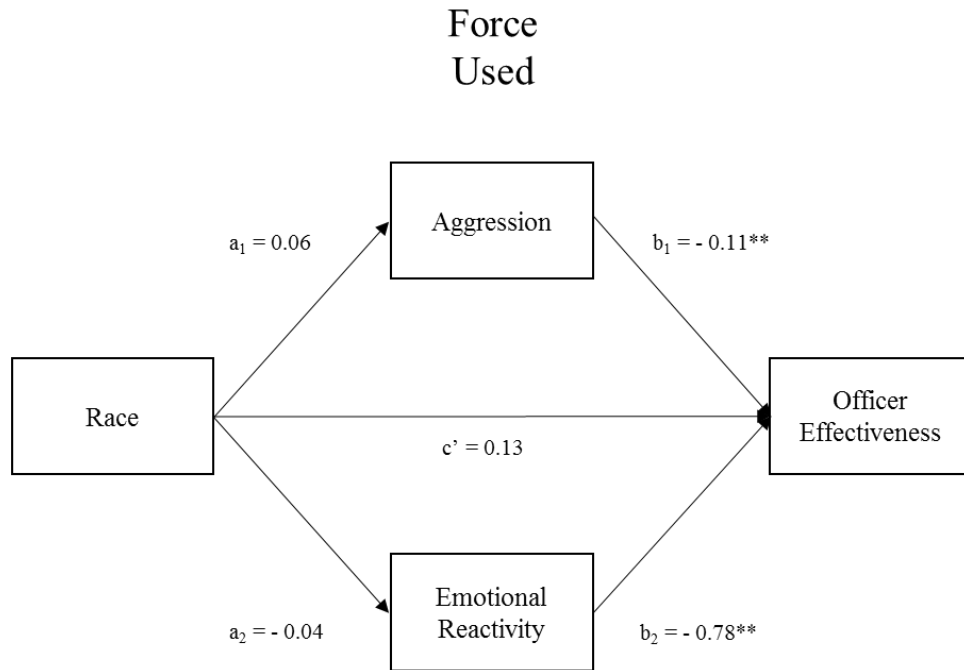


Figure 7. Officer race coded: 0 = White, 1 = black, * $p < .10$, ** $p < .05$

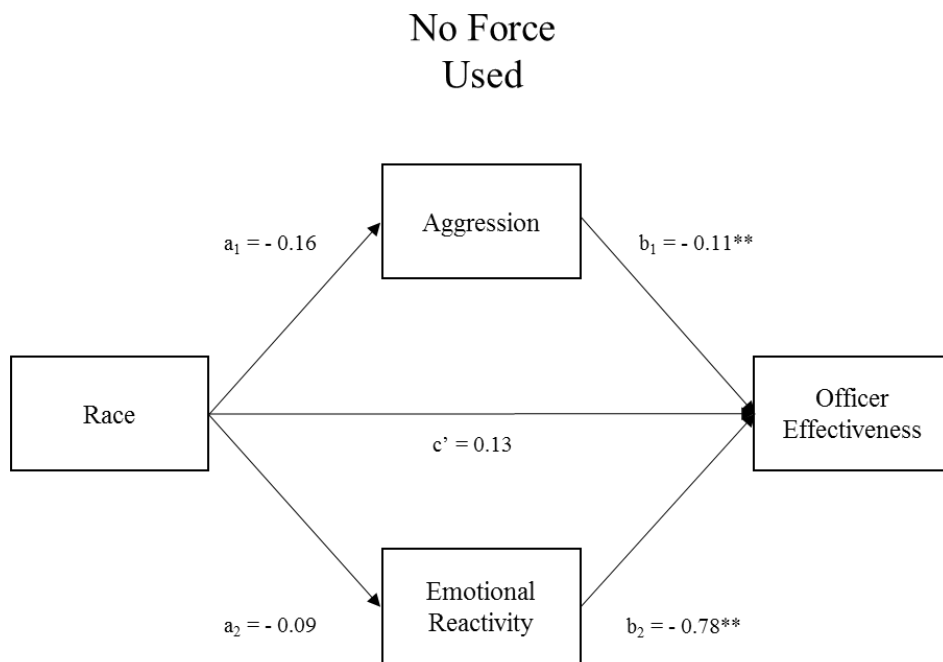


Figure 8. Officer race coded: 0 = White, 1 = black, * $p < .10$, ** $p < .05$

APPENDIX A
VIGNETTE AND MEASURES

In this study you will see a video of a police encounter. After the video we will ask you a series of questions about the impressions you formed about the encounter and the officer involved.

You are about to see this police officer in the video. He has been working with the police department for seven years. (Participants only viewed one photograph)

You are about to watch a video encounter between this police officer and a suspect. This officer received a call about a person matching the description of a suspect behaving in a disorderly manner. The officer approached the suspect to question them. The suspect claimed that they were on their way home and did not want to cooperate with the officer. While the officer was conducting their investigation, the suspect became more disruptive. At this time, the officer decided to place the suspect under arrest.

The video has low visibility. We realize that it is difficult to see detail, but we would still like you to give us your first impression of the officer and the encounter based on what you can see.

Next, you will see a video of the encounter.

Please click play and watch the video carefully below. You will be asked about your impressions of the interaction, but will not be able to go back and watch the video again, so please pay careful attention.

You are welcome to watch the video as many times as you'd like.

There is no sound in the video, which will last one minute.

It is very important that you watch the entire video. You will not be able to continue on to the next page of the survey until 60 seconds have passed.



Trust and Confidence in the Police Officer

Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements.

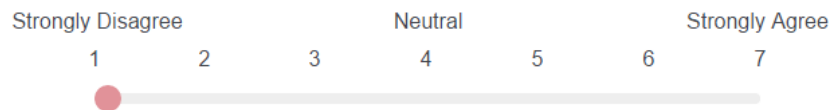
The police officer in the video handled the situation well



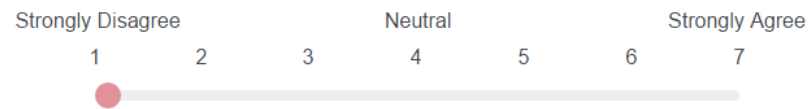
Overall, the police officer in the video is part of a legitimate institution and people should obey the decisions that the police officer makes



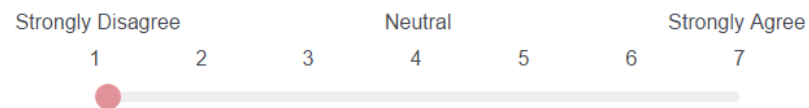
I have confidence that the police officer in the video can do their job well



I trust the police officer in the video can make decisions that are good for everyone in the city



The police officer in the video was effective at controlling the situation



Officer Effectiveness

Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements.

Police work is a good fit for the officer in the video.



I would feel safe with the officer in the video



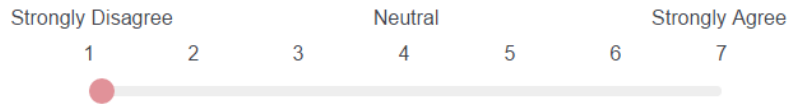
The officer in the video is not able to make competent decisions in emergency situations



The officer in the video does not have the physical ability to be effective on patrol



The officer in the video can effectively contain violent encounters



Force Factor

Next we are going to ask you some questions about the interaction between the police officer and the suspect.

Please indicate how much the suspect resisted

No resistance 0 1 2 4 5 6 7
Extremely Excessive Resistance



Please indicate how much force was used by the officer

No force 0 1 2 4 5 6 7
Extremely Excessive Force



Please indicate the level of resistance by the suspect

Cooperative and/or no resistance

Verbal noncompliance, passive resistance, and/or psychological intimidation

Defensive resistance and/or attempted to flee

Active resistance

Aggravated active resistance

Active resistance (with a deadly weapon)

Please indicate the level of force used by the officer

Police presence and/or verbal directoin

Strong verbal order (minimal contact)

Forcibly subdued--hands or feet (defensive use--open hand or Oleoresin Capsicum Spray)

Forcibly subdued--hands or feet (offensive use--open hand)

Forcibly subdued—intermediate weapon (used weapon - non deadly)

Deadly force

Personal Attributes

The letters form a scale between the two extremes. You are to chose a letter which describes where you think the officer in the video falls on the scale

A B C D E
Very passive Very Active

The letters form a scale between the two extremes. You are to chose a letter which describes where you think the officer in the video falls on the scale

A B C D E
Very rough Very gentle

The letters form a scale between the two extremes. You are to chose a letter which describes where you think the officer in the video falls on the scale

A B C D E
Not at all excitable in a major crisis Very excitable in a major crisis

The letters form a scale between the two extremes. You are to chose a letter which describes where you think the officer in the video falls on the scale

A B C D E

Not at all aggressive ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ Very aggressive

The letters form a scale between the two extremes. You are to chose a letter which describes where you think the officer in the video falls on the scale

A B C D E

Not at all emotional ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ Very emotional

The letters form a scale between the two extremes. You are to chose a letter which describes where you think the officer in the video falls on the scale

A B C D E

Very submissive ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ Very dominant

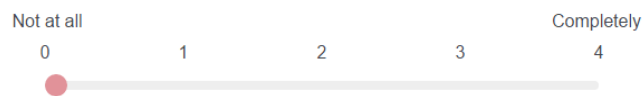
Emotional Reactivity Scale

Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements.

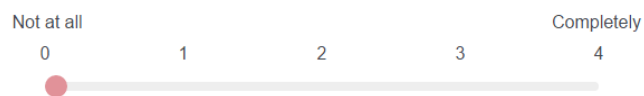
I would guess that the officer in the video often gets so upset it's hard for the officer to think straight



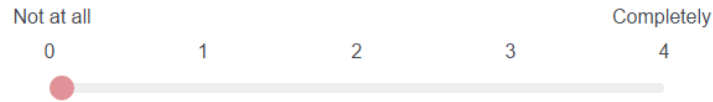
The officer's emotions in the video were too intense for the situation



The officer in the video experienced their emotions very strongly/intensely



The officer in the video probably often overreacts



Positive and Negative Affect Scale

This scale consists of a number of words that describe different feelings and emotions. Read each item and then guess the extent to which the officer was feeling each emotion during the filmed interaction.

Indicate to what extent you think the officer in the video felt each emotion during the interaction.

	Very slightly or not at all	A little	Moderately	Quite a bit	Extremely
Distressed	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Upset	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Strong	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Scared	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Hostile	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Enthusiastic	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Determined	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Angry	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
In control	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Internal/External Attributions

Please indicate how much you agree that each factor caused or explained the officer's behavior.

The officer's behavior in the video was due to the suspect being resistant

Completely Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 Completely Agree

Definitely not a reason



The officer's behavior in the video was caused by a tendency to get upset very easily

Completely Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 Completely Agree

Definitely not a reason



The officer's behavior in the video was caused by emotional problems.

Completely Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 Completely Agree

Definitely not a reason



The officer's behavior in the video was due to being in a dangerous situation

Completely Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 Completely Agree

Definitely not a reason



The officer's behavior in the video was due to the officer being a violent person

Completely Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 Completely Agree

Definitely not a reason



The officer's behavior in the video was due to the suspect likely being intoxicated

Completely Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 Completely Agree

Definitely not a reason



Identification with the Police

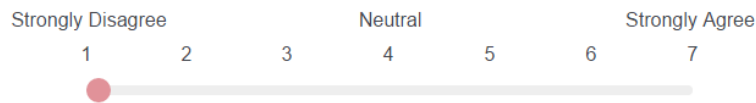
Next, we are going to ask you questions about your opinions regarding the police in your community. That is, we no longer want you to respond about the officer in the video, but your impressions of the police in your own community.

Please indicate your level of agreement with the following statements.

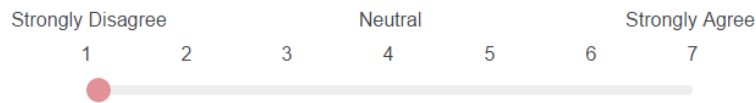
The police give people a chance to express their views before making decisions



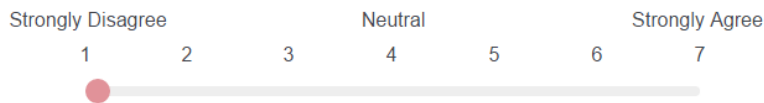
The police consistently apply the rules to different people



The police sincerely try to help people with their problems



The police treat people with dignity and respect



The police sometimes give people less help than they give others due to their race



Right Wing Authoritarianism Scale

Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements.

There are many radical, immoral people trying to ruin things; the society ought to stop them.



It is always better to trust the judgment of the proper authorities in government and religion than to listen to the noisy rabble-rousers in our society who are trying to create doubt in people's minds



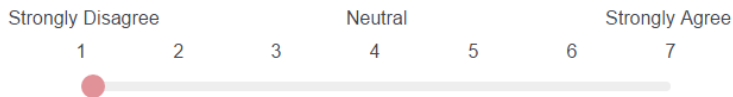
Facts show that we have to be harder against crime and sexual immorality, in order to uphold law and order



Our country needs a powerful leader, in order to destroy the radical and immoral currents prevailing in society today



The situation in the society of today would be improved if troublemakers were treated with reason and humanity



Feelings Thermometers

I'd like to get your feelings toward groups who are in the news these days. In the list that follows rate that group using something we call the feeling thermometer. Ratings between 50 degrees and 100 degrees mean that you feel favorable and warm towards the group. Ratings between 0 and 50 degrees mean that you don't feel favorable toward the group and that you don't care too much for that group. you would rate the group at the 50 degree mark if you don't feel particularly warm or cold toward the group

From 0 to 100 degrees, please select how you feel towards military veterans



From 0 to 100 degrees, please select how you feel towards police officers



From 0 to 100 degrees, please select how you feel towards Asian Americans



From 0 to 100 degrees, please select how you feel towards African Americans



From 0 to 100 degrees, please select how you feel towards White Americans



From 0 to 100 degrees, please select how you feel towards Hispanic Americans



Racial Bias Scale

The following questions concern various reasons or motivations people might have for trying to respond in non-prejudiced ways toward African American people. Some of the reasons reflect internal-personal motivations whereas others reflect more external-social motivations. Of course, people may be motivated for both internal and external reasons; we want to emphasize that neither type of motivation is by definition better than the other. In addition, we want to be clear that we are not evaluating you or your individual responses. All your responses will be completely confidential. We are simply trying to get an idea of the types of motivations that students in general have for responding in non-prejudiced ways. If we are to learn anything useful, it is important that you respond to each of the questions openly and honestly. Please give your response according to the scale below. Please mark ONE answer for each item.

	1 (Strongly Disagree)	2	3	4	5 (Neither Agree nor Disagree)	6	7	8	9 (Strongly Agree)
Because of today's PC (politically correct) standards I try to appear non-prejudiced toward Black people	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I attempt to act in non-prejudiced ways toward Black people because it is personally important to me	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

If I act prejudiced toward Black people, I would be concerned that others would be angry with me

I try to hide any negative thoughts about Black people in order to avoid negative reactions from others

Because of my personal values, I believe that using stereotypes about Black people is wrong

According to my personal values, using stereotypes about Black people is OK.

I try to act non-prejudiced toward Black people because of pressure from others

I am personally motivated by my beliefs to be non-prejudiced toward Black people

I attempt to appear non-prejudiced toward Black people in order to avoid disapproval from others

Being non-prejudiced toward Black people is important to my self-concept

Short Ambivalent Sexism Scale

Please Indicate your level of agreement with the following statements

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
No matter how accomplished he is, a man is not truly complete as a person unless he has the love of a woman	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Every man ought to have a woman whom he adores	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Men are complete without women	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Women exaggerate problems they have at work	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Once a woman gets a man to commit to her, she usually tries to put him on a tight leash	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
When women lose to men in a fair competition, they typically complain about being discriminated against	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Demographics

Gender

Male

Female

Other

How old are you (in years)?

Marital Status

Single

Married

Seperated

Divorced

Widowed

Ethnicity/Race

White / Caucasian

Hispanic / Latino

Black / African American

Native American / American Indian

Asian / Asian American

Hawaiian / Pacific Islander

Other

When it comes to politics, how liberal or conservative are you?

	Very Liberal	Liberal	Slightly Liberal	Moderate	Slightly Conservative	Conservative	Very Conservative
How Liberal/Conservative are you?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

What is the highest level of education you have completed?

Some high school

High School / GED

Some College

Community College (AA) / Technical School

College Degree (BA/BS)

Graduate Degree

In what State of the U.S. are you a resident of?

Are you a citizen of the United States?

Yes

No

Are you currently employed?

Yes

No

According to the United States Census Bureau, the 2012 U.S. median household income was \$51, 371. Compared to this median American household income, would you say that your household income is:

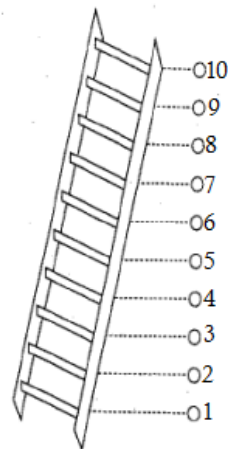
- Much lower than this
- Somewhat lower than this
- About the same
- Somewhat higher than this
- Much higher than this

1a. Imagine that this ladder pictures how American society is set up.

- ◆ At the top of the ladder are the people who are the best off--they have the most money, the highest amount of schooling, and the jobs that bring the most respect.
- ◆ At the bottom are people who are the worst off--they have the least money, little or no education, no job or jobs that no one wants or respects.

Now think about your family. Please tell us where you think your family would be on this ladder.

Choose the number that best represents where your family would be on this ladder.



- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- 6
- 7
- 8
- 9
- 10

What is your current religion?

Fundamental Christian

Christian

Catholic

Jewish

Muslim

Hindu

Buddhist

Non-denominational / Agnostic / Spiritual

Atheist / Non Religious

Other

	Strongly Not Religious	Not Religious	Neither religious nor not religious	Religious	Strongly religious
How religious do you consider yourself to be?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Is any member of your immediate family a law enforcement officer?

Yes

No

Do you have a friend or relative, other than immediate family, who is a law enforcement officer?

Yes

No

Have you been the victim of a crime?

Yes

No

Have you been the victim of a violent crime?

Yes

No

Has any member of your immediate family, or close friend, been the victim of a crime?

Yes

No

Has any member of your immediate family, or close friend been the victim of a violent crime?

Yes

No

Do you have a friend or relative, other than immediate family that has been the victim of a violent crime?

Yes

No

Have you ever been convicted of a felony?

Yes

No
