COMMUNITY MEMBERS' EVALUATIONS OF POLICE-CIVILIAN INTERACTIONS

Mawia Khogali and Mark Fondacaro
CUNY Graduate Center- John Jay College

We investigated the relationship between a suspect's race and participants' evaluations of police-civilian interactions. Participants were assigned to one of four role play conditions that manipulated a suspect's race (Black, White, or Latino): (1) as a police officer evaluating their own interaction with a suspect, (2) as a civilian evaluating their own interaction with a suspect, (3) as a police officer evaluating the interaction between another police officer and a suspect, and (4) as a civilian evaluating the interaction between another civilian and a suspect. Participants read a vignette and rated how resistant and disrespectful they found the suspect. Overall, White suspects were rated as more resistant than both Latino and Black suspects and more disrespectful than Black suspects. Moreover, participants evaluating their own interaction with the suspect rated the suspect as more resistant than participants evaluating the interaction of another person with the suspect. Finally, participants playing the role of a civilian rated the suspect as more resistant than participants playing the role of a police officer. We discuss the implications of these findings in the context of the current national concern about police-civilian relations.

Keywords: Police-civilian encounters; policing; resistance; disrespect; racial bias

Controversies surrounding police use of force and their interactions and relations with people of color are receiving heightened attention in the media. Empirical research in this domain has revealed that citizen race is related to police use of force such that people of color are more likely to experience victimization by police (Bolger, 2014; Brunson, 2007; Brunson & Weitzer, 2008; Fryer, 2016; Gau, Mosher, & Pratt, 2009; Kleinig, 2014; Lersch, 1998; Schuck, 2004). For example, looking at data from police in Indiana and Florida, Terrill and Mastrofski (2002) found in an observational study that male, non-White, poor, and younger suspects were treated more forcefully than their counterparts, regardless of their own behavior during encounters with police. Findings from qualitative studies such as those conducted by Brunson (2007) and Brunson and Weitzer (2008) revealed that, when asked to describe their interactions with police officers, young men of color reported verbal abuse, including racial slurs, as well as physical abuse as typical during police encounters. Additionally, in a meta-analysis of the correlates of police use of force, Bolger (2014) found that suspects who were minorities, males, and/or poor were more likely to have force used against them.

Author Note: Mawia Khogali, Department of Psychology, John Jay College of Criminal Justice; Mark Fondacaro, Department of Psychology, John Jay College of Criminal Justice.

Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Mawia Khogali, Department of Psychology, John Jay College of Criminal Justice, 524 W 59th St, New York, NY 10019. Contact: mawia.khogali@gmail.com

Social psychological studies (Graham & Lowery, 2004; Payne, 2001) have provided some support for the influence of race on how people perceive suspects. By subliminally exposing participants to either Black or White faces, Eberhardt, Goff, Purdie, and Davies (2004) showed that subjects' capacity to detect degraded images of crime-relevant objects increased when they were exposed to Black faces. Plant and Peruche (2005) found that officers had a tendency to shoot unarmed Black suspects more frequently than unarmed White suspects in a computer simulation. Similarly, in another computer simulation study, Correll, Park, Judd, Wittenbrink, Sadler, and Keesee (2007) found that both police officers and community members had a faster response speed for shooting targets depicting Black suspects than they did for White suspects. The researchers noted these findings are the result of implicit biases based on a stereotypical association of Black people with crime. Studies have shown Blacks are generally perceived to be aggressive, criminally involved, and violent (Jones & Kaplan, 2003; Skorinko & Spellman, 2013). However, Sadler, Correll, Park, and Judd (2012) found that racial bias in officers' decisions to shoot is not limited to Black and White suspects. Specifically, in their study, police officers also exhibited bias in reaction time for shooting Latino targets compared to White targets. Although researchers have studied the impact of suspect race on officer-civilian interactions using both correlational and experimental designs, the literature is lacking in studies examining the way individuals evaluate such interactions. Thus, the current study was designed to investigate the role of a suspect's race in how laypeople appraise officer-civilian interactions.

While evaluations of officer-civilian interactions are likely to be impacted by a suspect's race, social psychological research has also shown that judgments differ when they are made by a first, second, or third party (Armor, 1999; Babcock, Loewenstein, Issacharoff, & Camerer, 1995; Fehr & Fischbacher, 2004; Pronin, Gilovich, & Ross, 2004; Rupp & Spencer, 2006; Taylor & Koivumaki, 1976). This is largely due to an actor-observer bias, whereby people offer different explanations for their own behavior compared to the behavior of another person in the same or similar situation (Jones & Nisbett, 1972). For example, Nadelhoffer and Feltz (2008) found that participants attributed less personal control over the outcome of a situation than the level of control they attributed to a third party in the same situation. Additionally, people are typically better at recognizing bias in others than they are at recognizing their own bias (Pronin et al., 2004). Based on these findings, we would expect differences to emerge in appraisals of officer-civilian interactions depending on whether the judgments are of self or a third party. Specifically, we would expect individuals evaluating themselves to perceive a suspect as more resistant and disrespectful than would an individual evaluating a third party.

In addition to the influence of a suspect's race and the perspective from which an evaluation is made, perceptions of officer-civilian interactions may be affected by an individual's role (e.g. civilian or officer). Role theory (Biddle, 1979; Newcomb, 1950) hypothesizes that an individual's attitudes are influenced by the role they occupy in a social system. Results from Sadler and colleagues' (2012) study were potentially relevant to this hypothesis. While police officers shot Latino targets faster than White targets, among college participants, racial bias was limited to Black targets relative to White targets. Although

it is unclear whether these differences were due to differences in implicit biases held by each group, these findings suggest that officers and civilians hold different perceptions of officer-civilian interactions. In the current study, we manipulated the role from which an evaluation was made (officer or civilian) to determine whether this factor influences how suspects are perceived.

There are other variables likely to influence the way people evaluate an officer-civilian interaction. For example, in addition to an individual's race, the literature has highlighted the role resistance plays in placing suspects at greater risk of excessive force by police. Hickman, Piquero, and Garner (2008) analyzed data from the Police-Public Contact Survey and found that suspect resistance was the strongest predictor of the severity of force used by police. Along these lines, Phillips (2010) had officers respond to two vignettes and measured their opinions about the use of unnecessary force by other officers. He found officers were most accepting of unnecessary force when suspects fled from police. In a similar study, Phillips (2015) investigated police recruits' attitudes toward the use of unnecessary force. He found that views about the acceptability of unnecessary force were contingent upon the type of force being applied. Recruits generally considered both verbal abuse and unnecessary force by police acceptable when a suspect either stole a vehicle or fled from an officer.

Along with suspect resistance, researchers have explored the effects of suspect disrespect in police-civilian encounters (Allen, 2005; Brown, Novak, & Frank, 2009; Terrill & Mastrofski, 2002). Findings in this area have been mixed. For example, in their observational study of policing, Terrill and Mastrofski (2002) found that suspects who were disrespectful were no more likely to have force used on them than suspects who were not disrespectful. However, in another observational study, Brown and colleagues (2009) found that disrespect had different effects on officer interactions with juveniles in comparison to interactions with adults. Officers exercised greater authority (i.e., they employed more coercive tactics) when they considered juveniles disrespectful, whereas this effect was not apparent for officer interactions with adults. Although disrespectful adults were more likely to be arrested than adults who were not disrespectful, this was not the case with juveniles. Notably, officers paid more attention to disrespectful behavior than criminal offending in their decision to exercise higher levels of authority with juveniles. In a survey of 92 London Metropolitan Police, Pizio (2013) found that officers expected and experienced disrespectful behaviors more frequently in potentially dangerous interactions. Miller (2015) noted that officers are more likely to use excessive force if they anticipate citizens will be hostile and disrespectful. Taken together, these findings suggest the need to explore effects of the evaluator's role on judgments of suspect disrespect.

To summarize, these research findings suggest the importance of examining the interrelated influences of suspect race, participant perspective and role, suspect resistance, and perceived disrespect on the appraisals of police-civilian interactions. Accordingly, we designed a study to test whether suspect race influences judgments of suspect resistance and disrespect. Moreover, we examined whether those judgments of suspect resistance and disrespect are influenced by whether the participants evaluated their own interactions with

a suspect or the interactions between another person and the suspect. Lastly, we investigated the impact of having participants play the role of either police officer or civilian.

The specific hypotheses tested were as follows:

H1: Based on findings by Jones and Kaplan (2003) and Skorinko and Spellman (2013) that Blacks are generally perceived to be aggressive, criminally involved, and violent, we hypothesized that participants would rate Black suspects as more resistant than White suspects.

H2: Black suspects would be rated as more disrespectful than White suspects.

H3: Based on Nadelhoffer and Feltz's (2008) finding that participants viewed themselves as having less control than a third party in a similar situation, we expected that participants evaluating themselves interacting with a suspect would rate suspects as more resistant than participants evaluating another person.

H4: Participants evaluating themselves interacting with a suspect would rate suspects as more disrespectful than participants evaluating another person.

H5: Based on role theory (Biddle, 1979; Newcomb, 1950) and the finding that an individual's attitudes are influenced by the role they occupy in a social system, we hypothesized participants role playing police officers would rate suspects as more resistant than participants role playing civilians.

H6: Participants role playing police officers would rate suspects as more disrespectful than participants role playing civilians.

We also conducted a series of exploratory analyses.

METHOD

Participants
Four hundred and sixty-six participants were recruited via Amazon Mechanical Turk. Fifty-nine percent (n = 276) of the participants identified as male, 40.1% (n = 187) identified as female, 0.2% (n = 1) identified as other, and 0.4% (n = 2) did not report their gender. With respect to participants' ethnicity/race, 67.8% (n = 316) identified as White/Caucasian, 3.9% (n = 18) identified as Black/African American, 6.9% (n = 32) identified as Latino/Hispanic, 19.7% (n = 92) identified as Asian, 0.2% (n = 1) identified as Native American, and 1.5% (n = 7) identified as other.

Design
We employed a 3 (suspect race: Black vs. White vs. Latino) X 2 (perspective: self vs. third party judgment) X 2 (role: officer vs. civilian) between subjects factorial design.

Materials
Vignettes. Participants read instructions that described whom they would be evaluating (themselves or another individual) and the role they would be playing (officer or

civilian). For example, participants were told, "**The following paragraph is a description of an incident that occurred. You will be playing the role of a police officer on patrol [convenience store employee/** an officer evaluating **the actions of another police officer/ a person evaluating the actions of a convenience store employee]." Participants were then presented with a vignette.** Appendix B provides an exhaustive list of the vignettes participants were shown.

The vignette participants read described a police-civilian or civilian-civilian interaction where the suspect's levels of resistance and disrespect were ambiguous. The vignettes were also unclear about whether the suspect actually committed a crime. We manipulated the race of the civilian so that participants were told the suspect was a Black, White, or Latino man. For example, the vignette read, "You are a police officer on duty during the night shift when you decide to stop at a convenience store [You are a convenience store employee working the night shift]. You see a White [Black/Latino] male who appears to be in his 20s. You think you see the male place an item in his pocket. When the male sees you approaching him, he yells angrily, 'I didn't do anything wrong' and starts to walk away from you at a fast pace. You follow him across the parking lot and finally catch up to him as he reaches the sidewalk."

Questionnaire. After reading the vignette, participants were asked a series of questions about the interaction. Participants were asked how resistant and disrespectful they found the suspect, how necessary and appropriate it would be to use force in the situation, and about their attitude toward the general use of force by police. Suspect resistance and disrespect were measured on five-point Likert scales ranging from "1: Not resistant [disrespectful] at all" to "5: Extremely resistant [disrespectful]". Participants' attitude toward police use of force was measured on six-point Likert scale ranging from "1: It is never acceptable" to "6: It is always acceptable". Participants were also asked whether they thought the suspect should be arrested.

Procedure

We obtained approval from the Institutional Review Board at John Jay College prior to collecting data. After being recruited from Amazon Mechanical Turk, participants were directed to a link via the Qualtrics survey platform, where they read an informed consent form and could decide to participate in the survey. Following this, participants were told what role they would play and were then asked to read the vignette. They then answered questions about their perceptions of the interaction depicted in the vignette. After answering a manipulation check and a few demographic questions, participants were thanked for their time.

RESULTS

Seventy-seven participants were excluded from analyses because they failed a manipulation check, resulting in a total of 389 participants.

H1: Participants would rate Black suspects as more resistant than White suspects.

A one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) was calculated on participants' ratings of resistance based on suspect race. The analysis was significant, $F(2, 386) = 5.25$, $p < .05$. Contrary to our hypothesis, planned comparisons revealed that White suspects were rated as significantly more resistant ($M = 3.67$, $SD = 0.90$) than Black suspects ($M = 3.27$, $SD = 1.04$), $t(386) = -3.23$, $p < .05$. We also conducted planned comparisons for resistance ratings for White suspects compared to Latino suspects. The tests revealed that participants did not rate White suspects as significantly less resistant ($M = 3.67$, $SD = 0.90$) than Latino suspects ($M = 3.48$, $SD = 0.99$), $t(386) = -1.48$, $p = .14$. Planned comparisons also revealed that there was no significant difference in resistance ratings between Black suspects ($M = 3.27$, $SD = 1.04$) and Latino suspects, ($M = 3.48$, $SD = 0.99$), $t(386) = 1.74$, $p = .09$.

H2: Black suspects would be rated as more disrespectful than White suspects.

A one-way ANOVA was calculated on participants' ratings of disrespectfulness based on suspect race. The analysis was marginally significant, $F(2, 385) = 2.99$, $p = .052$. However, contrary to our hypothesis, planned comparisons revealed that White suspects were rated as more disrespectful ($M = 3.36$, $SD = 1.05$) than Black suspects ($M = 3.04$, $SD = 1.04$), $t(385) = -2.33$, $p < .05$. We also conducted planned comparisons for resistance ratings for White suspects compared to Latino suspects. The tests revealed that participants did not rate White suspects as significantly less disrespectful ($M = 3.36$, $SD = 1.05$) than Latino suspects ($M = 3.28$, $SD = 1.11$), $t(385) = -0.55$, $p = .59$.

H3: Participants who evaluated themselves would rate suspects as more resistant than participants who evaluated another person.

A one-way ANOVA was calculated on participants' ratings of resistance. The analysis was significant, $F(1, 387) = 4.87$, $p < .05$. Participants evaluating from a "self" role rated suspects as significantly more resistant ($M=3.58$, $SD= 0.96$) than those evaluating from an "other" role ($M = 3.36$, $SD = 0.94$), $t(387) = -2.21$, $p < .05$, providing support for our hypothesis. Moreover, participants role playing officers evaluating themselves rated suspects as more resistant ($M = 3.40$, $SD = 0.97$) than participants role playing officers evaluating another officer ($M = 3.14$, $SD = 1.03$), $p < .05$.

H4: Participants who evaluated themselves would rate suspects as more disrespectful than participants who evaluated another person.

A one-way ANOVA was calculated on participants' ratings of disrespectfulness. The analysis was significant, $F(1, 386) = 9.54$, $p < .05$. In line with our hypothesis, participants evaluating from a "self" role rated suspects as significantly more disrespectful ($M= 3.39$, $SD=1.11$) than those evaluating from an "other" role ($M = 3.04$, $SD = 1.09$), $t(386) = -3.09$, $p < .05$.

H5: Participants playing the role of officers would rate suspects as more resistant than participants playing the role of a civilian.

A one-way ANOVA was calculated on participants' ratings of resistance. The analysis was significant, F (1, 387) = 15.98, p < .05. However, contrary to our hypothesis, planned comparisons revealed that participants role playing civilians rated suspects as significantly more resistant (M = 3.66, SD = 0.94) than those role playing officers (M = 3.27, SD = 1.01), t (387) = 4.00, p < .05.

H6: Participants playing the role of officers would rate suspects as more disrespectful than participants playing the role of a civilian.

A one-way ANOVA was calculated on participants' ratings of disrespectfulness based on the role they played. The analysis was significant, F (1, 386) = 5.85, p < .05. Planned comparisons revealed that participants role playing civilians rated suspects as significantly more disrespectful (M = 3.36, SD = 1.11) than those role playing officers (M = 3.08, SD = 1.11), t (386) = 2.42, p < .05, directly in contrast with our hypothesis.

Exploratory Analyses.

We conducted exploratory analyses in addition to those that tested the specific hypotheses. For example, we found that participants who role played an officer evaluating another officer rated the amount of force likely to be used on the suspect as significantly harsher (M = 3.88, SD = 1.96) than participants who role played an officer evaluating themselves (M = 1.59, SD = 1.46), F(1, 190) = 4.36, p < .05.

Given the observed finding that the White suspect was rated as more resistant than the Black suspect, we conducted a one-way ANOVA to examine whether participants' attitudes toward force differed based on the race of the suspect in the vignette they read. The analysis was significant, F (2, 385) = 7.72, p < .05. Post hoc analyses revealed participants who were exposed to the White suspect rated the use of force (M = 3.24, SD = 1.22) as significantly more acceptable than participants exposed to either the Black suspect (M = 2.75, SD = 1.22) or the Latino suspect (M = 2.76, SD = 1.22), p < .05. There was no difference in participants' general approval of the use of force when the suspect was Latino or Black, p > .05.

Table 1 provides an overview of the correlations among the dependent measures and participant variables. As indicated in the table, there was a strong relationship between participants general attitudes about police use of force and their evaluations of the situation. Specifically, the more a participant generally approved of the use of force by police, the more resistant and disrespectful they perceived the suspect, the more appropriate and necessary they thought force was, and the more they thought and officer should and would react more harshly toward the suspect in the officer-civilian interaction.

Table 1. Correlations among the dependent measures and participant variables.

Variables	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Suspect Resistance	3.47	.99	-									
2. Suspect Disrespect	3.22	1.11	.50**	-								
3. Force Necessity	3.59	2.03	.33**	.43**	-							
4. Force Appropriateness	3.58	2.18	.34**	.44**	.89**	-						
5. What Should Cop Do	2.55	1.85	.44**	.44**	.67**	.68**	-					
6. What Cop Would Do	3.25	2.18	.28**	.23**	.43**	.43**	.75**	-				
7. Attitude Toward Force	2.91	1.16	.19**	.31**	.53**	.57**	.58**	.38**	-			
8. Arrest Suspect			-.37**	-.37**	-.46**	-.44**	-.16*	-.39**	-.34**	-		
9. Participant Race			-.02	-.02	-.28**	-.29**	-.18*	-.13	-.11*	.14**	-	
10. Participant Gender			.02	-.03	-.13*	-.16**	-.17*	-.12	-.09	.07	.08	-

Given our observations of the strong relationships between perceptions of the suspect and ratings of how appropriate and necessary force would be, we conducted a multiple regression analysis to predict ratings of use-of-force appropriateness based on participants' perceptions of suspect resistance and disrespect. The results indicated perceptions of suspect resistance and disrespect explained about 22% of the variance in ratings of the appropriateness of force in the officer-civilian interaction, ($R^2 = .22$, $F(2,384) = 52.75$, $p < .01$). Perceptions of suspect resistance significantly predicted ratings of force appropriateness ($\beta = .16$, $p < .01$) as did perceptions of suspect disrespect ($\beta = .37$, $p < .01$). A similar analysis for ratings of the necessity of force revealed that perceptions of suspect resistance and disrespect explained about 20% of the variance in ratings of the necessity of force in the officer-civilian interaction, ($R^2 = .20$, $F(2,384) = 47.40$, $p < .01$). Perceptions of suspect resistance ($\beta = .15$, $p < .01$) and suspect disrespect ($\beta = .35$, $p < .01$) significantly predicted ratings of force necessity.

DISCUSSION

Overview of Findings
The purpose of the current study was to investigate the influence of suspect race along with the role and perspective of an evaluator on appraisals of police-civilian interactions. Despite what we predicted based on previous studies showing that Black people are

generally stereotyped as criminally involved and violent (Jones & Kaplan, 2003; Skorinko & Spellman, 2013), the White suspect was perceived as more resistant than the Black suspect. This finding may be an artifact of the experimental design, particularly with respect to the race-salience of the case. Previous studies (e.g. Sommers & Ellsworth, 2001) have found that racial bias in decision-making diminishes when race is made salient in a case, and can sometimes even drive results in the opposite direction (e.g., White defendants being sanctioned more harshly). Thus, these findings suggest the need to study this phenomenon more thoroughly. Researchers may generate different results in the context of unambiguous situations that more closely approximate real world situations that are likely to go wrong, as well as situations where race may not appear to be the central variable of interest. Another possible explanation for this finding relates to participants' general attitudes toward use of force by police. Results indicated that participants who read vignettes depicting interactions with a White suspect rated the use of force as generally more acceptable than participants who read vignettes depicting interactions with a Black or Latino suspect. Thus, it may be that White suspects were perceived as more resistant because the participants who rated them were more supportive of the use of force. However, we did not measure general attitudes toward force prior to exposing participants to the vignette. Thus, it is also possible that general approval of officer use of force was impacted by participants reading about the interaction or the manipulated variables mentioned in the situation. This limitation in the research design precludes us from drawing any firm conclusions about the direction of the effect. However, we observed a strong relationship between ratings of suspect resistance and participants' general approval of the use of force. Thus, these findings underscore a need to further examine whether general attitudes about officer use of force influence perceptions of suspect resistance and whether this varies by suspect characteristics such as race.

The results from this study also illustrate the differences that surface from altering the perspectives from which evaluations of officer-civilian counters are made. Our hypotheses that participants evaluating the interaction from a "self" role would rate suspects as more resistant and disrespectful than those evaluating it from an "other" role were supported. These findings are consistent with other studies showing people make different judgments of themselves and third parties (Armor, 1999; Lind, Tyler, & Huo, 1997; Shapiro & Brett, 1993; Taylor & Koivumaki, 1976). Furthermore, participants playing the role of an officer evaluating themselves rated the suspect as more resistant than participants playing the role of an officer evaluating another officer. These results suggest that being immersed in the actual interaction with a suspect has the effect of amplifying the degree to which a suspect is viewed as resistant. This finding is key because suspect resistance is linked to whether and how much force is used and viewed as acceptable by officers (Hickman et al., 2008; Phillips, 2010, 2015).

Our findings that participants playing the role of civilians perceived suspects as more resistant and disrespectful than participants role playing officers is consistent with role theory's assertion that an individual's attitudes are influenced by the role they occupy in a social system (Biddle, 1979; Newcomb, 1950). However, these findings were in the

opposite direction of our expectations and demonstrate the need to further explore this phenomenon under conditions that are not ambiguous. The vignettes depicted situations that were equivocal with respect to resistance and respect toward the officer. Thus, these findings may not hold true in the context of more defined situations (i.e., one where the suspect is clearly being resistant or not resisting in any way whatsoever).

The exploratory analyses we conducted also revealed notable findings. Specifically, in addition to suspect resistance, participants' general attitudes about police use of force were strongly related to how disrespectful they perceived the suspect to be, how necessary and appropriate they thought force was in the officer-civilian encounter, whether they believed the suspect should be arrested, and how they thought the officer should and would deal with the suspect. These results suggest that individual characteristics such as general attitudes toward force may influence the way a suspect is perceived, thereby impacting the ways in which an officer handles them and the way third parties evaluate the appropriateness of an officer's decision to use force.

Another noteworthy finding was that participants role playing an officer evaluating another officer rated how the officer would respond to the suspect as significantly harsher than participants role playing an officer evaluating themselves. This finding suggests officers may hold different expectations about how they would react to a suspect from those of a third party and highlights the need for future research that would compare officer and civilian expectations for officers' behaviors during police-civilian interactions.

One last finding warrants discussion. While perceptions of suspect resistance and disrespect both predicted beliefs about the necessity and appropriateness of force, effects were stronger for perceptions of suspect disrespect. These results have important implications for officer-civilian interactions and use-of-force policy. Specifically, if perceived respect is more important than physical resistance in the context of use-of-force decisions, then use of force guidelines should focus not only on resistance and graded physical force but also should encompass perceived disrespect and graded verbal and behavioral responses that de-escalate conflict and promote compliance. While this study is exploratory and future research would need to investigate the relationship between suspect (dis)respect and officer use-of-force decision-making, particularly in unambiguous situations, these findings suggest that suspect resistance is not the only important factor in use of force decisions. In fact, other variables may even matter more.

Limitations

While the findings from this study provide insight into the ways suspect characteristics, along with an evaluator's perspective and role shape judgments of officer-civilian interactions, there are several limitations to note. Participants were asked to play the role of officers. A lack of experience as an officer may have lead participants to respond much differently from actual officers, so these results cannot be generalized to police. However, we conducted this study to understand whether evaluations of a suspect's behavior and use of force could be influenced by the race of the suspect and the perspective from which the evaluation was made. Thus, in addition to the officer and civilian distinction, findings were

related to the self versus other distinction. Given that evaluations of the use of force by officers are made by individuals other than the officer in question, it is important to consider differences that may surface as a function of who is judging the interaction.

Another limitation of this study, although also a strength, was the ambiguous nature of the officer-civilian interaction. While this may reflect some cases in the real world, an individual is likely to become a suspect after some type of provocative behavior. Thus, while the findings provide an understanding of the differences that may emerge in perceptions because an individual's behavior is ambiguous, future research should explore more unambiguous scenarios as well.

An additional limitation to this study was the simplicity of the description of the officer-civilian interaction. Participants read a very brief vignette, which does not necessarily approximate the nature of an actual officer-civilian encounter. However, in a real world situation emotions and perceptions are likely to actually be amplified. Thus, the findings yielded from participants reading a simple vignette suggest that this issue may be much larger in the context of actual police-civilian interactions.

Conclusions

The results from this study exemplify the need to go beyond ambiguous situations to very unequivocal scenarios, including high intensity interactions that more closely approximate the real world situations where things are likely to go wrong between officers and civilians. These results also highlight the need to include both civilian and officer samples in the research process when studying this issue. If we were able to capture differences in expectations on the basis of a temporary role that was being played, it is very likely that studying the real populations will contribute much more to our understanding. Overall, the findings from this study highlight the need to conduct more research on police and civilian perceptions of officer-civilian interactions.

APPENDIX A: CORRELATION MATRIX OF DEPENDENT MEASURES

Table 2

Variables	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Suspect Resistance	3.47	.99	-							
2. Suspect Disrespect	3.22	1.11	.50**	-						
3. Force Necessity	3.59	2.03	.33**	.43**	-					
4. Force Appropriateness	3.58	2.18	.34**	.44**	.89**	-				
5. What Should Cop Do	2.55	1.85	.44**	.44**	.67**	.68**	-			
6. What Cop Would Do	3.25	2.18	.28**	.23**	.43**	.43**	.75**	-		
7. Attitude Toward Force	2.91	1.16	.19**	.31**	.53**	.57**	.58**	.38**	-	
8. Arrest Suspect			-.37**	-.37**	-.46**	-.44**	-.16*	-.39**	-.34**	-

APPENDIX B: VIGNETTES

Instructions: The following paragraph is a description of an incident that occurred. You will be playing the role of a police officer on patrol. Please read the paragraph carefully and then answer the questions that follow it.

Condition 1:

You are a police officer on duty during the night shift when you decide to stop at a convenience store. You see a (White/ Black/ Hispanic) male who appears to be in his 20s. You think you see the male place an item in his pocket. When the male sees you approaching him, he yells angrily, "I didn't do anything wrong" and starts to walk away from you at a fast pace. You follow him across the parking lot and finally catch up to him as he reaches the sidewalk.

Condition 2:

You are a convenience store employee working the night shift. You see a (White/ Black/ Hispanic) male who appears to be in his 20s. You think you see the male place an item in his pocket. When the male sees you approaching him, he yells angrily, "I didn't do anything wrong" and starts to walk away from you at a fast pace. You follow him across the parking lot and finally catch up to him as he reaches the sidewalk.

Condition 3:

A police officer is on duty during the night shift when he decides to stop at a convenience store. The officer sees a (White/ black/ Hispanic) male who appears to be in his 20s. The officer thinks he sees the male place an item in his pocket. When the male sees the officer approaching him, he yells angrily, "I didn't do anything wrong" and starts to walk away from the officer at a fast pace. The officer follows him across the parking lot and finally catches up to him as he reaches the sidewalk.

Condition 4:

     A store employee is working his shift at a convenience store. The employee sees a (white/ black/ Hispanic) male who appears to be in his 20s. The employee thinks he sees the male place an item in his pocket. When the male sees the employee approaching him, he yells angrily, "I didn't do anything wrong" and starts to walk away from the employee at a fast pace. The employee follows him across the parking lot and finally catches up to him as he reaches the sidewalk.

REFERENCES

Allen, T. T. (2005). Taking a juvenile into custody: Situational factors that influence police officers' decisions. *Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare, 32*(2), 121-129.

Armor, D. A. (1999). The illusion of objectivity: A bias in the perception of freedom from bias. *Dissertation Abstracts International Section B: The Sciences and Engineering, 59*(9-B), 5163.

Babcock, L., Loewenstein, G., Issacharoff, S., & Camerer, C. (1995). Biased judgments of fairness in bargaining. *The American Economic Review*, *85*(5), 1337-1343.

Biddle, B. J. (1979). *Role theory: Expectations, identities, and behaviors.* New York, NY: Academic Press, Inc.

Bolger, P. C. (2014). Just following orders: A meta-analysis of the correlates of American police officer use of force decisions. *American Journal of Criminal Justice*. doi:10.1007/s12103-014-9278-y

Brown, R. A., Novak, K. J., & Frank, J. (2009). Identifying variation in police officer behavior between juveniles and adults. *Journal of Criminal Justice, 37*(2), 200–208. doi:10.1016/j.jcrimjus.2009.02.004

Brunson, R. K. (2007). "Police don't like black people": African-American young men's accumulated police experiences. *Criminology & Public Policy, 6*(1), 71-101. doi: 10.1111/j.1745-9133.2007.00423.x

Brunson, R. K., & Weitzer, R. (2008). Police Relations with Black and White Youths in Different Urban Neighborhoods. *Urban Affairs Review, 44*(6), 858–885. doi:10.1177/1078087408326973

Correll, J., Park, B., Judd, C. M., Wittenbrink, B., Sadler, M. S., & Keesee, T. (2007). Across the thin blue line: Police officers and racial bias in the decision to shoot. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 92*(6), 1006–1023. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.92.6.1006

Eberhardt, J. L., Goff, P. A., Purdie, V. J., & Davies, P. G. (2004). Seeing black: race, crime, and visual processing. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 87*(6), 876-893. doi: 10.1037/0022-3514.87.6.876

Fehr, E., & Fischbacher, U. (2004). Third-party punishment and social norms. *Evolution and Human Behavior*, *25*(2), 63-87. doi:10.2139/ssrn.495443

Fryer, R. G. (2016). An empirical analysis of racial differences in police use of force. *National Bureau of Economic Research.* Retrieved from http://www.nber.org/papers/w22399.pdf

Gau, J. M., Mosher, C., & Pratt, T. C. (2009). An inquiry into the impact of suspect race on police use of tasers. *Police Quarterly*, *13*(1), 27– 48. doi:10.1177/1098611109357332

Graham, S., & Lowery, B. S. (2004). Priming unconscious racial stereotypes about adolescent offenders. *Law and Human Behavior, 28*(5), 483–504. doi:10.1023/b:lahu.0000046430.65485.1f

Hickman, M. J., Piquero, A. R., & Garner, J. H. (2008). Toward a national estimate of police use of nonlethal force. *Criminology and Public Policy*, *7*(4), 563–604. doi:10.1111/j.1745-9133.2008.00528.x

Jones, C., & Kaplan, M. F. (2003). The effects of racially stereotypical crimes on juror decision-making and information-processing strategies. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology, 25*(1), 1–13. doi:10.1207/s15324834basp2501_1

Jones, E. E., & Nisbett, R. E. (1972). The actor and the observer: Divergent perceptions of the causes of behavior. In E. E. Jones, D. E. Kanhouse, H. H. Kelley, R. E. Nisbett, S. Valins, & B. Weiner. (Eds.), *Attribution: Perceiving the causes of behavior* (pp. 79-04). Morristown, N.J.: General Learning Press.

Kleinig, J. (2014). Legitimate and illegitimate uses of police force. *Criminal Justice Ethics*, *33*(2), 83–103. doi:10.1080/0731129X.2014.941539

Lersch, K. M. (1998). Predicting citizen race in allegations of misconduct against the police. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 26(2), 87–97. doi:10.1016/s0047-2352(97)00072-x

Lind, E. A., Tyler, T. R., & Huo, Y. J. (1997). Procedural context and culture: Variation in the antecedents of procedural justice judgments. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *73*(4), 767-780. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.73.4.767

Miller, L. (2015). Why cops kill: The psychology of police deadly force encounters. *Aggression and Violent Behavior, 22,* 97–111. doi:10.1016/j.avb.2015.04.007

Nadelhoffer, T., & Feltz, A. (2008). The actor–observer bias and moral intuitions: Adding fuel to Sinnott-Armstrong's fire. *Neuroethics, 1*(2), 133-144. doi: 10.1007/s12152-008-9015-7

Newcomb, T. M. (1950). Role behaviors in the study of individual personality and of groups. *Journal of Personality, 18*(3), 273-289. doi:10.1111/j.1467-6494.1950.tb01247.x

Payne, B. K. (2001). Prejudice and perception: The role of automatic and controlled processes in misperceiving a weapon. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 81*(2), 181–192. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.81.2.181

Phillips, S. W. (2010). Police officers' opinions of the use of unnecessary force by other officers. *Police Practice and Research*, *11*(3), 197–210. doi:10.1080/15614260902830054

Phillips, S. W. (2015). Police recruit attitudes toward the use of unnecessary force. *Police Practice and Research: An International Journal*, *16*(1), 51–64. doi:10.1080/15614263.2013.845942

Pizio, W. (2013). London metropolitan police: Experiences and perceptions of citizen disrespect. *Police Practice and Research, 15*(3), 249–260. doi:10.1080/15614263.2013.795743

Plant, A. E., & Peruche, B. M. (2005). The consequences of race for police officers' responses to criminal suspects. *Psychological Science, 16*(3), 180-183. doi: 10.1111/j.0956-7976.2005.00800.x

Pronin, E., Gilovich, T., & Ross, L. (2004). Objectivity in the eye of the beholder: divergent perceptions of bias in self versus others. *Psychological Review, 111*(3), 781-799. doi: 10.1037/0033-295X.111.3.781

Rupp, D. E., & Spencer, S. (2006). When customers lash out: The effects of customer interactional injustice on emotional labor and the mediating role of discrete emotions. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *91*(4), 971-978. doi:10.1037/0021-9010.91.4.971

Sadler, M. S., Correll, J., Park, B., & Judd, C. M. (2012). The world is not Black and White: Racial bias in the decision to shoot in a multiethnic context. *Journal of Social Issues, 68*(2), 286-313. doi:10.1111/j.1540-4560.2012.01749.x

Schuck, A. M. (2004). The masking of racial and ethnic disparity in police use of physical force: The effects of gender and custody status. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, *32*, 557– 564. doi:10.1016/j.jcrimjus.2004.08.010

Shapiro, D. L., & Brett, J. M. (1993). Comparing three processes underlying judgments of procedural justice: A field study of mediation and arbitration. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *65*(6), 1167-1177. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.65.6.1167

Skorinko, J. L., & Spellman, B. (2013). Stereotypic crimes: How group-crime associations affect memory and (sometimes) verdicts and sentencing. *Victims and Offenders: An International Journal of Evidence-Based Research, Policy, and Practice*, *8*(3), 278–307. doi:10.1080/15564886.2012.755140

Sommers, S. R., & Ellsworth, P. C. (2001). White juror bias: An investigation of prejudice against Black defendants in the American courtroom. *Psychology, Public Policy, and Law*, *7*(1), 201-229. doi:10.1037/1076-8971.7.1.201

Taylor, S. E., & Koivumaki, J. H. (1976). The perception of self and others: Acquaintanceship, affect, and actor-observer differences. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 33*(4), 403-408. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.33.4.403

Terrill, W., & Mastrofski, S. D. (2002). Situational and officer-based determinants of police coercion. *Justice Quarterly*, *19*(2), 215–248. doi:10.1080/07418820200095221