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An Investigation of Racial Biases Among Rural Police Officers

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Abstract

The current study examined racial biases in rural police systems. Fifty police officers took part in the study. A likert-type scale was used to measure different aspects of racial bias, and a questionnaire with crime descriptions was used. Each police system received either a Caucasian suspect questionnaire or an African American suspect questionnaire. Results indicated that the rural police officers in this study did not exhibit racial biases. There were additional analyses done which showed that female officers are slightly harsher in their treatment of African American suspects compared to male officers. The findings of the current study are similar to findings of studies done in the past.

An Investigation of Racial Biases Among Rural Police Officers

Cognitive psychology teaches us that everyone holds biases towards race, sexuality, ethnicity, and gender which can be either positive or negative. These biases may affect the ability to think clearly about a situation, especially when these biases are strong. There are police systems that may have biased officers working for them which could lead them to treat someone unfairly because of their race or ethnicity. For example, Weitzer and Tuch (2002) did a study concerning a phenomenon called "driving while black." His study showed that African Americans were more likely to be stopped and searched than Caucasians. Understanding the extent of racial bias in rural area police systems is essential to our understanding of the justice system.

Racial biases can be defined as being in favor for or more lenient with one race more so than another race (Peruche & Plant, 2005). In this research it is expected that there are racial biases in the police system, specifically towards

African Americans. These biases can influence a police officer's decision on whether or not he or she believes a suspect is armed, whether or not he or she will shoot at a suspect and to what extent he or she will search a suspect. These biases can lead police officers to shoot and kill an unarmed, innocent suspect just based on their intuition about the specific race at hand (Peruche & Plant, 2005). Their study was composed of a computer simulation of situations in which a police officer would have to make a decision on whether or not to shoot a suspect.

There are many different statistics involving bias-motivated incidents. The Bureau of Justice Statistics (2001) reported that during a three year stretch there were 2,976 biased incidents reported; 1,820 of these incidents were attributed to racial biases (61 percent). Among racially-motivated bias incidents, 6 in 10 targeted African Americans whereas only 3 in 10 targeted Caucasians. The race of the officers was not reported. These numbers support the idea that racial biases do exist in our police systems.

Cognitive Processes

Cognitive processes have a huge role in how a person reacts to a certain race. Many people hold stereotypes, defined in this sense as, the association of a social group concept (i.e. African Americans commit more crimes than Caucasians) with one or more attribute concepts (Banaji, Farnham, Greenwald, Mellot, Nosek, & Rudman, 2002). For example, a person could hold a stereotype that all African Americans are burglars because their house was burglarized by an African American. This also could be interpreted by the representative heuristic. A heuristic is a set of rules or strategies that lead to a solution most of the

time. Specifically, the representative heuristic refers to how readily a belief or example comes to mind (Kahneman & Tversky, 1972). For example, if a home was to be burglarized and shown on the news, the people watching the news may automatically assume it to be an African American if their home was burglarized by an African American. These processes are not in our conscious attention otherwise we would be able to think before we react to a certain situation. Assumptions are based on how readily examples come to mind or how a certain group is perceived, in this case, African Americans.

Shacter (1999) identified the seven sins of memory, and bias is one of the sins in the group which refers to different types of memory distortions. Shacter defines bias as the distorting influences of present knowledge, beliefs, and feelings on recollection of previous experiences. The idea of bias as one of the seven sins of memory proposes that if a person holds a negative stereotype about a group of people he or she will incorrectly recall an interaction with one member of that group as being more negative than it actually was. For example, if an officer holds a negative view of African Americans he or she will recall one African American's actions as being more violent than it actually was; thus "confirming" his or her original stereotype. This could eventually lead to the officer being more likely to arrest, search, or stop African Americans in the future.

Weitzer and Tuch (1999) did a study on perceptions of racial discrimination of three different levels. It was found that very few Caucasians had been mistreated by the police, whereas 4 in 10 African Americans have experienced mistreatment. This area of research indicated that both Africans Americans and Caucasians believe that police patrol in African American neighborhoods is worse than in Caucasian neighborhoods because more police officers are seen patrolling the neighborhood on a daily basis than seen in a Caucasian

neighborhood. It seems a robust variable in many research studies that African American participants express far greater dissatisfaction with the criminal justice system in general as well as the police (Weitzer & Tuch, 1999). The statistics reported in this study show that more African Americans than Caucasians have been treated unfairly by the police.

Racial Profiling by Officers

Interest in this area relates back to the Rodney King incident in which the police shot, tazed, and beat King repeatedly. Many people speculate on whether or not the same would have happened if King were of Caucasian race rather than African American. Another incident, in New York, led Payne (2001) to conduct a study on police officer's prejudice in relation to their perception of an event. In New York on February 21, 1999 an unarmed African American immigrant was shot 41 times by four different police officers'. This event was justified because the police officers thought the man was armed since he moved after he was told to stay still. They believed he was going to remove a gun from his pocket when in fact it was only a wallet.

Payne (2001) examined stereotypic cues of different races. Underneath the suspects were either hand tools or a weapon. These items were covered up in such a way that all the participant was able to see was a white rectangular piece of paper covering one of these simulated items. They were only given a brief period of time to see each simulation. This study found that the presence of African American faces made participants more likely to misidentify a hand tool as a handgun, compared to Caucasian faces (Payne, 2001). The results of this study support the hypothesis that the race of the faces did influence the perceptual identification of whether or not it was a hand tool or weapon underneath the picture. The study concluded that stereotypic cues, defined as something that triggers a person's stereotype, must be present (Payne, 2001). A stereotypic cue, for example,

would be an African American wearing loose fit clothing rather than regular jeans and a sweater. These stereotypic cues can also include race, clothing, and tattoos.

Peruche and Plant (2005) conducted a study which tested for racial biases in police officers decisions to shoot African American and Caucasian suspects. Their study consisted of 50 law enforcement personnel. The results they found were slightly different than what they hypothesized. Officers were more likely to mistakenly shoot at an unarmed African American suspect than a Caucasian suspect; however, when the suspect was armed, they were more likely to shoot at a Caucasian suspect than an African American suspect. The police officers in this study were tested many times through these computer simulations, and their biases tended to decrease after having gone through the simulations many times. Also, there was no bias present when there is a frequent, personal contact with African Americans.

Peruche and Plant (2005) conducted a similar study to test the idea that influencing people's associations with social groups can reduce automatic forms of prejudice and stereotyping. In order to this they repeatedly exposed the participants to social stimuli where the critical characteristic (i.e. a violent criminal) is unrelated to group membership (i.e. race) through a computer simulation. Their goal of this process was to make race a non-diagnostic category. This study found that in early trials African American's were perceived to have weapons more than Caucasians. After this initial trial, the participants were repeatedly exposed to both races where the faces were not related to weapons. The second trial revealed that after this exposure the participants' biases reduced, and they were less likely to assume that African Americans were correlated with weapons more than the Caucasians.

Correll, Judd, Keesee, Park, Sadler, and Wittenbring (2007) composed a research study to see if there is a racial bias among police

officers in their decisions to shoot. This study tested both police officers and civilians to look for differences between the two. It was found that officers were quicker to make correct shoot/don't shoot decisions than civilians. However, in regards to racial biases, both police officers and civilians set higher criteria to determine whether or not a Caucasian suspect should be shot at whereas the officers were considered 'trigger-happy' when determining whether or not an African American suspect should be shot at (Correll et al, 2007). This study also looked at the variable of police officer gender in relation to whether or not males or females would be more apt to shoot at an unarmed African American suspect. No main effects were found which means that there is not a significant difference between males and females in their decision to shoot; however, it was found that females are more apt to shoot at an unarmed African American suspect if they are in an area where it is common to associate African Americans with crime (Correll et al, 2007).

Many studies have examined racial biases in the legal system. One study done by Dovidio, Gaertner, and Kawakami (2002) studied racial attitudes related to behavior among the different races. This study hypothesized that while in interracial interactions, Caucasian participants would rely on their explicit, self-reported racial attitudes to shape deliberative behaviors such as their friendliness of verbal behavior towards an African American person. They define the term friendliness by whether or not positive or negative descriptions are used when describing another race. Findings of research in this area include Caucasian people's explicit racial attitudes were reflected in the bias of their verbal behaviors towards African Americans. However, this study also showed that the participants' perceptions of their own racial biases and perception of the African American's racial biases were only weakly related. This study supports the idea that some

people do have racial biases, and these biases can be seen through both verbal and nonverbal behaviors to a member of a different race in normal day to day interactions among people.

Klein and Smith (1984) examined the factors which influence police arrest decisions in interpersonal disputes. The study analyzed data from direct observation of police-citizen encounters and found that arrest decisions are influenced by situational factors; also, the type of neighborhood in which the disputes occur can influence the officer's decision to arrest. This research has shown that arrest decisions are influenced by organizational characteristics of police agencies, such as bureaucratization and professionalism. This study found that high ranking officers were less likely to make an arrest based on race. These officers focused more on the disputes themselves whereas the officers with lesser ranks tended to focus more on the race of the people involved.

Weitzer and Tuch (2002) conducted another study on racial profiling perception. For this study, racial profiling was defined as the use of race as a key factor in police decisions to stop and interrogate citizens (Weitzer & Tuch, 2002). The research has shown that both African Americans and Caucasians overwhelmingly reject the use of racial profiling as a tool of law enforcement. However, the results showed that African Americans were more likely than Caucasians to see racial profiling as widespread. It was found that none of the Caucasians in this survey reported being stopped due to their race whereas 4 in ten African Americans reported that they had been. This study revealed that African Americans between the ages of 18-34 were more likely, than other races, to claim to have been victimized by racial profiling at least once (Weitzer & Tuch, 2002). Another racial difference is that African American women were thirteen times more likely than Caucasian women to say that they have been stopped because of their race. This part of the study shows that there may not be gender differences

in an officer's racial bias. The major conclusion that this study has drawn is that the feeling that one has personally experienced racial profiling is a strong prediction of their perceptions.

Davidson, Smith, and Visher (1984) examined the degree to which race influences police arrest decisions. This study addressed two different types of bias: whether African Americans are more likely to be arrested (suspect-directed bias) than Caucasians and if the police are equally responsive to African American and Caucasian victims of crime (victim-directed bias). This study found little evidence of suspect-directed racial bias, but they did find that police are more responsive to Caucasian victims of crime. Even though little evidence was found to support the suspect-directed racial bias, the study found that police do arrest African Americans on less stringent legal criteria such as running a stop sign, forgetting to use a turn signal, and domestic issues. In addition to this, it was found that African Americans were more likely to be arrested than Caucasians in police-suspect encounters.

Ridgeway (2007) compared the racial distribution of each officer's stopping patterns. This analysis found that five officers appeared to have stopped more African American suspects than other officers did while patrolling the same areas, at the same times, and with the same assignment. The third analysis examined the outcomes of the stops to assess whether stopped African American suspects and Caucasian suspects have different rates of frisks, searches, use of force, and arrests. This analysis revealed that Caucasian suspects were frisked less frequently than African American suspects in similar situations. Also, it was shown that arrest rates and use of force for African Americans were slightly higher than for Caucasians (Ridgeway, 2007).

Peruche and Plant (2006) composed a study in which they explored officers' racial bias in decisions to shoot suspects in correlation to their self-reported beliefs about African

American and Caucasian suspects. This study found that beliefs about African Americans criminal rates and perceived dangerousness revealed a strong relationship with the quality of contact the officer has with African Americans. This contact includes both while on the job and in their personal lives. The results of this study showed that officers with negative beliefs about African Americans were more like to shoot. However, officers with positive contact with African Americans in their personal lives were less likely to shoot. This study showed that the amount of positive interaction with an African American can influence one's personal bias of the race.

Mason (2007) composed a study to test racial biases for stopping motor vehicles. The ubiquitous nature of this phenomenon has led to the colloquialism "driving while black." This study proposed that African Americans and Caucasians should have equal hit-rates for being targeted while in their motor vehicle. The study reported that 70 percent of Florida's state troopers are Caucasian whereas 30 percent are either Latino or African American. It was found that about one percent of drivers stopped undergo a search. However, .81% of stopped Caucasian drivers are searched whereas 1.35% African American drivers are searched (Mason, 2007). This study reported that there is evidence of police bias against African American drivers by all officers. This study also concluded that Caucasian officers were more intensive in their searches than African American officers.

Statement of Problem

It seems as though many arrests, stops, and searches made by police officers are based on race. This could be because of the representative heuristic in which they base their knowledge on what most readily comes to mind. It seems as though many police officers use racial profiling to determine whether or not the suspect should be arrested, stopped, and searched. In addition to this, the deadly sin of bias could also be a reason for why this

happens. The officer may recall a past interaction as more negative than in actuality which may lead this officer to stop that specific race.

This project will examine the extent to which racial biases are present in nearby rural town police systems. Another aim will be to see which race these officers tend to hold the most bias against. The project is also going to see if racial biases are different between male and female officers and if one sex is more likely to hold more racial biases than the other. The last aim of this study is to see if the amount of racial biases one holds decreases with more the years in the police systems. The problem at hand is: do small, rural town police systems hold racial biases when the population is not of equal distribution among races?

Hypotheses

Based on the literature review the current study proposes that racial biases in the local police systems will be more often directed towards African Americans than Caucasians if the police officers are Caucasian. It is also hypothesized that African American police officers will hold fewer biases than Caucasian police officers towards African Americans. Two variables, length of time as a police officer and gender, will also be looked at. It is hypothesized that the more years a police officer has been in the system the fewer racial biases he or she will have, and that male police officers will hold more biases than female police officers.

Method

Participants

For this study the participants included police officers from Bradford County and Tioga County, Pennsylvania and Steuben County, New York. A total number of 50 officers participated. Male officers and female officers were included in the study to see if there were any gender differences in the biases. Ten different police systems in local rural towns participated in the study.

Materials

To test the racial biases in these police systems a survey had been devised. Questions included demographics of each officer participating as well as crime descriptions with an African American and Caucasian suspect. The crime descriptions escalated from burglary, drug possession, armed robbery, and murder. Each suspect, both African American and Caucasian, had the same crime description for each of the escalating crimes. The officers were able to choose from six different options which were the determinants of how harsh the officers would respond in the hypothetical situation. These options included: stop the suspect, frisk the suspect, cuff the suspect and take him to the station, all of the above, and none of the above. This tested the biases these officers hold.

A likert scale was also included to test specific aspects of racial biases. There were five different responses in which an officer could answer ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree (see Appendix 1). There were five questions in total that asked specifics about how the officer felt about racial profiling. These questions included: is racial profiling legitimate, necessary, and/or effective. It also asked two personal questions about the officer's own use of racial profiling as well as how he or she would feel if he or she found out that another officer was using this technique.

Procedure

The first step of this study was to contact the police systems I planned to include in my study. I spoke with the Chief of police, and gave him the survey to distribute to his officers. Different police systems received different copies of the survey. Among the different police systems, the way these surveys were distributed was alternated to reduce the order effects. Half of the police systems included in the study received the surveys that have the African American suspect while the other half received the surveys that have the

Caucasian suspect. The police systems also were given the likert scale. In addition to this difference, I alternated on the order I distributed both surveys. Some police stations received the likert scale first to be filled out, and other stations received the likert scale second to be filled out.

Results

The first hypothesis stated that Caucasian police officers will be more likely than African American police officers to use racial profiling. This hypothesis was tested through a series of three separate 2 way analyses of variance that examined racial profiling under the three conditions, red light, marijuana, drunkenness. Police officers were not any more likely to treat African Americans more harshly in any of the conditions (see Table 1).

The second hypothesis stated that African American police officers will hold fewer biases than Caucasian police officers toward African Americans. This hypothesis was also tested through a series of three separate 2 way analyses of variance. These analyses tested the variables race of the officer and race of the defendant and the dependent variable is the officer's score on severity of method used. No main effects were found across all three situations. The race of police officer has no effect on how many biases were held.

The third hypothesis stated that the more years a police officer has been in the system the fewer racial biases he or she will hold. This was also tested through an analysis of variance, and no main effects were found, $F(1, 48)=1.449, p=0.335$. The last hypothesis stated that male police officers will hold more racial biases (defined as the score on the overall bias scale) than female police officers. An analysis of variance was used for this hypothesis as well, and no main effects were found, $F(1, 48)=0.708, p=0.404$.

Additional Analyses

To further investigate any other significant findings additional analyses were done. A one way analysis of variance was used to find any gender differences in severity of punishment in the marijuana situation only, $F(1, 49)=4.417$, $p=0.47$. This shows that females tended to be harsher in their severity than males. The female officers mean score in the marijuana situation is 2.36 ($SD=1.04$) and the male officers mean score is 1.84 ($SD=0.75$). There is also evidence to support the trend that young, inexperienced female police officers are most likely to use the harshest tactics only in the drunkenness situation, $X^2(2, N=6)=6.0$, $p=0.05$. Eighty percent of the females in this group would endorse using all of the above tactics whereas only 20% in the other groups would endorse using all of the above tactics.

The current study also found that Caucasian officers are significantly harsher in their punishment in the drunkenness situation only $X^2(20, N=50)=48.61$, $p<0.001$. The effect is that a significant amount of Caucasian officers would use extreme tactics compared to the other races which only had 4% that would use extreme tactics.

Discussion

Summary

The current study's data did not support any of the proposed hypotheses. Caucasian police officers are no more likely than African American officers to hold racial biases towards African American suspects. This study also found that the amount of years a police officer has been in the police system does not affect whether or not he or she will hold more racial biases. Gender did not play a role in determining who would hold more racial biases but does affect severity.

Interpretation

The first hypothesis of the current study involved Caucasian police officers holding more racial biases towards African American suspects than African American police officers.

This could be due to the fact that officers in rural areas hold no racial biases. These officers may not hold any racial biases because they are not exposed to as many African American suspects as the larger cities are. This hypothesis did not receive support which slightly corresponds to the study done by Peruche and Plant (2005). In this study Peruche and Plant (2005) hypothesized that police officers would mistakenly shoot (through computer simulation) an unarmed African American more so than a Caucasian. They found that the officers were more likely to shoot an unarmed African American, but they were more likely to shoot an armed Caucasian more so than the armed African American. It seems as though it may depend on the situation in which the officer is placed. In the current study the situations were not severe; they were common situations, which might not have activated stereotypes. This fits with the stereotype-consistent behavior theory which states we only see bias if we can make an internal attribution about the person.

This hypothesis also corresponds with the study proposed by Davidson, Smith, and Visser (1984). They hypothesized African Americans would be more likely to be arrested than Caucasians. This was not supported by their data. However, this study did find that police officers arrest African Americans on less-stringent criteria (Davidson et al., 1984). Even though the hypothesis was not supported, it was found that police officers do tend to be harsher in their use of options when it comes to African Americans than they are when it comes to Caucasians. This could be due to the current study's officer's own heuristics, stereotypes, or prejudices. According to Davidson et al. (1984) police officers in the current study do not engage in suspect-directed bias in their use of punishment. This means that police officers are not more likely to stop, frisk, or search African Americans more than Caucasians. They concluded that looking at arrest rates for Caucasians and African Americans ignores a

different form of racial bias, differential responsiveness, which means one may respond differently to a situation with an African American in comparison to the same situation with a Caucasian. The current study only shows a trend toward this: female police officers responded differently (and harsher) to African American suspects.

The second hypothesis of the current study stated that African American police officers will hold fewer biases towards African American suspects than Caucasian officers. This finding was not significant, but it does relate to Mason (2007) in which he finds that there is evidence of the police officers engaging in racial profiling, regardless of their race. Also, Barlow and Barlow (2002) found that one in 10 African American police officers admitted to using racial profiling in their decisions. These African American officers also stated that racial profiling is a legitimate and necessary tool for police officers towards any race (Barlow & Barlow, 2002). Barlow and Barlow (2002) also found that some police officers defend racial profiling because they believe it is based on probabilities. This is a great statement because it is an indirect definition of how the representative heuristic is used. For the current study, African Americans are rarely stopped; thus, this eliminates any chance of a representative heuristic (or probabilities) that African Americans engage in more criminal activity.

Weitzer and Tuch (2002) found that both African Americans and Caucasians reject the use of racial profiling as a tool of law enforcement. This was also found in the current study. This could be due to the fact that there are fewer African Americans in the rural areas I included in my study than major cities. If the police officers do not encounter many African American suspects, it would be expected that they would not believe racial profiling is a legitimate tool of law enforcement because they have not had many encounters.

Kahneman and Tversky (1972) discussed the representative heuristic. They believed that this could be the reason for many people's own prejudices, stereotypes, and racist beliefs. The rural areas I included in my study have more Caucasian people than African American people. This could be a reason why police officers of either race do not engage in racial profiling. This would lead to their representative heuristic being mainly focused on Caucasian suspects rather than both of the races equally. If these officers are not exposed to many African American suspects these police officers would not use race as a key determinant in their decision to stop, pull over, or frisk the suspects. In a different view, the police officers could have come in contact with African American suspects, but only for speeding, failure to use a turn signal, and not stopping for the correct amount of time. These situations may not have caused the police officer to perceive these people as dangerous. Also, the African Americans could have been very polite while interacting with the police officers when stopped for a violation which would lead the police officer to not make any racial decisions when deciding whether or not to stop a person based on his or her race.

The third hypothesis stated that the more years a police officer has been patrolling the less racially biased he or she will be. This hypothesis was not supported, and this is similar to the findings of Peruche and Plant (2005). Their study concluded that there were no differences between the police officers that have been repeatedly exposed to African American suspects and ones that have not had many encounters with African American suspects. This can also be viewed as the more years a police officer has (more exposure versus less exposure). The study found that every police officer had the same reaction to shoot (through simulation) when he or she first encountered an African American suspect. However, their decision to shoot at the African American suspect first decreased with more

exposure, or in the current study's case, more years.

Klein and Smith's study (1984) found a different result in their study. This could be because it was in an area heavily populated with African Americans. The current study chose areas where African Americans do not make up a major part of the population. If we were to place these same officers in an urban city heavily populated with African Americans the results might be different. One variable that is similar to the current study is that Klein and Smith (1984) found that the arrest decisions are situational. Most of their situations involved domestic violence or neighborhood disputes. These two situations are more severe than the situations used in the current study. This also coincides with the stereotype consistent behavior theory. African Americans could have been involved in more violent crimes which would activate the stereotypes of the police officers which would induce racial profiling.

The fourth hypothesis stated that male police officers will hold more racial biases than police officers. This is similar to the findings of Correll et al. (2007) in which they found no gender differences in racial biases. Male and female police officers did not differ much when it came to the decision to shoot or not shoot. They found that female officers are only more likely to shoot if they are in an area where it is common to associate African Americans with crime. The current study did not have areas like this so this did not occur.

Limitations

One major limitation of the current study is the small sample size. With a larger sample size there would have been more variation in race, gender, and years as an officer. More police stations throughout the

entire state of Pennsylvania would have been better as well, especially Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, rather than just three adjacent counties. A second limitation of this study was the variable itself. Many of the police officers were reluctant to participate because the idea of racial profiling is unappealing to an officer. Also, because the study examined racial profiling, some officers could have given socially desirable answers instead of their true thoughts.

Future Directions

Future researchers in this area should use a scale that does not directly test for racial profiling; rather, they should use a scale that indirectly measures the variable. This may produce more honest answers, and it may also produce more participants. The scale should also use a categorical variable because it does not give much leeway for answers. Yes and no answers should be used so it is harder for police officers to make themselves appear socially desirable by choosing the less severe choice as when using a continuous variable but could just choose no.

Another idea for future researchers is the use of a computer simulation. This is the closest one could get a police officer to an actual criminal act. The first simulation would probably be the most useful information because it will be their first time experiencing it which would induce the most honest reactions. Also, the simulations should be timed because it would cause natural inclination to take over such as Peruche and Plant's design (2006). These computer simulations could include the situations used in the current study as well as more severe ones to see if biases are present more when situations are extreme.

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Table 1
ANOVA Results for Hypothesis 1

Condition	F	<i>p</i>	eta ²
Red Light	1.6	0.205	0.35
Marijuana	0.115	0.736	0.003
Drunkenness	0.004	0.952	.045

Note. *df*=1, 49

Table 2
ANOVA Results for Hypothesis 2

Condition	F	<i>p</i>	eta ²
Red Light	1.541	0.226	0.056
Marijuana	0.036	0.085	0.001
Drunkenness	0.246	0.623	0.007

Note. *df*=1, 40

Appendix 1

How much do you agree with the following statements:

1. Racial profiling is a necessary procedure				
1	2	3	4	5
(Strongly Disagree)	(Disagree)	(Neutral)	(Agree)	(Strongly Agree)
2. Racial profiling is a legitimate procedure				
1	2	3	4	5
(Strongly Disagree)	(Disagree)	(Neutral)	(Agree)	(Strongly Agree)
3. Racial profiling is effective in catching criminals				
1	2	3	4	5
(Strongly Disagree)	(Disagree)	(Neutral)	(Agree)	(Strongly Agree)
4. I would be upset if I found out another police officer uses racial profiling				
1	2	3	4	5
(Strongly Disagree)	(Disagree)	(Neutral)	(Agree)	(Strongly Agree)
5. Although it may seem like prejudice to believe that African Americans commit more crimes than Caucasians, I believe this to be true in reality				
1	2	3	4	5
(Strongly Disagree)	(Disagree)	(Neutral)	(Agree)	(Strongly Agree)