Demeanor, Race, and Police Perceptions of Procedural Justice:
Evidence From Two Randomized Experiments*

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Abstract

President Obama's Task Force on 21st Century Policing recently endorsed procedural justice as a way to restore trust between police and communities. Yet police-citizen interactions vary immensely, and research has yet to give sufficient consideration to the factors that might affect the importance officers place on exercising procedural justice during interactions. Building on research examining "moral worthiness" judgments and racial stereotyping among police officers, we conducted two randomized experiments to test whether suspect race and demeanor affect officers' perceptions of the threat of violence and importance of exercising procedural justice while interacting with suspicious persons. We find that suspect race fails to exert a statistically significant effect on either outcome. However, demeanor does – such that officers perceive a greater threat of violence and indicate it is less important to exercise procedural justice with disrespectful suspects. These findings have implications for procedural justice training, specifically, and police-community relations more broadly.

Keywords: policing, procedural justice, race, demeanor, moral worthiness

Demeanor, Race, and Police Perceptions of Procedural Justice:
Evidence From Two Randomized Experiments

President Obama's Task Force on 21st Century Policing recently endorsed procedural justice as a way to restore trust between police and communities – particularly communities of color (Ramsey & Robinson, 2015). Tyler's procedural justice theory suggests that when citizens feel they are treated fairly and respectfully by police officers, they afford greater trust and legitimacy to the police (Tyler, 1990; Tyler & Huo, 2002). In turn, they are more likely to empower the police (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003), comply with their directives (Murphy, Tyler, & Curtis, 2009), and cooperate – in the form of reporting crime or providing information to aid with criminal investigations (Jackson, Bradford, Stanko, & Hohl, 2012; Murphy & Cherney, 2012). This "process-based model of policing" has received a wealth of empirical support over the last two decades (Mazerolle, Bennett, Davis, Sargeant, & Manning, 2013). Indeed, recent studies have demonstrated the model's portability, or invariance, across many different contexts – that is, the model appears to operate similarly for citizens regardless of race, gender, or neighborhood conditions (Jackson et al., 2012; Wolfe, Nix, Kaminski, & Rojek, 2016).[1] Thus, it appears critical for the police to emphasize procedural justice when they interact with citizens because these interactions represent "teachable moments" (Tyler, 2011, p. 257) whereby citizens learn what to expect from the police.

At the same time, police-citizen interactions vary immensely and research has yet to give sufficient consideration to the factors that influence police behavior, especially the use of procedural justice, during different encounters. Two potential factors are citizen disrespect and

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[1] With respect to ethnicity, however, the evidence is not so clear. For example, Sargeant, Murphy, and Cherney (2014) found that procedural justice was less associated with trust in the police among Vietnamese individuals than the general population. On the other hand, a more recent study suggests procedural justice has a larger effect on legitimacy among ethnic minorities who feel disengaged from police (Madon, Murphy, & Sargeant, in press).

race. Half a century of policing research suggests that police officers' behaviors and decision-making may depend, in part, on the characteristics of the citizen (Bayley, 1995). Disrespectful or noncompliant citizens face a greater likelihood of being treated disrespectfully by the police (Mastrofski, Reisig, & McCluskey, 2002; Reisig, McCluskey, Mastrofski, & Terrill, 2004; Van Maanen, 1974). This is unfortunate, because research shows that discourteous police treatment can escalate already tense situations (Reisig et al., 2004). Disrespectful citizens are also more likely to experience other negative outcomes, such as arrest and the use of force (Garner, Maxwell, & Heraux, 2002; McCluskey & Terrill, 2005; James et al., 2016; Weisburd, Greenspan, Hamilton, Williams, & Bryant, 2000).

Studies also indicate that citizen race may influence police behavior. Evidence suggests that blacks are more likely than whites to be stopped (Epp, Maynard-Moody, & Haider-Markel, 2014; Gelman, Fagan, & Kiss, 2015), searched (Engel & Calnon, 2004; Engel & Johnson, 2006), arrested (Kochel, Wilson, & Mastrofski, 2011; Langton & Durose, 2013), and subjected to coercive force (Engel & Calnon, 2004; Robin, 1963; Terrill & Mastrofski, 2002). Some research has found that officers were quicker to press a "shoot" button when shown pictures of armed black suspects relative to armed white suspects during computer simulation experiments (Correll & Keesee, 2009; Correll et al., 2007; Sadler et al., 2012). However, other experiments have shown the opposite, finding that officers were actually more *hesitant* to shoot black individuals during video simulations (James, Vila, & Daratha, 2013; James, James, & Vila, 2016).[2]

Unfortunately, the potential mechanisms explaining the effects of citizen disrespect and race on officers' behavior within encounters have received far less empirical attention. Officers

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[2] Interestingly, these studies were completed *prior to* the August 2014 shooting of Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri, which led to unprecedented levels of scrutiny regarding police treatment of minority citizens (Nix & Wolfe, 2016, 2017).

may respond differently to disrespectful citizens because they perceive them as being less morally worthy of procedural justice (Mastrofski, Jonathan-Zamir, Moyal, & Willis, 2016; Pickett & Ryon, 2017). Alternatively, they may simply believe that disrespect signals a greater threat of violence in the encounter (Bayley, 1995; Toch, 1996). The same processes may explain racial disparities in encounters. Racial disparities in police treatment may exist in part due to differences in officers' perceptions of white and black citizens' moral worthiness for procedural justice. That is, if officers hold racial animus, they may believe it is less important to exercise procedural justice with blacks, and in turn, interactions with blacks may be less likely to end peacefully. Another theoretical possibility is that, because of widespread stereotypes of blacks as prone to violence and aggression (Pickett, Chiricos, Golden, & Gertz, 2012; Quillian & Pager, 2010), officers may perceive a greater threat of violence in encounters with blacks, and act accordingly. Likewise, the implicit bias argument holds that police officers unconsciously associate darker skin color with greater threat, which translates into disproportionately negative outcomes for blacks compared to whites (Trinkner & Goff, in press).

To advance the literature, and expand our understanding of the mechanisms explaining the effects of citizen demeanor and race on police behavior, we conducted two randomized experiments with separate samples of police officers. To better illuminate how situational features are viewed through the perspective of the police, both experiments focused on police officers' *perceptions*. In Study 1, we tested the "moral worthiness" hypothesis, examining whether suspect demeanor and race affected officers' perceived importance of exercising procedural justice, when the threat of violence was held constant. Research has documented that despite their critical importance for ensuring the validity of findings, replications are very uncommon in criminology (McNeely & Warner, 2015). For this reason, we conducted a second

experiment with another sample of police officers in an attempt to replicate the findings from Study 1. Study 2 also extended Study 1 by testing the effects of suspect demeanor and race on officers' perceptions of the threat of violence in encounters. Below, before describing the experiments, we first review the relevant literature.

The Importance of Procedural Justice

Tyler's (1990) theory of procedural justice suggests that a key reason people support the police and obey the law, both within specific encounters and generally, is that they believe the police are a legitimate authority. Citizens' event-specific procedural justice perceptions within individual encounters with police have broad ranging effects on their judgments of police legitimacy (Mazerolle, Antrobus, Bennett, & Tyler, 2013). The conceptual definition of legitimacy is being actively debated in the empirical literature (Jackson & Gau, 2016; Tankebe, 2013; Tankebe, Reisig, & Wang, 2016), but it is "typically operationalized as (1) people's authorization of legal authority to dictate appropriate behavior and (2) people's trust and confidence that legal authorities are honest and act in ways that have citizens' best interests at heart" (Tyler & Jackson, 2014, p. 78). When people view the police as legitimate, they are more likely to comply with police requests in specific encounters, cooperate in the form of reporting crime and aiding in investigations, and ultimately, self-regulate their own behavior (Tyler, 1990; Tyler & Huo, 2002).[3] Legitimacy should thus reduce the risk of negative outcomes in police-citizen encounters.

Given the importance of legitimacy to authority figures such as the police, a great deal of research has centered on how law enforcement can achieve legitimacy in the eyes of the public.

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[3] Note that Tyler's framework is intended to complement instrumental-based perspectives like deterrence, not supplant them. In fact, recent research has argued that perceived police effectiveness is simply a component of people's police legitimacy evaluations (Tankebe, 2013; see also, Beetham, 1991).

Tyler's theory, for example, emphasizes the role of procedural justice. Citizens view the police as procedurally fair when officers allow citizens a voice in the decision-making process and ensure neutrality. Additionally, citizens believe the police are procedurally fair when officers treat people with respect and politeness. Such treatment is consistent with citizens' normative expectations about how the police ought to behave and communicates to people that they are valued members within the larger society (Lind & Tyler, 1988; Tyler & Blader, 2000, 2003).

Consistent with Tyler's (2001) expectations, procedural justice is a robust social psychological construct. In experiments, citizens who experience procedurally-fair treatment are more likely to view the police as legitimate compared to those in control groups who receive neutral or procedurally-unfair treatment (Maguire, Lowrey, & Johnson, 2016; Mazerolle, Bennett, Antrobus, & Eggins, 2012; Murphy et al., 2013; Murphy & Mazerolle, 2016; Sahin, Braga, Apel, & Brunson, 2016). One clear implication is that police actions in specific encounters affect citizens' perceptions of that encounter (Mazerolle et al., 2013). Wolfe and colleagues (2016) showed that regardless of individual demographic differences, contact with the police, or perceived neighborhood context, the impact of procedural justice on people's attitudes concerning their moral obligation to obey the police and their level of trust in the police was invariant. The use of procedural justice by officers may also influence their own views about policing and civilians. In Australia, for example, officers randomly assigned to exercise procedural justice as part of the Queensland Community Engagement Trial believed "that the encounter [had] a greater impact on drivers' views than the drivers report themselves" (Bates, Antrobus, Bennett, & Martin, 2015, p. 442). In other words, procedural justice theory appears to be a general framework with broad implications for policing.[4]

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[4] Other research adds to this conclusion. Procedural justice is important when measured both directly (i.e., stemming from recent police contact) and vicariously (Tyler & Huo, 2002; Wolfe, McLean, & Pratt, 2016), for the general

The Theoretical Salience of Suspect Demeanor and Race

Black's (1976) seminal work argued that police officers are more likely to apply the law (e.g., use force) against noncompliant suspects. According to Van Maanen (1974), the "asshole" (i.e., noncompliant citizen) is more likely to be viewed as worthy of punishment by officers and, therefore, more likely to have force used against him. Pickett and Ryon (2017) argue that when citizens disrespect the police, it undermines the same social values and principles that normatively validate the formal and informal procedural rules that constrain police behavior. Bayley (1995, p. 101) explains that police officers believe disrespectful citizens "need 'to be taught a lesson'" and that "they 'can't be allowed to get away [with] it.'" In this way, we would expect police officers' perceptions of suspects in encounters to vary depending on the suspects' demeanor.

Consistent with the above theoretical scholarship, a sizable literature shows that citizen demeanor plays an instrumental role in how police officers actually behave in encounters. Citizens who are disrespectful toward officers are more likely to get ticketed, handcuffed, searched, arrested, and have force used against them (Crawford & Burns, 1998; Engel, Klahm, & Tillyer, 2010; Engel, Sobol, & Worden, 2000; Lundman, 1996; McCluskey & Terrill, 2005; Piliavin & Briar, 1964). Weisburd et al. (2000) found that police officers admitted to surveyors that they were more likely to arrest suspects who had bad attitudes. Mastrofski, Reisig, and McCluskey (2002) showed that suspects who behaved disrespectfully toward officers were more likely to have that behavior reciprocated. James et al. (2016) similarly found that, in a simulated environment, police officers were less likely to use de-escalation techniques with confrontational

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population and among offenders (Reisig, Wolfe, & Holtfreter, 2011; White, Mulvey, & Dario, 2016), and within various cultural contexts outside of the United States (Jonathan-Zamir & Weisburd, 2013; Murphy & Mazerolle, 2016; Murphy, Mazerolle, & Bennett, 2013; Tankebe, 2008).

on-screen individuals. Mastrofski et al. (2016) observed that citizens who were disrespectful toward officers were, on average, less likely to receive procedural justice from officers in two agencies, though the difference was not statistically significant in the multivariate model. To our knowledge, this was the only study to date to examine specifically whether suspect demeanor affects the use of procedural justice by police officers in encounters.

Citizen race may also play a key role in how police officers behave (Black, 1976). According to Alexander (2010, p. 100), police officers essentially have "unbridled discretion," which "inevitably creates huge racial disparities." A lengthy roster of empirical studies has shown that black citizens in particular are more likely to have force used against them, and are more likely to be stopped, searched, and arrested than their white counterparts (Engel & Calnon, 2004; Hurst, Frank, & Browning, 2000; Kochel et al., 2011; Robin, 1963; Terrill & Mastrofski, 2002). Nix and colleagues (2017) demonstrated that relative to white suspects fatally shot by the police in 2015, black suspects were more than two times as likely to have been unarmed. Ross (2015, p. 6) reports similar results, finding that "the median probability across counties of being {black, unarmed, and shot by police} is 3.49 times the probability of being {white, unarmed, and shot by police}."

Evidence from public opinion surveys is consistent with the viewpoint that racial disparities are prevalent in policing. In a seminal study, Weitzer and Tuch (2006) found that blacks were significantly more likely than whites to report both personal and vicarious experiences with various forms of police discrimination (see also Epp et al., 2014). Likewise, Shaw and Brannan (2009) report that Americans believe blacks, more so than members of other racial and ethnic groups, have fewer opportunities for fair treatment from police; most Americans (58%) believe blacks lack equal opportunity for fair treatment from police, and

roughly 38% say that within specific types of encounters, such as traffic incidents, blacks are treated less fairly by police than whites.

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**Theoretical Explanations for the Effects of Suspect
Demeanor and Race on Officers' Views of Procedural Justice**

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There are a number of potential explanations for the apparent effects of suspect demeanor and race on officers' views concerning the importance of procedural justice. One theoretical possibility is that police officers may perceive suspects who are disrespectful or black as being less morally worthy of procedurally fair treatment (Mastrofski et al., 2016; Pickett & Ryon, 2017). Broadly, there is considerable evidence that criminal justice actors' judgments about individuals' moral *un*deservingness (or blameworthiness) heavily influence their decisions about how to deal with those individuals—for example, in sentencing decisions—independent of existing rules or guidelines for decision making (Kutateladze et al., 2014; Ulmer, 2014). In the case of police-civilian interactions, disrespect of the police, by conveying contempt for the law (Van Maanen, 1978), may influence officers' perceptions of suspects' moral deservingness of fair and respectful treatment. Likewise, explicit and implicit racial bias may lead some officers to perceive blacks as being less morally worthy of procedural justice (see also, Black, 1976). Indeed, prior research has found that racial bias leads both criminal justice professionals and members of the public to attribute greater culpability and blameworthiness to black offenders (Bridges & Steen, 1998; Graham & Lowery, 2004; Metcalfe, Pickett, & Mancini, 2015).

Accordingly, both disrespectful and black suspects may be viewed as comparatively undeserving of respect and politeness, which would be unfortunate because procedural justice may play a pivotal role in de-escalation in encounters (Tyler & Huo, 2002). If officers believe it less important to exercise procedural justice with disrespectful or black citizens, they may not be as likely to use it in the field, instead treating such suspects disrespectfully or coercively (Ajzen,

1991; Bond et al., 2015). In a reciprocal fashion, disrespect by officers may negatively affect citizens' attitudes and behaviors within encounters, further increasing the risk of negative outcomes, including suspect resistance and even violence (Mastrofski et al., 2016).

Although limited, there is growing evidence that motivation for procedurally-fair policing varies across officers, environments, and encounters, which lends credence to the theory that police officers make judgments of citizens' moral worthiness when applying procedural justice (Mastrofski et al., 2016). Bond, Murphy, and Porter (2015), for example, showed that police recruits who had more supportive orientations toward procedural justice reported higher intentions to exercise procedural justice when interacting with citizens. Skogan, Van Craen, and Hennessy (2015) also revealed that a procedural justice training program for Chicago police officers increased officer endorsement of procedural justice during citizen interactions more so than officers in a control group that did not receive the training. Wheller, Quinton, Fildes, and Mills' (2013) experiment showed that officers who experienced procedural justice training had improved interactions during role-playing exercises compared to those in the control group.

In a recent study, Pickett and Ryon (2017) examined whether criminal justice workers' general perceptions of the extent to which youth on the street exercise "procedurally just cooperation" with police were associated with their overall support for due process reforms. They argued that criminal justice workers would view civilians as more morally deserving of due processes protections when civilians acted fairly and respectfully toward law enforcement. Pickett and Ryon's (2017) findings supported their expectations. However, their study was non-experimental, and focused on global rather than encounter-specific perceptions. Mastrofski and colleagues (2016) recently used a systematic social observation research design to examine the effects of suspect characteristics, such as race, demeanor and other factors on officers' actual use

of procedural justice. Their findings revealed that police officers were more likely to behave in ways consistent with procedural justice in situations where the citizens should, theoretically, have higher moral worthiness (see also, Bradford & Quinton, 2014; Owens et al., 2016).

Taken together, the above scholarship suggests that in encounters, suspects' demeanor and race may affect officers' perceptions of the importance of exercising procedural justice by influencing officers' judgments of suspects' moral worthiness. If so, the effects of suspect demeanor and race on officers' perceptions of the importance of exercising procedural justice in encounters should emerge even after controlling for other potential explanatory factors, most notably, as discussed subsequently, officers' perceptions of situational danger. Thus, the first two hypotheses that we test are as follows:

Hypothesis #1: Suspect disrespect in an encounter will reduce officers' perceived importance of exercising procedural justice, controlling for the threat of violence.

Hypothesis #2: Officers will perceive the use of procedural justice to be less important in encounters with black suspects, controlling for the threat of violence.

Another theoretical possibility is that suspect demeanor and race may influence police behavior by affecting officers' perceptions of the threat of violence in encounters (Toch, 1996). In terms of the potential effects of demeanor on perceived dangerousness, Bayley (1995, p. 101) observes that police view suspects with bad attitudes as "pre-criminal" – they are seen as "threatening to police individually" and as representing "a serious threat to order." Miller (2004, p. 36) explains that being disrespectful – so called "contempt of cop" – is "among the worst offenses a citizen can commit while interacting with police" and may "result in overly harsh treatment" because "assholes" are thought to "pose a greater danger … than more compliant suspects." Therefore, demeanor, by influencing perceived dangerousness, may indirectly affect

officers' behavioral beliefs about how best to control the situation. Consistent with this possibility, Mastrofski and colleagues (2016, p. 123) argue that officers are less likely to exercise procedural justice in encounters when they have heightened "concern about risk to order and safety at the scene." Collectively, then, this theoretical scholarship suggests the following two hypotheses, which we test:

> *Hypothesis #3: Suspect disrespect in an encounter will increase officers' perceptions of the threat of violence by the suspect.*

> *Hypothesis #4: Suspect disrespect in an encounter will have a negative indirect effect on officers' perceived importance of exercising procedural justice by increasing their perceptions of the threat of violence.*

Suspect race may also influence officers' perceptions of the risk of violence in encounters because of explicit and implicit racial stereotypes. In the United States, more so than any other racial or ethnic group, blacks are stereotyped as being prone to violence and aggression (Pickett et al., 2012; Quillian & Pager, 2010). Implicit bias – the unconscious mental process by which cognitive shortcuts influence human behavior (Fiske & Taylor, 1991) – may have similar effects. Implicit bias has recently played an important role in discussions concerning racial disparities in police behavior. Essentially, it is argued that even among those without explicit stereotypes, darker skin color is unconsciously associated with dangerousness or criminality, which in turn may affect how officers interact with minorities (see Trinkner & Goff, in press).

Early research on implicit bias showed that upon being shown pictures in rapid secession, college students were faster to identify a gun if they had been primed with a picture of a black person's face (compared to those primed with a white person's face; see, e.g., Payne, 2001). Subsequent studies using police officer samples arrived at similar findings – officers were on

average quicker to press the "shoot" button in computer simulations when viewing a picture of an armed black male than when viewing a picture of an armed white male (Correll et al., 2007; Sadler et al., 2012). The explanation behind these findings rests on an implicit bias assumption – darker skin color serves as a visual heuristic that people unconsciously associate with danger. Smith and Alpert (2007) refer to a similar process of "unconscious profiling." As officers become conditioned to view minorities with added suspicion because they have repeated contact with such individuals involved in deviance, they begin to unconsciously associate race with danger and criminality (see also, Hamilton & Gifford, 1976, "illusory correlation mechanisms").

Empirical evidence concerning the implicit bias argument is mixed. In one set of highly realistic video simulations, police officers were actually more hesitant to shoot minority suspects than white suspects – despite the officers having displayed evidence of implicit racial bias on the Harvard Implicit Association Test (James et al., 2016). James and colleagues propose this may be due to officers' fear of the backlash that could ensue if they shot an unarmed black citizen. However, a recent meta-analysis of a decade of research on racial bias in shooting tasks concluded that "participants were quicker to shoot armed Black targets, slower to not shoot unarmed Black targets, and were more likely to have a liberal shooting threshold for Black targets" (Mekawi & Bresin, 2015, p. 128).

The weight of the extant evidence suggests that stereotypes of blacks as being more dangerous may indirectly lead some police officers to discount the importance of procedural justice with black suspects because of heightened perceptions of the threat of violence in encounters. This scholarship leads to the following two hypotheses:

Hypothesis #5: Officers will perceive black suspects to pose a greater threat of violence.

Hypothesis #6: Suspect race will have an indirect effect on officers' perceived

importance of exercising procedural justice by influencing officers' perceptions of the

threat of violence.

It is also possible, however, that the effect of suspects' race on officers' perceptions of

the threat of violence and importance of exercising procedural justice may be conditional on

suspects' demeanor. Prior research suggests that racial stereotypes are often activated by

stereotype-consistent behavior (Peffley & Hurwitz, 2010). According to Hurwitz and Peffley

(1997, p. 379), "individuals do not … display indiscriminate prejudice by responding more

negatively to all blacks under all circumstances; rather, their judgments are linked to the

stereotypes when, and only when the case at hand fits the image." Their experimental findings

consistently supported this argument in the case of public perceptions of criminals. In the case of

police perceptions, this work suggests the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis #7: Suspect race will interact with suspect demeanor, such that suspects who

are black and disrespectful will be perceived by police as posing the greatest threat of

violence.

Each of the hypotheses being tested are illustrated in Figure 1.

[Figure 1 about here]

Study 1

Methods

Data

In September 2016, we surveyed officers employed at a mid-sized, municipal police

department in the southeastern United States. According to the 2010 US Census, the

municipality is home to roughly 133,000 residents but has a daytime population of just over

205,000. The population is 52% white, 42% black, 3% Hispanic, and 2% Asian. In 2015, there

were 1,058 known violent crimes according to the FBI's Uniform Crime Report. The police

department employs 346 sworn officers – 85% of whom are male. Sixty-six percent of its

officers are white, 29% are black, 3% are Hispanic, and 1% are Asian. The survey was

administered online at a password-protected website and all sworn officers were asked to

participate. Completion of the survey was encouraged by informing the officers that their

identities would remain anonymous and analysis of the data would be done in aggregate by

university researchers. A total of 242 officers returned completed surveys, representing a 70%

response rate.[5]

Experimental Procedure

We used an experimental design to explore whether suspect demeanor and race

influenced the importance officers placed on exercising procedural justice. Specifically, we used

a 2x2 factorial design where respondents were presented with a scenario involving a suspicious

person call. The vignettes varied in terms of suspect demeanor and race and were randomly

assigned to respondents. Therefore, the scenario involved one of the following: (1) a white

suspect with a respectful demeanor, (2) a white suspect with a disrespectful demeanor, (3) a

black suspect with a respectful demeanor, or (4) a black suspect with a disrespectful demeanor.

In each of the four vignettes, officers were informed that the suspect did not appear as if he

would become physically violent.[6] That is, in this study, we standardized the risk of violence

across vignettes to test independently the moral worthiness hypothesis. The respect given to the

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[5] Prior to data collection, we performed a power analysis whereby we determined we would need a sample size of approximately N=200 in order to have 80% power to detect a medium-sized effect at the .05 alpha level (Cohen, 1992).

[6] The suspect in each vignette was a male, given that according to the 2015 Uniform Crime Report, males accounted for 73% of all arrests and 80% of all arrests for violent crimes.

officer by the suspect varied such that disrespectful suspects were loud, profane, and called the

officer names, whereas respectful suspects were calm, compliant, and referred to the officer as

sir/ma'am (see Appendix A for each of the vignettes).7 Based on these vignettes, we explored the

effect of two independent variables on the extent to which officers believed it was important to

exercise procedural justice: the suspect's demeanor (1 = disrespectful, 0 = respectful) and race (1

= black, 0 = white).

Dependent Variable

We measured *importance of exercising procedural justice* by asking respondents how

important (1 = *not at all important,* 2 = *slightly important,* 3 = *moderately important,* 4 =

important, 5 = *very important*) a series of eight officer behaviors were, given the scenario they

had just read. These behaviors were meant to capture the elements of procedural justice: respect,

neutrality, voice, and trustworthy motives (Tyler, 1990). For example, respondents were asked

how important it would be to "be respectful toward the suspect," "explain the reason you've

made contact with the suspect," "listen to and consider the suspect's side of the story," and "offer

advice on how the suspect might handle the situation or deal with the problem." A complete list

of the items used to measure procedural justice is available in Appendix A. Principal factor

analysis (PFA) demonstrated that the eight items loaded onto a single factor (eigenvalue = 4.13,

loadings > .51). Accordingly, responses to the items were averaged to generate a mean index that

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7 Consistent with the best practice in survey research (Dillman, Smyth, & Christian, 2014), prior to finalizing the vignettes, we pilot-tested them with 36 police officers who were attending a class at an advanced police education and training institute in the southeastern United States. We asked the officers to read over the vignettes and report how realistic they seemed on a scale of 1 (not at all realistic) to 100 (completely realistic). On average, the officers scored the vignettes 92 out of 100, indicating that they seemed very realistic. We also asked the officers to provide written feedback about how we could make the vignettes more realistic, and used their feedback to improve the vignettes accordingly prior to administering the survey. It is a common strategy to employ experts, in this case police officers, in methods construction (see e.g., Polit & Beck, 2006).

demonstrated strong internal consistency (α = .88). Higher scores on the index reflect greater

perceived importance of being procedurally fair while interacting with the suspect.

Analytic Strategy

The purpose of Study 1 was to determine whether suspect demeanor and race influenced

officers' perceived importance of exercising procedural justice while interacting with a

suspicious person. We estimated an ordinary least squares (OLS) regression equation to do so.

Results

Table 1 presents the results of an OLS model that regressed *perceived importance of*

exercising procedural justice onto the two independent variables – *black* and *disrespectful*.

Consistent with Hypothesis #1, suspect demeanor exerted a statistically significant, negative

effect on officers' perceived importance of being procedurally fair (b = -.284, p < .01, Cohen's d

= -.571).[8] Officers whose scenario involved a disrespectful suspect were significantly less likely

to indicate that it was important to exercise procedural justice compared to officers whose

scenario involved a respectful suspect. On the other hand, the effect of suspect race on officers'

support for procedural justice was non-significant (b = .080, p = .22). Thus, contrary to our

second hypothesis, there was no statistically significant difference in officers' beliefs about the

importance of exercising procedural justice when the suspect in the scenario was black as

opposed to white, controlling for demeanor.[9] We also considered the possible interaction effect

of race and demeanor on officers' perceived importance of exercising procedural justice. The

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[8] We thank an anonymous reviewer for suggesting we calculate standardized mean-difference effect sizes (or Cohen's *d*) for each of the experimental manipulations. To do so, we used Wilson's Practical Meta-Analysis Effect Size Calculator (available at https://www.campbellcollaboration.org/escalc/html/EffectSizeCalculator-SMD-main.php). Cohen (1992) provides the following guidelines for interpreting the magnitude of *d*: .2 is considered a "small" effect, .5 is considered a "medium" effect, and .8 is considered a "large" effect.
[9] In a supplemental analysis, we re-ran this model using a weighted factor score instead of a mean index for the dependent variable. The results (available upon request) were substantively identical.

results (not shown) failed to support Hypothesis #7: the interaction term *black*disrespectful* was

not statistically significant ($b = .098$, $p = .45$).

[Table 1 about here]

Study 2

Methods

Data

In November 2016, we surveyed officers employed by a separate, large agency in another

state in the southeastern United States. According to the 2010 US Census, the metropolitan area

is home to roughly 597,000 residents. The population is 71% white, 23% black, 4% Hispanic,

and 2% Asian. In 2015, there were 4,300 known violent crimes according to the FBI's Uniform

Crime Report. The police department employs 1,247 sworn officers – 86% of whom are male.

Eighty-four percent of its officers are white, 12% are black, 2% are Hispanic, and 2% are Asian.

The survey was administered online at a password-protected website and all sworn officers were

asked to participate. Two hundred and thirty-six officers returned completed surveys,

representing a 19% response rate.[10]

Experimental Procedure

We used an experimental design to explore whether suspect demeanor and race affected

the perceived likelihood of the suspect becoming physically combative or the importance officers

placed on exercising procedural justice. In this study, we also varied the type of disrespect:

verbal versus symbolic. Verbally disrespectful suspects refused to provide the officer any

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[10] We suspect the difference in response rates between the two surveys is attributable to several factors, including the nature of the two police agencies, type of promotion, and stated survey length. Specifically, the lower response rate was achieved from a much larger and more urban agency, where officers had received a greater number of prior survey requests from other researchers, and where an Assistant Chief (rather than Deputy Chief) helped promote the survey. The survey used for Study 2 also had a longer stated length, as noted on the introductory page.

information, were loud, profane, and called the officer names. Symbolically disrespectful

suspects also did not provide any information, but backed away and started to walk off while the

officer was speaking. We include this manipulation because, as Worden (1996, p. 39) explains,

"suspects' flight is another form of disrespect for police authority … which (sometimes) prompts

officers (unduly) to assert their authority." Respectful suspects were compliant and referred to

the officer as sir/ma'am. Therefore, we used a 2x3 factorial design where respondents were

randomly presented with a scenario involving a suspicious person call. The scenario involved

one of the following: (1) a white suspect with a respectful demeanor, (2) a white suspect with a

verbally disrespectful demeanor, (3) a white suspect with a symbolically disrespectful demeanor,

(4) a black suspect with a respectful demeanor, (5) a black suspect with a verbally disrespectful

demeanor, or (6) a black suspect with a symbolically disrespectful demeanor. Each of the six

vignettes involved a male suspect, in his 20s, wearing baggy jeans and a t-shirt, who

furthermore appeared anxious and uneasy (see Appendix A).

Dependent Variables

After reading each of the six vignettes, officers were asked to indicate how likely they

felt it was that the suspect would become physically combative (1 = *very likely,* 2 = *likely,* 3 =

neither likely nor unlikely, 4 = *unlikely,* 5 = *very unlikely*). We reverse coded this measure so that

higher scores indicated greater perceived likelihood of violence. As with Study 1, we also

measured the *perceived importance of exercising procedural justice* during the encounter. After

reading their randomly assigned vignette, officers were asked to indicate how important (1 =

very important, 2 = *important*, 3 = *neither important nor unimportant*, 4 = *unimportant*, 5 = *very*

unimportant) they believed it would be to, for example, "treat the suspect politely and with

dignity," "give the suspect a chance to explain his side of the story," and "explain your decision

to the suspect, once you decide how to resolve the situation" (complete list of items available in Appendix A). PFA demonstrated that the seven items loaded onto a single factor (eigenvalue = 4.44, loadings > .74). Accordingly, responses to the items were reverse coded so that higher scores indicated greater perceived importance of being procedurally fair while interacting with the suspect, then averaged to generate a mean index (α = .92).

Analytic Strategy

The purpose of Study 2 was threefold. First, we wanted to replicate Study 1 in order to increase confidence in the validity of our findings (McNeely & Warner, 2015). Second, we sought a better understanding of whether various types of disrespect were more or less associated with officers' perceptions of the threat of violence in encounters and how important it would be to exercise procedural justice during the course of interacting with a suspect. Third, we sought to determine whether suspect demeanor or race influenced officers' perceived importance of exercising procedural justice with a suspicious person indirectly by influencing their perceived likelihood of that person becoming physically combative (Hypotheses #4 and #6). We first estimated an OLS regression equation predicting the effects of demeanor and race on perceived likelihood of the suspect becoming physically combative (Bayley, 1995; Miller, 2004; Toch, 1996). The purpose of this step of the analysis was to establish the relationship between the proposed mediated variables (race and demeanor) and the supposed mediator (likelihood of suspect being physically combative; see MacKinnon, Krull, & Lockwood, 2000). Next, we estimated two OLS regression equations that explored the effects of suspect race and demeanor on officers' perceived importance of exercising procedural justice – the first excluding, and the second including the mediator variable. These analyses allowed us to determine whether the

likelihood of a suspect becoming physically combative mediated the effects of suspect race and/or demeanor on officers' perceived importance of being procedurally fair with the suspect.

Results

Table 2 displays the results of an OLS model that regressed *perceived likelihood of suspect being physically combative* onto our independent variables *black*, *verbal disrespect*, and *symbolic disrespect*. Both demeanor variables were statistically significant, consistent with Hypothesis #3. Relative to respectful suspects, officers believed that verbally disrespectful ($b = .981$, $p < .01$, Cohen's $d = .894$) and symbolically disrespectful ($b = .742$, $p < .01$, Cohen's $d = .661$) suspects were more likely to become physically combative with them during the course of the interaction. Race, on the other hand, was not statistically significant ($b = .073$, $p = .59$), so Hypothesis #5 is not supported. Further, we tested whether race interacted with either verbal or symbolic disrespect to affect officers' perceived threat of violence (Hypothesis #7). Contrasting our expectations, neither interaction term was statistically significant ($b = .199$, $p = .55$, and $b = .208$, $p = .53$, respectively).

[Table 2 about here]

Model 1 in Table 3 presents the results of an OLS model that regressed our dependent variable, *perceived importance of exercising procedural justice*, onto each of our three independent variables. The coefficients for both forms of disrespect are in the expected direction, consistent with our first hypothesis. Officers whose vignette involved a symbolically disrespectful suspect (i.e., one who backed away and started to walk off while the officer was still talking) believed it was less important to exercise procedural justice than officers whose vignette involved a respectful suspect ($b = -.186$, $p < .05$, Cohen's $d = -.362$). Compared to officers evaluating a respectful suspect, officers whose vignette involved a verbally disrespectful

suspect (i.e., one who was loud, profane, and called the officer names) also tended to believe procedural justice was less important, but the difference did not reach conventional thresholds for statistical significance ($b = -.120$, $p = .13$). Finally, as in Study 1, the effect of suspect race was non-significant ($b = .035$, $p = .59$). Again, counter to our second hypothesis, there was no statistically significant difference in officers' perceptions of the importance of exercising procedural justice with black suspects as opposed to white suspects.

[Table 3 about here]

Model 2 in Table 3 examined the additive effects of race, demeanor, and perceived likelihood that the suspect would become physically combative on the importance of exercising procedural justice. The results mirrored those of Model 1 in that the only statistically significant variable was symbolic disrespect ($b = -0.161$, $p < .05$, Cohen's $d = -.312$). Thus, independent of their perceptions about whether or not the suspect would become physically combative, officers indicated that it was less important to exercise procedural fairness with a suspect who walks away from them as they attempt to speak to him. This is consistent with the moral deservingness hypothesis. Notably, officers' perceptions of the threat of violence were not significantly associated with their perceptions of the importance of procedural justice ($b = -.034$, $p = .28$).[11] Given that we controlled for officers' perceived likelihood of the suspect becoming physically combative, one theoretical implication is that the effect of suspect demeanor on officers' procedural justice perceptions appears primarily to reflect judgments of suspects' moral worthiness, rather than officers' safety concerns.[12]

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[11] Because indirect effects can exist even in the absence of significant zero-order relationships between variables, we tested for mediation using bias-corrected bootstrap ($k = 1,000$) confidence intervals (95%; see Hayes, 2013). None of the experimental manipulations had statistically significant indirect effects (Hypotheses #4 and #6 not supported; results available upon request).

[12] We re-ran Models 1 and 2 using a weighted factor score instead of a mean index for the dependent variable. The results for Model 1 were substantively identical to those reported in-text. In Model 2, the only difference was that the p-value for *symbolic disrespect* increased slightly from .046 to .072. These results are available upon request.

Finally, we considered the potential interaction effects of race and each type of disrespect. The results (not shown) were mixed, but consistently failed to support Hypothesis #7. First, the interaction term *black*verbal disrespect* was positive and statistically significant ($b = .327$, $p = .04$), suggesting that officers believed it less important to exercise procedural justice with *white* suspects when they are verbally disrespectful (main effect of verbal disrespect with interaction term included: $b = -.270$, $p = .03$). However, the interaction term *black*symbolic disrespect* was in the opposite direction, and was not statistically significant ($b = -.067$, $p = .66$).

Discussion

In recent years, police have found themselves in the midst of a legitimacy crisis in large part due to questionable police shootings in several cities throughout the United States (Jones, 2015; Weitzer, 2015). Procedural justice theory suggests that if officers treat people with dignity and respect, make decisions in an unbiased fashion, allow people a voice, and otherwise exhibit trustworthy motives, police legitimacy in the public eye can be restored (Tyler, 1990). While there is ample research support for procedural justice theory as a social psychological framework for understanding people's perceptions of the police and subsequent behaviors (Mazerolle et al., 2013), academic findings do not necessarily neatly translate into police practice or policy. In order for procedural justice to be leveraged by officers during their interactions with the public, we must first get them to buy into the concept. Ajzen's (1991) theory of planned behavior suggests that beliefs are linked to behavior such that officers who believe it is important to exercise procedural justice are more likely to do so when actually interacting with citizens. This is particularly important in light of recent calls from scholars, practitioners, and even the White House for police agencies to pursue procedural justice training (Ramsey & Robinson, 2015).

Yet with few exceptions, we still lack a solid understanding about the circumstances under which officers believe it is more or less important to be procedurally fair. Pickett and Ryon's (2017) correlational analysis provided some insight, suggesting that criminal justice workers' global perceptions that youths exercise a more favorable demeanor with police are positively associated with their support for due process reforms. Mastrofski and colleagues' (2016) systematic social observation study, which analyzed data collected prior to the shooting of Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri (and the subsequent increase in public scrutiny of police), provided further evidence of the importance of officers' judgments of moral deservingness. However, we sought to shed additional light on this issue, and identify the causal processes involved, by conducting randomized experiments with two separate police samples.

In both experiments, officers indicated that procedural justice was less important when the suspect was disrespectful. In Study 1, officers who received the vignette involving a disrespectful citizen were less likely to indicate that it was important to be procedurally fair, regardless of the suspect's race. Similarly, officers in Study 2 who read the vignette describing a citizen who demonstrated symbolic disrespect (i.e., ignoring the officer and walking away while s/he was speaking) were significantly less likely to indicate that the use of procedural justice was important, even after controlling for suspect race and officer perceptions about the likelihood of the citizen becoming physically combative. Note also that although the point estimate for the verbal disrespect coefficient was not statistically significant, it was negative and comparable in size to the coefficient for symbolic disrespect – indicating officers also tended to believe it was less important to exercise procedural justice with verbally disrespectful suspects. These results support prior research findings regarding "procedurally just cooperation" – the idea that police want to be treated "procedurally fair" by citizens. For example, Pickett and Ryon's (2017) study

suggests that police officers are more supportive of efforts to ensure fair treatment of citizens by police, when they believe citizens allow police officers to speak, carry out their job without interruption, and demonstrate respect. It follows that suspects who are disrespectful may be less likely to receive procedurally fair treatment (Bayley, 1995). Research has demonstrated that police-citizen interactions involving non-compliant/disrespectful suspects are more likely to result in police use of force (Reisig et al., 2004). One reason this may occur is that officers seem to be less likely to treat disrespectful citizens with respect and dignity – even though procedurally fair treatment may be a critical social interaction skill that can contribute to the de-escalation of tense situations.

Another key finding from our study is that, despite what implicit and counter bias studies might suggest, race *did not* significantly influence the importance of exercising procedural justice in either direction, in either experiment. Additionally, in Study 2, race did not significantly impact officers' perceived likelihood of the suspect becoming violent. Further, we found no consistent evidence that race interacted with demeanor to affect the outcomes in either Study 1 or 2. Notably, most studies of implicit and counter bias have been conducted prior to the shooting of Michael Brown. One possibility, then, is that the null race effects in our study reflect an increased concern among officers for acting in ways that ensure racially unbiased policing. However, our experimental findings are consistent with results from Mastrofski et al.'s (2016) observational study, which drew on data from the pre-Ferguson period. They found no statistically significant difference in officers' use of procedural justice with white and non-white suspects. Thus, it seems most likely to us that race simply exerts little or no influence on officers' beliefs about the importance of exercising procedural justice. This is encouraging given the national discussion regarding race and policing. It may be possible, however, that in our

samples both implicit and counter bias processes are occurring simultaneously. If this is the case, any race effect may be cancelled out regardless of its direction. Thus, future studies should pay close attention to this possibility, and perhaps also include measures of explicit and implicit racial bias.

Several relevant policy implications can be derived from our findings. First, it is perhaps not surprising that officers in our samples believed exercising procedural justice was less important when interacting with a noncompliant, disrespectful subject. But importantly, recall that the vignettes in Study 1 clearly stated that the suspect *did not* appear as if he was going to be combative. Instead, the suspect was what Van Maanen (1978) termed an "asshole" – he simply used disrespectful language and was uncooperative in the scenario. The theoretical implication is that this behavior may have led officers to believe the suspect was not as *worthy* of procedural justice as the compliant and respectful suspect. This is problematic because our society expects police officers to have "thicker skin" than the average citizen. Several courts have ruled in favor of this expectation (see *Greene v. Barber*, 2002), and this may be even more critical in the age of social media and viral videos (Nix & Wolfe, 2017; Wolfe & Nix, 2016). We need to gain a better understanding of how suspect demeanor and race influence officers' perceptions of procedurally-fair interaction tactics. This evidence is critical to creating useful procedural justice training for police officers, particularly because the police should be trained to exercise procedural justice even in interactions when it may be difficult to have "thick skin" – where the suspect does not appear as deserving of procedural justice.

What is clear from research is that suspect disrespect toward the police is likely to elicit similar contempt from the officer (Reisig et al., 2004). Disrespectful treatment by both citizens and officers is, in turn, more likely to spawn a physical confrontation. Our studies reveal that

Van Maanen's "asshole" suspect is less likely to receive procedural justice from an officer. Yet, a key virtue of procedurally fair treatment is that it communicates to citizens that regardless of the situation, the officer acknowledges them as valuable members of the community who deserve respect and a voice. In other words, procedural fairness reaffirms citizens' social standing and worth. Communicating the value of procedural justice to officers via training is therefore critical. However, our results suggest that procedural justice training would be wise to place emphasis on two issues: (1) it will be difficult to exercise procedural justice with disrespectful suspects and (2) interactions with such individuals are those most likely to benefit from procedurally fair policing. Training must focus on these issues as officer-safety concerns. Attempting to exercise procedurally-fair treatment is one mechanism that can be used by an officer seeking to de-escalate a disrespectful suspect in a tense situation.

While our work provides insight into officers' perceived importance of exercising procedural justice, the studies are not without limitations. To begin, we relied on hypothetical vignettes to assess officer decision making. The experimental vignette methodology has several strengths (Auspurg & Hinz, 2014). It ensures contemporaneous and appropriate causal ordering of perceptions and decision making (Grasmick & Bursik, 1990; Pogarsky, 2004). It also reduces socially desirable responding, because respondents are never required to make direct comparisons between groups (e.g., black versus white suspects; see Auspurg & Hinz, 2014). At the same time, there are limits to the method. First, it assumes that the vignette accurately captures the type of decision making that occurs in the real word. For example, the vignettes and survey situation, which lacked any sense of urgency or threat, may provide an inaccurate picture of police decision making if officers make judgments about the importance of exercising procedural justice in encounters quickly and intuitively using a "hot" processing mode (see

Pogarsky, Roche, & Pickett, 2017; van Gelder, 2013). Future research is needed that attempts to replicate our findings using alternative methodologies—for example, virtual reality to simulate police/civilian encounters (van Gelder et al., 2017).

Research also suggests that the construct validity of findings from experimental vignettes can be jeopardized because respondents often fill in any missing details by updating in a realistic Bayesian manner on the basis of specified characteristics (Dafoe, Zhang, & Caughey, 2015). Further research is thus needed that examines whether specifying additional features of the situation, such as the neighborhood context, influences findings. Likewise, by using text vignettes we were limited to evaluating only the coarsest race effects, and were unable to assess whether factors such as skin tone or Afrocentric features may influence police decision making. There is evidence that such factors affect criminal justice processing (King & Johnson, 2016). As such, additional studies might consider using picture or video vignettes (see, e.g., Lowrey, Maguire, & Bennett, 2016; Maguire, Lowrey & Johnson, 2016) to test experimentally the effects of suspects' skin tone and Afrocentric features on police perceptions of the importance of exercising procedural justice.

Another limitation is that our samples were comprised mostly of male police officers. Prior research suggests that female officers may be more altruistic (Piliavin & Chang, 1990) and empathetic than their male counterparts (Piliavin & Unger, 1985). They furthermore appear less likely to utilize "extreme controlling behavior, such as threats, physical restraint, search, and arrest" (Rabe-Hemp, 2008, p. 426). It is plausible, then, that female officers may believe it more important to exercise procedural justice when interacting with a disrespectful citizen. Future studies should consider over-sampling female officers in order to consider this possibility.

We also restricted our vignettes to one type of call – which can vary tremendously in the real world – and male suspects. Future studies are needed that extend our research by varying a broader set of relevant factors, including gender and neighborhood context. It is possible that officers are more likely to treat female citizens differently than males given the patriarchal nature of policing. Neighborhoods characterized by disadvantage and crime may provide visual heuristics to officers that they are dangerous areas (Klinger, 1997; Smith, 1986).

Finally, our studies were only able to examine officers' perceived importance of exercising procedural justice. This may not be the same as their actual intent to exercise procedural justice in real world interactions with citizens (but see Pogarsky, 2004). Research is thus needed that explores whether officers' perceived importance of exercising procedural justice predicts their actual use of procedural justice in encounters, and mediates the effects of suspect demeanor on the latter. More generally, as Shadish, Cook and Campbell (2002, p. 76) explain in their discussion of "monomethod bias," if a single method for measuring outcomes or administering treatments is used in experiments, it is impossible to know whether findings will hold if other methods are used. This was our motivation for varying the methodology in the two experiments we conducted, employing different measures of the perceived importance of exercising procedural justice, and different experimental vignettes. Despite these methodological differences, the findings from both Studies 1 and 2 were highly consistent. This provides preliminary evidence that the findings are robust to measurement intricacies. Even still, we cannot be sure that similar results would emerge if other methods were used—for example, if we instead asked about officers' *intentions* or *willingness* to exercise procedural justice. Thus, an important avenue for additional research is to examine alternative measures of the outcomes and different approaches to administering the vignettes (picture, video). Indeed, scenario-based

procedural justice training programs, combined with rigorous evaluation techniques, could be a fruitful endeavor in order to understand more fully the impact of suspect disrespect on officers' social interaction tactics.

Conclusion

In conclusion, it is worth repeating that our analyses did not find a significant race effect either on officers' perceptions of the threat of violence or their perceptions of the importance of exercising procedural justice. This is encouraging because minority communities and those that have experienced high-profile police shootings certainly deserve and need procedural justice the most – and as our results indicate, police do not appear to be less willing to exercise procedural justice based simply on race. Indeed, in both of our experiments the coefficients were positive, although non-significant, suggesting that if anything, officers believe it is more important to exercise procedural justice with black suspects. Our analyses do, however, indicate that respect mattered to the officers in both samples. Procedural justice training should focus on how officers can exercise greater patience with suspects who do not immediately comply or show deference. It is important that police officers remain courteous, respectful, and fair, regardless of whether the citizen is being disrespectful during the interaction. This is especially true in the current police legitimacy crisis that has created a climate in which some citizens may be less likely to accept police decisions in the wake of several allegations of police misconduct throughout the United States. It is inevitable that police officers will continue to encounter noncompliant and disrespectful citizens, and some of these encounters will be filmed by bystanders. Accordingly, it would be better for these videos to capture officers exercising procedural justice, instead of officers being discourteous or using unnecessary coercion. Such encounters provide teachable

moments for citizens *and* officers that may prove important in repairing strained community

relations.

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Appendix A: Randomly Assigned Vignettes and Procedural Justice Survey Items

Study 1

While on patrol, you receive a suspicious person call. You arrive at the scene and make contact with a [white / black] male who fits the description you were given. [The suspect is compliant and respectful. It does not appear that he will be physically combative, he is calm, not using profanity, and refers to you as sir/ma'am / The suspect is noncompliant and disrespectful. Though it does not appear that he will be physically combative, he is being loud, using profanity, and calling you names].

Given the scenario above, how important to you would it be to do each of the following?
(1 = not at all important, 2 = slightly important, 3 = moderately important, 4 = important, 5 = very important)

1. Being courteous toward the suspect
2. Explaining the reason you've made contact
3. Allowing the suspect to explain his side of the story
4. Listening to and considering the suspect's side of the story
5. Being respectful toward the suspect
6. Not making a decision about what to do until you've gathered all necessary information
7. Explaining why you ultimately resolve the situation as you do
8. Offering advice on how the suspect might handle the situation or deal with the problem

Study 2

While on patrol, you receive a suspicious person call. You arrive at the scene and identify a suspect who fits the description you were given – a [white / black] male, in his 20s, wearing baggy jeans and a t-shirt. When you approach the suspect, he seems uneasy and anxious. When you first begin to question him, he [is compliant and respectful, and refers to you as sir/ma'am / refuses to tell you anything. He is disrespectful, loud, uses profanity, and calls you names / backs away and starts to walk off while you are still talking].

Given the scenario above, how important or unimportant to you would it be to do each of the following?
(1 = very important, 2 = important, 3 = neither important nor unimportant, 4 = unimportant, 5 = very unimportant; all items reverse coded prior to analysis)

1. Treat the suspect politely and with dignity
2. Explain to the suspect why you made contact with him
3. Give the suspect a chance to explain his side of the story
4. Treat the suspect respectfully
5. Listen to the suspect's side of the story
6. Explain your decision to the suspect, once you decide how to resolve the situation
7. Treat the suspect fairly

Table 1. Effects of race and demeanor on perceived importance of exercising procedural justice, Study 1 (n = 242).

Variable	b	SE	95% CI	d
Black	.080	.065	-.048, .209	.156
Disrespectful	-.284**	.065	-.411, -.157	-.571
Intercept	4.536**	.052	4.434, 4.638	—
F			10.00**	
R^2			.077	

NOTE: Entries are unstandardized partial regression coefficients (b), standard errors (SE), 95% confidence intervals (CI), and Cohen's d. **$p \leq .01$

Table 2. Effects of race and demeanor on perceived likelihood of suspect becoming physically combative, Study 2 (n = 236).

Variable	b	SE	95% CI	d
Black	.073	.136	-.195, .340	.065
Verbal disrespect	.981**	.165	.655, 1.306	.894
Symbolic disrespect	.742**	.162	.422, 1.062	.661
Intercept	2.673**	.134	2.408, 2.937	—
F			13.27**	
R^2			.146	

NOTE: Entries are unstandardized partial regression coefficients (b), standard errors (SE), 95% confidence intervals (CI), and Cohen's d. ** $p \leq .01$

Table 3. Effects of race, demeanor, and likelihood of suspect becoming physically combative on perceived importance of exercising procedural justice, Study 2 (n = 236).

Variable	Model 1				Model 2			
	b	SE	95% CI	d	b	SE	95% CI	d
Physically combative	—	—	—	—	-.034	.031	-.095, .027	—
Black	.035	.064	-.091, .161	.071	.037	.064	-.089, .164	.076
Verbal disrespect	-.120	.078	-.273, .034	-.227	-.087	.084	-.251, .078	-.164
Symbolic disrespect	-.186*	.077	-.337, -.035	-.362	-.161*	.080	-.318, -.003	-.312
Intercept	2.473**	.063	2.348, 2.597	—	2.563**	.104	2.358, 2.768	—
F	2.14†				1.90			
Adjusted R^2	.014				.015			

NOTE: Entries are unstandardized partial regression coefficients (b), standard errors (SE), 95% confidence intervals (CI), and Cohen's d. ** $p \leq .01$, * $p \leq .05$, † $p \leq .10$
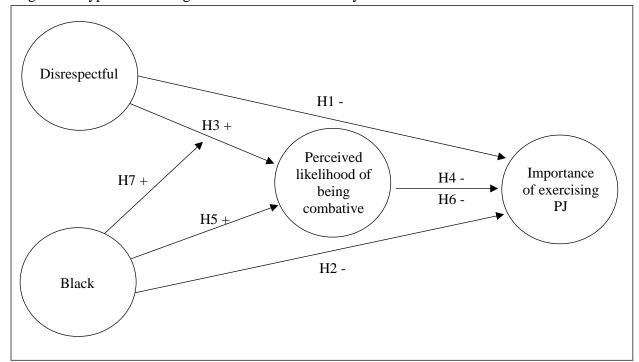
Figure 1. Hypotheses being tested in the current study.