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A Policy of Stereotype Threat:
The Intergroup Impact of Policing Stereotypes

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Psychology

by

Liana Maris Epstein

2012

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

A Policy of Stereotype Threat: The Intergroup Impact of Policing Stereotypes

by

Liana Maris Epstein

Doctor of Philosophy in Psychology

University of California, Los Angeles, 2012

Professor Yuen Huo, Co-Chair

Professor Phillip Atiba Goff, Co-Chair

Three studies demonstrate the manner in which a social policy, due to the stereotypes it communicates, can serve as a damaging psychological context that negatively biases attitudes and behaviors. In line with Richeson and Shelton's call for a more relational, interactive model of interracial interactions (2006), a dyadic view of stereotyping and bias is advanced. This dissertation highlights the negative intergroup interaction triggered by the policy of cross-deputization, which authorizes police officers to enforce immigration statutes, due to the stereotypes it communicates. Study 1 demonstrates that cross-deputization policy communicates two stereotypes: that police officers are racist and that Latinos are undocumented immigrants. Study 2 shows that those low-status (Latino) individuals who are vigilant for these stereotypes experience stereotype threat, intergroup anxiety, and expect more negative interactions with

experience stereotype threat, intergroup anxiety, and expect more negative interactions with members of the high-status group (police). Study 3 shows that, again in response to cross-deputization policy, the aversion of high-status (police) individuals to these same stereotypes engenders stereotype threat and negative treatment of the low-status group (Latinos). Implications of cross-deputization policy for intergroup relations in the United States are discussed.

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2012

This dissertation is dedicated to my own incredibly courageous immigrant ancestors who knew better than anyone that in the face of injustice, you cannot stay silent.

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There is significant evidence suggesting that Whites and their non-White counterparts often see the questions of institutionalized racial discrimination in different ways (Dovidio, Gaertner, Kawakami, & Hodson, 2002). For non-Whites, racial discrimination often seems unmistakable and a visible presence in their lives (Armed Forces Equal Opportunity Survey, 1999; Davis & Smith, 1994; Hochschild, 1995); U.S. Merit Systems Protection Board, 1997), Whites, however, often minimize and rationalize away from the institutionalization of racial bias (Morin, 2001). This dissertation explores the different responses that groups have to a particular kind of institutionalized bias: stereotypes enshrined in immigration policy. Past research would suggest that low-status group members tend to be vigilant for stereotypes (e.g. Murphy, Steele, & Gross, 2007) while high-status group members tend to be averse to recognizing them as such (e.g. Apfelbaum, Sommers, & Norton, 2008). This dissertation explores the degree to which each of these tendencies engenders intergroup tension and negative outgroup bias. Specifically, it examines the degree to which the differential reaction to stereotypes communicated by cross-deputization policy, a policy that deputizes police officers to act as immigration officers, harms Latino-police relations in the United States.

The assignment of high-status and low-status labels to groups is traditionally defined as a function of respect accorded by others (Anderson, Srivastava, Beer, Spataro, & Chatman, 2006; Berger, Rosenholtz, & Zelditch, 1980). One might argue, however, that for Latinos and police officers—the two groups this dissertation is concerned with—neither respects the other and thus both are low-status. The status that this dissertation references along with a portion of the social psychological literature, however, is a function of respect as it is accorded within the broader societal context. This placement on society's social hierarchy is similar to Bobo's concept of group position in society (c.f. Bobo & Tuan, 2006). Thus, the term "high-status" here refers not

from the perspective of a given interaction partner but in the societal context as a whole.

The main mechanism that this dissertation focuses on as a catalyst of negative outgroup attitudes and behaviors is stereotype threat. Although there is not a great deal of research on stereotype threat in the context of intergroup conflict, there is a sizable amount of research on it in the meta-stereotyping literature that makes a similar point. A meta-stereotype is a stereotype that one believes others hold about one's own group—that is a stereotype about a stereotype. This is highly similar to the concept of stereotype threat (concern about confirming someone else's stereotype). Stereotype threat research and meta-stereotype research do not technically overlap. Nonetheless, the two literatures are strikingly similar, and often prove the same basic point: awareness of a picture in someone else's head is an aversive experience. Consequently this dissertation discusses both literatures in tandem.

Overview of Current Research

This dissertation explores the perspective that the stereotypes communicated by social policy can be a catalyst for biased treatment, a *cause*, rather than a *consequence*, of discrimination (Dovidio, Brigham, Johnson, & Gaertner, 1996). In three studies, this dissertation explores the impact of social policy on attitudes and, ultimately, behavior on both sides of the dyad in an intergroup interaction. The specific context of immigration policy is used as a sample of the role social policy can play as an independent variable.

The current research is designed to test three specific hypotheses: 1) That policies communicate stereotypes regarding who is targeted by the policy and how policy enforcers will respond to it. Consistent with previous literature (Osborne & Davies, 2011), certain crimes carry with them racial stereotypes (e.g., “serial killers” are stereotyped to be White, while “armed

robbers” are stereotyped to be Black). Study 1 seeks to extend this finding by including Latinos—testing whether the crime of illegal immigration is stereotyped as Latino, and by testing the role that a policy might have on producing these stereotypes. 2) That low-status individuals who perceive they are targeted by a policy due to their race will expect more negative expectations from those charged with targeting them, and that this change in expectations will be related to race-based stereotype threat. Study 2, therefore, presents Latinos with a hypothetical cross-deputization policy and measured stereotype threat and their expectations of law enforcement. Finally, 3) That high-status individuals who believe they will need to enforce a law that will be perceived as targeting individuals due to their race will also expect more negative reactions, and that this expectation will be predicted by stereotype threat. Consequently, Study 3 presents patrol officers with a policy similar to the one in Study 2, and measured stereotype threat and officer attitudes—and behaviors—towards Latino residents.

Taken together, this series of three studies investigates the role that policy can have in reifying stereotypes, provoking fear of authority from low-status individuals, and provoking fear of intergroup contact from high-status individuals. If supported, my hypotheses suggest the possibility for the troubling role that policy can play in setting the context for intergroup interactions—particularly when life and liberty are at stake.

Chapter 1: Stereotypes & Social Policy

Past research has demonstrated that intergroup interactions take place not in a vacuum, but against the backdrop of history, driven by the power of the situation (e.g., Dovidio & Gaertner, 1998; Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986; Haddock, Zanna, & Esses, 1993; McConahay, 1986).

In social psychological research, the power of context is vital to understanding individual and group level attitudes and behaviors. This dissertation examines how social policy can function as a context for intergroup interactions. Namely, I suggest that social policy acts as a medium for the communication of stereotypes—and that stereotypes delivered in this manner are threatening.

How does social policy come to be structured in a way that communicates stereotypes? Much social psychological evidence establishes social policy as the agglomeration of individual and group-level attitudes and interactions (e.g. Conover & Feldman, 1986; Doosje et al., 1998; Hoffman, 2001; Iyer, Leach, & Crosby, 2003; Montada & Schneider, 1989; Pagano & Huo, 2007; Swim & Miller, 1999). If these attitudes are driven by biases and stereotypes, so too will be the resultant social policy. For example, Kinder and Sears argue that attitudes on forced busing for school desegregation are based on racial prejudice (1981), while Mullen argues that the presence and valence of ethnic slurs in a culture actually impact immigration quotas and naturalization rates (2001). The stereotypes and biases that give rise to a given social policy do not vanish once the social policy is in place, but are in turn perpetuated by that social policy (Haslam, Oakes, Reynolds, & Turner, 1999).

Essentially, stereotypes are a situational threat or pressure (Marx, Brown, & Steele, 1999) that shapes perceptions of reality and the stories that are told. Past research has shown that the priming of stereotypes can impact the way that a situation is viewed. For example, in Allport & Postman's classic study of rumor (1947), a drawing of a White man with a razor in his hand confronting a Black man is often distorted through the lens of stereotypes; in its retelling, it is reversed—with the Black man holding the razor. Eberhardt and colleagues, similarly, demonstrate that drawings of ambiguous faces identified by a racial category such as "Black" or

“White” are re-drawn by participants as more stereotypical of the assigned category (Eberhardt, Dasgupta, & Banaszynski, 2003).

The stereotypes communicated by social policy are powerful because they are no longer only a “shared social reality” (Stangor & Jost, 1997), but become a *legitimate* shared social reality (Levin, Sidanius, Rabinowitz, & Federico, 1998; Yzerbyt & Rogier, 2001). When formalized in this manner the consensus communicated by a stereotype begins to move from a subjective probability to more of an objective reality (Hardin & Higgins, 1996; Haslam, Turner, Oakes, McGarty, & Reynolds, 1998; Moscovici, 1984). This stereotype legitimization is dangerous, due to the fact that it is likely to evoke a backlash of public perceptions of bias on a broader scale (Tyler & Huo, 2002; Tyler & Wakslak, 2004).

Rather than exploring the attitudinal context that led to the social policy’s creation, however, this dissertation focuses on the impact a social policy may have once it is set in place. The contextual role of social policy, though not prominent in social psychology, is founded in the suppositions of social scientists more generally. The assertion that policy shapes attitudes is founded in the work of Durkheim, who argued that law enforces and regulates social solidarity and conformity (1933). In the area of race and ethnicity specifically, there have been a variety of sociological studies which argue that understandings of what race and ethnicity mean are shaped by legal definitions, rather than vice versa (Goldberg-Ambrose, 1994; Golub, 2005; Haney López, 1996; Pascoe, 1996; Sohoni, 2007). In social science more broadly, there is a push to consider law as the impetus for the way in which individuals “interpret their lives” and formulate attitudes and behavior (e.g. Saguy & Stuart, 2008). Thus, in this dissertation, social policy serves as an independent, rather than a dependent, variable.

Context of Current Research

For purposes of operationalization, immigration policy was chosen as the focus here for three principal reasons. First, immigration reform is currently a highly divisive issue both nationally and internationally. The deep concern that the public has with this issue is often manifested in strong displays of pro-immigration or anti-immigrant sentiment, and strong displays of intergroup tension are not uncommon (Stephan, Ybarra, Martinez, Scharzwald, & Tur-Kaspa, 1998). Second, a focus on immigration policy provides a platform to examine Latino-police relations, and anti-Latino bias more generally. In a shift over the past decade, Americans now believe that the racial group that faces the most discrimination in the United States today is not Blacks but Hispanics (Pew Research Center, 2010). Although researchers have extensively examined biases against Black Americans, comparatively little work has been devoted to biases against Latino Americans (Dovidio & Esses, 2001; Epstein & Goff, 2011; Flores & Huo, 2012). The issues of anti-Latino bias and discrimination merit serious study.

The specific immigration policy that this dissertation investigates is “cross-deputization.” Cross-deputization entails the official authorization of police officers to act in the capacity of Immigration Services (IS) officers after completing a federal or state training program. Thus, police officers are tasked with—or “deputized”—to seek out undocumented immigrants and charge them for being in the country without documents in the course of their regular duties as police officers. Recently, the policy of cross-deputization surged to prominence as the most contentious part of Arizona’s Senate Bill 1070 (SB 1070). The ratification of SB 1070 engendered a great deal of shock and national attention. Arizona, however, is just one example of a growing push to blur the line between local law enforcement and immigration services that has been gaining momentum for nearly a decade. Cross-deputization was, in fact, codified in 1996 as

part of Section 287(g) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (U. S. Department of Homeland Security, 2008). The initial governmental aim of this policy was to create greater cooperation among law enforcement agencies, as well as to help the badly overburdened Immigration Services (IS) department handle their burgeoning caseload (U. S. Department of Homeland Security, 2008).

This dissertation tests the hypothesis that cross-deputization policy perpetuates the stereotype that undocumented immigrants are Latino — as well as the inverse, that all Latinos are undocumented immigrants. It is important to note that the majority of undocumented immigrants are indeed Latino — indeed, statistics suggest that roughly 76% of undocumented immigrants (about 9 million people) are Latino (Pew Research Center, 2009). The problem lies in the heuristic assumption that undocumented immigrant equals Latino and vice versa—as well as in the codification of such an assumption in social policy. First, it labels all Latinos as suspected undocumented immigrants until proven otherwise. Furthermore, if there are roughly 9 million undocumented Latinos in the United States and roughly 50 million Latinos in the United States according to the most recent census (U.S. Census Bureau, 2011), then only 15% of Latinos living in the United States do so without proper documentation. That means that if an officer questions five Latino civilians for suspicion of being “illegal” that questioning will likely be unjustified more than four times out of five.

This stereotype of all Latinos as undocumented immigrants is consistent with a trend in current public discourse in the United States that conflates “Latino” and “undocumented immigrant,” rendering them functionally equivalent (c.f. Epstein & Goff, 2011). Historically, Latinos have already been stereotyped as criminal and hostile (Simmons, 1961), immoral (Cross & Maldonado, 1971), aggressive (Marin, 1984), and violent (Phenice & Griffore, 1994), while

immigrants (both documented and undocumented) are often portrayed in the media as a criminal danger (Decker, Lewis, Provine, & Varsanyi, 2009; Ousey & Kubrin, 2009). As public concern has deepened over immigration policy (Decker, Lewis, & Varsanyi, 2009), the narrative linking crime to undocumented immigration and crime has gained prominence as well (Ousey & Kubrin, 2009). This narrative has a distinctly racial element. News stories frequently focus on the victimization of White United States citizens at the hands of non-White undocumented immigrants (e.g. KTAR, 2010). One of the most prominent stories of this nature was popularized by the governor of Arizona, who claimed that undocumented immigrants were responsible for a rash of brutal beheadings in the Arizona desert. Ultimately, this story was shown to be complete fiction (Davenport & Meyers, 2010). Nevertheless, the overall narrative of Latino immigrant criminality has persisted, despite overwhelming empirical evidence to the contrary (e.g. Hagan & Palloni, 1999; Kil & Menjivar, 2006; Martinez, 2000, 2002, 2006, 2007; Stowell & Martinez, 2007).

Cross-deputization policy not only codifies the equation of undocumented immigrants and Latinos, but an additional stereotype as well—that of the “racist cop.” The stereotype of the biased police officer who unfairly racially profiles civilians is not a new phenomenon. Relations between police officers and most non-White communities have historically been tense and unpleasant (Davis, Erez, & Avitable, 2001; Song, 1992; Trojanowicz & Bucqueroux, 1990). This has been documented with the Latino-American community in particular (Carter, 1983, 1985; Lasley, 1994; Mirande, 1981). Indeed, the United States Commission on Civil Rights concluded in 1970 that “Mexican-American citizens are subject to unduly harsh treatment by our law enforcement officers. They are often arrested on insufficient grounds, receive physical and verbal abuse, and [receive] penalties which are disproportionately severe” (p. 1). Thus, this stereotype

of police as an organization that disproportionately targets non-Whites has been a recurrent theme in sociological and psychological studies (Joyner, 1977). Law enforcement officers have also, historically, been seen as the “gatekeepers” of government and the justice system (Fairchild, 1978). In other words, the legal system and the justice system are abstract concepts to the public, but law enforcement officers (such as local police officers) are a daily, salient, tangible instantiation of these abstract concepts. Consequently, if the public perceives that the legal or justice system or any policies therein as biased, then the symbols of said policy—the police—will be seen as biased as well (c.f. Tyler & Huo, 2002).

In summary, Study 1 attempts to show that cross-deputization policy communicates stereotypes, regardless of its explicit intentions. Specifically, cross-deputization policy communicates that Latinos are functionally equivalent to illegal immigrants and that police officers are racially biased. To illustrate how strongly the policy of cross-deputization communicates race-based stereotypes, a policy potentially targeted towards Blacks was used as a control. This control was selected due to the fact that decades of psychological research have established an automatic and robust mental association between Blacks and criminal violence (Allport & Postman, 1947; Correll, Park, Judd, & Wittenbrink, 2002; Devine, 1989; Duncan, 1976; Eberhardt, Goff, Purdie, & Davies, 2004; Greenwald, Oakes, & Hoffman, 2003; Osborne & Davies, 2011; Payne, 2001; Sagar & Schofield, 1980).

Study 1

Methods

Participants. Participants were recruited through the SurveyMonkey participant pool at <https://contribute.surveymonkey.com>. In exchange for the completion of a survey,

SurveyMonkey donates fifty cents to a charity of the individual's choice and enters the individual into a raffle for a chance to win \$100. This service was selected in order to recruit a large, national sample that would allow for more generalizable claims about stereotype perception in policy not bound by geographic region, university attendance, or age range.

In all, 2,352 people logged onto our survey. Of these, 1,811 actually completed the survey (77% participation rate). There were no dropouts; all respondents who began the survey finished it. The sample was predominately White (82%). Analyses were completed with and without the non-White portion of the sample; inclusion of non-Whites did not affect results. (Given that they comprised only 18% of such a large sample this is not surprising.) Nevertheless, to ensure that the findings reported were a function merely of perceived stereotypes rather than past experience or group interest, only White participants were used. This resulted in a sample of 1,486 participants that was 68% female, with an average age of 43.2 ($SD = 15.1$) and a slightly liberal political ideology on average ($M = 3.80$ on a 7-point scale, $SD = 1.64$).

Procedure. This experiment had a 4-cell design (control, stereotypically White crime, stereotypically Black crime, stereotypically Latino crime). The crimes used for the Black and White conditions were chosen according to prior research that indicated that these crimes had a high degree of stereotypicality for each of these races (Osborne & Davies, 2010; Osborne & Davies, 2011). Although this previous stereotypicality research did not explore the context of these crimes as communicated by a policy, it was expected that the findings would be consistent. Other “racialized” crimes were used as a control to investigate the degree to which a policy about illegal immigration in particular would communicate particularly strong stereotypes of Latinos and racially biased police officers.

Pretesting was conducted with 60 undergraduate participants using snowball sampling. For the pretesting, participants were asked, “If a person was stopped by a police officer for potentially being an illegal immigrant, what race would they be?” Participants were then asked to estimate the likelihood of a stop for a person of each of four races (White, Latino, Black, Asian). Debriefing after this pretest revealed that participants were changing their answers because they did not want to “seem racist.” Pretesting participants indicated that they would have written what would be expected “stereotypically” but had worried that the questions were a test of their own racial bias and so refrained from doing so. Consequently, this more straightforward line of questioning was not used in Study 1.

Instead, participants were told that research on “consensory perception” (a fabricated term) had shown that most people are very good at filling in the missing details of a situation when only limited details are provided to them. Participants were then shown a fabricated “police report” and asked to flesh out the details of what had happened. All participants read the same basic scenario with only a slight variation:

“An individual calls the police department to make a complaint. This individual claims that a police officer pulled their car over unfairly and then treated them in a humiliating manner. When contacted for a justification of the event, the officer claims that they were completely justified in making the stop under Special Order 31B (a recent initiative put in place to _____).”

The blank was filled by one of four options depending on condition: “reduce crime” (control), “reduce crime that requires an officer to question anyone whom the officer suspects may be a serial killer” (stereotypically White crime), “reduce crime that requires an officer to question anyone whom the officer suspects may be an armed robber” (stereotypically Black crime), “reduce crime that requires an officer to question anyone whom the officer suspects may

be an illegal immigrant” (stereotypically Latino crime). Again, the specific “White” and “Black” crimes used were selected in accordance with past research (Osborne & Davies, 2010; Osborne & Davies, 2011).

Manipulation check. Study 1 included a manipulation check question that asked respondents what “Special Order 31B” sought to target. This was designed to catch those who might just be speeding through the survey to earn their charity contribution, or those who genuinely did not remember the policy and thus were answering the ensuing items blindly.

Civilian ethnicity. Participants were provided with a forced-choice item that provided five different options for the civilian complainant’s ethnicity (White, Black, Asian, Latino, Middle-Eastern). The order of these options was randomized so that no order effects would occur. This item was embedded in a variety of filler items (e.g., education level, age, gender) of the complainant, so that participants would not suspect the true purpose of the study and become self-conscious about accessing racial stereotype content.

Officer bias. Participants were asked to rate the likelihood that the police officer engaged in racial profiling, with a response scale ranging from 1 (completely unlikely) to 7 (completely likely). Again, this item was embedded in a variety of filler items to reduce participants’ self-consciousness about their response.

Policy justification. The influence of the policy on the officer’s motives was also assessed. Participants were also asked how justified the officer had been in pulling over the car, with a response scale ranging from 1 (completely unjustified) to 7 (completely justified). A higher score, therefore, indicated a greater level of justification.

Results

Manipulation check. In each condition, roughly 85% of respondents remembered the target of Special Order 31B correctly. Interestingly, the most common error in the stereotypically Latino crime condition was to report that Special Order 31B sought to curb “immigration” rather than “illegal immigration.” Including the 15% of respondents with incorrect responses to this question, however, did not alter the pattern of these results. Consequently, they are included here to give as full a picture as possible of how a policy might be interpreted by the general public.

Civilian ethnicity. The exact numbers of civilian ethnicity identified in each condition are detailed in Table 1. More participants identified the civilian complainant as White in the stereotypically White crime condition (62%) than in any other crime condition. Surprisingly, in the control, “White” and “Black” crime conditions, participants were most likely to ascribe a White racial identity to the civilian complainant in question. The stereotypically Black crime condition did show the highest ascription of Black racial identity, however (39%). This tendency to assume that the civilian was White may be a reflection of true attitudes, or may be an artifact of social desirability tendencies despite our attempt at deception. Nevertheless, despite this consistent tendency to see the civilian as White, the Latino crime condition stood out. When the crime policy in question dealt with illegal immigration, participants overwhelmingly identified the civilian complainant as Latino (83%). The dramatic difference in race designated between the Latino crime condition and all other crime conditions is illustrated in Figure 1.

Officer bias. The mean evaluation of the likelihood that the police officer had engaged in racial profiling in the control condition ($N_{\text{Control}} = 4.15$, $SD = 1.67$), the stereotypically White crime condition ($N_{\text{White}} = 3.90$, $SD = 1.68$), and the stereotypically Black crime condition (N_{Black}

= 3.98, $SD = 1.67$) were all centered on the midpoint of the scale. One-sample t-tests confirmed that these means were *not* significantly different from the midpoint of the scale ($t_{\text{Control}} (362) = 1.70, p = .09$; $t_{\text{White}} (358) = -1.13, p = .26$; $t_{\text{Black}} (386) = -.21, p = .83$). In the stereotypically Latino crime condition, however, the mean evaluation of the likelihood that the officer had engaged in racial profiling was significantly higher than the midpoint of the scale ($N = 5.08, SD = 1.58$; $t (376) = 13.25, p < .001$). A one-way ANOVA contrast indicated that this mean was also significantly higher than the means in all of the other conditions, $t (1482) = 10.84, p < .001$.

Policy justification. Participants felt that the officer was slightly justified in pulling over the car in the control condition ($N_{\text{Control}} = 4.44, SD = 1.52$), the stereotypically White crime condition ($N_{\text{White}} = 4.19, SD = 1.60$), and the stereotypically Black crime condition ($N_{\text{Black}} = 4.36, SD = 1.48$). One-sample t-tests confirmed that these means were significantly greater than the midpoint of the scale ($t_{\text{Control}} (363) = 5.52, p < .001$; $t_{\text{White}} (359) = 2.24, p = .03$; $t_{\text{Black}} (387) = 4.75, p < .001$). In the stereotypically Latino crime condition, however, the mean evaluation of whether the officer was justified in pulling the car over was *not* significantly higher than the midpoint of the scale ($N = 4.13, SD = 1.60$; $t (377) = 1.54, p = .12$). That is, respondents were less convinced that the stop was justified in the Latino condition than all others, which was confirmed by a one-way ANOVA contrast that compared the Latino condition to all the others combined, $t (1482) = -2.18, p = .03$.

Collapsed across conditions, an increased sense of the stop being justified was inversely proportional to a judgment that the officer had engaged in racial profiling, $r (1486) = -.23, p < .001$. That is, those who felt that the stop was justified were less likely to indicate that the officer had engaged in racial profiling. In the stereotypically Latino crime condition in particular, the

belief that the officer was justified in his or her stop was nearly identical to the overall mean, $r(377) = -.23, p < .001$.

Gender. Though not our main focus variable, it is important to note that participants tended to envision both the civilian and the police officer as male rather than female. The police officer mean did not differ by condition; roughly 97% of respondents ascribed a male gender to the officer. The gender of the civilian complainant was ascribed as male roughly 65% of the time across conditions. The gender ascription of the control condition was more even-handed than any of the race-stereotypical conditions, with a one-way ANOVA contrast indicating that the mean number of respondents perceiving a male civilian was significantly lower than the means in the other conditions combined, $t(1482) = 5.70, p < .001$. This is consistent with past research that indicates that criminals are more frequently envisioned as male (c.f. Hagan, 1995).

Discussion

The degree of consensus about the ethnicity of someone who has been targeted as an illegal immigrant (83%) is very high. The literature and the media are filled with anecdotal and systematic documentation about racial profiling of Black Americans by police officers. Nevertheless, these findings indicate that racial content communicated by a policy targeting armed robbery (a stereotypically “Black” crime) is weaker than the racial content communicated by a policy targeting illegal immigration (a stereotypically “Latino” crime). This indicates how infused with stereotypicality the crime of undocumented immigration has become. This racialization of cross-deputization policy is bolstered by the additional finding that participants in the stereotypically Latino crime condition are more likely to believe that the officer had engaged in racial profiling. Thus, this lends support to the communication of the two hypothesized

stereotypes by the policy of cross-deputization: “Latinos are illegal immigrants” and “police officers are racist.”

It is remarkable that participants extracted a racial message from a policy that contains no racial language—only the addition of the phrase, “. . .that requires an officer to question anyone whom the officer suspects may be an illegal immigrant.” Moreover, participants extracted a clearer racial message than either of the other tested racialized crimes. This may be a function of other factors, such as the relative seriousness of the crimes or the de-sensitization to bias against Black civilians in the domain of policing. Nevertheless, it is surprising given the long history of racial profiling complaints made by Black civilians in the United States. This racialization of the issue of illegal immigration and, more specifically, of cross-deputization policy will serve as a foundation for exploration of the impact these stereotypes and the policy itself have on both Latinos and police officers.

The potential consequence of a cross-deputization policy it is that participants, on average, believed both that the stop of a Latino person on suspicion of being an illegal immigrant was potentially justified by such a policy. Essentially, participants indicate that racial profiling is mandated and justified by a policy that seeks to stem illegal immigration. It is important to note, moreover, that the “stereotypical” crimes tested for each racial condition varied greatly in severity. Undocumented immigration (stereotypically Latino) is only a misdemeanor that involves very little harm to others, while armed robbery (stereotypically Black) and serial killing (stereotypically White) are both felonies with clear victims. Thus, participants are more comfortable with racial profiling to crack down on a misdemeanor that harms virtually no one than they are with racial profiling to crack down on a felony that harms one or more victims.

Chapter 2: The “Low-Status” Perspective

Study 1 established that policy communicates stereotypes; Study 2 explores the impact these communicated stereotypes (that Latinos and undocumented immigrants are functionally equivalent, and that police officers are racially biased) may have on the perceptions of a low-status group. Although past research has shown that one need not be aware of the presence of a stereotype for it to be threatening (Crocker, Major, & Steele, 1998), the conscious awareness of a self-relevant stereotype does magnify the effect (Murphy, Steele, & Gross, 2007; Goff, Steele, & Davies, 2008; Marx & Goff, 2005; Spencer, Steele, & Quinn, 1999). Given that past psychological research has shown that those who are targeted with group-based stereotypes are usually quite aware of it (Aronson, 2002) and tend to be hyper-vigilant for any sign of prejudice (Katz & Benjamin, 1960; Sigelman & Tuch, 1997; Vorauer & Kumhyr, 2001), one would expect the consequences of stereotypes communicated by policy to be strong.

There is substantial evidence that the stereotype of the racist police officer is well-recognized by Latinos. Qualitative researchers have documented a strong sense among Latino immigrants in particular that they are singled out by police due to their race (Martinez, 2007; Menjivar & Bejarano, 2004; Rosenbloom & Way, 2004). As one Cuban immigrant to the United States stated, “Because of my skin color people look at me differently here...so that makes me act differently and act carefully, especially with the authorities here” (Menjivar & Bejarano, 2004, p. 132-3). Similarly, a Salvadorian immigrant stated, “Each year that passes I feel more and more how I and our raza (race) are discriminated. The police stop us just because we look Latino” (Menjivar & Bejarano, 2004, p. 139). Overall, Latinos tend to believe that racial

profiling is widespread, and that they themselves have been racially profiled (Reitzel, Rice, & Piquero, 2004). This makes our hypothesis that Latinos will recognize the stereotype communicated by cross-deputization all the more likely.

On the other hand, there is not much evidence that the Latino community is aware of the stereotype of undocumented immigrants and Latinos being functionally equivalent. Although my own work has attempted to document the existence of this attitude in a White population (c.f. Epstein & Goff, 2011), there is no documentation, to my knowledge, of awareness of this stereotype amongst the Latino population itself. Given that stereotypes are embedded in the culture, it is likely that Latinos would be aware of this equivalency, however, this stereotype may have a weaker influence on Latinos' attitudes given that it is not nearly as entrenched as that of the racist police officer.

The discomfort engendered by the looming presence of a stereotype is often referred to as "stereotype threat" (c.f. Steele & Aronson, 1995). At the heart of stereotype threat is the fear that not only will one present oneself badly, but doing so will give credence to the very stereotype that the target finds so repugnant and threatening (Goff, Steele, & Davies, 2008; Schmader & Johns, 2003). Stereotype threat is a highly robust phenomenon. For stereotype threat to have impact there need not be any evidence of biased or differential treatment present in an intergroup interaction (Aronson, 2002). The mere presence of an outgroup member can be enough to engender stereotype threat (Marx & Goff, 2005). Stereotype threat has been shown to have a negative impact on behavior with respect to a wide range of stereotyped groups, including the elderly (Levy, 1996), African-Americans (Steele & Aronson, 1995), Whites (Goff, Steele, & Davies, 2008), women (Shih, Pittinsky, & Ambady, 1999), and Latinos (Schmader & Johns, 2003). Although the samples used in stereotype threat research have been impressively diverse,

the context of the research has remained fairly static; most stereotype threat research has been conducted in the context of educational testing scenarios (c.f. Aronson & Steele, 2005). There has been little research exploring this phenomenon in the context of intergroup relations (see Goff, Steele, & Davies, 2008 for an exception), and none to date has explored the context of policing in particular. The area of stereotype threat in the intergroup context is understudied given the potential impact stereotype threat could have in the domain of intergroup relations as a whole.

What, then, are the consequences of these threats and the stereotypes behind them? In the context of an interaction, one often uses stereotypes to formulate expectations about the anticipated interaction partner (Merton, 1948; Neuberg, 1996; Snyder, 1984). Extensive research has documented the impact of stereotypes on expectations in intergroup interactions in particular. Outgroup stereotypes are said to serve as “provisional hypotheses” for an individual entering intergroup interaction (Darley & Gross, 1983). That is, one does not enter into an intergroup interaction with a blank slate, but with an idea of how it will play out that is based on stereotypical knowledge. Given that so many of these stereotypes are negative, as discussed above, this can lead to negative expectations (Hamilton, Sherman, & Ruvolo, 1990). Indeed, past research has shown that the anticipation of an intergroup interaction is a predominately negative experience (Stephan & Stephan, 1985).

Thus, in the context of this research, the prediction would be that when one anticipates an interaction with a racist police officer, this leads to more negative expectations about the content of the interaction itself. For example, if one expects a police officer to be racist, one might expect him or her to behave more aggressively in an interaction. This is consistent with past correlational research that has linked negative outgroup stereotypes with perceptions of conflict

with that outgroup, negative outgroup attitudes, and feelings of outgroup threat (Corenblum & Stephan, 2001). Such negative expectations would lead to evaluations of officers as more dangerous or threatening to personal safety—and lead Latinos, consequently, to avoid contact with officers (Davis, Erez, & Avitable, 2001; Menjivar & Bejarano, 2004; Voci & Hewstone, 2003).

If this contact is unavoidable, past research suggests that negative expectations engender intergroup anxiety about an upcoming interaction. Intergroup anxiety, best defined as anxiety that stems from anticipated negative intergroup interactions with a given *outgroup* member (Stephan & Stephan, 1985, 1989; Wilder & Shapiro, 1989), has the potential to emerge in the policing context for three main reasons. First, for a low-status group the source of this anxiety is typically a fear of maltreatment (Stephan & Stephan, 1985), and negative expectations about an upcoming interaction are essentially an operationalization of maltreatment expectations. Second, intergroup anxiety is exacerbated by the salience of group categorization (Brewer & Miller, 1984; Corenblum & Stephan, 2001; Islam & Hewstone, 1993; Voci & Hewstone, 2003; Stephan & Stephan, 1985). Given that the negative expectations are highly group referent, this should evoke intergroup anxiety even more strongly. Finally, those who expect their outgroup interaction partners to be prejudiced against them also tend to experience greater amounts of intergroup anxiety (Tropp, 2003). Therefore, given that the negative expectations are a function of stereotype threat that directly taps into expectations of prejudice, intergroup anxiety should again be evoked more intensely.

In an attempt to stem all these anticipated consequences, Study 2 includes a manipulation that provides a positive or negative stance at the group level of the policy provided. It is hoped that the assertion of police support for a positive policy or police condemnation of a negative

policy will have a positive impact on Latino's outgroup attitudes. In this way, Study 2 seeks to remove (or heighten, depending on condition) the expectation of biased treatment by an outgroup. This should lower intergroup anxiety (Tropp, 2003), and take out some of the "threat in the air."

Study 2

Study 1 demonstrated that a cross-deputization policy legitimizes the cultural consensus that Latinos and illegal immigrants are functionally equivalent, and the consensus that police officers are racially biased. Study 2 investigates the impact of these communicated stereotypes. As discussed above, stereotypes can serve as legitimizing myths (Levin, Sidanius, Rabinowitz, & Federico, 1998; Yzerbyt & Rogier, 2001). When communicated by policy, these myths can assume an entirely new level of legitimacy. Specifically, Study 2 examines the differential impact that the stereotypes of the "racist cop" and the "illegal Latino" communicated by cross-deputization policy. This study examines the influence of each communicated stereotype on the formation of negative expectations of interactions with police officers and, ultimately, intergroup anxiety and negative behavioral intentions. This study also manipulates police stance on the policy provided, but only to show that, ultimately, this is a macro-level problem: intergroup tension based on the stereotype-laden policy that the police are sworn to uphold, not on the opinions they espouse.

Methods

Participants. The sample was comprised of 120 Latinos (64% male, 36% female) currently residing in Los Angeles. Of these, 17% were native-born citizens, 21% were naturalized citizens, and 64% were non-citizens. Political ideology was slightly liberal ($M =$

2.99, $SD = 1.52$) as indicated by a one-sample t-test from the midpoint of the scale, $t(113) = -3.56, p = .001$, on a scale from 1 to 6. This mean should be interpreted with caution, however, as immigrant conceptualization of political ideology tends to be an unfamiliar and thus unreliable construct. With 6 experimental cells in total, there were 20 participants in each cell.

Participants were recruited in public parks and at swap meets in the Los Angeles area, and were paid for their participation. To ensure that undocumented immigrants were represented, we oversampled from the undocumented population. To gain access to this group of individuals (undocumented immigrants), who frequently do not want to self-identify or participate in research, we employed bilingual surveyors. Given the delicacy of the respondents' situation, our surveyors did not want to release any statistics on refusal rates or percentage of participation for the samples they collected, for fear of exposing this vulnerable population to increased police and community scrutiny. Therefore, we do not report refusal rates from our community sample.

Procedure. The study has a 2 (policy type) x 3 (police union stance) design. Deception was used to prime a concrete policy as a context for all ensuing questions. All questionnaires were read to participants in the language of their choice (English or Spanish) as interviews to control for any differences in literacy levels among participants. Participants were read one of two policies (according to random assignment to condition) that were said to be going into effect later in the year. (Differences in the two statements are highlighted in bold.) The first policy condition (which forbids cross-deputization) was the following statement:

“Officers are hereby explicitly **forbidden** to initiate police contact for the sole purpose of determining a person’s immigration status. Immigration violations **are not** within the jurisdiction of the local police and it **is not** the duty of the officer to address this violation if an illegal

immigrant is spotted. Thus, it is hereby noted that that the verification of immigration status **is not** a matter for police action.”

The second policy condition (which authorizes cross-deputization) was the following statement:

“Officers are hereby explicitly **authorized** to initiate police contact for the sole purpose of determining a person’s immigration status. Immigration violations **are** within the jurisdiction of the local police and it **is** the duty of the officer to address this violation if an illegal immigrant is spotted. Thus, it is hereby noted that that the verification of immigration status **is** a matter for police action.”

To test the impact of police policy stance, participants were then provided with one of the following: no additional information (neutral condition), a position statement from the Los Angeles Police Union that opposed the policy (negative condition), or a position statement from the Los Angeles Police Union that supported the policy (positive condition). Participants then completed a written questionnaire composed of a variety of measures of interest. Participants were then thanked, verbally debriefed with an explanation of the study, and paid.

Stereotype vigilance. Vigilance for any racial overtone was measured with one item: “I believe that ordering police officers to serve as immigration officers is a racist policy.” This item was rated using a Likert scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). This item was designed to encapsulate both the “racist” idea that Latinos are undocumented immigrants and the “racist” idea that police are justified in singling out Latinos.

Status-based stereotype threat. Threat about being seen as an undocumented immigrant was measured in the specific context of police relations by adapting items taken from Marx and Goff (2005). The scale consisted of 3 items (e.g. “I’m concerned that police officers might

misinterpret something I say as implying that I am an illegal immigrant.”) rated using a Likert scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). The full set of items is listed in the appendix. The scale was highly reliable ($\alpha = .87$).

Race-based stereotype threat. Concern with falling prey to a racist police officer was also measured with a 3-item scale formulated by adapting items taken from Marx and Goff (2005). Items (e.g. “I’m concerned that my being Latino influences what police officers think of me.”) were rated using a Likert scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). The full set of items is listed in the appendix. The scale was highly reliable ($\alpha = .88$).

Negative expectations. Negative intergroup interaction expectations was measured with a scale developed with a qualitative pilot test. Informal interviews were conducted with 26 Latino residents, asking each to provide as many responses as possible to one open-ended question: “What are your expectations about interactions with police officers?” The answers to this question were converted to single-barreled items and duplicate answers were eliminated. The final scale used consists of 8 items (e.g. “I believe that police officers will be polite during my interactions with them.”) rated using a Likert scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). The full set of items is listed in the appendix. This scale was highly reliable ($\alpha = .82$).

Intergroup anxiety. The first dependent variable of interest, intergroup anxiety was measured using a condensed 6-item scale (Van Zomeren, Fischer & Spears, 2007) drawn by Van Zomeren and colleagues from a larger 15-item scale (Stephan & Stephan, 1985) to increase construct reliability. Participants were prompted with “Generally speaking, if I am approached by a police officer on the street, I feel...” and then rate their agreement or disagreement on a 7-

point Likert scale with each of the 6 emotions listed (uneasy, nervous, threatened, uncertain, uncomfortable, anxious). This scale was highly reliable ($\alpha = .91$).

Interaction avoidance. The second dependent variable of interest, tendency to avoid an intergroup encounter, was measured with a single reverse-coded item: “In my city, I feel safe approaching a police officer on the street.” Participants rated this item using a Likert scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree).

Gender. Given the finding above that people picture criminal offenders as male as well as past research that indicates the same pattern historically (Hagan, 1995), gender was recorded as a possible confound to the findings. The concern was that women might not be as threatened by the stereotypes as men would be, and that this might alter the ensuing stream of negative consequences. Gender, however, was not found to be significantly related to any of our measured variables, and thus will be excluded from the discussion of our findings below.

Results

Experimental condition. The police union stance on the policy that was presented proved to be ineffective at producing any change in any variable measured. This null effect is important, however, given that it is consistent with suppositions that policy drives intergroup tensions, and that little can be done to mitigate the damage after the fact. An ideological opposition to a policy does not change the fact that the officers will still be bound to enforce the policy in question. For example, suppose that a police union in Alabama under Jim Crow had stated that they did not like the fact that lunch counters were segregated. The officers would still be legally required to handcuff a Black person who sat down at one, so any oppositional statement would likely have seemed an empty gesture. Given this null effect, results were collapsed across police stance

condition and only the experimental impact of policy condition was examined. The impact of this experimental manipulation will be discussed at length for each ensuing variable of interest. To reference the two policy conditions used, this discussion adopts the following shorthand: the policy condition known as cross-deputization, where officers are *authorized* to enforce immigration violations, is called “authorized,” and the policy condition where officers are *forbidden* to enforce immigration violations is called “forbidden.”

Stereotype vigilance. A one-sample t-test with the midpoint of the scale showed that, on average, participants thought that the cross-deputization policy was slightly racist ($M = 5.20$, $SD = 2.12$), $t(119) = 6.18$, $p < .001$. An independent samples t-test showed that the policy condition did have a marginal impact on the degree to which cross-deputization was seen as racist, with those faced with the prospect of cross-deputization as a reality being marginally more inclined to view cross-deputization as racist, $t(118) = -1.82$, $p = .07$. The means for both conditions, however, were above the midpoint of the scale (authorized: $M = 5.55$, $SD = 1.93$; forbidden: $M = 4.85$, $SD = 2.27$). Thus, the policy condition does not appear to have had much effect on whether cross-deputization policy was seen as racist.

Stereotype threat. A one-sample t-test with the midpoint of the scale showed that, on average, participants felt slight amounts of threat about police officers acting in a racist manner ($M = 4.40$, $SD = 1.93$), $t(119) = 2.29$, $p = .02$, and about being seen as undocumented immigrants by police officers ($M = 4.49$, $SD = 1.95$), $t(119) = 2.73$, $p = .007$. Both of these threats were correlated with all of the variables of interest, including the belief that cross-deputization policy is somehow racist. (See Table 2 for a complete list of correlations.) These threats were extremely highly correlated with each other, $r = .85$, $p < .001$, leading to doubts about the validity of their representation as separate constructs.

The case for discriminant validity was bolstered, however, by some differential findings between the two kinds of stereotype threat. In the authorized condition, participants showed an elevated sense of racism-based threat (authorized: $M = 4.81$, $SD = 1.80$; forbidden: $M = 4.00$, $SD = 1.98$). An independent samples t-test confirmed that this was a significant effect, $t(118) = -2.33$, $p = .02$. There was not, however, a corresponding effect for undocumented immigrant-based threat, $t(118) = -1.55$, $p = .12$. Another finding that bolsters the case for discriminant validity of these two threat types is that, according to an independent samples t-test, immigrants experience higher levels of undocumented immigrant-based threat, $t(115) = 2.55$, $p = .01$, but not racism-based threat, $t(115) = 1.25$, $p = .21$. (Incidentally, undocumented immigrant-based threat was the only variable that immigration status was related to.) Thus, immigration policy more often triggers concern about the racist police officer threat than concern about being seen as an undocumented immigrant — regardless of one's own immigration status. These findings suggest that although these two forms of threat tend to co-occur, they can be differentially triggered. This concern over whether these two forms of threat are distinct or not will be integrated into the way we test our model as a whole.

Negative expectations. A one-sample t-test with the midpoint of the scale showed that, on average, participants were skewed slightly positively in their expectations of police interactions ($M = 3.53$, $SD = 1.37$), $t(119) = -3.77$, $p < .001$. In the authorized condition, participants showed more negative expectations (authorized: $M = 3.88$, $SD = 1.41$; forbidden: $M = 3.17$, $SD = 1.25$). That is, people who were read the cross-deputization policy had more negative expectations about their upcoming interactions with police officers. An independent samples t-test confirmed that this was a significant effect, $t(118) = -2.91$, $p = .004$. Negative expectations were also correlated with all variables of interest *except* for stereotype vigilance. This suggests that the

policy directly communicates negative expectations regardless of whether one consciously engages with the stereotypes or not.

Intergroup anxiety. A one-sample t-test with the midpoint of the scale showed that, on average, participants were mixed in their level of anxiety given that the mean anxiety level expressed ($M = 3.84$, $SD = 1.77$) did not differ from the midpoint of the scale, $t(119) = -1.02$, $p = .31$. An independent samples t-test indicated that intergroup anxiety did not vary significantly by policy condition, $t(118) = -.14$, $p = .89$. I speculate that this lack of effect of condition may be due to a need to control for whether one is threatened by the stereotypes or not. This should be elucidated by the testing of the overall path model. Like negative expectations, intergroup anxiety was correlated with all of the variables of interest except stereotype vigilance.

Interaction avoidance. A one-sample t-test with the midpoint of the scale showed that, on average, participants felt only a small amount of danger approaching a police officer on the street ($M = 2.20$, $SD = 1.96$), $t(119) = -4.52$, $p < .001$. An independent samples t-test indicated that interaction avoidance did not vary significantly by policy condition, $t(118) = .70$, $p = .49$. Like negative expectations and intergroup anxiety, interaction avoidance was correlated with all of the variables of interest except stereotype recognition.

Overall conceptual model. To elucidate the pathways of intergroup tension spurred by cross-deputization policy, these predictions were merged to form a structural equation model. The policy that participants were presented with would elicit feelings of stereotype threat given a level of vigilance to the presence of stereotypes. This stereotype threat would fuel negative expectations that would, jointly, lead to intergroup anxiety and a degraded level of predicted behavior. To encapsulate the supposition that stereotype vigilance moderates the influence of the

policy presented on resultant attitudes, an interaction term was formed from the centered variables, with stereotype vigilance re-scaled as well to match the range of the binary policy variable.

Given how highly correlated the two types of stereotype threat were, *three different structural equation models were tested* that differed in only one respect—the scale used for stereotype threat. The first model contained a collapsed measure of stereotype threat, the second a race-based stereotype threat measure, and, and the third a status-based stereotype threat measure. These three models are shown in Figure 2.

Each structural equation model as a whole was tested using maximum likelihood estimation and pair-wise deletion with EQS Version 6.1 for Windows (Bentler, 2006). Model fit, was evaluated with goodness-of-fit indices specified by Hu and Bentler (1999): chi-square test statistics (χ^2 ; good fit if $p > .05$), comparative fit index (CFI; good fit $> .90$), standardized root-mean residual (SRMR; good fit $< .08$), and root-mean-square error of approximation (RMSEA; good fit $< .06$). All dependent variables in the model were allowed to have error terms. The particular chi-square test statistic used for this data was the Satorra-Bentler Scaled Chi-Square Statistic (Satorra & Bentler, 1994). This is a robust statistic recommended for structural equation models that contain more than 15 variables (Study 2's model contains 19) on a sample of less than 1,000 (Study 2's sample contains 120) (c.f. Hancock & Mueller, 2006). This Satorra-Bentler statistic was chosen over the Mean and Variance Adjusted Chi-square Statistic because the latter tends to perform badly when the sample is smaller than 200 and the variables are not normally distributed (Muthen, du Toit, & Spisic, 1997)—both of which are characteristics of the Study 2 data set. Robust fit statistics were used as well for CFI and RMSEA. The non-robust SRMR was

used due to the fact that no robust measure of SRMR is available in EQS 6.1. As stated above, three different structural equation models were tested.

Model 1: Collapsed stereotype threat. The first model, with a collapsed measure of stereotype threat, was a good fit for the data: $\chi^2(211, N = 120) = 237.32, p = .10, CFI = .99, SRMR = .07, RMSEA = .03$. As Figure 2 shows, all of the standardized path coefficients representing the hypothesized relationships were significant, $p < .05$, except for policy type.

Model 2: Race-based stereotype threat. When general stereotype threat was replaced with race-based stereotype threat, the significance of the model actually increased: $\chi^2(153, N = 120) = 172.66, p = .13, CFI = .98, SRMR = .07, RMSEA = .03$. Again, all of the standardized path coefficients representing the hypothesized relationships were significant, $p < .05$, except for policy type. The increase in significance of the model, however, is likely a spurious finding due only to the fact that the race-based stereotype threat measure contains three fewer items than the collapsed measure. As a consequence of these three fewer variables in the model, the degrees of freedom is lower and, as a result, so too is the unexplained variance in the model. This lowering of degrees of freedom and variance will nearly always result in a more significant chi-square statistic.

Model 3: Status-based stereotype threat. When, however, general stereotype threat was replaced with status-based stereotype threat, the model dropped to non-significance: $\chi^2(153, N = 120) = 184.10, p = .04, CFI = .97, SRMR = .07, RMSEA = .04$. All of the standardized path coefficients representing the hypothesized relationships were significant, $p < .05$, except for the policy type and policy interaction terms. This indicates that the model's marginal fit was driven

by the other relationships included in the model, and not by the prediction of status-based stereotype threat by Study 2's policy manipulation.

In summary, structural equation modeling suggests that the first general stereotype threat model is likely driven by the race-based conceptualization of stereotype threat—given that the race-based stereotype threat model is so strong and the status-based model is non-significant. Overall, these SEM results confirm the previously stated hypotheses: the policy of cross deputization communicates stereotypes that, if stereotype vigilance is high, engender stereotype threat. This threat centers on the idea of being treated differently due to being perceived as Latino, rather than as an illegal immigrant. The threat then creates negative expectations that produces anxiety when police officers approach and judgments that the police are more dangerous. This is cause for concern given that the police are the very individuals charged with ensuring the safety of civilians.

Discussion

Overall, the stereotype threat engendered by cross-deputization of a “racist cop” emerged as a more powerful catalyst of negative reactions than the ingroup stereotype of an “illegal label.” This is a slight variant from the finding that those who feel stereotyped tend to lash out at the perpetrators of these stereotypes; it shows instead that perpetrating a stereotype was more predictive of ensuing negativity. Typically, the accusation of racial bias is seen as a self-protective measure that does not impinge upon the targets' self-perceptions or necessitate re-evaluation of their self-concept (Crocker, Voelkl, Testa, & Major, 1993; Cota & Dion, 1986) and is based on the well-documented preference for outgroup degradation over any sort of negative

valuation of one's ingroup (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Tajfel, 1981). Given that Study 1 showed this racial bias of the outgroup (police officers) was communicated by a cross-deputization policy (as perceived by a non-affected third party), it is reasonable to assume that the accusation of racism may be premeditated cognition.

The stereotype threat based on the stereotype of a racist police officer was better predicted by the policy condition than the stereotype threat based on the equivalence of "Latino" and "undocumented immigrant." This is an important finding ripe for further exploration. It suggests that the threat of being labeled as an "illegal" still strongly motivates negative expectations, and is not simply triggered by cross-deputization policy. The fact the cross-deputization policy more strongly evokes of the image of police as racist (as opposed to the image of a Latino as an undocumented immigrant) paints the picture of low-status members lashing out at their supposed "high-status" opponents. This fits well with past research that documented the self-protective function of accusations of racism (Crocker, Voelkl, Testa, & Major, 1993; Cota & Dion, 1986). It also moves away from the classic depiction of low-status groups as passive and focused on their own stigma. Even the stereotype of Latinos as undocumented immigrants was used by Latino respondents to lash out at the outgroup they see as responsible.

Finally, it is disheartening but unsurprising that the impact of either policy, even hypothetically implemented, was unaffected by conciliatory speech on the part of the police. Social scientists have suggested that macro-level variables often carry more weight than micro-level variables (Peffley & Hurwitz, 2009). In this case, police policy carries more weight than a public relations statement. The one encouraging message here is that if the policies in place do not communicate racial stereotypes, then more positive reactions to law enforcement will follow.

This, again, is consistent with work in procedural justice that shows that law enforcement agents are an embodiment of the law (Tyler & Huo, 2002).

Chapter 3: The “High-Status” Perspective

Study 2 failed to show an attenuation effect of the impact of policy on intergroup relations between police officers and Latinos, where the outgroup reassures the ingroup that it does not support said policy. Instead, Study 3 uses the tactic of self-affirmation, frequently relied upon in intergroup conflict attenuation research. Self-affirmation is defined here as the impulse to rationalize, justify, and bolster one’s self-concept and self-worth (Fein & Spencer, 1997; Steele, 1988). Past research has shown a positive impact of self-affirmation on intergroup relations; given the opportunity to affirm an aspect of their self-concept, participants reduced their levels of anti-Semitism (Fein & Spencer, 1997) and implicit (anti-Black) racism (Frantz, Cuddy, Burnett, Ray, & Hart, 2004). This link between self-affirmation and prejudice reduction is likely due to the basic finding of Social Identity Theory, that one derogates an outgroup in order to feel better about one’s own group and, consequently, oneself (c.f. Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

The seminal variable for negative reactions of low-status groups in Study 2 was the vigilance to stereotypes communicated by policy. Past research has indicated, however, that high status groups (such as Whites) deny the influence of racial bias (Hodson, Hooper, Dovidio, & Gaertner, 2005) on their thought process and the influence of any information that confirms their a priori expectations (Wyer & Budesheim, 1987). More generally, past research has shown that Whites essentially claim “color-blindness” strategically in order to avoid appearing biased, but

this can result in more negative non-verbal behaviors towards outgroup members (Apfelbaum, Sommers, & Norton, 2008; Norton, Sommers, Apfelbaum, Pura, & Ariely, 2006). In other words, Whites will frequently claim “not to notice” race and omit mention of any racial characteristic of an interracial scenario, despite the presence of a clearly racial element. This aversion on the part of high-status (usually White) groups to talking about race is a deeply entrenched phenomenon that starts as early as late childhood (Apfelbaum, Pauker, Ambady, Sommers, & Norton, 2008).

For example, in a study of jury behavior by Johnson and colleagues, an experimenter presented evidence to White subjects and then informed them that this evidence was inadmissible. Given this disclosure, subjects convicted a Black defendant more often than a White one (Johnson, Whitestone, Jackson, and Gatto, 1995). Moreover, these subjects reported feeling that their sentencing decision was *less* affected by the inadmissible evidence when the defendant was Black than when the defendant was White. Thus, not only were Whites’ criminal stereotypes of Blacks more influential, but Whites were also more likely to deny this influence.

This tendency of high-status group members to deny the influence of racial prejudice on one’s actions also parallels findings in the aversive racism literature. Dovidio and colleagues have illustrated the tendency of Whites to re-direct unconscious, negative feelings towards Blacks into rationalizations more divorced from their racial roots (e.g. Dovidio, 2001; Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000; Dovidio, Kawakami, & Gaertner, 2002; Gaertner & Dovidio, 1977; 1986). This phenomenon has been shown to be particularly prevalent when guidelines for appropriate behavior are vague, or when the basis for social judgment is ambiguous. Thus, the policing context seems ripe for such rationalizations given how vague the guidelines given for particular interactions are. Research on help-seeking (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1977; 1986) has shown that

aversion to explicit racial influences can decrease help given by a White (high-status) individual to an outgroup (low-status) individual. Study 3 investigates the converse of this helping paradigm; it tests whether aversion to explicit racial influences make harming an outgroup member more likely.

If one refuses to acknowledge that racial information is present, one must draw other, potentially inaccurate, conclusions based on the stereotypes present. This can be seen in past research on Whites' attitudes towards Blacks. For example, experimental research in social psychology has shown that Black defendants get harsher sentences than White defendants for an identical crime (Goff, Eberhardt, Williams, & Jackson, 2008). This is due to the fact that stereotypes can trigger unfavorable attributions, such as criminality (Marsh, Cook, & Hicks, 2006; Pyszczynski & Greenberg, 1987). For example, in a study of jury behavior by Hodson and colleagues, when White participants were given an identical case for a Black and a White defendant, they rated the Black defendant as more guilty and more subject to recidivism than the White defendant (Hodson, Hooper, Dovidio, & Gaertner, 2005). As a consequence, they also tended to recommend longer sentences for the Black defendant, and have less confidence that the defendant would be rehabilitated.

In the policing context, this would be equivalent to a police officer treating a Latino civilian as a criminal based on stereotypes rather than on reasonable suspicion. As discussed earlier, this is directly in line with current rhetoric that conflates “undocumented immigrant” and “Latino” (c.f. Epstein & Goff, 2011) and criminalizes both immigrants (Decker, Lewis, Provine, & Varsanyi, 2009; Ousey & Kubrin, 2009) and Latinos (Marin, 1984; Phenice & Griffore, 1994; Simmons, 1961). Endorsement of these stereotypes, however, has consequences.

People in general (Bobo, 1983; Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986; McConahay, 1986; Sears, 1988), and police officers in particular (c.f. Epstein & Goff, 2011), tend to be uncomfortable openly exhibiting racial bias. Past research suggests that thinking about relevant stereotypes makes an individual feel threatened (e.g. Hormuth, 1986; Geen 1985). This phenomenon is known as stereotype threat. Stereotype threat, however, is typically portrayed as a low-status group phenomenon. Although there is qualitative documentation that police officers believe that non-Whites tend to see them as prejudiced and racially biased (Carter, 1985; Joyner, 1977), the portrayal of the high-status person in the dyad as a victim of stereotyping rather than a perpetrator is a departure from the typical portrayal in the stereotype threat literature. Thus, Study 3 seeks demonstrate that a high-status stereotype perpetrator can feel the pressure of stereotypes much as a low-status person does.

The high-status group most frequently studied in the meta-stereotyping literature is, again, Whites. For Whites, meta-stereotypes are activated by an actual or anticipated interaction with a non-White person (Devine, Evett, & Vasquez-Suson, 1996; Vorauer, Hunter, Main, & Roy, 2000; Vorauer & Kumhyr, 2001). These meta-stereotypes remain salient regardless of whether they accurately reflect outgroup members' attitudes (Shelton, 2003). The most common meta-stereotype examined in the meta-stereotyping literature is Whites' meta-stereotype that non-Whites see them as racist. The concern over this meta-stereotype, a concern that closely mirrors the phenomenon of stereotype threat, intensifies as Whites' prejudice against non-Whites increases (Vorauer, 2003; Vorauer & Kumhyr, 2001). Given that the stereotype this study is concerned with, that police officers are racist, is nearly identical to the stereotype that Whites are racist, it is likely that these meta-stereotype findings will replicate using police officers as the high-status group.

Research in the stereotype threat literature indicates a similar pattern. An experiment by Aronson and colleagues showed that during a mathematics test, White men (again, a traditionally high-status group) experienced stereotype threat compared to Asians, a traditionally lower-status group (Aronson, Lustina, Good, Keough, Steele, & Brown, 1999). White men who were simply reminded that Asians tend to do better in the domain of mathematics performed worse on a mathematics test than White men given no such reminder. In another study, White men (high-status) who were reminded that women (low-status) excelled at affective processing subsequently performed worse on a purported test of affective ability (Leyens, Desert, Croizet, & Darcis, 2000).

The detrimental impact that stereotype threat has on performance (e.g. Aronson, 2002; Aronson, Quinn, & Spencer, 1988; Aronson & Salinas, 1997, as cited in Aronson, Quinn, & Spencer, 1998; Aronson & Steele, 2005; Marx & Goff, 2005) is often manifested in the confirmation of the very stereotype of concern (Pinel, 2002; Rosenthal & Jacobsen, 1968; van Laar, Levin, & Sinclair, 2008). Thus, an officer concerned with appearing racist to a Latino might as a consequence act in a more racist manner toward that Latino. Similarly, research on meta-stereotypes indicates that concern of a high-status group individual about appearing racist — especially in a context where one’s racism is being “tested” (Frantz, Cuddy, Burnett, Ray, & Hart, 2004) — leads to impaired performance in that domain. The perception of these meta-stereotypes can then lead to more implicit (Frantz, Cuddy, Burnett, Ray, & Hart, 2004) and explicit (Vorauer, Main, & O’Connell, 1998) negative attitudes toward the outgroup in question. Moreover, fear about appearing biased can degrade cognitive functioning, and lead to poorer decision making and greater reliance on heuristic processing (Richeson & Shelton, 2003). Thus, the degraded performance quality of police officers under stereotype threat, coupled with their

negative attitudes and negative expectations, are likely to snowball into an increased reliance on force to control the situation.

Additionally, if stereotype threat is viewed as a special case of intergroup anxiety, the self-fulfilling prophecy of being a “racist cop” is likely to emerge from the detrimental impact that intergroup anxiety has on performance, as follows. Anxiety has been shown to heighten hostility and anger toward outgroup members (Bizman & Yinon, 2001; Britt, Boniecki, Vescio, Biernat, & Brown, 1996; Corenblum & Stephan, 2001; Greenland & Brown, 1999; Islam & Hewstone, 1993; Stephan & Stephan, 2001; Stephan & Renfro, 2002; Van Zomeren, Fischer & Spears, 2007). Officers may therefore be operating under more negative racial attitudes due to anxiety than they would be ordinarily. Moreover, anxiety has also been shown to engender biased behavior (Britt et al., 1996; Gudykunst, 1995; Islam & Hewstone, 1993; Stephan, Ybarra, Martinez, Schwarzwald, & Tur-Kaspa, 1998; Stephan, Diaz-Loving, & Duran, 2000; Stephan & Renfro, 2002). This research also points to an increased use of force.

Study 3

Study 3 explores the hypothesis that enacting a policy that communicates stereotypes will lead to an aversion to the racial information presented (an established stereotype threat effect, c.f. Goff, Steele, & Davies, 2008), and that the degree to which these stereotypes are denied will spur threat in the participant and negative consequences for the low-status outgroup member.

Aversion to stereotype information was operationalized in two different ways: as the tendency to rationalize racial biases and as blindness to racial factors in an interaction. It was hypothesized that each of these would engender stereotype threat and, ultimately, negative consequences for both sides of a dyadic interaction. The consequence for the self was operationalized as danger,

while the consequence for the outgroup “other” was operationalized as both expected and actual use of force. Thus, stereotype threat will again serve as the mechanism for negative intergroup consequences.

Methods

Participants. The sample consisted of 82 police officers (94% male, 6% female) currently employed in the Las Vegas Police Department (LVPD). Participants were recruited through announcements in roll call and paid for their participation. The sample was predominately White (67% White, 4% Asian, 13% Black, 16% Latino). No effects of officer ethnicity were found and, consequently, non-White officers were not excluded from the sample. Political ideology was slightly conservative ($M = 4.60$, $SD = 1.14$) as indicated by a one-sample t-test from the midpoint of the scale, $t(77) = 4.65$, $p < .001$, on a scale from 1 to 7. This slight conservative skew is common among police populations, and a good indication that this study had drawn a representative sample.

Procedures. This study has a 2 (policy prime: authorized, forbidden) x 2 (threat attenuation: self-affirmation, control) design. The two policy types were the same as those in Study 2 (authorizes or forbids cross-deputization). For the threat-attenuation condition, a standard manipulation of threat attenuation (see Fein & Spencer, 1997) was used, where participants were instructed to rank a list of five values and then write about the value that they designated as important to their life.

There are several ways to operationalize the control condition in self-affirmation manipulations, each with its own flaws given the particular context of research with police officers. Past research in self-affirmation frequently uses no task as the control condition. (See

McQueen & Klein, 2006 for a review.) I was concerned, however, that any impact of the self-affirmation would be confounded with the impact of a distractor task. Other work uses a nearly identical task to the self-affirmation one, where participants write about how their least important value might be important to others. Past research, however, has suggested that participants can turn this task into a way to self-affirm as well (Cohen, Aronson, & Steele, 2000) — and given the sensitive nature of this topic, it was suspected that this might occur in this experiment. Another method some researchers have used is a food recall task, where participants are asked to list things they have eaten recently (e.g. Cohen, Aronson, & Steele, 2000; Harvey & Oswald, 2000). Because my past research with police officers showed them to be highly suspicious, however, I believed that a food recall task might be too strange to maintain the face validity of the experiment. Therefore, I constructed a task parallel to the food recall task that asked participants to rank media types (radio, television, newspapers, magazines, websites) by frequency of use, with the hope that this control would be less suspicious.

Participants then completed two shoot/don't-shoot tasks where they viewed a video of an ambiguous situation involving a male Latino protagonist. The protagonist was depicted as male given the well-documented literature of attributing criminal activity to males, as well as the finding in Study 1 that most people envision those in confrontations with police as male. The two situations viewed by officers were a domestic violence call, and a man brandishing a stick. Past research had shown these situations sufficiently ambiguous to create variations in police response. The video simulator task was used because it is a familiar one for officers; they must successfully respond to videos such as the ones used in this experiment in the course of their regular training. Participants then completed recall questions about the condition information

they had received to be used as a manipulation check. Participants then completed an attitudinal questionnaire, and were thanked, debriefed, and paid.

Stereotype vigilance. Vigilance to the stereotypes communicated by cross-deputization policy was measured by a single reverse-coded item, “Cross-deputization is about immigration — not race.” This item was measured on a Likert scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 6 (strongly agree).

Aversion. The hypothetical measure of stereotype aversion was operationalized as the rationalization of anti-Latino or anti-undocumented immigrant bias. This tendency to rationalize racial stereotypes was assessed by participants’ agreement with two different items: “Illegal immigrants are more likely to commit crimes” and “Latinos are more likely to commit crimes.” Agreement with each was measured on a Likert scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 6 (strongly agree). Higher scores on each variable were an indication of an increased aversion to acknowledging racial bias.

Stereotype threat. Threat was again operationalized in two different ways. First, it was operationalized as stereotype threat and assessed using a scale again based on Marx and Goff’s stereotype threat scale (2005). Participants rated each item (e.g. “I’m concerned that my being a police officer influences what Latinos think of me”) of this 8-item scale on a Likert scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 6 (strongly agree). The full set of items is listed in the appendix. This scale was highly reliable ($\alpha = .85$).

Personal consequences. Self-reported level of danger of the interaction that the participant had just experienced with the video of a Latino subject on a scale of 0 to 7.

Outgroup consequences. Both expected and actual use of force against Latinos was measured in this study. Participants indicated their agreement on a Likert scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 6 (strongly agree) to the item: “I expect that I will need to use force in order to control interactions with Latinos.” Use of force against Latinos was also measured at the interaction level using self-report. This self-report variable was binary where participants circled “yes” (coded as 1) or “no” (coded as 0). As each officer completed two video tasks, the two binary variables were averaged to form a three-point scale for the use of force.

Omission. The expression of racially biased views by police officers has the potential to harm their careers and livelihoods. Thus, despite assurances on Study 3’s materials that there “were no right or wrong answers” and that all answers would be confidential, I was concerned about social desirability and the presence of an experimenter biasing the self-report measures. Consequently, a measure was used to assess both stereotype aversion and stereotype threat that focused not on what was said, but what was *omitted*. This was operationalized by a pointed omission of a mention of ethnicity as a factor in decision-making. This was assessed using qualitative data from officers’ justifications of their treatment of the suspect in each of the video tasks. A justification was dummy-coded as “0” if it referenced the ethnicity/race of the suspect or mentioned that the suspect seemed foreign or was speaking a foreign language (or Spanish in particular) and “1” if it did not. Each officer completed two video tasks, and the two dummy-coded variables were averaged to form a three-point scale of willingness to see and acknowledge ethnicity in a specific interaction. This omission variable will be used to test an alternative model of the path from policy to consequences.

Results

Experimental condition. The threat attenuation task proved to be ineffective at producing any change in any variable measured. This null effect, however, is again important, given that it is consistent with the supposition that it is policy that drives intergroup tensions — and little can be done at the individual officer level to mitigate the damage after the fact. Given this null effect, results were collapsed across police stance condition, and only the experimental impact of the policy condition was examined. The impact of this experimental manipulation is discussed at length for each ensuing variable of interest. Again, to reference the two policy conditions used, the cross-deputization policy condition where officers are *authorized* to enforce immigration violations is called “authorized,” and the policy condition where officers are *forbidden* to enforce immigration violations is “forbidden.”

Stereotype vigilance. A one-sample t-test with the midpoint of the scale showed that, on average, participants strongly denied the racial element of cross-deputization policy ($M = 1.38$, $SD = 1.31$), $t(80) = 7.68$, $p < .001$. An independent samples t-test showed that the policy condition did not have any impact on the degree to which cross-deputization was seen as being “about race,” $t(79) = .20$, $p = .85$. Moreover, this variable was not related to any others measured, and therefore will be excluded from any further analysis. The low mean of this variable likely created a floor effect that caused a lack of correlation. This failure of self-reported stereotype vigilance was expected, and further legitimizes the use of stereotype aversion as a better measure in predicting behavior.

Aversion. One-sample t-tests with the midpoint of the scale showed that, on average, police officers did not endorse the propensity toward criminality in undocumented immigrants ($M = 2.29$, $SD = 1.31$), $t(81) = -9.79$, $p < .001$, or Latinos ($M = 2.02$, $SD = .75$), $t(81) = -17.74$, $p < .001$. An independent samples t-test showed that the policy condition did impact views of

undocumented immigrants' propensity for criminality, $t(79) = 2.05, p = .04$. Those in the authorized condition reported a marginally higher level of endorsement (authorized: $M = 2.52, SD = 1.21$; forbidden: $M = 2.03, SD = .94$). The condition did not impact views of Latinos' propensity to criminality, $t(80) = 1.16, p = .25$. This difference is likely due to officers' unwillingness to express their racial attitudes. The two beliefs were highly correlated $r(81) = .55, p < .001$, however. This lends support to the supposition that being "anti-illegal immigrant" is really just a "modern racism" code for being "anti-Latino".

Stereotype threat. A one-sample t-test with the midpoint of the scale showed that, on average, participants felt a low level of stereotype threat ($M = 2.07, SD = .82$), $t(81) = -15.79, p < .001$. An independent samples t-test showed that the policy condition did not directly impact the degree to which stereotype threat was experienced, $t(80) = .26, p = .80$. Stereotype threat was related to both measures of aversion (undocumented: $r(82) = .27, p = .02$; Latino: $r(82) = .32, p = .003$).

Personal consequences. A one-sample t-test with the midpoint of the scale showed that, on average, participants experienced a level of danger that was slightly above the midpoint of the scale in the video interaction ($M = 4.60, SD = 1.04$), $t(81) = 9.62, p < .001$. This is a positive indication that the officers were engaged in the video task and that the task had external validity. An independent samples t-test showed that the policy condition did not directly impact the level of danger experienced by participants in the interaction, $t(80) = -1.63, p = .11$. A sense of danger was marginally correlated with stereotype threat, $r(82) = .21, p = .056$, but not with either type of stereotype aversion.

Outgroup consequences. On average, 62 percent of participants actually used force against at least one of the Latino suspects. On average, a video-interaction evoked an officer's use of force 47 percent of the time ($SD = 42\%$). An independent samples t-test showed that the policy condition did not directly influence the use of force, $t(80) = .33, p = .74$. Use of force, however, was correlated with stereotype threat, $r(82) = .22, p = .045$. Thus, even though use of force is not directly impacted by condition, there is evidence that it is indirectly impacted. Use of force was also correlated with level of perceived danger of the interaction, $r(82) = .23, p = .04$.

Omission. The less explicit measure of stereotype threat: omission of mention of racial aspects of an interaction did differ marginally by policy condition, $t(80) = 1.95, p = .056$. Omission was also correlated with both personal negative consequences, $r(82) = .24, p = .03$, and outgroup negative consequences, $r(82) = .24, p = .03$. Thus, convergent validity would suggest that this measure does seem to be a viable stand-in for the twin influences of aversion and stereotype threat. It is important to note, however, that this measure did not correlate with stereotype aversion or stereotype threat. Again, this is unsurprising given that this measure was included to account for the fact that self-report measures might be fallible in this context.

Hypothesized model. Through an examination of zero-order correlations and t-tests, a picture has emerged of how stereotypes communicated by policy spark aversion among high-status group members, leading to stereotype threat, and, ultimately, to negative consequences. This chain reaction operates both on a general attitudinal level, as well as on the level of a specific interaction. Thus, I specifically predicted that the presentation of a policy authorizing immigration enforcement (as opposed to one forbidding enforcement) would engender attributions of criminality (stereotype aversion). This would then lead to negative consequences

for both the self (an increased sense of danger) and the outgroup member (an increased use of force) in the interaction.

Alternative model. This same relationship of policy to negative consequences was also tested using a measure that relied less on willingness to self-disclose. The alternative model traced the impact of the omission of ethnic-referent information about the interaction on negative consequences.

Analysis strategy. Each model as a whole (depicted in Figure 3) was tested by a path analysis using maximum likelihood estimation and pair-wise deletion with EQS Version 6.1 for Windows (Bentler, 2006). I chose to use a path analysis instead of structural equation modeling because all variables of interest were single item measures, with the exception of stereotype threat. Therefore, including only one factor in the middle of only one of the model's main pathways would likely have skewed that model's variance and fit. Moreover, the sample size would have been quite small for a structural equation analysis. Evaluation of model fit again relied on the goodness-of-fit indices specified by Hu and Bentler (1999): chi-square test statistics (χ^2 ; good fit if $p > .05$), comparative fit index (CFI; good fit $> .90$), standardized root-mean residual (SRMR; good fit $< .08$), and the root-mean-square error of approximation (RMSEA; good fit $< .06$). No robust statistics were necessary given the fact that the model was a path analysis, rather than a structural equation model. All dependent variables in the model were allowed to have error terms.

Hypothesized model. The hypothesized model in Figure 3 was an excellent fit for the data, $\chi^2(9, N = 82) = 4.24, p = .89, CFI = 1.00, SRMR = .05, RMSEA = .00$. As Figure 3 shows, all the standardized path coefficients representing the hypothesized relationships were

significant, $p < .05$, except for the marginal relationship between policy and safety. This marginal pathway, however, is interesting in that it indicates that officers actually feel marginally safer under cross-deputization when aversion to and threat by stereotypes is taken into account. Notably, the zero-order correlation between a personal sense of danger and use of force dropped to non-significance and was removed from the model. Feeling endangered, that is, was not a factor in use of force decisions as one might expect. These results taken together confirm what was hinted at by the zero-order correlations reported above.

Alternative model. The alternative model in Figure 3 was also a good fit for the data, $\chi^2(2, N = 82) = 2.94, p = .23, CFI = .94, SRMR = .06, RMSEA = .08$. As Figure 3 shows, all the standardized path coefficients representing the hypothesized relationships in the alternative model were significant, $p < .05$, including the relationship between policy and safety. Again, this pathway indicates that officers actually feel marginally safer under cross-deputization when aversion to and threat by stereotypes is taken into account. Again, the zero-order correlation between a personal sense of danger and use of force dropped to non-significance and was removed from the model. Overall, this alternative model did not have a stronger fit than the hypothesized model, indicating that although self-report measures about this sensitive subject may be flawed they do provide decent predictions of *actual* behavior. Nevertheless, it is remarkable that the model of simple omission of that resulted in a 3-point scale with almost no variance to power the model was able to provide a significant fit for the data as well.

Discussion

Study 3 shows quite clearly that cross-deputization policy does not merely generate “hurt feelings” but also potentially serious and grave material consequences. It suggests that the Latinos in Study 2 who reported feeling less safe with police officers against the backdrop of cross-deputization policy are not misperceiving the danger; the prediction actual use of force means found in Study 3 demonstrates that Latinos indeed *are* less safe. Both the hypothesized and the alternative model illustrated that the stereotypes communicated by cross-deputization policy spur stereotype aversion, threat, and, consequently, violence. The failure of a sense of danger to relate to use of force in either model suggests that there are subtexts at work in the determination of police actions, rather than merely cold, rational, objective calculations of risk.

Study 3 also highlights a distinction between the low-status and high-status perspectives. The low-status reaction to stereotype-imbued policy may be driven by vigilance for stereotypes, but a high-status reaction to stereotype-imbued policy is driven by an aversion to these stereotypes. This, as discussed above, is consistent with aversive racism research that suggested that negative intergroup consequences for a low-status group member spring from a high-status group member’s unwillingness to acknowledge their prejudices toward that outgroup member (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1977; 1986).

That the impact of either policy, even hypothetically implemented, was unaffected by the self-affirmation exercise is not particularly surprising. Once again, the Peffley and Hurwitz quotation applies: macro-level variables tend to carry more weight than micro-level variables. In this case, the weight of the policy the officer must enforce is heavier than a “feel good” exercise. The one encouraging message here is that if the policies in place do not contain racial stereotypes, then more positive reactions to outgroup members will follow. Intergroup interactions will be less likely to escalate into violence. This will have positive consequences, not

only for the outgroup members spared violent treatment, but also for the officer, whose decreased level of interaction violence also decreases his or her chances of being injured or killed (Alpert, Dunham, & MacDonald, 2004).

General Discussion

Three studies have provided evidence of the impact of stereotypes communicated by policy on intergroup interaction. Study 1 provided a dramatic demonstration of just how infused with racial information the policy of cross-deputization is. Merely from one line of text about a policy that sought to use police officers to curb illegal immigration, respondents came to two clear consensus: the person stopped was Latino, and the person stopping him was racially biased. Given the history of racial profiling of Black civilians in the United States, it was shocking how much more agreement there was about both of these stereotypes in the wake of an immigration statute than there was in the wake of a statute focused on a stereotypically Black crime. The two strong cultural consensus, that police officers are racist and that Latinos are undocumented immigrants, served as harbingers of the negative consequences to come, given that the policing policy did truly seem to harbor strong cultural consensus.

Studies 2 and 3 then considered the negative consequences of these stereotypes in the wake of a hypothetical policy change. These two studies examined the ensuing consequences from contrasting perspectives: that of the low-status group member (Study 2) and that of the high-status group member (Study 3). Study 2 demonstrated that when the bias in cross-deputization policy was recognized, the outgroup stereotype of a racially-biased police officer communicated by cross-deputization policy was the predominant driving force in the negative

intergroup attitudes that ensued: stereotype threat, negative expectations, anxiety, and a sense of danger in impending interactions. Study 3 demonstrated that when participants sought to avoid recognition of the bias in cross-deputization, that stereotype threat and negative consequences arose in the context of a specific interaction.

It is also important to note that both Study 2 and Study 3 showed a null effect for the additional condition included as an attempt to suppress the negative consequences. A policy that had been only hypothetically implemented overwhelmed the impact of both sentiment expressed by the police-department (Study 2) and a self-affirmation exercise (Study 3). The inclusion of the mitigating condition in Study 2 was designed to mimic how policy changes often play out in real-world police departments, where officers are sworn to enforce policies they may not agree with and try to mitigate any negative impact on their community relationships by expressing their true feelings in a public manner. The mitigating condition in Study 3 was designed in line with past research in intergroup conflict that suggests that self-affirmation is a powerful means of reducing the tension and negative attitudes toward an outgroup that have been induced by threat to one's self-concept. That neither the manipulation based on external validity (Study 2) nor internal validity (Study 3) was effective is unfortunate but unsurprising, given the strong prime that policy can provide. Further research is necessary to uncover other options that might be effective at mitigating the negative impact of stereotype-ridden policy. If a hypothetical policy implementation is this powerful, the real-world implementation of a policy will be even more so.

The present research, however, is not without limitations. Studies 2 and 3 dealt only with hypothetical scenarios and immutable stimuli. This was done to control the variance in the study and to hold as many contextual variables constant as possible, and thereby increase internal validity. There is also no behavioral data for Latinos, given the difficulty of the mechanics of

recruiting them and the lack of external validity a video task might have. Whereas police officers are familiar with such exercises and take them seriously, video interaction can seem strange and silly to those who are not familiar with them. Thus, the next step in this research is to prime actual interactions, as well as gather data before and after an implementation of cross-deputization in a given police department.

Future research should also explore more fully how the negative expectations of low-status and high-status individuals influence each other in the course of an intergroup interaction. Past research has shown that the perceptual distortion of pre-interaction expectations often causes “self-fulfilling prophecies” or “behavioral confirmation effects.” In other words, stereotype-driven expectations can not only cause the perceiver to behave stereotypically and to perceive their interaction partner through a lens of stereotypicality, but it can also alter the actual behavior of the person at whom the stereotype is directed (Bargh, Chen, & Burrows, 1996). The basic principle behind research on self-fulfilling prophecies is that another’s previously-held beliefs generate confirmatory behavior in the target at which they are directed, behavior that would never have occurred otherwise (Darley & Fazio, 1980; Hamilton, Sherman, & Ruvolo, 1990; Hilton & Darley, 1991; Jones, 1977; Jussim, 1986; Kelley & Stahelski, 1970; Miller & Turnbull, 1986; Neuberg, 1993; Olson, Roese, & Zanna, 1996; Rosenthal & Jacobsen, 1968; Snyder, 1992; Snyder & Swann, 1978; Snyder, Tanke, & Berscheid, 1977).

If those previously held beliefs are negative, this creates a self-perpetuating cycle of negativity, where the interaction partners feed off and fuel each other’s negative expectations (Chen & Bargh, 1997). These negative expectations and behaviors snowball, escalating the conflict and fulfilling the stereotypes of each participant in the interaction in the process (Pruitt & Gahagan, 1974; Pruitt & Rubin, 1986). For example, a study by Bargh and colleagues

subliminally primed the stereotype of “African American” in White participants (Bargh, Chen, & Burrows, 1996). After priming, these White participants reacted more aggressively (according to blind coders) toward a request from the experimenter. This demonstration is particularly powerful because despite the fact that it was completed with a group not typically subject to the stereotype that was primed, the mere suggestion of the stereotype was, nevertheless, sufficient to produce behavioral confirmation.

In the particular context of Latinos and police officers, such a cycle would drive the officer who expects interactions with Latinos to be more negative and violent, and Latinos to expect the same. This would actually increase violent interactions. In other words, if a Latino suspect were not an immutable video, but a real, malleable person, the negative behaviors exhibited by each party would have escalated over the course of the interaction. Thus, Latinos would indeed behave in a more hostile and aggressive manner, in line with police expectations, and police officers would be more hostile as well, and use force more frequently.

Policy implications. Study 1 highlights the conundrum of cross-deputization for police officers. This policy requires police officers to be vigilant for “illegal” immigrants without providing a viable alternative to using stereotypes. For example, the language of Arizona’s cross-deputization policy (SB 1070) requires that “where reasonable suspicion exists that the person is an alien who is unlawfully present in the United States, a reasonable attempt shall be made [by municipal law enforcement personnel], when practicable, to determine the immigration status” (Senate Bill 1070, 11-1051-B). Anticipating critiques of racial bias, the government of Arizona provided a list of “non-racial” cues for spotting undocumented immigrants. These included: presence with other “illegal aliens” or in locations “illegal aliens” are known to frequent; wearing layers, long sleeves or other clothes inconsistent with the local climate; presence in a

heavy vehicle filled with people trying to hide; and appearing out of place, lost, or uncomfortable. (For full guidelines, see the police training video available at: <http://agency.azpost.gov/video/index.html>.) There are, therefore, quite literally a variety of pictures that the Arizona government has drawn for police officers to pinpoint illegal immigrants — stereotypes such as, “illegal immigrants don’t speak English,” or “illegal immigrants dress differently from Americans.” Add to that a variety of other cues mentioned in the training video and a picture, a stereotype, begins to emerge quite clearly.

Study 2 provides both reason for hope and reason for concern. Although Latinos’ level of safety with officers was slightly above the midpoint of the scale in Study 2, it did vary considerably with anxiety, expectations, and threat — which were in turn significantly impacted by a merely *hypothetical* policy change. This is a warning about the negative domino effect that may be sparked by policies like cross-deputization. Earlier research found that Latinos in the United States tend to have comparable or slightly lower opinions of the police than Whites, and more positive opinions than Blacks (Carter, 1983; Cheurprakobkit, 2000; Dunham & Alpert, 2001; Weitzer, 2002). The responses of Latinos surveyed in Study 2 seem to conform to this; they are not particularly anti-police, but more wary than White civilians. This could change, however, if policies that Latinos felt communicated stereotypes, such as cross-deputization, were enacted.

Study 3 also serves as a warning sign of the negative domino effect that may be sparked when policies like cross-deputization are enacted. Although the means of officers’ attitudes stayed fairly positive, this is likely an artifact of self-report measures, given that 62 percent of officers did, in fact, use force against in at least one of the videos of Latino suspects who had not initiated any act of violence against the officer. Moreover, like Study 2, these negative responses

were spurred by a *hypothetical* policy change. When violence against a given ethnic group becomes the norm or what is expected, it can only reinforce the disproportional use of force. This trend has already been extensively documented with respect to the Black population in this country (c.f. Goff, Eberhardt, Williams, & Jackson, 2008). The Latino population threatens to be next if the line between immigration enforcement and policing is further blurred.

Conclusion. These three studies accomplish several objectives. They demonstrate the seminal role of policy in formulating the context for intergroup interactions. They delineate the overall causal chain from policy to attitudes to behaviors in intergroup interactions involving police officers and Latino immigrants. Finally, these three studies illustrate that both sides of an intergroup dyad are active participants in stereotyping — not just the traditionally depicted perpetrator of bias. The stereotypes communicated by policy negatively impact both those who fall prey to the policies and those who are sworn to enforce them.

As Shelton and Richeson noted (2006), many researchers shy away from exploring the negative outgroup attitudes of those groups lower on Bobo's group position hierarchy, because it may appear to blame the victim. Highlighting the role of the low-status individual in the perpetration of stereotyping here does not seek to blame the victim, but only to illustrate that stereotyping and bias are a two-way street. Nevertheless, the design of successful interventions to address negative intergroup interactions must consider the attitudes and behaviors of both sides. This requires a grasp of the dynamics on both sides, not just one. Further research is required to flesh out moderators of this phenomenon (e.g., level of uncertainty, processing time, years in the police force) that could minimize these biases on both sides and create more positive intergroup interactions.

Table 1: Civilian ethnicity identified by condition.

		CONDITION			
		<u>Control</u>	<u>"White" crime</u>	<u>"Black" crime</u>	<u>"Latino" crime</u>
Ascribed Ethnicity	White	161 (44%)	224 (62%)	197 (51%)	35 (9%)
	Black	121 (33%)	95 (26%)	149 (39%)	9 (2%)
	Latino	62 (17%)	25 (7%)	31 (8%)	314 (83%)
	Other	19 (5%)	15 (4%)	10 (3%)	19 (5%)

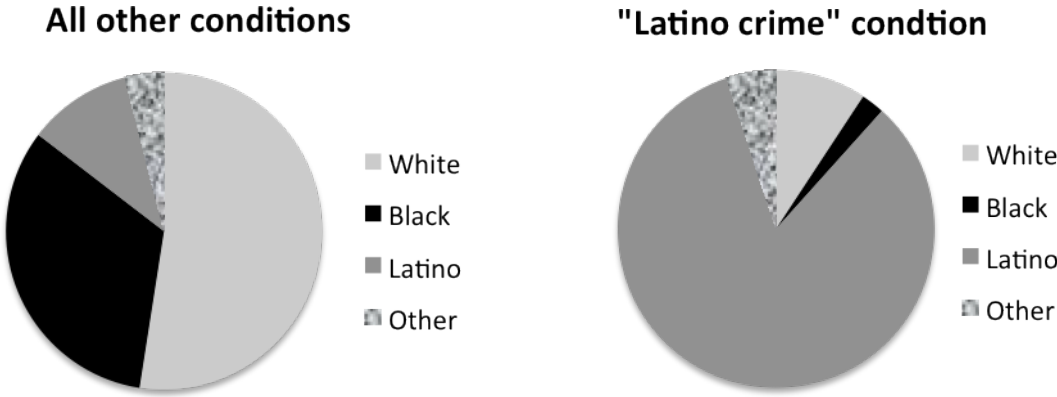
Notes: Raw counts are listed in each cell with percentages (of total participants' responses in the condition) in parentheses. "Other" combines responses that indicated that the civilian in question was Asian or Middle-Eastern. These two categories were combined due to the fact that they were not expected to be high for any of the conditions, and indeed, accounted for a relatively small percentage.

Table 2: Correlations for Latino sample.

	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Stereotype vigilance	1					
2. Status-based threat	.24**	1				
3. Race-based threat	.26**	.85	1			
4. Negative expectations	.09	.52***	.49	1		
5. Intergroup anxiety	.16	.44***	.36***	.49***	1	
6. Interaction avoidance	.05	.32***	.28**	.51***	.39***	1

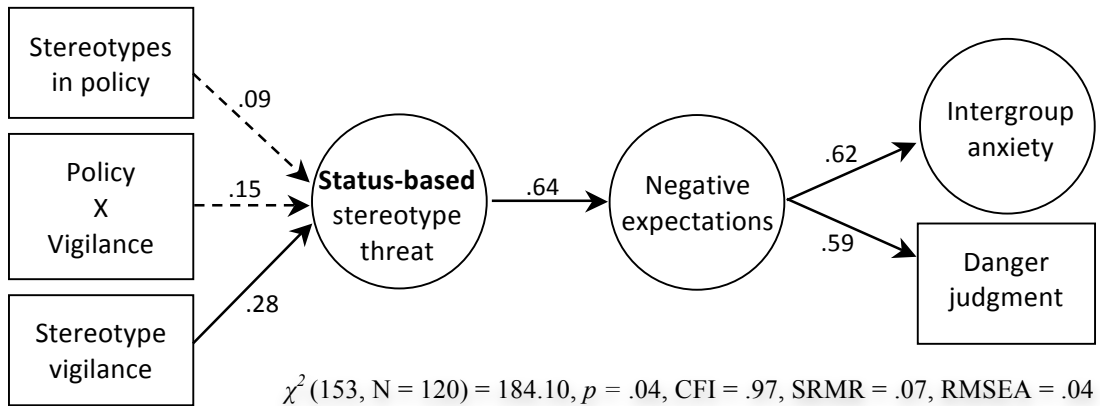
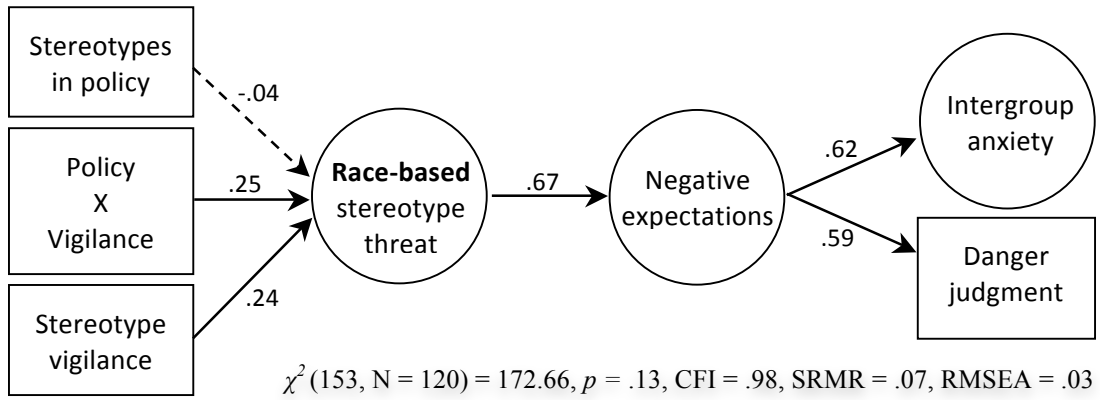
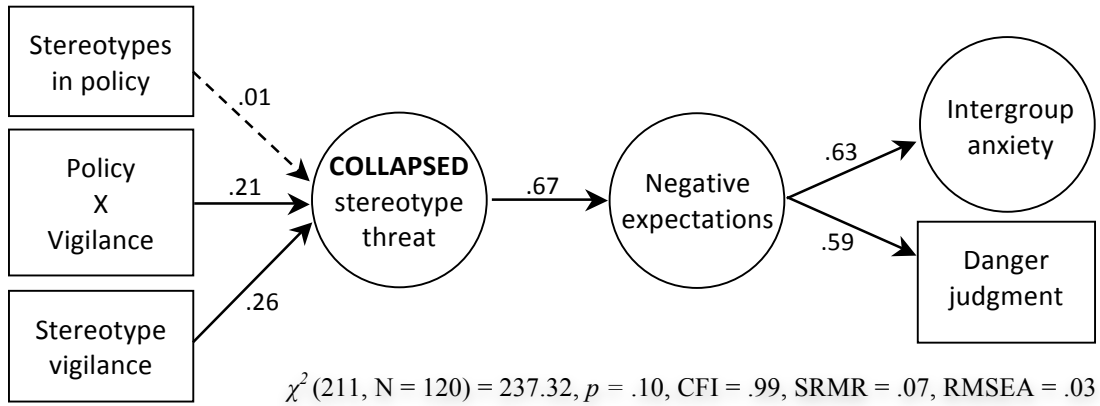
*** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$

Figure 1: Civilian ethnicity reported for the “Latino crime” condition (illegal immigration) versus all other conditions.



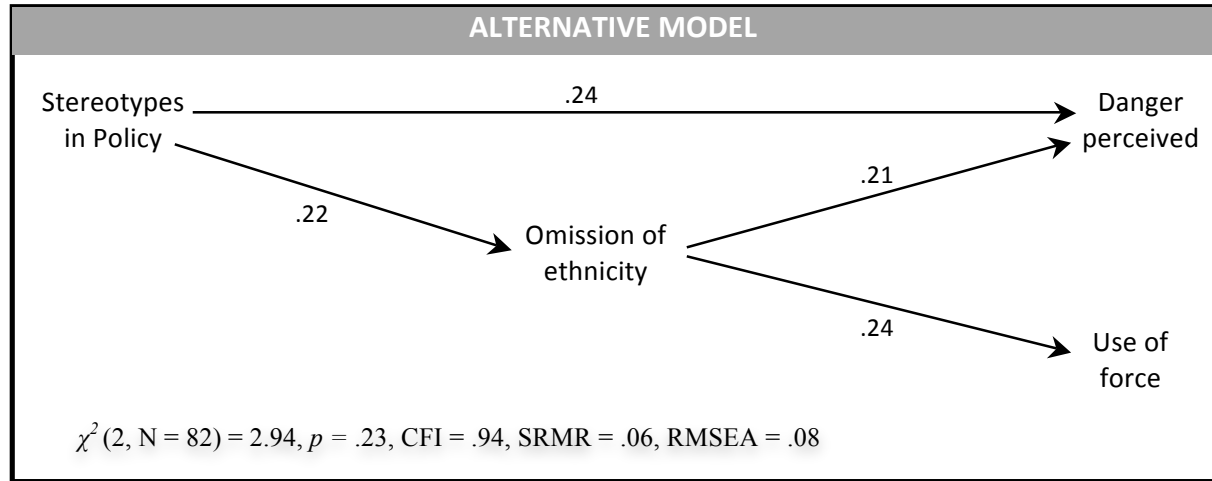
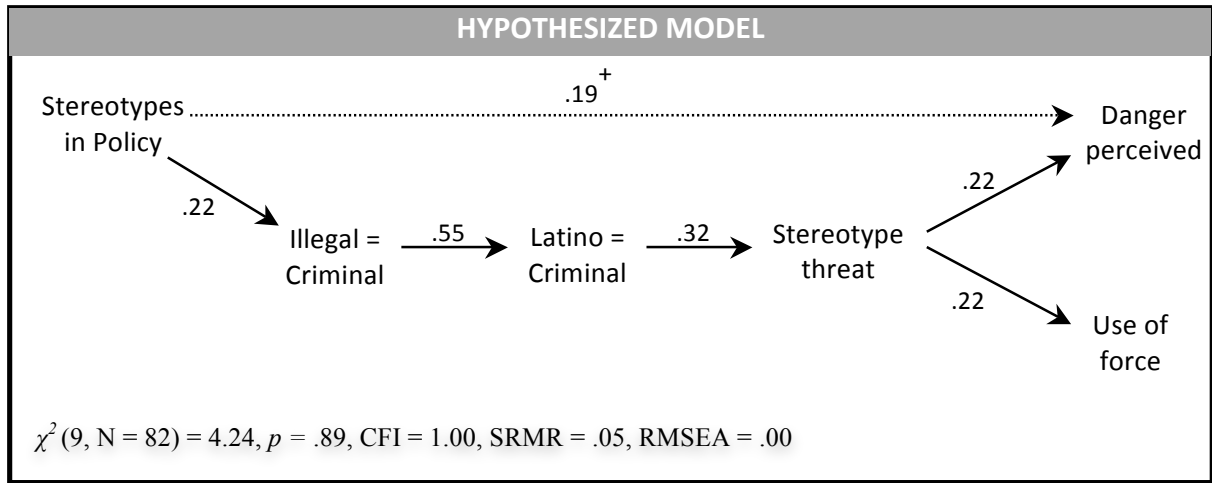
Note: “Other” combines responses that indicated that the civilian in question was Asian or Middle-Eastern. These two categories were combined because they were not expected to be high for any of the conditions, and indeed, accounted for a relatively small percentage of ascribed ethnicity.

Figure 2: Comparison of structural equation models for Study 2 (Latino sample)



Note: For simplicity, neither error terms nor factor items are displayed in Figure 2; they are available by request from the author. Some items within each factor were allowed to correlate with each other. Factors tested are represented by circles while mean score variables are represented by rectangles. Dashed lines indicate non-significant paths.

Figure 3: Comparison of path analysis models for Study 3 (Police sample)



Note: For simplicity, error terms are not displayed in Figure 3; they are available by request from the author.

⁺ This is the only pathway that fell short of significance $p < .05$. It was marginally significant, however, with $p = .08$.

Appendix of Measures

Study 2

Threat of the “illegal label”:

1. I worry that police officers’ evaluations of me might be affected by the fact that I am Latino.
2. I worry about my being Latino interfering with my interactions with police officers.
3. I’m concerned that my being Latino influences what police officers think of me.

Threat of the “racist cop”:

1. I’m concerned that police officers might misinterpret something I say as implying that I am an illegal immigrant.
2. I feel self-conscious about coming across as illegal immigrant during interactions with police officers.
3. I worry that police officers will suspect me of being an illegal immigrant just because I am Latino.

Expected consequences:

1. I expect that police officers will behave in an aggressive manner towards me.
2. I expect that police officers will be polite during my interactions with me. (R)
3. I expect that my interactions with police officers will be problem-free. (R)
4. I expect that police officers will treat me well. (R)
5. I expect that police officers will be cold-hearted.
6. I expect that police officers will behave in a macho manner.
7. I expect that police officers will assume that I’ve done something wrong.
8. I expect that police officers will listen to my side of the story. (R)
9. I expect that police officers will be physically violent with me in the course of an interaction.

Study 3

Stereotype threat:

1. I worry that Latinos may stereotype me as racist because I am a police officer.
2. I’m concerned that Latinos might misinterpret something I say as racist.
3. I worry that Latinos’ evaluations of me might be affected by the fact that I am a police officer.
4. I’m concerned that my style of doing things may be seen as stereotypical of police officers.
5. I feel self-conscious that the fact that I am a police officer may lead to negative reactions from Latinos.
6. I worry about my being a police officer interfering with my interactions with Latinos.
7. I’m concerned that my being a police officer influences what Latinos think of me.
8. I worry that Latinos will suspect me of being prejudiced just because I am a police officer.

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