

Perceptions of Racial Betrayal

in a Civil Case Context

by

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ABSTRACT

In 2009, Harvard professor Henry Louis Gates, Jr. was arrested when he was mistaken for a burglar outside his home. When he went to the media, claiming to be a victim of racism, he faced backlash from other African Americans. The current research attempts to explain why he faced this backlash in terms of racial ingroup betrayal. Participants read a vignette that was similar to the Gates Jr. case, with SES and Job Stereotypicality being modified to be stereotypical or counter-stereotypical to one's race. Data analyses revealed support for my hypotheses of Whites participants. There was a significant interaction, such that White participants felt more betrayed by low (versus high) SES ingroup members who achieved their financial means through counter-stereotypical careers, which in turn led to reduced ingroup protectiveness for the ingroup member (i.e., a shorter suspension for the policeman who mistreated the ingroup member). In contrast, they did not feel more betrayed by low (versus high) SES ingroup members when they had stereotypical jobs. Minority participants, (i.e., African-American and Hispanic participants) felt more betrayed by an ingroup member who had a stereotypical career compared to a counter-stereotypical career. In sum, I found that among White participants only, they feel betrayed when an ingroup member violates their expectations for what they believe an ingroup member should be in terms of SES and career choice, which might lead them to be less protective when an ingroup member is mistreated.

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Perceptions of Racial Betrayal in a Civil Case Context

Henry Louis Gates, Jr. Controversy

In 2009, African-American Harvard professor Henry Louis Gates, Jr. came home after a business trip in the middle of the night and found his door jammed shut. A neighbor saw that Gates and his driver were trying to open the door and called 9-1-1 to report a potential burglary to the police. Upon the police arriving, a confrontation ensued, leading to Gates being charged with disorderly conduct. After his arrest, Gates went to the media and claimed that he was a victim of racism. Even though many did not agree with Gates' interpretation that the policeman's actions were due to racism, the backlash came from an unexpected group: other African Americans. Although Gates went through a negative experience, many African Americans thought his claim that the racism he experienced as an affluent member of society was equivalent to the suffering of poor African Americans was "laughable" (Booker Rising, 2009, p.1, as cited in Johnson & Kaiser, 2013).

The conflict between African Americans and police has escalated in recent years as a result of the highly publicized events between police and African Americans, such as the deaths of Michael Brown, Eric Garner, and Tamir Rice. Would such conflict lead to greater sympathy for any African-American victim of the police? Alternatively, could such conflict backfire if the victim was a counter-stereotypical member of the African-American community, such as the backlash received by Gates as an affluent Harvard professor? Gates might have faced backlash for being perceived as "selling out" by reaching his high socioeconomic standing and career by means that are considered

stereotypically White (Judd, Park, Ryan, Brauer, & Kraus, 1995; Wittenbrink, Judd, & Park, 1997). Gates might have been seen as a fair-weather group member, claiming to be a member when facing racism, but not when engaging in everyday life (Johnson & Kaiser, 2013).

If wealthy, educated African Americans claim to be victims of racism, other members of their racial community might believe that they have violated their trust by "selling out" and "Acting White" (Fordham & Ogbu, 1986). To test this theory, I examined perceptions of racial ingroup betrayal, varying from low SES to high SES, and varying from a racially stereotypical profession versus a racially counter-stereotypical profession. I tested the effect of these variables among White (Study 1) and racial minority samples (Study 2).

Penalty for Violating Ingroup Stereotypes

Social identity theory suggests that the reputation of a group can threaten an individual, which can occur when an individual meets or learns of a deviant ingroup member (Castano, Paladino, Coull, & Yzerbyt, 2002). For example, Marques, Yzerbyt, & Leyens (1988) asked Belgian students to rate a target on various traits from his or her behavior. The researchers determined that participants judged negative ingroup members (i.e., Belgians) more harshly than negative outgroup members (i.e., North Africans). However, based on group stereotypes, this only occurred when the trait was applied only to Belgians, and was not applied to both Belgians and North Africans. This effect is known as the "Black Sheep Effect" to refer to the tendency to judge a deviant ingroup member harsher than a deviant outgroup member (Marques, et al., 1988). In the current

studies, I focused on the negative evaluations of deviant, potentially disliked, ingroup members.

Phelan & Rudman (2010) have conducted research that focused on negative social and economic consequences for individuals who violate ingroup stereotypes (“Backlash Effects”; Rudman, 1998). The researchers found several effects when participants believed they were listening to a White rapper instead of an African American rapper, when listening to the same song. When the rapper was White, he received less compliments, was believed to be less musically gifted, and was provided less money. Although this study does possibly support penalizing those for violating ingroup stereotypes, the sample for the experiment was mostly, but not all, White.

Minorities can also be punished by their racial ingroup members for being counter-stereotypical. When racial ingroup members are confronted with racial ingroup members that are counter-stereotypical, it may create feelings of uncertainty and defensive reactions (McGregor, Zanna, Holmes, & Spencer, 2001), resulting in increased animosity towards those that are counter-stereotypical. If a racial ingroup member becomes aware of a counter-stereotypical racial ingroup member, who is seen as similar to Whites, feelings of betrayal may intensify animosity and stereotypical beliefs (Jost, Banaji, & Nosek, 2004). In summary, people are often punished by their ingroup when they disconfirm ingroup stereotypes.

Racial Stereotypes: SES and Job Type

Individuals might feel betrayed by racial ingroup members who violate stereotypes about SES. Living in poverty is a prominent American stereotype of African Americans (Devine, 1989). African Americans living in poverty may be more

stereotypical in their views on prejudice, whereas middle class African Americans may be more likely to have views somewhat similar, though distinct, to Whites (Neckerman, Carter, & Lee, 1999), contributing to a further divide between African Americans in different economic situations. The notion of “authenticity” may contribute to what is considered stereotypical or counter-stereotypical for African Americans (Harris & Khanna, 2010). Counter-stereotypical African Americans might be at risk for being seen as more like Whites than other African Americans. Additionally, some middle class African Americans may be willing to fraternize with Whites (Lacy, 2004), contributing to some lower class African Americans feeling that that middle or upper class African Americans are betraying their race. Hispanic and African American stereotypes are alike in some respects, although Hispanics are thought of as being more like Whites (Dixon & Rosenbaum, 2004). Because it is a violation of a stereotype, African Americans and Hispanics who achieve high SES status might experience backlash from their racial ingroup because stereotypical racial ingroup members feel betrayed.

In the United States, stereotypes of Whites include possessing a higher intellect, an advanced education, greater achievements professionally, and being a member of the middle to upper class (Judd et al., 1995; Wittenbrink et al., 1997). Because it is a violation of a stereotype, White targets who are low SES might experience backlash from stereotypical racial ingroup members for violating stereotypes. Whites that are low SES might not face racism, yet might still have to endure classism. Negative stereotypes also exist for low SES Whites, such as being criminals, impulsive, and having little respect for authority (Wray, 2006). In summary, racial minorities might feel betrayed when ingroup

members violate stereotypes by being high SES; Whites might feel betrayed by ingroup members who violate stereotypes by being low SES.

Individuals might feel “particularly” betrayed when other racial ingroup members violate SES stereotypes via counter-stereotypical professions. For example, African Americans and Hispanics have been stereotyped as not as intelligent as Whites (Wittenbrink et al., 1997). When an African American or Hispanic engages in a profession that violates stereotypes, such as being a professor, they may be perceived as “Acting White” (Fordham & Ogbu, 1986). In contrast, racial minorities might feel less betrayed if an ingroup member achieves high SES through stereotypical jobs such as sports. African Americans participate in athletics to a much greater degree than would be expected given their population in the United States (Sailes, 1993). In particular, professional basketball in the United States is mostly made up of African-American players (Coakley, 1990, as cited in Sailes, 1993). In addition, baseball players are stereotypically seen as Hispanic (Eagleman, 2011). In contrast, for White targets, choosing to be a professor would be confirming the stereotype that White people are highly educated. Conversely, Whites might be seen as violating a career stereotype if they were a rap artist, which is generally perceived as a job associated with African Americans dealing with the challenges of living at the lower end of society (Hodgman, 2013; Way, Hernandez, Rogers, & Hughes, 2013). Thus, a White person who engages in a rap career might be seen as “Acting Black” in the same way that Gates might be perceived as “Acting White” by pursuing a career as a professor. Thus, people might feel particularly betrayed when targets violate SES expectations via counter-stereotypical careers (i.e., a

White rapper, racial minority professor), relative to targets who violate SES expectations via stereotypical careers (i.e., a White professor, a racial minority athlete).

Perceptions of Racial Ingroup Betrayal

Betrayal can be construed as a mistake in trusting another person (Finkel, Rusbult, Kumashiro, & Hannon, 2002; Lewicki & Bunker, 1996). As a result of betrayal, the victim might believe the betrayer does not take their relationship as seriously as the victim (Joskowicz-Jablonek & Leiser, 2011). Contrary to previous research on interpersonal betrayal, I tested racial ingroup betrayal. More specifically, I focus on betrayal resulting from the perception that a racial ingroup member has “sold out” by choosing a career that is stereotypical of another race.

As discussed earlier, low SES African Americans might not trust, or feel betrayed by, high SES African Americans, which has led to a rift between these groups (Neckerman et al., 1999; Harris & Khanna, 2010; Lacy, 2004). This rift might lead some lower SES African Americans to view middle to upper class African Americans as “sellouts”; this term is used, according to Malcolm (2015), to keep African Americans on their side of the racial line, and not crossing over by acting in a way more stereotypical of Whites. Kennedy (2008) states, “The sellout is a person who is trusted because of a perceived membership in a given group--trusted until he shows his 'true colors'”...., as cited in Malcolm (2015). Calling other group members slurs or epithets denoting them a sellout is not unique to African Americans. Terms such as “sellout” or “Acting White” are also used with Native Americans, Hispanics, and Asian Americans (Green, 2005; Fiske, 1988; Fontes, 2008). In summary, when an individual contradicts their racial group’s

stereotypical socioeconomic status, and when he or she has a job stereotypical to an adversarial racial group, it may result in feelings of racial ingroup betrayal.

Downstream Consequences of Betrayal

One potential downstream consequence of racial ingroup betrayal is that ingroup members might be less protective of racial ingroup members who have been branded betrayers of their race, as racial ingroup betrayal could create fears of eventual extinction of their group (Wohl, Giguere, Branscombe, & McVicar, 2010). In the context of the current studies, individuals that elicit racial ingroup betrayal might threaten ingroup distinctiveness, leading to a perceived threat to the group's existence. In turn, this threat could lead to greater ingroup protectiveness for more stereotypical members of a group, but less ingroup protection for counter-stereotypical members of a group (Wohl, et al., 2010). Thus, African Americans might have been less willing to punish the policeman involved in the Henry Louis Gates, Jr., incident.

Perceptions of the Police across Race and Class

When it comes to perceptions of the police, African Americans are less likely to view the police more positively than Whites (Brown & Benedict, 2002; Decker, 1981). Lower class individuals more frequently encounter harsher treatment from police officers than affluent members of society (Black & Reiss, 1970; Friedrich, 1980), which leads to perceptions of unfair treatment.

Unexpected effects have been found while looking at the intersection of race and class. Despite the recent coverage of mistreatment by police towards African Americans, it is not as clear whether negative feelings towards the police have deepened, and could depend on socioeconomic status. African Americans from low income neighborhoods,

feeling not protected and vulnerable to criminals, have negative attitudes toward the police (Decker, 1981).

Thus, it is somewhat less certain that African Americans, especially those of low socioeconomic status, would be sympathetic to other African Americans being falsely accused of being a criminal. Although other African Americans may not see high SES African Americans as criminals, they nonetheless may have less sympathy if they believe they have betrayed their race, which may explain the reaction Gates faced after his incident with Sergeant James Crowley. On the other hand, Whites are more likely to have positive attitudes regarding the police, because they view them as protecting their position in society (Wu, Sun, & Triplett, 2009). Thus, Whites may be more lenient with the police if the victim violates ingroup stereotypes, such as being a low SES rapper who may threaten others' perceptions that Whites are superior in society. In conclusion, perceptions of victims involved in altercations with the police might influence the severity of the punishment the police might ultimately receive.

Overview of the Present Studies and General Hypotheses

Across two experiments I investigated participants' judgments about a mock trial against a policeman that mistreated a racial ingroup plaintiff similar to the Gates case: one with a White sample (Study 1), and one with a racial minority sample (Study 2). I manipulated whether the plaintiff was stereotypical or counter-stereotypical to his race, both in terms of socioeconomic status and job type. In Study 1, I tested whether White individuals would feel betrayed by racial ingroup plaintiffs who violate White stereotypes and, in turn, are less punitive towards a policeman who mistreated the racial ingroup

plaintiff. In Study 2, I tested the same conceptual hypotheses, with specific predictions slightly modified to be consistent with African-American and Hispanic stereotypes.

Overview of Hypotheses

I predicted that participants will feel more betrayed by racial ingroup plaintiffs who violate SES stereotypes, versus those who do not, but only when the plaintiff has a counter-stereotypical career. In contrast, participants will not feel more betrayed by racial ingroup plaintiffs who violate SES stereotypes, versus those who do not, when the plaintiff has a stereotypical career. Additionally, when the plaintiff violates profession stereotypes, participants will feel more betrayed by those who violate SES stereotypes versus those who do not, which in turn will lead to less punitiveness towards an officer who mistreated a plaintiff. In contrast, when the plaintiff does not violate profession stereotypes, participants will not feel more betrayed by those who violate versus those who do not violate SES stereotypes, which in turn, will not lead to differences in punitiveness towards an officer who mistreated a plaintiff.

Study 1

White participants read a vignette about a civilian getting into an altercation with a policeman. Afterwards, participants answered items about the plaintiff, as well as the suspension length, if any, the policeman should receive. I tested two hypotheses:

Betrayal Hypothesis

White participants will feel more betrayed when the racial ingroup target has low SES compared to when the target is high SES, but only when the target reaches this SES via a career that is counter-stereotypical of Whites (i.e., a rapper). In contrast, White participants will not feel more betrayed when the racial ingroup target is low SES

compared to when the target is high SES, as long as the target reached this SES via a career that is stereotypical of Whites (i.e., a professor).

Betrayal and Suspension Length Hypothesis

I predicted that these different levels of betrayal would lead to different levels of punishment for a policeman involved in an altercation with a counter-stereotypical racial ingroup member. When the racial ingroup reached their SES via a counter-stereotypical job (i.e., “acting Black” by being a rapper), participants would feel more betrayed when the target was low SES compared to high SES, which in turn would lead them to be less punitive toward an officer who mistreated the target. In contrast, I did not predict this indirect effect when the target’s job was stereotypical of Whites (i.e., a professor).

Study 1 Method

Participants

A sample of 220 White participants was recruited from a psychology subject pool to complete a mock civil trial study online. Ninety-four participants were excluded from analysis for failing at least one manipulation check (5 participants failed the SES manipulation check, and 93 participants failed the job manipulation check). The final sample included 126 undergraduates (71% female, 28% male, 1% other; $M_{age} = 24$ years, Range = 18-50 years, $SD = 6$ years) from a large southwestern university. Participants were randomly assigned to one of four experimental conditions: High SES, Stereotypical Job ($n = 28$), High SES, Counter-Stereotypical Job ($n = 32$), Low SES, Stereotypical Job ($n = 38$), Low SES, Counter-Stereotypical Job ($n = 28$). Participants were awarded course credit for their participation.

Procedure

After providing consent, participants read a trial summary about a civil case involving a plaintiff and policeman and made judgments about the plaintiff and case. To make sure the participants read about a racial ingroup member, participants filled out several demographic measures (gender, age, political orientation, education, religion) before reading the vignette. Their response to the race question directed White participants to a version of the survey in which they were reading about a White plaintiff in a civil case. I manipulated the plaintiff's profession and SES within the trial materials. Participants viewed a photograph of the plaintiff's home that depicted either a high or low SES home. They read that he had a job that was stereotypical (professor) or counter-stereotypical (rapper) to his race. Participants then completed dependent measures and manipulation checks (see Appendix A for the trial stimulus and measures). After completing manipulation check items, participants were debriefed.

Materials and Measures

Trial Stimulus. The trial stimulus was based off the Henry Louis Gates, Jr. arrest controversy that occurred in 2009. In the vignette, the policeman sees the plaintiff trying to get into a house through the window and infers he is a burglar. In reality, the plaintiff is trying to get into his house because he accidentally locked himself out. When the officer confronts the plaintiff, the discussion escalates to an argument. This results in an altercation where the policeman hits the plaintiff's head against the police car, resulting in injuries. As a result, the plaintiff sues for damages and being deprived of his civil rights. The plaintiff's lawyer argued that he would show that the defendant acted unreasonably toward the plaintiff, intentionally inflicted emotional pain, assaulted him,

and deprived him of his civil rights, as well as irreparable damage to his reputation. The defense argued that the policeman acted reasonably given the situation.

Manipulations. For this study, I had two manipulations: one for the SES of the plaintiff, and one for the Job Stereotypicality of the plaintiff. For the SES of the plaintiff, I showed a picture of the plaintiff's home at the end of the vignette, which depicted either a high or low SES home. For the Job Stereotypicality of the plaintiff, I described the plaintiff as either a professor at a local university or a professional rap musician in the vignette.

Perceived Betrayal Measure. Participants completed an 8-item betrayal scale, which was modified from an interpersonal betrayal scale (Jones & Burdette, 1994) to reflect the extent to which participants felt the plaintiff was betraying his racial group. Participants responded to each item on a 6-point scale from *Strongly Disagree* to *Strongly Agree* (e.g., the plaintiff is out of touch with his roots, $\alpha = .83$).

Suspension of Policeman. Participants reported how many months they thought that the policeman should be suspended, in an open-ended format.

Manipulation checks. Participants were asked two manipulation check items. The first manipulation check asked the participants to report what profession the plaintiff had in an open-ended format. The second manipulation check asked the participants to choose which house the plaintiff lived in, from three photos (the first photo was a high SES house, the second photo was a filler photo of a medium SES house, and the third photo was a low SES house).

Study 1 Results

Hypothesis 1: The Effect of Target SES and Job Stereotypicality on Perceived

Betrayal

To test hypothesis 1, I conducted a 2 x 2 (SES [Low, High], Job Stereotypicality [counter-stereotypical-rapper, stereotypical-professor]) between-subjects Analysis Of Variance (ANOVA) on participants' perceived racial ingroup betrayal. See Table 1 for all descriptive statistics. There was a main effect of Job Stereotypicality, such that participants felt significantly more betrayed by White rappers ($M = 3.39$, $SD = 0.69$) than professors ($M = 3.15$, $SD = 0.58$), $F(1, 119) = 4.51$, $p = .036$, $\eta^2 = 0.04$. The main effect of SES was not significant as the participants' level of racial ingroup betrayal was similar for low SES ($M = 3.29$, $SD = 0.61$) and high SES targets ($M = 3.24$, $SD = 0.68$), $F(1, 119) = 0.58$, $p = .447$, $\eta^2 = 0.01$. These main effects were qualified by a significant interaction between SES and Job Stereotypicality, $F(1, 119) = 3.98$, $p = .048$, $\eta^2 = .03$.

To probe the interaction, I tested the simple effects of target SES at different levels of Job Stereotypicality. When participants read about a plaintiff with a counter-stereotypical career (a rapper), there was a marginally significant difference, such that participants felt more betrayed when the plaintiff was low SES compared to high SES, $F(1, 57) = 3.16$, $p = .081$, $\eta^2 = .05$. When participants read about a plaintiff with a stereotypical career (a professor), there was no significant difference in perceived betrayal when the professor was low SES compared to high SES, $F(1, 62) = 0.93$, $p = .340$, $\eta^2 = .02$. This simple effects analysis suggests that being low (versus high) SES is of particular influence for targets who had a counter-stereotypical job in determining whether or not other White individuals perceive them as betraying their race. More

specifically, White people felt more betrayed by low SES rappers than high SES rappers but did not feel betrayed by low (versus high) SES professors.

The Effect of Target SES and Job Stereotypicality on Suspension Length for the Policeman

I conducted a 2 x 2 (SES [Low, High], Job Stereotypicality [rapper, professor]) between-subjects ANOVA on the suspension length for the policeman. See Table 2 for all descriptive statistics. There was not a significant main effect of SES on suspension length of the policeman, with participants assigning similar suspensions for the low SES plaintiff ($M = 0.77$, $SD = 2.52$) compared to the high SES plaintiff ($M = 0.85$, $SD = 1.60$), $F(1, 111) = .04$, $p = .850$, $\eta^2 < .001$. There was not a significant main effect of Job Stereotypicality on suspension length of the policeman, with participants assigning similar suspensions for the plaintiff with a counter-stereotypical job ($M = 0.76$, $SD = 1.55$) and a plaintiff with a stereotypical job ($M = 0.85$, $SD = 2.62$), $F(1, 111) = 0.01$, $p = .939$, $\eta^2 < .001$. Lastly, there was a marginally significant interaction between target SES and Job Stereotypicality on suspension length of the policeman, $F(1, 111) = 3.41$, $p = .068$, $\eta^2 = .03$.

To probe the interaction, I tested the simple effects of SES at different levels of Job Stereotypicality. When participants read about a plaintiff with a counter-stereotypical career (i.e., a rapper), there was a simple effect of SES on suspension length of the policeman, with low SES plaintiffs resulting in a significantly shorter suspension for the policeman than high SES plaintiffs, $F(1, 55) = 4.28$, $p = .043$, $\eta^2 = .07$. When participants read about a plaintiff with a stereotypical career (i.e. a professor), there was not a simple effect of SES on suspension length, with low SES plaintiffs resulting in

similar suspensions when the plaintiff was high SES, $F(1, 56) = 0.90, p = .347, \eta^2 = 0.02$. Thus, the policeman received a shorter suspension when the plaintiff was a low SES rapper compared to a high SES rapper, but no such effect occurred when the plaintiff was a professor.

Hypothesis 2: The Indirect Effect of Target SES on Suspension Length of the Policeman Through Perceived Betrayal

I conducted a test of moderated mediation to test Hypothesis 2 for the suspension length dependent variable. More specifically, to test whether betrayal explains why participants gave a shorter suspension towards the police depending on plaintiff SES and Job Stereotypicality. I predicted that when White plaintiffs have a counter-stereotypical job (i.e., a rap artist), if they are of low (versus high) SES, participants will feel the target is betraying their racial ingroup, and in turn will assign a shorter suspension length for the officer who mistreats the target. In contrast, I predicted that this indirect effect would not be significant as long as the White target has a stereotypical job (i.e., professor).

Specifically, I tested whether the conditional indirect effect of SES on suspension length of the policeman through perceptions of the plaintiff betraying his race were significant for only the counter-stereotypical condition. Given the significant interactive effects of SES and Job Stereotypicality on betrayal, I tested a model in which Job Stereotypicality moderated the path from the predictor (SES) to the mediator (betrayal; Model 7).

Significant indirect effects are indicated by confidence intervals (CIs) that do not include 0 (Hayes, 2013).

As predicted, the conditional indirect effect of SES on the suspension length of the policeman through perceptions of the plaintiff betraying their race were significant

when the plaintiff had a counter-stereotypical job, coefficient = 0.24, 95% *CI*: .01, .90. In contrast, the conditional indirect effect of SES on suspension length for the policeman through perceptions of the plaintiff betraying their race was not significant when the plaintiff had a stereotypical job, coefficient = -.17, 95% *CI*: -.60, .001. Thus, when a White person held a counter-stereotypical job, having lower (versus higher) SES made participants judge them as betraying their racial ingroup, and in turn were less punitive toward the officer who mistreated the plaintiff. In contrast, participants did not see a low (versus high) SES White plaintiff as a betraying their racial ingroup, and in turn did not punish the policeman less, as long as they held a job that was stereotypical for their race.

Study 1 Discussion

I hypothesized that when the plaintiff was low (versus high) SES, participants would feel more betrayed by a plaintiff that had a counter-stereotypical job, but this effect would not happen when the plaintiff had a stereotypical job. The results supported this hypothesis. I hypothesized that the perceptions of betrayal resulting from reading about a low (versus high) SES ingroup member who has a counter-stereotypical job would, in turn, lead to a shorter suspension length for the policeman. I predicted that this effect would not occur when the plaintiff has a stereotypical job. The results supported the hypothesis.

Study 2

The same method, procedures, and measures used in Study 1 were also done in Study 2. The only changes were the names of the plaintiff to be more stereotypical of their race, to make them a racial ingroup member to test for perceptions of racial ingroup betrayal, as well as racially stereotyped job types for racial minorities. I conducted two

sets of analyses, one for African Americans and Hispanics grouped together, and a second for only Hispanics. I tested two hypotheses:

Betrayal Hypothesis

African-American and Hispanic participants will feel more betrayed when the racial ingroup target has high SES compared to when the target is low SES, but only when he reached this SES via a career that is counter-stereotypical of African Americans and Hispanics (i.e., a professor). In contrast, African-American and Hispanic participants will not feel more betrayed when the racial ingroup target is high SES condition compared to the low SES, as long as the target reached this SES via a career that is stereotypical of African Americans and Hispanics (i.e., an athlete, basketball player for African Americans, baseball player for Hispanics).

Betrayal and Suspension Length Hypothesis

I predicted that these different levels of betrayal would lead to different levels of punishment for the policeman involved in an altercation with a counter-stereotypical racial ingroup member. When the racial ingroup member reached their SES via a counter-stereotypical job (i.e. “Acting White” by being a professor), participants would feel more betrayed when the target was high SES compared to low SES, which in turn would lead them to be less punitive toward an officer who mistreated the target. In contrast, I did not predict this indirect effect when the target’s job was stereotypical of African Americans and Hispanics (i.e., an athlete, basketball player for African Americans, baseball player for Hispanics).

Study 2 Method

Participants

A sample of 192 African American and Hispanic participants was recruited from a psychology subject pool to complete the mock civil trial study online. Seventy-eight participants were excluded from analysis for failing at least one manipulation check (5 participants failed the SES manipulation check; 78 participants failed the job manipulation check). I excluded ethnic minorities that were not Hispanic or African American, given that the study was designed only to test these groups. The final sample included 114 undergraduates (82% female, 17 % male, 1% other; $M_{age} = 23$ years, Range = 18-51 years, $SD = 5$ years) from a large southwestern university. Participants were randomly assigned to one of four experimental conditions: High SES, Stereotypical ($n = 28$); High SES, Counter-Stereotypical ($n = 25$); Low SES, Stereotypical ($n = 32$); Low SES, Counter-Stereotypical ($n = 29$). Participants were awarded course credit for their participation.

Procedure, Materials, and Measures

The procedure, materials, and measures were identical to Study 1 with the following exceptions. For African Americans, I changed the job manipulation such that the stereotypical job was a basketball player, and the counter-stereotypical job was a professor. For Hispanics, I changed the job such that the stereotypical job was a baseball player, and the counter-stereotypical job was a professor. I also changed the names to be more consistent with the race of the plaintiff (for African Americans, the name was changed to Jamal Washington, for Hispanics, the name was changed to Manuel Rodriguez), making them a racial ingroup member to test for perceptions of racial

ingroup betrayal. Because I did not have a large enough sample of African American participants ($n = 20$) to analyze the groups separately, I collapsed across African-American and Hispanic participants for all analyses. However, because I did have enough Hispanic participants ($n = 94$), we also conducted a separate analysis with this group.

Study 2 Results

Hypothesis 1: The Effect of SES and Job Stereotypicality on Betrayal

To test the hypothesis regarding whether racial minority individuals would feel betrayed by counter-stereotypical individuals, I conducted a 2 x 2 (SES [Low, High], Job Type [(counter-stereotypical, stereotypical)]) between-subjects ANOVA. See Table 3 for all descriptive statistics. There was not a significant main effect of SES on perceptions of betrayal, with participants feeling similarly betrayed by high SES plaintiffs ($M = 2.90$, $SD = 0.59$) and low SES plaintiffs ($M = 2.77$, $SD = 0.71$), $F(1, 109) = 1.43$, $p = 0.234$, $\eta^2 = .01$. Job Stereotypicality significantly affected perceptions of betrayal, with participants perceiving more betrayal by plaintiffs with stereotypical ($M = 3.10$, $SD = 0.64$) than counter-stereotypical jobs ($M = 2.54$, $SD = 0.56$), $F(1, 109) = 22.85$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = 0.17$. There was not a significant interaction between SES and job type predicting perceived betrayal, $F(1, 109) = 1.89$, $p = .172$, $\eta^2 = .02$.

The Effect of SES and Job Stereotypicality on Suspension Length for the Policeman

I conducted a 2 x 2 (SES [Low, High], Job Stereotypicality [counter-stereotypical, stereotypical]) between-subjects ANOVA on suspension length of the policeman. See Table 4 for all descriptive statistics. There was not a significant main effect of SES on suspension length of the policeman, such that plaintiffs gave similar suspension lengths when the plaintiffs were low SES ($M = 11.56$, $SD = 53.68$) and plaintiffs that were high

SES ($M = 1.95$, $SD = 3.79$), $F(1, 110) = 1.55$, $p = 0.216$, $\eta^2 = .01$. There was not a main effect of Job Stereotypicality on suspension length for the policeman, such that participants gave similar suspension lengths when the plaintiffs had a counter-stereotypical job ($M = 1.97$, $SD = 3.94$) and when the plaintiffs had a stereotypical job ($M = 11.70$, $SD = 54.11$), $F(1, 110) = 1.54$, $p = .218$, $\eta^2 = .01$. Lastly, there was not a significant interaction for the effect of SES and Job Stereotypicality on suspension length for the policeman, $F(1, 110) = 1.54$, $p = .217$, $\eta^2 = .01$.

Hypothesis 2: The Effect of Target SES, Job Stereotypicality, and Perceived Betrayal on Suspension Length of the Policeman

Although there were no overall effects of our manipulations on suspension length, I conducted moderated mediation analyses to see if the pattern of indirect effects from Study 1 would replicate. As moderated mediation experts have argued, total effects are not required to test indirect effects (Rucker, Preacher, Tormala, & Petty, 2011). I conducted a test of moderated-mediation to test Hypothesis 2. More specifically, to test whether plaintiff characteristics would make participants perceive greater betrayal, and in turn, give shorter suspension lengths for the policeman. I predicted that when African-American and Hispanic plaintiffs have a counter-stereotypical job, (i.e. a professor), if they are of high (versus low) SES, participants will feel they are betraying their racial ingroup, and in turn will give a shorter suspension for a policeman who mistreats the counter-stereotypical racial ingroup member. In contrast, this indirect effect will not be significant as long as the African-American or Hispanic target has a stereotypical job (i.e., an athlete, basketball player for African Americans and baseball player for

Hispanics). I again used Hayes' PROCESS macro for SPSS to conduct the same Model 7 analyses as reported in Study 1.

Counter to predictions, the conditional indirect effect of SES on the suspension length of the policeman through perceptions of the plaintiff betraying their race was not significant when the plaintiff had a counter-stereotypical job (i.e., professor), coefficient = 1.56, 95% *CI*: -0.19, 9.28. Additionally, the conditional indirect effect of SES on suspension length for the policeman through perceptions of the plaintiff betraying their race was not significant when the plaintiff had a stereotypical job, coefficient = -0.11, 95% *CI*: -3.99, 1.58. Thus, there was no conditional indirect effect of SES on suspension length of the policeman through perceptions that the plaintiff betrayed their race, regardless of whether the plaintiff's profession was counter-stereotypical or stereotypical.

Hypothesis 1: The Effect of SES and Job Stereotypicality on Perceptions of Betrayal (Hispanic Sample)

To test hypothesis 1, I conducted a 2 x 2 (SES [Low, High], Job Stereotypicality [counter-stereotypical-professor, stereotypical-baseball player]) between-subjects ANOVA on Hispanic participants' perceived racial ingroup betrayal. See Table 5 for all descriptive statistics. The main effect of SES was significant, with participants' level of racial ingroup betrayal lower for low SES ($M = 2.74, SD = 0.73$) than high SES plaintiffs ($M = 3.04, SD = 0.58$), $F(1, 89) = 4.50, p = .037, \eta^2 = .05$. There was a main effect of Job Stereotypicality, such that participants felt significantly more betrayed by the stereotypical job, baseball players, ($M = 3.19, SD = 0.64$) than the counter-stereotypical job, professors, ($M = 2.57, SD = 0.57$), $F(1, 89) = 22.38, p < .001, \eta^2 = 0.20$. Lastly,

there was not a significant interaction between SES and Job Stereotypicality, $F(1, 89) = 1.03, p = .313, \eta^2 = .01$.

The Effect of SES and Job Stereotypicality on Suspension Length for the Policeman (Hispanic Sample)

I conducted a 2 x 2 (SES [Low, High], Job Stereotypicality [counter-stereotypical-professor, stereotypical-baseball player]) between-subjects ANOVA on suspension length for the policeman. See Table 6 for all descriptive statistics. As a main effect, SES did not affect the suspension length for the policeman, with participants assigning similar suspension lengths to plaintiffs that were low SES ($M = 7.25, SD = 40.40$) and plaintiffs that were high SES ($M = 2.17, SD = 4.35$), $F(1, 90) = 0.68, p = .412, \eta^2 = .01$. As a main effect, Job Stereotypicality did not affect suspension length for the policeman such that plaintiffs with a counter-stereotypical job ($M = 2.11, SD = 4.14$) resulted in similar suspension lengths to plaintiffs with a stereotypical job ($M = 8.29, SD = 44.15$), $F(1, 90) = 0.69, p = .408, \eta^2 = .01$. Lastly, there was not an interaction between SES and Job Stereotypicality on suspension length for the policeman, $F(1, 90) = 0.77, p = .383, \eta^2 = .01$.

Hypothesis 2: The Effect of Target SES, Job Stereotypicality, and Perceived Betrayal on Suspension Length of the Policeman (Hispanic sample)

I conducted the same analysis testing moderated mediation described above. The only difference is that I used Hispanics as the sample, rather than the combined racial minority group above (African Americans and Hispanics).

Counter to predictions, the conditional indirect effect of SES on the suspension length of the policeman through perceptions of the plaintiff betraying their race was not

significant when the plaintiff had a counter-stereotypical job; coefficient = 1.87, 95% *CI*: -0.61, 10.19. Additionally, the conditional indirect effect of SES on suspension length for the policeman through perceptions of the plaintiff betraying their race was not significant when the plaintiff had a stereotypical job; coefficient = 0.66, 95% *CI*: -0.48, 9.27. Thus, for Hispanic participants, there was no conditional indirect effect of SES on suspension length of the policeman through perceptions that the plaintiff betrayed their race, regardless of whether the plaintiff's profession was counter-stereotypical or stereotypical.

Study 2 Discussion

I hypothesized that when the plaintiff was high (versus low) SES, participants would feel more betrayed by a plaintiff that had a counter-stereotypical job, but this effect would not happen when the plaintiff had a stereotypical job. I did not find full support for this hypothesis, as there was no interaction effect between SES and Job Stereotypicality for racial minority participants in both sets of analyses. I found a main effect of SES in the Hispanic sample, where participants felt more betrayed by high SES plaintiffs, compared to low SES plaintiffs. This result partially supported the betrayal hypothesis.

I also discovered a couple of surprising main effects that were not in support of our betrayal hypothesis. I found a significant main effect of Job Stereotypicality for the African American and Hispanic sample, as well as a significant main effect of Job Stereotypicality for the Hispanic sample. The main effects for Job Stereotypicality were actually in an unexpected direction, such that participants felt more betrayed by plaintiffs with a stereotypical job (athlete), compared to plaintiffs with a counter-stereotypical job (professor). This result could be due to the fact our racial minority sample was made up

of college students. The racial minority sample could be considered counter-stereotypical to their racial groups given they are likely more affluent and educated than American stereotypes of African Americans and Hispanics would suggest. This might mean that the educated minority sample might have different norms and expectations for their ingroup members.

I had also hypothesized this increase in perceptions of betrayal, when the plaintiff is high (versus low) SES with a counter-stereotypical job, would, in turn, lead to a shorter suspension length for the policeman. No such effect will occur when the plaintiff has a stereotypical job. I did not find support for this hypothesis.

General Discussion

The current studies partially supported my hypotheses. As predicted, White individuals felt more betrayed by low SES plaintiffs than high SES plaintiffs, but only when the plaintiff also had a counter-stereotypical job (i.e., a rap musician). In the case of low SES White rappers, perceptions of racial ingroup betrayal led to a shorter suspension length, by a week, for the policeman involved in an altercation with the plaintiff, compared to high SES White rappers. This result suggests that incidents between the police and low SES White people who have counter-stereotypical jobs might be more likely to occur in the future. The reduced suspension length for the policeman might send an implicit message that it is acceptable to mistreat counter-stereotypical Whites. I found no such effect when the plaintiff had a stereotypical profession (i.e., a professor).

When I analyzed both African Americans and Hispanics together, there was no interaction of SES and Job Stereotypicality on racial ingroup betrayal. However, there was an effect of Job Stereotypicality on racial ingroup betrayal, but not SES. Counter to

predictions, African-American and Hispanic participants felt more betrayed by athletes (basketball players for African Americans, baseball players for Hispanics) than by professors. When I analyzed the data from only Hispanic participants, the same results held, such that participants felt more betrayed by a plaintiff with a stereotypical job (a baseball player) compared to a plaintiff with a counter-stereotypical job (a professor). This result could be because the Hispanic sample was made up of college students, who might be considered counter-stereotypical to their racial group because they are more affluent and educated than the stereotype of them would suggest (Dixon & Rosenbaum, 2004).

I did find partial support for the betrayal hypothesis such that Hispanic participants felt more betrayed by high SES plaintiffs than low SES plaintiffs. This could be due to a belief that high SES individuals are more selfish compared to low SES individuals, and as a result, less trustworthy. This effect might not have occurred with our White sample, given Whites are generally stereotyped as more affluent. Ultimately, I did not find full support for both the betrayal hypothesis and the betrayal and suspension length hypothesis.

Theoretical Implications

The current research, which to my knowledge has not been demonstrated by previous research, shows that racial ingroup members who violate ingroup stereotypes result in perceptions of racial ingroup betrayal. This builds on previous research on the Black Sheep Effect and Backlash Effects (Marques et al., 1988; Rudman, 1998), such that I generalized results to a racial sample in the United States in a legal context, versus testing ingroup backlash based on nationality, and by testing a solely White sample.

It is possible that individuals who betray their race create collective angst for some racial groups. Collective angst has been characterized as concern for the future of one's group, which predicts the motivation for members to strengthen their ingroup (Wohl et. al., 2010). This may result in distrust of those that are counter-stereotypical; in the case of the two present studies, I only found support for this possibility with Whites. Such distrust, perhaps from a desire to solidify the ingroup, might lead to less ingroup protection for counter-stereotypical individuals.

Legal Implications

The present research demonstrates that policemen who are involved in controversial incidents might, depending on the characteristics of the plaintiff, actually be treated more leniently by stereotypical racial ingroup members when involved in incidents with counter-stereotypical racial ingroup members compared to incidents with stereotypical racial ingroup members. This effect was demonstrated with a White but not racial minority sample. It is possible that Whites feel relatively less protective of other Whites that are counter-stereotypical, compared to racial minority groups feeling protective of racial ingroup members that are counter-stereotypical, given Whites' superior standing in society. The reduced punishment towards policemen who mistreat plaintiffs that are perceived as counter-stereotypical racial ingroup members to stereotypical racial ingroup members could have several possible consequences. Additionally, with more lenient consequences for policemen involved in such incidents, it may implicitly send the message that violence against counter-stereotypical Whites is more acceptable than violence against stereotypical Whites. As a result of more lenient consequences, incidents with counter-stereotypical Whites might be more likely to occur

in the future. Ultimately, this may serve to continue, and possibly exacerbate negative relations between the police and counter-stereotypical Whites.

Limitations and Future Directions

Limitations on the design and scope of the present research raise several questions and provide possibilities for future research. First, there was a number of failed manipulation checks for the job type of the plaintiff in both Study 1 and Study 2. Even after bolding the job type for Study 2 after seeing a number of failed manipulation checks in Study 1, the manipulation check results did not improve.

Secondly, the sample that I analyzed was made up of college students; this may have compromised the results, especially when the students read about professors, whom they likely trust. The unexpected results from when I analyzed African American and Hispanic students from Study 2 might be explained by the fact our sample was made up of educated and affluent individuals. In the context of previous and current research, this sample would be considered counter-stereotypical. It seems unlikely that counter-stereotypical racial ingroup members would feel betrayed by other counter-stereotypical racial ingroup members. If we collected a sample of more stereotypical African Americans and Hispanics, who are less educated and affluent, our results might have been different and could have supported my hypotheses. Thus, testing different samples of individuals beyond a college sample might be necessary to understand the dynamics of racial ingroup betrayal.

Further research on the racial ingroup betrayal I created could be done to differentiate racial ingroup betrayal from trust, conducting additional tests with different racial samples to see if it generalizes beyond African Americans, Hispanics, and Whites,

as well as adding or deleting items to more accurately reflect the construct of racial ingroup betrayal. Arguably, a lot of the scale correlates with trust, as some of the items on the racial ingroup betrayal measure pertain to whether or not the plaintiff would help other individuals who are struggling or if they trusted the plaintiff to keep a promise.

Additionally, the racial betrayal measure could be improved for future research. The current version of the racial betrayal measure relied on numerous items about the perceived trustworthiness of the plaintiff. This version was partially done not to deviate too much from the initial interpersonal betrayal measure. While I think mistrust is a component of racial betrayal, the current measure relied on it too heavily. Consequently, the current measure may not have fully captured the phenomena of racial betrayal. Furthermore, I also could have added additional items that reflect racial betrayal. One item that I did not include in the current measure could be about whether individuals seen as betraying their race are also seen as supporting members of a racial group that is in conflict with stereotypical members of their racial group. For example, low SES white rappers may be seen as supporting minorities, perhaps in particular, African Americans. On the other hand, high SES professors that are a racial minority, in the context of the current study, Hispanic and African American professors, may be seen as supporting Whites instead of their own racial group.

Conclusions

Individuals who violate ingroup racial stereotypes might lead to perceptions of racial ingroup betrayal for Whites, but not racial minorities. The phenomenon of racial ingroup betrayal was limited to stereotypes about SES and Job Stereotypicality for individuals that were potentially perceived as betraying their race. When others perceive

an individual as betraying their race, this can lead to less ingroup protectiveness. This was demonstrated by the reduced suspension length of the policeman that was involved in an altercation with an individual who was perceived as betraying their race for the White participants, but not for the racial minority participants in the current research. As stated previously, this could be in part due to Whites' superior standing in society. A potential consequence of more lenient treatment towards police that are involved in altercations with counter-stereotypical Whites, incidents with counter-stereotypical Whites might be more likely to happen in the future.

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APPENDIX A

DATA COLLECTED DECEMBER 2014-DECEMBER 2015

EXEMPTION GRANTED

Jessica Salerno
Social and Behavioral Sciences, School of
-
Jessica.Salerno@asu.edu

Dear Jessica Salerno:

On 11/13/2014 the ASU IRB reviewed the following protocol:

Type of Review:	Initial Study
Title:	Civil Case Judgments
Investigator:	Jessica Salerno
IRB ID:	STUDY00001858
Funding:	None
Grant Title:	None
Grant ID:	None
Documents Reviewed:	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Consent - ASU.pdf, Category: Consent Form;• Consent - non-ASU.pdf, Category: Consent Form;• Civil Case Judgments Protocol, Category: IRB Protocol;• Recruitment Message - ASU.pdf, Category: Recruitment Materials;• Recruitment message - non-ASU.pdf, Category: Recruitment Materials;

The IRB determined that the protocol is considered exempt pursuant to Federal Regulations 45CFR46 (2) Tests, surveys, interviews, or observation on 11/13/2014.

In conducting this protocol you are required to follow the requirements listed in the INVESTIGATOR MANUAL (HRP-103).

Sincerely,

IRB Administrator

cc:

Kyle Anderson
Jessica Salerno

Figure 1. Documentation of IRB Approval for Research

My gender is:

- Male (1)
- Female (2)
- Other (3) _____

What is your ethnicity?

- White/White (1)
- Hispanic/Latino (2)
- Black/African-American (3)
- Native American/American Indian (4)
- Asian/Asian American (5)
- Hawaiian/Pacific Islander (6)
- Other (7) _____

My age is _____

How Liberal/Conservative are you?

- Very Liberal (1)
- Liberal (2)
- Slightly Liberal (3)
- Moderate (4)
- Slightly Conservative (5)
- Conservative (6)
- Very Conservative (7)

What is the highest level of education you have completed?

- Some High School (1)
- High School/GED (2)
- Some College (3)
- Community College (AA)/Technical School (4)
- College Degree (BA/BS) (5)
- Graduate Degree (6)

What is your current religion?

- Fundamentalist Christian (1)
- Christian (2)
- Catholic (3)
- Jewish (4)
- Muslim (5)
- Hindu (6)
- Buddhist (7)
- Non-Denomination/Agnostic/Spiritual (8)
- Atheist/Not religious (9)
- Other (10) _____

Marital Status

- Single (1)
- Married (2)
- Separated (3)
- Divorced (4)
- Widowed (5)

Study 1 Vignettes (Each participant read one of the following vignettes)

Opening Statements

In his opening statement, the plaintiff's lawyer stated they would show the defendant acted unreasonably toward the plaintiff, intentionally inflicting emotional pain, assaulted him, depriving him of his civil rights, as well as irreparable damage to his reputation. They also stated that they would demonstrate that the defendant did so knowingly, and that his actions were unreasonable given the plaintiff, Christopher Miller's actions. They called for monetary compensation.

In their opening statement, the defense stated that the defendant acted in a reasonable manner, given what he thought was happening. They argued that the consequences of the incident were unfortunate but not the responsibility of the defendant.

Plaintiff's Case (White Professor Condition)

The plaintiff's case included evidence from the plaintiff, defendant, and police reports. They called for monetary compensation, and an indefinite suspension of the policeman involved.

The DEFENDANT, James, is a white male in his mid-30's. He was the policeman on-duty at the time of the incident.

The VICTIM, Christopher Miller, is a white male in his late 30s. He is a professor with no criminal record.

The plaintiff, Christopher Miller, a 38-year-old White male, employed as a professor at a local university, claims that upon returning home one night, he realized that he had mistakenly locked his keys in his home. He remembered that a window on the side of his house was unlocked, although tends to jam shut. Christopher Miller went to the side of the house and tried to force the jammed window open. While trying to open the window, he noticed that a police car had pulled up and the officer was walking over to confront the plaintiff. Much to the Christopher Miller's surprise, he realized that the policeman thought he was a thief breaking into the house. Christopher Miller tried to explain the situation, but it became clear to the plaintiff that the cop did not believe his story. This realization angered the plaintiff and he remembers declaring "How dare you accuse me of burglarizing my own house!" to the officer. The next thing he knew, the plaintiff was handcuffed. The plaintiff, Christopher Miller, then reports that the officer slammed him down against the car, hitting his head hard and resulting in a concussion. The plaintiff was humiliated to see that his entire neighborhood had gathered and witnessed him being put into handcuffs and arrested. He was released after the situation cleared up, and the incident made the news the next day. Twitter was filled with numerous comments about the plaintiff being a criminal, which tarnished his reputation and negatively impacted his job and life. The plaintiff, Christopher Miller, has filed a civil suit asking for monetary compensation and an indefinite suspension of the policeman, because the officer intentionally inflicted emotional distress on him, assaulted him, and deprived him of his civil rights.

Opening Statements

In his opening statement, the plaintiff's lawyer stated they would show the defendant acted unreasonably toward the plaintiff, intentionally inflicting emotional pain, assaulted him, depriving him of his civil rights, as well as irreparable damage to his reputation. They also stated that they would demonstrate that the defendant did so knowingly, and that his actions were unreasonable given the plaintiff, Christopher Miller's actions. They called for monetary compensation.

In their opening statement, the defense stated that the defendant acted in a reasonable manner, given what he thought was happening. They argued that the consequences of the incident were unfortunate but not the responsibility of the defendant.

Plaintiff's Case (White Rapper Condition)

The DEFENDANT, James, is a white male in his mid-30's. He was the policeman on-duty at the time of the incident.

The VICTIM, Christopher Miller, is a white male in his late 30s. He is a rap musician with no criminal record.

The plaintiff, Christopher Miller, a 38-year-old White male, employed as a rap musician, claims that upon returning home one night, he realized that he had mistakenly locked his keys in his home. He remembered that a window on the side of his house was unlocked, although tends to jam shut. Christopher Miller went to the side of the house and tried to force the jammed window open. While trying to open the window, he noticed that a police car had pulled up and the officer was walking over to confront the plaintiff. Much to the Christopher Miller's surprise, he realized that the policeman thought he was a thief breaking into the house. Christopher Miller tried to explain the situation, but it became clear to the plaintiff that the cop did not believe his story. This realization angered the plaintiff and he remembers declaring "How dare you accuse me of burglarizing my own house!" to the officer. The next thing he knew, the plaintiff was handcuffed. The plaintiff, Christopher Miller, then reports that the officer slammed him down against the car, hitting his head hard and resulting in a concussion. The plaintiff was humiliated to see that his entire neighborhood had gathered and witnessed him being put into handcuffs and arrested. He was released after the situation cleared up, and the incident made the news the next day. The plaintiff, Christopher Miller, has filed a civil suit asking for monetary compensation and an indefinite suspension of the policeman, because the officer intentionally inflicted emotional distress on him, assaulted him, and deprived him of his civil rights.

Defense's Case

The defense's case included evidence from the defendant, and police reports. They claimed that monetary compensation was not appropriate because the officer acted reasonably, given the situation.

While doing his nightly runs, the defendant spotted Christopher Miller trying to break into a home. He got out of the police car, and confronted the plaintiff. Looking guilty, the plaintiff, Christopher Miller, tried to explain the situation, the defendant did not believe his story. The plaintiff glared at the defendant. "How dare you accuse me of burglarizing my own house!" The defendant asked him to calm down, or be put under arrest for disorderly conduct. The plaintiff, Christopher Miller, scowled at the policeman. The defendant took the look as a threat, and chose to handcuff the plaintiff. The plaintiff angrily muttered something under his breath. "What did you say?" The policeman took the tone as a sign of insubordination, and slammed the plaintiff's head down against the car. The plaintiff struggled, still angrily protesting the actions of the defendant. By that time, the whole neighborhood had gathered, with some protesting the arrest. The plaintiff, Christopher Miller, kept resisting, still angrily protesting the actions of the defendant, and eventually was taken to the police station, and the incident made the news the next day.

Study 2 Vignettes (Each participant read one of the following vignettes)

Opening Statements

In his opening statement, the plaintiff's lawyer stated they would show the defendant acted unreasonably toward the plaintiff, intentionally inflicting emotional pain, assaulted him, depriving him of his civil rights, as well as irreparable damage to his reputation. They also stated that they would demonstrate that the defendant did so knowingly, and that his actions were unreasonable given the plaintiff, Jamal Washington's actions. They called for monetary compensation.

In their opening statement, the defense stated that the defendant acted in a reasonable manner, given what he thought was happening. They argued that the consequences of the incident were unfortunate but not the responsibility of the defendant.

Plaintiff's Case (African-American Professor Condition)

The DEFENDANT, James, is a white male in his mid-30's. He was the policeman on-duty at the time of the incident.

The VICTIM, Jamal Washington, is an African-American male in his late 30s. He is a professor with no criminal record.

The plaintiff's case included evidence from the plaintiff, defendant, and police reports. They called for monetary compensation, and an indefinite suspension of the policeman involved.

The plaintiff, Jamal Washington, a 38-year-old African-American male, employed as a professor at a local university, claims that upon returning home one night, he realized that he had mistakenly locked his keys in his home. He remembered that a window on the side of his house was unlocked, although tends to jam shut. Jamal Washington went to the side of the house and tried to force the jammed window open. While trying to open the window, he noticed that a police car had pulled up and the officer was walking over to confront the plaintiff. Much to the Jamal Washington's surprise, he realized that the policeman thought he was a thief breaking into the house. Jamal Washington tried to explain the situation, but it became clear to the plaintiff that the cop did not believe his story. This realization angered the plaintiff and he remembers declaring "How dare you accuse me of burglarizing my own house!" to the officer. The next thing he knew, the plaintiff was handcuffed. The plaintiff, Jamal Washington, then reports that the officer slammed him down against the car, hitting his head hard and resulting in a concussion. The plaintiff was humiliated to see that his entire neighborhood had gathered and witnessed him being put into handcuffs and arrested. He was released after the situation cleared up, and the incident made the news the next day. Twitter was filled with numerous comments about the plaintiff being a criminal, which tarnished his reputation and negatively impacted his job and life. The plaintiff, Jamal Washington, has filed a

civil suit asking for monetary compensation and an indefinite suspension of the policeman, because the officer intentionally inflicted emotional distress on him, assaulted him, and deprived him of his civil rights.

Opening Statements

In his opening statement, the plaintiff's lawyer stated they would show the defendant acted unreasonably toward the plaintiff, intentionally inflicting emotional pain, assaulted him, depriving him of his civil rights, as well as irreparable damage to his reputation. They also stated that they would demonstrate that the defendant did so knowingly, and that his actions were unreasonable given the plaintiff, Jamal Washington's actions. They called for monetary compensation.

In their opening statement, the defense stated that the defendant acted in a reasonable manner, given what he thought was happening. They argued that the consequences of the incident were unfortunate but not the responsibility of the defendant.

Plaintiff's Case (African-American Basketball Player Condition)

The DEFENDANT, James, is a white male in his mid-30's. He was the policeman on-duty at the time of the incident.

The VICTIM, Jamal Washington, is a white male in his late 30s. He is a professional basketball player with no criminal record.

The plaintiff's case included evidence from the plaintiff, defendant, and police reports. They called for monetary compensation, and an indefinite suspension of the policeman involved.

The plaintiff, Jamal Washington, a 38-year-old African-American male, employed as a professional basketball player, claims that upon returning home one night, he realized that he had mistakenly locked his keys in his home. He remembered that a window on the side of his house was unlocked, although tends to jam shut. Jamal Washington went to the side of the house and tried to force the jammed window open. While trying to open the window, he noticed that a police car had pulled up and the officer was walking over to confront the plaintiff. Much to the Jamal Washington's surprise, he realized that the policeman thought he was a thief breaking into the house. Jamal Washington tried to explain the situation, but it became clear to the plaintiff that the cop did not believe his story. This realization angered the plaintiff and he remembers declaring "How dare you accuse me of burglarizing my own house!" to the officer. The next thing he knew, the plaintiff was handcuffed. The plaintiff, Jamal Washington, then reports that the officer slammed him down against the car, hitting his head hard and resulting in a concussion. The plaintiff was humiliated to see that his entire neighborhood had gathered and witnessed him being put into handcuffs and arrested. He was released after the situation cleared up, and the incident made the news the next day. Twitter was filled with

numerous comments about the plaintiff being a criminal, which tarnished his reputation and negatively impacted his job and life. The plaintiff, Jamal Washington, has filed a civil suit asking for monetary compensation and an indefinite suspension of the policeman, because the officer intentionally inflicted emotional distress on him, assaulted him, and deprived him of his civil rights.

Opening Statements

In his opening statement, the plaintiff's lawyer stated they would show the defendant acted unreasonably toward the plaintiff, intentionally inflicting emotional pain, assaulted him, depriving him of his civil rights, as well as irreparable damage to his reputation. They also stated that they would demonstrate that the defendant did so knowingly, and that his actions were unreasonable given the plaintiff, Manuel Rodriguez's actions. They called for monetary compensation.

In their opening statement, the defense stated that the defendant acted in a reasonable manner, given what he thought was happening. They argued that the consequences of the incident were unfortunate but not the responsibility of the defendant.

Plaintiff's Case (Hispanic Professor Condition)

The DEFENDANT, James, is a white male in his mid-30's. He was the policeman on-duty at the time of the incident.

The VICTIM, Manuel Rodriguez, is a Hispanic male in his late 30s. He is professor with no criminal record.

The plaintiff, Manuel Rodriguez, a 38-year-old Hispanic male, employed as a professor at a local university, claims that upon returning home one night, he realized that he had mistakenly locked his keys in his home. He remembered that a window on the side of his house was unlocked, although tends to jam shut. Manuel Rodriguez went to the side of the house and tried to force the jammed window open. While trying to open the window, he noticed that a police car had pulled up and the officer was walking over to confront the plaintiff. Much to the Manuel Rodriguez's surprise, he realized that the policeman thought he was a thief breaking into the house. Manuel Rodriguez tried to explain the situation, but it became clear to the plaintiff that the cop did not believe his story. This realization angered the plaintiff and he remembers declaring "How dare you accuse me of burglarizing my own house!" to the officer. The next thing he knew, the plaintiff was handcuffed. The plaintiff, Manuel Rodriguez, then reports that the officer slammed him down against the car, hitting his head hard and resulting in a concussion. The plaintiff was humiliated to see that his entire neighborhood had gathered and witnessed him being put into handcuffs and arrested. He was released after the situation cleared up, and the incident made the news the next day. The plaintiff, Manuel Rodriguez, has filed a civil suit asking for monetary compensation and an indefinite suspension of the policeman,

because the officer intentionally inflicted emotional distress on him, assaulted him, and deprived him of his civil rights.

Defense's Case

The defense's case included evidence from the defendant, and police reports. They claimed that monetary compensation was not appropriate because the officer acted reasonably, given the situation.

While doing his nightly runs, the defendant spotted Manuel Rodriguez trying to break into a home. He got out of the police car, and confronted the plaintiff. Looking guilty, the plaintiff, Manuel Rodriguez, tried to explain the situation, the defendant did not believe his story. The plaintiff glared at the defendant. "How dare you accuse me of burglarizing my own house!" The defendant asked him to calm down, or be put under arrest for disorderly conduct. The plaintiff, Manuel Rodriguez, scowled at the policeman. The defendant took the look as a threat, and chose to handcuff the plaintiff. The plaintiff angrily muttered something under his breath. "What did you say?" The policeman took the tone as a sign of insubordination, and slammed the plaintiff's head down against the car. The plaintiff struggled, still angrily protesting the actions of the defendant. By that time, the whole neighborhood had gathered, with some protesting the arrest. The plaintiff, Manuel Rodriguez, kept resisting, still angrily protesting the actions of the defendant, and eventually was taken to the police station, and the incident made the news the next day.

Opening Statements

In his opening statement, the plaintiff's lawyer stated they would show the defendant acted unreasonably toward the plaintiff, intentionally inflicting emotional pain, assaulted him, depriving him of his civil rights, as well as irreparable damage to his reputation. They also stated that they would demonstrate that the defendant did so knowingly, and that his actions were unreasonable given the plaintiff, Manuel Rodriguez's actions. They called for monetary compensation.

In their opening statement, the defense stated that the defendant acted in a reasonable manner, given what he thought was happening. They argued that the consequences of the incident were unfortunate but not the responsibility of the defendant.

Plaintiff's Case (Hispanic Baseball Player Condition)

The DEFENDANT, James, is a white male in his mid-30's. He was the policeman on-duty at the time of the incident.

The VICTIM, Manuel Rodriguez, is a Hispanic male in his late 30s. He is a baseball player with no criminal record.

The plaintiff, Manuel Rodriguez, a 38-year-old Hispanic male, employed as a professional baseball player, claims that upon returning home one night, he realized that he had mistakenly locked his keys in his home. He remembered that a window on the side of his house was unlocked, although tends to jam shut. Manuel Rodriguez went to the side of the house and tried to force the jammed window open. While trying to open the window, he noticed that a police car had pulled up and the officer was walking over to confront the plaintiff. Much to the Manuel Rodriguez's surprise, he realized that the policeman thought he was a thief breaking into the house. Manuel Rodriguez tried to explain the situation, but it became clear to the plaintiff that the cop did not believe his story. This realization angered the plaintiff and he remembers declaring "How dare you accuse me of burglarizing my own house!" to the officer. The next thing he knew, the plaintiff was handcuffed. The plaintiff, Manuel Rodriguez, then reports that the officer slammed him down against the car, hitting his head hard and resulting in a concussion. The plaintiff was humiliated to see that his entire neighborhood had gathered and witnessed him being put into handcuffs and arrested. He was released after the situation cleared up, and the incident made the news the next day. The plaintiff, Manuel Rodriguez, has filed a civil suit asking for monetary compensation and an indefinite suspension of the policeman, because the officer intentionally inflicted emotional distress on him, assaulted him, and deprived him of his civil rights.

Defense's Case

The defense's case included evidence from the defendant, and police reports. They claimed that monetary compensation was not appropriate because the officer acted reasonably, given the situation.

While doing his nightly runs, the defendant spotted Manuel Rodriguez trying to break into a home. He got out of the police car, and confronted the plaintiff. Looking guilty, the plaintiff, Manuel Rodriguez, tried to explain the situation, the defendant did not believe his story. The plaintiff glared at the defendant. "How dare you accuse me of burglarizing my own house!" The defendant asked him to calm down, or be put under arrest for disorderly conduct. The plaintiff, Manuel Rodriguez, scowled at the policeman. The defendant took the look as a threat, and chose to handcuff the plaintiff. The plaintiff angrily muttered something under his breath. "What did you say?" The policeman took the tone as a sign of insubordination, and slammed the plaintiff's head down against the car. The plaintiff struggled, still angrily protesting the actions of the defendant. By that time, the whole neighborhood had gathered, with some protesting the arrest. The plaintiff, Manuel Rodriguez, kept resisting, still angrily protesting the actions of the defendant, and eventually was taken to the police station, and the incident made the news the next day.

The participants were randomly assigned to either look the plaintiff's home, a Low SES or High SES home, in each condition. (See below)

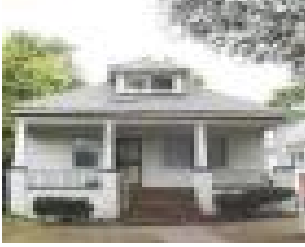


Figure 2. Low SES Home for Vignette



Figure 3. High SES Home for Vignette

(Racial ingroup betrayal measure)

Please answer the following to the best of your ability:

1. The plaintiff is primarily concerned with his own well-being rather than helping others.

- (1) Strongly Disagree
- (2) Disagree
- (3) Somewhat Disagree
- (4) Somewhat Agree
- (5) Agree
- (6) Strongly Agree

2. I would trust the plaintiff to keep a promise.

- (1) Strongly Disagree
- (2) Disagree
- (3) Somewhat Disagree
- (4) Somewhat Agree
- (5) Agree
- (6) Strongly Agree

3. The plaintiff is a sellout, and lacks integrity.

- (1) Strongly Disagree
- (2) Disagree
- (3) Somewhat Disagree
- (4) Somewhat Agree
- (5) Agree
- (6) Strongly Agree

4. I think the plaintiff will use his position in society to help the less fortunate.

- (1) Strongly Disagree
- (2) Disagree
- (3) Somewhat Disagree
- (4) Somewhat Agree
- (5) Agree
- (6) Strongly Agree

5. If the plaintiff promised to help less fortunate people, I would believe him.

- (1) Strongly Disagree
- (2) Disagree
- (3) Somewhat Disagree
- (4) Somewhat Agree
- (5) Agree
- (6) Strongly Agree

6. The plaintiff is out of touch with his roots.

- (1) Strongly Disagree
- (2) Disagree
- (3) Somewhat Disagree
- (4) Somewhat Agree
- (5) Agree
- (6) Strongly Agree

7. The plaintiff can be trusted to help other people become successful.

- (1) Strongly Disagree
- (2) Disagree
- (3) Somewhat Disagree
- (4) Somewhat Agree
- (5) Agree
- (6) Strongly Agree

8. The plaintiff is probably currently helping struggling people.

- (1) Strongly Disagree
- (2) Disagree
- (3) Somewhat Disagree
- (4) Somewhat Agree
- (5) Agree
- (6) Strongly Agree

How many months should the policeman be suspended?

What is the plaintiff's profession? (Manipulation Check)

What house does the plaintiff live in? (Manipulation Check)

- Image:Lowseshouse2 (4)
- Image:Middleseshome (5)
- Image:Highseshome (6)



Figure 4. Low SES Home for Manipulation Check



Figure 5. Middle SES Home for Manipulation Check



Figure 6. High SES Home for Manipulation Check

Table 1

Study 1 Means and Standard Deviations of Racial Ingroup Betrayal (White Participants)

	SES	
	High <i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	Low <i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)
Job Type	3.25	3.56
Counter-Stereotypical	(0.72)	(0.62)
Stereotypical	3.23	3.09
	(0.64)	(0.52)

Note. Higher values indicate greater perceived betrayal.

Table 2
Study 1 Means and Standard Deviations of Suspension Length of Policeman (White Participants)

	SES	
	High <i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	Low <i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)
Job Type	1.15	0.32
Counter-Stereotypical	(2.02)	(0.50)
Stereotypical	0.43	1.10
	(0.56)	(3.29)

Note. Higher values indicate a longer suspension length.

Table 3
Study 2 Means and Standard Deviations of Racial Ingroup Betrayal (African-American and Hispanic Participants)

	SES	
	High <i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	Low <i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)
Job Type	2.70	2.41
Counter-Stereotypical	(0.50)	(0.58)
Stereotypical	3.08	3.10
	(0.62)	(0.66)

Note. Higher values indicate greater perceived betrayal.

Table 4
Study 2 Means and Standard Deviations of Suspension Length of Policeman (African-American and Hispanic Participants)

	SES	
	High <i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	Low <i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)
Job Type	1.96	1.98
Counter-Stereotypical	(4.77)	(3.13)
Stereotypical	1.94	20.23
	(2.74)	(73.52)

Note. Higher values indicate a longer suspension length.

Table 5
Study 2 Means and Standard Deviations of Racial Ingroup Betrayal (Hispanic Participants)

	SES	
	High <i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	Low <i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)
Job Type Counter-Stereotypical	2.80 (0.48)	2.41 (0.58)
Stereotypical	3.27 (0.58)	3.13 (0.70)

Note. Higher values indicate greater perceived betrayal.

Table 6
Study 2 Means and Standard Deviations of Suspension Length of Policeman (Hispanic Participants)

	SES	
	High <i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	Low <i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)
Job Type	2.32	1.98
Counter-Stereotypical	(5.43)	(3.13)
Stereotypical	2.03	13.12
	(3.13)	(58.70)

Note. Higher values indicate a longer suspension length.

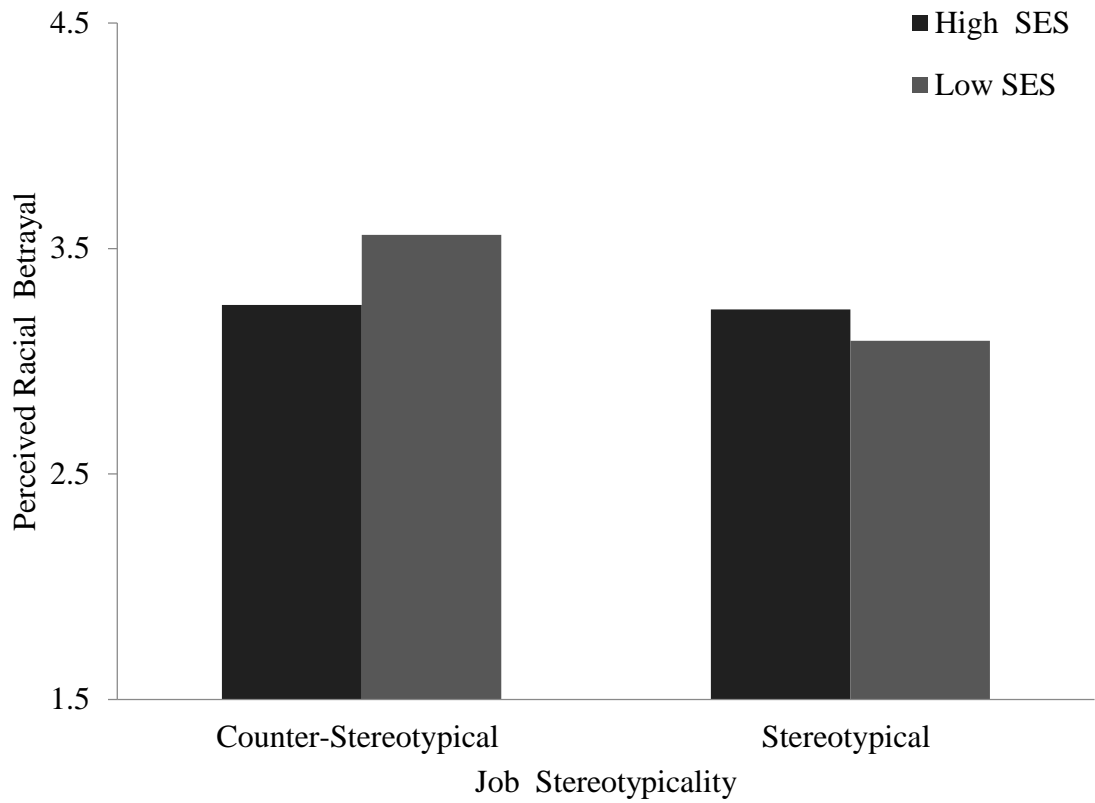


Figure 7. Study 1 Perceived Racial Ingroup Betrayal as a Function of SES and Job Stereotypicality of Plaintiff (White Participants)

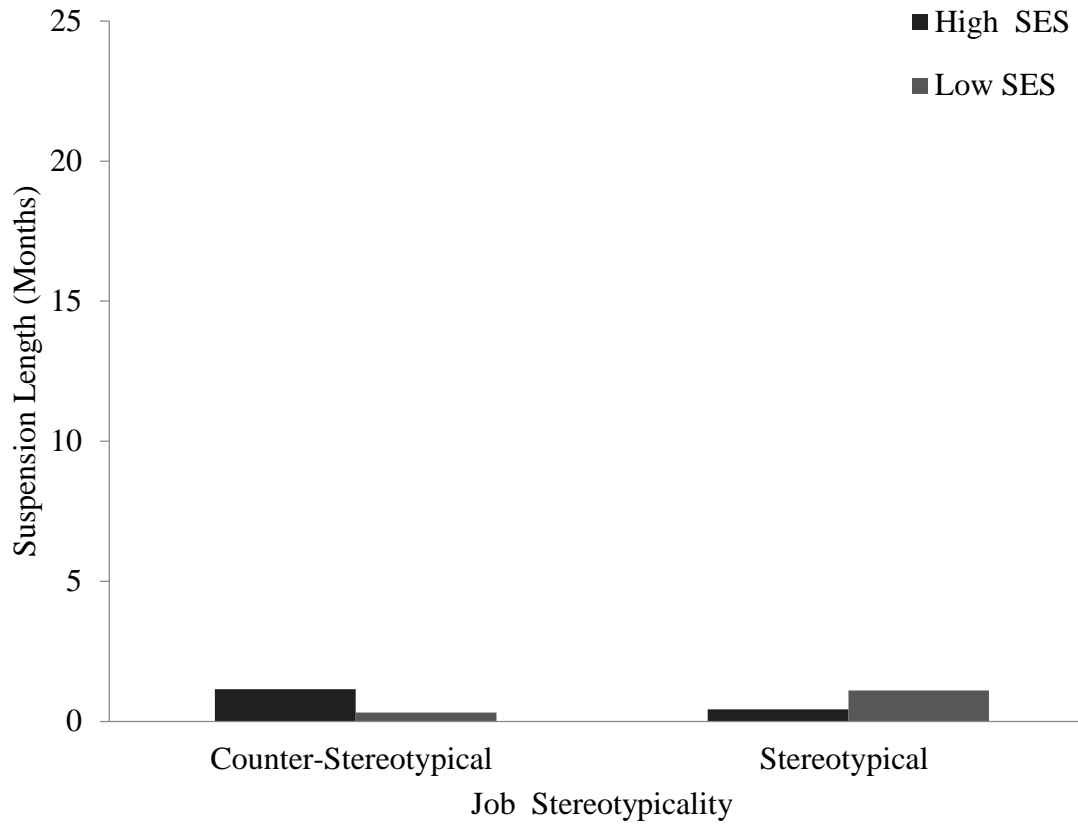


Figure 8. Study 1 Suspension Length of Policeman as a Function of SES and Job Stereotypicality of Plaintiff (White Participants)

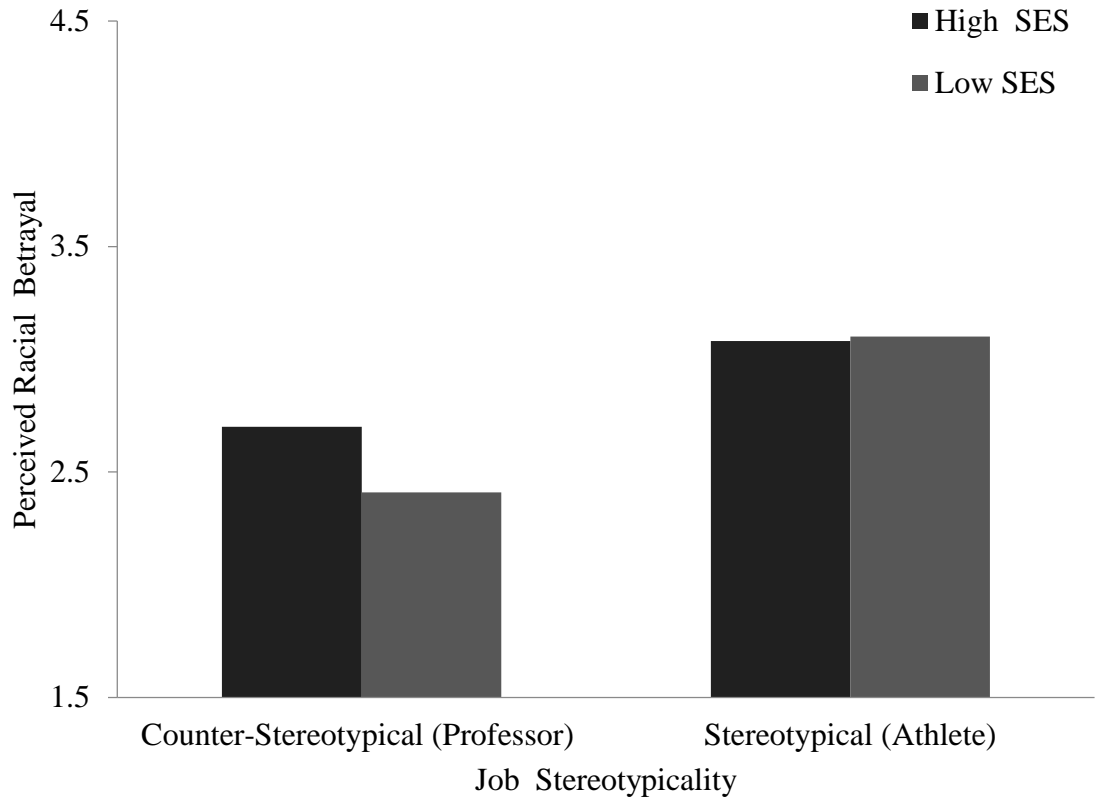


Figure 9. Study 2 Perceived Racial Ingroup Betrayal as a Function of SES and Job Stereotypicality of Plaintiff (African-American and Hispanic Participants)

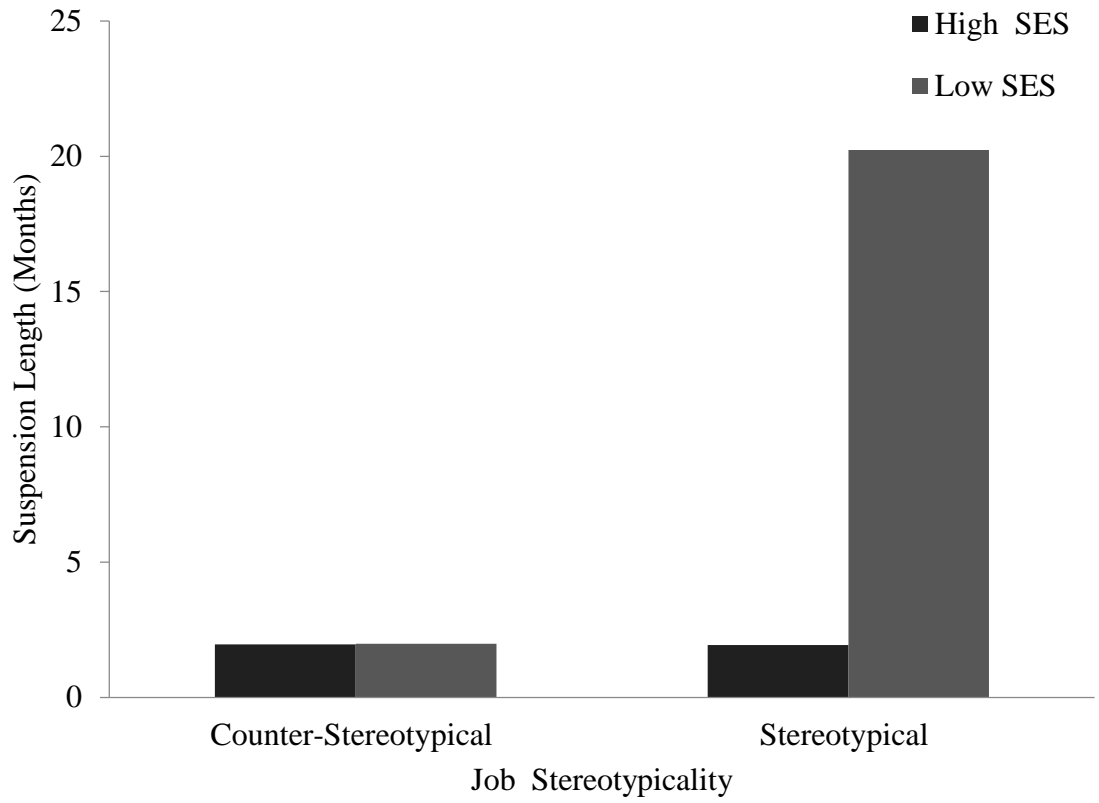


Figure 10. Study 2 Suspension Length of Policeman as a Function of SES and Job Stereotypicality of Plaintiff (African-American and Hispanic Participants)

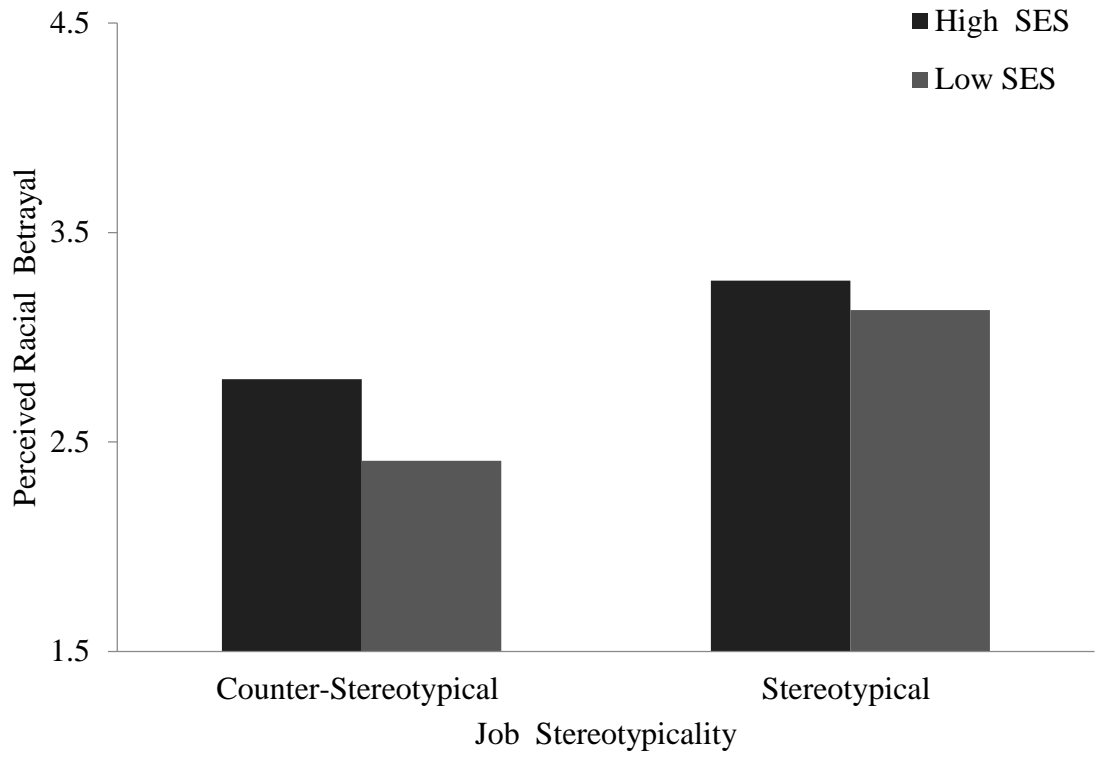


Figure 11. Study 2 Perceived Racial Ingroup Betrayal as a Function of SES and Job Stereotypicality of Plaintiff (Hispanic Participants)

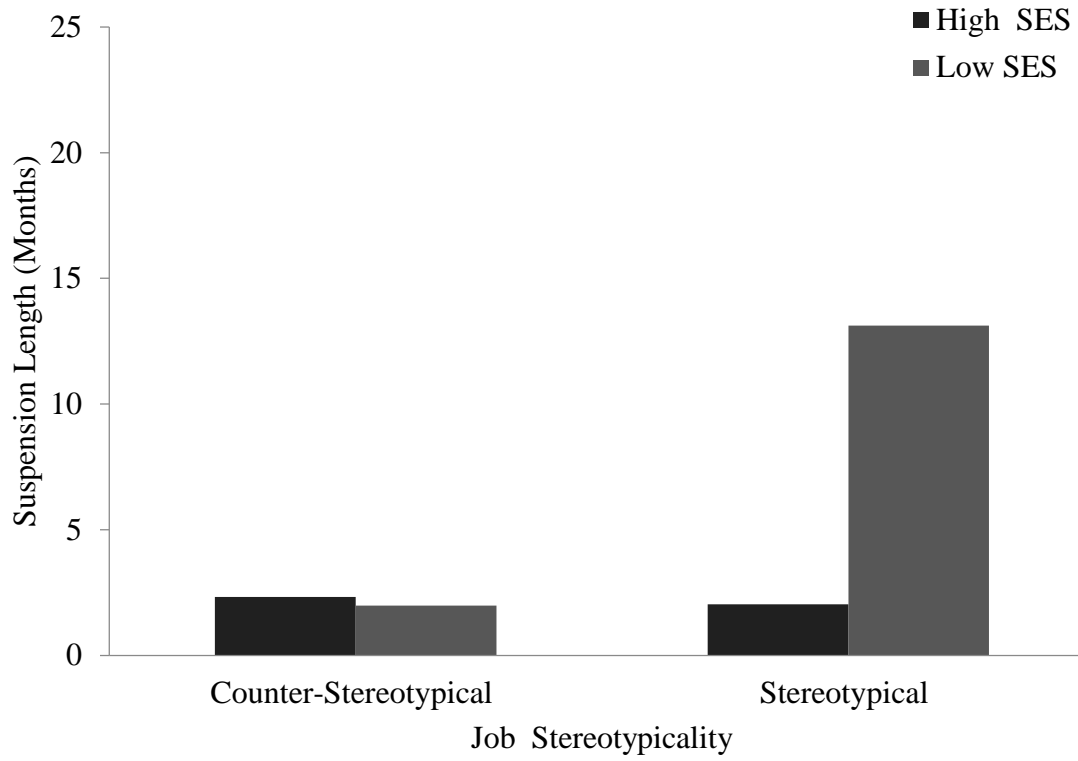


Figure 12. Study 2 Suspension Length of Policeman as a Function of SES and Job Stereotypicality of Plaintiff (Hispanic Participants)