# THE EFFECT OF STEREOTYPE THREAT IN POLICE ENCOUNTERS ON AFFECTIVE AND BEHAVIORAL OUTCOMES

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by

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#### **ABSTRACT**

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Black and Hispanic individuals experience disproportionate levels of police contact and it has been hypothesized that stereotype threat—the fear of confirming negative stereotypes about one's group—negatively influences police-minority interactions. It is well documented that experiencing stereotype threat has negative behavioral, affective, cognitive, and health consequences—possibly accounting for disparities in physical/mental health outcomes among racial/ethnic minorities. Thus, the broad aim of this study was to examine the role stereotype threat may play in racial/ethnic minority group interactions with police officers.

Using a sample of 142 male college students, the current study examined (a) whether the relation between stereotype threat induction in a legal context and aggressive behavior/negative affective states is mediated by cortisol and testosterone levels, (b) whether previously documented relations between stereotype threat induction and aggressive behavior/negative affective states is mediated by dysfunction in social cognition, and (c) whether race/ethnicity act as a moderator of the stereotype threat effect. Overall, results did not indicate significant relations among the variables of interest. However, a marginally significant moderation effect of race/ethnicity on the relation between stereotype threat and social cognition was found such that, in the stereotype threat induction group, BIPOC status was related to improved social cognition whereas no such relation was found in White participants.

The absence of support for hypotheses may be a result of the experimental design, such as small sample and group sizes, a college student sample, measurement issues, or lack of stereotype threat activation. These results may also be due to the possibility that stereotype threat is not as robust in legal encounters as it is in educational settings.

Regardless, these results provide important information for future studies.

KEY WORDS: Stereotype threat; Police encounters; Cortisol; Testosterone; Social cognition; Aggression; Affective states

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# **CHAPTER I**

## Introduction

Racial/ethnic disparities are evident in both physical and mental health as well as in the criminal justice system (August & Sorkin, 2010; Landrine & Klonoff, 1996; Thoits, 2010; Williams et al., 1997). First, in terms of physical health, Black Americans are at higher risk for early death (Mays, Cochran, & Barnes, 2007) and disease (August & Sorkin, 2010; S. K. Davis, Liu, & Gibbons, 2003; Mays et al., 2007; Mensah, Mokdad, Ford, Greenlund, & Croft, 2005). In terms of mental health, while minorities tend to report lower rates of mental disorders, there are subtle disparities (Asnaani, Richey, Dimaite, Hinton, & Hofmann, 2010; McGuire & Miranda, 2008), such that minorities tend to have more negative outcomes from psychological symptoms (Williams et al., 2007). Perceived racial or ethnic discrimination is receiving increased empirical attention as a class of stressors that could have negative consequences for health among Black and Hispanic individuals (Williams, Neighbors, & Jackson, 2003). For instance, studies have examined the relation between discrimination and daily moods among multi-ethnic U.S. adults (Broudy et al., 2007) and discrimination and conduct problems among adolescents (Brody et al., 2006). In addition, recent research has linked perceived discrimination to multiple forms of violence (Choi, Harachi, Gillmore, & Catalano, 2006). For the current study, the link between discrimination and health highlights the potential public health impact of examining minorities' biological reactions to a hypothetical police encounter.

Second, racial/ethnic disparities have been documented in police contact and involvement in the criminal justice system. It is well documented that racial and ethnic minorities are overrepresented in criminal justice settings and experience increased police

contact (Crutchfield, Skinner, Haggerty, McGlynn, & Catalano, 2012; McNulty & Bellair, 2003; Rattan, Levine, Dweck, & Eberhardt, 2012; Weitzer & Tuch, 2004), particularly adverse police contact (Brunson, 2007; Rosenbaum, Schuck, Costello, Hawkins, & Ring, 2005) supporting minorities' beliefs that officers engage in racial profiling, discrimination, and bias (Kahn, Lee, Renauer, Henning, & Stewart, 2017). For instance, using data from pedestrian stops, researchers found Black and Hispanic individuals were disproportionately stopped, after controlling for precinct variability and race-specific estimates of crime (Gelman, Fagan, & Kiss, 2007). Research on arrest decision-making has found that race has a direct impact on decisions to arrest, with Black and non-White suspects arrested more often (Kochel et al., 2011; Smith, Visher, & Davidson, 1984). Using data from police-citizen interaction cases, Avdija (2014) found that Black suspects were 1.68 times and Hispanic suspects were 1.73 times more likely to be frisked by the police compared with White suspects. In addition, research has found that police stops and search decisions in general suffer from racial bias, such that Black drivers were less likely to be stopped after sunset, when a 'veil of darkness' masks race and that police use a lower evidentiary bar when making search decisions regarding black and Hispanic drivers compared to white drivers (Pierson et al., 2020). Relatedly, minorities and males have more negative attitudes toward police compared to Whites and females (Engel, 2003).

In efforts to explain police-minority interactions, it has been hypothesized that social identity threats, the feeling that you will be treated differently based on your social identity (e.g., race) may negatively influence these interactions (Kahn et al., 2017; Najdowski, Bottoms, & Goff, 2015; Richardson, 2015) and bring about deleterious

mental health outcomes. Empirical evidence suggests that negative health outcomes (e.g., psychological distress, aggression, increased blood pressure, and the common cold) for racial/ethnic minorities may result from intrapersonal experiences of stereotype threat, a subset of social identity threat (Blascovich, Spencer, Quinn, & Steele, 2001; Inzlicht & Kang, 2010). Stereotype threat, operationalized as the fear of confirming negative stereotypes about one's own group, has negative effects on cognitive function (Beilock, Rydell, & McConnell, 2007; Blascovich et al., 2001) and mental health, such as anxiety (Bosson, Haymovitz, & Pinel, 2004) and aggression (Inzlicht & Kang, 2010). For example, Inzlicht and Kang (2010) found that participants in a stereotype threat condition were significantly more aggressive following the procedure. Research has also demonstrated physiological markers of anxiety following stereotype threat, such as increased blood pressure and non-verbal behaviors (e.g., fidgeting), as well as heightened activation in the ventral anterior cingulate cortex (vACC), a region implicated in social and emotional information processing (such as social cognition; Apps, Rushworth, & Chang, 2016) that plays a central role in processing negative social information (Krendl, Richeson, Kelley, & Heatherton, 2008). Krendl et al. (2008) theorized that stereotype threat may direct an individual's attention toward the negative social and emotional consequences of confirming negative stereotypes about their group, thereby increasing anxiety. However, no existing research measures psychophysiological responses to stereotype threat in police encounters, despite the high racial/ethnic discrepancies in this social sphere, and research has largely failed to address how stereotype threat in legal interactions relates to mental health (i.e., anxiety, depression, aggression) in minority individuals.

Only one study has examined how stereotypes that depict Black Americans as criminals affect the way participants experience encounters with police officers (Najdowski et al., 2015). Najdowski and colleagues (2015) proposed that during a police encounter, Black individuals might be concerned they will be judged and treated unfairly by police, in light of stereotypes regarding Black criminality. As Najdowski and colleagues (2015) describe, this reaction may have ironic effects on behavior which may inadvertently increase an individual's likelihood of confirming the stereotype (e.g., Steele & Aronson, 1995). In this study, researchers asked Black and White participants to report how they feel when interacting with police officers. As predicted, Black men, but not White men or women of any race, reported concern that police officers stereotype them as criminals due to their race. Next, they asked participants to imagine a vague police encounter and assessed the vignette's capacity to induce stereotype threat. Black men were significantly more likely than White men to report that the hypothetical police encounter induced stereotype threat. Finally, the authors documented racial differences in anticipated anxiety or the likelihood that they would feel anxiety when they encountered the police officer in the situation described. Overall, this study extended stereotype threat into the criminal justice domain and, critically, linked legal stereotype threat to mental health and anticipated behavior. The current study utilized Najdowski's paradigm while extending the study to not only measure anticipated anxiety but also behavioral and invivo affective consequences of stereotype threat. Further, the current study extended this paradigm to also include Hispanic young adults and test mechanisms underlying the link between the stereotype threat and mental health.

Similar to Najdowski and colleagues (2015), the proposed study suggests stereotype threat plays a role in racial/ethnic minorities' interactions with police officers. To illustrate this point, imagine the following scenario: a Black or Hispanic young adult male is walking down the street at 10:00 pm carrying a backpack filled with items from class. As he is walking, a police officer steps out of a corner convenience store, some ways in front of him. When the officer notices the young male, he stops and stands there, obviously watching as the young male approaches. This scenario was used by Najdowski et al. (2015) to induce stereotype threat. Given a history of discrimination, and consistent with the study's findings, a Black male is more likely to notice the police officer and may think that the officer is suspicious of him. In the current study, we empirically tested the downstream effects of this stereotype threat induction. Physiologically, upon stereotype threat activation, the young male may experience an increase in cortisol and/or social cognitive impairments that lead to feelings of anxiety. Repeated experiences like this could lead to dysregulation in the hypothalamic-pituitary-adrenal (HPA) axis (Miller, Chen, & Zhou, 2007), with consequences for mental and physical health (Faravelli et al., 2012; Gold et al., 2005; Keller, McCluskey, Morgan, & O'connor, 2006; Xiong & Zhang, 2013). However, a different outcome is possible. Perhaps the young male experiences an increase in a testosterone/cortisol ratio and/or impairment in social cognition (e.g., misinterpret the officer's face as aggressive) that lead to aggressive behavior. The aim of this study was to test mechanisms (i.e., neurobiology and social cognition) linking stereotype threat to subsequent mental health outcomes. Examining the mental health outcomes (i.e., negative affective states and aggression) as well as neurobiological and social cognitive processes at play in stereotype threat are high impact contributions;

findings would not only indicate that stereotype threat in legal settings may confer risk for more negative police-minority encounters but may deleteriously impact health in Hispanic and Black young adults.

Two theories suggest relations between confrontation with the threat and subsequent behavior (i.e., aggression) and affective states (i.e., anxiety and depression). First, the integrated process model of stereotype threat indicates that stereotype threat acts as an acute stressor that increases a physiological stress response, producing negative thoughts and feelings (Schmader, Johns, & Forbes, 2008). This model suggests that stereotype threat leads to impairment in prefrontal processing caused by activation of the HPA axis. Indeed, studies using physiological measures of stress-based arousal have supported a link between stereotype threat and physiological stress response (Schmader et al., 2008). Further, an increase in cortisol, a catabolic hormone that rises in response to psychological stressors (Dickerson & Kemeny, 2004; Lovallo & Thomas, 2000), has been linked to social identity threat (such as a suggestion that students at their university are less competent; Matheson & Cole, 2004). As stereotype threat is a form of social identity threat and a psychological stressor, it stands to reason that stereotype threat will increase levels of cortisol as well. While the current study will be the first to link increased cortisol to stereotype threat (Schmader et al., 2008), broader research indicates that physiological responses to stress negatively impact almost all of the body's processes and increase the risk for health problems (Djuric et al., 2008) and negative affective states, such as anxiety (Faravelli et al., 2012). Additionally, testosterone has been implicated in the effect of stereotype threat (Josephs, Newman, Brown, & Beer, 2003) as well as in aggressive behavior (Lansford, Malone, Dodge, Pettit, & Bates, 2010;

Montoya, Terburg, Bos, & van Honk, 2012; Terburg, Morgan, & van Honk, 2009). In particular, the dual-hormone hypothesis posits that the effect of testosterone on social behavior is moderated by cortisol, such that a high testosterone to cortisol ratio predicts social aggression (Terburg et al., 2009). This research underlies the first research aim: to examine whether the previously documented relation between stereotype threat and negative affective states is mediated by cortisol levels and if the relation between stereotype threat and aggression is mediated by the testosterone to cortisol ratio.

Second, the Social Information Processing (SIP) model and related studies (Dodge & Crick, 1990; Lansford et al., 2010) describe aggression and negative affective states as resulting from negative biases in the processing of social stimuli. This model describes the phases that an individual undergoes when interacting in social situations, such as perceiving and interpreting social cues, selecting a target outcome, and reacting with an appropriate response (Crick & Dodge, 1994). The model suggests that a deficit at any one of these phases could lead to an increased risk of aggressive behavior (Crick & Dodge, 1994). Although a majority of SIP research has been conducted with children and adolescents a significant amount of research has found similar processes in adults (Coccaro, Fanning, & Lee, 2017). For instance, studies have found that aggressive adults exhibit cognitive and emotional biases (Eckhardt & Cohen, 1997; Epps & Kendall, 1995). Similarly, studies in adults have shown that aggressive individuals show attentional bias toward aggression-themed words (Eckhardt & Cohen, 1997; Smith & Waterman, 2003) and tend to expect aggressive outcomes to ambiguous social interactions and tend to interpret others' ambiguous or neutral behavior as aggressive (Dill, Anderson, Anderson, & Deuser, 1997). SIP models have also been proposed as

being relevant for the understanding of negative affectivity, such as anxiety (Suarez & Bell-Dolan, 2001) and depression (Garber, Keiley, & Martin, 2002). Likewise, expansive literatures link impaired social cognition to increased behavioral and emotional maladjustment (Fonagy, Gergely, & Jurist, 2004). Thus, aggression and negative affective states (i.e., anxiety and depression) may result from anomalous social cognition, such as misinterpretations of others' intentions. Therefore, the current study examined whether dysfunction in social cognition— the cognitive processes of understanding, comprehending, explaining, predicting, and communicating behavior in terms of underlying mental states and emotions (Bateman & Fonagy, 2010)—drives this effect. In other words, the current study examined whether dysfunction in social cognition mediates the relation of stereotype threat (a stressful social situation) with negative affective states (i.e., anxiety and depression) and state aggression.

Together, the aims of this study represent several novel contributions. First, this study was first to test social cognition specifically as a cognitive domain that is negatively impacted by stereotype threat with downstream effects on mental health symptoms. This is particularly important given the expansive literature linking social cognitive deficits to a range of pathology and impaired psychosocial functioning. Second, few studies have examined the neurobiological effects of stereotype threat, and to date, no studies have examined whether the links between stereotype threat and behavior and affective states are mediated by physiology. Further, at present, the bulk of the literature is focused on stereotypes of Black Americans in educational or health care settings with relatively little attention to Hispanic individuals, or with any race in criminal justice settings. As it is well documented that racial and ethnic groups experience

disproportionate rates of police contact and racial bias within the justice system, it is important to examine how stereotype threat in this context may confer risk for psychopathology and behavioral outcomes. No study has explored the effect of stereotype threat in such a police encounter on cortisol, testosterone, social cognition, and psychopathology in racial/ethnic minority young adults. Therefore, there remains a critical need to examine the effect of stereotype threat on physiology and to uncover how stereotype threat in a legal context impacts mental health in minority young adults. By examining the impact of stereotype threat on neurobiological mechanisms (e.g., cortisol and testosterone), cognitive mechanisms (e.g., social cognition), behavior (e.g., aggression), and negative trait states via self-report (e.g., anxiety and depression), this innovative project was the first to examine the mechanisms associated with stereotype threat in a legal setting and how it may confer risk for mental health.

Overall, the results of this study have broad implications for mental health as well as future development of interventions. First, numerous psychiatric disorders can be linked to dysregulation in the HPA axis (Keller et al., 2006). Because experiences with stereotype threat may disrupt the HPA axis as evidenced by abnormal cortisol levels, this study may help elucidate an etiology of mental health disorders (i.e., anxiety disorders) for racial/ethnic minority young adults who face this unique stressor. Additionally, numerous health consequences are associated with dysregulation of the HPA axis and abnormal cortisol levels (Keller et al., 2006; Xiong & Zhang, 2013). By understanding the process by which stereotypes affect behavior, we are better equipped to alter those processes through interventions. For example, social cognitive interventions that help individuals reappraise stereotype threat inductions while also normalizing and validating

their experiences may decrease the likelihood of impaired social cognition. Further, interventions (e.g., community policing programs that emphasize building trust and relationships with members of the public) may be developed to attenuate Black and Hispanic young adults' experience of stereotype threat in police encounters. Additionally, this research may also help understand the social psychological processes that contribute to biases in the judicial system, an important step in improving racial equality.

Specifically, innocent Black and Hispanic individuals may be targeted by police because of stereotype-threat-induced behavior and thus are at risk for miscarriages of justice (Davis & Leo, 2013; Norris & Bonventre, 2015).

Taken together, the broad aim of this study was to empirically test the downstream effects of stereotype threat induction (based on Najdowski et al., 2015). This study sought to test the mechanisms (i.e., neurobiology and social cognition) linking stereotype threat to subsequent mental health outcomes. First, this study sought to examine whether the previously documented relation between stereotype threat and aggression/negative affective states is mediated by cortisol and testosterone levels.

Second, this study sought to examine whether dysfunction in social cognition mediates the relation between stereotype threat and negative affective states and state aggression. It was hypothesized that stereotype threat would have a direct effect on aggression and affect such that those who have experienced stereotype threat would show an increase in aggression and an increase in negative affectivity (higher anxiety, depression). It was further hypothesized that social cognition and cortisol/testosterone would mediate this relation; such that dysfunction in social cognition would mediate the relation with both aggression and affect; high testosterone to cortisol ratio would mediate the relation with

aggression; and increased cortisol would mediate the relation with negative affectivity. It was also hypothesized that the relation between stereotype threat and social cognition/hormones would be moderated by race/ethnicity, such that the effects would only occur for Hispanic and Black participants. Finally, it was hypothesized that the entire mediation would be moderated by race/ethnicity such that the model would only occur for Hispanic and Black participants.

### **CHAPTER II**

## Method

## **Participants**

The inclusion criteria for participation in this study were males ages 18 to 26 years old who speak English and identify as either White, Black, or Hispanic. Participants were recruited via the Psychology Experimental Research Participation (PeRP) system at SHSU and through Criminal Justice and Psychology courses. Compensation was research credits in accordance with the amount of time spent completing the study, required by students enrolled in Psychology classes, or extra credit per specific courses. Participants were randomly assigned to the control or experimental condition through simple randomization. Specifically, participant identification numbers were randomly assigned to the two conditions prior the enrollment of participants using computer-generated random numbers.

In total, participants included 142 male college students, ages 18 to 26 with an average age of 19.71 (SD = 1.92). Using participants' self-perceived race, the racial/ethnic breakdown was as follows: 56 White, 33 Black, 48 Hispanic, and 5 "mixed race" young adults. However, using participants' "street race," the racial/ethnic breakdown was as follows: 65 White, 35 Black, 41 Hispanic, and 2 "mixed race" young adults. In terms of education, 38.5% of the participants had graduated high school, 18.9% had completed one year of college, 19.6% had completed two years of college, and 23.1% had completed three years of college. The breakdown of total combined family income for the past 12 months was as follows: 16.8% reported less than \$25,000, 14.7% reported \$25,000-\$50,000, 10.5% reported \$50,000-\$75,000, 9.1% reported \$75,000-

\$100,000, 12.6% reported \$100,000-\$150,000, 11.2% reported greater than \$150,000, 22.4% reported they did not know, and 2.1% declined to respond. In terms of types of communities in which the participants resided for a majority of their life, 16.1% stated "a large city," 38.5% stated "a suburb near a large city," 33.6% stated "a small city or town," 11.2% stated "a rural area."

The experimental condition consisted of 73 participants with an average age of 19.56 (SD = 1.68), and the "street race" racial/ethnic breakdown was as follows: 37 White, 16 Black, and 20 Hispanic young adults. In terms of education, 35.6% of the participants had graduated high school, 21.9% had completed one year of college, 24.7% had completed two years of college, and 17.8% had completed three years of college. The breakdown of total combined family income for the past 12 months was as follows: 17.8% reported less than \$25,000, 15.1% reported \$25,000-\$50,000, 8.2% reported \$50,000-\$75,000, 9.6% reported \$75,000-\$100,000, 11.0% reported \$100,000-\$150,000, 12.3% reported greater than \$150,000, 23.3% reported they did not know, and 2.7% declined to respond. In terms of types of communities in which the participants resided for a majority of their life, 9.6% stated "a large city," 43.8% stated "a suburb near a large city," 32.9% stated "a small city or town," 13.7% stated "a rural area."

The control condition consisted of 70 participants with an average age of 19.86 (SD = 2.13), and the "street race" racial/ethnic breakdown was as follows: 28 White, 19 Black, 21 Hispanic, and 2 "mixed race" young adults. In terms of education, 41.4% of the participants had graduated high school, 15.7% had completed one year of college, 14.3% had completed two years of college, and 28.6% had completed three years of college. The breakdown of total combined family income for the past 12 months was as follows:

15.7% reported less than \$25,000, 14.3% reported \$25,000-\$50,000, 12.9% reported \$50,000-\$75,000, 8.6% reported \$75,000-\$100,000, 14.3% reported \$100,000-\$150,000, 10.0% reported greater than \$150,000, 21.4% reported they did not know, and 1.4% declined to respond. In terms of types of communities in which the participants resided for a majority of their life, 22.9% stated "a large city," 32.9% stated "a suburb near a large city," 34.3% stated "a small city or town," 8.6% stated "a rural area."

Due to small sample sizes across racial/ethnic groups, the "street race" groups were dichotomized into White and BIPOC (Black, Indigenous and People of Color). As such, the experimental group condition had 37 White students and 36 BIPOC students. The control group had 28 White students and 42 BIPOC students.

## **Materials**

# **Demographics**

Descriptive characteristics of the participants were collected, including age, birth date, ethnic/racial background, socioeconomic status, and types of communities in which the participant has lived. In particular, participants were asked to identify their (1) "street race," or how they believe other "Americans" perceive their race at the level of the street; (2) socially assigned race, which refers to how they believe others usually classify their race in the United States; and (3) self-perceived race, or how they usually self-classify their race on questionnaires (López, Vargas, Juarez, Cacari-Stone, & Bettez, 2018). In fact, "street race" has been found to be associated with mental health, and as the current study examines mental health in the context of perceptions (i.e., stereotype threat), asking participants for their "street race" is important (López et al., 2018). Further, street race

has been described as a promising multidimensional measure of race for exploring inequality (López et al., 2018). See Appendix A.

## Aggression

Aggression was assessed in several ways, including both state and trait aggression.

**State Aggression**. State aggression was assessed using the Point-Subtraction-Aggression-Paradigm (PSAP) and handgrip strength.

**Point-Subtraction-Aggression-Paradigm (PSAP).** The PSAP was designed by Cherek (1981) and is guised as an online computer game that participants play against a fictitious opponent. Participants are told that the goal of the game is to earn as many points as possible (Cherek, Moeller, Schnapp, & Dougherty, 1997; Geniole, MacDonell, & McCormick, 2017). The current study used the task developed by Geniole, Busseri, and McCormick (2013). Participants were told that they are paired with an opponent of the same sex and that the goal of the game is to earn points; the participant presses a button 100 consecutive times to earn a point. During the game, participants were provoked by the fictitious player (i.e., the participant's points are stolen), which was indicated to the participant by the point counter increasing in size, flashing several times in red font, and decreasing by a point. Participants could continue to earn points and ignore the opponent, or they could make one of two other button presses: the first of which protects their points for a variable period of 0.5 to 45 seconds; the second of which steals a point from the opponent. Participants were told that they do not keep stolen points, and thus there is no incentive to retaliate. After a one-minute practice round, participants completed one 10-minute round. Participants were automatically provoked

randomly (once every 6–60 seconds). The extent to which each participant was provoked also depended, in part, on the button presses made by the participant throughout the task; some button presses led to provocation-free time intervals (e.g., protect presses). The percentage of steals across the two rounds was used for statistical analyses as a measure of state aggression. Reliability and validity for this measure have been previously established (Geniole et al., 2013, 2017). Outliers were removed from analyses.

Handgrip Strength (HGS). Measurement of handgrip strength was conducted according to standard procedures recommended by the American Society of Hand Therapists (ASHT; Fess, 1992) and prior research (Gasior et al., 2018). The participants sat upright on a height-adjustable chair with their feet supported. The tested arm was positioned on a table with the shoulders slightly abducted ( $\sim 10^{\circ}$ ) and neutrally rotated, the elbow in 90° of flexion, the forearm in 0° between pronation and supination, and the wrist in neutral resting position. The participants were instructed to maintain that position during the test. The HGS of both hands was measured using the Jamar® Plus+ Digital Hand Dynamometer (Patterson Medical, Warrenville, IL, USA). The Jamar included five different handle positions: I - 3.5 cm; II - 4.8 cm; III - 6.1 cm; IV - 7.3 cm; and V - 8.6cm. Prior research has recommended handle position 2 as the standard position for measuring grip strength with the Jamar Plus+ hand dynamometer (Trampisch et al., 2012), and therefore, this position was used for all participants. The test always started with the dominant hand. A timed rest break of 30 seconds was given between each trial. Before each test, the verbal direction was given as follows: This task will measure your grip strength; please squeeze as hard as you can until I tell you to stop. Then the participants were asked to squeeze continuously for 2–3 seconds. The display of the

dynamometer was pointed toward the examiner, providing a measurement blinded to the participants. Handgrip strength was measured as the maximum voluntary contraction (kilo-grams) sustained for at least 3 seconds. Handgrip strength was measured prior to the stereotype threat procedure as well as following the stereotype threat procedure in accordance with the procedures outlined below.

**Trait Aggression**. Trait aggression was measured using the Brief Aggression Questionnaire (Webster et al., 2014).

The Brief Aggression Questionnaire. This 12-item measures asks participants to rate statements on a scale from 1 (extremely uncharacteristic of me) to 5 (extremely characteristic of me). Initial studies of this measure indicate adequate internal consistency (.80) and test-retest reliability over a 12-week interval (.66; Webster et al., 2015). Internal consistency in the current study was found to be acceptable ( $\alpha = .76$ ). See Appendix B.

# Social Cognition

Social cognition was assessed using a version of the Morphed Emotional Faces procedure (Heuer, Lange, Isaac, Rinck, & Becker, 2010; Joormann & Gotlib, 2006; Niedenthal, Halberstadt, Margolin, & Innes-Ker, 2000) developed by Heuer et al. (2010). Color pictures of 16 individuals (8 female, 8 male) were used to produce four movies of each individual, depicting a transformation ("morphing") from neutral expression to one of four emotions (i.e., angry, happy, disgust, surprise). The faces were selected from the IASLab Face Set, which contains diversity in the pictures. Each individual appeared four times, changing in expression from neutral to either angry, happy, disgust, or surprise. The software MorphX (http://www.norkross.com) was used to produce the movies. Thus,

64 100-second movies resulted, which always started with a neutral expression of an individual actor and gradually (1%-steps) changed into one of the expressions.

Participants were informed that a total of 64 short movies will be presented to them on a computer screen in random order, each starting with a neutral expression, gradually changing into an emotional expression. The participants were tasked with detecting the developing emotion as soon as possible (reaction time was recorded in milliseconds and then converted to seconds). They were instructed to stop the movie by pressing a marked number on the keyboard (1 = angry, 2 = contempt, 3 = disgust, 4 =happy, 5 = surprise). Contempt was chosen as an additional response category based on previous research (Heuer, Lange, Isaac, Rinck, & Becker, 2010) and to increase the probability of misinterpretations. After the key press, the next movie started. The order of the videos was randomized for all participants. The sequence of a trial was as follows: a black screen with a fixation cross appeared for 50 milliseconds before the movie started. When a key was pressed, reaction time and the key choice was recorded. The participants then saw a black screen with a fixation cross and the next video started. E-Prime software was used to present this task. Emotional accuracy was calculated as the ratio of accurate emotions to total videos; and emotional reaction time was recorded in milliseconds (and converted to seconds). Emotional reaction time scores were log-transformed to adjust for skewness.

## Affective States

Affective state was assessed using the State-Trait Personality Inventory (STPI), an 80-item questionnaire that assesses both trait and state anxiety, depression, anger, and curiosity (Jacobs, Latham, & Brown, 1988; Spielberger, Gorsuch, & Lushene, 1970). The

STPI includes 10 items for assessing each trait anxiety, depression, anger, and curiosity (e.g., "I am quick tempered;" "I feel gloomy") and 10 items for assessing each state anxiety, depression, anger, and curiosity (e.g., "I am jittery;" "I feel curious"). All items are rated on a 4-point scale (e.g., "Not at all" to "Very much so"). Reliability and validity for this measure have been previously established (Jacobs et al., 1988; Van Wijk, 2014). Trait affect was examined as a covariate and state affect (specifically, state anxiety, depression, and anger) were used as outcome variables. Internal consistency in the current study was found to be acceptable: state anger,  $\alpha = .92$ ; state anxiety,  $\alpha = .88$ ; state curiosity,  $\alpha = .72$ ; state depression,  $\alpha = .78$ ; trait anger,  $\alpha = .84$ ; trait anxiety,  $\alpha = .87$ ; trait curiosity,  $\alpha = .76$ ; and trait depression,  $\alpha = .90$ .

# Personality

Participants were administered The Big Five Inventory (BFI), a 44-item self-report inventory designed to measure an individual on the Big Five Factors (dimensions) of personality (Goldberg, 1993): extraversion, agreeableness, conscientiousness, neuroticism, and openness. Items are rated on a 5-point scale from 1 (disagree strongly) to 5 (agree strongly). Test-retest reliability for the BFI subscales has been found to average .84 (Rammstedt & John, 2007). Further, internal consistency has been found to be acceptable: extraversion,  $\alpha = .88$ ; agreeableness,  $\alpha = .79$ ; conscientiousness,  $\alpha = .82$ ; neuroticism,  $\alpha = .84$ ; and openness,  $\alpha = .81$  (Benet-Martínez & John, 1998). See Appendix C. Similarly, internal consistency in the current study was found to be acceptable: extraversion,  $\alpha = .87$ ; agreeableness,  $\alpha = .67$ ; conscientiousness,  $\alpha = .73$ ; neuroticism,  $\alpha = .77$ ; and openness,  $\alpha = .71$ .

# History of Discrimination

Previous experiences with discrimination were measured using the Perceived Ethnic Discrimination Questionnaire (PEDQ; Contrada et al., 2001). The PEDQ is a 22-item instrument designed to measure ethnicity-related stress by measuring the frequency of various acts of ethnic discrimination in all ethnicities. This seven-point rating scale (ranging from "never" to "very often") asks participants to indicate how often they have ever had these experiences over the past three months. The complete brief PEDQ contains a total score, as well as additional subscales: 1) disvaluation, 2) threat/aggression, 3) verbal rejection, and 4) avoidance. Five items were intended to measure exclusion and denial of equal treatment (items 7, 8, 9, 10, 11), but they did not factor well in the initial study (Contrada et al., 2001) and therefore are not included in scoring. Higher scores indicate more experiences of ethnic discrimination/racism. See Appendix D. Internal consistency was been found to be adequate in the current study: total score,  $\alpha = .93$ ; verbal rejection,  $\alpha = .79$ ; disvaluation,  $\alpha = .91$ ; avoidance,  $\alpha = .76$ ; and threat/aggression,  $\alpha = .91$ .

# History of Stereotype Concern

Previous experiences of stereotype threat or concern regarding confirming stereotypes about their ethnic group were measured using the Stereotype Confirmation Concern Scale (SCCS). The SCCS (Contrada et al., 2001) is an 11-item measure of participants' fears that they are confirming a stereotype. Participants rate how frequently over the past 3 months they have been "concerned that by \_\_\_\_\_\_\_ you might appear to be confirming a stereotype." Items are rated on a 7-point Likert type scale of 1 (never) to 7 (always). Total scores range from 11 to 77 and higher scores represent greater concern.

The SCCS has demonstrated excellent internal consistency,  $\alpha = .91$  (Contrada et al., 2001). See Appendix E. In the current study, the SCCS demonstrated high internal consistency,  $\alpha = .93$ .

# History of Police Encounters and Legal Involvement

In order to assess participants previous contact with police officers and prior legal involvement, participants were asked whether they have been arrested or convicted of a crime. They were also asked to describe any previous encounters with police officers as well as any previous encounters they may have heard from family, friends, or acquaintances. See Appendix F.

# Legal Legitimacy

The measure of legal legitimacy follows from measures used by Tyler (1997) and Tyler and Huo (2002) and evaluates individual's feelings of obligation to obey the rules and decisions associated with legal institutions and authorities (See Appendix G). Using a four-point Likert-type scale (Strongly disagree, Somewhat disagree, Somewhat agree, Strongly agree), participants indicated their agreement with 11 statements related to opinions of legal proceedings and agents (e.g., "I feel proud of the police" and "Court decisions here are almost always fair.") The mean of these items were used in the analysis with higher scores indicating higher levels of perceived legitimacy of the law. Previous psychometric analyses of this scale indicated adequate internal consistency,  $\alpha =$  .80 (Schubert et al., 2004). Reliability in the current study was adequate,  $\alpha =$  .88.

## Testosterone and Cortisol

Testosterone and cortisol were measured using saliva samples before and after the experimental and control induction task. Participants had been asked to not ingest anything other than water in the hour prior to testing. Testosterone and cortisol were calculated between 8 am and 6 pm. 50% of the participants provided the initial sample between 8 am and 12 pm; 33.8% provided the initial sample between 12 pm and 4 pm; and 16.2% provided the initial sample between 4 pm and 6 pm. The groups (experimental and control) did not differ on timing of saliva sample collection:  $\chi^2$  (2, N = 142) = 3.25, p = .20 Following standard procedure (Salimetrics, 2018), participants were asked to collect saliva in their mouths and then spit slowly into a cryotube (one vial of roughly 2.5 mL of saliva). Participants were provided with sugar-free gum in order to enhance saliva production. All samples were collected after 8:00 a.m. to control for changes due to diurnal rhythm, and the time of the collection was recorded. The saliva samples were placed on ice and refrigerated until transportation. They were kept at -80°F for storage.

Saliva samples were analyzed using commercially available testosterone and cortisol enzyme immunoassay kits (Salimetrics LLC—State College, PA). Each sample was assayed in duplicate, with the average being taken for analyses. Sensitivity of the cortisol kit is 0.003 to 3.0 µg/dL, with an average recovery for known cortisol concentrations of 100.8%. Sensitivity of the testosterone kit is 1 to 600 pg/mL, with an average recovery for known testosterone concentrations of 105.3%. Samples were reanalyzed if the measurement fell outside the range of the standard calibrator or outside the range of the curve. Additionally, the coefficient of variation (%CV) was calculated for each sample as the percent of the standard deviation of the replicate measurements

divided by their mean. Typically, for replicates, one might expect a %CV value to be less than 15. Thus, samples were re-analyzed if the %CV was greater than 15.

Baseline and post-stressor hormone scores were analyzed to determine their skewness. Baseline cortisol (skewness = 1.6) and follow-up cortisol (skewness = 1.84) were both slightly skewed. Baseline testosterone (skewness = 1.04) and follow-up testosterone (skewness = 1.09) were generally normally distributed. Two outliers were calculated and removed from subsequent analyses. As such, the skewness was more normally distributed: baseline cortisol (skewness = 1.6), follow-up cortisol (skewness = 1.04), baseline testosterone (skewness = 0.80) and follow-up testosterone (skewness = 1.09). Additionally, a ratio of testosterone to cortisol was calculated using the follow-up testosterone and cortisiol levels. However, this calculation produced a skewed variable (skewness = 3.26). As a result, the variable was transformed and skewness reduced (skewness = 0.39).

## Adverse Events

The Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACEs) Questionnaire (Felitti et al., 1998), a 10-item measure used to measure childhood trauma, was used as a measure of adverse events. The questionnaire assesses 10 types of childhood trauma: physical abuse, verbal abuse, sexual abuse, physical neglect, emotional neglect, a parent who's an alcoholic, a mother who's a victim of domestic violence, a family member in jail, a family member diagnosed with a mental illness, and the disappearance of a parent through divorce, death or abandonment. As exposure to repeated stressful events can lead to chronic HPA dysregulation and thus changes in coritosl (Kalmakis, Meyer, Chiodo, & Leung, 2015), it

was important to include a measure of adverse events to account for potential discrepencies in cortisol. Reliability in the current study was adeuqate,  $\alpha = .74$ .

## Procedure

First, an introduction to the purposes and procedures of the project was given including information concerning data use, storage, confidentiality, and the voluntary nature of study participation. Second, participants were given time to ask questions.

Contact information of the team was provided to participants if later questions arise.

Third, for those that chose to participate, a written consent form was reviewed and signed. Next, the participants were provided with an identification number that determined whether he was enrolled in the control or experimental condition as well as the order of tasks to be completed. Next, all participants provided a passive drool saliva sample (one vial of roughly 2.5 mL of saliva), lasting approximately 15 seconds in order to measure baseline cortisol/testosterone levels. Next, participants' handgrip strength was measured as the maximum voluntary contraction (kilo-grams) sustained for at least 3 seconds. Participants' dominant hand was measured first (three times) followed by their non-dominant hand. Next, the participants completed control measures (i.e., The Big Five Inventory, The Brief Aggression Questionnaire) using a Qualtrics survey.

The experiment then followed the procedures outlined by Najdowski et al. (2015). Specifically, participants completed demographic measures first because describing one's race/ethnicity was expected to prime participants' racial/ethnic identity, which facilitates the induction of stereotype threat in minority participants (Steele & Aronson, 1995). Next, participants completed the stereotype-induction (or control) task (randomized to condition). Those assigned to the experimental condition participated in active imagery

concerning hypothetical police encounter and were provided instructions as outlined by Najdowski et al. (2015). Specifically, participants were told to read a paragraph slowly and carefully and to imagine what it would be like if they were in the situation described (see Appendix H). Those assigned to the control condition participated in active imagery concerning a control scenario and were provided the same instructions as outlined by Najdowski et al. (2015) (see Appendix I).

Following the stereotype-induction task, a manipulation check was employed to examine whether the participants adequately understood the paragraph and to control for and/or exclude any participants who did not (see Appendix J). Participants were asked: "How would you feel? What would you be thinking? How would you react? What do you imagine the police officer would do next?" This task also helped assess stereotype threat activation. In fact, responses were considered to indicate stereotype threat activation if they mentioned a link between race and a stereotype type of criminality.

Next, participants completed a word-stem completion task to further assess stereotype activation, following Najdowski et al. (2015), Goff, Steele, and Davies (2008), and Steele and Aronson (1995). Eight stereotype-related words (i.e., criminal, guns, drugs, poor, gangs, ghetto, thugs, and violent) were used. For each of those words, two or three letter spaces were omitted so that the word stem could be completed with other, non-stereotype-related words (e.g., \_R\_\_INAL). These target word stems were intermixed randomly with 12 filler word stems that cannot be completed as words that would fit the stereotype (i.e., product, lunch, sheet, glove, blowing, sharing, reason, eraser, mover, funny, house, and stick). Participants were instructed to complete all 20-word stems with the first real words that came to their minds and to work quickly as they

completed this task. Stereotype activation was calculated as the ratio of target word stems the participant filled out in a stereotype-relevant manner (e.g., CRIMINAL as opposed to ORIGINAL) divided by the total number of target word stems the participant completed. Thus, higher scores on this measure reflect greater activation of the criminal stereotype.

Following the stereotype threat induction task, participants viewed a portion of a brief documentary about plants. This task was included to allow adequate time (i.e., 25 minutes) to pass between the stereotype threat induction (or control induction) and the collection of testosterone and cortisol so any changes in hormones could be detected. As changes in cortisol and testosterone are measurable in 20-30 minutes, passive drool saliva was collected for the second time after approximately 25 minutes (one vial of roughly 2.5 mL of saliva for both testosterone and cortisol). Participants then completed the socialcognition task, the aggression task, handgrip strength (for the second time), and selfreport measures of affective states in a randomized order on a computer using Qualtrics and E-Prime software. While completing those tasks, the participants were continuously reminded to "continue to imagine how you would feel in this situation as you complete this questionnaire," as was done in Najdowski et al. (2015). Next, participants completed self-report measures of previous experiences of discrimination, stereotype concern, legal encounters, legal legitimacy, attachment, and exposure to adverse events to consider as confounds. Finally, participants were debriefed regarding the deception in the study (i.e., the computer game), and participants were informed that they would be given their research participation credits.

# **Analytic Plan**

The plan of analysis was carried out in a series of linked steps. First, using SPSS, standardized scores were used to identify univariate outliers. Next, MANOVA and chi-square tests were conducted to test for group differences on key variables. Following this step, Pearson correlation coefficients were calculated to assess the association between possible control variables and key study variables. The purpose of this step was to ensure the necessity of subsequent multivariate analyses and the inclusion of control variables.

Next, to test the moderated-mediation hypotheses, structural equation models were analyzed using Mplus, version 8.1 (Muthén & Muthén, 2017). Full Information Maximum Likelihood (FIML) estimation was utilized to handle any missing values (Enders & Bandalos, 2001). FIML is a recommended approach to handling missing data as it uses the observed responses to supplement the loss of information due to missing responses (Enders, 2010). Four multiple indicator, multiple cause (MIMIC) models were tested examining affective states and aggression as outcome variables (see Figures 1, 2, 3, and 4; note, observed variables are in boxes and latent variables are in circles).

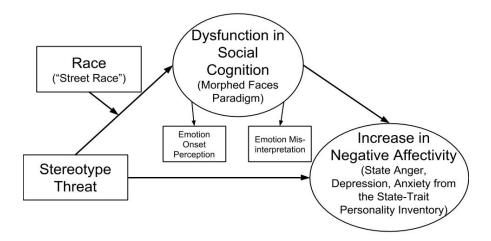


Figure 1

Hypothesized Model with Negative Affect as the Outcome and Social Cognition as a Mediator.

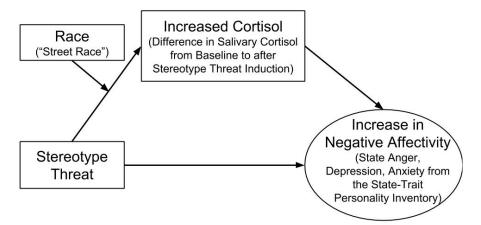


Figure 2

Hypothesized Model with Negative Affect as the Outcome and Cortisol as a Mediator

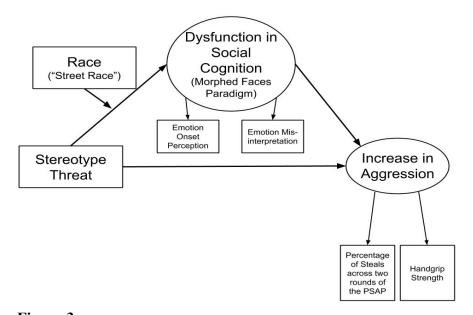
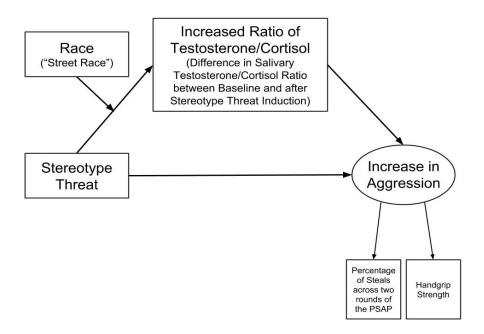


Figure 3

Hypothesized Model with Aggression as the Outcome and Social Cognition as a Mediator



**Figure 4**Hypothesized Model with Aggression as the Outcome and Cortisol as a Mediator

The MIMIC model is a special case of SEM and is used when factors with effect indicators are regressed on one or more dichotomous cause indictors that represent group membership condition, such as one coded 0 = control and 1 = stereotype threat (Kline, 2011). Product interaction terms between stereotype threat and race/ethnicity were created to test moderator effects, and mediation was tested via algorithms included in Mplus implementing the Sobel test with asymptotic bootstrapped confidence intervals to produce accurate standard errors for indirect effects (Shrout & Bolger, 2002). Model fit was assessed using the model  $\chi^2$ , root- mean-square error of approximation (RMSEA) and the comparative fit index (CFI). Based on previous research (Hu & Bentler, 1999), cut-off points for model fit criteria were CFI >.90 and RMSEA <.08.

Sample size estimates were based on a power analysis using Montecarlo simulation algorithms performed in Mplus (version 8.1) using parameter estimates provided by Wolf, Harrington, Clark, and Miller (2013) and effect sizes for direct and mediated effects from Balsamo et al. (2013), Heuer et al., (2010), and Marsh, et al. (2002). The simulations revealed that for a sample size of 300 with small to moderate effect sizes ( $\beta$  = .25) estimated for direct effects and a small effect size for the mediation pathway ( $\beta$  = .06) power was approximately .80. Including a medium-sized moderator effect of  $\beta$  = .25 yielded power exceeding .80, and a moderator effect of .80 produced power of approximately .80. These estimates are in line with currently published results (Najdowski et al., 2015). It should be noted that the current study was ultimately underpowered with a smaller sample size due to data collection constraints caused by the COVID-19 pandemic.

## **CHAPTER III**

## **Results**

# **Group Differences**

Means and standard deviations of variables of interest are presented in Table 1.

**Table 1** *Means, Standard Deviations, and Ranges of Study Variables* 

			Gro	up Membe	rship Condi	tion					
		Exper	imental			Co	ntrol		Total	Range	
•	White	Black	Hispanic	Total	White	Black	Hispanic	Total			
	19.65	19.62	19.35	19.56	19.54	19.76	20.40	19.86	19.71	10.26	
Age	(1.74)	(1.89)	(1.46)	(1.68)	(1.99)	(2.14)	(2.30)	(2.13)	(1.92)	18-26	
	0.25	0.26	0.23	0.25	0.19	0.19	0.11	0.16	0.21		
Word Stem	(0.18)	(0.22)	(0.18)	(0.19)	(0.18)	(0.14)	(0.11)	(0.15)	(0.18)	0-0.71	
	24.41	25.06	25.84	24.93	26.25	27.85	26.29	26.72	25.81	0.40	
Extraversion	(7.02)	(6.15)	(5.51)	(6.41)	(8.43)	(5.07)	(6.43)	(6.93)	(6.70)	9-40	
Agreeable-	33.46	34.69	34.35	33.97	33.39	35.48	33.62	34.09	34.03	21.45	
ness	(4.97)	(4.96)	(4.70)	(4.86)	(5.22)	(4.85)	(5.27)	(5.14)	(4.98)	21-45	
	23.27	19.00	21.84	21.94	20.93	20.19	20.52	20.59	21.27	0.24	
Neuroticism	(5.72)	(5.49)	(5.29)	(5.73)	(6.12)	(5.23)	(5.80)	(5.69)	(5.74)	9-34	
	36.03	37.69	36.45	36.51	35.85	39.76	37.95	37.68	37.08	21.40	
Openness	(5.88)	(5.67)	(5.30)	(5.64)	(5.68)	(4.01)	(4.47)	(5.06)	(5.38)	21-49	
Conscientious-	32.00	33.63	32.70	32.56	31.54	34.14	31.90	32.43	32.49	20.42	
ness	(5.20)	(4.72)	(5.69)	(5.21)	(4.62)	(4.80)	(5.36)	(4.97)	(5.07)	20-43	
D.4.0	2.78	2.55	2.95	2.78	2.77	2.93	2.82	2.83	2.80	1.25-	
BAQ	(0.54)	(0.73)	(0.64)	(0.62)	(0.65	(0.46)	(0.67)	(0.60)	(0.61)	4.50	

(continued)

	Group Membership Condition												
		Exper	imental			Con	ntrol		Total	Range			
	White	Black	Hispanic	Total	White	Black	Hispanic	Total					
Emotion-	0.56	0.61	0.60	0.58	0.57	0.46	0.56	0.54	0.56	0.11-			
Accuracy	(0.14)	(0.17)	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.16)	(0.20)	(0.19)	(0.18)	(0.17)	0.84			
Emotion-	40.00	44.50	40.44	10.05	40.00	24.66		20.50	44.50				
Response	42.83	44.50	43.44	43.36	42.00	34.66	41.43	39.70	41.53	4.48-			
Time (sec)	(14.64)	(14.49)	(15.06)	(14.52)	(17.57)	(21.46)	(15.88)	(18.33)	(16.58)	86.66			
PSAP Steals	7.56	7.15	6.76	7.25	6.14	8.42	7.65	7.23	7.61				
Percentage	(4.81)	(3.81)	(4.54)	(4.48)	(4.81)	(6.09)	(6.57)	(5.75)	(6.69)	0-25.76			
	79.54	92.30	70.30	79.81	85.07	82.46	87.20	84.96	82.31	42.08-			
HGS Baseline	(20.07)	(23.20)	(23.29)	(22.73)	(22.14)	(19.18)	(20.98)	(20.74)	(21.86)	147.15			
HGS Follow-	75.33	92.87	63.42	75.91	76.95	78.67	78.84	78.03	76.94	35.85-			
Up	(21.63)	(26.07)	(22.48)	(24.83)	(23.37)	(21.89)	(19.56)	(21.54)	(23.23)	150.83			
St. A. A.	11.70	12.75	11.45	11.86	16.46	15.11	14.05	15.36	13.53	10.26			
State Anger	(2.69)	(3.09)	(3.62)	(3.05)	(8.15)	(6.96)	(5.08)	(6.99)	(5.58)	10-36			
State	19.42	19.31	16.40	18.56	17.77	16.25	18.48	17.54	18.06	10.20			
Depression	(4.54)	(4.84)	(3.07)	(4.41)	(5.11)	(3.70)	(4.49)	(4.55)	(4.49)	10-29			
State Curiosity	28.09	25.67	26.30	27.06	26.36	25.95	26.62	26.32	26.69	10.40			
State Curiosity	(3.89)	(5.15)	(5.08)	(4.59)	(5.88)	(5.49)	(5.55)	(5.59)	(5.11)	18-40			
Stata American	21.32	23.06	17.70	20.71	19.96	17.00	21.00	19.46	20.11	10.22			
State Anxiety	(7.85)	(6.46)	(5.23)	(7.12)	(5.80)	(4.31)	(6.00)	(5.64)	(6.46)	10-32			
Tmit Amazar	17.74	15.38	18.15	17.32	19.71	17.38	18.33	18.60	17.96	10.22			
Trait Anger	(4.41)	(3.16)	(6.31)	(4.85)	(5.50)	(4.94)	(6.43)	(5.65)	(5.28)	10-32			

(continued)

	Group Membership Condition													
		Experi	imental			Cor	ntrol		Total	Range				
	White	Black	Hispanic	Total	White	Black	Hispanic	Total						
Trait	19.76	18.31	16.55	18.56	17.43	17.24	17.80	17.48	18.04	10.20				
Depression	(5.02)	(6.55)	(3.69)	(5.20)	(6.08)	(4.97)	(5.24)	(5.44)	(5.33)	10-38				
T	27.84	25.47	27.05	27.13	28.25	27.65	28.10	28.03	27.57	16.40				
Trait Curiosity	(4.73)	(5.05)	(3.75)	(4.58)	(5.05)	(3.80)	(4.66)	(4.54)	(4.57)	16-40				
	21.86	18.69	19.65	20.54	21.07	18.90	20.52	20.26	20.40	10.24				
Trait Anxiety	(5.53)	(5.96)	(6.12)	(5.87)	(6.20)	(5.46)	(6.47)	(6.05)	(5.94)	10-34				
	1.67	2.75	2.27	2.04	1.79	2.28	1.94	1.98	2.01	1.00-				
PEDQ Total	(0.78)	(1.21)	(0.95)	(1.00)	(0.58)	(1.34)	(0.74)	(0.91)	(0.96)	6.58				
Legal	2.73	2.27	2.75	2.64	2.85	2.23	2.58	2.60	2.62	1.00-				
Legitimacy	(0.57)	(0.52)	(0.64)	(0.61)	(0.59)	(0.66)	(0.57)	(0.64)	(0.62)	3.91				
Stereotype	1.80	2.75	2.53	2.18	1.88	2.46	2.13	2.13	2.16	1.00-				
Concern	(1.03)	(1.43)	(1.59)	(1.33)	(0.80)	(1.48)	(1.59)	(1.30)	(1.31)	6.27				
A CITIC TO A 1	1.73	1.29	1.79	1.66	1.74	1.70	1.95	1.79	1.72	0.000				
ACES Total	(2.14)	(1.82)	(2.04)	(2.04)	(1.91)	(1.78)	(2.33)	(1.99)	(2.01)	0-8.00				
Cortisol -	0.30	0.28	0.28	0.29	0.34	0.32	0.23	0.30	0.29	0.01-				
Baseline	(0.21)	(0.15)	(0.25)	(0.21)	(0.23)	(0.31)	(0.15)	(0.24)	(0.22)	1.13				
Cortisol –	0.21	0.20	0.16	0.19	0.24	0.21	0.15	0.21	0.20	0.02-				
Follow-up	(0.12)	(0.09)	(0.10)	(0.11)	(0.12)	(0.11)	(0.08)	(0.11)	(0.11)	0.58				
Testosterone -	163.99	173.91	154.94	163.69	157.02	175.85	148.11	159.77	161.78	55.52-				
Baseline	(61.68)	(75.61)	(77.77)	(68.80)	(67.18)	(51.12)	(54.07)	(59.19)	(64.11)	350.20				
Testosterone –	148.59	162.57	156.48	153.81	140.96	169.05	138.79	148.74	151.33	36.27-				
Follow-up	(61.07)	(86.92)	(67.97)	(68.49)	(56.04)	(80.26)	(50.29)	(63.32)	(65.83)	451.90				

Chi-square tests were conducted to compare the experimental and control group conditions on income, education, and types of communities in which they resided. The percentage of participants in each group did not differ by income,  $\chi^2$  (7, N=142) = 1.71, p=.97; education,  $\chi^2$  (3, N=143) = 4.80, p=.19; nor types of communities,  $\chi^2$  (3, N=142) = 5.89, p=.12. Regarding interactions with police, 8.6% of participants reported being arrested previously; 46.9% of participants reported having been approached or stopped by police in the last 12 months, 25.2% reported having been approached or stopped by police but not in the last 12 months, and 25.2% reported having never been stopped or approached by the police. These percentages did not differ by group condition: arrests,  $\chi^2$  (1, N=140) = 1.22, p=.27; approached by the police,  $\chi^2$  (1, N=139) = 0.42, p=.81.

A MANOVA was conducted in order to examine differences between the White participant group and BIPOC participant group on outcome measures and various potential control variables (i.e., age, baseline cortisol, follow-up cortisol, change in cortisol, baseline testosterone, follow-up testosterone, ratio of testosterone/cortisol, trait aggression, trait affective states, state affective states, PSAP aggression, emotion accuracy, emotion reaction time, personality factors, baseline handgrip strength, history of discrimination, history of stereotype concern, legal legitimacy). There was a statistically significant difference on these factors based upon race/ethnic group, F(29, 68) = 1.65, p = .05; Wilk's  $\Lambda = 0.59$ , partial  $\eta^2 = .41$ . Specifically, there were specific differences in follow-up cortisol, F(1, 96) = 6.37, p = .01; ratio of testosterone/cortisol, F(1, 96) = 7.52, p = .01; history of discrimination, F(1, 96) = 9.22, p = .003; legal legitimacy, F(1, 96) = 4.04, p = .05; and history of stereotype concern, F(1, 96) = 6.58, p = .05

= .01. Overall, BIPOC participants reported a greater history of discrimination, a greater history of stereotype concern, and lower views of legal legitimacy. BIPOC participants also showed a larger ratio of testosterone to cortisol as well as lower levels of cortisol at follow-up.

A MANOVA was conducted in order to examine differences between the experimental and control group conditions on outcome measures and various potential control variables (i.e., age, baseline cortisol, follow-up cortisol, change in cortisol, baseline testosterone, follow-up testosterone, ratio of testosterone/cortisol, trait aggression, trait affective states, state affective states, PSAP aggression, emotion accuracy, emotion reaction time, personality factors, baseline handgrip strength, history of discrimination, history of stereotype concern, legal legitimacy). There were no statistically significant differences on these factors based upon group condition, F(29, 68) = 1.41, p = .13; Wilk's  $\Lambda = 0.63$ , partial  $\eta^2 = .38$ .

## **Stereotype Threat Activation**

A t-test was conducted to determine whether the two group conditions differed with regard to word stem completion. The experimental group condition (M = 0.25, SD = 0.19) compared to the control group condition (M = 0.16, SD = 0.15) demonstrated significantly higher scores on the word stem completion, t(136.07) = 2.1, p = .004, indicating the experimental group showed greater activation of the criminal stereotype.

In response to questions of "How would you feel? What would you be thinking? How would you react?" following the stereotype activation vignette, only two participants in the experimental group condition made spontaneous references to either

the stereotype of criminality or concern about being perceived as a criminal because of a stereotype about a group to which they belonged.

# **Analysis of Potential Control Variables**

Next, Pearson correlation coefficients were calculated (see Table 2).

Table 2Correlations Between Key Study Variables

Manage		2	2	4	-		7	0	0	10	11	12	12	14	15	16	17	10	10	20	21	22	22	24	25	26	27	20
Measure	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
1. Age	_																											
2. Extra- version	0.01	-																										
3. Agreeabl e-ness	0.13	0.11	-																									
4. Neurotic- ism	-0.05	-0.38 **	-0.24 **	_																								
5. Open- ness	0.04	0.30	0.13	-0.12	-																							
6. Conscien -tiousness	0.06	0.14	0.14	-0.31 **	0.11	_																						
7.BAQ	-0.09	0.07	-0.44 **	0.36**	-0.06	-0.16	_																					
8. Emotion- Accuracy	0.11	-0.08	-0.04	0.02 2	-0.17 *	0.03	-0.15	-																				
9. Emotion- Response Time (sec)	0.18*	-0.13	0.02	-0.13	-0.15	0.10	-0.21 *	0.82	-																			
10. PSAP Steals	0.03	-0.02	.010	0.11	0.10	-0.12	0.02	-0.12	-0.19 *	_																		
11.HGS Baseline	0.20	0.10	0.02	-0.21 *	0.01	0.12	-0.10	0.07	0.05	-0.09	-																	
12.HGS Follow- Up	0.19	0.09	0.05	-0.22 **	-0.01	0.16	-0.09	0.13	0.09	-0.07	0.92	-																
13. State Anger	-0.07	-0.10	-0.04	0.24	0.07	-0.17	0.21	-0.16	-0.16	0.10	-0.08	-0.15	_															
14. State Depressi on	-0.04	-0.30 **	-0.14	0.42	-0.10	-0.34 **	0.17	-0.03	-0.10	0.03	-0.08	-0.07	0.49	_														
15. State Curiosity	-0.02	0.10	0.05	-0.20 *	0.15	0.05	-0.24 **	0.11	0.08	0.12	0.06	0.08	-0.34 **	-0.29 **	_													

(continued)

Measure	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
16. State Anxiety	0.08	-0.25	0.08	0.39	0.11	-0.18 *	0.03	-0.04	-0.11	0.26	-0.03	-0.05	0.45	0.61	-0.06	_												
17. Trait Anger	-0.08	-0.10	-0.36	0.47	0.00	-0.16	0.67	-0.08	-0.17	0.02	-0.15	-0.19 *	0.45	0.29	-0.21	0.22	_											
18. Trait Depressi on	-0.13	-0.38	-0.21 *	0.61	-0.19 *	-0.28 **	031	0.06	-0.02	0.02	-0.06	-0.06	0.26	0.66	-0.13	033	0.42	-										
19. Trait Curiosity	0.08	0.44	0.18*	-0.21 *	0.48	0.11	-0.17 *	0.06	0.06	-0.01	0.08	0.09	-0.11	-0.32	0.48	-0.05	-0.19 *	-0.41 **	-									
20. Trait Anxiety	-0.15	-0.41 **	-0.18 *	0.69	-0.11	-0.39 **	0.23	0.01	-0.07	0.08	-0.18 *	-0.18 *	031	0.55	-0.15	0.42	0.48	0.81	-0.31	_								
21. PEDQ Total	-0.03	0.17	-0.02	-0.02	0.19*	0.13	0.21*	-0.09	-0.12	0.09	0.04	0.05	0.09	0.03	-0.04	0.12	0.23	0.04	0.03	0.08	-							
22. Legal Legiti- macy	-0.03	-0.02	0.01	-0.17	-0.18 *	0.11	-0.08	0.12	0.16	-0.19 *	0.08	0.12	-0.20 *	-0.27 **	0.15	-0.31 **	-0.08	-0.26 **	0.11	-0.16	-0.19 *	-						
23. Stereo- type Concern	-0.08	0.02	-0.01	0.13	0.06	-0.20 *	0.24	-0.06	-0.10	0.21*	-0.05	-0.01	0.05	0.09	0.00	0.15	0.23	0.16	-0.07	0.14	0.54	-0.19 *	-					
24. ACES Total	0.10	0.06	0.09	0.25	0.25	-0.15	0.21	-0.03	-0.09	0.05	-0.04	0.00	-0.03	0.17	-0.07	0.16	0.14	0.18*	0.07	0.19*	0.14	-0.17	0.02	-				
25. Cortisol - Baseline	0.12	0.11	-0.03	0.05	0.01	-0.02	-0.01	0.08	0.08	0.03	0.00	-0.03	-0.01	-0.03	0.16	-0.04	0.05	0.01	0.01	-0.04	0.04	-0.07	0.02	0.13	-			
26. Cortisol— Follow- up	-0.02	0.12	0.02	-0.03	0.03	0.02	0.01	0.12	0.15	-0.01	0.04	0.04	0.06	-0.04	0.19*	-0.02	0.06	0.06	0.11	-0.01	0.07	-0.11	0.06	0.03	0.72	_		
27. Testoster one - Baseline	-0.15	-0.01	-0.12	0.08	0.04	-0.07	0.02	0.04	0.10	-0.01	0.03	0.03	-0.03	0.06	0.14	-0.11	-0.06	021*	0.08	0.05	0.08	-0.16	0.04	0.14	0.34	0.27	-	
28. Testoster one- Follow- up	- 0.22 **	-0.07	-0.10	0.12	0.08	-0.04	0.10	-0.01	0.06	-0.01	0.00	0.02	0.04	0.09	0.07	-0.03	0.08	0.28	0.02	0.17*	0.17*	-0.06	0.17	0.11	0.18*	0.18*	0.84	-

*Note:* \* *p* < .05; \*\* *p* < .01

Variables were included as controls if they evidenced moderate correlation ( $r \ge 0.3$ ) with outcome or mediating variables, in particular: legal legitimacy, personality factors (i.e., The Big Five Inventory factors: extraversion, agreeableness, conscientiousness, neuroticism, and openness), trait affective states (i.e., trait anger, anxiety, curiosity, and depression from the STPI), baseline handgrip strength, and baseline measures of cortisol and testosterone.

### Model 1

The first model sought to examine the effect of stereotype threat (as measured by group condition) on negative affect. In this model, social cognition served as a mediator and street race served as a moderator for the relation between group membership condition and social cognition. As such, a negative affect latent variable (using state anger, anxiety, and depression) was used as the dependent variable. Model fit analyses for that latent variable indicated good model fit, CFI = 1.00 and RMSEA = 0.00. Social cognition was originally conceptualized as a latent variable using emotion accuracy and reaction time. However, due to concerns of multicollinearity given high correlations between the two variables (r = 0.82), social cognition was thus entered as an observed variable using only emotion accuracy. In this analysis, control variables included legal legitimacy, personality factors (i.e., The Big Five Inventory factors: extraversion, agreeableness, conscientiousness, neuroticism, and openness) and trait affective states (i.e., trait anger, anxiety, curiosity, and depression from the STPI).

Path models were analyzed using Mplus, version 8.1 (Muthén & Muthén, 2017) to estimate the significance of direct, indirect (mediational), and conditional indirect effects (moderated mediation) on negative affect. Overall, the model fit was poor, CFI =

0.15 and RMSEA = 0.19,  $\chi^2$  (125) = 747.41, p < .001. However, this model fit was likely due to the small magnitude of the path coefficients. Additionally, the analyses primarily examined specific hypothesized relations between variables of interest, and therefore, model fit considerations were secondary. In terms of specific relations, neither group membership condition ( $\beta = -0.12$ , b = -0.43, SE = 0.89, p = .63) nor social cognition ( $\beta = -0.12$ ) 0.07, b = -1.58, SE = 2.23, p = .48) were directly associated with negative affect. Likewise, neither group membership condition ( $\beta = 0.09$ , b = 0.01, SE = 0.04, p = .73) nor race/ethnicity ( $\beta = 0.27$ , b = 0.05, SE = 0.04, p = .20) were directly associated with social cognition. However, there was a marginally significant interaction effect of group membership condition and race/ethnicity on social cognition ( $\beta = -0.63$ , b = -0.63) 0.11, SE = 0.06, p = .06). See Exploratory Analyses for more information. There was no evidence of a significant indirect effect of group membership condition on negative affect via social cognition (b = -0.02, SE = 0.11, p = .85). Likewise, there was no evidence of significant conditional indirect effects for each race/ethnicity group: white, b=-0.02, SE = 0.11, p = .85; BIPOC, b = 0.15, SE = 0.23, p = .53. There was also no evidence of significant conditional total effects for the race/ethnicity groups: white, b =0.45, SE = 0.90, p = .61; BIPOC, b = -0.29, SE = 0.91, p = .74.

### Model 2

The second model sought to examine the effect of stereotype threat (as measured by group membership condition) on negative affect. However, in this model, change in cortisol (between follow-up and baseline) served as a mediator. Street race continued to serve as a moderator for the relation between group membership condition and cortisol. As such, the negative affect latent variable (using state anger, anxiety, and depression)

was used as the dependent variable. First, a one-way ANOVA was conducted to compare the effect of timing on baseline and follow-up cortisol measurements. There was a significant effect of timing on both baseline cortisol, F(2,139) = 26.81, p < .001, and follow-up cortisol, F(2,137) = 14.79, p < .001. As such, time of saliva collection was included as a control variable in subsequent analyses. Additional controls also included legal legitimacy, personality factors (i.e., The Big Five Inventory factors: extraversion, agreeableness, conscientiousness, neuroticism, and openness) and trait affective states (i.e., trait anger, anxiety, curiosity, and depression from the STPI).

Overall, the model fit was poor, CFI = 0.14 and RMSEA = 0.19,  $\chi^2$  (125) = 736.05, p < .001. As stated previously, this model fit was likely due to the small magnitude of the path coefficients. Additionally, the analyses primarily examined specific hypothesized relations between variables of interest, and therefore, model fit considerations were secondary. In terms of specific relations, neither group membership condition ( $\beta = -0.06$ , b = -0.35, SE = 0.90, p = .70) nor change in cortisol ( $\beta = 0.04$ , b = 0.95, SE = 2.16, p = .66) were directly associated with negative affect. Likewise, neither group membership condition ( $\beta = -0.08$ , b = -0.03, SE = 0.04, p = .47) nor race/ethnicity ( $\beta = -0.11$ , b = -0.04, SE = 0.03, p = .31) were directly associated with change in cortisol. There was no evidence of a significant interaction of group membership condition and race/ethnicity on change in cortisol ( $\beta = 0.10$ , b = 0.03, SE = 0.05, p = .54). There was no evidence of a significant indirect effect of group membership condition on negative affect via change in cortisol (b = -0.03, SE = 0.10, p = .81). Likewise, there was no evidence of significant conditional indirect effects for each race/ethnicity group: white, b = -0.03, SE = 0.10, p = .81; BIPOC, b =0.01, SE = 0.09, p = .95. There was also no evidence of conditional total effects for the race/ethnicity groups: white, b =-0.38, SE = 0.90, p = .68; BIPOC, b =-0.35, SE = 0.90, p = .70.

### Model 3

The third model sought to examine the effect of stereotype threat (as measured by group membership condition) on aggression. In this model, social cognition served as a mediator and street race served as a moderator for the relation between group membership and social cognition. As such, an aggression latent variable (using the PSAP and follow-up handgrip strength) was used as the dependent variable. As with previous models, social cognition was originally conceptualized as a latent variable using emotion accuracy and reaction time. However, due to concerns of multicollinearity given high correlations between the two variables (r = 0.82), social cognition was thus entered as an observed variable using only emotion accuracy. In this analysis, control variables included baseline handgrip strength.

Path models were analyzed using Mplus, version 8.1 (Muthén & Muthén, 2017) to estimate the significance of direct, indirect (mediational), and conditional indirect effects (moderated mediation) on aggression. Overall, the model fit was poor, CFI = 0.02 and RMSEA = 0.42,  $\chi^2$  (11) = 281.07, p < .001. Neither group membership condition ( $\beta$  = 0.16, b = 2.16, SE = 3.53, p = .54) nor social cognition ( $\beta$  = 0.48, b = 19.37, SE = 11.20, p = .08) were directly associated with aggression. Likewise, neither group membership condition ( $\beta$  = 0.04, b = 0.01, SE = 0.04, p = .74) nor race/ethnicity ( $\beta$  = 0.13, b = 0.04, SE = 0.04, p = .23) were directly associated with social cognition. However, there was a marginally significant interaction effect of group membership

condition and race/ethnicity on social cognition (b =-0.11, SE = 0.06, p = .06); see Exploratory Analyses. There was no evidence of a significant indirect effect of group membership condition on negative affect via social cognition ( $\beta$  = -0.28, b =0.25, SE = 0.91, p = .79). Likewise, there was no evidence of significant conditional indirect effects for each race/ethnicity group: white, b =0.25, SE = 0.91, p = .79; BIPOC, b =-1.76, SE = 1.34, p = .19. There were also no conditional total effects for the race/ethnicity groups: white, b =-2.41, SE = 3.68, p = .51; BIPOC, b =0.41, SE = 3.51, p = .91.

### Model 4

The fourth model sought to examine the effect of stereotype threat (as measured by group membership condition) on aggression. However, in this model, the ratio of testosterone to cortisol (at follow-up) served as a mediator. Street race continued to serve as a moderator for the relation between group membership and testosterone to cortisol ratio. An aggression latent variable (using the PSAP and follow-up handgrip strength) was used as the dependent variable. First, a one-way ANOVA was conducted to compare the effect of timing on the testosterone to cortisol ratio. There was a significant effect of timing on testosterone to cortisol ratio, F(2,139) = 4.43, p = .01. As such, time of saliva collection was included as a control variable in subsequent analyses. Additional controls also included baseline measures of cortisol and testosterone as well as baseline measures of handgrip strength.

Overall, the model fit was poor, CFI = 0.01 and RMSEA = 0.28,  $\chi^2$  (35) = 428.11, p < .001. Neither group membership condition ( $\beta = 0.06$ , b = 2.11, SE = 3.97, p = .96) nor testosterone to cortisol ratio ( $\beta = -0.01$ , b = -0.17, SE = 3.00, p = .66) were

directly associated with aggression. Likewise, neither group membership condition ( $\beta$  = -0.14, b =-0.19, SE = 0.16, p = .23) nor race/ethnicity ( $\beta$  = 0.15, b =0.23, SE = 0.17, p = .18) were directly associated with testosterone to cortisol ratio. There was no evidence of a significant interaction between group membership condition and race/ethnicity on testosterone to cortisol ratio ( $\beta$  = 0.17, b =0.23, SE = 0.23, p = .31). There was no evidence of a significant indirect effect of group membership condition on negative affect via testosterone to cortisol ratio (b =0.03, SE = 0.72, p = .96). Likewise, there was no evidence of significant conditional indirect effects for each race/ethnicity group: white, b =0.03, SE = 0.72, p = .96; BIPOC, b =-0.01, SE = 0.50, p = .99. There was also no evidence of significant conditional total effects for the race/ethnicity groups: white, b =2.14, SE = 3.91, p = .58; BIPOC, b =2.10, SE = 4.00, p = .60.

## **Experimental Analyses**

Given the marginally significant interaction noted between group membership condition and race/ethnicity on social cognition, a simple moderation model was conducted to explore this effect. Simple slope analyses indicated that group membership was significantly associated with social cognition (b =-0.09, SE = 0.04, p = .02) in the BIPOC group but not in the White group (b =0.01, SE = 0.04, p = .74). Further analysis revealed that in the experimental group, BIPOC status was related to enhanced social cognition whereas no such relation was found among White participants.

Though sample sizes for race/ethnicity subgroups (i.e., White, Black, Hispanic) required collapse into BIPOC versus White for planned analyses, exploratory analyses sought to examine the effect of group condition (i.e., experiment versus control) on outcome variables within these three subgroups. A two-way MANOVA was conducted in

order to examine the interaction effect between race/ethnicity (i.e., White, Black, Hispanic) and group condition membership (i.e., experimental or control) on the combined dependent variables (i.e., emotion accuracy, emotion reaction time, change in cortisol, ratio of testosterone to cortisol, state anxiety, state anger, state depression, follow-up handgrip strength).

Overall, there was a statistically significant interaction effect on the combined dependent variables, F(16, 232) = 2.59, p = .001; Wilk's  $\Lambda = 0.72$ . Main effect analyses revealed a statistically significant interaction effect of race/ethnicity and group membership condition on state anxiety, F(2, 123) = 5.10, p = .007 and a marginally statistically significant interaction effect of race/ethnicity and group membership condition on state depression, F(2, 123) = 2.80, p = .07. Given the significant interaction effect of race/ethnicity and group membership condition on state anxiety, follow-up analyses were conducted to evaluate the differences between the group membership conditions for each racial/ethnic group. The only significant difference between the experimental condition and the control condition on state anxiety was found among Black participants, F(1, 33) = 10.96, p = .002. A review of the group means indicated that Black participants in the experimental condition (M = 23.06) had a significantly higher level of state anxiety than Black participants in the control condition (M = 17.00).

#### **CHAPTER IV**

### **Discussion**

Overall, the broad aim of this study was to empirically test the downstream effects of stereotype threat induction (based on Najdowski et al., 2015). Specifically, this study sought to test the mechanisms (i.e., neurobiology and social cognition) linking stereotype threat to subsequent mental health outcomes (i.e., aggression and negative affect). First, this study sought to examine whether the previously documented relation between stereotype threat and aggression/negative affective states is mediated by cortisol and testosterone levels. Second, this study sought examine whether dysfunction in social cognition mediates the relation between stereotype threat and negative affective states and state aggression.

Broadly, our results did not indicate significant relations among the variables of interest. In particular, stereotype threat condition did not have a direct effect on aggression or negative affect (except within the BIPOC group in exploratory analyses). Further, neither social cognition nor an increase in cortisol mediated a relation between stereotype threat condition and affect; and likewise, neither social cognition nor an increase in the testosterone/cortisol ratio mediated the relation between stereotype threat condition and aggression. In addition, the relation between stereotype threat condition and cortisol, the relation between stereotype threat condition and the testosterone/cortisol ratio, and the relation between stereotype threat condition and social cognition were not significantly moderated by race/ethnicity. Finally, the full mediation models were not moderated by race/ethnicity.

Though the hypothesized models were not supported, evidence of a marginally significant moderation effect of race/ethnicity on the relation between stereotype threat condition and social cognition did emerge. Further analyses revealed that group membership condition significantly related to social cognition in the BIPOC group but not in the White group such that within the BIPOC group, the experimental condition was related to greater social cognition. Though this finding should be interpreted with caution, it indicates that BIPOC group had better social cognitive abilities when they were in the stereotype threat group than when they were in the control group. Likewise, additional exploratory analyses revealed that state anxiety differed between the stereotype threat condition group and the control condition group but only among Black participants. Finally, the experimental group condition compared to the control group condition showed greater activation of the criminal stereotype as measured by a word-stem completion task.

Thus, despite the lack of significant relations among the variables of interest in the structural equation modeling, this study provided important information regarding stereotype threat induction and the possible downstream effects. First, this study showed that the stereotype threat induction task developed by Najdowski and colleagues (2015) can produce activation of the criminal stereotype. It should be noted that this effect was found for all racial groups—white and BIPOC—which indicates that the belief one would be stereotyped or viewed as a criminal during the induction task is not race/ethnicity-specific. In fact, only two participants made specific and spontaneous comments indicating they would fear being stereotyped as a criminal based on their race/ethnicity. However, this finding regarding the word-stem task aligns with results from Najdowski

and colleagues (2015). In their study, they found that the word-stem completion task reflected similar levels of stereotype activation for Black and White men (Najdowski et al., 2015). Likewise, they found that Black and White men reported similar expectations regarding the officer's actions in the induction procedure (Najdowski et al., 2015). Therefore, it is possible that because stereotypes of men in general include negative attributes related to aggression (Steinberg & Diekman, 2016), all participants in the experimental group condition experienced an activation of threat.

Second, the results of this study suggest that BIPOC participants had better social cognitive abilities when they underwent the stereotype threat induction. Overall, this is the first study to examine the impact of stereotype threat on social cognitive abilities. Although it was hypothesized that the stereotype threat induction would lead to deficits in social cognition, results indicated that for BIPOC participants, stereotype threat induction led to improved social cognition, though these results should be interpreted cautiously. These results may be due, in part, to healthy paranoia or hypervigilance. Healthy paranoia is a healthy, normative, and adaptive response to racism perceived by Black Americans (Grier & Cobbs, 1968; Whaley, 2001) and describes the inclination of Black individuals to mistrust White in numerous areas (i.e., education, business, law, interpersonal relations, etc.). Additionally, research has suggested that Black men may experience posttraumatic stress related symptoms (such as hypervigilance) following the viewing, reading, or hearing of racial traumatic events, especially in relation to police encounters (Lipscomb et al., 2019). Therefore, it is possible that due to a history of race-related stress and racial injustices, BIPOC participants have developed a heightened sense of alertness when they perceive their safety to be in jeopardy (as may be the case during

police encounters). As such, under this threat, BIPOC participants' focus on the threat improves such that they show greater accuracy in detecting emotions. In fact, accuracy in detecting emotion could be critical in potentially threatening situations, such as police encounters. Future research should expand upon these findings and examine social cognition in stereotype threat encounters more in depth.

Finally, this study found that Black participants endorsed greater anxiety following a stereotype threat induction than following a control condition. These results suggest that stereotype threat in a police encounter may lead to an increase in anxiety that is specific to Black men. In fact, this result was not found among White nor Hispanic participants. While previous research has documented a link between stereotype threat and anticipated anxiety among Black participants (Najdowski et al., 2015), this study is the first to link stereotype threat in a police encounter with in-vivo experiences of anxiety. These results suggest that stereotype threat in police encounters may produce outcomes that are specific to Black men. These findings are particularly important as repeated experiences with anxiety-provoking stereotype threat situations may disrupt the HPA axis (Gold et al., 2005) or lead to longer term physical or mental health problems. Additionally, anxiety as a result of this stereotype threat may produce behaviors that police commonly perceive as suspicious (i.e., avoid eye contact or averted gaze). Therefore, this anxiety may put Black men at greater risk of being perceived as guilty or suspicious than White men. While the current study did not find evidence of a link between stereotype threat and cortisol levels, future research should further examine anxiety-related physiological arousal such as blood pressure or heart rate variability. In addition, future research should continue to examine the impact of police encounters as

well as stereotype threat on hormonal changes as numerous health consequences are associated with dysregulation of the HPA axis and abnormal cortisol levels (Keller et al., 2006; Xiong & Zhang, 2013).

Despite these findings, several limitations must be noted with regard to the results reported in the present study and represent important areas for future research. The lack of significant findings related to the models of stereotype threat and various outcomes may be due to several factors. For one, the lack of significant relations may be due to potential methodological and sample size constraints. A priori sample size estimates revealed that for a sample size of 300 with small to moderate effect sizes ( $\beta = .25$ ) estimated for direct effects and a small effect size for the mediation pathway ( $\beta = .06$ ) power was approximately .80, and the final sample for analyses was considerably smaller than 300. Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, data collection had to be prematurely discontinued. As a result, group sizes remained small. Thus, it is likely that the power to detect any effects was limited. In fact, the Hispanic and black participant groups had to be collapsed into one group (BIPOC) in order to improve group size differences. As these groups are not homogenous, combining the groups removed the potential to examine any differences between them. Likewise, combining the groups may have masked potential effects. For example, it is possible that Black, but not Hispanic, participants experienced effects of stereotype threat on biological and cognitive processes. However, by combining the Black participants with the Hispanic participants, these effects may have been obscured. Thus, future research should continue to examine the impact, if any, of stereotype threat on mental health outcomes and behaviors among Black and Hispanic men, seeking larger samples for analyses. As the current study only documented a

difference in anxiety between group conditions for Black men, it is possible that Hispanic men do not undergo the same stereotype threat processes. However, future research is needed to further elucidate these relations. Likewise, the current study used street race as a measure of race/ethnicity. These findings should be replicated to analyze various measures of race/ethnicity (i.e., socially assigned race and perceived race). In the current study, 19 participants identified different street, socially assigned, and perceived races/ethnicities. Of these participants, a majority indicated their street race/ethnicity was White while their socially assigned or perceived race/ethnicity was Hispanic.

Additionally, it is possible that there were issues with measurement and stereotype threat activation. For instance, several measures were obtained using selfreport. While all attempts were made to ensure confidentiality, as with all self-report measures, accuracy can be called into question due to the potential for response bias and shared method variance. However, the study also included behavioral and physiological measures. In addition, it may have been difficult to for participants to imagine themselves in a very specific hypothetical police encounter; and likewise, despite repeated reminders to continue to imagine what it would be like if they were in that scenario, participants may have forgotten about the scenario when they completed additional measures and tasks. Future research should improve on our design by using more realistic circumstances, such as a stimulated police encounter. Additionally, it is unclear whether the vignette and current study truly activated stereotype threat in Black and Hispanic young adults. Results from the word-stem competition task indicate greater stereotype threat activation among the experimental group than the control group. However, the spontaneous indication of stereotype threat was lacking. Therefore, it is possible that the

thought of being perceived as a criminal by police is not race-specific; though, race-specific outcomes (i.e., anxiety) occur. In fact, Najdowski and colleagues found that Black and White men reported similar expectations regarding the officer's actions in the induction procedure. It is possible that simply being a young male produced this effect.

Further, the current study used participants at a university located in a rural environment which may have impacted the participants' view of the police encounter. Likewise, the participants primarily consisted of students with psychology or criminal justice majors which may have impacted the results. In fact, a university student population may a very different stereotyped threat perception than the general or criminal population, thus limiting generalizability of the results. While stereotypes of men in general include negative attributes related to aggression (Steinberg & Diekman, 2016), it is possible that a group with greater contact with the legal system is able to recall the stereotype of criminality better. Therefore, future research should examine the impact of stereotype threat in the general population as well as with justice-involved individuals. In addition, future research should examine the roles that stereotype concern, perceived discrimination, and views of legal legitimacy on the impact of stereotype threat on various outcomes. For instance, it is possible that individuals who have greater stereotype concern, more experiences of perceived discrimination, and/or low views of legal legitimacy experience the negative impact of stereotype threat to a greater degree. In fact, in the current study, legal legitimacy was correlated to both state anxiety and depression such that lower legal legitimacy was related to greater state anxiety and depression. Further, BIPOC participants reported lower levels of legal legitimacy overall. As a result, it is possible that views related to the legal system play a role in the relation to stereotype

threat and negative affect. In addition, legal legitimacy was found to be correlated with trait depression. Previous research has found a causal relationship between procedural justice (which includes legal legitimacy) and psychological well-being among prisoners (Beijersbergen et al., 2014). However, future research should further examine the impact of legal legitimacy on mental health outcomes in the community. Additionally, given that approximately one-half to three-quarters of offenders are rearrested and one-quarter are reincarcerated (Hunt & Dumville, 2016), it would be important to understand the impact that stereotype threat may have on offenders and their risk for recidivism.

Finally, it is possible that the various tasks and measures did not accurately measure the outcome variables. For instance, it is possible that the PSAP did not measure aggression in this sample or that because the task was unrelated to the threat of the scenario (i.e., a police encounter), it did not detect significant differences among the groups. Likewise, the task of social cognition primarily relied on the participants' ability to detect emotion. It would be beneficial for future research to include various measures of social cognition, including tasks in which participants are required to attribute mental states, such as intentions, to others.

Despite these limitations and confounding factors, the present study provided several novel contributions. This study was the first to test social cognition specifically as a cognitive domain that could be impacted by stereotype threat with downstream effects on mental health symptoms. Second, few studies have examined the neurobiological effects of stereotype threat, and to date, no studies have examined whether the links between stereotype threat and behavior and affective states are mediated by physiology. Further, at present, the bulk of the literature is focused on stereotypes of Black Americans

in educational or health care settings with relatively little attention to Hispanic individuals, or with any race in criminal justice settings. Finally, no study has explored the effect of stereotype threat in such a police encounter on cortisol, testosterone, social cognition, and psychopathology in racial/ethnic minority young adults.

Broadly, these findings indicate that stereotype threat can confer risk for psychopathology among BIPOC and there remains a critical need to continue to examine the impact of stereotype threat in legal encounters. Continued research may help further understand the psychological processes that contribute to biases in the judicial system, an important step in improving racial equality as innocent BIPOC may be targeted by police because of stereotype-threat-induced behavior and thus are at risk for miscarriages of justice (Davis & Leo, 2013; Norris & Bonventre, 2015). Likewise, continued research will further elucidate the negative impact that stereotype threat in legal encounters may have on the mental and physical health of BIPOC men.

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# APPENDIX A

# Demographics Questionnaire

1. What is your date of birth?
2. What is your racial/ethnic background?
3. Are you from a Hispanic ethnic group (yes or no)?
4. Are you from a Black ethnic group (yes or no)?
5. What is your "street race," or how you believe other Americans perceive your race at the level of the street?
6. What is socially assigned race or how you believe others usually classify your race in the United States?
7. What is your self-perceived race or how you usually self-classify your race on questionnaires?
8. What is the highest grade (or year) of regular school you have completed? (check one.)
Elementary/Middle School:0102030405060708
High School:09101112
College/Junior College:13141516
Graduate School:17181920+

9. Which of these categories best describes your total combined family income for your
household for the past 12 months? This should include income (before taxes) from all
sources, wages, rent from properties, social security, disability and/or veteran's benefits,
unemployment benefits, workman's compensation, help from relatives (including child
payments and alimony), and so on.

<\$25,000
\$25,000-<\$50,000
\$50,000-<\$75,000
\$75,000-<\$100,000
\$100,000-<\$150,000
≥\$150,000
Don't Know/Not sure
Decline to respond

### APPENDIX B

# Brief Aggression Questionnaire

For each of the 12 items, rate how characteristic it is of you.

- 1 = extremely uncharacteristic of me
- 2 = uncharacteristic of me
- 3 = neither characteristic nor uncharacteristic of me
- 4 =characteristic of me
- 5 =extremely characteristic of me
  - 1. I tell my friends openly when I disagree with them.
  - 2. Given enough provocation, I may hit another person.
  - 3. When people annoy me, I may tell them what I think of them.
  - 4. Other people always seem to get the breaks.
  - 5. I am an even-tempered person.\*
  - 6. My friends say that I'm somewhat argumentative.
  - 7. If I have to resort to violence to protect my rights, I will.
  - 8. Sometimes I fly off the handle for no good reason.
  - 9. Sometimes I fly off the handle for no good reason.
  - 10. I sometimes feel that people are laughing at me behind my back.
  - 11. I have trouble controlling my temper.
  - 12. When people are especially nice, I wonder what they want.

<sup>\* =</sup> Reverse coded item

## **APPENDIX C**

# The Big Five Inventory (BFI)

Here are a number of characteristics that may or may not apply to you. For example, do you agree that you are someone who likes to spend time with others? Please write a number next to each statement to indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with that statement.

Disagree strongly	Disagree a little	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little	Agree strongly
1	2	3	4	5

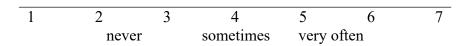
# I see Myself as Someone Who...

1. Is talkative	26. Has an assertive personality
2. Tends to find fault with others	27. Can be cold and aloof
3. Does a thorough job	28. Perseveres until the task is
4. Is depressed, blue	finished
5. Is original, comes up with new	29. Can be moody
ideas	30. Values artistic, aesthetic
6. Is reserved	experiences
7. Is helpful and unselfish with	31. Is sometimes shy, inhibited
others	32. Is considerate and kind to
8. Can be somewhat careless	almost everyone
9. Is relaxed, handles stress well	33. Does things efficiently
10. Is curious about many different	34. Remains calm in tense
things	situations
11. Is full of energy	35. Prefers work that is routine
12. Starts quarrels with others	36. Is outgoing, sociable
13. Is a reliable worker	37. Is sometimes rude to others
14. Can be tense	38. Makes plans and follows
15. Is ingenious, a deep thinker	through with them
16. Generates a lot of enthusiasm	39. Gets nervous easily
17. Has a forgiving nature	40. Likes to reflect, play with ideas
18. Tends to be disorganized	41. Has few artistic interests
19. Worries a lot	42. Likes to cooperate with others
20. Has an active imagination	43. Is easily distracted
21. Tends to be quiet	44. Is sophisticated in art, music, or
22. Is generally trusting	literature
23. Tends to be lazy	
24. Is emotionally stable, not easily	
upset	
25. Is inventive	

### APPENDIX D

Perceived Ethnic Discrimination Questionnaire (PEDQ)

Please think back <u>over the past three months</u> and then, unless instructed otherwise, for each item below indicate how often the event occurred using the following scale:



Write the rating (from 1 to 7) on the line provided in front of each item.

We would like to know about acts of discrimination that have been directed against or toward you personally during the past two months. Please respond to the following questions using the 7-point scale above.

Verbal r	rejection
	How often have you been subjected to offensive ethnic comments aimed directly at you, spoken either in your presence or behind your back?
2	How often have you been exposed to offensive comments about your ethnic group (e.g. stereotypic statements, offensive jokes), spoken either in your presence or behind your back?
3	How often have you been subjected to ethnic name calling (e.g. "wop", "nigger")?
Avoidan	ce
4	How often have others avoided physical contact with you because of your ethnicity?
	How often have others avoided social contact with you because of your ethnicity?
6	How often have others outside of your ethnic group made you feel as though you don't fit in because of your dress, speech, or other characteristics related to your ethnicity?
Exclusio	on .
7	How often have you been denied access to a public facility or organization because of your ethnicity?
8	How often have you felt that certain places were off limits or that barriers were erected to keep you out of certain places because of your ethnicity?
Denial o	f equal treatment
	How often have you received unfair treatment from school officials because of your ethnicity?

10. \_\_\_\_ How often have you received unfair treatment from service people (e.g., waiters, bank tellers, security guards) because of your ethnicity?

11	How often have you received unfair treatment from your superiors at a job (e.g. boss, supervisor) because of your ethnicity?
	(e.g. boss, supervisor) because of your enfincity?
Devaluati	ing action
	How often have others had low expectations of you because of your ethnicity?
13	How often has it been implied or suggested that because of your ethnicity you must be unintelligent?
14	How often has it been implied or suggested that because of your ethnicity you must be dishonest?
15	How often has it been implied or suggested that because of your ethnicity you must be violent or dangerous?
16	How often has it been implied or suggested that because of your ethnicity you must be dirty?
17	How often has it been implied or suggested that because of your ethnicity you must be lazy?
Threat of	violence
18	How often have others threatened to hurt you because of your ethnicity?
19	How often have others threatened to damage your property because of your ethnicity?
Aggressio	on .
	How often have others physically hurt you or intended to physically hurt you because of your ethnicity?
21	How often have others damaged your property because of your ethnicity?
22.	How often have you been subjected to nonverbal harassment because of your ethnicity (e.g. being framed/set up, being given "the finger")?

<u>PEDQ</u>. Subscale scores are computed as the mean of item responses. Items are keyed to subscales as follows: Disvaluation (items 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17); Threat/Aggression (items 18, 19, 20, 21, 22); Verbal Rejection (items 1, 2, 3); Avoidance (items 4, 5, 6). A total score may be computed as the mean of the four subscale scores (or as the mean for the 17 keyed items). The 5 items measuring Exclusion and Denial of Equal Treatment (items 7, 8, 9, 10, 11) did not factor well and therefore do not figure into scoring in the <u>JASP</u> paper. However, it might be of interest to include them to further explore the factor structure of the full set of 22 items.

### **APPENDIX E**

# Stereotype Confirmation Concern Scale (SCCS)

Often times, members of an ethnic group are concerned that their behaviors or the things they do appear to confirm stereotypes about their ethnic group. Think back <u>over</u> <u>the past three months</u> and tell us how often you have been concerned about appearing to confirm a stereotype about your ethnic group. Select a response from the choices below.

	l	2	3	4	5	6	/
	Never			Sometimes			Always
1				erned that by about your eth			s you might appear
2	How often h	ave you be	en conc		talking a	a certain wa	y you might
3	<b>-</b>	•		erned that by cotype about y	_		way you might
4	<b>-</b>	•		erned that by cotype about y		-	rts you might
5	<b>-</b>	•		•			ipating in certain about your ethnic
6	<b>-</b>	•		erned that by a stereotype a	<b>.</b>		too seriously you roup?
7	<b>-</b>	•		erned that by cotype about y	_		gs you might
8	<del>-</del>	aurants yo		-		-	stores or eating at type about your
9	How often h	•					
	How often h	ave you be ar to be co	een conc onfirmir	ng a stereotype	doing ce e about y	ertain house our ethnic	ehold tasks you group?
11		•		erned that by stereotype ab		~ .	ioeconomic status up?

#### APPENDIX F

- 1. Have you ever been arrested? Please don't count minor traffic violations.
  - a. If yes, how old were you the first time?
  - b. If yes, how many times have you been arrested for breaking the law?
- 2. Have you ever been convicted of a crime? Please don't count minor traffic violations.
  - a. If yes, how old were you the first time?
  - b. If yes, how many times have you been arrested for breaking the law?
- 3. Please tell me which of the following best describes any experiences you may have had being approached or stopped by the police. This might involve a police officer stopping you while you were driving or walking, or having an officer come to your home to question you about an incident.
  - a. You have been approached or stopped by the police within the last 12 months.
  - b. You have been approached or stopped by the police in the past, but not within the last 12 months.
  - c. You have never been stopped or approached by the police. [GO STRAIGHT TO QUESTION 5]
- 4. On the last occasion you were approached by the police, how do you think you were treated? Would you say you were treated. . .
  - a. Very well
  - b. Reasonably well
  - c. Neither well nor badly
  - d. Somewhat badly
  - e. Very badly
  - f. Don't know
- 5. As far as you are aware, have any of the following people that you know been approached or stopped by the police within the last year?
  - a. Members of your immediate family
    - i. Yes
    - ii. No
  - b. Other family relatives
    - i. Yes
    - ii. No
  - c. Friends or neighbors
    - i. Yes
    - ii. No
  - d. Other acquaintances
    - i. Yes
    - ii. No

If more than one is picked, go to question 6.

If just one is picked, go straight to question 7.

- 6. Thinking about the last time you heard about one of these experiences, who did it involve? Was it. . .[READ LIST AND SELECT ONE]
  - a. A member of your immediate family

- b. Another family relative
- c. A personal friend or neighbor
- d. Another acquaintance
- 7. And, on this occasion, how well did the person appear to have been treated by the police overall? Would you say they were treated. . .[READ LIST]
  - a. Very well
  - b. Reasonably well
  - c. Neither well nor badly
  - d. Somewhat badly
  - e. Very badly
  - f. Don't know

#### APPENDIX G

### The Procedural Justice Inventory – Legitimacy

- (1) Strongly disagree
- (2) Somewhat disagree
- (3) Somewhat agree
- (4) Strongly agree
  - 1. I have a great deal of respect for the police.
  - 2. Overall, the police are honest.
  - 3. I feel proud of the police.
  - 4. I feel people should support the police.
  - 5. The police should be allowed to hold a person suspected of a serious crime until they get enough evidence to charge them.
  - 6. The police should be allowed to stop people on the street and require them to identify themselves.
  - 7. The courts generally guarantee everyone a fair hearing (trial).
  - 8. The basic rights of citizens are protected in the courts.
  - 9. Many people convicted of crimes in the courts are actually innocent. [Reverse coded]
  - 10. Overall, judges in the courts here are honest.
  - 11. Court decisions here are almost always fair.

### **APPENDIX H**

### Stereotype Threat Induction

Take a few minutes to read the next paragraph slowly and carefully. Imagine what it would be like if you were in the situation described below. Try hard to put yourself in the situation and really think hard about how you would be feeling in the situation. Think long and hard about how you would react. Try to reflect upon the way you would feel if you were in these circumstances.

It's about 10:00 p.m. and you're on your way home for the night. You just left a friend's house and you're walking down the street carrying a backpack filled with various things you needed throughout the day. Only two more blocks and you'll be home. Before you cross the street to get to your building, a police officer walks out of the corner convenience store, a little ways in front of you. When he sees you, he stops and stands there. The officer is obviously watching you as you approach.

### APPENDIX I

### **Control Condition**

Take a few minutes to read the next paragraph slowly and carefully. Imagine what it would be like if you were in the situation described below. Try hard to put yourself in the situation and really think hard about how you would be feeling in the situation. Think long and hard about how you would react. Try to reflect upon the way you would feel if you were in these circumstances.

It's about 10:00 p.m. and you're on your way home for the night. You just left a friend's house and you're walking down the street carrying a backpack filled with various things you needed throughout the day. Only two more blocks and you'll be home. Before you cross the street to get to your building, you realize that you left your keys at your friend's house. You turn around and head back to grab them.

# APPENDIX J

Manipulation Check/Stereotype Threat Spontaneous Reaction

1.	How would you feel?
2.	What would you be thinking?
3.	How would you react?
4.	What do you imagine the police officer would do next?

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<b>Source</b> National Institutes of Mental Health, 1F31MH117854-01
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**Title** The Effect of Stereotype Threat in Police Encounters on Behavioral and

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Role Principal Investigator

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### **Peer Review Publications**

#### **Published**

Venta, A., Long, T., Bailey, C., Galicia, B., **Abate**, **A.**, Walker, J., & Salinas, K (2020). Measurement invariance of the Inventory of Peer and Parent Attachment among Latinx and Non-Latinx College Students. Accepted, *Psychological Assessment*.

Marshall, K., **Abate**, **A**., Venta, A. (2020). Houston strong: Linguistic analysis of resilience after hurricane harvey. Accepted, *Journal of Traumatic Stress Disorders & Treatment*.

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### **Book Chapters**

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