

The Burden of Suspicion: A Grounded Theory Study on the Psychological and Interpersonal
Consequences of Criminalizing Stereotypes

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ABSTRACT

THE BURDEN OF SUSPICION: A GROUNDED THEORY STUDY ON THE PSYCHOLOGICAL AND INTERPERSONAL CONSEQUENCES OF CRIMINALIZING STEREOTYPES

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This purpose of this study was to understand the immediate and cumulative impact of experiencing a form of stereotyping, which characterizes an individual as suspicious – dangerous, aggressive, criminal, or otherwise threatening. Stereotypes are cognitive schema that contains the perceiver’s beliefs and expectations about a particular group (Niemann, Jennings, Rozelle, Baxter, & Sullivan, 1994). While the specific stereotype content may vary across groups, criminal stereotypes affect multiple marginalized communities and play a central role in the historical oppression and disenfranchisement of people of color, immigrants, LGBT people, and poor people, among others, in the United States.

While much is known about the social and political consequences of criminalization, less is known about the psychological and interpersonal consequences. Racial, class, and sexual and other disparities permeate many institutions in the United States, but perhaps nowhere is it more glaring and more destructive than within the criminal legal system. Racial disparities in incarceration rates, length of sentencing, profiling, police brutality, and penalty enhancements, are just some of the macro and measurable consequences of criminalizing stereotypes. This study specifically sought to explore the consequences on the individual and interpersonal

levels. Interviews with nineteen participants and grounded theory data analysis reveal six core themes that emerged that appear to present across all groups, though the manifestations differ depending on the specific criminal archetype evoked. From these themes, an emergent theory was developed that attempts to explain both the immediate and long-term psychological and interpersonal consequences of this form of stereotyping. The model also reveals the process by which participants come to understand, survive, and resist this form of oppression in their lives. Implications of the findings are discussed.

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DEDICATION

For the 19 interview participants who made this study possible, and

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With love and gratitude

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Researchers, and the findings we uncover, are affected by our location in space and time. For this study, 19 interviews were conducted in order to understand the immediate and cumulative impact of experiencing a form of stereotyping, which characterizes an individual as suspicious – dangerous, aggressive, criminal, or otherwise threatening. These interviews were conducted in the United States, from the period of December 2012 through July 2013. Several major world events of note occurred during the course of this research that brought the issue of criminalizing stereotypes to the national forefront and undoubtedly affected the findings of this study. Criminalization based on race and racial profiling received much attention. Perhaps the most high-profile incident was the shooting death of 17 year old Trayvon Martin on February 26, 2013 by George Zimmerman, who had followed the teen and called 911, stating that Martin looked “suspicious.” Minutes before the shooting, after being instructed by an officer to stop following the teen, Zimmerman was recorded saying: “these fucking punks, they always get away” (Bryant, 2013). Next came the Boston marathon bombing on April 15, after which Massachusetts saw a spike in hate crimes against Muslims and those of Middle Eastern and

South Asian descent, beginning just moments after the bomb explosion, when an injured Saudi Arabian man was tackled by bystanders while trying to flee to safety. Soon after, police questioned the injured, hospitalized 20 year-old Saudi Arabian student, and searched and raided his apartment while the news media called him “the Saudi suspect.” On the west coast and nationally on July 13, 2013 *Fruitvale Station*, the film about the police beating and shooting of 22 year old Oscar Grant in a BART station in 2009, was released, while locally in NYC, the stop and frisk debate continued to rage on, with the New York City Police Commissioner and the Mayor both publicly defending the practice, despite the fact that in 52 percent of the stops, the person stopped was Black but New York City's population is only 23 percent Black (Census, 2010). Additionally, 88% of people stopped between 2004-2012 were completely innocent of any offense (Schwartz, 2013). While Judge Scheindlin ruled the NYPD’s practice of stop and frisk unconstitutional on August 15, she did not order that the practice cease, stating that it may continue, “as long as it is applied lawfully” (Rubin, 2013). The city is appealing the decision. Recent events marking marginalized communities as criminal also affected LGBTQ communities. On July 16th, a video of NYPD physically and verbally bashing a gay man went viral while in June of 2013, a national law was passed in UK making it a criminal act to not disclose one’s birth sex before engaging in any form of sexual contact. In Russia, a law was passed in mid July making “the promotion of homosexuality” illegal (Lavers, 2013), while in the U.S. several months prior, Tennessee became the first state to pass an anti-transgender bathroom bill, making it a crime to use a restroom not consistent with one’s legal sex, regardless of one’s identity or physical appearance (Davidson, 2013). Events also occurred reminding all Americans about the extent of government surveillance. In June, Edward Snowden leaked information about the extensive NSA surveillance of both internet and cell phone usage, while Chelsea

Manning was sentenced to 35 years in prison on August 21 (Savage, 2013). On the heels of both of these, came the battles to overturn “show me your papers” legislation, laws in Colorado and Arizona deputizing state troopers as NSA and requiring them to ask for legal papers of anyone they pull over whom they suspect might be undocumented (AFSC, 2013). Poor and working class communities were also not exempt from being publically subject to declarations of criminality. In early August, Mayor Bloomberg of New York City stated that all New York City public housing residents should be fingerprinted, stating “We’ve just gotta find some ways to keep bringing crime down there,” (Colvin, 2013).

On July 13, the verdict of the Zimmerman trial was announced: not guilty, acquitted of all charges by a nearly all-White jury, in a courtroom in which the judge banned the use of the term “racial profiling.” On July 19, we interrupted a focus group for this study in order to listen to the only American president who has ever been compelled to prove his citizenship, speak personally about the impact of the verdict. “The African American community is looking at this issue through a set of experiences, and a history... that doesn’t go away.” This study is about the psychological and interpersonal impact of these experiences.

The recent events above reveal that now, as throughout the history of the U.S., stereotypes about many communities’ criminal proclivities have flourished and they affect nearly every marginalized group – immigrants, queer people, poor people, youth, and communities of color, to name a few. Stereotypes are cognitive schemas that contain the perceiver’s beliefs and expectations about a particular group (Niemann, Jennings, Rozelle, Baxter, & Sullivan, 1994). Stereotypes affect people’s expectations, as well as their perceptions, of members of the stereotyped group (Niemann, et al., 1994; Fiske, Xu, Cuddy, & Glick, 1999; Dixon & Linz, 2000). While an individual who holds stereotypes about a particular group may have

experiences with said group that are dystonic with the pre-existing schema, a person's default tends to be the more longstanding belief system (Allport, 1954; Niemann, et al., 1994; Dixon & Linz, 2000) and narratives about oppressed groups in the U.S. are generally learned in early childhood and reinforced throughout our lives via a variety of different mechanisms (Allport, 1954; Dixon & Linz, 2000). How does this reality affect the *targets* of these enduring schemas? A cursory examination of prison statistics (see literature review) and the current events above reveal the physical and lethal consequences. But the interpersonal and psychological consequences are just as real, even if they fail to grab headlines. In 1995, Steele and Aronson conducted a study with Black and White undergraduates to investigate the academic consequences of being the target of stereotypes about inferior intellectual ability. They randomly assigned all participants to either a race-salience condition or a control condition. Those in the former group were given a standardized test and asked to mark their race on a form beforehand. Those in the control group were given the same standardized test, but no race form. What they found was that this very seemingly subtle priming lowered Black students' test scores significantly, but not so for White students. Steele and Aronson hypothesized that, for the Black students, the reminder of their racial identity activated the students' awareness of their social status, invoking a particular stereotype about their group — that they have less intellectual ability than White students — and that this awareness negatively impacted their performance on a demanding cognitive task. The question remained: What mechanisms caused this to happen? “Is stereotype threat self-threatening because it arouses a fear of being a bad ambassador of one's group to mainstream society? Or is it more simply the apprehension about appearing incompetent—for the sake of one's own reputation? Or, alternatively, is it merely the result of worrying that one might lack ability? Or is it some combination of these concerns? These are

important questions that will have to await the results of future research for answers” (Aronson, 1999, p. 43).

Since that time, a dearth of research has been conducted attempting to answer these questions with many different marginalized populations that may be vulnerable to stereotype threat, including women performing mathematic or visual-spatial tasks (Beilock, Rydell, & McConnell, 2007; Ben-Zeev, Fein, & Inzlicht, 2005; Jamieson & Harkin, 2007; Logel, Iserman, Davies, Quinn, & Spencer, 2008; Rydell, McConnell, & Beilock, 2009; Spencer, Steele, & Quinn, 1999; Vick, Seery, Blasovich, Weisbuch, 2008), Blacks and Latina/os in multiple academic contexts (Davis & Silver, 2003; Steele & Aronson, 1999, Schmader & Johns, 2003) the elderly in memory-related tasks (Hess, Auman, Colcombe, & Rahhal, 2003; Chasteen, Bhattacharyya, Horhota, Tam, & Hasher, 2005), and gay men in child care scenarios (Bosson, Haymovitz, & Pinel, 2004). Most stereotype threat studies have focused on academic and working memory tasks, but a few have found stereotype threat to be activated and impair performance in kinesthetic situations such as athletic activities (Beilock & McConnell, 2004; Beilock, Jellison, Rydell, McConnell, & Carr, 2006; Stone, Lynch, Sjomeling, & Darley, 1999) or driving (Yeung & von Hippel, 2008), and in field settings such as the workplace (Roberson, Deitch, Brief, & Block, 2003; Bergeron, Block, & Echtenkamp, 2006). Researchers have even found physiological evidence of stereotype threat in the form of increased sympathetic nervous system arousal and increased blood pressure (Ben-Zeev, Fein, & Inzlicht, 2005; Blasovich, Spencer, Quinn, & Steele, 2001). According to one study, stereotype threat can even increase aggression, decrease volition, and spurn risky decision-making (Inzlicht & Kang, 2010). These studies have mostly found that stereotype threat appears to be contextual: The task the participant is performing must be stereotypically relevant (e.g. women taking a math test, older people

performing a memory task). But what if the task was not a solitary, discrete activity designed to measure ability? What if the task and the event that threat-triggering event had no clear beginning and ending? What if the task was a simple social interaction and the triggering event was something as routine as leaving one's apartment? And what if the potential consequences of "poor performance" were as dire as social isolation, physical injury, arrest, and/or the accumulation of a criminal record? Given the exponential increase in incarceration rates since 1990 (JDI, 2010), the frequency of racial profiling (Antonovics & Knight, 2005), and the demographics of those caught up in the criminal legal system in the U.S., the consequences of criminalizing stereotypes are quite apparent at the systemic level, a fact which will be explored in greater depth in the following chapter. The primary questions this writer seeks to answer with this project are: What are the consequences of criminalizing stereotypes at the intrapsychic and interpersonal levels? Does stereotype threat manifest in this realm and if so, how?

Stereotypes about intellectual ability and competence comprise the bulk of the stereotype threat literature. However, there also exist many prominent stereotypes about other "characteristics" of marginalized groups, such as maturity level, attitudes towards money, degree of laziness, quality of hygiene, degree of 'foreignness,' blame for belonging to the oppressed group, and education level, to name a few (e.g. Villenas & Deyhle, 1999; Romero, 2006; Sue, 2010; Cozzarelli, Wilkinson, & Tagler, 2001). And individuals who are the targets of such stereotypes may also internalize these messages, even as they simultaneously reject them on the cognitive level (Steele & Aronson, 1995; Huguet & Régner, 2009). Stereotypes about various populations' criminal proclivities (e.g. aggressiveness, violence, thievery, deceptiveness, sexual predation, drug/alcohol abuse, and lack of impulse control) abound. Such stereotypes may have particularly profoundly devastating consequences to the person who is the target of them on the

intrapsychic, interpersonal, and extrinsic levels. Although they differ depending on identity, criminal stereotypes, culturally shared images and narratives about “The Criminal” that evoke strong, often unconscious, negative associations or emotional responses about various marginalized peoples, are ubiquitous (Mogul, Ritchie, and Whitlock, 2011). Presumptions of criminality are arguably the most prevalent and emotionally loaded stereotypes about Black people. Systemically, Whiteness has been viewed as inherently virtuous, while Whites have created and sustained stereotypes of Black people as violent criminals dating back to the time of slavery. Though they have morphed over time, such archetype representations of “street thugs”, violent drug dealers, and “savages” not in control of their sexual or aggressive impulses persist to this day (Welch, 2007; Fredrickson, 1988; Drummond, 1990; Russell, 2002; Hurwitz & Peffley, 1997; Dixon & Linz, 2000). Research has documented stereotypes of about every community of color’s propensity to commit crime, including Latino/as (Dixon & Linz, 2000; Niemann, 1998; Maclin & Hererra, 2006), Asian Americans, Maclin & Hererra, 2006), people of Middle Eastern descent (Romero, 2006), and Indigenous peoples (Paradies & Cunningham, 2009).

Heterosexist culture propagates stereotypes of gays, lesbians, and bisexuals as sexually deviant and thus sexually dangerous, such as in the archetype of the pedophile (Ingebretsen, 2000; Bosson, Haymowitch, & Pinel, 2004), or serial killer (Mogul, Ritchie, & Whitlock, 2011; Lavigne, 2009). Transgender people, deemed even more sexually deviant than the non-transgender gay, lesbian or bisexual person, are also stereotyped as sexual predators, especially predators who are deceptive tricksters (Mogul, Ritchie, & Whitlock, 2011; Nadal, Skolnik, & Wong, 2012), sex workers (Kohn, 2002; Mogul, Ritchie, & Whitlock, 2011, Nadal, Skolnik, & Wong, 2012), or serial killers (Sullivan, 2000; Mogul, Ritchie, & Whitlock, 2011). Latina/os are stereotyped as “illegal” immigrants, drug traffickers, and prone to violence (Bridges & Steen,

1998; Maclin & Herrera, 2006; Dixon & Linz, 2000). People of South Asian and Middle Eastern descent are stereotyped as “terrorists” (Romero, 2006; Chatkoff & Leonard, 2009). Perhaps even more insidious are the criminal stereotypes that those who occupy multiple marginalized identities must endure, such as the “killer butch Black lesbian,” (Logan, 2011; Mogul, Ritchie, & Whitlock, 2011).

Given the level of affective distress that this type of stereotype threat would likely give rise, it may not be ethical to induce or manipulate this experience in a laboratory setting. And while a lab study may measure the behavioral or performance consequences of this type of stereotyping, there is also a need to understand the cognitive and emotional reactions that underlie the observable behaviors. One source of such data is participant self-report, hence the use of interviews and grounded theory qualitative analysis to understand this experience in the lives of many marginalized people. Grounded theory is a process that involves using qualitative and/or quantitative data to describe a dynamic process (Charmaz, 2006). It involves developing theory grounded in data, rather than simply describing a phenomenon. There are two primary philosophies regarding the process of constructing grounded theory: In one, the researcher is a separate observer, discovering theory as data emerges (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). In the other, theory *is created* as a product of the participants’ experiences, the researcher’s background and knowledge of the issue (termed sensitizing concepts), and the interaction of the two (Charmaz, 2006). This dissertation will blend the two philosophies, with an emphasis on the latter. The actual steps to this approach will be described in detail in Chapter 3: Method.

Given how even very subtle priming cues can make one’s stereotyped identity salient (Steele & Aronson, 1995; Steele, 1997; Franz, Cuddy, Burnett, et al., 2004; Davies, Spencer, Quinn, & Gerhardstein, 2002), a broad range of experiences could potentially trigger stereotype

threat along the dimension of criminality. Bosson, Haymovitz, & Pinel (2004) demonstrated that, for gay men, simply being in a room with young children after indicating one's sexual orientation on a form was enough to induce stereotype threat. One might hypothesize, that for a Black or Latino man, getting into an elevator alone with a White woman could induce it. Going through airport security at the airport could trigger it for individuals who are Muslim, Middle Eastern, or otherwise subject to "terrorist" stereotypes. For transgender people, especially trans women of color, the sex worker stereotype is so pervasive that simply walking down the street in a dress could possibly trigger it, along with a cascade of other safety concerns. And for any group that experiences racial profiling, the mere sight of a police officer or cruiser could potentially induce it. In accordance with Steele's theory, I predict that being the target of this negative group-level assumption creates a sense of stereotype threat for people of color, LGBT people, and people from low SES background in any situation in which the stereotype of criminality could be used to interpret their behavior.

What activities or contexts prime individuals to think, either consciously or unconsciously, about their presumed status as criminals? And what are the affective, cognitive, behavioral, and interpersonal consequences of having experiences that trigger stereotype threat along the dimension of criminality? How might these consequences look if some of those triggers are in and of themselves, violent and traumatic (e.g. police brutality, incarceration)? These are among the questions this study aims to answer using semi-structured interviews with people who have experienced stereotyping along one type of criminal dimension, or multiple criminal dimensions.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

This literature review begins with an overview of prevalent stereotypes about various groups; specifically, stereotypes which contain narratives about a group's propensity to engage in various forms of threatening, aggressive, and criminal behavior (e.g. drug dealing, thievery, physical violence, sexual violence) and how such narratives lead to presumptions of criminality. Alongside the stereotypes overview, the review also explores macro manifestations of the criminal archetype (e.g. media representations, examples from the U.S. criminal legal system) utilizing research from fields in addition to psychology (sociology, ethnic studies, law, political science, and queer studies). The chapter will then examine the research on psychological consequences of internalizing negative messaging (e.g. performance to expectations, role conformity, lowered self-concept). Lastly, the review will explore the extensive research in psychology about stereotype threat and the ways in which stereotype threat about criminality may depart from ability-based stereotype threat and will establish the rationale for the present study.

Prevalent Criminal Stereotypes

While stereotype threat as it pertains to one's criminal tendencies has not yet been investigated, the fact that such stereotypes exist and cause harm has been well documented. These are stereotypes about a group's threshold for violence and aggression, disregard for others' safety, disregard for others' rights, and lack of moral virtue, to name a few. Stereotypes about criminality perhaps evoke stronger affective responses than stereotypes about intelligence, because 1) the dominant group presumes itself to be under threat with the former, but not so with

the latter (perhaps the dominant group may see themselves as benefitting from the latter), 2) these are stereotypes about the quality of the core character of the individual (e.g. are they a “good” person) and thus applicable to and activated in more contexts than stereotypes about intellect, and 3) these stereotypes are about the continuous, spontaneous, and fluid activity that is social behavior (e.g. one’s treatment of others), rather than about discreet, solitary activities (e.g. tests of working memory or academic exams). Additionally, as this section will illustrate, they present more devastating extrinsic consequences to the individual who is the target of such stereotypes. The extrinsic damage to having a lowered score on a standardized test or lowered grades should not be understated, as it can lead to failing to get into college or graduate school, or being denied a job or promotion, thus contributing to systemic race, class, and gendered economic inequalities, which have a host of other sequelae. However, as this section will illustrate, the extrinsic correlates in the criminal stereotype realm also include academic, employment, and economic consequences, *as well as* the threat of imprisonment, loss of civil rights, violence, and death.

There are few, if any, historically marginalized communities in the United States that do not have to contend with stereotypes about their criminal proclivities. While the specific criminal archetype varies depending on the target community, the stereotype of “the criminal” cuts across many, if not all, oppressed communities. Simultaneously, such stereotypes about marginalized communities’ criminality and depravity bolster an image of the corresponding group in power (e.g. white people, middle class people, heterosexual people) as innately virtuous and in need of protection from their crooked counterparts.

Race and Ethnicity: Thugs, Gangsters, Terrorists, and Savages

The oldest racialized criminal archetype in western hemisphere is that of the “native savage,” the untamed, unkempt, un-Christian “child of the wilderness” who needed to be controlled and converted (Zinn, 1996). The Arawaks, the nation that Columbus first encountered when he landed in the Caribbean region, greeted the conquistadors with generosity and kindness, and were soon enslaved and their numbers reduced to less than 10% of their original population. Genocide soon ensued across the North American continent, waves of European colonizers arriving and decimating entire nations (Zinn, 1996). Today, it is estimated over 12 million Indigenous people from 50,000 different nations within the area that is now known as the United States and West Indies were killed by Europeans in the time period between 1492 and 1915 (Stannard, 1992). Astounding as the death tolls are, the numbers sterilize the reality of forcible removal of children from their families, forced displacement of nations from their native lands, imprisonment on impoverished reservations, and denial of access to ancestral language, traditions, cultures, and spiritualities. While a full examination of the history of attempted genocide on the North American continent is outside the scope of this paper, even the brief synopsis above gives the reader an understanding of how the creation of an Indian criminal archetype serves to mask the identity of the true criminals. This is evident because despite the historical reality, criminal stereotypes about Native Americans have flourished. Physical resistance to European conquest was not considered “resistance” or even “war.” Instead, European colonizers spun it as primitive and savage violence, evidence of European superiority and such characterizations persist to this day (Zinn, 1996). As the U.S. government expanded, Native American cultural ways were criminalized and assimilation forced upon many nations. Speaking one’s language, wearing the clothing of one’s people, and not attending English boarding schools were all examples of illegal activities. Criminal stereotypes about Native

Americans have arguably morphed over time. The historical archetype of the “Native Savage” persists to this today, existing alongside the exoticized and fetishized image of the “Noble Warrior.” Modern-day native stereotypes that feed into criminalization include that of the “drunk and lazy Indian,” one lacking in impulse control and living off of government funds. Native Americans living in areas where casinos have been built, contend with stereotypes of being “swindlers,” a stereotype not experienced by White people living in these same areas, despite the fact that most casinos are owned by Whites. Then there is the notion of being an “Indian giver,” one who gives a gift but expects it or something back in return, racist term that emerged essentially out of a cultural difference between Europeans and some Native nations (the concept of property and ownership did not exist in many Native nations, thus a gift could always be shared with the giver).

Alongside these prevalent racist stereotypes about the criminal tendencies of Native Americans exist dismal statistics about incarceration rates of Native people. While Native Americans make up only 1% of the total prison population, their rate of incarceration per population was 709/100,000 in 2001, a rate surpassed only by African Americans during that time period (Mauer & King, 2007). This is not to suggest a direct causal relationship between rates of incarceration and criminalizing stereotypes, but merely to raise the question about the relationship. How might the existence of these stereotypes be related to incarceration rates? What are the conditions that allow for such stereotypes to flourish? Might these conditions contribute to disproportionate rates of incarceration?

Perhaps the second oldest criminal archetype in U.S. history is that of the physically and sexually aggressive Black person (Frederickson, 1988). Mogul et al. (2011) notes, “the Black criminal archetype is so pervasive, that Black is synonymous with criminal.” (p. 117). As with

Native American criminal stereotypes, there are multiple versions of the Black criminal archetype. The first of them emerged as intentional campaigns to buttress slavery and curb runaways (Frederickson, 1988). Some historians hypothesize that they also arose out of White man's unconscious projections of all his puritanically negative traits and insecurities onto another. Stereotypes of Blacks as completely lacking in impulse control, sexually aggressive and insatiable, and physically aggressive, existed alongside stereotypes of inferior intelligence and depravity. Frederickson (1988) argues that the Jungian concept of "the shadow" is relevant in the creation of a caricature he refers to as the "beastly black rapist," stating that there was "A tendency to project upon blacks the kind of libidinous sexuality that whites tried to suppress in themselves" (p.191). These "oversexed" stereotypes about Black people are not limited to men. The female counterpart to the sexual aggressive stereotype is that of the "Jezebel," a woman with a voracious sexual appetite that can never say "no" and that wishes to ensnare a man by getting pregnant so that she may have a means of income. One of the most common stereotypes is that of the "angry Black woman," a woman with a propensity for losing her temper and for expressing rage in a potentially dangerous manner, even in the face of the smallest slight (Alexander, 1994). Bigger, stronger and more masculine than women of other races, her very identity as a woman is questionable.

Research suggests that harboring negative stereotypes effects one's behavior and judgments in ways that are harmful to the target of the stereotype. In a political science study by Peffley, Hurwitz, and Sniderman (1997) in which 1,841 White participants were assessed to determine level of negative stereotyping, they were then given scenarios involving criminals. Half the participants received scenarios involving White perpetrators and the other half was given scenarios involving Black perpetrators. Only the race was varied, while all other aspects

of the narrative were held constant. White participants consistently judged Black perpetrators more harshly than White perpetrators and offered more severe sentences for Black offenders committing the same hypothetical crime as the White offenders. The research provides strong evidence that racial stereotypes affect sentencing of individuals, as well as larger policy decisions that affect large numbers of marginalized people. Other studies have shown how racial stereotypes can distort the stereotyper's perceptions of crime. Quillian and Pager (2001) conducted a sociological study to see if presence of young Black people in one's neighborhood increased Whites' perceptions of crime in their neighborhoods. They surveyed White residents in Chicago, Seattle, and Baltimore, and matched responses with census data and police department crime statistics. When measures of actual crime rates were controlled for, the data revealed that percentage of Black men in a neighborhood positively correlated with Whites' perceptions of neighborhood crime level. This provides evidence that stereotypes are influencing perceptions of neighborhood crime level, which potentially explains the persistence of racial segregation with regards to housing, one of the most segregated domains in the United States (Massey, Gross, & Shibuya 1994; South & Crowder 1998).

For both African American and Native American communities, stereotypes about aggressiveness and propensity for violence paradoxically exist alongside stereotypes of docility. For Native Americans, the docile stereotype manifests in an infantilizing characterization of Indians as "children of the wilderness" alongside the stereotype of the "warrior" or "noble savage" (Berkhofer, 1979). Alexander (1994) summarizes this polarizing stereotype in African American communities aptly. "African-American men have been iconographically exploited as either black buck (in the nineteenth century, renegade slave; in the twentieth, athlete or criminal) or docile, smiling eunuch" (p. 42). Perhaps one reason criminalizing stereotypes have such

currency is because they may afford the target more dignity than the alternative. If forced to choose between these two caricatures, would most people rather be dopey, smiling, and childlike, or tough and threatening? Indeed, Frederickson (1988) argues that the “image of the black savage turned loose on white society” (p. 214) was tied directly to the notion of blacks in non-slavery context, while the most prominent image during the south at the time of slavery was that of the “happy negro” (Fredrickson, 1988, p. 214).

Stereotypes about Latino/as being aggressive and prone to crime are also quite prevalent. Dixon and Linz (2000) conducted a content analysis of television news programming in Los Angeles and Orange Counties. They were looking to determine how frequently the television news media aired stories about Blacks and Latino/as as “lawbreakers” versus Whites. Additionally, they sought to compare portrayals of Whites versus Blacks and Latinos as “law defenders” (e.g. law enforcement). They compared not only the frequency with which each group appeared, but also how that frequency compared with FBI Unified Crime Reports (UCR) of people sought, arrests, and convictions in the same geographic region and during the same time period. FBI UCRs include information about the offense, as well as race of the alleged perpetrator. They found that Blacks were portrayed as criminals at a higher frequency than Whites and that they were over-represented when compared with actual crime reports. They found that Latinos were also portrayed as offenders at a higher frequency than Whites. However, they found that Latinos were actually under-represented in the news when compared to actual crime reports. The most significantly under-represented group however, when compared to the UCR, was Whites. The authors hypothesize several possible explanations for the under-representation of Latinos. The first was that they examined only English speaking news media. Another was that they were upstaged by portrayals of Blacks. The third was a larger societal

view of Latino/as as not newsworthy overall because of stereotypes about the group as “foreigners” and because of stereotypes about language. They also observed that negative portrayals of Latino/as in the news may happen more frequently around issues of undocumented immigration, which were not counted as “crimes” in this study because immigration without documentation is not actually criminal act (though it is often treated as such) and is instead classified as a civil violation. Despite this legal classification, the linguistic discourse around immigration suggests that the general public believes undocumented immigration to be a criminal act, perpetuated by the continual popular use of the term “illegal immigrants” or the even more pejorative “illegal alien” or “illegals.”

There is evidence that the repeated negative portrayal of Blacks and Latino/as on the news may contribute to stereotypical attitudes among the general public (Gans, 1979; Hall, Critcher, Jefferson, Clarke, & Roberts, 1978). Hall et al. (1978) theorized that crime news reaffirms the “consensual morality” of society. “Ethnic blame discourse” (Romer, Jamieson, & DeCoteau, 1998; van Dijk, 1993) reflects the perspective that the dominant White majority has the power to project all of society’s ills onto a stigmatized “other,” thus enabling the dominant group to view itself as angelic. According to this theoretical perspective, covertly racist language (e.g. the bad neighborhood, illegal immigrants) becomes part of everyday speech and thus shapes the thoughts (and possibly also unconscious beliefs) and behaviors of those exposed to the language. Thus, television news may be both informed by, and a contributor to, the prominence of racialized criminal stereotypes. These studies however, provide more information about the news effects the stereotypes held by the dominant group (in this case Whites). Less is known about how members of the in-group are impacted by seeing their own communities portrayed in such a manner.

MacLin and Herrera (2006) conducted a two-part study to understand the content of criminal stereotypes in general, specifically within a Latino population. Ninety percent of their sample identified as Latino/a. In the first part, participants were asked to write down the first 10 things that came to mind when they thought of the word “criminal.” They were also asked to write about their perceptions of criminals’ demographics and appearance. These data were used to develop the questionnaire used in the second part, which was designed to more fully illuminate different racialized criminal stereotypes. The results indicated strong agreement among participants that the “typical” criminal was male, with “dark” hair, some type of facial hair, “beady” eyes, scars, and dark clothing. Interestingly, the “typical” White criminal was a blonde, blue-eyed male, while the typical Latino/a and Black criminals were described as “dark-skinned.” The description of the white criminal departs from the description of the hypothetical non-raced criminal, while the descriptions of Black and Latino criminals match the “typical” criminal quite well, indicating that, at least for these participants, Blacks and Latinos fit the non-raced criminal description quite well. The authors point out that stereotypes about appearance are important to study because eyewitness memory and testimony may be influenced by such stereotypes. Interestingly, the sample was almost entirely people of color and comprised mostly of Latino/as. This study is evidence that being part of the stereotyped group does not necessarily exempt one from holding such negative stereotypes about one’s own group. What the study did not explore was if or how holding racialized criminal stereotypes affected participants differently based on their race or ethnicity. What is the impact on the psyche when one matches one’s own description of the criminal prototype?

Niemann, Jennings, Rozelle, Baxter, & Sullivan (1994) studied gendered racial stereotypes using two different methodologies: adjective checklists and free-response. They

found that stereotypes were so universally agreed upon, that free response generated less variation in adjectives than the pre-written adjectives in the checklists for the sample of 240 college students. The authors hypothesized that, when asked to generate responses, participants are responding more automatically, whereas, when asked to choose from a set of words, they are engaging their cognitive skills and thus suppressing the stereotypes, which are more primitive. One cluster of adjectives that emerged in both methodologies in the description of African American males was “criminal activities.” Another adjective code that emerged for African American males and females, as well as African American females, was “antagonistic.” African American females were also dubbed “unmannerly.” This contrasts with adjectives for White males and females, which included “sociable,” “intelligent,” “attractive,” and “egotistical.” African American males and females were also tagged with “speak loudly.” While stereotypical content could be considered either positive or negative for all groups (e.g. White males were labeled “racist”), only African American males and females, and Mexican American males, were given stereotypes that suggest criminal activity, as well as several other adjectives that could imply criminal activity (e.g. “rude,” “ambitionless”). Mexican American females were also labeled with stereotypes that could suggest criminality (e.g. “promiscuous,” “bad-tempered”).

Though such stereotypes were prevalent prior to 9/11, the stereotyping of Muslims, and people of Middle Eastern and South Asian descent as “terrorists” has increased in during the past decade. Perhaps more than in any other group currently, profiling and targeting of these communities has garnered widespread legislative support. Policy-backed racial profiling of Muslims and people of Arab/Middle Eastern descent has been documented in policy statements by the Transportation Security Administration (Schmidt & Lichtblau, 2012) and has become widespread law enforcement practice in the United States. Such practices persist, despite

evidence that they fail to deter crime or to more accurately detect criminal activity (Harris, 2002; Antonovics & Knight, 2005). Even corporations participate in the criminalization, with Apple recently announcing that it will not sell some of its products to Iranians (Abdi, 2012). Apple has full support of the U.S. government for the blatantly discriminatory policy. Long before these policies, anti-Middle Eastern the stereotypes have thrived in the U.S., though they have received minimal attention in academic stereotype research. Films such as “True Lies” (1994) depict dark-skinned, mask-wearing men slapping women and praying before setting bombs. Images such as these fuel the pop culture stereotype of the Arab terrorist, which also have led to an increase in anti-Arab, anti-Muslim, and anti-Middle Eastern hate crimes (Rifka & Asali, 2003) and to increases in harassment and discrimination, which carried a host of other sequelae, including PTSD symptoms (Abu-Ras & Bader, 2008; Abu-Ras & Suarez, 2009).

The government’s criminalization of Muslims, Arab Americans, and other people of Middle Eastern and South Asian descent are not unlike the World War II persecution of Asian Americans. The practice of creating lists of “suspected terrorists,” and rounding up citizens for interrogation occurred during the time of WWII and is occurring now. President Obama was the only president in the history of the U.S. to sign into law a practice that violates the 4th Amendment to the Constitution. The executive branch of the government now has the authority to detain any person labeled a suspected terrorist (whether or not they are a U.S. citizen) without formal charges or evidence, for an indefinite period of time, with no right to speedy trial or due process. Such legislation paves the way for another internment camp scenario, though unlawful detainment of Arab Americans occurred prior to this legislation, one example being in New Orleans during Hurricane Katrina (McGreggor, 2009).

Stereotypes of criminality also affect Asian Americans to this day and include a

“bifurcated contradiction” (Aoki, 1996) in which Asian Americans (males in particular) are seen simultaneously as dangerous (e.g. part of a gang) and also too “weak” to be predatory. Asian Americans are also seen as “dangerous in their foreignness” (Lopez, 1996) while model minority stereotypes spin Asian Americans (and Asians in general) as “dangerous” because their superior intellect. This may be viewed as especially dangerous when combined with a collectivistic culture, this view being an artifact on anti-Asian World War II propaganda that still very much has currency in the U.S. today (Lopez, 1996). Like the criminalization of Arab Americans, this perspective frames Asians as not only criminal, but also “Un-American,” a label which has historically given policy-makers more authority to create systemic consequences for the accused communities.

Some have suggested that names such as “War on Drugs,” “War on Terror,” “Immigration Reform,” and “Welfare Reform” were intentionally manufactured to conjure race and class-based, criminal stereotypes, with the aim of decreasing public resistance to the unraveling of civil liberties of communities of color and working class people in post Civil-Rights era America (Chomsky, 2003). Whether or not criminalizing stereotypes are intentional or unconscious (or both), there is a dearth of evidence supporting the fact that they exist and that they alter the behavior of the individual who possesses such stereotypes. This behavior change creates systemic consequences: sentencing disparities in which African American and Latino/a people receive harsher sentences than Whites who commit *the same crime* (Daly, 1994; Novak, 2004); racial profiling, which has demonstrated to be ineffective, and yet is still widely practiced (Antonovics & Knight, 2005; Johnson, Boydon, & Pitz, 2001); and laws which may not explicitly target people of color in the language of how they are written, but still end up resulting in longer incarceration times for people of color: Three-strikes-you’re-out laws, gang loitering

laws, “broken windows” initiatives, enhanced penalties hate crimes legislation, and multiple laws for drug offenses.

What about the less visible individual, interpersonal, and intrapsychic consequences?

The literature on race-based trauma reveals that cumulative experiences of racism over time create symptoms that parallel those of PTSD, yet this syndrome still has no presence in the DSM. Symptoms of repeated exposure to racism can include emotional reactivity, hyper-vigilance, lowered self-esteem, anxiety, and depression (Fisher & Shaw, 1999; Finch, Kolody, and Vega, 2000; Pieterse, Carter, Evans, & Walter, 2010). Additionally, there is evidence that these symptoms are more severe when the racism is subtle rather than overt (Fisher & Shaw, 1999).

Gender Identity and Sexual Orientation: Sex workers, sexual predators, and serial killers

“In workshops I’ve asked women why they fear lesbians and often they’ll say, ‘I’m afraid they’ll come on to me sexually.’ This, from heterosexual women who are approached sexually by men all the time! ...Inevitably; only one or two at most will have experienced any sexual overtures from a woman, but all will attest to having dealt with unwanted sexual advances from men most of their lives.” (Pharr, 1988, p. 32). This recounting summarizes one of the most pervasive and insidious stereotypes about lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender people, as well as gender nonconforming heterosexual women: The sexually deviant rapist stereotype. As with criminalizing stereotypes about communities of color, these stereotypes have informed policy decisions. Stereotypes about the likelihood that LGBT people will make unwanted sexual advances on others formed the basis of the arguments for the military ban on lesbian and gay soldiers (Ingebretsen, 2000) and they likely have played a role in the harsh sentences meted out to LGBT people convicted of sex-related crimes (Mogul et al., 2011). The belief that LGBT people are more likely to commit homicide than straight people is echoed in such films as

“Silence of the Lambs” in which the primary villain is a transgender (or cross dressing), serial killer whose dissatisfaction with her birth gender is so severe, that she kidnaps innocent straight women in order to use their skin to make a new body for herself. Lesbians are seen to be especially prone to commit murder in situations where they “embody the sexuality of males” (Pharr, 1988) as in the film “Monster,” which sensationalized a true story of an abusive relationship between women, a story which gained considerable press, since it fit with the stereotype of the aggressive lesbian, while violating the parallel yet contradictory stereotype of the “Utopic lesbian relationship,” (Renzetti & Miley, 1998). As noted previously with racial groups, LGBT people experience the paradoxical lose-lose stereotype: One is simultaneously weak, sissy, feminized, and objectified, alongside being aggressive, hypersexual, and likely to commit sexual assault.

Criminalizing stereotypes along lines of gender and sexuality become even more poignant at the intersection of race and gender presentation. Modern day examples of this can be seen in the handling of the “New Jersey 7” case by the local NYC media. Seven African American lesbian women were cat-called and harassed in the West Village by a man who threatened to rape them and then threw a lit cigarette at them. In response, four of the women physically retaliated against the man, who was seriously injured. The local news spun them as monsters, with headlines such as “Attack of the Killer Lesbians” and “Violent Lesbian Gangs a Growing Problem” (Logan, 2011). Four of the women were sentenced to lengthy prison terms. Summarizing the relationship of the stereotype to the criminal legal response, Mogul, Ritchie, & Whitlock (2011) write: “Archetypal representations of the violent, man-hating lesbian drove law enforcement perceptions, which also likely reflected an increasing trend toward framing girls and young women of color who wear “thuggish” (read, hip-hop, gender-nonconforming, or both)

clothing as gang members” (p. 42). The intersection was a “perfect storm” for these women, who were not only Black, lesbian, and gender-nonconforming, but also working class.

Profiling of transgender people as sex workers is another concern, a prominent police practice in many major U.S. cities (Mogul et al., 2011; NYC AVP, 2010) fueled also by stereotypes that all transgender people (especially transgender women of color) are sex workers. In New York State, carrying more than 3 condoms is all the evidence an officer needs to charge someone with intent to commit prostitution, a law which has been used to search and arrest countless transgender women in New York City (Personal communication, A. Ritchie, Esq.). Police monitoring and profiling of gay men as likely to have sex in public places (parks, bathrooms) leads to profiling of men presumed to be gay. And public restrooms are often places where transgender and gender nonconforming people will most intensely feel the stereotype of intent to commit sexual assault (and experience violence and harassment as a result), as gender conformity is most heavily policed in such spaces (Sullivan, 2000). What are the cumulative psychological consequences of being viewed as a sexual predator when trying to navigate public space? Though meant to be humorous and entertaining, David Sedaris speaks eloquently to one possible consequence of this stereotype: “Though [conservative radio show commentator] would never believe it, I am not sexually attracted to children. That said, I am a person who feels guilty for crimes I have not committed. The police search the train for a serial rapist, and I cover my face with a newspaper, wondering if I did it in my sleep” (Sedaris, 2004, p. 216). This impact on self-perception may be key to understanding false confessions and other examples of innocent people behaving as if they were guilty.

Social Class and Criminalizing Stereotypes

Working class and poor people are particularly vulnerable to being stereotyped as criminal because, unlike most other marginalized identities (e.g. youth, people of color, women), poor people's marginalized class identity is presumed to be a direct result of their own shortcomings. In other words, one is poor because he or she is "lazy, unintelligent, and unmotivated" (Cozzarelli, Wilkinson, & Tagler, 2001, p. 209), character deficits which could coincide with criminality. Caricatures that communicate this stereotype include the "red neck," a poor, unintelligent and "backwards" person from a rural community who spends most of his or her time drunk and is prone to violence, particularly towards an intimate partner. The narrative of this stereotype dictates that such a person likely developed the "red neck" from doing manual labor outdoors (yet somehow is still lazy). Thus, it is a racialized term, implying the target is White, much like the term "white trash." Both terms, by highlighting whiteness, not only demean working class and poor people, but also people of color, the implication being that this class status is atypical for White people, but commonplace for people of color. Even though there may be a presumption that being poor is the norm for communities of color, classist caricatures also exist to highlight particularly abhorrent or threatening versions of this group. One such archetype is the "welfare queen" a Black (also sometimes Latina or Indigenous) woman who has children specifically to gain access to public benefits. This one is gendered, classed, and raced – she also will try to "snag" a man by intentionally getting pregnant, with material gain being the primary motive, as well. Such stereotypes are intertwined with sexualized stereotypes of African American women as "oversexed" and manipulative, and the "slut" or "Jezebel" stereotype. Landrine and Klonoff (1999) conducted a study with participants randomly assigned to read and evaluate a hypothetical person in one of four scenarios in which only the identity of the individual was varied. One group read the scenario with a poor White woman, while another

read one with a middle class woman. The third group read the same scenario with a poor African American woman and the fourth, with a middle class African American woman. The race and class information significantly impacted participants' perceptions of the scenario. African American women were judged to be less passive than white women, and the working-class women were judged as more "hostile, dirty, inconsiderate, and irresponsible" than the middle-class women (Landrine, 1999, p. 234). In a similar study examining participants' perceptions of welfare recipients, Fiske, Xu, Cuddy, & Glick (1999) found that welfare recipients were the only social group that was perceived as low in warmth and low in competence, and they were the only group that were rated as both "disliked" and "disrespected."

While there is less research on criminal stereotypes about other groups, such as people with mental illness, young people, immigrants, and homeless people, it is worth noting that these groups contend with the presumption of criminality and the negative consequences that result from such presumptions. Stores that limit the number of teenagers allowed in at a given time, curfew laws, and the ability to be tried as an adult for certain crimes when one is under 18 (despite scientific evidence that executive functioning is not fully developed in people under 24) are some examples of the ageist version of criminalizing stereotypes. People's fear of psychosis and other mental illness, as well as fear and avoidance of homeless people, provide anecdotal evidence of core beliefs that these are people who are unpredictable, desperate, and thus prone to impulsivity and violence. The terms "illegals" or "illegal aliens" provide a glimpse into another striking criminal stereotype, the dangerous foreigner. A person of color who is also read as an immigrant may be labeled a criminal just for existing in the U.S.

Interpersonal and psychological outcomes of negative stereotyping

Race-based traumatic stress. Aside from the measurable environmental manifestations of criminalizing stereotypes detailed above, the question remains what happens intrapsychically and interpersonally to a person who is continuously read as a criminal? While not specifically addressing the issue of criminalizing stereotypes and systemic criminalization, the research on race-based trauma points to some disturbing possibilities, specifically for people experiencing racism. Research suggests that African American and Latino people surviving racism in the U.S. experience a syndrome with symptoms that parallel those of PTSD (Carter, 1991; Butts, 2002; Klonoff & Landrine, 1999) and depression (Fischer & Shaw, 1999; Noh & Kaspar, 2003; Finch & Kolody, 2000). While many of these studies found that a strong racial identity and social support can help address some of these psychological consequences, none alleviate the effects entirely (Noh & Kaspar, 2003; Finch & Kolody, 2000) and the individual is never able to fully heal from the experience because racism is recurring, not a singular event in the past, as is often the case with acute traumas that create similar symptoms.

Expectancy effects. A considerable amount of social psychology research has focused on a cluster of phenomena known as expectancy effects. One of the most well-known of these is the Placebo Effect in which a patient is given an inert treatment, yet demonstrates either a real or perceived improvement in their medical condition. This effect has been demonstrated by administering inert pharmacological treatments, sham surgeries, or even simple statements such as “you will see improvement in the next few days” (Margo, 1999). It has also been demonstrated by giving therapeutic treatments without telling patients they are receiving them. Colloca, Lopiano, Lanotte, and Benedetti (2004) found that Parkinson’s patients given electrode stimulation of certain parts of their limbic systems showed much more significant improvement of autonomic system responses (not under one’s conscious control) when they were told they

were receiving such treatment than when the same therapeutic stimulations were hidden from the patients. Outside of the medical context, studies of the Hawthorne Effect have demonstrated that researchers hoping to confirm their hypotheses in their investigations with human participants send unconscious messages to participants about what results they wish to observe, spurning demand effects which cause participants to comply, possibly in order to please the experimenter. The effect has even been observed in animal cognition studies, as many non-human mammals are particularly adept at reading human body language. The Clever Hans effect was first observed when a horse, named Clever Hans, who had supposedly been trained to answer simple arithmetic by stamping his hoof, actually showed an equally remarkable skill: reading the unconscious body language of humans with complete accuracy. Clever Hans answered all sorts of questions correctly, but only when the human experimenter also knew the correct answer (Pfungst, 1911).

In educational contexts, Rosenthal and Jacobson (1968) termed this expectancy phenomenon the Pygmalion effect. In a series of seminal experiments, they gave teachers arbitrary information about which students held the highest IQs in their classes. Chosen totally at random, as the school year progressed, these same students emerged as the highest achievers in their classes. The results have been also been replicated in reverse, with those being arbitrarily labeled negatively conforming to the low expectations unconsciously communicated to them (Rosenthal, 1968), while other researchers have found weaker results for the Pygmalion effect and have found evidence that the effect can dissipate over time (Jussim, & Harber, 2005). While both laboratory and field researchers can randomize assignment to positive and negative conditions and manipulate how messages about these groups are communicated to a teacher blind to the actual purpose of the study, messages about high or low academic expectations

continue to be communicated to students when they leave classrooms in their broader societal contexts, especially depending on a student's social class, race, gender, real or perceived disability, and other social status variables. Despite controversies over the strength of the Pygmalion effect, these classroom studies are powerful: If within this singular context, unconscious messages delivered by one (albeit significant) person in the student's life can spurn conformity, imagine the impact of complete immersion into a life context of high or low expectations.

The Stanford Prison Experiment. In one of the most famous (and infamously unethical) psychology studies ever conducted in the United States, Haney, Banks and Zimbardo (1973) demonstrated the potential power of expectancy effects outside the classroom in a six-day immersion context. In a compelling critique of the conditions of the U.S. penal system, the researchers sought to better understand how it might be that prison has little or no rehabilitative effect and in fact, can actually enhance criminal propensities while simultaneously creating emotional trauma and impairments that make return to society after lengthy incarceration dangerously stressful for the formerly incarcerated, thus increasing the chances of recidivism along with a host of other sequelae. Prior to this research, the negative outcomes of prison had been blamed on the attributions of the convicted, termed the dispositional hypothesis: Violent, abusive, and hierarchical social contexts predominate in prison settings because of trait character deficits of the incarcerated individuals themselves. Haney et al. (1973) hypothesized that the context of the prison environment organized and activated abusive and controlling behavior in both inmates and guards. This, more than inherent traits of guards or inmates, would explain negative outcomes of incarceration. To test this hypothesis, the researchers sought to create a simulated prison environment using a nonclinical, "normal" subset of the male population.

Deception in the study took the form of telling participants that they were participating in a study of “prison life.” One of the greatest departures of this study from the Pygmalion, placebo, and other expectancy studies before it however, was that all participants knew they were taking part in a study and all knew that they were being asked at random to play a role of either a prisoner or a guard, with minimal instruction about what that actually meant. Despite this knowledge, every effort was made to simulate the actual experience of a prison, including the construction of the fake prison, uniforms, and a mock arrest and booking by actual police. The study was terminated early, after six days, because of the veracity of which both groups took up their roles and negative psychological consequences of this, especially for the participants assigned to the prisoner role. The researchers observed that “guards” became increasingly controlling, manipulative, threatening, and verbally and emotionally abusive over time (physical abuse was prohibited) while the “inmates” became increasingly distraught, depressed, compliant, and agitated. Both demonstrated increases in negative affect and negative outlook. “Five prisoners had to be released early because of extreme emotional depression, crying, rage, and acute anxiety... [One of these five] was released after being treated for a psychosomatic rash which covered portions of his body” (Haney, Banks, & Zimbardo, 1973, p. 81). Though the ethical problems are undeniable, the results have powerful implications for the potential negative consequences of receiving consistent, recurring messages that one has criminal tendencies as an inherent function of belonging to her or his race, class, sexual orientation, gender identity, or other group membership. What are the results of internalizing the stereotype that one’s group is prone to committing acts of physical and/or sexual violence? Could practices that overtly convey this stereotype, such as racial profiling and bias policing, actually create criminal behavior, or at least the appearance of it, in the targeted group?

Stereotype Threat. Another cluster of social psychology literature that seeks to investigate the effects of conforming to expectations has been termed “stereotype threat” because the performance expectation in this context is communicated to the participant long before she or he ever walks into the lab. Steele and Aronson (1995) in their classical study argued that their subtle manipulation (marking a race identity check box) called up the catalogue of negative stereotypes about the African American participants’ intellectual abilities already internalized by years of socialization that included being bombarded by negative stereotypes about oneself and one’s group, in an immersion context even more continuous and longstanding than the week participants spent in the simulated Stanford prison.

Stereotype Threat in the study of criminal archetypes

Since Steele and Aronson’s (1995) seminal study with Black and White undergraduate test takers, over 100 articles have been published replicating their results in numerous different contexts and with multiple communities. An in-depth examination of this literature reveals some variation in definitions of stereotype threat. Steele and Aronson (1995) gave an original definition that describes threat as a cognitive phenomenon: “The threat of possibly being judged and treated stereotypically, or of possibly fulfilling such a stereotype” (p. 798). Other authors have defined it solely in a behavioral context, without including any potential underlying cognitions: “Stereotype threat occurs when knowledge of a negative stereotype about a social group leads to less-than-optimal performance by members of that group” (Beilock & McConnell, 2004, p. 597). Similarly, Ben-Zeev et al. (2004) incorporated behavioral and cognitive processes: “Stereotype threat occurs when targets of stereotypes alleging their inferiority in a relevant domain are reminded of the possibility of confirming these stereotypes, resulting in performance deficits” (p. 174). Other researchers have also defined stereotype threat as a

cognition about the self, rather than about the performance outcome, as in Bergeron, Block & Echtenkamp's (2006) article: "Stereotype threat is the threat of being at risk of confirming, as being true of oneself, a negative stereotype about one's group" (p. 134).

These definitions were spurned in research specifically about stereotype threat and cognitive ability, primarily in the academic realm. Can these definitions be generalized to other experiences of stereotyping? Criminal stereotypes are pervasive and are arguably among the most damaging of stereotypes in terms of both their extrinsic and intrinsic consequences, in many cases, causing people to evaluate more harshly the targets of such stereotypes (e.g. Daley, 1994; Hurwitz; Peffley, 1997). Possible evidence for this may also be found in the racial disparities in length of prison sentences for the same crime and racial disparities in capital punishment in the U.S (Steffensmeier, Ulmer, & Kramer, 1998). But what about the intrapsychic consequences of criminalizing stereotypes? Missing from the above definitions of stereotype threat above is the possible affective and interpersonal components of stereotype threat. While research indicates that stereotype threat is often an unconscious phenomenon (e.g. Steele & Aronson, 1995; Wraga, Helt, Jacobs, & Sullivan, 2007; Bosson, Haymowitz, & Pintel, 2004), what are the corresponding emotions (e.g. fear, anxiety, anger)? And for any given person experiencing stereotype threat, who is it that they are worried about confirming it for? In other words, if the threat of confirming a negative stereotype exists, for whom is one worried about confirming it: oneself, the outgroup, or other members of one's own marginalized community? Missing also is the meaning of "confirming." Does confirming connote a fear of doing something to make it appear true? Or is the fear that the stereotype itself *is* true? Or a combination?

Six Different Forms of Stereotype Threat

Shapiro and Neuberg (2007) in their extensive literature review of stereotype threat research point out that the “threat” itself appears to have multiple potential sources and that, because of this, researchers may not always be studying the exact same phenomena when they study stereotype threat. They propose six distinct types of stereotype threat, as measured along the intersection of two different dimensions: the source of the threat (self, out-group members, or in-group members) and the target of the threat (self or group). The distinction is important, they argue, because the fears and the self-talk that arise in the individual for whom stereotype threat is triggered will be qualitatively different. As such, the intervention to alleviate the threat should be adjusted accordingly.

One form of stereotype threat within this multi-threat framework is “the self as target and self as source” fear. This form would threaten one’s self concept, as the core fear would be “that my behavior will confirm, *in my own mind*, that the negative stereotypes held of my group *are true of me*.” (Shapiro & Neuberg, 2007, p. 113, emphasis in original). Self-group threat would be the fear the individual has that her or his behavior would confirm in her own mind, that negative stereotypes of her group are true about the group. Both of these are examples of the self as the source of the threat, most relevant in contexts in which only the individual has access to information about her or his performance on a specific task. In other contexts, they argue, the “outgroup” (e.g. the dominant group) is the primary source of the threat. In these cases, the individual may view themselves or their group as a whole as the target. In other words, the fear is that the individual’s behavior will confirm, in the eyes of the outgroup member(s), that the individual matches the stereotype of her or his group and thus, the individual will be treated badly, be judged by the outgroup, and/or be a poor ambassador for their group (i.e. my behavior will result in my entire group being judged badly or mistreated because of my confirmation of

the stereotype in the presence of the dominant group). In this framework, the final source of threat is other members of the marginalized group, or the “in-group.” Again, two target fears intersect: either that I will harm my own reputation in the eyes of my other group members by confirming a stereotype, resulting in rejection from my own group. Conversely, the other fear that may be present is that I will confirm a stereotype is true of my group in the eyes of my own group, resulting in members of my group having less respect for our group as a whole. They further emphasize that there may be threats beyond these six and that there certainly exists composite threats, whereby one person would experience multiple threats at once, perhaps increasing the distress the individual feels and aggravating relating outcomes (e.g. performance). They hypothesize about what conditions or contexts might result in which forms of threat (e.g. strength of identification with a group, cultural factors, visibility of triggering event, etc.), though they do not actually conduct an empirical study to test the framework and related hypotheses. Nonetheless, this thorough examination of the cognitive side of stereotype threat can help guide questions in qualitative interviews about the conscious aspects of the experience of stereotype threat.

Necessary Conditions to Activate Stereotype Threat

In Steele’s (1997) original conceptualization of stereotype threat, four conditions must be present for the phenomenon of stereotype threat to take place. First, there must exist a societal-level stereotype about one’s group – a stereotype that can be said to be commonly known. Secondly, the person must identify in some way with the construct that is evoking the threat – in other words, a Black person who identifies with being academically successful will be more vulnerable to stereotype threat in academic domains than would a Black person who does not identify with academic success or who is not invested in such an image of his or herself. Thirdly,

the domain must pose a difficult task – on a math exam, non-challenging items will be less likely to trigger stereotype threat (such that performance is depressed) than difficult math items would. Lastly, the domain must be stereotype-relevant such that the individual fears being confirming the negative stereotype (Steele, 1997; Spencer et al., 1999). It is not yet known whether these same conditions are necessary for stereotype threat about other dimensions of the person beyond their intellectual ability.

Stereotype Threat: Populations and Domains of Impairment

The impact of stereotype threat on solitary performance tasks. The following studies investigate stereotype threat as activated and measured in contexts that require the subject to perform a task: an academic exercise, a cognitive task, a kinesthetic task (e.g. an athletic exercise), or a psychomotor activity (e.g. computer simulating driving). These tasks are solitary in that participants are not directly interacting with others while performing the task, nor are they being evaluated on any interpersonal variables.

Race: Academic, athletic, and workplace performance. A search of the literature reveals over 100 studies on stereotype threat, as experienced by women, African Americans, Latina/os, people of Asian descent, gay men, working class and poor people, the elderly, and people with disabilities. As previously mentioned, the earliest stereotype threat study was conducted with African American participants (Steele & Aronson, 1995), though there was research in social science literature prior about having an awareness that one may at anytime fall prey to another's racist stereotyping and prejudice (e.g. Goffman, 1963; Carter, 1991). While Steele and Aronson's (1995) study focused on African American students' performance on a cognitive task, Blascovich, Spencer, Quinn, & Steele (2001) examined a physiological manifestation of stereotype threat. They measured blood pressure of White and Black participants taking a word

association test. The second between-subjects variable was a high stereotype threat vs. low stereotype threat condition, manipulated by giving participants slightly different descriptions of the purpose of the test, with a manipulation check built into the debrief. Because previous studies seemed to suggest that stereotype threat impedes performance only with challenging or difficult test items (Spencer et al., 1999; Steele, 1997; Steele et al., 2001), researchers gave the participants items with a range of difficulty as a within-subjects variable. Two significant findings emerged. First, Black participants in the high-stereotype-threat condition performed significantly worse on the difficult items than did the other three groups (Black participants in the low-threat condition, and white participants in both stereotype threat conditions). Secondly, they found a significant effect for stereotype threat on blood pressure, the second within-subjects variable. Comparing participants to their own baseline blood pressure measurements, Black participants in the high stereotype threat condition showed significantly elevated blood pressures during the test, whereas the other three groups did not (more on autonomic nervous system correlates of stereotype threat can be found in following sections). Discrete tasks such as exams are not the only condition in which stereotype threat can be activated for African Americans. Davis and Silver (2003) conducted a study to investigate whether stereotype threat would affect Black participants' answers about U.S. politics on a survey given in an interview format. To create a threat condition, they changed only the race of the interviewer (White for the threat condition, Black for the control group). The study was a 2x2 design with the other dependent variable being whether the interview was framed as "a test of political knowledge" or a "survey about politics." Out of all four groups, the group that performed most strongly were the participants with the Black interviewer who had the test (it truly was a test) framed as a "survey," implying that perhaps their opinions would be sought, rather than that they would be evaluated.

The group who obtained the fewest correct answers, true to the researchers' hypotheses, was the participants with a white interviewer who were told that their political knowledge would be tested.

A sport most commonly played by White and wealthy people (golf) was perhaps an ideal testing ground to determine whether or not stereotype threat would impact African Americans in the realm of athletics, performing a sport where half the African American participants were told "requires sports intelligence" while the other half were told "requires natural athletic ability." In this scenario, stereotype threat would be impacting motor control rather than a purely cognitive exercise. Two studies found that stereotype threat significantly decreased African American's golf putting skill (Beilock & McConnell, 2004; Beilock, Jellison, Rydell, McConnell, and Carr, 2006.)

The literature documents well this one of many negative aspects of racism. Given only the tiniest of cues, a person of color can be primed to underperform in a given domain that is stereotypically relevant. While this theory has been supported most frequently in studies examining students' academic performance, other studies indicate this phenomenon operates even for people of color who are seasoned experts in their chosen professions. The question remains: What does stereotype threat look like when the threat being cued is not about cognitive ability, but about one's criminal proclivities? This is an area where stereotypes are at least as, if not more, pervasive than in the academic realm.

Gender: Math, visual-spatial ability, management, and driving. The largest body of stereotype threat research has been conducted on women. Each of these studies has demonstrated that when stereotypes about women's math performance are made salient, women's math performance subsequently drops significantly. Spencer, Steele, and Quinn (1999)

conducted three studies to test the stereotype threat hypothesis with female students. In the first study, 28 men and 28 women were selected from an introduction to psychology course pool. All participants had academic records suggesting high math ability (completion of at least one semester of calculus with a “B” or higher grade and at least in the 85th percentile in the math section of their SAT). Participants were then randomly assigned to either an “easy” or a “difficult” math test condition. The results of the study confirmed their hypotheses that 1) women and men with strong math skills would score equally well on the easy math task and 2) men with strong math skills would outperform equally qualified women on the difficult math task. In this first study, stereotype threat was not overtly manipulated. In study 2, the researchers attempted to locate the cause of these differences by explicitly manipulating stereotype threat. They divided the 64 (30 women and 34 men) participants randomly into two groups. Both groups took the same two exams, but the researchers varied how they described the exams. In the first group, participants were told that the first exam produces gender differences but that the second exam does not. The second group was told the reverse.

The results confirmed the researchers’ hypothesis. Women underperformed on the exam they were told produces gender differences *regardless of which exam they actually took*. Furthermore, on the exam they were told does not produce gender differences, they performed as well as the male participants, possibly suggesting a way of reducing or eliminating stereotype threat: by making it explicit that a measure is not biased. In the third study, the researchers worked with participants with a wider range of ability and included a series of self-report measures to try to uncover possible mediators of stereotype threat (e.g. evaluation apprehension, state anxiety, and self-efficacy). As in study 2, participants in one group were told that one test exhibited gender differences while the other did not, whereas those in the second group were told

the reverse. The results echoed those of the second experiment, with female participants performing more poorly than male participants only on the test that was reported to have produced differences. Numerous studies have replicated these results and provided strong evidence that stereotype threat can at least partially account for gender differences mathematics (Logel, Iserman, Davies, Quinn, & Spencer, 2009; Rydell, McConnell, & Beilock, 2009). At least two studies examined stereotype threat in math performance, manipulating threat also by describing tests as “gender fair” or “gender biased,” while simultaneously measuring various physiological measures of arousal (cardiovascular function, heart rate, blood pressure). Both studies found an underperformance of women in threat conditions to be correlated with heightened arousal (Ben-Zeev, Fein, & Inzlicht, 2004; Vick, Seery, Blascovich, & Weisbuch, 2007). Studies on women’s vulnerability to stereotype threat have also been conducted outside the realm of math. Bergeron, Block, and Echtenkamp (2006) studied women’s performance in managerial scenarios with 115 graduate student participants (45 men and 70 women) working on a complex simulated managerial decision-making activity. Rather than explicitly manipulating stereotype threat as in many aforementioned studies, the researchers assumed the well-known stereotype of women being less competent managers than men would function as its own manipulation. They then manipulated sex-type of the position by describing the participants’ predecessor in either stereotypically feminine or stereotypically masculine terms. In addition to using task performance as a dependent variable, the researchers also measured negative affect with four questions designed to assess participants’ emotional reactions to the activity. They also measured stereotype threat itself using a modified version of Steele & Aronson’s (1995) questionnaire and gender role identification using the Bem Sex Role Inventory.

What they found was that negative affect was correlated with stereotype threat such that the more negative affect they expressed, the more stereotype threat they experienced ($r = .25$). As hypothesized, women experienced greater stereotype threat ($r = .37$). They also underperformed in one measure of the task, but performed equally well with men in another measure of the task. Of note is that stereotype threat seemed to be operating for women in both conditions, indicating that even when the job scenario is one which is seen as stereotypically feminine (e.g. nursing, teaching), women still feel the effects of stereotype threat in the workplace, a finding that departs somewhat from previous findings that indicate that the domain should be stereotype-relevant. This research suggests that perhaps global negative stereotypes about a particular group are powerful enough to activate threat *even in domains in which the group is stereotyped to excel*.

Some research suggests that identity salience can also be used to combat stereotype threat. Shih, Pittinsky, & Ambady (1999) used Steele and Aronson's (1995) original stereotype threat cue of having a participant mark an identity box prior to taking a difficult math test. They found that Asian American women who received instructions to indicate their gender (and not their race) prior to taking the test scored significantly lower than Asian American participants who were asked to indicate their race. The researchers hypothesize that "positive" stereotypes about Asian Americans and math cancelled out the negative stereotypes about women and math.

Like with race-based stereotype threat, evidence suggests that this phenomenon impacts sensory motor systems, as well as cognitive functioning. Yeung & von Hippel (2008) conducted a study to determine whether or not being reminded about stereotypes of women as bad drivers would impact women's driving abilities. Using a video game which simulated driving, the researchers found that women in the stereotype threat condition were more than twice as likely to

strike a pedestrian (who wandered into their field suddenly) than women in the control condition who were not cued with this stereotype. The authors hypothesized that managing the cognitions about the stereotype increased participants' cognitive load, diverting energy and attention away from the task (Yeung & von Hippel, 2008). They also extrapolate out from the results, suggesting that stereotype threat is likely to impact female drivers in all sorts of stressful driving scenarios, such as parallel parking on a busy street with an impatient male driver behind her, or navigating through an unfamiliar area. Arguably, women in the military, female pilots, female police officers, and women in many other masculine-typed occupational settings where physical coordination is of prime importance to the task (and perhaps also to her identity) may also be subject to stereotype threat.

Social class and academic performance. While the greater part of the stereotype threat literature has focused on stereotype threat along race and gender lines, a few studies have investigated the impact of stereotype threat on students from poor or low-income backgrounds. The first of such studies (Croizet & Claire, 1998) was a 2 x 2 x 2 factorial design, in which the independent variables were socioeconomic status (low or high SES), salience of SES (manipulated by asking students to indicate the highest grade level completed by their parents in the salient condition, rather than a neutral question about the size of their home town in the non-salient condition), and description of the task to participants as either diagnostic of intelligence and ability, or non-diagnostic. Before taking the exam, all participants were asked to fill out a readiness questionnaire, disclosing potential impediments to strong performance (e.g. Likert measures of sleep the night before, stress, current ability to concentrate). The researchers had hypothesized that students in the intelligence diagnostic condition from low SES backgrounds would identify more impediments to performance on the readiness questionnaire, but this was

not the case. The primary hypothesis, however, was supported. There was a significant interaction between SES and diagnosticity of the task such that students in the low SES diagnostic condition got the fewest number of items correct. No other interactions were significant with this dependent variable. Furthermore, there was an interaction between SES and diagnosticity on number of items attempted, with participants in the low SES, non-intelligence-diagnostic category attempting significantly more items than low SES participants in the diagnostic category. This provides strong evidence that believing that a test is supposed to be a measure of intelligence interferes with performance for low-income students. The third variable, class salience, did not yield any significant findings. This is a departure from the race stereotype threat research which overwhelmingly finds that salience alone is sufficient to induce threat. The authors hypothesize that their method of creating class salience (by asking about parents' educational level) may have been a weak manipulation of the variable, or that class salience manifests differently from race salience, particularly in France where this study was conducted. The authors hypothesize that class may always be quite salient, so manipulating it had no effect.

A study in the U.S. by Harrison, Stevens, Monty, and Coakley (2006) yielded similar findings. They used a very overt manipulation of stereotype threat, cueing it by telling participants in the threat condition that “the purpose of the research was to understand why lower income students generally perform worse on academic tests” (Harrison et al., 2006, p. 341). Additionally, they sought to include middle-income students in a 3 (low, middle, upper income) x 2 (diagnostic vs. non-diagnostic) factorial design. Unlike Croziet and Claire (1998), they did not make separate variables out of class salience and diagnosticity. So students who read the above quote in their instructions were also told that the test would be a valid assessment of their abilities, while in the non-threat condition, students read instructions stating that the purpose of

the research was to understand the psychological factors involved in completing standardized tests and were informed that their performance would not be graded or used to evaluate their math and verbal abilities. This design differs from Croziet and Claire's (1998) study because the conditions blend class salience and diagnosticity into one category, which they label "diagnosticity." This was a missed opportunity to compare findings with previous studies to see if salience alone is sufficient to induce stereotype threat for low-income students. Thus the results, while compelling, do not reveal whether or not class salience by itself matters. This is important because exams outside of laboratory studies do not generally cue class-based stereotype threat as overtly as in this study. Nonetheless, some interesting findings emerged. The researchers found no effect for stereotype threat on middle class students' performance or on their test anxiety, which did not differ significantly from either low income or upper income students. Like Croziet and Claire (1998), they found that diagnosticity impaired the performance of low-income students and raised their test anxiety, while being told that the test was nondiagnostic eliminated group differences. Interestingly, upper SES students in the diagnostic condition performed better in both verbal and math tests than upper SES students in the nondiagnostic condition. Given the conflation of class salience and diagnosticity in this study, one wonders if this finding is perhaps evidence for a "reverse threat" phenomenon, whereby upper income students who are told that they typically perform better on academic tests internalize this message so effectively, that they also conform to the stereotype. Such a finding is a departure from most previous stereotype threat literature, which tends to find no performances differences between members of the privileged group in threat vs. non-threat conditions (e.g. Steele & Aronson, 1995).

Spencer & Castano (2007) conducted a study and brought class salience back into the design by having participants indicate their parents' income and occupations either before they took the exam (salience condition) or after (non-salience). Additionally, they manipulated diagnosticity by indicating whether the test was diagnostic of ability or a "measure of attention and perception" in a 2 x 2 design, with SES as a moderator. Interestingly, the authors stated that "The average reported parents' income was \$65,000–\$80,000," (p. 424) but did not report the actual range. They treated it as a continuous variable, centering it before entering it into the model. Like the previous studies before found, there was a main effect for SES, with performance increasing as income increased. Class salience was the strongest predictor of performance for the low SES participants in this study (defined as 1 SD below the mean), having an even greater impact than diagnosticity. Furthermore, the authors explained the gravity of these findings, describing how frequently and powerfully class is made salient for students applying to college and taking standardized tests. Cues such as having to pay for test the day of in cash (rather than ahead of time with a credit card), sitting in a room with wealthier students, bringing in a bright yellow form indicating a fee waiver, and filling out a series of forms in order to "prove" that one is poor, are all part of the context when threat occurs outside of the laboratory. Knowing the actual income range of the sample however, would have strengthened these findings.

Age: Memory and working memory. The vast majority of stereotype threat studies have been conducted with students, either graduate or undergraduate. The question remains: How much can these findings be generalized to adults, to non-educational contexts, or to people who are experts in their professional domains of identity? For example, if most of the participants in these studies are age 22 or younger, how does one determine whether or not stereotype threat is a

purely developmental phenomenon faced by younger members of marginalized groups? And if it is, do people grow out of it? A small number of studies have examined stereotype threat with non-student populations. Some of these studies have examined stereotype threat faced by older adults in the realm of memory performance. Hess, Auman, Colcombe, and Rahhal (2003) sought to test the impact of stereotype threat on older adults. Their stereotype threat manipulation consisted of fabricated newspaper articles about research on memory and aging. Participants in the negative stereotype threat condition read articles supporting the notion that memory declines with age, while participants in the positive stereotype threat condition read articles with findings contradicting traditional views on aging. Participants in a third control group read no articles. Researchers were interested in the effect of this manipulation on memory performance, strategy utilized during the task, anxiety level, and stereotype threat activation, using age (young or older) as a moderator variable. Of note was that there was no significant difference between the control and negative stereotype threat groups in terms of threat activation, indicating that, in the absence of an intervention that contradicts the existing stereotype, endorsing the stereotype is the default. As predicted, they found that older participants in the negative threat and control condition performed worse than older adults in the positive condition, while younger participants' scores did not differ significantly by condition. A possible mediator of the effect on performance was use of a cognitive memory strategy called clustering, which was utilized more by older adults in the positive condition than in the other two conditions. This finding suggests a specific mechanism by which stereotype threat may impede working memory performance: by limiting the target's use of an adaptive strategy. This leads a reader to wonder if stereotype threat depletes the target's supply of adaptive strategies in other realms, as well.

Chasteen, Bhattacharyya, Horhota, Tam, & Hasher (2005) conducted a series of three studies to explore stereotype threat as a mediator of older adults' memory performance. Noting from previous research that people expect memory to decline with age (e.g. Heckhausen, Dixon, and Blates, 1989), Chasteen et al. (2005), the researchers were faced with a dilemma of how to create a condition in which stereotype threat would *not* be activated for older adults in order to see if ST had any impact on memory performance. They designed a study in which participants in the ST condition (both older and younger participants) were given memory tests with negative, aging-related "filler" words, (e.g. frail, bitter, forget, confused) while another group was given other trait related filler words (e.g. eager, curious). What they found was that older adults were slower to recall items when they were given aging related filler-words. As their manipulation check, they gave participants a stereotype threat measure (Steele & Aronson, 1995) as well as a self-efficacy instrument. What they found was that stereotype threat completely mediated the relationship between recall scores (not recognition scores, an easier task) and age. When stereotype threat was removed from the equation, age difference for recall *completely* disappeared, indicating that stereotype threat has a very powerful affect on the participants' performance on the more challenging of the two memory tasks (recall rather than recognition). This striking result perhaps makes one wonder how much cognitive decline with age is actually due to stereotypes rather than organic causes. Some hypothesize that stereotype threat may operate even more insidiously for older adults because they have been learning negative stereotypes about older adults initially as members of the "outgroup" for decades (presumably since they were youth) before then gradually internalizing those stereotypes as they age and become members of the target group (Levy, 1996).

Since 1995, research on the impact of stereotype threat on academic and memory performance has exploded. A strong body of evidence links stereotype threat to impaired cognitive performance across multiple marginalized communities who are targets of negative stereotypes about their intellectual abilities, including many communities of color, women, working class and poor people, and older adults. Further, this impairment can occur in any cognitive domain or academic discipline, having been observed in tests of verbal, math, science, and visual-spatial ability, as well as general factual knowledge and working memory. One can draw a few additional conclusions from research on stereotype threat in the cognitive realm. First, the more strongly an individual identifies with the domain in which they are stereotyped (e.g. the more important it is for the student to get straight As or for the older person to preserve their memory), the more intensely stereotype threat will be activated (e.g. Steele, Spencer, & Aronson, 2002). Secondly, the evidence suggests that stereotype threat is at least in part, an unconscious process, since in many studies, participants 1) denied endorsing negative stereotypes about their group, and 2) denied that awareness of a stereotype had any impact on their performance, even when the results suggested otherwise (e.g. Steele & Aronson, 1995; Wraga, Helt, Jacobs, & Sullivan, 2007; Bosson, Haymowitz, & Pinel, 2004). Thirdly, evidence indicates that at least one explanation for stereotype threat's effect on performance is the affective experience of evaluation apprehension and/or anxiety, which intrudes on the cognitive capacity of the individual, placing an extra burden on the working memory and thus decreasing the cognitive reserves the individual possesses to perform the task. Fourthly, the research suggests that, the more challenging the task, the more likely threat will be activated, or at least the more measurable it will be in the realm of the individual's performance. Lastly, both subtle cues (e.g. marking one's race on a form, being the only member of one's group in a room) and very overt cues (e.g. reading about

one's group performing badly in a stereotype-relevant domain, hearing a confederate's expectations that one's group will underperform) can trigger stereotype threat such that cognitive performance becomes impaired (Steele & Aronson, 1995, Steele et al., 1997; Davis & Silver, 2003; Spencer & Castano, 2007).

The Physiology of Stereotype Threat: Cardiovascular, Neurological, and Affective

Correlates

While performance on cognitive tasks has been the most utilized method of measuring the effects of stereotype threat, a few studies have utilized other means, including objective measures of physiological and neurological arousal, as well as self-report measures of affect. These studies were also conducted in the context of solitary tasks. However, rather than being measured exclusively by performance, stereotype threat in these studies was measured by also examining variables beneath the surface of performance (e.g. cardio-vascular patterns, brain activity).

Stereotype threat and the cardiovascular system. Citing the dearth of research documenting high rates of hypertension among African Americans, Blascovich, Spencer, Quinn, and Steele (2001), sought to investigate whether stereotype threat could be one culprit. They measured the mean arterial blood pressure (MAP) of 39 college students (19 White and 20 Black) while they took two 5-minute verbal exams, with a minute rest period in between. Half of the White participants and half of the Black participants were randomly assigned to the threat condition while the other half were assigned to the non-threat condition. As predicted by previous findings, Blacks in the threat condition performed significantly worse than Blacks in the neutral condition and worse than Whites in either condition, but only on the most difficult items. For the MAP measure, each participant served as her or his own control, as baseline measures

were first established for each participant. Each participant's MAP readings during the test-taking portions of the session were subtracted from that participant's baseline MAP. There were no significant differences in MAP between the four groups at baseline. However, African American participants in the high stereotype threat condition exhibited significantly greater blood pressure increases during both exam periods, and the intervening rest period. Additionally, including performance scores as a covariate in the final analyses did not change these results, thus performance alone cannot account for these MAP differences. While the authors point out the limitations of the sample composition (40 undergraduate college students, only 10 participants per group), the results provide evidence that stereotype threat manifests physically and could ultimately be detrimental to one's health.

Blascovich et al.'s (2001) findings in African American communities bore some resemblance to Chatkoff and Leonard's (2009) findings with an Arab-American sample. Arab Americans are at a greater risk for hypertension and cardiovascular disease than the general population in all age groups except for the population over 65 years of age (Aswald, 2007). Hatahet, Khosla, and Fungwe (2002), in comparing the physiological data of an Arab American sample with data from Arab populations in Middle Eastern countries, found the Arab American population to be more at risk for cardiovascular disease than any other group. One hypothesis for the cause of this difference is chronic stress stemming from racism and discrimination that Arab Americans and other people of Middle Eastern descent must endure in the U.S. Chatkoff and Leonard (2009) collected heart rate, blood pressure, and MAP data from 27 Arab American college students and 27 White college students. Unlike most other studies in this review, there was no threat condition or neutral condition, so the only independent variable was the race/ethnicity of the participant. Participants were administered cognitive exams (math) and one

“life stress” measure: They were asked to recall a stressful time in their lives, one that they would feel comfortable disclosing to the experimenter, and “re-live” the experience by telling the story. Physiological data was gathered through the experiment (at rest at the beginning, during both cognitive tests, at rest in between, during the memory recall, and for a rest period after). The researchers were interested, not only the physiological data during a stressful event, but also recovery time. They found that at rest, the Arab American students had lower BP, MAP, and heart rates, a finding that contradicts the national data. The authors attributed this to the age of the participants and the university setting, which they indicated was very culturally affirming for Arab students. However, Arab American participants’ BP, MAP, and heart rates were significantly elevated when compared to White students during the two tasks, particularly during the cognitive tasks, which were demanding. While one cannot say for certain that stereotype threat was induced in this particular design, the researchers repeatedly asked participants to try harder and work faster as a way of raising the stress level during the task. One plausible explanation for the physiological differences between the White and Arab American students in this study was that this prompting alone induced stereotype threat for the Arab American participants, but not for the White students. Interestingly, there were no differences in recovery time, with the exception of heart rate. Arab Americans’ heart rates tended to be less likely to return to baseline within 5 minutes following the final, self-disclosure task.

There is evidence that stereotype threat also impacts women’s cardiovascular health. Vick, Seery, Blascovich, and Weisbuch (2008) examined cardiovascular correlates of stereotype threat in a sample of 88 college students, with slightly more female participants than male. Threat was induced by telling participants in the threat condition that the test historically produced gender differences. No such information was provided in the non-threat condition.

Continuous blood pressure and heart rate data were gathered using an ECG and blood pressure cuff. Results revealed that, in the gender-fair condition, men's heart rates and blood pressure were significantly higher than their baselines, compared with female participants. However, in the gender-bias condition, the scores were reversed, with female participants exhibiting more significant elevations from their baselines than male participants from theirs. The authors hypothesize that this result comes from the fact that men are assumed to outperform women in math and thus almost always have an advantage in academic settings where nothing is explicitly stated about gender differences. However, when that presumption of superiority is removed, the performance boost that males experience is eliminated and they experience a physiological state similar to one that an individual experiencing stereotype threat would exhibit.

These studies provide evidence that stereotype threat is not merely a “performance” phenomenon. While the consequences of stereotype threat may be more immediately apparent in the test score of a student, physiological differences occur as well, ones that may have long-term health consequences. While there have been no published longitudinal studies on stereotype threat and cardiovascular health at the time of this dissertation, what is known is that communities of color in the United States have higher rates of hypertension and cardiovascular disease than White people and heart disease is the leading cause of death among women (CDC, 2011).

Neurological correlates of stereotype threat. A few researchers have investigated the neurological correlates of stereotype threat, within a relatively new field of research called social neuroscience. Forbes, Schmader, & Allen (2008) examined EEG readings of Black and Latino college students during an activity where they exhibited “disengagement.” Previous research reveals that stereotype threat operates most strongly in stigmatized individuals who identify with

the domain in which they are negatively stereotyped. Thus, one way to ameliorate the distress of the threat and bolster self-esteem may be to disengage from the domains in which one's group is negatively stereotyped, a phenomenon that has been observed in several studies with students of color performing academic tasks (Osborne, 1995; Major & Schmader, 1998; Major, Spencer, Schmader, Wolfe, & Crocker, 1998). While disengagement may preserve self-esteem or self-concept following impaired performance or negative feedback, it may over time engender more impaired performance. Researchers have identified at least two means by which people disengage: either by devaluing the importance of academic achievement itself, or by discounting the validity of negative academic performance feedback, particularly from White instructors or managers (Major & Schmader, 1998; Roberson, Deitch, Brief, and Block, 2003). One negative consequence of the latter is the reduction of feedback-seeking in domains such as the workplace, which can, over time, impact both job performance and job satisfaction, as well as increase anxiety levels of employees who are members of stigmatized groups (Roberson, Deitch, Brief, & Block, 2002).

Forbes, Schmader, & Allen (2008) sought to identify other performance consequences, as well as neurological evidence, of disengagement. They activated stereotype threat in 43 Latino and African American undergraduates who were seated and prepped for electroencephalographic recording by a White male experimenter. EEG recordings are gathered using a stretch-lycra cap that contains 32 electrodes. These electrodes are not sensitive enough to detect ion movement from one single neuron, but they can detect ion movements (electrical activity in the brain) from thousands or millions of neurons firing synchronously. While EEG readings do not provide much information about spatial location of brain activity (like PET or MRI scans do), they do give more accurate temporal information about brain activity, otherwise known as Event Related

Potentials (ERP), which is useful when examining brain activity during a test, for example. Participants were randomly assigned to one of two conditions: a diagnostic-of-intelligence or a control condition. In the control condition, the purpose of the activity was described as investigating the physiological correlates of the “pattern recognition task” and to establish norms, while in the threat condition, the task was described as predictive of intelligence with the goal being to identify physiological correlates of intelligence and establish norms *for different groups*. Consistent with previous findings, they found no correlation between the two different types of disengagement measured in this study (e.g. participants generally valued academics, but discounted the value of intelligence tests). As predicted, they measured different brain wave patterns, error-related negativity (ERN) and Pe amplitudes for participants in the two different diagnostic conditions. ERN amplitudes are indicative of monitoring for errors – the higher the amplitude, the more the participant is being mindful of committing errors. Participants in the threat condition has significantly lower ERN amplitudes, indicating less effort in monitoring for errors, a finding that was echoed in the performance results of this group, as well. This was seen as indicative of disengagement. Pe amplitudes were interpreted as a measure of “discounting,” the form of disengagement that involves negating the feedback (in this case, the intelligence test) rather than the domain as a whole. Participants with higher Pe amplitudes self-reported less salience (e.g. less concern) when their errors became apparent during the task. Participants were also asked to self-report on how difficult they felt the test was. Interestingly however, participants in the threat group who exhibited *discounting* (higher Pe amplitudes and lower error salience) rated the test as more difficult than participants in the threat group who did not exhibit discounting, and more difficult than participants in the neutral condition. Evidence for

neurological correlates for devaluing could not be found in this study, since the sample did not include students who devalue academics overall.

This neurological evidence sheds some light on at least one mechanism of action by which stereotype threat impairs performance: by decreasing error monitoring and reactivity to one's performance errors in the brain. However, because the study did not utilize participants from non-stigmatized groups, one cannot rule out the possibility that these changes in the brain might occur for anyone who is told that a test is diagnostic of intelligence. In order to link these results directly to disengagement as a result of stereotype threat, the study would have been improved by including persons less vulnerable to stereotype threat in addition to the sample of students of color in this study.

Wraga, Helt, Jacobs, & Sullivan (2007) measured hemodynamic responses in the brain, rather than electrical activity, using fMRI. Event-related fMRI scans capture information about areas of the brain that are activated during specific events by measuring movement of oxygen ions in the brain. Thus fMRI can reveal information about what regions of the brain may be involved in stereotype threat. They recruited 54 female participants, all of whom were assigned to either a positive, neutral, or negative stereotyping condition, and then asked them to perform a spatial rotation task. As predicted, they found performance differences between the three groups, with participants in the positive condition making 8% fewer errors than neutral participants, while those in the negative condition made 6% more errors than those in the neutral condition. Underlying these performance differences were differences in areas of the brain activated for each of the three groups. Participants in the negative stereotyping group had several Brodmann Areas (BA) activated in the amygdala, specifically the right medial frontal gyrus (BA 11) extending into left rostral-ventral anterior cingulate (BA 32), area of the brain that process

affect, specifically fear, sadness, and anger. Other areas of the brain that were activated included regions involved in processing shame and areas related to social functioning. Participants in the positive condition, however, showed greater activation in cortical areas of the brain responsible for working memory and visual processing. This neurological evidence supports the hypothesis that one mechanism that stereotype threat inhibits performance is by diverting resources from the cognitive areas of the brain needed for the task, to affective regions of the brain, a finding that was replicated by Krendl, Richeson, Kelley, & Heatherton (2008) in an fMRI study involving women's math performance.

Derks, Inzlicht, & Kang (2008) conducted a study with both women and men to observe the differences in stereotype threat activation between stigmatized and non-stigmatized participants in a math test. Additionally, they sought to understand more specifics about the affective interference with the task, what they call "stereotype threat spill-over." Specifically, two self-regulation theories exist about the cause of the increased activation in the affective processing regions of the brain. In one hypothesis, the individual is not able to overcome the stereotype threat and becomes overwhelmed, and thus under-regulates. In the other, the individual under threat mis-regulates when self-control strength is applied in way that is counterproductive (Baumeister & Heatherton, 1996). In this study, the researchers induced stereotype threat by giving both male and female participants a "diagnostic" math test. Next, they gave participants the Stroop color-naming task, a task that requires the individual to read names of colors in different colored fonts, thus requiring attentional control and self-regulation (Ellis, Rothbart & Posner, 2004). Using EEG methods, researchers measured ERPs during the Stroop task to examine whether women under stereotype threat either misregulate or under-regulate their self-control compared to men. If they were under-regulated, they should have less

reactivity to errors than men not vulnerable to stereotype threat about math performance. If they were misregulated, they should have higher reactivity to errors. Results supported the latter – female participants were reactive, even to correct responses, almost as if stereotype threat had primed them to be hyper-vigilant to errors, such that they had many “false negatives” – detecting an incorrect response when in fact it was correct – than male participants.

The neurological evidence of stereotype threat adds some interesting data to the literature that was previously exclusively based on performance, but it has some limitations. Paralleling the stereotype threat performance literature, researchers have been more likely to investigate stereotype threat along gender lines than race lines, despite the initial research focusing on race. Thus, less is known neurological correlates of race-based stereotype threat than of gender-based stereotype threat. Additionally, these studies rarely include the non-stereotyped group, a major point of departure from the behavioral stereotype threat literature. The one neurological study that did include the non-stereotyped group, failed to include a control group in which stereotype threat was not induced.

These differences from the behavioral literature are perplexing and perhaps represent a larger concern on the part of researchers that to engage in brain studies with race or gender as a moderator would be tantamount to conducting high-tech phrenology. Indeed, both researchers and consumers of such studies need to be mindful of people’s tendency to be less critical of and easily swayed by brain imaging studies (Weisberg, Keil, Goodstein, Rawson, & Gray, 2008) and to view neuroscience techniques as superior to behavioral studies (Kihlstrom, 2006), despite the fact that neurological studies can only reveal correlates, not causes, of behavior. Lastly, it is worth noting that the neurological findings about stereotype threat increasing the activation of regions of the brain responsible for emotion, happen to ironically line up with a particular social

stereotype about women and about some communities of color: that their rational thinking becomes overwhelmed with emotion (e.g. sadness, fear, or anger), resulting in some form of undesirable behavior. None of the studies directly address this congruence between their laboratory findings and this pervasive stereotype, but it may impel the cautious researcher to take pause and question how such findings are interpreted. As compelling as such findings are, one should be mindful of confirmation bias. Still, one major benefit of these studies is that they provide an additional avenue for potentially revealing evidence of stereotype threat, even when the participant is not conscious of it, or when behavioral or performance measures are not sufficiently sensitive to detect it.

Stereotype Threat and Affect: feedback-seeking, self-regulation, and anxiety. A number of researchers have examined stereotype threat on the affective level. Aside from the negative impact on working memory and performance, there is evidence that stereotype threat can cause considerable anxiety, decrease a person's motivation, and interfere with decision-making. In a quasi-experimental study with a very large and diverse sample of high school seniors, Osborne (2001) tested Steele's (1995; 1997) hypothesis that anxiety mediates the relationship between stereotype threat and under-performance for students of color and for women. Over 20,000 high school students participated in the research, taking an exam testing verbal and math skills, as well as a measure of anxiety at the end. Using random sampling of participants to equalize data sets, as well as Baron and Kenney's (1986) statistical method for determining mediation, Osborne found evidence that anxiety at least partially mediates the relationship between performance and stereotype threat with all groups except Native Americans. The effect was most significant for Blacks and Latinos, and was smaller for women in math performance. Osborne hypothesized that the lack of inclusion of Native Americans in many

studies, including stereotype threat and possibly the studies validating the anxiety measure, may be partially responsible for this. He also hypothesized that there could be cultural reasons for this difference. One limitation Osborne identified in this study (2001) is the fact that the anxiety measure was administered after the test was taken, so the possibility exists that test outcome caused the anxiety rather than the other way around. To partially address this, ANOVAs calculating racial difference in anxiety were conducted while test score was covaried, revealing racial and gender differences in anxiety. Additionally, stereotype threat was neither measured nor manipulated in this study, though it was presumed to operate given that this was a standardized testing situation. Nonetheless, this study was the first to support Steele's hypothesis about anxiety (1995; 1997) with a sample of high school students (rather than elite college students), allowing for greater generalizability of the theory. Additionally, this set found evidence for anxiety mediating the relationship between stereotype threat and performance for multiple groups: Blacks, Latinos, and women. They found no interaction between gender and race. What also stands out is that anxiety explained between 21-38% of the race or gender differences in performance, but it clearly did not fully mediate the relationship, leaving one to wonder what other factors were operating to create group differences in both performance and anxiety level. Anxiety as a partial mediator of stereotype threat and various forms of performance, however, has been observed in other studies, as well (Spencer, Steele, & Quinn, 1999; Bosson et al., 2004).

While Osborne (2001) studied one group not typically studied in the stereotype threat literature (high school students), Roberson, Deitch, Brief, and Block (2003) studied another (adults in the workplace). Specifically, they investigated the relationship between stereotype threat and feedback-seeking in a sample of 166 African American managers. This sample is

important because it further extends the generalizability of stereotype threat theories beyond students, to professionals well established as managers within the context of a professional career. Additionally, this was one of the first non-laboratory studies of stereotype threat. Feedback-seeking as a variable of interest fits with the finding in previous studies that disengagement (including devaluing and discounting feedback) is one coping mechanism utilized by some who experience stereotype threat. Given that this was a field study, threat was measured via a 5-item questionnaire adapted from Steele (1997), rather than manipulated, though solo status (the only or one of a very few African Americans) in workplace was presumed to be another factor heightening stereotype threat, based on findings in prior studies. Organizational tenure, gender, and educational level were all hypothesized moderators. They found no significant relationship between stereotype threat and feedback *seeking*. However, stereotype threat related significantly to feedback *monitoring*, suggesting a different feedback seeking strategy by those experiencing stereotype threat, one that may lead to less direct evaluation of information and more speculation. Stereotype threat also related significantly to feedback discounting, supporting findings from previous studies that African Americans experiencing stereotype threat are more likely to discount feedback and to doubt whether it actually reflects an honest evaluation of their performance.

Survival in a human social context requires some complex inhibitory behaviors, including delaying gratification, controlling one's emotions, monitoring one's impact on others, getting out of bed when tired, and eating in moderation, to name a few. The psychology literature refers to this cluster of behaviors, which allow for an interdependent co-existence, as self-control or self-regulation (Muraven & Baumeister, 2001). Self-control is a limited resource and coping with stigma can deplete this resource. Inzlicht, McKay, and Aronson (2006) investigated the impact

of stigma on self-regulation in a three-part study. One of the three studies examined stereotype threat, specifically with female participants who were asked to squeeze a handgrip as a measure of the dependent variable, self-regulation. The handgrip, because it becomes uncomfortable to squeeze rather quickly, requires one to overcome the discomfort to continually hold on, process that requires self-control. The researchers hypothesized that this would be a tougher exercise for the people in the stereotype threat condition and that they would let go sooner than participants in the control condition. Women in the threat condition were told they would be taking a math test and were given some practice problems to look over, and then asked to squeeze the handgrip while being timed. Participants in the control group were told they would be taking a verbal test and then asked to do the same exercise. No group actually took a test. The results confirmed their hypothesis: Women in the control group had significantly more handgrip stamina than women in the threatened group. Though the researchers point out that these results cannot be known to be fully attributable to self-regulation (and offered some alternative explanations), the only difference between the groups was the test they would be told they would be taking, which likely activated stereotype threat. This method of measuring the dependent variable was an interesting choice. It may have, in and of itself, activated stereotype threat for women, who are stereotyped to be physically “weak.” The authors did not address this issue in their discussion, but it would be interesting to vary the genders and methods of activating threat while utilizing this particular DV to measure the impact.

Another study within this three-part study involved giving African American students the Stroop Task, the same task given to female participants in the Inzlicht & Kang (2010) neurological study of stereotype threat. Aronson (2006) et al. confirmed the results of Inzlicht & Kang’s (2010) study in that African American participants in the threat condition performed the

Stroop task significantly more slowly. While this task can be framed as an intellectual one, it is actually a measure of self-control – the participant is asked to name the color of the letters in a word, but feels compelled to read the word, and must overcome this urge to name the color.

Bergeron, Block, and Echtenkamp (2006) examined the impact of gender-based stereotype threat on students' performance on a series of hypothetical managerial scenarios. While their primary aim was to induce stereotype threat and then measure performance (quality and quantity), they also included a measure of negative affect, one that included anxiety and general frustration, but also anger at oneself. They included management scenarios with both masculine and feminine typed jobs and found that women who were assigned the masculine-typed jobs did not perform significantly worse than men who were also assigned masculine typed jobs (though they performed worse than men in other parts of the task). However, they did report more negative affect than men, and more negative affect than women in the feminine-typed jobs. This highlights the importance of measuring affect and not only performance. In this particular task, performance was not a sensitive enough instrument to detect stereotype threat, but the affect inventory, which consisted of only four Likert scale items, was sensitive enough to reveal differences. The researchers hypothesize that negative affect (not only anxiety, which has been the primary emotion emphasized in other studies) may be the primary mechanism by which stereotype threat inhibits performance. The items were: "I became frustrated with the activity," "I wondered how poorly I was doing on the activity," "I felt anxious while working on the activity," and "I got mad at myself." (Bergeron, Block, & Echtenkamp, 2006).

Stereotype Threat in the Interpersonal Realm

Schizophrenia and social interaction. While performance on solitary tasks (math, visual-spatial reasoning, general academic exams, athletics, driving, memory) has been the most

utilized dependent variable in studying stereotype threat, an extensive review of the literature yielded two studies that examined interpersonal tasks rather than solitary ones. Does stereotype threat affect only cognitive or psychomotor tasks requiring working memory and executive functioning, or does it spill over into the fluid and subjective realm of social interaction? Henry, von Hippel, and Shapiro (2010) investigated the presence of stereotype threat for people diagnosed with schizophrenia. One widely-held view of schizophrenia is that it impairs social functioning, but the question remains: For people with schizophrenia who have impaired social functioning, what portion of that impairment stems from stereotype threat? Thirty participants with schizophrenia were recruited and asked to converse with a confederate. Half the participants were told that the confederate was aware of their diagnosis, while the other half were told that the confederate knew nothing of their diagnosis. In reality, confederates knew nothing about any of the participants' mental health status. Confederates were trained on how to evaluate social skills along several dimensions using seven-point Likert scales. After the conversations, participants also rated how well the conversation had gone (e.g. "I think the other person enjoyed the conversation" and "I felt comfortable during the conversation" and "I found it difficult to find things to talk about.") Participants' ratings of the conversations did not vary depending on threat condition, but confederates ratings did. Confederates were blind, not only to the diagnosis of the participant, but also to the fact that the purpose of the study was to investigate stereotype threat. Participants were told instead that they were participating in a study about first impressions. Confederates rated participants on six performance variables: ability to initiate conversation; appropriateness of speech content; ability to switch topics appropriately; ability to take turns; conversational appropriateness; and confederates' level of comfort. Confederates rated participants in the no-threat condition higher on all six variables, but this difference

reached statistical significance with only the following three: initiating conversation, switching topics, and confederate comfort. No significant differences emerged in appropriateness of content, taking turns, and conversational appropriateness. As mentioned earlier, participants' self-ratings did not correlate with confederate ratings. The study confirmed two interesting findings: 1) Stereotype threat can indeed impact social interactions, and 2) as previous studies also indicated in the cognitive realm, at least some of the impact of stereotype threat remains outside of the awareness of the target of the stereotype. Despite not recognizing the impact of threat on their performance, participants in the threat condition were aware of their *inner* state, indicating that having the confederate know about their diagnosis concerned them during the debrief. The authors suggest however, that this stereotype threat manipulation may not be as dramatic as it could be because, even though half the participants were told that the confederate knew of their diagnosis (threat cue), all participants were told that the confederate did not have schizophrenia. The mere mentioning of this may have been itself a stereotype threat cue, possibly diminishing differences between the groups. Interestingly, if this is true, it also suggests that stereotype threat is not an "on-off switch," but instead exists as a gradient, possible to activate with varying degrees of intensity, a finding not explored in other studies. Perhaps most curious was the "confederate comfort" variable. What factors might contribute to this finding? Is confederate comfort caused by factors already captured in the other 5 constructs, or is it measuring something unique and/or something pre-verbal?

Sexual orientation and child care. An extensive search of the literature revealed only one other study investigating the effect of stereotype threat on interpersonal interaction. Bosson, Haymovitz, & Pinel (2004) used an interpersonal task instead of a solitary one with a population that had not yet been studied in the stereotype threat literature: gay and bisexual men.

Furthermore, they sought to illuminate the underlying emotional elements of stereotype threat, anxiety and evaluation apprehension, as measured by non-verbal behaviors, rather than by self-report, another departure from previous literature. The reasons for this were two-fold: First, positive impression management may lead some individuals to downplay how much they are impacted by stereotypes, especially if one views of oneself as a person who is calm and collected. The cognitive dissonance may lead to minimizing or completely denying any anxiety or evaluation apprehension that the individual actually experienced, especially if they are invested in disproving the existence of the stereotype, or if they are invested in being (and/or appearing) impermeable to stereotypes. Secondly, evidence suggests that the impact of stereotype threat may not be completely conscious (e.g. Steele & Aronson, 1995; Wraga, Helt, Jacobs, & Sullivan, 2007; Bosson, Haymowitz, & Pinel, 2004). Thus, using non-verbal (outside of conscious control) measures of anxiety is more likely to detect its impact than self-report. They recruited 37 heterosexual and 28 gay or bisexual men (college students ages 18-22) and instructed them to engage one child or a group of children in the playroom and video taped them interacting with children for 5 minutes. After the interaction, participants answered another questionnaire. Participants in the stereotype threat condition were asked before the interaction with children to indicate their sexual orientation on a questionnaire among other demographics and questions about comfort with children, while participants in the non-threat condition only answered other demographics unrelated to sexual orientation and comfort with children. Furthermore, the experimenter made sure the participant knew that she or he read through his responses before beginning the experiment. Because rating non-verbals can be so subjective, judges were given explicit instructions on specific nonverbal behaviors to look for in specific time increments (e.g. number of behaviors within 30 seconds, such as lip-biting, fidgeting, stiffness, averting eyes) in

order to evaluate anxiety level. One rater observed live while a second observed video recordings. Inter-rater reliability between the two was .88, so the first rater was used in the results. A second pair of judges evaluated child-care skill and was given instructions to look for competence in childcare on a more broad, gestalt level, rather than in the details of movement. Lastly, participants were asked to rate their own anxiety level and were debriefed.

Several interesting findings emerged. Priming did induce threat in the gay and bisexual participants, giving further evidence that “invisible” status still makes one vulnerable to stereotype threat (demonstrated already with social class in 1998). Performance and anxiety both emerged as significantly different for GB men in the two conditions. Interestingly, straight men in the primed condition performed slightly better than straight men in the no-threat condition, possibly because those in the no-threat condition were afraid of being read as gay if they did perform well, or were afraid they were being read as gay and thus vulnerable to threat, whereas those who indicated they were straight might have been freed of such a fear. This has been the only study in the literature in which this “flip-side” of stereotype threat has emerged, whereby the dominant group does even better when primed than the nonprimed group (e.g. white students who were asked to indicate their race in Steele & Aronson’s study did not outperform whites who were not). Overall, however, gay men performed better than straight men. Affectively, raters, who were blind to not only the sexual orientation of the participants, but to the entire purpose of the study, noted significantly more nervous behaviors in the gay and bisexual men than in straight men in the prime condition, and also rated the gay and bisexual men in the primed condition as less competent than the gay and bisexual men in the no-prime condition. These findings have striking implications for stereotype threat experienced through the lens of criminality. Independent raters with no knowledge of the participants’ sexualities and no

knowledge of the purpose of the study conformed to stereotypes in their evaluations of participants. How might this effect have looked had they been privy to information about the participants' identities, as is often the case outside the laboratory? Clearly stereotype threat impacts, not only human beings' cognitive performance on solitary tasks, but also their presence and impact on others in the social realm. Other evidence supporting these claims may be found in the literature on shyness and social anxiety, which has found that social anxiety itself can create impairments in social functioning (e.g. Brodt & Zimbardo, 1981; Schlenker & Leary, 1982).

Stereotype threat has been studied most extensively by activating participants' stereotypes about their intellectual abilities and measuring the effect of doing this primarily with easily scored dependent variables like standardized tests and cognitive psychological assessments like the WAIS. Stereotype threat in the cognitive realm has also been measured by examining likely neurological and physiological correlates of stereotype threat, such as hemodynamic responses in the brain and blood pressure. Additionally, researchers have observed stereotype threat about one's physical abilities to impact kinesthetic dependent variables like athletic performance, as well as tasks that integrate cognitive, kinesthetic, and decision-making ability, as in the activity of driving. Researchers have also sought to measure stereotype threat outside the lab in, contexts such as the workplace, by utilizing self-report measures. Lastly, researchers have found evidence that stereotype threat operates, not only in solitary tasks like tests, but also in the messier, harder-to-objectively-measure realm of social interaction, impairing participants' performance specifically in cases where the participant belongs to a group stereotyped to be socially inept (Henry, von Hippel, and Shapiro, 2010) and dangerous (Henry, von Hippel, and Shapiro, 2010; Bosson, Haymovitz, & Pintel, 2004). This

cluster of stereotypes about various marginalized populations' anti-social proclivities, and the flavor of stereotype threat that may accompany it, has not yet been extensively studied in psychology.

Affective, cognitive, and interpersonal consequences of criminalizing stereotypes and stereotype threat: Rationale for the present study

Criminalizing stereotypes are widespread and impact virtually every single marginalized community, yet are vastly understudied, especially with regards to how they impact the target. Evidence suggests that being the victim of such stereotyping could alter one's personality (Haney, Banks, & Zimbardo, 1973; Inzlicht, McKay, Aronson, 2006) and also could alter the brain (Huguet & Regner, 2009; Trawalter & Richeson, 2006; Forbes, Schmader, & Allen, 2008), an issue especially important for considering the impact on youth with developing brains, who may be presumed to be engaging in criminal behavior more frequently than their adult counterparts. There exist possible implications in multiple domains of human existence.

One way of coping with stereotype threat is "psychological disengagement." It buffers the impact of negative stereotyping, which helps preserve self-esteem. As mentioned previously, there are two routes to disengagement: discounting (assuming tests are biased and not trusting feedback) or devaluing (disinvesting from the stereotyped domain, e.g. academics). What might this coping mechanism look like in a context of buffering the impact of criminal stereotyping? Does this form of negative stereotyping impact self-esteem or self-efficacy the way that stereotypes about intellectual abilities do? One possible way that disengagement might manifest is the assumption that getting caught up in legal system is inevitable and thus trying to avoid it is futile. In some contexts, could criminalizing stereotypes thus encourage criminal behavior over time? Might one become "worn down" from trying so hard to disprove stereotype? Could anger

about being seen this way result in conforming to the stereotype? Could conforming to the stereotype itself, serve as a protective factor from other negative stereotypes or from psychological consequences? Some research suggests it could (Haney, Banks, & Zimbardo, 1973), but this remains an area for further exploration.

It may also be that disengagement is not an option in this form of stereotyping, since most people cannot choose to avoid all contexts in which they may be presumed to be a criminal and one may have little control over whether or not another perceives them as having criminal intentions. Being perceived as such may be less likely to bring about a sense of failure (as may be the case with intellectual stereotype threat), but this may be replaced with a stronger sense of injustice, especially if the individual views him or herself as an upstanding citizen or non-violent person, and it may be more likely to evoke anger, and/or fear.

Fear may be especially strong in the case of criminalizing stereotypes, and stereotype threat, if it exists in this domain. Unlike stereotype threat within the academic realm, stereotype threat in the criminal domain may be seen as carrying more severe real-world consequences. Presumably, it could carry all the consequences feared in the academic form of stereotype threat (e.g. loss of academic opportunity, confirming the out-group's negative perceptions of one's group, loss of career opportunities, fear that others will see target or target's group as inferior). In the case of criminalizing stereotype threat, the fear of confirming stereotype of self and/or group as criminal is about more than enduring a worsening self-concept or group-concept. It may also include social isolation, incarceration, physical violence, a criminal record, and maybe even death. These threats carry, not only immediate fears of safety, but fears about the distant future as well, as such experiences can have permanent consequences in multiple life domains: A criminal record can interfere with job opportunities, remove one's right to vote, and limit other

life opportunities. Loss of freedom and loss of certain civil rights can be a consequence of “underperforming.”

Criminalizing stereotype threat may carry more interpersonal consequences than might stereotypes about ability. Stereotypes about criminality are fundamentally sending messages about how the stereotyped individual interacts with other people (e.g. if your group is viewed aggressive, abusive, likely to steal, molest, cheat, lie, corrupt others). Thus “performance” implications may be strongest in the interpersonal realm. What do they mean for dating and relationships, interactions with strangers, job interviews, performing a care profession, ability to get along co-workers, friends, family, people in authority, and for networking? Since this form of stereotyping occurs in the interpersonal domain and pertains to attitudes about how someone from a particular group is likely to treat others (rather than how they might perform on a solitary task), “impaired performance” may occur in a variety of social contexts. Because some of these stereotypes are about one’s propensity to commit sexual assault, this form of stereotype threat may operate even in close relationships and/or intimate settings.

Stereotype threat with regards to criminality could also have vocational implications. For example, it could impact career development or job performance. In Bosson et al. (2004) study, stereotype threat impaired gay men’s ability to socialize with children and one could extrapolate from this other activities at related occupations in which one’s job performance could become impaired (e.g. teaching, childcare, pediatrician, child psychologist, or any other job that involves interacting with children). There could be other occupational consequences, beyond job performance, for example, career selection. How early might stereotype threat result in career circumscription (ruling out potential jobs without giving conscious consideration)? Could one’s career choice be impacted, for example, if one unconsciously sees oneself as physically

aggressive or prone to violence? Could this at least partially explain the higher prevalence of Black and Latino men in the military and law enforcement, which is much higher than the prevalence of Black and Latino men in psychology or related care fields where aggression is not a useful trait? Stereotype threat could create a view of self as one dimensional (e.g. I can only do sex work or related things, can only do jobs that involve aggression or confrontation, or specifically cannot do jobs that require the opposite). Another implication for career development lies in the ability to appear “professional” and “friendly” in a job interview or networking settings, abilities which can be infinitely harder when one is grappling with anxiety stemming from the belief that the evaluator may view her or his group negatively (Shapiro & Neuberg, 2007). This anxiety could result in a prospective employee appearing uncomfortable and thus losing out to an employee with a relaxed demeanor.

In some cases, there may be advantages to conforming to stereotypes about criminal propensity. There may be positive aspects of such stereotypes. The criminal could be seen as strong, one who resists oppression, one who possesses an ideal masculinity, or one who is a renegade or a rebel. Also, there may be potential consequences of *not* conforming to the stereotype, a reality not addressed in the stereotype threat literature. In some cases depending on one’s context, resisting a stereotype about low academic performance could cause one to be seen as an outsider to one’s own group, as if one were “trying to be white” for example, abandoning one’s culture, or “selling out.” The same could be true in the realm of criminalizing stereotypes. Depending on an individual’s context, refusing to conform to a criminalizing stereotype may make one appear weak and/or as if they are not conforming to their prescribed gender role. This may especially be the case in the context of incarceration.

If stereotype threat (or some version of it) that reminds targets of their presumed status as criminal does in fact exist, what are the *affective and intrapsychic* consequences? From the previous research, much more is known about cognitive and behavioral consequences. How might anxiety triggered by the threat of being stereotyped as a criminal alter one's behavior, making one appear more "suspicious" to a real or imagined audience? Stereotype threat interfered with women's concentration and driving in Yeung & von Hippel's (2008) study. Could this effect also occur in the real world when one is concerned about "driving while Black," for example? What are the (psychological, social, behavioral) consequences in cases where such stereotyping resulted in truly devastating or traumatic consequences to the individual (e.g. arrest, police brutality)? Do targets of criminalizing stereotypes experience any symptoms (e.g. more depression, anxiety, traumatic stress) during interactions with law enforcement than people with no history of this stereotyping who interact with law enforcement? Might they have other reactions to being in contexts that trigger stereotype threat, one's that mirror trauma survivor responses (e.g. do they have more intrusive thoughts, regard world as more unsafe, have diminished sense of personal mastery, and/or are they more likely to view others as malevolent)?

In cases of physically violent or traumatic encounters with law enforcement, what attributions do criminalized communities make? Characterological ones (e.g. this happened to me because I'm a bad or weak person) or behavioral self-blame (this happened because I did something bad) or systemic ones? What do survivors of this trauma think about their ability to minimize risk in future? Are they caught in a catch-22 of attribution? Attributing the negative event to discrimination is associated with greater distress and greater loss of sense of control and personal mastery (Inzlicht, McKay, & Aronson, 2006), but attributing it oneself may lead to lowered self-concept, self-esteem, and/or group concept (Shapiro & Neuberg, 2007).

The answers to questions like the foregoing represent important additions to the counseling psychology literature in several respects. Counseling psychology emphasizes culturally sensitive practices that address environmental as well as intrapsychic issues. Stereotype threat and criminalizing stereotypes are external forces that disproportionately affect marginalized communities. Understanding the mental health implications of these experiences place counseling psychologists in a better position to conceptualize clients' presenting concerns correctly and to provide interventions that help patients adapt, survive, and resist these oppressive forces in their lives. Furthermore, understanding the nuances and impact of stereotype threat in a social context gives counseling psychologists more information about a client's interpersonal world. Being able to explain how these processes operate and affect people may be empowering and informative information for clients. Additionally, many counseling psychologists operate from a social justice framework, seeing their role as not only improving the lives of individuals, but also as helping to creating a more just world. The proposed study contributes to this vision as well, by illuminating the process by which these stereotypes are communicated, internalized, acted out, and resisted.

CHAPTER 3

METHOD

As stated previously, the primary aim for this proposed study is to investigate the cumulative psychological and interpersonal consequences of being the target of stereotypes about criminality, stereotypes rooted in racist, sexist, homophobic, and otherwise oppressive assumptions about the individual based on their membership to one or more marginalized communities. There is ample evidence that stereotypes about intellectual performance activate stereotype threat, which then, among many other consequences, impacts intellectual performance. Given these findings, I hypothesize that stereotype threat, or a phenomenon bearing similar properties to it, is also activated in situations where an individual is reminded of societal stereotypes about one's group's criminal propensities. Whether or not this truly occurs, and if so, how it affects the target, had not been explored prior to this study. Grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Corbin & Strauss, 1990; Charmaz, 2006) was selected as the qualitative methodology for investigating the questions for this proposed study. There are multiple forms of grounded theory and the specific methodology I have chosen to employ is the one articulated by Charmaz (2006).

Glaser and Strauss (1967) initially developed or "discovered" grounded theory, a research method in which inductive analysis is used to derive themes from data. In fields such as nursing, medical research, sociology, anthropology, and psychology, it is generally developed using qualitative data from interviews or focus groups, but it can also be used with quantitative data. Patterns and themes emerge directly from the data and then theory is developed from those themes. All forms of grounded theory are designed to allow a researcher to develop or "discover" theory rooted specifically in the data one gathers, rather than deducing a theory first

and then designing a study to test it, or rather than testing a previously conceived theory. This is useful when exploring a phenomenon not previously studied because it allows the researcher to remain open to discovering concepts and relationships between constructs that he or she would not have conceived of. It requires the researcher to interact and engage deeply with his or her data repeatedly while thinking critically about it's meaning. Researchers are encouraged to go beyond concrete descriptions of a phenomenon and are encouraged to make interpretations that abstract from the data (Charmaz, 2006) in other words, to develop theory that can make predictions and may be applied more broadly than the context in which the data that was originally gathered, a quality that allows for innovation (Charmaz, 2006). "A good grounded theory should explain as well as describe" (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). Grounded theory in its original form prohibited the researcher from conducting a literature review prior to gathering the data because it was thought that extensive knowledge of previously findings would bias the investigator. This bias might possibly cause her or him to see the new data through the lens of previous findings, thus hindering the investigator's ability to see the data in it's pure form or to glean new findings from the data (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

Other researchers have departed from this objectivist approach. In her version of grounded theory, Charmaz (2003) requires the researcher to locate him or herself in relation to the data and thus permits conducting a literature review. Rather than to claim an objectivist position (which may or may not be authentic), take an unbiased stance (which may not be possible), or to achieve some *tabula rasa* status with regards to the ideas one is investigating, one is instead challenged to deeply understand one's relationship to the research. Charmaz argues that lacking such an understanding may result in unconsciously importing preconceived ideas into the theory (Charmaz, 2006) and that awareness of one's starting assumptions can give the

researcher greater insight into her or his own process of making meaning from data, as well as that of the participants. In this form of grounded theory, the process itself becomes relevant to the results. Ultimately, the theory comes not from some objective reality that the researcher records via interviews, but is constructed as a product of the interaction between the participants, the context, the interviewer, and the researcher's sensitizing concepts (e.g. pre-existing knowledge, experiences, interpretations, and viewpoints). There are certainly critiques of grounded theory, however it is widely accepted as a rigorous method of conducting qualitative research in the medical and social sciences and it fits with this researcher's clinical training, which has emphasized generative methods of inquiry, attending to process, and developing a deep awareness of one's own biases and assumptions, which I speak to below in the sections on sensitizing concepts and researcher location.

Participants

One hundred fifty nine people completed an online survey (see Appendix B) and nineteen of them were ultimately interviewed. Interviewees ranged from age 18–56. Ten interviewee participants identified as women, seven identified as men, one identified as a transgender man, and one identified as genderqueer. Eight participants identified as of African descent, four identified as Latina/o, four identified as Asian or South Asian, three identified as Native American, and one identified as White. Fifteen identified as mono-racial, while four identified as multiracial. See Tables 1 and 2 for more information about interviewee characteristics.

Design

Participant selection.

Participants self-selected by electing to complete a survey online (See Appendix B). A total of 159 individuals completed the survey asking participants if they had ever been at the

receiving end of stereotypes about criminality and/or suspicion (See Appendix B). If a participant answered “yes”, they were asked which of their identities or communities were subject to such stereotypes (e.g. were the stereotypes based on race, sexual orientation, class, etc.). Participants could check as many categories as they felt applied to their experience. They were then asked, on a scale of 1-10, “how distressing” they viewed the experience of being seen as “dangerous or suspicious.” They were asked the same questions with the same scale about being viewed as “a criminal.” The survey was very brief, taking most participants 2 minutes or less to complete. At the end of the survey, the participant was asked if they would be interested in being contacted for an interview and if so, they were given the option of leaving their contact information.

Ninety-one people volunteered to be interviewed and left their email addresses. The PI contacted all participants who indicated they would be interested in being interviewed (N=91) via an email, which provided more information and the opportunity to schedule an interview. Of those 91 contacted, 63 responded back. Sixteen could not be scheduled due to logistical reasons (scheduling or distance) and 28 volunteered after saturation had already been reached, leaving 19 interviewees.

Grounded theory methods do not propose a minimum number of participants. Sample size is determined by the type of data emerging and the “heftiness” (Charmaz, 2006, p. 114) of the claims one wishes to make. Illuminating new theoretical categories that are proposed as possibilities may stand on a small sample, while more definitive or abstract claims may need a larger sample size. One guideline proposed by Charmaz, Glaser, and other grounded theorists (2006; 1990), encourages sampling until one’s theoretical categories reach “saturation,” meaning that the same patterns and relationships emerge repeatedly with new data (Charmaz, 2006). Each

concept must “earn” its way into the theory by showing up over and over again (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). The number of adults (nineteen) was similar to or more than the number of interviews conducted for similar investigations (e.g. Larsson et al., 1996; Brott & Myers, 1999; Kearney, 2001; Komivies et al., 2006). Participants were invited to participate in the survey based upon self-reported identification with being the target of stereotypes about their propensity to commit crime based on the participant’s marginalized identity or identities, including their race/ethnicity, social class, gender/gender identity, sexual orientation, religion, disability, age, or a combination of these. These were the only selection criteria.

Procedure. Participants were informed that the goal of the research is to more deeply understand the experience of being the target of stereotypes that label the participant and his or her group as “criminal,” suspicious, or “dangerous” in some fashion. This was explained in the recruitment materials, and in the consent form at the beginning of the online survey. The online survey (see Appendix B) asked participants if they had ever had the experience of being viewed as criminal or suspicious and if so, based on which identities. They were then asked to rate on a scale of 1-10 how much distress these experienced have caused them. They were invited to leave their email addresses if they were interested in being contacted for an interview.

The PI conducted all 19 interviews. Fifteen were conducted individually in a semi-structured format, and one was held as focus group of four participants. Although grounded theory methodologies were mostly developed by sociologists, clinical training fits well with the grounded theory interviewing style. Questions were primarily open-ended and typically began with stems such as “Tell me more about...” or “Tell me about a time when...” Interviewers are encouraged to avoid making assumptions when they are unsure of a participant’s meaning. Charmaz (2006) gives the example of a participant in one of her studies who mentioned having

“a good day” and outlines all the rich detail she would have lost had she not asked the participant about what constitutes a good day and a bad day. Grounded theory allows an interviewer to position the participant as insightful and knowledgeable and encourages the interviewer to see the world through the eyes of the participant. Such an interview style “emphasizes eliciting the participant’s definition of terms, situations, and events and tries to tap his or her assumptions, implicit meanings, and tacit rules.” (Charmaz, 2006, p. 32). At the same time, the researcher must be able to position him or herself in relation to the topic and the participant by being vigilant for the ways in which his or her biases and assumptions may impact the types of questions he or she asks or the way in which he or she words or frames questions and interprets the answers. The biggest departure from therapy is that the interview itself is not meant to challenge or confront the participant, nor is it intentionally therapeutic. The researcher must always be ethically conscious such that his or her the first priority is always the comfort level of the participant, not “obtaining juicy data.” (Charmaz, 2006, p. 31). See Appendix D for the full interview protocol. Not all questions were asked of each participant; questions varied depending on content of the conversation. The questions were designed to assist the interviewer to resist asking questions that pin the interviewees’ responses to preconceived data categories. Lastly, all interview participants were offered two free AMC movie tickets as remuneration.

Data Analysis

All interviews were audio-recorded on a digital recording device. Six were transcribed by the principle investigator, while nine plus the focus group were transcribed by a professional transcriber. All transcriptions were coded by the principal investigator using grounded theory coding methods described below (Charmaz, 2006; Strauss, 1978; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). In grounded theory, data analysis begins when the first unit of data is gathered. Thus for this study,

data analysis began after the first interview. Constant comparison, a procedure in which all concepts, codes, patterns, and conclusions that the researcher draws from the first set of data (in this case, the first interview) were compared with the data from the second interview. This process was repeated with all new interviews. When a finding emerged in some scenarios, but then was absent from others, this formed the basis of the conditions for the theory.

The independent variable in the study was the experience of criminalizing stereotypes along one or more marginalized identities (e.g. race, gender, class) and dimensions of criminality (e.g. thug, sexual predator, shoplifter). The moderators were the participants' varied marginalized identities in terms of race/ethnicity, class, gender/gender identity, age, sexual orientation, or religion. The dependent variables included participant experiences, reactions, and other questions posed in the interview protocol. Additionally, stereotype threat was hypothesized to be one consequence of criminalizing stereotypes (a dependent variable).

Coding. There were two phases of initial coding. First, the researcher coded lines using short, simple, action terms. (See Appendix F). Simultaneously, "in vivo" codes were also recorded. These were special words that were innovative or short hand that the participant used that had strong meaning for the participant. Such terms may have implicit or condensed meanings and may serve as codes in later analyses. Charmaz (2006) gives an example from her own research of a participant who used the phrase "supernormal" which initially appeared to be description of the participant's plan to pursue his career without his illness deterring him, but which ultimately became clear that this was actually a symbol for an identity, which she then saw reflected in numerous previous interviews she had conducted. Tuning in to the language participants use becomes very important.

The second phase of coding, focused coding, involved using these small action codes as a guide in developing codes for larger segments of data. It is a process in which the researcher decides which line-by-line codes “make the most analytic sense to categorize your data incisively and completely” (Charmaz, 2006, p. 57). During this phase, one might notice that the action term “worrying about the future” occurs in several different contexts, but carries different emotional intensity with each one. This recognition of the pattern allows the researcher to begin moving from the concrete to conceptual. “Worrying about the future” may become its own code, or it may emerge as one example of another code, for example “Confirming fear of failure.”

The third step, termed axial coding, was the step that involved establishing the core themes and their relationship to the subthemes emerging from the focused codes. The themes that emerged were tested via constant comparison against each transcript. The final step, theoretical coding, established the relationship between the core themes that were developed during the previous stages of coding. Here, the theory began to take shape with what Glaser (1978) refers to as “the 6 C’s: context, causes, contingencies, covariances, conditions, and consequences” (Charmaz, 2006, p. 63). During this phase, the researcher checked for saturation and for gaps in findings. Throughout the gathering and analysis of data, the researcher remained vigilant for preconceptions creeping into his conceptualization of the data.

Preconceptions

Sensitizing Concepts. Charmaz (2006) uses the term “sensitizing concepts” to describe an idea that serves as a starting point or an interpretative device. The term essentially serves to highlight the positive aspects of having a bias. “Sensitizing concepts offer ways of seeing, organizing, and understanding experience; they are embedded in our disciplinary emphases and perspectival proclivities. Although sensitizing concepts may deepen perception, they provide

starting points for building analysis, not ending points for evading it. We may use sensitizing concepts *only as points of departure* from which to study the data.” (p. 17, emphasis in original). Sensitizing concepts include one’s perspectives and opinions, as well as one’s intellectual knowledge, for example, one’s knowledge of prior research in an area.

Stereotype Threat as a sensitizing concept for the study of criminalizing stereotypes.

Grounded theory hinges on codes and themes emerging directly from the data. Thus, as a researcher, I must acknowledge my bias that stereotype threat is occurring in criminalizing contexts, and that all sorts of harmful intrapsychic and interpersonal sequelae stem from this form of stereotyping. My preconceptions, formed also outside of the research context, extend even to some of the questions written into the protocol. For example, anecdotally, I had heard people recount expressing fear around seemingly neutral and mundane activities, such as waiting outside for a friend, being around small children, or using a public restroom. This formed the basis for the question: “What events or contexts might trigger your fears about being stereotyped as a criminal?”

Simultaneously, I had to remain open to the possibility that these experiences, and others which I may label “stereotype threat,” may not emerge at all, or may be a minor aspect of the experiences that participants articulate. Nonetheless, it served as a jumping off point and is important for the researcher to acknowledge as a bias. Thus, as I interacted with the participants and the subsequent data, stereotype threat was a concept that I expected to see, yet the possibility existed that: 1) It would not emerge at all; 2) It would emerge, but other concepts or consequences of criminalizing stereotypes would be much more apparent or significant; 3) It would emerge but be of an entirely different “flavor” with possibly different conditions for

activation; 4) Some combination of these; 5) Something entirely different that I had not anticipated could emerge.

Researcher Location. Charmaz (2006) illustrates the differences between constructivist and objectivist grounded theory. Objectivist grounded theory assumes that the data stands on its own, that it exists in the world of the participants, and that the researcher “discovers” the data. Constructivist grounded theory emphasizes the process by which the data emerge during the interviews and acknowledges that the data are the researcher’s interpretation, and also are not discovered but instead created during the course of the interview via the social interaction between researcher and participant. Given the prevalence of participants thinking aloud during interviews and the recognition that I as the interviewer asked questions that I thought were important, the present study takes the latter approach, as it seems more authentic. This necessitates some disclosure of my position in relation to this research topic. As a queer transgender person, one who is perceived as racially ambiguous at times, and one who is also regularly read as much younger than I am, I have been at the receiving end of some of the stereotypes explored in this study. I have noticed how stereotypes about queer and trans people inform the guarded manner in which I interact with children. I have felt the pressure to clearly demonstrate that I have no intention of shoplifting. In traffic stops, I have felt my throat dry up as I tried to explain the F on my driver’s license. And once, because of a neighbor’s house alarm and a corrupt group of racist and homophobic police, I survived an incident of police misconduct that was nearly deadly. I was aware as I began interviews that I might be looking for experiences that matched mine, so I needed to be watching for how my history might influence my questions and/or narrow my view. But these experiences were not the only ones creating my pre-conceptions.

As an individual who has race, class, and in some circumstances, gender privilege, as well as no disabilities, English fluency, a high quality education, and U.S. citizenship, I have as much access and privilege as one could dream of. Yet paradoxically, as I move through the world, I constantly experience fear. I regularly view people through a lens of suspicion, though much of the time, I am not conscious of this. As a transgender person, I now identify as a man, however I was assigned the female gender at birth and was socialized as a white, middle class, Jewish, female, and one of small stature, at that. As such, I was taught rather directly from a very young age to fear males and to seek men's protection from other males. I was also taught (albeit less directly) to especially fear and distrust men of color. As I grew to into a queer identity as a young adult, I rejected the notion that I needed men for protection. I refused to adhere to a new work dress code that said female members of the grounds crew could no longer wear sleeveless shirts even in 90 degree summer heat, "for their own protection" against sexual harassment from male staff. I rejected the idea that women should not go out at night alone. I was outspoken that such messages form the basis of a rape culture that blames women for the sexual violence that men perpetrate against them. Thus, the fear that I was taught as a child was transformed into anger and a rejection of both sexism and compulsory heterosexuality. This was a liberating period for me, but the racism and classism that tainted my feminism were not visible to me then. While my awareness of both my own privilege as well as my knowledge of the complexity of power and oppression has grown significantly since that time, the emotional roots of that initial socialization remain. As a pedestrian on the streets of New York City, I notice that I sometimes check for my wallet. I look around before I take out my cell phone. On the subway late at night, I size people up to determine whether or not they pose a danger to me. While there may be some degree of wisdom in being aware of one's surroundings, it is in these moments of

wariness that my biases become most active and apparent. There is no doubt that I myself have been guilty of many of the behaviors that participants in this study talk about experiencing from white middle class strangers. Thus as a researcher into this phenomenon, I am a survivor, but also, I am an oppressor. This shadow part of myself could also distort my insight into the data and my behavior during interviews, and so I needed to also remain vigilant for this possibility.

Possible Limitations

The selection criteria required the participant to have insight into the experience of being stereotyped along a criminal dimension. Much of the literature on stereotype threat indicates that the process of internalizing stereotypes (as a target or an in-group) is unconscious (e.g. Steele & Aronson, 1995; Wraga, Helt, Jacobs, & Sullivan, 2007; Bosson, Haymowitz, & Pinel, 2004). Although participants may have a great deal of insight into their unconscious processes, these belief systems are, by their very nature, shielded from awareness. Thus, it is possible that by being asked to reflect on their own unconscious yearnings, feelings, and narratives, participants were speculating, rather than reporting on actual feelings, thoughts, or processes.

The transferability of the findings (the extent to which they could be applied to groups not included in this study sample) were hard to determine at the outset. A related issue was that the communities affected by criminalizing stereotypes are quite heterogeneous, thus the impact could look quite different across groups. But rather than to define in detail the experience of criminalizing stereotypes for one specific group, the hope was that the research could shed light on the experience of criminalizing stereotypes more generally. As Corbin & Strauss (1990) explain, “In grounded theory, representativeness of concepts, not of persons, is crucial. The aim is ultimately to build a theoretical explanation [of a phenomena], not to generalize findings to a broader population, per se.” (p. 9). Yet it is also the case that the phenomena exist within a

certain set of conditions, one of which being the group membership of the individual and/or the ways in which the individual is read by others. Thus, by attempting to understand criminalizing stereotyping across multiple marginalized communities, the findings had the potential to lose transferability to specific groups. One benefit however, was that the research could illuminate these processes at the intersections of identity, findings that are harder to come by when one singular aspect of identity is explored. Additionally, this research could serve as a starting point for future researchers seeking to understand how these processes operate within a specific community in greater detail.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

Quantitative Results

As stated earlier, a total of nineteen out of 159 participants were interviewed. Survey responses from the entire sample, however, were analyzed to identify any differences in the reaction to being viewed as generally “dangerous or suspicious” versus being viewed as “criminal” and a number of analyses were also conducted to determine, what, if any, differences existed between the interview sample and total sample.

Tables 3 and 4 display the number of participants identifying with being stereotyped as suspicious and as criminal, respectively. Table 5 displays the means and standard deviations for the levels of distress participants indicated experiencing as a result of these forms of stereotyping.

There were 159 survey respondents in all and 150 of them identified with being stereotyped as “suspicious or dangerous” while 112 identified with being stereotyped as “criminal.” Only 14 survey respondents identified with neither experience, probably because the call for participants targeted those who identified with the construct. All 19 of the interviewed respondents indicated they had been viewed as suspicious or dangerous due to stereotypes, while all but two indicated they had experienced being viewed as a criminal, specifically. Of the survey respondents identifying with being viewed as either one (suspicious/dangerous or criminal) or both, all but six indicated they felt some level of distress at being viewed as either criminal or suspicious, while all 19 of the interviewees reported feeling some level of distress at being viewed as either. As Figures 1 and 2 depict, distress levels appeared to be normally distributed for both interviewed and non-interviewed participants.

Participants experienced significantly more distress at being viewed as criminal ($M = 6.22$, $SD = 2.31$) than being viewed as suspicious ($M = 5.92$, $SD = 2.11$), $t(139) = 32.86$, $p < .001$. This result was not hypothesized, but is interesting as it suggests possibly that being viewed as criminal is more loaded than being viewed as suspicious or even as dangerous. This is also consistent with findings discussed below in the qualitative results section. A chi-square test was performed to determine whether distress levels varied between the interviewees and the survey respondents who were not interviewed. There was no significant difference between the two groups in distress levels of those viewed as dangerous or suspicious, $\chi^2(2, N = 150) = 14.14$, $p > .11$). A second chi square test also revealed no significant difference between the two groups in levels of distress at being viewed as criminal, $\chi^2(2, N = 112) = 14.14$, $p > .40$). As such, interviewees for this study did not appear significantly more distressed about their experiences with these stereotypes than those not interviewed. Because demographic information was not gathered in the survey portion, it is not possible to know whether or not the interview pool reflects the demographics of the total respondents. However, Tables 3 and 4 show which groups (interviewed and non-interviewed) endorsed which aspects of themselves they thought were criminalized or viewed with suspicion (e.g. race, class, sexual orientation, etc.).

Upon completing the final coding step and developing the final themes, the PI had five raters audit his results, using 47 quotations from the 19 interviews, representing the 6 themes (explained in detail in the following section). The Cohen's Kappa coefficient, K , is a statistic that can be used to check the inter-rater reliability between two raters, in this case between the PI and each auditor. The higher the magnitude of the Kappa, the stronger the correspondence between the PI and the rater. Cohen's Kappa results for each rater are listed in Table 6.

To set up the Cohen's Kappa, the researcher sorted 47 quotations under themes using certain rules of inclusion and exclusion (See Appendix H). Quotations were chosen by the PI that allowed for as even of a representation of participants and themes as possible. Each participant had at least two quotations on the rater sheet and each theme had at least 9 quotations. The PI attempted to select quotations that could still be relatively easily understood outside of the context of the transcript from which it was pulled. Theme definitions and quotations were shared with all raters, all of whom were blind to the PI's results in his analysis. Raters followed the same inclusion/exclusion rules as the PI to sort the quotations. The Cohen's Kappa compares the PI's results to the results of each rater to see if they were able to reliably sort the quotations under the same themes by following the rules devised by the PI.

One of the theoretical assumptions of this process is that there is an opportunity for every quotation in the qualitative data set to be represented under every theme. Each is then rated by each rater as either "this quotation fits under the theme" or "this quotation does not fit under the theme." Additionally, Cohen's Kappa for each individual theme was calculated in order to determine which themes yielded the lowest correspondence between the researcher and the raters, as this might indicate a potential need for revision of inclusion/exclusion rules, or a shift in the themes. The general guideline for an "almost perfect" Kappa is a correspondence of .81–1.00, while the guideline for a "substantial" Kappa is .61–.80 (Landis & Koch, 1977). The weakest Kappa in this analysis occurred between the PI and Raters 2 and 3, with $K = .77$ overall. The theme with the lowest Kappa was Change Over Time between the PI and Rater 2, $K = .63$. The strongest Kappa in the analysis occurred between Rater 5 in the Situational Threat Activation

theme, $K = 1.0$. The theme with the strongest average correspondence across raters was

Prevention Strategies, $K = .88$.

Although $K > .60$ is still considered substantial correspondence, it is interesting to note the differences K magnitudes between the different raters. The three lowest correspondence scores occurred between the PI and Rater 2, for the themes COT, $K = .63$, STA, $K = .65$, and for IEA, $K = .66$. With regards to COT, it may be that outside of the context of the full transcript, it may be difficult to decipher when participants are describing an immediate versus cumulative phenomena. Because Rater 2 is involved in similar research, he may have been more prone to seeing long-term phenomena as more immediate. The two themes STA and IEA were re-named after the analysis was completed to more accurately reflect the definitions of those themes. Prior to conducting this analysis, Situational Threat Activation was termed Threat-Activating Events and Index Event Activation was named Threat-Confirming Events. Two raters (Raters 1 and 2) expressed some confusion with these categories, noting that both were technically threat-activating, in that both would trigger a participant's awareness of the stereotype and the dangers associated with it, even if one was more anticipatory. In reflecting on this feedback and the feedback from the PI's dissertation committee, the theme names were changed to more accurately reflect their definitions. Situational Threat Activation points more closely to the diffuse nature of these experiences which are not necessarily a singular event in time, but rather are triggered by a series of events or the anticipatory awareness that a given scenario carries with it the risk of being targeted more directly. Unlike the previous term Threat Confirming Event, Index Event Activation points to the specific event, plus the accompanying cognitive and affective arousal that the event triggers.

Qualitative Results

This section is divided into two parts. The first describes the core themes that emerged from the data, gives the definitions for each, describes some of the subthemes, and provides quotations from the participants as evidence for the theme. A full, specific list of subthemes along with the number of participants describing each one can be found in Tables 7–11 and Figure 3, throughout the themes section. The second part of the section describes the emerging theory, how the six core themes fit together, and their relationships to the subthemes. Visual models can be found in Figures 4–5 within the theory section.

Themes

Six themes emerged from the interviews pertaining to being the target of stereotypes about criminality, each of which will be indicated in the following text by bold font. Throughout the interviews, each participant recalled two major types of experiences: **Situational Threat Activation**, which describes experiences that trigger their awareness of criminalizing stereotypes, and **Index Event Activation**, which describes actions by others that directly communicate the stereotype to the participants. As a consequence of these two types of chronic experiences, all participants also outlined specific **Prevention Strategies** and **Cognitive and Affective Reactions**, while 16 out of the 19 participants discussed responses that could be classified as **Challenge Strategies**. All participants articulated observations pertaining **Change Over Time**, both the cumulative impact of these experiences, as well as their personal work to heal, grow, and resist this form of oppression. These themes and their subthemes are explained in detail below. The emergent theory, the dynamic relationship between these themes, is explained in the following section.

Situational Threat Activation. Participants described a host of different experiences that typically stimulate or activate their awareness of being viewed by others as dangerous, suspicious, aggressive, deceitful, or criminal in some way. These are experiences that may strike some readers as both benign and commonplace, but are instead somewhat emotionally charged for the participant given the context of their lived experiences and the messages that they have internalized.

A 40-year-old Latina participant from a poor background described it like this:

You can't even go to the frigging store without it turning into some kind of psychological torture. What are people going to think? What do I have to wear? How do I have to act? It all happens on this unconscious level. Even going out to dinner, which should have been an enjoyable occasion, turned out to be this really high stress situation where I felt like not only do I want to show the people in the restaurant that my brother and I have a right to be there, but I also want to be protective of my brother and make sure that no one looks at him suspiciously because he's also very dark skinned and he has a lot of facial hair.

He's constantly being harassed because he looks Middle Eastern.

Participants routinely described mundane activities such as going to a restaurant, going to a store, waiting for a friend on a street corner as stress-inducing. One Latino male participant described it like this: "I don't like it when I go to a friend's apartment and I buzz from the lobby and they take a long time to buzz me in. I feel like the whole time I'm down there, people who pass by are thinking I'm sketchy." Participant's anxieties were tethered to the specific stereotypes about their groups. For example, most LGBT participants described being cognizant about stereotypes of LGBT people as sexual predators of children and that this awareness evoked anxiety in situations where they were around children. One 36-year-old Latina participant

described how her awareness of this stereotype was tied to her gender presentation and sexual orientation and would be activated while she was babysitting:

I'd always felt like if I go to change her diaper or if I go to change his diaper is somebody going to be looking over my shoulder? I would *feel* because I was obviously – it was like the elephant in the room where like: OK, well, she looks very tomboyish. I feel like it was obvious, but the people in my family, specifically my mom, would not acknowledge it. Like: Oh, yeah, my daughter's gay. They were going to do everything to try to fix that, too. But I would always feel like they're going to think this about me. This is what they're thinking about me, that I was a pervert. That was always really intense. I always had that. Even like if I was babysitting – cause I used to babysit a lot in high school – it was putting the kid to bed, “take them a shower or not or don't take them a shower?” I would always feel like “what is the right way to wash this baby?” I would always feel like, I'll leave the door open. It was always in my mind.

Most participants also described an intensifying of the activation when spending time in groups with others who look like themselves. One Black male participant, 32 years old, stated: “My perception is that walking with a white person I feel like I'm a lot less likely to be mistaken as a criminal. If I'm walking with another non-white person, then I don't feel quite as secure. I feel we're just all going to be in trouble. But at least I'll have some back up. Whereas if I'm walking by myself, then I'm just sort of like: Well, shit. I'm out here on my own. I need to do whatever it is necessary to at least not get stopped. So yeah, I do feel a little bit safer if I'm with somebody who isn't black. I feel like I'm a lot less likely to be perceived as a gang member – or as any other type of criminal – than if I'm with another black person or with a group of black people.”

A Black female participant described her hesitation to stay late at school. “It’s not so much the security guards as the faculty. When I see one of them approaching, I know I’m about to get an awkward stare and a line of questioning.”

Latina/os, people of Middle Eastern, and South Asian descent described airports and flying in terms that indicated it was threat-activating. One Sikh participant who indicated he is routinely pulled for “random” special searching when he flies, stated: “Honestly, the part about it that I feel more is the passengers watching it happen. And just what is being reinforced there? What are they thinking when they look at me and see this happening?”

Index Event Activation. All participants also gave examples of these events, ones in which stereotypes that others have that they are “up to no good,” are “aggressive,” “suspicious,” or “dangerous,” are in some way were communicated to the participant. These included experiences such as being detained when no law had been broken, being followed in a store, or seeing a stranger cross the street to avoid the participant. Participants identified a number of situations in which others’ views of them as threatening or suspicious were directly communicated in some manner. Data coded into this theme fell into two primary subthemes: threat-confirming by avoidance, or threat-confirming by intrusion. Avoidance cases occurred when the participant experienced an individual retreating from them, ignoring them, or leaving them out in some way. Experiences could also be event-activating by way of intrusion, in which the participant experienced an invasion or confrontation as a result of the stereotyping. The latter were more commonly recounted.

Avoidance. Participants described some painful memories of being ostracized because of perceptions of them as “angry” or a nameless form of “bad.” One participant who grew up poor stated: “I remember this time that we (participant and friend) were uninvited from this birthday

party. It was weird that we (the poor kids) were always considered the ‘bad kids’ the ones doing drugs. In actuality, it was the wealthier kids. They were the only ones who could afford them.”

One 33-year-old Black queer female participant talked about her experience as a returning student to a predominantly white art school:

And I would say in the classroom, I feel like the perception of me was being angry or very intense. On the level of just, they (white professors and students) won’t make eye contact with me, won’t speak to me unless its like functional talking, like “here’s a syllabus.” But never, “how are you, how was your weekend,” the small talk. And in fact, the first two years I was at (ART SCHOOL), no one talked to me in my classes. Not students unless they had to, and not teachers, it had to be functional. No like “hey what’s your major or what do you think you’re gonna do for this particular project?” You know I’m not saying, people asking about my life story, I just mean basic conversation. So yeah ...it’s taken awhile to experience an academic environment as being a friendlier place. It’s been very lonely.

Participants’ most common description of avoidant index event activation occurred on the street or on public transportation. A 51-year-old Latino male observed: “It doesn’t really matter how I dress, women will still hold their purse when they see me coming. And I notice also that they seem to hesitate to sit next to me on the subway.”

Intrusion. All participants had vivid recollections of threat-confirming encounters that could be classified as intrusive. They described a host of experiences with law enforcement, as well as random strangers and passersby. These included comments, threats, staring, or harassment motivated by or referencing criminalizing stereotypes. A 33-year-old Sikh man recalled that: “The first comment I remember was ... in high school. Must have been ’96 or ’97.

This couldn't have been the first time I heard this, but it was the first time I'm remembering. One of the kids there asked me – and he was kind of asking me earnestly – if there were terrorists in my family.”

He also described less earnest index event activation: “Yeah. (pause) I have just a random example that popped into my head. I was walking around years ago with my friend, (NAME), who is probably generally read as queer. Or confuses people gender-wise. Somebody said to us: Oh, there's Harry Potter with the Taliban.” All Muslim participants and participants of South Asian descent described hostile staring from strangers on public transit and on the street, as did a 51 year-old Latino participant who indicated that he is often read as Middle Eastern. “Well, one stare that I've noticed from men is this kind of angry, suspicious stare. They're angry at me for some reason. And really, that's what I get, anger. And very suspicious. They're looking at me suspiciously. If I move a certain way, they are going to jump me. You know what I mean?”

A number of participants also recalled childhood experiences.

P: Whenever I would hear little things-- (pause) In school, a lot, things would happen, and people were talking about the bad kids.

I: They'd be referring to Black kids often when they would say that?

P: Yeah. I found that really strange because I hung out a lot with white kids and they were doing some crazy shit. (laughs) We would get in all kinds of trouble together. I was oftentimes the only black kid with this huge group of white kids that were robbing people and doing crazy things. It was kind of weird–. The police are so active in the classes where there's mostly black kids, and there are these white kids over here getting

away with everything, which is why I may have even chosen to be with them instead of hanging out so much with the black kids.

Another participant described her and her friends being uninvited from gatherings as a kid by their friends' parents because the town equated poverty with criminality. "It was weird that we [the poor kids] were always considered the "bad kids", the ones to be doing drugs. In actuality, it was the wealthier kids. They were the only ones who could afford them."

Many participants described initially internalizing these stereotypes by watching how the world treated their families:

My dad was always getting pulled over. He's very, very dark skinned. It wasn't just in El Paso. It actually happened in Juarez across the border, too. It's interesting because in El Paso, he would get pulled over for busted lamps. For being drunk or not paying parking tickets. That was racism. Just total lack of—. Just constant harassing because we're low income. But then when we would cross the border, he would get pulled over because they knew that he came from El Paso and that he was more likely to have money to pay, to bribe them off. So you were screwed either way."

Several participants of color spoke about being confronted solely because of their facial expressions:

I: Did that ever endanger your job, people making those kinds of complaints?

P: (pause) Yes. Definitely, there was one particular incident. I was told to just be profusely apologetic like: I'm sorry that I made you feel this way. If I wasn't willing to do that, yeah, I'm pretty sure I would have lost my job. I was working at HARDWARE STORE maybe about two years ago. I was working in Customer Service. Most of the times that I had issues, it was with people, customers assuming that I looked too mean, or

I looked too--. I'm not allowed to have certain looks even. Say: Why do you look so aggressive? I don't think I'm looking aggressive. It's just my face. What do you want me to do?

The experience of being viewed as more threatening in groups was echoed in this theme, as well. A 22-year-old Black lesbian described this: “My first day of 10th grade, this big white dude called me a dyke. My brother was standing there beside me. He looked at me and I looked at him and we just kicked his ass. When we got called into the principal's office, the principal told us that we were getting suspended for gang activity because there were two of us. When you come into school as Black, you're not brother and sister anymore.” Tables 7 and 8 outline a more complete description of various STA and IEA described by participants.

Prevention Strategies. This category emerged frequently in tandem with descriptions of situational threat activation. It describes the different approaches that participants use to avoid or reduce the likelihood that they will have the experience of being stereotyped as aggressive, criminal, or suspicious. These are typically behaviors done to avoid or de-escalate an Index Event. An example might be avoiding a particular location, dressing in a certain manner, or attempting to reassure someone who seems frightened or suspicious. Participants described extensive attempts to alter their mannerisms, dress, and even tone of voice.

One Black male participant described it this way: “If I have a hoodie, I take my hoodie off. If I have some glasses, I may take my glasses off. I wouldn't linger too much in an aisle. I wouldn't walk too many times in an aisle. I would try to act like I'm not looking around. (pause) I wouldn't move too fast, too quickly. This is particularly in stores. Or if we're out and about in a crowd, no sudden movements. Watching what I say, what I do, how I speak. Because you know, there's African American English, but that can be seen as criminalizing, too. So using the

King's English. The tone in my voice 'cause when I get upset, it can get very deep. But making sure I stay at a high pitch."

He was not alone in this intensive self-monitoring process. A Latina participant described similar strategies. "Things like when I go into certain stores, I try to keep my hands in my pockets. Stupid things like that. You know? Stupid. Why--? Who cares? Who's noticing? Just being aware that there's cameras in some stores and just trying not to act suspicious. Acting confident. Maybe it's just I'm watching too many movies, but the people who look suspicious are the people who kind of don't seem to know what they're doing. They're just wandering aimlessly. So I find myself deliberately being purposeful."

A Latino male described one of his shopping strategies. "If I pick up an item, I'll keep it in my hand and wave it around a lot. So it (his awareness of being seen as a shoplifter) makes me behave in a certain way, right? I'll make sure that they know that I know that I have this. Because I know people are looking at me when I go in stores. Especially the fancier the store."

Many participants articulated this sense of always being watched or of being "caught" and they described their efforts to avoid that feeling as much as they could. A Jewish gay male participant recounted an early experience of anti-Jewish stereotypes about greed. "There was a very specific incident that sparked my working against the stereotype. I was walking down the hall in junior high--. Middle school. There was a penny on the floor. I picked it up. Somebody saw me and went, '(NAME) just picked up the penny. Ha, ha, ha, ha. The Jew picked up a penny.' Let no penny go uncounted by the Jew. I never picked up a penny or a nickel or a quarter in anyone's presence ever again."

Other participants described attempts to screen out environments that might potentially be threatening. One participant described an experience where she "warned" a company about

her family, made up of primarily Spanish speaking immigrants from Mexico. “We were actually with river rafting guides from (Company). I had to prepare them ahead of time. ‘I want to take my family. They’re all a bunch of Mexicans. They’re going to be really loud. They’re going to speak Spanish, so if you’re not comfortable with this, just let me know.’ They’re like: ‘No. It’ll be fine.’”

Other participants, those contending with sexual predator stereotypes, talked about their experiences with children and parents. One gay Latino gay male talked about his reaction when a friend asked if he and his partner would babysit. “No, I’m not going to watch your kid. And no I don’t want to be alone with your kid anywhere. And no. So I’m really—, we’re really conscious about that. Even though I love kids. I have great nephews and nieces. I’ve never really watched them, but I can or I would. But other people’s kids? I don’t want them around me. ‘Cause, definitely that does exist, that whole, don’t-label-me-as-a-pedophile thing. I’m not going to watch your kid. I live with that. I don’t want to play with your kid too much. I’ll say: ‘Hello. You’re cute.’ And that’s it. It comes from that whole being looked at as pedophile, definitely.”

Another queer-identified participant talked about her many rules she established for herself as a babysitter. “‘Cause it wasn’t until years later that a younger cousin of mine was a camp counselor and they had all these rules of how they can and cannot interact with kids. I was like: Oh, wow. I established those rules for myself years ago. No hugging. No sitting on laps. Just not too much affection.”

Participants’ strategies were as numerous and varied as the contexts in which they found themselves. “It’s really strange because there are things I do in my life that I kind of catch myself changing because I know I’m going into places or environments where I know someone like me [Latina and working class] isn’t common. So I catch myself being paranoid that I might

be perceived as someone who's up to no good. Then I catch myself changing the way I dress or the way I act specifically to seem less threatening,” noted one participant.

Speaking more specifically, another participant, a gay male, described in detail his rules for behaving in the restroom. In response, I asked him restrooms as a charged context for him:

I: So it sounds like you're very consciously making sure you're not looking at anybody.

P: Yeah.

I: And what do you think that's about for you, that behavior?

P: Well, I don't want people to think that I want to look at them. ‘Cause they may think that I may want to look at them just because I'm gay. Just because I'm gay it doesn't mean I want to look at you. But, yeah, that's what I'm thinking.”

Most participants talked about being very conscious of how they were dressed depending on where they were spending time. One Black male said “Well I think that the first thing that I do is I won't go to certain places unless I'm dressed well. If I'm wearing jeans and a T-shirt, I feel like I'm pretty OK and I can walk in anywhere. But if I'm wearing sweatpants or baggy pants. (pause) I used to have a sweat suit that I really like but that I wouldn't wear to certain places because I knew that I would get followed more. I couldn't walk to (department store) and wear that because I knew that it's sort of upscale. I don't want people to look at me as if I were a criminal element.”

Another Black participant indicated that dress and facial expressions were also important. “its mostly dress. There isn't much that I can do about my demeanor because I feel like I have a pretty non-threatening demeanor... Sometimes I might try to smile more than usual, whether I

feel like smiling or not. It depends on where I am. Oh, also, I try not to make too much eye contact with anyone because I don't want to be mistaken for a gang member.”

He was not the only participant that described trying to alter his affective expression. “I think the behaviors I think, too. I kind of catch myself--. I'm a pretty introverted person, but when I go into places where I feel like there's people of wealth, or there's people of different status, I kind of catch myself realizing that I have to change, I have to be a little more social or I have to catch people's eye more because if I don't, I feel like they're going to be wondering if I'm stuffing things in my pocket.” Interestingly, the first participant described avoiding eye contact, while the second described making more eye contact. Yet both involved altering what came naturally to them for the purpose preventing an index event.

A Black female participant also articulated her attempts to ward off stereotyping using her facial expressions. “I've been conscious about smiling more and not looking so – can I say criminal? – not looking so criminal or trying to make sure I'm not being perceived that way.” Participants also described prevention strategies for dealing with law enforcement, TSA, and others in authority. One participant stated: “The security guards at my job are almost all people color, but I still made it a point to get to know all of them.” In a similar vein, participants also described regulating their emotional expression in order being stereotyped as angry, aggressive, or unpredictable, even in cases where they were wanting to express joy. As one Black female participant put it: “I think it's just in general for any emotions, whether you're sad or happy or angry, you just feel like you don't want to give that perception that you're being loud, like a loud black person. It just resonated and I just realized the connection between like: OK. This is why I'm not as loud when I'm angry. And this is why I react [reserved] even when I'm excited about something. It's just more reserved [changes voice: Great. This is awesome that this is

happening.] Sort of thing. When really it's not how I really want to react to it. But I still feel compelled to do that.” For more Prevention Strategies illustrated by participants, see Table 10 on page 125 (following the description of the theme Challenge Strategies).

Emotional and Cognitive Reactions. When participants recounted stories or memories of encounters, they frequently left their own feelings and thoughts out of the initial telling (hypotheses about the possible explanations for this are addressed below in this section). Thus, self-observations about a participant’s internal landscape were typically revealed only by asking, and sometimes repeating, specific questions about thoughts and especially about affect. This theme includes quotations from participants about both their cognitive and affective reactions to the experience they recount, both past and present. The **cognitive** aspect of theme describes self-talk, safety planning, the ways that participants interpret the event in the moment, the specific stereotype that is being cued (e.g. “they treated us as if we were gang members”), the motive the participant believes is behind the stereotyping (e.g. “I thought I was being targeted”), and the goals the participants formulate (e.g. “I just wanted to get out of there.”). The **emotional** aspect of the theme includes all the feelings participants describe during and following an encounter, for example stating that they felt hopeless, angry, or confused. Here-and-now statements were also grouped into this theme (e.g. “even now as I’m remembering this, I’m feeling...”). Lastly, quotations that were accompanied by descriptions of the participant’s affect in the transcript (e.g. 10 second pause, eyes appear teary) were included under this theme.

Cognitive reactions. A common cognitive reaction to index event activation involved questioning whether or not the participants had done something to cause the incident. The thought was typically phrased like “have I done something to make this person afraid of me?” Or a retracing of one’s steps in one’s mind in an effort to understand what had happened.

Twelve participants reported this form of cognition. In speaking about his thought process when he notices people crossing the street to avoid him, a Black male said: “You start to trace back. ‘Did I make a threatening move? Was it something I said? Something I did? Um Okay am I being, are they turning? No they’re going the same direction. Why are they trying to get away from me? What did I do?’ So a lot of evaluating behaviors that I had done in that time period that caused them to change direction.” Another participant described a similar thought process, but with friends. “Yeah. Because of the way people interact with me, especially some of my white friends. It's sort of like this instance where I'm like: ‘Did I get mad at her? Did I get an attitude with her?’ Or something like that that would make her think that I'm going to be upset with her. Then I sort of go back in my memory. I'm like: ‘OK. I brought coffee on Wednesday.’ (laughter) You know? I'm not immune to getting upset with people. So I'm thinking: OK. ‘Maybe I did get annoyed with her and she sensed that and now all of a sudden she feels she needs to tiptoe around me.’ But I can’t remember that happening. It's just this weird process that I go through.’

Self-policing. Participants described a similar self-policing thought process around situational threat activation, as well. One participant described being very deliberate and self-conscious anytime she was babysitting, regardless of whether or not others were present, “Because of that expectation: Queers are perverts. Whatever it is. I don't know, I knew without knowing. I was in this category of people. I don't know if it was—. I felt kinda nervous when I was alone with a kid. But when there were people around, I felt like there were eyes on me and I was being judged. That's what I felt. As if they were like: Oh. Watch her. Watch her. How does she touch her? It's just weird.” In elaborating on her thought process if she was alone with a child, she stated: “What I would feel was if I was being observed, and if somebody were to

come into the doorway and see what I'm doing or be watching me, could any of this, what I'm doing, be perceived....” It is almost as if participants articulated having a guilty conscious as if they had behaved inappropriately, even though they had not.

Stereotype content. Another cognitive aspect of the participants’ reactions were the stereotype content itself that their experiences cued. All 19 participants spoke about commonly understood criminal archetypes creeping into their awareness when they recounted these experiences. The stereotype content was triggered both by situational threat activation and index event activation. In describing his own tendency to check around for his safety, a participant explained the difference he feels when he can sense the intent behind a stranger’s stare: “I’ve looked at people suspiciously in the train, too. I make sure that I don’t stare at them, but I check them out. I’m like: “Oooh—. What’s that motherfucker doing? Really. I’ve done it. So who am I, right? What I don’t like about it with the men that do it to me, it’s a whole disrespecting, right? I am blatantly going to look at your ass thinking that you’re a terrorist. Right? That’s what I don’t like about it.” Terrorist stereotypes came up for some Latino participants ($N=2$), all South Asian participants ($N=4$), and all Muslim participants ($N=2$).

Gang stereotypes came up frequently with Black participants and were amplified when participants spoke of being in groups ($N=6$). One black male stated that: “So I try not to put myself in that situation where I’m in a group of black males because I feel that becomes amplified. You know, not only am I seen as a threat, but there’s multiple threats now. Three or more is gang. So you always have that question of what’s the perception of other people.” In the later section on cumulative impact, the study explores what might be the social consequences of this stereotype.

Stereotype content may have varied based on generation and geography, as well. A Jewish participant growing up in the 60s in a small town described the anti-Semitic myths he used to hear about growing up. “Father (NAME). He used to tell the children the Jews would come in and steal the communion wafers from the church and take them home and break them and they would bleed. I found this out from a kid who became my closest friend for a long time, who went to that church.” Table 9 below lists all the cued stereotypes alongside the number of participants who mentioned them. Figure 3 organizes the content provided by participants by potential for criminal sanction and level of perceived danger, as these external realities create context that likely contributes to the internal distress experienced by participants. For example, an LGBT person who is perceived as hypersexual will likely experience fewer external consequences than one who is perceived as a sexual predator. The content is related, but likely create differing levels of distress when activated or communicated.

Safety planning. Another common subtheme that came up both in the context of IEA and STA was safety planning. One Latina participant described her thought process before going shopping at certain stores: “Before I even go into certain places, I kind of have to plan out in my mind: What am I here to get? Why am I here? And then go and get whatever it is that I need and then leave.” A Sikh participant who once had his turban pulled off on the subway talked about his thought process on the subway. “But I think I do feel it most times when I'm on the subway, especially if a large group of young people comes on the train. Then I'm actually consciously thinking about it, like I'm consciously thinking about watching my back and feeling safer if I'm standing up, because I was sitting down when it happened.” As one might expect, safety planning became particularly important for participants during certain types of Index Events. One Muslim participant recalled being pulled over by police on a deserted street, for no

apparent reason. “He took my ID and he calls back up and he was looking under my car. It made me wonder what they had read there. You never know what it is, but something’s happening. So I ended up... anytime I gave my ID with my name on, it. I was scared... because I didn’t know. It was dark and I was alone and so mostly I was scared and not knowing what to do if they tried to do something. I was planning, planning, planning.”

The safety planning process, whether invoked as a result of IEA or STA, was essentially a process of running thought experiments, a process which seemed quite adaptive in that participants were able to stay present and do what the situation called for in the moment, while also planning and rehearsing in their minds what to do if this or that happened to them. As remarkable as this process was, all participants who described doing it also described the toll it took, resulting in both mental and physical exhaustion.

Emotional reactions. Appearing alongside these thought processes, participants described a range of emotional reactions, which differed somewhat depending on whether they were encountering STA or IEA. Situational threat activation most commonly generated feelings of anxiety and of annoyance, while index event activation was more likely to generate more intense feelings of anger, fear, and hopelessness. One Black participant described being detained in a locked room at the airport for an hour, without explanation. TSA also confiscated her luggage, ID, and cell phone while she sat in this room alone at first, and eventually with her partner. She explained her intense feelings of fear and also her simultaneous concern about what would happen if she showed her fear. “I think if I’d been travelling on my own and not able to use my cell phone and not having my ID or whatever. You know. I don’t know, it’s just terrifying. (pause) At least my partner was there, so there was some kind of witness. But I can’t

actually show that agitation. Even though its fear and not anger. Even the fear is perceived as threatening, if that makes sense.”

Fear, sadness, rage. Participants described a host of feelings associated with STA and IEA including anger, rage, surprise, fear, sadness (usually only when prompted by the interviewer), embarrassment, empathy, annoyance, hopelessness, shame, and feeling violated:

I: I'm curious how you felt when those kinds of complaints were leveraged, and how you felt when you were told by management to profusely apologize for something that you weren't even doing anything wrong. What did you feel around those kinds of things?

P: (pause) I felt extremely violated. I felt—. (pause) I totally couldn't understand why I had to be--. It took me back to like sometimes you see it in movies. I've seen it up close and personal, where black men in particular just have to kind of bow their head and be like: Oh. Yes sir. No sir. You know the kind of thing?

I: Right.

P: It's like: 'Oh, I'm sorry.' And that's extremely degrading. (pause) Because I'm proud of who I am. It made me angry.

Dissonance. Like the participant above, most participants described a type of confusion or dissonance ($N=14$) when they experienced IEA, even when they were accustomed to experiencing them. These feelings often accompanied the self-evaluations and occurred because the perception others seemed to have of them did not line up with their own thoughts, feelings, or view of themselves. This occurred with strangers, but sometimes even with people known to the participant. In describing the staring she has experienced, a Black participant explained her initial reactions: “And they were all just staring at me. I was just like: What is going on here? It immediately sort of stopped me. I didn't really feel anger then. I felt really confused.” Another

Latino participant described his reaction to being viewed as a shoplifter or mugger. “It’s always really confusing for me because I’ve never stolen a thing in my life. And I never would. There’s nothing I want that much that I’d steal it. So it always catches me off guard when people act like I’m going to steal something.”

Another participant described grappling with the angry Black woman stereotype at her job, sensing from co-workers their perception that she was always on the verge of exploding:

P: But you could sort of tell certain people are just waiting for me to just explode at some point.

I: What has that been like for you? How have you reacted to that?

P: So it's funny because it kind of makes me angry. (laughter) Even though I wasn't angry to begin with. At first there's the confusion of: Why would you think I would be upset?

Here, the participant describes an arc of emotion beginning with confusion and ending with anger, the very emotion her co-workers are expecting her to be feeling and expressing, in a process that sounds not unlike projective identification (Klein, 1946). This process of taking on the emotion or role being projected by the stereotyper is discussed in more detail in the emergent theory section.

Numbness and general upset (hard to classify). Some participants ($N=6$) described a feeling of numbness when experiencing STA and IEA. One participant spoke in a very moving fashion regarding his thoughts about numbness as it relates to the repeated occurrence of these experiences:

I: You can sense something is going on with that. When you sense you're being viewed that way, what feelings, what emotions come up for you when you notice it?

P: It's troubling. It's troubling but it's almost--, you're not, numb to it, but the troubling feeling is (pause), is a common feeling. You're not numb to it, but it's like you're very used to feeling that way. Since you're used to feeling that way, you feel it, you think about it however long you allow yourself to, or the environment allows you to. Then you just keep going. (pause) I don't want to get numb to it because I feel like I would lose something if I'm not surprised anymore. It definitely, it's a trouble--. [sighs] "This again." And "is it that or is it?" Sometimes it's like: "OK. It clearly is." Then trying to figure out what do you say. Or you couldn't say anything at the time.

Challenge Strategies. This theme describes participants' actions to challenge someone throughout the course of an interaction in which the individual is communicating their stereotypes to the participant. Behavioral responses may exist along a continuum of intentionality, but generally they are designed to confront or challenge the individual's attempt at stereotyping them. Some examples could include expressing anger, or voicing their awareness of an injustice taking place. This was the one theme not present in all of the interviews: three participants never mentioned responses that sounded like challenge strategies and in fact, this theme is the least dense of all the themes, in that even when participants mentioned it, they had fewer examples of this than they offered with other themes. These responses almost always occurred following IEA, which makes sense since only IEA involve an actual imposer in the here and now. One Latina working class participant, however, reported using challenge strategies in response to STA, her worries about using a gym close to her house, which has nicer facilities than another that is also close by. However, this gym with nicer facilities is primary used by

white middle class people. “I mean, really, the differences between these two rec centers are insane. Totally insane. Part of me is like: Well, I should just stick to my own neighborhood. But then part of me is like: These damn people, that's what they get for living on our side of town (laughter).” It is interesting to note that the participant is describing her mere presence there as “that’s what you get.” As though her appearance at the gym must constitute a punishment of some kind. Though it reads as a challenge strategy, the conclusions one might draw about one’s undesirability are heart breaking to contemplate. The questioning on this continued:

I: Some of my participants will talk about, for example, noticing that they're being stared at, so they'll just stare back. Not backing down in that way. It's interesting how you're talking about simply going there is enough, it’s almost like just your presence there feels defiant.

P: Yeah. I guess that’s my version of ‘fuck you.’ (laughter) I wouldn't feel comfortable staring back at people. But I would deliberately stay there on purpose. I think my way of responding is to just laugh it off. I think I have a very hard time just getting really, really angry. So my way of dealing with it is to just laugh it off and keep doing what I need to do, what I want to do, and really trying to not internalize it too much.

Challenge strategies in response to IEA frequently involved staring back at someone when receiving a hostile stare, or blatantly calling out the injustice as they see it. “One response I’ll get when I stay late at work, from the faculty, is ‘Excuse me, have you checked in at the front desk?’ Or ‘Can I help you?’ Depending on my mood, I might say back something like ‘No, but can I help *you*?’” Challenge strategies were sometimes reported in response to being targeted by law enforcement. One South Asian male described being stopped on a street corner near the World Trade center site because he was waiting for someone nearby.

P: I was waiting for them on the corner with my bike. I was just doing my thing, texting and standing around. I was on the phone for a little while. Two plain clothes police officers came up to me, showed their badges, and had a whole line of questioning about why I was standing there. What I was doing. What my name is. Where I worked. I was like: “Meeting my fucking cousin from India. They're at the World Trade Museum.” They made me show them my ID. I did not show it to them without a fight. I eventually showed it to them. Cause again, in these situations, a lot of different things are going through my head. My values are going through my head. And I'm like: “No. I'm not giving into the cops just that. I'm not going to be friendly.” I was not even a little bit friendly to them. I questioned them a lot about why they were questioning me. I was like: “I'm not allowed to stand on the street corner?”

Participants often reported challenge strategies in tandem with feelings of anger, and sometimes (as in the example above) in tandem with prevention strategies. Adaptively, participants often used challenge strategies combined with prevention strategies to maximize their safety, minimize the possibility that they might be perceived by police as an easy target, and create the space to simultaneously challenge what is occurring. As one Black male explained: “I knew if I stayed quiet and said nothing, I might be taken in. But I also knew if I seemed angry, I'd have cuffs on me immediately. So I had to be careful, but I made sure they knew that I knew they were racially profiling me and that made them pause.” Table 10 lists a more complete description of Challenge Strategies and Prevention Strategies given by participants.

Change Over Time. This final theme includes data about participants' observations about themselves and their experiences as they have changed over time. Participants described many changes in their reactions, healing work they have done, or how a thought process has

shifted, and they also included descriptions of the cumulative impact of dealing with these stereotypes, such as impact on intimate relationships, friendships, and vocational decisions. Thus, two primary subthemes emerged within this theme: **Cumulative Impact** of criminalizing stereotypes, and **Growth**, which includes a solidifying of commitment to social change and healing.

Cumulative impact. This section addresses change over time themes that participants illustrate as negative consequences to experiencing threat confirming and situational threat activation.

Stereotype conformity. One interesting impact of contending with this set of stereotypes repeatedly was a desire to act out some of them, though only a few participants ($N=5$) spoke to this. In this study, it seemed to manifest only with regards to stereotypes about anger and aggression. One Black female participant spoke about her response to being accused of being aggressive with a customer, again because of her facial expression:

So I was definitely shocked that my manager was just like: ‘Well, you need to apologize. You need to tell her you’re sorry.’ For what? (laughter) Because I’m brown? And being perceived as aggressive? When I clearly wasn’t. (laughter) She would have been hit if I was being aggressive. I would have just reached over and smacked her. Yeah. It almost makes you wish you would have, right? Say I’m being aggressive and if you want to punish me in a way for being aggressive, then maybe I should be--, maybe I should have--.[sigh] It brings up a lot of self-questioning.

A Black male participant spoke about the impact of the stereotype on him as a teenager: “But dangerous? Yes. I can probably go for that. I remember going to the movies. When we go to the movies whenever we’re at home, we have to go into the suburbs ‘cause we don’t have the

movies at home. So in middle school or high school, if there was a long line and I knew I didn't want to wait in it, I could literally – and I did – I would take advantage of it. I would go and cut in line or whatever because I knew nobody would say anything cause they're scared to say anything. (laughter) I'm not going to yell at you. I'm not going to choke you. I'm not going to hit you. But they didn't know that. So you know what? [laughing while talking]: I'm going to take advantage of it and cut in line.”

Relationship distress. A more common cumulative impact of criminalizing stereotyping was the toll it took on the relationships of the participants (n=17). This relationship distress manifested in intimate relationships, relationships with family, friendships with members of one’s own group, and friendships with members of the majority group. The toll this stress took was the result of at least three issues:

Diminished energy. Many participants described dealing with criminalizing stereotypes as particularly energy draining, reducing the energy they had for close relationships. One participant described the energy it took for him to deal with the stereotypes of being aggressive at his new job where he one of very few men of color: “Yeah. I was actually seeing someone when I first moved up there, and her and I are not seeing each other anymore because I couldn’t give that relationship what it needed ‘cause I was exhausted. That's sad. So when she needed me to be there for her, or when she wanted to arrange something because we lived a couple of hours away, I couldn't do it. ‘Cause you're done. You can't–. Then it's like you don't have the emotional bank to invest in anybody else. Because you're trying to maintain your own and suppress your own that it doesn't give you any room for the people that you really care about. So my time being (at this job), my relationships with my family members have also been negatively affected.

‘Cause I’ll go home and go to sleep and get ready for the next day. And they wouldn’t hear from me for days or even weeks.”

Blunting of emotional expression. Multiple participants (n=6) described noticing a shift in their emotional expression over time. They described consciously changing it initially as a prevention strategy (to curb others’ view of them as angry, aggressive, or dangerous) but then noticed that even outside of situations where they needed to wear this “mask” (N=4), they were less emotionally responsive to loved ones

I: ... At some point they’ve shut themselves off from being warm or affectionate in relationships, has that happened to you?

R: Yeah I don’t get angry, but I get flat. I am just like okay. Its “GPS self,” but with more kind of with an eye roll. Like “What? Okay yeah, that’s cool whatever.” (rolls eyes). It’s very flat. GPS self is more professional, so it’s like GPS with snark.

Another participant described how blunting her affect at work to avoid being perceived as angry affected her friendships outside of work:

I mean sometimes it does affect it. I mean I think with one of my really core group of friends, this sort of, when they get into arguments and stuff like that, where I don’t necessarily react the way that they maybe want me to react. So I think sometimes they’re looking for more of an emotional reaction out of me, and I’m just like: OK. And I sort of forget about it and walk away. They sort of get upset. They’re like: Why are you acting this way? Why are you being so dismissive?

It’s just one of those things where it’s like, I’m conditioned to not be super emotional and stuff five days out of the week. So of course, that’s going to drip into other

things where in other relationships, people are expecting you to be emotional for those other two days out of the week, it's not necessarily there.

Association of own community with being targeted. Lastly, friendships and other relationships were often compromised because the participant developed an association between spending time with their own community and being targeted: “Yeah I try not to hang around lots of other black males because there’s always a fear of who’s watching us? I’m always gonna have that question of whose watching me and what are they thinking. So I try not to put myself in that situation where I’m in a group of black males because I feel that becomes amplified. You know not only am I seen as a threat but there’s multiple threats now. Three or more is gang. So you always have that question of what’s the perception of other people. Because that’s what I grew up with and all – most of my friends were black males and I saw how that turned out. So there’s always that fear of am I going to be put back in that place? Am I going to be put back in that perception of the criminal? So I just try to avoid it. Most of the time, I’m by myself now. I’d rather be myself than in a group with other black men.

This phenomenon of avoiding one’s own community seemed to affect men of color across racial groups and also impacted trans men: “I do feel a little bit safer if I’m with somebody who isn’t black. I feel like I’m a lot less likely to be perceived as a gang member. Or as any other type of criminal. Than I am if I’m with another black person or with a group of black people.... Yeah. I mean—. Just in general, I think I tend to (pause) on a more social scale, I tend to have fewer black friends than I do white friends or Latino friends or Asian friends. Just because I feel like—. Wow, It’s funny, because I don’t think I’ve ever really made that connection before now. But that definitely plays into the groups of people that I find myself spending time with.”

This created a sort of Catch 22 for many participants who found being friends with the dominant group proved difficult, as they frequently could not relate to the participants' experience of criminalization. "But yeah in terms of different modes that I use, with different folks. I have the belief that um I don't think I could be just one way with all people. I was having a conversation with white friend who noticed (how participant shifts depending on who she is interacting with). Instead of being curious as to why, she was kind of like, it seemed inauthentic to her, like I wasn't being authentic in those different environments because I shift or whatever. Um she was like "you know, I'm just myself wherever I go." And I was like "yeah and you're also like um a thin blonde blue eyed white chick in your mid 30s. Your brand sells. Everywhere."

A South Asian participant talked about her relationships with her graduate school cohort in explaining her gradual distancing of herself from her white friends.

R: I definitely think (being viewed as criminal) had an impact... Even when I'm not experiencing it, I am aware of it happening and sometimes it is a barrier in these relationships, when they don't want to see it. It can be lonely. It's definitely made me picky when it comes to friends. I used to hang out with people in my sociology program, which is primarily white. They - we view the world very different not just because of our demographics but also our politics. I gradually moved away from them to people of color for the most part. Before I found them, it was very difficult here.

Disengagement. Multiple participants described what could be characterized as disengagement. Participants described examples of activities they once enjoyed but then eventually began to detach from as a way of distancing themselves from the criminalizing stereotype.

Disengagement from law enforcement. Multiple participants described a mistrust of law enforcement, a belief that they might cause harm to them in the future, enforcement and a reluctance to access law enforcement for safety. Lack of trust in law enforcement, criminal legal system, and other systems. Right before the conclusion of one interview, a black male participant added: “But I do want to say I hate, I *hate* the police. They're lurking to find something wrong. They'll make up something. By you being who you are, by me being who I am, I'm probable cause. That's what it is. For instance, I have a younger brother. We're total opposites in a sense. He's gotten in trouble with the law a lot of times. And so they were looking for him. And the cops bust in my house—and I wasn't there—held a gun in my family's faces, looking for my brother. And I often ask the question, if that was a white family would they have done the same thing?”

Disengagement from certain career paths. Several participants talked about eliminating certain career options because of this form of stereotyping. One Black queer female participant said “Working with children has definitely been a concern of mine, even though I love children. There have definitely been babysitting or child-care jobs that I have not applied for because I don't feel... that they'd even take me seriously.” Another participant, who works as a substance abuse counselor, described intentionally seeking jobs where he knew that having a criminal record would not rule him out, *even though he has no criminal record.*

R: I think that the only positive thing for me about the line of work that I've chosen and the criminality bit is that being perceived as a criminal in this line of work is helpful.

Because in a lot of cases, if you're applying for a job for rehab or sober living or whatever, having that sort of experience is an asset.

I: That's interesting. Do you think that has shaped on some level maybe even somewhat unconsciously, do you think that's somewhat shaped your decision to go into this line of work?

R: I think it's possible just because (pause) my resume has some gaps in terms of work experience. It definitely occurred to me at some point that it's going to be hard for me to explain that away in a lot of sort of vocational situations. Whereas a drug and alcohol counselor, going into an interview, they assume they know why you didn't have work for so long."

Disengagement from relationships with children. LGBT participants noticed that their repeated exposure to messages about queer people as "perverts" or "child molesters" led to disengagement with their relationships with children ($N=5$). Disengagement with children seemed different from the relationship distress participants expressed in the subtheme above. Disengagement from children was as driven by blunted affect, low energy, or guilt by association, but rather it seemed more like a way of resolving dissonance. The price to be around children is too high, so I will eventually decide I don't like being around them. The Black trans participant explained it in terms of noticing a difference when he began to present in a more masculine manner:

R: It has in terms of when I was female presenting, I would be out in public and see kids and be like: Oh. That's a really cute kid. Or I would smile and maybe interact with the child. I don't do that anymore now that I am male presenting. I'm very, very aware of the fact that I don't want to be seen as a pedophile.

I: Yeah. Is there a feeling that comes up for you when you recognize that you're restricted in that way now?

R: (pause) It's more annoying than it is angering. It's mostly just because I'm not a huge kid person the way that I used to be anyway. I'm mostly sort of like annoyed if I see kids in my space because they're often loud or obnoxious. But I'm also annoyed by the fact that if I did want to interact with them, I can't. Just that knowledge is shitty and it makes me angry.

I: Yeah. Does it bring up any sadness for you at all?

R: (pause) I mean to be honest, yeah-. It definitely does.

Stereotype and/or social identity threat. Lastly, stereotype threat, the existence of situational threat activation itself, may come about as a result of dealing with multiple threat-confirming events, though one's own experience is probably not the only source of this threat.

Growth, healing, adaptation, and activism. Despite these consequences, participants also described a number of adaptations and long-term challenge strategies. Most frequently observed was a solidifying of commitment to social change along with a parallel commitment to personal growth. When asked what they do with their anger, participants typically gave one or more of these four answers: "I express it in the moment," "It manifests as illness in my body," "I don't know where it goes." But the most frequent answer in this sample was that activism becomes an outlet for anger ($N=9$). One participant who has a social justice-oriented job, stated: "I'm a very spiritual person so that helps. (pause) And doing the work that I do. I channel it in that. The work that I do is what I do to try to channel it. But then sometimes that's not--. (sighs) Yeah. I think my main thing is because I'm in that work, I'm working for social justice, I can channel that rage, that energy in that. I guess that's the main way I try to deal with it."

A South Asian male participant described a similar process: "Then I think, moving back a little bit in terms of just developing a more radical analysis and becoming more of an organizer

and activist on various issues, I mean I think it was a way to productively channel my anger. It's anger that had plenty to do with things that weren't so related to my own experience, but in one way or another I could connect to my own experience, too. Or see the causes of these forms of oppression as linked.”

Activism. Whether it was through their art, their job, or some other means, multiple participants talked about how activist and social justice work felt constructive and healing. One participant also noted that activism had previously also served as a distraction from addressing the psychological impact of what he was facing. “Yeah. That reminds me of another sort of realization in therapy which was that I was really reluctant to be okay with this sort of theory, but I think ultimately it makes sense that my politics, as righteous as they are, have also been a coping mechanism. Do you know what I mean? They've allowed me to channel all of these feelings into something really productive and obviously really positive and whatnot. But at the same time, I think maybe I was getting to a point—, at that point in my life and maybe still, where it's not enough. Activism was not enough to work all this stuff out.” When is activism a healing outlet? And when is it a distraction from grief or other feelings? This question is somewhat outside the scope of this study, but is an interesting and important one nonetheless.

Finding meaning through spirituality. Participants also talked at length about spirituality and making meaning from these experiences. “I'm Christian, so Jesus was treated the same way. It's kind of like he already said that this kind of stuff will happen. My brother broke it down to me like this, he said: God made certain people black or of color because they can handle it. There's a purpose why I'm here in that sense. I'm set apart for something greater. I like to think that. And I believe that. Knowing that this is a part of what it is helps.”

A Buddhist Latino participant talked about his spirituality, as well.

R: Yeah. What I'm feeling is all my shit. Like if you're looking at me in an angry, disgusting way, what comes up for me is my stuff. That may be whatever shit I'm carrying. Even though you may be really staring at me with hatred and wanting to kick my ass, what comes up for me is what comes up for me. It's my responsibility to have to kind of deal with that.

I: I see what you're saying. Yeah. So it's not that you're saying that it's unjustified emotions.

R: No.

I: Just that it's manufactured by you.

R: Yeah. It's mine. Yeah. Not that it's not-. Exactly. It is what's coming up for me. So I have to own it. I'm not going to put it on you that you're looking at me-. You know what I mean? I think this is where my Buddhism thing comes in. Working on how I'm perceiving all of that for myself. I get back to that. I'm not going to come from a victim mentality. I'm not going to blame you for your shit, for your fear, for your crap. I'm going to take responsibility for what comes up for *me* because of what you're doing. And deal with that. That way I don't have to suffer anymore. Because you're the one that's going to continue to suffer with your fear and your hatred.

I: Wow. Yeah, makes sense.

R: Dealing with my own stuff has made me better able to cope with what society has thrown at me.

Connection with community. Increased connection with one's own community or communities also occurred, alongside the desire to separate from one's own community that many participants articulated. Even though being in groups often made some participants feel

less safe, which then led them to distance themselves from members of their own group at times, participants also expressed making increased efforts to seek support and connect with their own community ($N=7$). Often this re-connection occurred through venting about these incidents and through supporting one another through them. “I know that when I am stopped by police and I am with another person of color, they will have my back,” concluded one participant after talking at length about her reactions about being alone versus being with others. As illustrated in many of the quotations above, participant growth over time also included increased success in shifting internalized beliefs about the self and about one’s group and increased successful utilization of other healing and growth mechanisms such as therapy, spirituality, and mindfulness.

In-Vivo threat activation during interviews. It is interesting to note that the interviewer never directly asked participants to reflect on stereotype threat happening in the moment, as he was afraid that doing so might inadvertently give the interview the feel of a therapy session. Nonetheless, this group of participants was so insightful, they frequently excelled in their ability to recognize the impact of stereotype threat in the realm of criminality *while it was happening in the here-and-now of the interview*. One heterosexual black male participant noticed: “Like right now, I am making fewer gestures than I normally would because I am sitting across from a white person and I don’t want you to think that I might be dangerous. I normally move my hands and arms a lot more when I’m talking.” In another interview with a queer Black female, the tape recorder kept malfunctioning. Each time it did, I apologized. After the interview, the participant noted that she realized that her strong desire to reassure me, to make sure I knew that she was not frustrated by the repeated malfunctions, may have been driven in part by stereotype threat, triggered by my repeated apologizing and perhaps also by my non-verbals that accompanied the apologies. In a particularly moving moment, one participant

earnestly asked me after I turned off the tape if I felt, as a psychologist in training, that being a queer survivor of childhood sexual assault made her more likely to perpetrate such an assault. These questions and observations from participants reveal much about what counseling psychologist stand to gain from understanding the phenomena explored in this study, the details of which will be discussed in the next chapter.

Emergent Theory

Participants' deep insights and vivid recollections led to rich interviews that revealed, not only the six core themes, but also a road map of how the different themes fit together. In this section, I will discuss the interweaving of these themes, then present my analysis of the theory that emerges from their confluence.

Communicated versus activated stereotypes. Stereotypes in the realm of criminality and suspicion, like all stereotypes, are basically just cognitions laced with affect, belief systems that are widely held. But they have profound social and psychological consequences for those on the receiving end of these collective projections. The distinction between index event activation and situational threat activation is important because they result two different processes. One gay Latino male participant spoke to the differences he has noticed in his own reactions to index events versus situational threat activation. "Well, because it's more blatant, right? It's more direct and more blatant when someone is directly staring you down, right? Than me thinking that someone may be thinking that I'm gonna molest their kid, right? That's just me *thinking* that (someone) may be thinking that I'm gonna molest their kid. That's bullshit in my head. It's just thoughts that I'm having that are making me behave a certain way, which is fine, right? But a guy staring at me and looking at me in a menacing, I'm-going-to-kick-your-ass-if-you-move-the-wrong-way, that's more direct. That's like right there. It's more tangible. I can feel that." This

participant articulated one of the most important findings of the study. At the outset, I hypothesized that experiencing criminalizing stereotypes might trigger a process akin to stereotype threat. However, it turned out that this hypothesis holds up only in the case of situational threat activation, events, which, as this participant indicated, exist only in the mind of the participant but have not yet materialized. The key word is “yet” as this is not a form of paranoia but rather, participants are using a) their past experience, and/or b) their knowledge of the existence of the stereotype to run a thought experiment to determine the danger level of a given situation. As they run the thought experiment, they also react affectively to it. However, index events, which are generally microaggressions, activate a slightly different process. Dealing with a real, as opposed to anticipated threat, brought about an experience less like stereotype threat and more like projective identification, in that many participants articulate trying to resist the urge to fulfill the stereotype. STA on the other hand does not involve projection from another or projective identification, as they rarely even involve a social interaction. They happen because the participant has: a) learned from past experience, b) internalized previous imposer’s projections, or c) both. Figure 5 provides a visual depiction of the model.

The interpersonal context of Index Event Activation. The distinction between intrusive and avoidant forms of these behaviors is important because they spark different reactions in the person who is the target of the stereotyping. As the model (Figure 4) shows, emotional reactions to avoidant events (e.g. being ignored by classmates, having someone cross the street to avoid you) tend to cause initial confusion as the participant is trying to decipher what is happening in a situation that may seem ambiguous initially. When the participant realizes they are being stereotyped, a combination of anger, guilt, and sadness, seems to surface. Anger because of the

recognition of the bias, guilt because of the participant's fear that there is in fact something inherently threatening about them (even if they cognitively know this to not be true), and sadness, because avoidant behaviors are essentially a form of rejection. Intrusive events on the other hand (e.g. being followed in a store, being racially profiled, being glared at by a stranger) tended to bring about fear and anger as the dominant reactions. Fear because the participant's safety may be at risk, and anger because of the recognition of the injustice and mistreatment occurring during the encounter. Yet both forms of IEA can bring about a feeling of hopelessness – a sense that there's nothing the person can do to change others' perception and treatment of her or him: "I learned that no matter what happened, even if someone else was attacking me, I could be found to be at fault," as one queer Black female participant succinctly put it.

Do reaction and behavior have a linear relationship? In the IEA model, Emotional and Cognitive Reactions follow the experience, while in the STA model, Prevention Strategies come second and reactions follow. This is because participants nearly always spoke of Prevention Strategies in tandem with STA ($N=19$). Sometimes, STA was only identified after the Prevention Strategy was stated. For example, a Black queer female participant stated that "I always make friends with the security guards." She said this and then continued with her thought. When I queried her as to why she does this, she paused, smiled at me, and said "Well now that's just basic home training." I might as well have asked her "Why do you wear clothes?" While a person could pause in the morning to imagine not wearing clothes that day and thus experience the feelings that accompany such a thought experiment, this step is not necessary, one could argue, in order to get dressed each day. In fact, it is probably more adaptive (time and energy-conserving) to skip this step. So seemed to be the case with Prevention Strategies.

This was the rationale for placing Prevention Strategies before emotional and cognitive reactions in the STA model (See Figure 4). They seemed almost automatic for participants as though these behaviors were so effectively learned, they were almost conditioned. Feelings and thoughts about having to employ such strategies seemed to come after (if at all), as though acting to protect oneself from being stereotyped was more adaptive than *reacting*. Many participants ($N=8$) initially stated they did not have feelings associated with experiencing STA, or stated they felt “numb.” When pressed further about this later in the interview (“So on the one hand, being watched in stores doesn’t bother you, yet you notice it changing the way you behave. What do you make of that?”) Several participants ($N=4$) spoke directly about how being aware of their feelings may be maladaptive in some cases. One participant jokingly said “stop asking about my feelings.” I responded saying that she was not the only participant who tended to stray away from talking about their reactions to these events and I asked her why this might be the case that people left their own reactions out of the stories: “Yeah actually. I feel like feeling territory is so um, I just don’t feel like, people really care. In the classroom or at work, people don’t really care about it. So responding from a place of emotion is not going to get you anywhere. I think it’s probably overall, but maybe it is the case that other people get to operate in feeling mode, I don’t know.” Prevention Strategies sometimes occurred in response to IEA, as well, albeit later in the process. In the IEA model, ECR comes second and influences both the Prevention and Challenge Strategies that follow. For example, Index Events that stirred a considerable amount of fear typically led to Prevention Strategies, while IEA in which anger predominated more frequently led to Challenge Strategies.

Emotional and cognitive reactions. Participant reactions varied considerably depending on whether they were experiencing STA and IEA. Reactions also served different functions in

each of these scenarios. For participants experiencing STA, the threat is often not in their immediate awareness and so they become aware of it via the recognition of their behavior, the Prevention Strategy. However, IEA was not unconscious – participants were always aware they were occurring, even if they experienced initial confusion about the intention of the stereotype imposer. Thus, participant reaction immediately follows the encounter and consists of two parallel and interacting systems: thinking and feeling. During IEA, the participant is first tasked with understanding what is occurring and they are almost always forced to do this while they are in the middle of some other task. This causes initial confusion. Once the participant becomes certain that in fact they are experiencing IEA, a second cognitive task must be completed, which involves assessing 1) the level of danger of the situation and 2) the pros and cons of various possible responses. Participants tend to report a mix of feelings of fear and anger, however the greater the danger to the participant (either short or long-term danger), the more fear will predominate and the more likely Prevention Strategies will be employed. Anger will then be felt in full force after the encounter has passed and typically goes unaddressed (more on this in the following sections). If the situation presents less of a danger to the participant, feelings of anger will predominate and Challenge Strategies will be more likely to be utilized. It is also important to note that not all participants define danger in the same ways and “danger” is always context-dependent. For example, some participants considered being physically attacked to be significantly dangerous, while others did not. Similarly, some participants considered being arrested to be highly dangerous, while others did not. Table 11 below describes common reactions by contexts.

Challenging the stereotype imposer. Challenge strategies generally occurred in response to IEA, more than STA. Only one participant gave an example of using a Challenge

Strategy in response to STA. When she did, it was evident that this came later in her process, after being activated, having used the PS in the past, feeling angry about having to do this, and then stealing herself to stand her ground in the face of her STA. Most Challenge Strategies did not appear to be automatic, unlike Prevention Strategies. Affect always seemed to precede a challenge strategy, and cognitions sometimes preceded them, as well. Often participants weighed the pros and cons, or conducted a power analysis (e.g. how much power does this person have to hurt me if I call them out?), processes that occurred very rapidly. Participants differed in terms of how they felt following a Challenge Strategy. Some reported that using a challenge strategy was the only way they could leave an interaction and feel okay, while others sometimes reported feeling worse after using a challenge strategy:

P: I was like: “Oh. Really, you're going to greet her but you're not going to greet us? That's really nice. So I'm not going to do business here.” And I left.

I: You said that to her?

P: Yeah. I said it to the sales clerk. I mean I wasn't yelling or anything like that. I just wanted to point out to her that I noticed what she did. Then I just left and I haven't shopped in that store since.

I: When you expressed that observation to her, how did you feel having done that?

P: I didn't feel any better. To be honest, I didn't feel any better. After leaving, I was just more upset I think, by vocalizing it. I wished that I had not said anything at all actually, afterwards. ‘Cause it didn't really make me feel any better. I just--. I was just frustrated. I wanted to go home. I was over shopping. Just over it.

Other participants described feeling worse experiencing a IEA and saying nothing. A Latino participant described it this way:

I: ... Do you find you recover pretty quickly, or does it ever linger?

P: Oh. Yeah. It lingers. Oh. Yeah. Sure. Especially if I don't get a chance to express—. If I don't say or respond like: “You timothy McVeigh looking motherfucker.” Yeah. I mean because it's almost like I need to express something. I need to let that out and let you know that that's wrong in some way. But that doesn't always happen directly. Right? So yeah, it kind of lingers a little bit.

Deciphering Prevention from Challenge: goals and affect. Whether or not a particular behavioral response constituted a Challenge or Prevention Strategy was at times difficult to determine (See Figure 5). The distinction lies, not in the behavior exclusively, but in the context of participant's goals and affect. The goals of a Prevention Strategy are to maintain one's own safety and/or the safety of others, if the participant is with friends or family, while the goal of a Challenge Strategy is to maintain one's dignity. Of course, one typically desires to maintain both, but in a moment of threat, one goal typically predominates. For example, multiple participants discussed being followed in a store and many decided not to return to the store. Some, however, talked about not returning as a way of boycotting while others spoke more to avoiding the store out of fear of being followed again. Making eye contact was another behavior that occurred in both prevention and challenge strategies. For some participants, making eye contact was a way of showing “I mean no harm” and was in this sense a prevention strategy, while for others, eye contact was a way of standing their ground and showing the stereotyper that they noticed what was happening. Though it would be challenging to quantify the anger that each participant experienced during a given encounter (especially in retrospect), it seems plausible that the intensity of the affect may play a role in shaping the goal, or may even eclipse the goal itself. For example, one participant described in sections above feeling so angry when

men glare at him on the subway, that he would fight them even though he would likely be significantly harmed by these men who are generally bigger than him. “But I wouldn’t care because in those moments, I’m just so angry.”

Although the participant is giving a hypothetical, he is describing a reaction that is somewhat unlike the other descriptions of himself throughout the interview. It is unclear if his willingness to fight is related to a specific goal (e.g. preserving his dignity) or if it is purely an affect-driven reaction, devoid of a specific goal. The same is true with examples given by other participants in behaviors such as avoiding certain places, questioning officers who have stopped them, or acting on the stereotypes that are being projected. The risk in asking the participant what their goal was in any given response is that they may retroactively insert one in their memory even if initially there was none, as per dissonance and attribution theory suggests one might. Making matters more complicated are the criminal archetypes themselves, which generally suggest that the stereotyped individual (be they of color, poor, queer, or immigrant) acts out of “primitive” instincts and/or basic needs, devoid of rational thought (e.g. savage, thug, predator). Even if participants do not consciously buy into this framework, the interview itself (the interviewer’s areas of privilege and the topic) may have pulled for people to downplay the role of feelings in their responses while elevating the role of planning and thinking. Figure 5 illustrates these differences.

Long-term outcomes. While the models could conceivably end with the participants’ reactions (as in the STA model) or with the participants’ behaviors (as in the IEA model), participants spoke at length about their perceptions of both the long-term consequences of these experiences, as well as their own efforts grow, heal, and undo the damage. Thus, Change Over Time was a somewhat broad theme. It was not always possible from these interviews to

distinguish which consequences were the result of index event activation and which were the result of situational threat activation, though some clear consequences emerged from each. Most notably, STA themselves seem to be one consequence of IEA. Index Event Activation seems to be a type of trauma, their echoes felt in the experience of situational threat activation, as well as gradual changes in aspects of individual's personalities, most notably, their expression of affect and their ability to show affection, happiness, and excitement. When suppressing part of oneself becomes necessary to avoid the consequences being seen as criminal or suspicious, it seems to have an effect on some participants' personalities, such that the mask becomes ever harder to remove.

Decreased pride in self and community. Other long-term consequences of IEA seemed to be a diminished sense of self-worth accompanied by a decrease in community pride. However, these losses occurred gradually with the accumulation of these negative experiences, such that they were unconscious for many participants, who talked about only recognizing that this had happened in retrospect. For example, one participant had not realized this had happened until he was once again around a large number of other Black men after being in mainly white spaces for a only a few months. Another clue as to the unconscious nature of these occurrences were seemingly contradictory statement given by participants within the same interview. For example, one participant spoke about his activism and how important it is for him to challenge stereotypes about gay Black men. However, his primary way of doing this was to refrain from associating with other Black men in all areas of his life, at present, saying "I can't risk having things go back to the way they were." When asked if this was a lonely realization, the participant replied "I'd rather be alone." In the context of his other remarks, the researcher wondered if he perhaps was not fully conscious of having internalized some negative stereotypes of his community, but not

quite recognizing he had done this. Other participants spoke about times when saw themselves as “inherently bad” without knowing they felt that way in the moment. Only in looking back, do they now recognize such feelings were there. As one participant put it “(Tears)You know, I think I thought I was a bad person (pause) for a long time. (Pause) Um and I think I really struggled with as that belief system, I’ve really worked to dismantle that, I think that I don’t have the experience of depression that I used to. You know but yeah I think when I look back at my old journals or whatever, there’s definitely this sense of feeling like um you know not feeling cared for or cared about. I mean I felt cared for obviously by my friends or whatever but just kind of on a larger setting or something. I think my life has more value now. Which would be you know if I had a gift to give to myself as a youth or in my early twenties, it would just be that, as a reminder.”

Increased awareness. Participants also described having a greater sense of the world as unsafe, as well as a greater conscious awareness of the existence of criminalizing stereotypes. While on the surface these understandings may sounds bleak, participants described them as liberating in their own right. As one Latina participant said: “This is why therapy has been so useful. I can face these realities now with my eyes open instead of thinking that there’s something wrong with me.” These realizations led to the final growth phase of both models, which seemed to consist of three parts.

Growth and adaptation. Three outcomes of the models became apparent, two of which seemed always adaptive, and one of which seemed adaptive in some contexts, but limiting in others. These were: Efforts to restore self-worth and community pride, Disengagement, and Commitments to Activism. The first speaks to coping strategies employed by participants, including immersing themselves within their communities with the expressed intention to reverse

the internalization of negative messages they had experienced. It also included seeking multiculturally competent therapy, social support, and spiritual support. Six participants spoke about the importance of spirituality in their lives and the role that overcoming IEA and STA played in *enhancing their spirituality* (a departure from a more prevalent view that spirituality enhances the individual's coping ability). Disengagement, described at length in the Literature Review, occurred in many contexts for the participants in this study and it seemed that in some cases, it helped the participant achieve certain goals and strengthen meaningful relationships (e.g. the participant who discovered his love for doing substance abuse work and the participants who found closer, more connected communities when they divested energy from their friendships with white people). Other times, disengagement seemed to limit participants (e.g. the participants who found it difficult to connect with children, or the participants who circumscribed certain careers.). Overall, disengagement seems like it can be at times liberating and at other times, limiting, depending on context. This departs from previous literature, which has generally viewed disengagement as limiting.

Lastly, the commitment to activism outcome seemed quite adaptive for the participants who claimed it, which was nearly all of them ($N=17$). This came in the form of writing and art ($N=7$), a social justice-oriented career ($N=9$), through more personal means (e.g. mentoring, volunteering, joining organizations or movements, blogging), $N=12$, or through a combination of these. About his writing and activism, a South Asian participant said:

Honestly, the way I deal with shit like this is writing now. Actually ever since the subway incident, that was the first piece I ever wrote publicly and shared it with the world. For whatever reason, that day after (the incident), that's what I did when I came home. That's all I could do. I got on my computer and just kind of furiously typed and

sent that to some close friends, basically, cause I wanted to tell people what happened. A few months later, that got edited and published on Colorlines blog. That was kind of the beginning of my process as a writer. So still, whenever something happens, I write. That's how I process and cope now. I think it's the writing process itself that's really cathartic for me. But it's also the age of Internet where we live in, where you can get instant feedback and support, even if it's not directly a call out for support. It usually has some analysis and I feel it's important for all of us to be sharing these stories. But obviously for my (laughs own emotional wellbeing, it really helps when there's an outpouring of: That was fucked up. Fuck the police. Or: Thank you for sharing your story, and people sharing their own story, that happens a lot, too.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

This purpose of this study was to understand the immediate and cumulative impact of experiencing a form of stereotyping that characterizes an individual as suspicious – dangerous, aggressive, criminal, or otherwise threatening. The findings of the study reveal an interesting paradox: In shouldering the burden of the imposer’s fear, the target of criminalizing stereotypes is the one with *true* reason to feel afraid, since aggression backed with institutional power frequently accompany the imposer’s fear. The imposer on the other hand, fears only a phantom within his or her own mind when viewing the world through the lens of stereotypes. This chapter will begin by summarizing the key findings of the study and will then explore the research questions regarding stereotype threat by juxtaposing this study’s findings with those from previous research in the areas of stereotype threat. The section will continue with a comparison of the current study’s findings to previous findings in areas such as coping strategies, vigilance, and other outcomes of stereotypes and societal stress. Next, the section explores the limitations of the findings before examining practice implications, research and advocacy implications, and finally, future directions for researchers

Summary of Key Findings

The findings reveal that this category of fear-based stereotypes is extremely ubiquitous and for at least some participants, overshadows all others that they must contend with. The findings however do not reveal why this may be so, but Carl Jung (1967) in his work on the Shadow offers one hypothesis. “Filling the conscious mind with ideal conceptions is a characteristic of Western theosophy, but not the confrontation with the Shadow and the world of

darkness. One does not become enlightened by imagining figures of light, but by making the darkness conscious. The latter procedure, however, is disagreeable and therefore not popular.” (p. 265). People socialized within western society, he contends, are obsessed with the ideal, and with attaining that ideal, which given western individualism, is seen as a solo endeavor. Westerners are thus avoidant of the opposite of the ideal that dwells within themselves, and thus unwilling to make it conscious. Kept in the unconscious, the immoral Shadow is then aggressively projected outward, collectively, onto the nearest “other” which historically in the Western hemisphere has included: Indigenous people, women, people of African descent, immigrants of color, Eastern European immigrants, poor people, Jews, Muslims, queer people, and many other communities. This unconscious projection, if true, exists alongside very intentional attempts by communities in power to capitalize on the fears these projections generate in order to maintain their power.

The findings provide evidence that there is a learned process that members that marginalized of groups undertake which allows them to navigate and challenge the imposition of criminalizing stereotypes. The process contains within the means of dealing with an immediate threat (Index Event Activation) and the ever-present reality that such events will, at some point, occur again the future (Situational threat Activation). Six core themes emerged as salient to nearly all participants, including Situational Threat Activation, in which targets of criminalizing stereotypes recognize the potential for danger in experiences which would otherwise be viewed as benign by those who had not encountered such stereotyping; Index Event Activation, which describes the catalyst for the target’s response to criminalizing stereotypes in the moment; Prevention Strategies, which refer to the target’s attempt to de-escalate or avoid entirely an index event; Emotional and Cognitive Reactions, which include the affect and the thoughts/beliefs that

targets describe during and following either Situational Threat Activation or Index Events; Challenge Strategies, which describe the target's attempt to confront the imposer; and finally, Change Over Time which describes the experience of accumulating both wisdom and trauma as a result of these experiences, as well as participants' strides towards growth and healing.

Meeting the Conditions for Stereotype Threat

One major question this researcher sought to answer pertains to the concept of stereotype threat: does stereotype threat operate in the context of criminalizing stereotypes? Steele (1997) proposed four conditions that must be present to activate stereotype threat, based on data at that time. They were as follows: First, there must exist a societal-level stereotype about one's group – a stereotype that is commonly known. Secondly, the domain must be stereotype-relevant such that the individual fears confirming the negative stereotype. Thirdly, the person must identify in some way with the construct that is evoking the threat – in other words, a Black person who identifies with being academically successful will be more vulnerable to stereotype threat in academic domains than would a Black person who does not identify with academic success. Lastly, the domain must present a difficult task – on a math exam, non-challenging items will be less likely to trigger stereotype threat (such that performance is depressed) than difficult math items would (Steele, 1997; Spencer et al., 1999).

Condition 1: Existence of a societal level stereotype. The data in this study suggest that three out of the four conditions were most certainly met, while the fourth remains somewhat ambiguous. In examining the first condition, the interviewees in this study leave little doubt in the reader's mind that stereotypes about criminality as they apply to people of color, low-income people, and LGBTQ people, among others, are ubiquitous. Their anecdotes are further supported by research referenced in the first chapter of this dissertation.

Condition 2: Fear of confirming negative stereotype. All 19 participants also articulated the second condition, fear of confirming the stereotype, though in different manifestations depending on the context. Sometimes, interviewees reported concerns about truly confirming the stereotype because of expectancy effects, such as this black female participant:

P: I've noticed that it's mostly--, the people who react that way have been the white people who haven't really interacted with a lot of black people. You can tell by how they're constantly apologizing about things. (heh, heh) It's like: I'm not even upset. Why are you always apologizing? I'm not going to get mad. And it's just confusing for me because it's like I haven't been angry at work... But you could sort of tell certain people are just waiting for me to just explode at some point.

I: What has that been like for you? How have you reacted to that?

P: So it's funny because it kind of makes me angry. (laughter) Even though I wasn't angry to begin with.

Other participants were concerned about confirming the stereotype because of a deeper fear that there was some actual truth to the stereotype itself, such as one lesbian participant who tentatively asked the researcher in earnest if I thought that she might be more likely to harm children because of her sexual orientation. Still, in other instances, participants were more concerned about another's perception of stereotype conformity: "I know if I dress a certain way in (store name), I am going to be perceived as a gang member." The threat of being perceived as suspicious was the most common concern articulated by participants, perhaps in part because this possibility lies largely outside the control of the target of the stereotype. Yet the risk of being perceived this way can have very grave, tangible consequences. The data also indicated that participants altered their behavior in attempts to prevent this from happening, leaving open the

question about the emotional cost to participants to be consistently altering their behavior in ways that do not allow them to be themselves and in ways that can never be completely effective in preventing the feared consequences, since the targeting is not in the participant's control. I would hypothesize that in many cases, all three issues (expectancy effects, longstanding fears that the stereotype is true, and concerns about others' perceptions) were operating simultaneously.

Condition 3: Identification with threat-evoking construct. The third condition, identifying with the construct that evokes the threat, was also met in this study, though it is defined very differently for this concept than for academic performance. To be vulnerable to criminalizing stereotypes, one must identify with concepts which are perhaps more ambiguous and perhaps more difficult to measure than academic performance: being a good person, one who is law abiding, one who is not violent, honest, not a thief, and so forth. Interestingly, several participants reported that they did not experience Situational Threat Activation when it came to being pulled over by police for speeding *when they were actually speeding* even though they were all people of color vulnerable to racial profiling. Five black participants reported feeling less anxiety when dealing with police *when they had actually broken the law* than when they had to interact with law enforcement and had *not* broken any law. This was reported in cases like shoplifting: "I mean, it was fine because we were really stealing (hehe)." And it was also reported for traffic stops: "I actually feel less anxious when I get pulled over and I know I did something wrong than when I am pulled over and I can't figure out why." This finding ran counter to this researcher's assumption, which was that any law enforcement encounter would be cause for Situational Threat Activation for populations who deal with profiling and police misconduct. However, as demonstrated above, this assumption did not always hold.

But when participants saw themselves as non-violent, approachable, friendly, laid back, a good person, honest, law-abiding, or helpful, Stereotype Threat Activation was indeed reported. For example, a working class Latino participant who talked about being eyed with suspicion in nice stores, said “I’ve never felt the urge to steal anything. Ever. I’m like everyone else: I eat and I fuck. And when I want something, I pay for it. I take pride in that.” That same participant said: “Whenever I pick up something I want to buy (in a store), I always wave it around very obviously so that it’s clear I’m not trying to sneak it.” He altered his behavior and he also happened to strongly identify as an honest, hard-working person who does not steal but instead proudly purchases the items he wants.

Condition 4: The task must be challenging. The fourth condition, which pertains to task difficulty, is less clear. One of the hallmarks for Situational Threat Activation is that it occurs throughout the course of mundane events that most people engage in – shopping, walking, waiting for a bus, riding a subway, sitting in bleachers, babysitting, and going through security, to name a few. Can these be said to be difficult tasks? They certainly are not comparable to sitting for a difficult math exam in a specific time and place. And how is one defining difficulty in this context, since it was obviously more intellectually rigorous activities in most of the control studies that this research sites? I would pose that task difficulty is *not* a necessary condition for stereotype threat, but that the effects of stereotype threat are *more measurable* when the task is: a) difficult, and b) objectively measurable. Just because stereotype threat is less measurable in this set of stereotypes does not mean it is any less active. Additionally, where academic performance is not a relevant variable, performance could perhaps be measured by effectiveness of one’s affective regulation, the quality of social interaction, the quality of presence, or other more subtle or unconscious behaviors.

Comparisons with Earlier Research

Awareness of threat. Perhaps the greatest departure of this study from the early stereotype threat literature was that this sample was mostly conscious of the threat operating in their lives; both in hindsight and some even during the course of the interview itself. Awareness of the category of stereotypes was an implicit requirement for participation in this study, since one who has not experienced it would not have been pulled to respond. What was extraordinary about this interview sample was that each of them had observed themselves reacting to these stereotypes and each of them had ideas about how their own psyche interacts with the stereotyping and thus had at least some conscious understanding of how they were being affected.

Emergence of two forms of threat. A major finding of the present study, one that the author did not anticipate, was the existence of two separate forms of threat activation, situational (Situational Threat Activation) and incident-based (Index Event Activation). This finding supports previous qualitative research about performance-based stereotype threat in the workplace for women scientists in academia. Castro, Block, Ferraris, and Roberson (2011) observed two types of stereotype threat-relevant cues: Episodic and Pervasive. Pervasive cues are those that are widespread and persistent, existing as an ever-present backdrop in the workplace. Episodic cues could be observed as specific sexist incidents, with a location in space and time. The parallels with the findings from the present study are striking perhaps because the contexts are so very different – one deals with a specific community (women) in a specific, performance-based environment (the hard sciences in academia), while the other is more diffuse, cutting across communities and environments (academia, work, home, the street, public transportation, and others). Perhaps the most striking distinction is the stereotype content: criminality versus subpar intelligence in the context of an environment of high achievers. Yet

similar results emerged with regards to the triggering situations. Perhaps gravity is an apt metaphor in understanding how social identity threat operates, independent of stereotype content, context, or population. Gravity is a force that curves space-time and exists throughout space in all locations, just like societal notions of women as intellectually inferior and marginalized communities as dangerous and deviant. Yet gravity becomes apparent in the presence of matter (objects with mass), which parallels episodic incidents, or index events. Both are key to understanding and intervening with the phenomena.

Outside of the stereotype threat literature, other qualitative studies have been conducted aimed at increasing understanding of the subjective experience of incident-based or episodic oppressive experiences within specific communities across multiple contexts. Sue, Capodilupo, and Holder (2008) conducted a study with Black American participants on how racial microaggressions are experienced and processed. Their qualitative findings are supported by the findings of the current study. Two themes in particular, the Perception Domain and the Reaction Domain, corresponded closely to the Emotional and Cognitive Reactions theme within the current study. Within the perception domain, the authors found that a process of *questioning* was undertaken by the participant, such that one would try to determine whether or not a particular behavior by an imposer was racially motivated. This was not unlike the Confusion/Dissonance Stage that participants in the present study experienced at the early moments of an Index Event. A third theme that emerged in the study, The Interpretation Domain, matched closely the Cognitive reactions sub theme in the current study.

Vigilance. The present study also examined participant reactions to non-microaggressive events (Situational Threat Activation), which complements the findings from the microaggression study, which found that healthy paranoia was a theme that emerged from their

data. In the current study, Situational Threat Activation matches closely with the findings from Sue et al. (2008) in that both themes describe a level of appropriate vigilance that arises out of situational learning from repeated index events or microaggressions.

Previous researchers have also noted this appropriate vigilance common to many marginalized groups, vigilance which is adaptive in navigating societal oppression while it simultaneously carries negative health consequences (Meyer, 1995; Meyer & Dean, 1998). Meyer (2003) calls this response “minority stress” and postulates that minority stress is: unique—that is, minority stress occurs for stigmatized communities in addition to general stressors that are experienced by all people, and therefore require an extra adaptation effort. Meyer (2003) also states that minority stress is chronic, and socially based, stemming from structures outside the individual (e.g. social processes, institutions), unlike general stressors which are characterized by individual events (e.g. death of a loved one, moving to a new city, health concerns). Several consequences emerge from experiencing cumulative minority stress, including expectations of such events in the future and the vigilance this expectation requires, which again parallels the Situational Threat Activation theme that emerged from the present study. The internalization of negative societal attitudes was another finding of minority stress theory that was also supported by this study.

Coping. Nearly all qualitative studies reviewed for this project addressed the issue of participant coping strategies. Some characterize certain strategies as more adaptive than others, while other studies critique the attention paid to oppressed communities’ coping strategies.

Disengagement. One way of coping with stereotype threat evident throughout the literature (e.g. Steele and Aronson, 1997) is “psychological disengagement.” It buffers impact of negative stereotyping, thus preserving self-esteem. As mentioned previously, there are two

routes to disengagement: discounting (e.g. assuming the SAT is biased and not trusting the feedback) or devaluing (divesting from the stereotyped domain, e.g. academics). Participants in this study also reported the coping mechanism of disengagement. In the model, it emerged as a long-term outcome of Index Event and Situational Threat Activation. However, an area of departure from traditional stereotype threat theories emerged in the routes to disengagement. Participants who expressed heightened awareness of bias (e.g. in examples of racial profiling by police or security staff) seemed to fit neatly with the “discounting” category of disengagement. But “Devaluing” did not seem to emerge as a category. For example, participants who described avoiding children or circumventing certain careers because of criminalizing stereotypes did not typically describe devaluing those particular paths. Rather, it seemed they had developed a cautionary attitude – an “I’m-going-to-stay-away-just-to-be-on-the-safe-side” mentality that generally remained free of conscious devaluation. It is interesting to note however that at least two participants expressed not wanting to have children with their long-term partners, and it may be that this disinterest came about because of unconscious devaluation, though the data does not reveal this directly. An additional departure from traditional stereotype threat theory is that it does not appear that disengagement was a strategy or preserving self-esteem in this study, as it Steele and Aronson (1995) and others have indicated. In this case, disengagement seems to serve to preserve, dignity, or the ability to earn to a living.

Differentiating between objective and subjective stress. Perhaps the strongest convergent finding, the one common to Sue et al. (2008), Block et al. (2011), and Meyer (2003), as well as the current study, has to do with how the theories fit with stress discourse. Within the psychological literature, there are many definitions of stress. One of the simplest and elegant ones describes stress as “any condition having the potential to arouse the adaptive machinery of

the individual” (Pearlin, 1999, p. 163). Two primary perspectives characterize stress discourse: One views stress as objective – consisting of real phenomena which are stressful because of the demands imposed on any individual who experiences that stress (e.g. Dohrenwend, Raphael, Schwartz, Stueve, & Skodol, 1993). The other perspective, the subjective view, places less emphasis on the external event and greater emphasis on the internal processes of the individual – specifically, how she or he appraises the situation (Lazarus, 1991; Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). This distinction is important because they have different implications for intervention, for the latter view places the onus on the individual to change the cognitive beliefs that determine the manner by which they evaluate a situation and cope with adversity. The former places the onus on society to reduce the exposure of the individual to the threat in the first place. The emergent model from the present study, Situational Threat and Index Event Activation, takes a more objectivist approach.

Although there may be individual differences with regards to how individuals appraise and cope with stressful (oppressive) situations, it is the external event that remains the focus of the problem and where the interventions must ultimately lie. There are two reasons for this. The first has ethical implications: emphasizing individual adaptation sends the implicit message that the societal stressors of oppression are static, inevitable, and unchangeable. It also fits with the western notion of rugged individualism: oppression may be tough, but you can overcome it, even if others within your group are not able to do so. But the second reason as to do with utility. There are no coping strategies that are ultimately as effective as the removal of the stressor itself. Take for example, the coping strategy of group cohesion. The research on social identity threat, race-based traumatic stress, microaggressions, and minority stress all lend evidence to the effectiveness of group cohesion is coping with societal oppression. Yet one finding that emerged

in the present study was that physical proximity with others of one's own group (in situations with two or more visible individuals) created Situational Threat Activation. This was a robust finding present in nearly all the interviews across multiple communities for Black, Muslim, Latino/a, and LGBTQ participants. Group cohesion of course implies more than simply physical proximity, but social interaction in physical proximity is undoubtedly an important aspect of group cohesion. For the participants in the present study, solidarity was an important coping factor, but it was a double-edged sword, since the perception of the marginalized individual as criminal, suspicious, or dangerous was exacerbated considerably when the participant was in the presence of like others (e.g. friends, family, partners) and most participants observed themselves responding to this reality in a variety of ways, all of which involved increased vigilance and bracing for attack when spending time in public with members of (or even simply with one other member) of their own community. I would argue that group cohesion, and indeed all other coping strategies that place the onus for change on the marginalized individual or group, are imperfect or incomplete solutions to the problem of minority stress, stereotype threat, microaggressions, and other manifestations of societal oppression, both ethically and pragmatically.

Resilient to the stereotype. At the same time, in order to effectively navigate oppressive systems and thrive in such a manner that creating social change is even possible, there is strong evidence that some approaches to dealing with stereotype threat and other forms of oppression may be more adaptive than others. And it certainly seems plausible that being able to utilize those more adaptive strategies can in fact inform social change approaches on the macro level over the long-term, particularly when they are approached collectively. Block, Koch, Liberman, Merriweather, and Roberson (2010) in their findings developed a model, which points to an agile

method of overcoming stereotype threat. The model involves the accumulation of wisdom such that the individual functions in the oppressive environment with a large array of options from which to choose in dealing with multiple forms of threat, in both form and content. The model observes that there are three basic options that an individual has in responding to both pervasive and episodic threat. The first two involve either fending off the stereotype or becoming discouraged by the stereotype. In the former, the individual may attempt to compensate for the stereotype by working harder, and/or distancing themselves from the stereotype and the social group. Efforts to fend off the stereotype were reported by participants in the present study, as well. This occurred mainly in the process of implementing Prevention Strategies – for example, being excessively friendly and polite, reassuring the imposer, and avoiding congregating with members of one’s own group. The second set of responses in the Block et al. study (2010) involved becoming discouraged, which includes disengagement and also the emotional responses of anger and withdrawal. The findings of the current study corresponded with this theme as well, particularly within the themes of Emotional and Cognitive Reactions (in which anger predominated) and also in the Change Over Time theme, in which disengagement was a common response which preserved the individual’s dignity and sense of safety, though it also comes at both a psychic and physical cost, as it restricts the occupational, emotional, and social world of the individual.

Block et al. (2010) discovered a third response option called Resilient to the Stereotype. Responses in this category are supported by the findings in this study in the Challenge Strategies category and also in the long-term strategies of restoring sense of group self-worth, activism, and artistic responses, all of which combat the stereotyping by making it explicit, calling to question its fairness, and creating systemic change via collective action. Block et al. (2010) found that

women who had been contending with stereotype threat in their fields for a long time developed a complex process of “sensemaking” in which they frame their specific responses to both pervasive and episodic threat based on data from their cumulative personal, professional, and cultural experiences, including their social and institutional knowledge. In short, they combat oppression like scientists, by gathering data and implementing the best response based on their lifetimes of experiential research. It seems almost as if marginalized communities must always have two professions: Their professional trade and anthropology. They are strangers in a strange land whose ability to survive and thrive depends upon their ability to de-code and make meaning of surroundings designed to undermine them. For targets of criminalizing stereotype threat, they must call up their anthropologist self in a tremendous variety of life contexts. They are on call 24-7.

Limitations of Findings

While these results have yielded some interesting findings, a number of outliers, points of departure, and questions remain. These include a participant who raised issues that were unlike other participant’s experiences, population-specific differences that emerged, the interaction of the studied phenomenon with other traumas, and the pressures that participants might have felt to give socially desirable answers (essentially, threat operating during the course of the interviews).

Expectations of passivity. One participant raised some very interesting issues that were not raised by any other interviewees in the sample. She spoke about how being a member of a group generally stereotyped as *non-threatening* resulted in her being viewed as criminal by some because her manner of being directly interrupts the stereotype. The participant identifies as a queer, bi-racial (white and Japanese), working class woman. The participant is also a self-defense instructor. She indicated that her political views, class background, queerness, and

perhaps also her self-defense knowledge have meant that she does not fit into stereotypes about passivity or submissiveness that typically accompany western views of Asian women. For her, not fitting into these stereotypes has meant that some individuals have become enraged when she stands up for herself, which can result her being treated rather badly by men in general, but especially by police, TSA, and other law enforcement. “I had to remember that I couldn’t respond to police the way my white girlfriend responded to them,” she recalled during the interview. These negative experiences also meant that she developed many of the same patterns of threat activation that other participants spoke of when forced to interact with police. Because hers was the only interview in which noncompliance with stereotypes about submissiveness resulted in being treated criminally, saturation for codes reflecting the experience of being penalized for violating stereotypes about passiveness were not reached, and so her experience is only partially reflected in the model. Nonetheless, I mention it here because it is an interesting finding and one that may have indeed shown up with greater frequency had the sample population looked differently (e.g. more female and/or more East Asian participants). It stands to reason that failure to comply with stereotypes about submissiveness may also have consequences for marginalized participants and this reality is also worth studying.

Community-specific differences. Despite the prevalence of the six core themes, there were many population-specific differences that emerged in this study. The experience of being viewed as suspicious within one’s own family emerged in this study exclusively with LGBT participants ($N=9$). Only in one LGBT interview did this theme not emerge and it emerged in no interviews with heterosexual participants. For heterosexual participants, the family was a safe haven from being viewed through this lens, however the entire family system was viewed with suspicion, often more so when travelling together. When one’s family unit is viewed through a

lens of criminality, it likely produces different outcomes than when an individual is viewed as criminal, even by one's own family.

Obviously, stereotype content also varied considerably by population. Qualitatively speaking, being viewed as a child molester likely is experienced differently from being viewed as terrorist, which is probably different from being viewed as a gang member. Several participants with intersecting identities spoke to this. One queer Latina participant stated that “(the fear of being viewed as a pedophile) is way more charged for me than the fear of being seen as a shoplifter. When I go into a store, people will eventually see that I am not going to shoplift. But when it comes to children...I don't know, that just feels way more personal.” Several participants explored some positives about being viewed as suspicious or dangerous, such as feeling safer, being left alone by strangers, or having one's masculinity be re-affirmed. However, these positives were articulated only by Black men in this study (both trans and non-trans ($N=5$)). Positive aspects of criminalizing stereotypes did not emerge as a theme with any other group.

Another interesting population difference that emerged centered around whether a participant was the object of true fear by others versus whether the participant was the object of hatred. For example, Black participants most frequently spoke of experiences where others seemed truly afraid of them ($N=11$), while participants of Middle Eastern or South Asian descent ($N=6$) more commonly expressed being seen as a “symbolic” threat: dangerous on a macro-scale, but not dangerous in the current moment (e.g. on the subway or street). Thus, these participants spoke more frequently of overt hostile behavior from strangers than did other participants of color. Black and Latino participants spoke less of overtly hostile behavior from strangers, and more of hostile behavior from law enforcement. Gender posed another distinction. Nearly all

female participants ($N=8$) and one trans participant expressed the sense that they “were off the hook more easily” because of gender, especially in dealings with law enforcement. These participants often expressed a sense of protectiveness and fear for their male family members and friends in their lives. This notion of gender as a protective factor from criminalizing stereotypes may have its roots in sexism, as women are often seen as less physically imposing, less mentally stable, and less adult overall, and thus cannot be fully taken seriously or held accountable for their actions.

Another population difference concerns the issue of world events and the influence these events exert in the lives of participants. Most notably, 9/11 and other incidents since have had a tremendous affect on the Middle Eastern, Muslim, and South Asian participants. Each of them talked about it ($N=4$), as did Latino/a participants who are sometimes read as Middle Eastern ($N=3$). While all participants were moved by major high profile events (e.g. Trayvon Martin shooting), only these participants expressed a markedly different experience pre- and post- a major event, in this case 9/11.

Trauma. Another major issue that arose in this study was the interaction of STA and IEA with other complex life traumas, most notably, sexual assault. Of all the queer interviewees ($N=10$), seven of them experienced situational threat activation that triggered fears of being seen as a child molester. Of those seven, three of them disclosed during the course of the interview that they were survivors of childhood sexual assault. Unlike other new information learned during the course of questioning, this was not a question I felt I could ethically add to my protocol to see if a pattern emerged with future queer participants. So the question remains: How does being a survivor of childhood sexual assault contribute to the internalization of the child molester stereotype later in life for LGBTQ survivors? One concern that all three

participants had experienced in the past was the fear that they would accidentally, unknowingly, cause harm to children, though none of them have. What is also unknown is whether other participants in this sample (LGBT or heterosexual) also survived sexual abuse. And this unknown makes apparent an even larger unknown: how the experience of other traumas might have shaped or influenced the processes examined in this study.

In-vivo stereotype threat. Lastly, it is interesting to note that stereotype threat occurred in the here-and-now for at least some participants during the course of this study. Some participants spoke to this directly, as mentioned earlier. But for others, it may have been occurring and they may not have been conscious of it, or they may have chosen not to voice it. When I first began analyzing data, I had a code called “Helpfulness: Participant describes wanting to be helpful to the researcher.” This code emerged as a result of answers participants gave to the first question on the protocol: What led you participate in this study? The expectation was that participants would answer with a thought about how the research question was relevant to their own experience. Instead, 13 of the 19 interviewees initially gave a response that involved wanting to be help out someone doing the research. Individuals who gave this answer were then asked a follow up question: How has this issue of being viewed as criminal come up in your life? At first, I thought nothing was remarkable about giving such an answer about one’s own desire to be helpful. But then as coding continued, another interesting code emerged: Asserts view of self as good. This code was used whenever a participant made such statements as: “I never steal,” “I try my best never to break laws,” or “I have never been violent towards anyone.” Participants often made these comments prior to launching into a memory about someone being afraid of them or accusing them of something. The two codes, combined with the here-and-now insights of some of the participants, seem to indicate a possibility that the

very phenomenon we were discussing was being enacted in the interviews themselves, especially since the interviewer is white and all but one of the participants is a person of color. This could mean that participant's desire to give to socially desirable responses was stronger, or that the data could be skewed in any number of ways that it would not have been had the researcher shared all of the identities of the participants. While this possibility of threat being enacted during the interviews may not invalidate the data, it most likely influenced it in some way. To what degree, it may not be possible to know.

Implications for the practice of counseling psychology

“I have a counselor that I'm seeing now and he's a white male. We've talked about my cultural upbringing, but in terms of talking about the *racism* piece, it's just not there. That's one of the things that. You know what, it's one of those things where we talk about it with friends.” This interviewee, like several others, embraced therapy as helpful, while being resigned to the fact that he cannot talk about racism with his therapist. Marginalized communities deserve better than this. Ten of the 19 people interviewed in this study talked about experiences in therapy and for many of them, therapy was an essential component of their coping and healing process. Yet many of them also related experiences about therapy that were less than helpful or even oppressive. The field of counseling psychology with its focus on marginalized communities and issues of race, class, culture, gender, and sexual orientation, has had a longstanding interest in issues of oppression and social justice (Toporek & McNally, 2006). In line with this interest, the findings of this study point to some practices useful for counseling psychologists, and therapists from any field, in working with people who must confront the daily, oppressive reality of criminalizing stereotypes.

Beyond multicultural awareness. The quotation by the participant above so clearly articulates a reality that many, but not all, psychologists recognize. Being able to knowledgeably speak with clients about their culture (class, sexual orientation, or other identities) is important, but is not enough. The findings of this study reveal that the phenomena of criminalizing stereotypes looks oddly similar across communities; this is because it is not a product of culture. It is a product of institutional oppression. So being able to talk about culture is a necessary, but not sufficient, condition for providing good therapy. More and more, counseling psychologists articulate the need to move from being, not only multicultural competent, but also social justice-oriented in their teaching, research, and practice approaches. One component of this is recognizing the societal ill of oppression and the unique roles psychologists can play in ending it and in helping clients to overcome it and end it. This move is reflected in the recent shift made by some counseling psychology programs from a scientist-practitioner model to a scientist-practitioner-advocate model (Fassinger & O'Brien, 2000). APA accredited the first counseling psychology program that added advocacy to their training model, the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, in 2009.

The differences between being aware of culture versus being social justice oriented became clear in the interviews. Several participants noted that their therapists *were* able to effectively talk about culture, gender, and sexual orientation, but they were only able to do so in such a manner that divorced the communities from the power structures in which they reside. For example, one participant could talk freely in therapy about her desire to care for her immigrant family, but could not explore her frustration at the system that made them so reliant upon her. Her desire to care for her family was interpreted by her therapist as purely a cultural characteristic. Another participant could talk freely about his Black male trans identity without

being viewed by his therapist as “disordered” but he could not explore the nuances of being seen as predatory without the therapist viewing this as purely his cognitive distortions and perhaps internalized oppression, rather than entertain the reality that others might actually view him in this manner. These experiences underscore the need for therapists to understand themselves more deeply as racial cultural beings and to also develop a more sophisticated understanding of power structures so that they can appropriately respond to the complex matters that clients bring into the treatment room.

In-Vivo conversations about privilege. It was not until my fifth interview, one with a working class, heterosexual Black male, that I realized that criminalizing stereotype threat could be explored with my participants in the here-and-now, especially with participants of color, given my whiteness. The realization only came to me because this participant said:

P: Even now as we are talking, I’m aware of how much I’m gesturing and moving around as I talk. I’m not letting my body flow with my words in the way I might if you weren’t white.

I: Really?

P: I wouldn't want to make you think I was a threat 'cause I'm moving my hands all the time.

I: I see. Wow. Do you think there’s anything else you're doing in the course of our conversation that is happening because of those stereotypes? Because of you being afraid I might perceive you in a certain way?

R: I know that right now I'm consciously telling myself to stay authentic even though you're white. So I'm reminding myself: Don't hold back. Don't filter.

As therapists who may occupy privileged identities in the room with our clients and patients, criminalizing stereotype threat may be playing out in the client-therapist interaction. In

order to use this as therapeutic material and to create a space in which the client can move towards congruence, the therapist must first be able to accept that this may be happening – that their presence in the room may be triggering Situational Threat Activation for the patient. Furthermore, we must be able to sit with the feeling that this possibility stirs in us, in counselors who often are accustomed to seeing ourselves as helpful, “safe,” and as good containers for client affect. Even though this participant’s statement made perfect sense, I was still surprised and saddened to hear that he was filtering and holding back, even in his non-verbals. The realization that he was caretaking me, and simultaneously trying hard to combat that impulse, stirred guilt and also brought into my awareness my narcissistic need to be seen as “a good white person.” My inner voice said: *“Holding back? With me? But can't he see that I'm different?”* We must be sufficiently in contact with these feelings so that we do not implicitly ask our clients to provide us with reassurance that we are good people, lest we recapitulate their outside experiences with the imposer in the treatment room.

While typing up that participant’s transcript months after the interview, I found myself waiting to hear myself ask if I, the interviewer, was doing anything that contributed to his urge to hold back. That question never appeared on the recording. I realize that I likely made the assumption in the moment that it was purely my whiteness and perhaps other areas of my privilege, and maybe also our size difference (he was bigger than I), that was contributing to his self-censorship. This missed opportunity served as a good reminder that therapists must be robust enough to be able to ask about in-vivo criminalizing stereotype threat, and to be ready for the answer, since few clients will likely feel comfortable raising this on their own. For example, a white counselor listening to a client of color talk about feeling targeted by criminalizing stereotypes might respond with “You know, as we’re talking, I am wondering if perhaps you

worry that in here, I might also perceive you in the same way as white people do out there.” For clients from LGBTQ communities, this fear may be even more poignant since psychology has a history of pathologizing LGBTQ identities and still does pathologize transgender identities, as well as consensual sexual behaviors deemed outside the norm (e.g. various fetishes, masochism, and others). While a therapist’s general appearance or identities may trigger Situational Threat Activation, unconscious behaviors on the part of a therapist could actually invoke Index Event Activation. The findings in this study underscore the importance of self-awareness and honest exploration of the Shadow in addressing this issue with clients.

Tolerating and mirroring intense affect. To create space to for patients to talk about these experiences, therapists must also be able and willing to sit with intense affect, particularly anger, sadness, and also “paranoia” though it is not necessarily paranoia at all. A considerable amount of affect was expressed by participants during these interviews, more than both I and usually more than they, were expecting. I asked each participant at the end what it was like doing the interview and nearly all of them expressed that it had been difficult because of all the anger that the topic stirred up. Most participants talked about efforts to suppress anger as a result of criminalizing experiences.

“In the Latino community, in people of color communities, mental health is one of those things where it's for crazy people. So I was very resistant for a long time to going to counseling. But it finally got to the point where I just could not really function. Thinking back, it was like there was a lot of anger. I remember having fantasies about being violent towards other people just because I was so angry about some of the things that were happening at (her university). That's obviously a very dangerous thing to talk about when you think about people who take guns into schools and stuff.” — Working class heterosexual Latina, 41. Being able to validate

the anger and to communicate to the client that such anger is not pathological, but a reasonable response to a pathological situation, is essential. This is because the anger itself is the very emotion that has been deemed unacceptable by the client's world outside the treatment room.

At the same time, one must be careful not to uniformly interpret intense client affect as anger. Many participants expressed that the affective lens through which the world saw them was exclusively anger: That expressions of excitement, passion, sadness, and even joy, were not mirrored or affirmed by members of the dominant community and that for some, even members of their own community found it easiest to relate through anger or irritation, rather than being able to speak freely about a wider range of affect. Thus as therapists, creating space for a full range of affect, and being able to effectively mirror that range for clients from a variety of cultural contexts, is paramount to not replicating the client's environment which punishes or ignores much of their affective self and restricts both the types and intensity of emotion they are permitted to express.

Psycho-educational interventions. Lastly, psycho-education can be a valuable resource for clients struggling with these experiences. Nearly every participant talked about how having a social justice-informed understanding was useful in coping with the experiences of being seen through a lens of criminality. While understanding it does not make a target any safer, it does create the foundation for the understanding that the client is not to blame for what is happening and is not inherently "a bad person", a message that many participants internalized as a direct result of both the intrusive and avoidant Index Events that they routinely endured. Clients must also be informed that what others may call "paranoia" is actually a wise and adaptive response to the circumstances they have had to endure. If there exists situations where this response is inhibiting their growth or healing, or creating other unpleasant outcomes for the client, a

conversation about that dialectic can only be had after the therapist has fully honored the positive purpose Prevention Strategies and Disengagement serve for the client (though the use of this jargon is obviously not necessary). The insight gained by the client, that their emotions are valid, that there is a risk of internalizing negative messages which lead to false negative beliefs about the self, that their “paranoid” responses are a sign of strength, resilience, and wisdom, is only the beginning of addressing the issue, but it is an essential part. It may also facilitate creating a stronger therapist-client alliance, as an essential component of many different orientations, including feminist, multicultural, and relational, involve taking the mystery out of therapy and giving as much knowledge to the client as she or he desires. This should not be done in place of affective and historical exploration, and other dynamic work, otherwise the client may stay purely in the (safer) cognitive realm and may still lack the space to express and process the emotional consequences of criminalizing stereotype threat.

Implications for research, advocacy, and future directions

While many interesting findings emerged from these interviews, they raise more questions than they answer. Several interviews included incidental disclosures of other life traumas that perhaps in some cases may have been connected to their status as marginalized individuals, but can be generally characterized as independent, individual traumas that are not universal among others that share their social identities. Chief among these was the experience of sexual abuse as children, which was disclosed by three of the nineteen participants. Because trauma (childhood or otherwise) was not a focus of this study, it was not covered on the protocol and participants were not asked about it unless they made the disclosure on their own. Thus, there is much that could be learned about the interaction of complex trauma with stigmatized identities. Diagnoses in the ICD and DSM, such as PTSD for example, do not address the issue

of appropriate vigilance. How might a marginalized individual who suffers from PTSD but implements appropriate vigilance, know when their experiences represent symptoms versus wisdom? How might a clinician detect the difference? How might Situational Threat Activation be aggravated by any number of traumatic experiences or psychopathology? Along these lines of conducting research on the clinical implications for the model of Situational Threat and Index Event Activation, the question remains: How is one affected by internalizing repeated societal messages that one's community (and by extension, oneself) has anti-social tendencies?

Additional future research could focus on explicating and expanding upon the existing model. For example, the results of this study indicated that participants sometimes choose Prevention Strategies and sometimes choose Challenge Strategies when navigating Index Event Activation in the behavioral dimension. What are the factors (environmental, social, personality, cognitive, affective, somatic, age, or other) that lead to one decision or another? What factors lead targets to have fewer or greater options for navigating criminalizing stereotype threat? Similarly, what factors position individuals to become agile, effective, and activist-oriented?

This study was intentionally cross-community and intersectional, as it attempted to establish evidence that phenomenon of being viewed through the lens of suspicion because of oppressive stereotypes, and adapting to this reality, has commonalities across communities. Recognition of such commonalities has historically helped to foster solidarity across where structures in power would otherwise attempt to drive wedges, yet intersectional research may miss community-specific differences. Thus, an interesting area of future research might be to examine community-specific nuances to this model. For example, some communities are more vulnerable to Stop and Frisk and other racial profiling-driven policies than others. Examining the intrapsychic and behavioral consequences of persistent, intrusive, encounters with law

enforcement, especially when one is not breaking the law, would have important scientific and policy implications. Additionally, some communities, by virtue of how visible they are, or other differences, may experience more Index Event (i.e. episodic), or more Situational Threat (i.e. pervasive) Activation. Examining this more closely may help distinguish any differences in responses and consequences of these two forms, which remain somewhat obscured in the current model. Similarly, within the Emotional and Cognitive Reactions theme, it would be interesting to explore whether or not the four themes that emerged in the Sue et al. (2008) study are evident among the current sample, as well as future studies examining criminalizing stereotypes. There is also room for increased understanding within the model of how thoughts, emotions, physiological arousal, and behavior interact in both Situational Threat Activation and Index Event Activation. Though I prefer the objective view of stress, gaining greater understanding of participant appraisal and its impact on response could help deepen the current model.

Lastly, numerous multicultural psychologists, researchers, and activists have critiqued the focus of psychologists on the oppressed when the creation of unhealthy conditions stems from the oppressor (e.g. Kitzinger, 1997; Parham, 2003). Future research could focus the process by which people learn, develop, and act out (both consciously and unconsciously) criminalizing stereotypes. The findings of this study seem to suggest that people who hold these stereotypes and create threatening environments for marginalized communities, are themselves living in fear. Research that points to interventions for overcoming and unlearning such destructive stereotypes can only improve the lives of both stereotype imposers and targets alike.

Conclusion

This purpose of this study was to understand the immediate and cumulative impact of experiencing a form of stereotyping, which characterizes an individual as suspicious – dangerous,

aggressive, criminal, or otherwise threatening. A survey was completed by 159 participants, 19 of whom were interviewed using a semi-structured interview format. Recordings were transcribed by the investigator and by a professional transcriber and transcripts were analyzed using Grounded theory (Charmaz, 2003) and the constant comparison method. The analysis generated six core themes and several subthemes that illuminated the intrapsychic and interpersonal processes that are activated when an individual is forced to confront stereotype threat in the realm of criminality. The credibility of the six themes was tested via analyst triangulation with the assistance of five auditors. Cohen's Kappa revealed substantial and in some cases, near perfect correspondence between the investigator's and the auditors' conclusions. Situational Threat Activation and Index Event Activation emerged as two separate catalysts for the processes that followed and this emergence lends support to previous research (Block et al., 2010), whose findings revealed similar distinctions in a different form of stereotype threat. In cases of Situational Threat Activation, participants typically employed Prevention Strategies as an immediate attempt to decrease the likelihood of confronting an Index Event, a process that seemed to be generally automatic and unconscious and one which arose over time out of a process of cumulative learning.

Situational Threat Activation and the subsequent Prevention Strategies seem to occur as a learned response over time and represent an adaptive form of appropriate vigilance, which serves to preserve the target's safety, but at a cumulative cost. Index Event Activation represents a more spontaneous response in which behavioral responses (sometimes Challenge Strategies and sometimes Prevention Strategies) seem to stem from the individual's Emotional and Cognitive Reactions to the Index Event in the moment. In a very rapid and complex mental process, targets employ a power analysis, a thought experiment, and a safety plan. The response is then driven in

part, but not entirely, by the results of these analyses. The other factor that influences the behavior is the target's affect – the level of anger, fear, sadness, or confusion the individual experiences. This combination of goals and affect result in the immediate, expressed behavior: challenge strategies, prevention strategies, or a combination. Both Situational Threat Activation and Index Event Activation yield long-term outcomes, as well. Participants described a process by which their negative views of their own community increased over time, alongside the recognition of the effect of the stereotyping. The recognition of the latter allowed participants to work actively to restore their own self-worth and pride in their communities, while simultaneously increasing their range of strategies for coping, growing, challenging, and healing.

Participants reflected that activism was essential and valuable in working to overturn problematic systems and in creating collective power. They also noted that personal work, such as the work one might do in therapy, was another necessary complement to activism. Yet despite this realization, many participants reported negative experiences in therapy as a result of therapists lacking the skills, analysis, or will to provide therapy that reflects a consciousness of systemic power inequities. This reality underscore the importance of mental health practitioners developing an understanding that includes not only multicultural frameworks, but also social justice frameworks, which can ultimately help clients and communities understand where their personal work ends and where society's work begins.

This research represents only a starting point into the investigation of this form of stereotyping. Much is known about the concrete, macro consequences of this problem, such as exponential growth in incarceration rates, especially of poor communities, communities of color, and people with chronic mental illness. But greater understanding about the interpersonal, intrapsychic, and behavioral consequences to those who are targets of presumptions of

criminality, and also to those who suffer from the hatred and fear that such stereotypes generate, serves as one path to the eventual dismantling of racism, sexism, classism, homophobia, and other oppressive power structures.

While the research confirms findings from previous studies about microaggressions and stereotype threat, it also serves to extend the stereotype and social identity threat literature by expanding both the studied stereotype content, as well as further illuminating the qualitative processes that communities undertake as they interact with oppressive systems. The research helps expand the existing discourse minority stress discourse in psychology, which is shifting away from viewing targets of oppression as passive objects, towards viewing them as active subjects who have agency and the ability to have substantial impact on the structures that impose upon them. Caution should be taken so as not to interpret evidence of community resilience as the solution to the larger ills that necessitate such adaptation. As Kitzinger (1997) points out in her poignant analysis of how “just say no” rape narratives implicitly blame women for unwanted sexual advances by men, “If [psychologists’] aim is to decrease ‘stress’ and to increase the ‘ego strength’ of the victim, do they risk forgetting that it is the perpetrator, not the victim, who is the real problem? What political choices are they making in focusing on the problems of the oppressed rather than on the problem of the oppressor?” (p. 213). The present research adds to a growing body of evidence that criminalizing stereotypes have devastating social, political, psychic, and health consequences. Policies that either implicitly or intentionally target specific communities for harsher penalties or greater surveillance do little to deter crime, but they do quite a bit to build resentment and mistrust, and to widen the contexts for Situational Threat Activation, essentially terrorizing marginalized communities whose responses to this injustice

are sometimes used to as tautological evidence that they are indeed deserving of being labeled as threatening.

These issues remain on the forefront of the current social issues of our day, both locally and abroad. In August of 2013, federal Judge Scheindlin ruled that the New York Police Department routinely violated the civil rights of thousands of New Yorkers of color by implementing Mayor Bloomberg's stop-and-frisk policy, described in Chapter 1 of this dissertation. But on Thursday, October 31st, 2013, the Second Circuit Court of Appeals placed that ruling on hold and removed Judge Scheindlin from the case, saying she was "biased" and "ran afoul" of judicial conduct by failing to appear impartial" (Lo Wang, 2013). Any reforms to the policy will not occur until next year, January 2014 under the office of a new mayor and a new judge. In the meantime, police continue to implement this institutionally supported form of racial profiling in New York City. This recent development further demonstrates the dire need for this research and more like it, as well as the need to take such evidence to the next step – using it in service of creating a more just and equitable world in which fear-based stereotypes and other forms of oppression, survive only in history books.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Call for Participants

My name is Avy Skolnik. I am a doctoral student in the Counseling Psychology program at Teachers College, Columbia University. I am conducting dissertation research under the supervision of Dr. Laura Smith. This study examines the psychological and social impact of being the target of stereotypes about criminal behavior.

Specifically, I am exploring how people of color, LGBT people, immigrants, working class people, and people living in poverty, understand and respond to the experience of being labeled or seen by others as aggressive, angry, predatory, terrorist, violent, hypersexual, prone to stealing, or otherwise “criminal” in some way.

Sometimes, this stereotyping happens directly (e.g. name calling), while other times, it may be less direct (e.g. being followed in a store by security, being stopped by police without cause, being eyed with suspicion in a public restroom). If you identify with these experiences, or ones like them, you are invited to participate in a brief survey and possible interview.

Participation in this study is completely voluntary and you have the option of withdrawing from the study at any point without any penalties or consequences. All participants will remain anonymous; all identifying information will remain confidential and will not be linked to any of your responses.

At the bottom of this announcement is the link to the survey. At the end of the survey, you will be asked if you are interested in participating in an interview. Taking the survey does not commit you to being interviewed. You will not be contacted by the researcher unless you indicate at the end of the survey that you consent to being contacted. At that time, you may still decline to participate in the interview. Because of the volume of participants, it is also possible that not all who express interest will be interviewed. However, anyone who consents to an interview will be notified about whether or not they have been selected for an interview via email. Not being selected is simply a reflection of the volume of responses and the time-limited nature of this study. It is not at all a reflection on any participant, nor the value of their experience.

The information gathered from this study will expand on the existing literature on stereotyping, oppression-related trauma, and inequalities within the criminal-legal system.

If you are interested in participating, please click [here](#). If you have any questions, please contact Avy Skolnik at aas2214@tc.columbia.edu.

Please consider forwarding along to others who may be interested.

Thank you,
Avy Skolnik

Approved by: The Internal Review Board (IRB) of Teachers College, Columbia University
IRB ID #: 13-086
Approval Date: 12/13/12
Expiration Date: 12/13/13

Appendix B: Online Survey

1) Have you ever sensed or been told that you are viewed as dangerous or suspicious by others? (Y/N)

2) If yes, did you think this assumption was based on any of the following? (check all that apply) Your real or perceived:

Race/Ethnicity

Skin color

Religion

Gender identity

Sexual orientation

Social class

Immigration status

Something else (e.g. another identity not listed, some activity you were engaged in, the people you were with, etc.)? _____

3) On a scale from 1 – 10, how distressing have these experiences been for you?

4) Have you ever been told, or sensed, that other people view you as a criminal of some sort? (Y/N)

5) If yes, did you think this assumption was based on any of the following? (check all that apply) Your real or perceived:

Race/Ethnicity

Skin color

Religion

Gender identity

Sexual orientation

Social class

Immigration status

Something else (e.g. another identity not listed, some activity you were engaged in, the people you were with, etc.)? _____

5) On a scale from 1 – 10, how distressing have these experiences been for you?

6) May we contact you for an interview? (Y/N)

7) Email address:

8) Do you live in or close to the New York City area? (Y/N)

9) Do you have Skype or other video chat capability? (Y/N)

Thank you for your participation, we will contact you shortly.

Appendix C: Informed Consent

Teachers College, Columbia University
 525 West 120th Street
 New York NY 10027
 212 678 3000
www.tc.edu

INFORMED CONSENT

DESCRIPTION OF THE RESEARCH: You are invited to participate in a research study on the impact of stereotypes about criminality. The principle investigator has 5 primary goals with regards to this research. They include: 1) Contributing to the body of evidence that establishes such experiences exist (e.g. important for policy work); 2) Understanding the multiple forms such stereotyping can take (e.g. subtle, overt, direct contact, media); 3) Illuminating the varied contexts in which they occur (e.g. school, neighborhood, work); 4) Understanding how such experiences have impacted you emotionally, cognitively, behaviorally, and socially; 5) Learning how you have dealt with these experiences; and 6) Improving the way mental health providers and others respond to people who are surviving these experiences.

You will be asked to complete a brief demographic questionnaire and then to answer some questions about your experience with such stereotypes. You may choose not to answer any questions that make you uncomfortable and you may stop your participation at any time. The interview will be audio-recorded and later transcribed for analysis. You do not have to consent to audio-recording, but we will not be able to proceed with the interview without it. The recorded interviews will not be shown or otherwise distributed and will be heard only by the principal investigator and one other research assistant.

RISKS AND BENEFITS: The risks for participation in the study are expected to be minimal in that they are not greater than those ordinarily encountered in daily life. Because subjects may be recalling experiences and events involving experiences of discrimination during the interview, they may recall some unpleasant or disturbing experiences. However, the likelihood of this having an effect on their psychological well-being is minimal. There are no direct benefits to participation in this study.

PAYMENTS: You will receive two AMC movie tickets as payment for your participation.

DATA STORAGE TO PROTECT CONFIDENTIALITY: All transcripts and recordings will be stored in encrypted files on the principle investigator's external hard drive, in a locked drawer in the investigator's office. Demographic forms will be kept in a locked file drawer, as well. The investigator will keep all content of the interviews confidential and will use the information only for professional purposes and never linked to any identifying information.

TIME INVOLVEMENT: Your participation will take approximately 60-70 minutes. At the end of the interview, I will ask you if you are willing to be contacted for possible follow-up. You may consent or decline. If you are selected for follow-up, you will be contacted within 3 months of today's date and will be given another opportunity to decline or consent.

HOW WILL RESULTS BE USED: The results of the study will be used for the principle investigator's dissertation, and may subsequently be presented at conferences, published in journals or books, and may be used for educational purposes.

Teachers College, Columbia University
 525 West 120th Street
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 212 678 3000
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PARTICIPANT'S RIGHTS

Principal Investigator: Avy Skolnik

Research Title: The Burden of Suspicion: Psychological Implications for the Presumption of Criminality and Stereotype Threat in the Interpersonal Domain

- I have read and discussed the Research Description with the researcher. I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the purposes and procedures regarding this study.
- My participation in research is voluntary. I may refuse to participate or withdraw from participation at any time without jeopardy to future medical care, employment, student status or other entitlements.
- The researcher may withdraw me from the research at his/her professional discretion.
- If, during the course of the study, significant new information that has been developed becomes available which may relate to my willingness to continue to participate, the investigator will provide this information to me.
- Any information derived from the research project that personally identifies me will not be voluntarily released or disclosed without my separate consent, except as specifically required by law.
- If at any time I have any questions regarding the research or my participation, I can contact the investigator, who will answer my questions. The investigator's phone number is (303)550-4254.
- If at any time I have comments, or concerns regarding the conduct of the research or questions about my rights as a research subject, I should contact the Teachers College, Columbia University Institutional Review Board /IRB. The phone number for the IRB is (212) 678-4105. Or, I can write to the IRB at Teachers College, Columbia University, 525 W. 120th Street, New York, NY, 10027, Box 151.
- I should receive a copy of the Research Description and this Participant's Rights document.
- If video and/or audio taping is part of this research, I () consent to be audio/video taped. I () do NOT consent to being video/audio taped. The written, video and/or audio taped materials will be viewed only by the principal investigator and members of the research team.
- Written, video and/or audio taped materials () may be viewed in an educational setting outside the research

() may NOT be viewed in an educational setting outside the research.
- My signature means that I agree to participate in this study.

Participant's signature: _____ Date: ____ / ____ / ____

Name: _____

Appendix D: Demographics Questionnaire

1. **Race/Ethnicity (please check all that apply):**
 African American or of African Descent, Black American, American Indian/Native American, Asian/Asian American, Latina/o, Middle Eastern, South Asian, White/European American, Self-Identified _____

2. **How would you best self-identify (circle one):**
 Poor (e.g. Unable to support/provide basic needs)
 Working Class (e.g. No or limited control of work environment, a set of tasks are learned then perform, that's all.)
 Middle Class (e.g. Work for a living however you have a greater amount of control over your work hours, work tasks, and overall daily activities)
 Upper Middle Class (e.g. Work for living, however it can be optional, resources usually inherited)
 Affluent (e.g. Owing class, you own the means of production, working is *not needed*, control over majority executive decisions)

3. **Sexual Orientation:**
 Heterosexual, Bisexual, Lesbian, Gay, Queer, Self-Identified _____

4. **Gender Identity (please check all that apply):**
 Woman, Man, Transgender,
 Intersex, Genderqueer, Self-Identified _____

5. **Age:** _____

6. **Highest degree:**
 Less than high school diploma, High school diploma or equivalent, Some college, Associates degree, 4-year college degree, Post-baccalaureate study, Master's degree, Doctoral degree, Other professional degree (MD, JD, DO, etc.)

Appendix E: Semi-Structured Interview Protocol

1. (Give brief reminder about topic of the interview). What led you to participate in this study?
2. (If not addressed with the first question) How has this issue come up for you in your own life? Which identities or communities of yours have been affected? Can you talk about some of these stereotypes?
3. When do remember first becoming aware of (each one)?
4. How were they communicated to you?
(and by whom)?
5. What is your earliest memory of being stereotyped in this way?
6. Do you recall experiences in which those stereotypes impacted you? (Changed the way people treated you? Changed the way you acted? Changed your beliefs about yourself or your group?)
7. Tell me about a recent time you had this experience.
8. When do you find you are most aware of these stereotypes?
9. Has it affected how you interact with law enforcement? If so, how?
Other people in authority?
Other people who may see you as a criminal (parents, passersby at night, etc.)
Groups?
Work?
Family?
Friends?
School?
Various settings (travel, public restrooms, parks, etc.)
10. Do you remember how your body felt during the event? (heart rate, breathing, tenseness?)
11. What is it like to recall these incidents now?
12. Are there ways it may have impacted you that you were not aware of at the time you experienced it? If so, what might those be?
13. How has it harmed or limited you? (interpersonally, success-wise, emotionally, stress, nightmares/dreams, etc.)

14. Has there been any benefit to being the target of criminalizing stereotypes?
15. What other stereotypes have you noticed about your group(s), besides the ones about criminality?
Have you noticed some having a more significant impact on you than others?
Where does criminality fall? What do you make of this?
16. What events might trigger your fears about being stereotyped as a criminal?
17. Tell me about a time when you were reminded of the stereotypes of your groups as being criminal
18. What feelings come up for you when you become aware of being stereotyped in this way? How have you reacted/responded to such stereotypes? What have been the outcomes of these various responses
19. What was it like doing this interview?

Table 1

Interviewee Characteristics

Pcpt.	Race	Class	Gender	Sexual Orientation	Age	Degree
1	White	Affluent	Male	Gay	55	PhD
2	Black	Working	Trans man	Queer	33	BA
3	Latino (PR)	Working	Male	Gay	50	Some college
4	South Asian	Middle	Male	Straight	33	MA
5	Black	Working	Female	Lesbian	21	BA
6	Black	Working	Male	Straight	28	MA
7	South Asian and Middle Eastern	Middle	Female	Bisexual	27	PhD in progress
8	Native American	Middle	Female	Straight	56	PhD in progress
9	Latina (MX)	Poor	Female	Straight	42	PhD in progress
10	Latina (PR), White, AA	Working	Female	Queer	35	Some college
11	Black	Poor	Male	Queer	21	Some college
12	Black	Poor	Female	Queer	33	Some college
13	South Asian (Pakistani)	Middle	Genderqueer	Queer	29	JD in progress
14	Mixed, Asian and White	Working	Female	Queer	32	BA
15	Black	Working	Female	Straight	24	PhD in progress
16	Black	Working	Male	Straight	24	BA
17	Black	Middle	Female	Straight	24	BA
18	Black	Middle	Female	Straight	19	BA in progress
19	Native American	Working	Female	Straight	59	Some college

Table 2

Additional Characteristics Participants Identified as Relevant

Identity, characteristic, or presentation	n
Accent	2
Beard	1
Clothes – Baggy	4
Clothes – Summer time	1
Disability	2
Femininity	3
Head scarf	2
Hijab	1
Language	2
Masculinity	5
National Origin (Pakistan, Mexico, India)	4
Religion (Jewish, Muslim, Sikh)	4
Size	4
Tattoos	2
Turban	1

Table 3

Survey question: Have you ever sensed that people were afraid of you or viewed you as dangerous or suspicious in some way?

“If yes, did you think this assumption was based on any of the following? (check all that apply)”	Interviewed	Not Interviewed
Number of participants responding “yes”	19 (100%)	144 (91%)
Race and ethnicity	18	69
Skin color	12	54
Religion	4	18
Gender Identity	7	47
Sexual orientation	5	43
Social class	6	44
Immigration status	2	6
Disability	1	7
National Origin	2	8
Other: Attire	3	9
Other: Tattoo or other body modification	0	8
Other: Size	0	4
Other: Accent and/or language	2	2
Other: Age	0	3
Other: Facial hair	1	1
Other: Activism	2	2
Other: Association with others	0	3

Table 4

Survey question: Have you ever been told, or sensed, that other people view you as a criminal of some sort?

“If yes, did you think this assumption was based on any of the following? (check all that apply)”	Interviewed	Not Interviewed
Number of participants responding “yes”	15 (79%)	98 (62%)
Race and ethnicity	18	69
Skin color	12	54
Religion	4	18
Gender Identity	7	47
Sexual orientation	5	43
Social class	6	44
Immigration status	2	6
Disability	1	7
National Origin	2	8
Other: Attire	3	9
Other: Tattoo or other body modification	0	8
Other: Size	0	4
Other: Accent and/or language	2	2
Other: Age	0	3
Other: Facial hair	1	1
Other: Activism	2	2
Other: Association with others	0	3

Table 5

Means and Standard Deviations on a Measure of Distress Levels of Interviewed and Non-Interviewed Participants as a Function of Stereotype

When viewed as	<i>n</i>	Participant distress levels	
		<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Suspicious (S)	131	5.79	2.16
Suspicious (I)	19	6.89	1.76
Criminal (S)	95	6.08	2.52
Criminal (I)	17	7.06	1.92

Note. *N* = 159 (S = Survey only, I = Interviewed, *n* = 19). Distress was measured on a scale from 1–10, with 10 indicating the highest level.

Figure 1

Distress Levels When Viewed as Dangerous or Suspicious

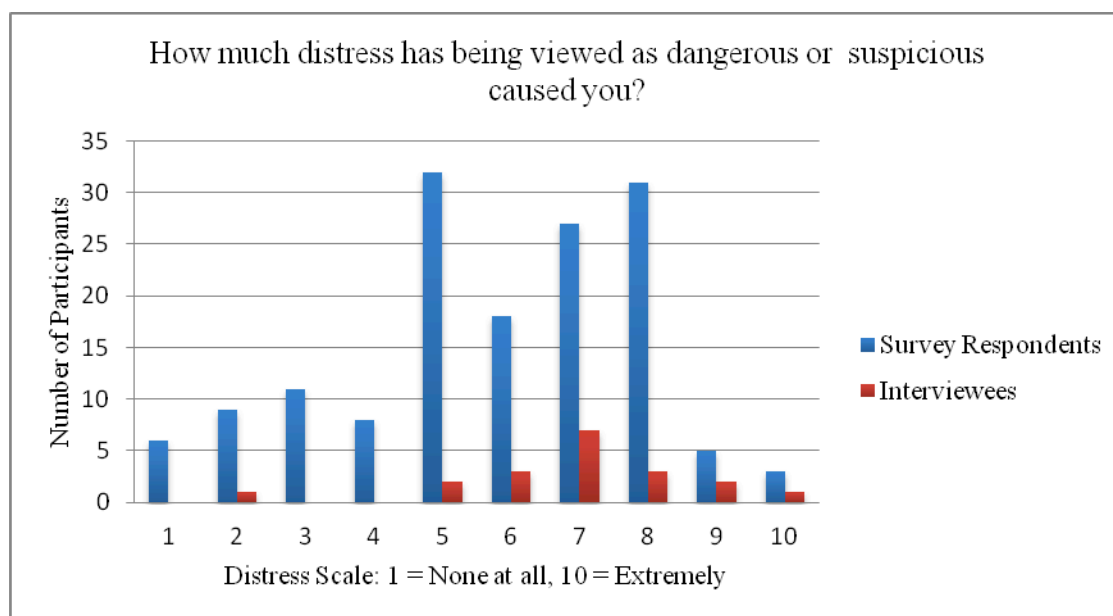
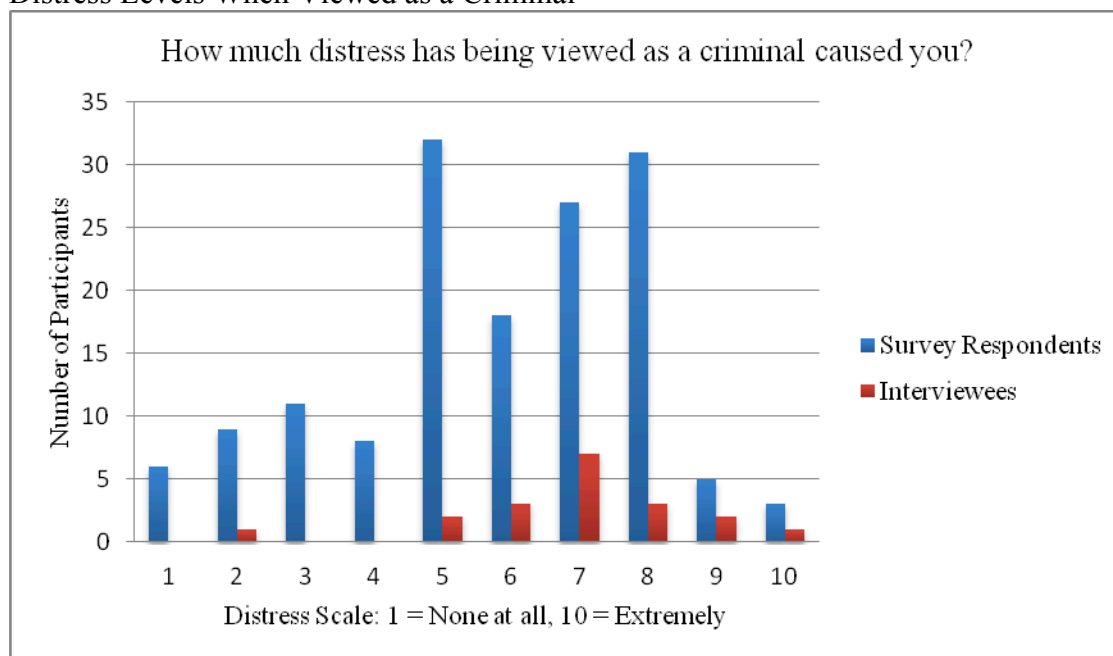


Figure 2

Distress Levels When Viewed as a Criminal



Appendix F: Excerpt of Transcript with Initial Codes and Memos

Date: February 5, 2013 4:00pm

I: Interviewer (PI)

P: Participant (28 year old heterosexual Black male)

C: Codes

I: This is kind of an odd question, but I'm curious if, from your perspective, if there's ever been any advantages to being viewed through this lens of criminality.

P: I think it's about context. I'm not a violent person. But it's like: Don't test me, either.

C: *View of self: Not violent but also not weak*

... I guess I wouldn't mind it when I'm in a context of being outnumbered or like a group of white guys walking by, and so I puff out my chest out a little more to call on that stereotype. (laughter) Yeah, I think about context.

C: *Finds criminalizing stereotypes helpful when around groups of white men; "calls on" stereotype. Confirming behavior?*

P: On the bus, people don't sit by me. I'm like: Oh, I want somebody to sit by me. And

C: *People avoid me on bus (example of stereotyping in action); Participant expresses wish for seat companion*

P: ...then somebody sat by me the other day, and I was like: Damn, I wish she was afraid of me. (laughter)

C: *Laughter at recognition of seemingly contradictory longing for stereotype*

I: (laughter)

P: ...so I could have my own seat. (laughter) So it's about context. It's just particular situations. It's not something I want all the time. Whatever the situation brings, you sometimes want to like play into that stereotype, but--. Yeah. I think that's the best answer I got for that.

C: *Advantage of stereotype is more personal space on public transit (and perhaps in other crowded public places); Whether or not CS is advantageous is context-specific*

I: That makes a lot of sense that it would be context specific, that there are times when you might puff up your chest. I'm curious in that scenario walking by a group of white men, feeling that need to kind of almost enlist the stereotype in a way. What do you think is going on for you in those moments? Do you think you're less likely to be targeted if you do that?

P: Yeah I'd be less likely to be targeted. If you're outnumbered. Guys are looking at you in a certain way--. Very much safety. (pause) Yeah. Safety. But not only safety, but also flexing your muscles, too.

- C: *Advantage is safety, but also appearing physically strong. For it's own sake?*
- I: Do you think that's almost like a dignity piece, the flexing your muscles part? What do you think that part's about? Or a masculinity piece?
- P: Yeah. Masculinity. I can see how dignity can fall in that, too. Yeah. I think for me, masculinity feels more right.
- C: *Advantage primarily is affirmation of masculinity*

Memos:

—Being viewed through a lens of criminality may allow someone to express their gender identity, increase physical safety, gain more personal space.

—Other participants expressing similar sentiments, n=4, all Black male participants so far and one Black female AG participant:

-Black, gay, 23 year old participant said being seen as criminal makes him appear more masculine, makes him less likely to be read as gay, which makes him less likely to targeted in bias violence.

-Black, 33 year old trans man says being viewed as criminal makes him feel more able to protect his female friends when out late at night; prevents him from hearing “you should smile” from strangers.

-Black twenty four year old heterosexual man talked about cutting in line as a teenager, knowing people thought he was tough and he would get away with it.

-Black lesbian, AG, 23 says less likely to be targeted in hate crime because she looks tough.

—For Black participants with masculine gender presentation, criminal stereotyping appears to be a Catch 22: enticing because of the safety and status it affords, dangerous and/or isolating because of the criminalization and ostracism it induces.

—What is the solution when one's way of expressing masculinity or staying safe is penalized?

Appendix G: Excerpt of Focused Codes with Memos (early phase of theory development)

1. Feelings of confusion seem to crop up first, followed by fear, then anger, and then lastly, hopelessness, when being stereotyped by law enforcement (n=15).

Example quotes:

P: Well, before I went into the holding cell, I got an extreme pat down. The most uncomfortable thing ever, the aggressive way that I was patted down by the officer who arrested me, who I feel a lot of hatred towards, and would probably feel very violent if I was ever in his presence again. I remember precisely what he looks like. He was such a dick. Then I get put in the holding cell. I'm trying to not freak out.

I: Did you feel a lot of fear in the moment?

P: Yeah. Fear and just ... what the fuck is going on?

—South Asian, Sikh, straight male

I: Do you remember what you were feeling when the officers walked up to you? What was going through your mind? What you were feeling?

P: I think initially I was sort of confused. Because I knew that there was no reason why they should be coming up to me. I knew I hadn't done anything that would have led them to stop me. But then I had that moment of: They're stopping me because I'm black. Then I was really angry.

—Black transgender queer male

P: I went from feeling confused to feeling very angry to feeling, I think (pause), almost angrier at the end of it. And frustrated. I think the frustration was I feel like I should be OK and happy about the fact that they left, but I am not because I know why they stopped me and I know it'll eventually happen again and that makes me even angrier.

—Black straight male

I: Do you remember what you were feeling when they first pulled you aside?

P: I guess I don't know like 'what is going on here?' Confusion. I don't even... This sense of ... maybe a sense of hopelessness too. They can create any kind of narrative that they want. And it doesn't matter if I think it's far-fetched or stupid or whatever. In that particular situation, their narrative is the one that wins in that moment. Like you know maybe you can sue later, but in that moment you body is theirs.

—Black queer female

2. Most forms of stereotyping had both anticipatory AND actual microaggressive components (n=17, see Table 5), with one exception: No participants reported microaggressions re: the child molester stereotype. Yet they still have stereotype threat activation for this archetype. This means threat activation has other sources besides just participant's own experiences (e.g. media, socialization, or others). If this is true for the child molester stereotype, it is likely true for others, as well, though it is also possible that participants may not have reported child molester-related microaggressions because of

shame. Example quotes:

I: So no one ever directly said this about you. Where do you think you first learned that idea? That queers were perverts?

P: Yeah. I think maybe cause it was just like a... we grew up in a very conservative--. Even though my parents were liberal politically, they'd never vote Republican, religious-wise very conservative. Also, oh my God, priests in the Catholic Church. Duh. That's another thing. This is all over my childhood. These themes of perverts and queers being perverts and child sexual abuse, it was just all over. Now I'm putting the pieces together.

—Queer Latina female

P: When my nephew was about four or three, I was given the job of helping him take a bath. So I used the soap that I was using, which was Dr. Bronner's Peppermint soap. So I squirted some of it in his hand. He was lathering up. Then he put some on his penis and he screamed as loud as possible: "You're hurting my penis." I thought, "Oh, my God. My cousin's in the other room. If they're hearing this, like what do they imagine is going on in this bathroom." I was so just mortified. I was dumbstruck. I didn't know what to do. I said, "Rinse it off fast."

I said, "Do you feel better now?"

He said "Yeah, I feel a lot better."

So they apparently didn't hear him because nobody ever said anything.

I: Wow.

R: But it was just one of those, "Oh, my God. They're never going to let me see him again. I'm going to be thrown out of the family. It's just going to be--." His statement left no doubt about what was going on in the bathroom. But it wasn't me, it was the soap.

I: Right. Right.

R: That was my classic moment of, "Holy shit. It's coming true."

—White gay male

I: So you almost imagine this outside observer watching you—

P: Exactly. Because of that expectation: Queers are perverts. Whatever it is. I don't know, I knew without knowing. I was in this category of people.

—Gay Latino male

3. Participant reactions differ depending on whether threat is "in their head" (triggered) or actual: When actual stereotype is communicated by another, participant feels primarily anger, but when it's anticipated, participants primarily feel anxiety. Example:

I: So being asked to babysit by your friend makes you anxious, though not angry. As opposed these situations on the subway, which seem to make you quite angry.

P: Yeah. And it's [being glared at on the subway] affected me more directly, right? With the kid's stuff, that's just me thinking that someone may be thinking that I'm gonna molest their kid. That's bullshit in my head. It's just thoughts that I'm having that are making me behave a certain way, which is fine. Right? But someone staring at me and looking at me in a menacing, I'm-going-to-kick-your-ass-if-you-move-the-wrong-way, that's more direct. That's like right there. It's more tangible. I can feel that.

—Gay Latino male (describing being read as Middle Eastern)

Appendix H: Theme Definitions for Audit

Theme Definitions

Please review this document carefully before proceeding to your analysis and reference it as needed.

1. SITUATIONAL THREAT ACTIVATION**Theme definition:**

This theme highlights participants' descriptions of experiences that typically *stimulate* or trigger their fears or their memories of being viewed by others as criminal, suspicious, or dangerous. Data coded to this theme describe experiences that would seem benign on the surface but are instead somewhat charged for the participant, given the context of their lived experiences and/or the messages that they have internalized about their community. The participant often sees the situation as one in which they must proceed with caution. An example of this might be walking into an expensive store when one has had the experience of being stereotyped by others as a shoplifter. The experience of being followed by security in a store, however, would NOT be included under this theme, as this event could constitute the direct communication of a stereotype.

2. INDEX EVENT ACTIVATION**Theme definition:**

This theme illustrates participants' experiences with situations in which others *induce* or *communicate* directly, their view of the participant as criminal or suspicious. Data are coded into this theme when a participant describes an interaction in which another person in which the individual communicates their stereotype of the participant as dangerous, suspicious, aggressive, deceitful, or criminal in some way. The communication may occur by way of **avoidance**, for example a participant watching someone cross the street to avoid him or her, or it may occur by way of **intrusion**, for example a participant being followed by security in a store.

3. PREVENTION STRATEGIES**Theme definition:**

This theme characterizes the different approaches that participants use to reduce the likelihood that they will have the experience of being stereotyped as aggressive, criminal, suspicious etc. These are typically behaviors done to avoid or de-escalate an Index Event. An example might be avoiding a particular location, dressing in a certain manner, or attempting to reassure someone. Any examples of behaviors meant to call out, confront, challenge, or confirm the stereotype would NOT be included under this theme.

4. EMOTIONAL AND COGNITIVE REACTIONS TO THREAT

Theme definition:

This theme includes quotes about the participant's *internal landscape* following an experience of being stereotyped or of being reminded of a stereotype. The **cognitive** aspect of the theme describes self-talk, safety planning, the ways that participants interpret the event in the moment, the specific stereotype that is being cued (e.g. "they treated us as if we were gang members"), and the motive the participant believes is behind the stereotyping (e.g. "I thought I was being targeted"). The **emotional** aspect of the theme includes all the feelings participants describe following an encounter, for example stating that they felt hopeless or confusion. Here-and-now quotes are also included in this theme (e.g. "even now as I'm remembering this, I'm feeling..."). Lastly, quotes that are accompanied by descriptions of the participant's affect (e.g. 10 second pause, eyes appear slightly teary) could be included under this theme.

5. CHALLENGE STRATEGIES

Theme definition:

This theme describes participants' actions to challenge an imposer throughout the course of an interaction in which this individual or group of individuals is communicating their stereotypes to the participant. Challenge strategies may exist along a continuum of intentionality, but generally they are designed to address or confront the imposer's stereotyping of the participant. Some examples could include questioning an officer about why they are being detained or voicing their awareness of an injustice taking place.

6. CHANGE OVER TIME

Theme definition:

This theme includes quotes about participants' observations about the *long-term* implications of their experiences with criminalizing stereotypes. Participants may describe changes in their reactions, healing work they have done, how a thought process has shifted, etc. This theme also includes descriptions of the cumulative impact of dealing with these stereotypes, such as impact on intimate relationships, friendships, occupational decisions, or educational outcomes.

Appendix I: Coding Form and Instructions for Analyst Triangulation

Analyst Triangulation

Name of Analyst: _____

Instructions: Please begin by carefully reading the “Theme Definitions” document. Next, read through each of the quotes below and determine which theme best “fits and works” with each quotation. *Please use the abbreviations in the key below to match theme names to quotes.* Quotes often fit with multiple themes, so please indicate *all* the themes with which you believe a particular quote fits. If you find it helpful to share comments or notes with me, feel free to do so, though it is not necessary. If time allows, please do a second review of your analysis since it is common for thinking to change as you move through the data. Once you have completed your analysis, please save the document and email it to avyskolnik@gmail.com by Monday, August 19. Thank you!

Key	Theme Name
1. STA	SITUATIONAL THREAT ACTIVATION
2. IEA	INDEX EVENT ACTIVATION
3. PS	PREVENTION STRATEGIES
4. ECR	EMOTIONAL AND COGNITIVE REACTIONS
5. CS	CHALLENGE STRATEGIES
6. COT	CHANGE OVER TIME

KEY	QUOTE LIST
1.	P: I was sitting on the subway late at night. It was probably two or three in the morning. You know those seats that go like this? The two-seaters? I was sitting on that. It was a pretty empty train and I had my feet up, not stretched out, but resting on the edge, which people do. These two large white cops walk on. I always get a little on edge when I'm around cops.
2.	P: Often if I give feedback in public situations, it's um labeled as being maybe angry or intense or something so I have a certain kind of way of speaking that I employ in situations like that to try and counteract that kind of feeling – I don't know how effective that is, but yeah.
3.	P: Working with children has definitely been a concern of mine, even though I love children. There have definitely been babysitting or child-care jobs that I have not applied for because I don't feel... that they'd even take me seriously.
4.	P: It's really strange because there are things I do in my life that I kind of catch myself

	changing because I know I'm going into places or environments where I know someone like me isn't common. So I catch myself being paranoid that I might be perceived as someone who's up to no good. Then I catch myself changing the way I dress or the way I act specifically to seem less threatening.
5.	P: Really talking about the deeper ramifications of this stuff on us, I don't have those conversations with other Sikh men very often. Aside from people like will comment and say things, provide supportive words. I remember after (a particular incident), there was a lot of outpouring of support from people I knew and didn't know. That actually was a really important part of that process for me. My world was very different back then, too. I wasn't really connected to the Sikh community much back then.
6.	P: There were times when I was being considered aggressive when I was just trying to ask a question in class. I would just question, here's something that was said in class. The teacher would say something and it just didn't sound right or I knew it wasn't true. Then I pointed that out. Then I'd be sent to the office for being a smartass or being aggressive or something like that.
7.	P: Well, one stare that I've noticed from men is this kind of angry, suspicious stare. They're angry at me for some reason. And really, that's what I get, anger. And very suspicious. They're looking at me suspiciously, like if I move a certain way, they are going to jump me. You know what I mean?
8.	P: What's interesting is that all of the security guards are people of color, and I still make it a point to know all of them.
9.	P: I've been conscious about smiling more and not looking so – can I say criminal? Not looking so criminal or trying to make sure I'm not being perceived that way.
10.	P: I was walking down the hall in junior high. There was a penny on the floor. I picked it up. Somebody saw me and went, “(Name) just picked up the penny. Ha, ha, ha, ha. The Jew picked up a penny. What a cheapskate.” Let no penny go uncounted by the Jew. I never picked up a penny or a nickel or a quarter in anyone's presence ever again.
11.	P: Things like when I go into certain stores, I try to keep my hands in my pockets. Stupid things like that. You know? Stupid, stupid. Why? Who cares? Who's noticing? Just being aware that there's cameras in some stores and just trying not to act suspicious. Acting confident. Maybe it's just I'm watching too many movies, but the people who look suspicious are the people who kind of don't seem to know what they're doing. They're just wandering aimlessly. So I find myself deliberately being purposeful. Before I even go into certain places, I kind of have to plan out in my mind: What am I here to get? Why am I here? And then go and get whatever it is that I need and then leave.
12.	P: If I pick up an item in a store, I'll keep it in my hand and wave it around. So it (shoplifter stereotype of Latinos) makes me behave in a certain way, right? I'll make sure that they know that I know that I have this.
13.	P: Oh, man when-. When I realized how I was imagining somebody observing me

	<p>quietly. And just the going, feeling that nervousness again. I felt it. It was like that [snaps fingers]. I was like: Oh, my God. I remember the feeling. Even though I would be a little more physically uncomfortable with other people's eyes on me, probably being alone (with a child) was worse. Being alone was worse because it was always one person could see.</p> <p>I: The person that you were imagining.</p> <p>P: Exactly. OK. Cause it was always like I was posing. I was performing. I'm doing this and – anything that I'm doing, if somebody's behind me in the door, like peeking in, could it be misinterpreted? Could that one person say something because it was like my word against theirs, and I'm the one who's queer. That was–, going back there (in this interview) was very intense.</p>
14.	<p>P: They made me show them my ID. I didn't show it to them without a fight but I eventually showed it to them. Cause again, in these situations, a lot of different things are going through my head. My values are going through my head. And I'm not giving into the cops just like that. I'm not going to be friendly. I was not even a little bit friendly to them. I questioned them a lot about why they were questioning me. I was like: "I'm not allowed to stand on the street corner?" They could very much tell that I felt like I was being racially profiled. Obviously, I was. But they obviously denied that. They were like: "This is just a high security area. You've been standing here for a while." I was like: "Where's the sign that says I can't stand on a public street corner?" I eventually did show them my ID after a lot of resistance. I was like: I don't really want to be taken in today. Don't really feel like that's going to be worth it. So I was irreverent, but I complied. I was really fucking pissed off about it. They probably questioned me for 10 minutes. It wasn't just a couple of questions. It was a whole thing. They wrote down all my information on my ID.</p>
15.	<p>P: I think the behaviors I think, too. I kind of catch myself. I'm a pretty introverted person, but when I go into places where I feel like there's people of wealth, or there's people of different status, I kind of catch myself realizing that I have to change, I have to be a little more social or I have to catch people's eye more because if I don't, I feel like they're going to be wondering if I'm stuffing things in my pocket.</p>
16.	<p>I: When you notice men glaring at you on the subway, what feelings does it stir up?</p> <p>P: I mean it <u>really</u> pisses me off. I've wanted to fight people myself. I wanted to start the confrontation. You know what I mean? If I were bigger and stronger, I would definitely have gotten into fights. You know what I mean? I mean, I've been ready. But if people are so disrespectful, I've stared down huge men that would pulverize me. But I wouldn't care. I don't care because it's just to the point where– I'm so full of anger at that point at their ignorance and disrespect.</p>

17.	<p>I: Do you remember what you were feeling when the officers walked up to you? What was going through your mind? What were you feeling?</p> <p>P: I think initially I was sort of confused. Because I knew that there was no reason why they should be coming up to me. I knew I hadn't done anything that would have led to them to stop me. But then I had that moment of: They're stopping me because I'm black. Then I was really angry.</p> <p>I: You were angry. Yeah. Were you afraid at all?</p> <p>P: I was definitely afraid and maybe it was fear that led me to sort of be as vocal as I was. I was afraid that had I—, if I didn't try my best to sort of talk my way out of the situation, that something bad was going to happen to me.</p>
18.	<p>P: I think I was 6 or 7 or something, the white teachers there thought I had a learning disability because I wasn't talking a lot in class. I wasn't responding to them. I had never been around white adults like that before. So I was put in special ed without my parents being notified. So at that point first grade, I had definitely had a sense of I don't see this happening to other folks. And I think children are very sensitive to the mood states of their parents, so I remember always this sense of wound-up-ness around them interfacing with the principal and teachers, all of whom were white. In way that I didn't experience them having that tenseness in (Previous city) around other adults.</p> <p>I: What was it like for you when you'd notice your parents would tense up?</p> <p>P: I think it made feel nervous about what was going to happen and um... yeah it made me feel I guess nervous and anxious myself. Like I was in trouble, too.</p>
19.	<p>P: And um yeah so I was beaten with that (tin lunch box) and so I had marks because she wanted to – she didn't feel like someone like me should be in front of her in line, and this is something obviously you know kids aren't born that way, they have to learn what that is. And the teacher instead of kind of ... he said "why did you make her do it?" there was this sense of that I had to have provoked this in some way.</p>
20.	<p>P: Yeah. (pause) I have just a random example that popped into my head. I was walking around years ago with my friend, NAME who's probably generally read as queer. Or confuses people gender-wise. Somebody said to us: "Oh, there's Harry Potter with the Taliban."</p>
21.	<p>P: So what started to happen was, it (others' fear of him) started to go to my head. Like, when I was a kid, I used to cut in line at the movie theater because I knew everyone was afraid of me and so no one would say anything. (Laughing) I have no idea what I would have done if they had.</p>
22.	<p>P: But then when Sep 11 happened, one of the popular girls said something racist about Muslims and I talked to her about it and she got extremely defensive and she was behaving as though she was afraid of me and she was apologetic in a way that was like don't hurt me. She got defensive in a way that she was scared of me and I was not dangerous at all so that surprised me.</p>
23.	<p>P: So I ended up... anytime I give my ID with my name on it, I'm scared... because I didn't know. I was in (rural location) and it was dark and I was alone and so mostly I</p>

	was scared and not knowing what to do if they tried to do something. I was planning, planning, planning.
24.	<p>P: Internal feelings really shifted over that year and a half and even til now. The way it started out I would welcome it really. I would sometimes smile at people, especially the kids. This is what you think of me, well here's a smile. You know curiosity is okay. But with adults, it really varied. The ones who were trying not to stare, it would make me mad and I don't know if I would show it or not. But that really did play a factor in deciding not to wear a scarf anymore. Because I was sick of it. And its not like I'm invisible now, I'm still brown, but now people can look at me and I think I'm Mexican, which is safer. Sometimes I'll just stare back like 'What. Do you want to say something?' Sometimes I don't notice, I don't care to look anymore. I used to be interested in knowing, but now it's not in my mind like it used to be.</p> <p>I: What do you attribute this shift to?</p> <p>R: Hmmm. Um good question (long pause). I think some of it has to do with being in a space where not a lot of people look at me and sometimes I'm tired of it. A lot of it is exhaustion. Sometimes I have fun with in, sometimes its really fun. It's like my own experiment. But other times I ignore it. Because ignoring it makes it less obtrusive in my life.</p>
25.	<p>P: Walking down the street is always a time when I feel my guard go up. And its one of those things where I'm not more nervous at night. Actually, it's the daytime. It's a time when you can see everything that happens. Also, restaurants and grocery stores with my partner. And police encounters.</p>
26.	<p>P: Absolutely. Having that stereotypically white person seeing me coming and moving to other side of the street. There have been times where I've been places and you know you get the watchful eye, but there's been times when I've been in a group and it's amplified. So I always have that in the back of my mind. I always look for cameras. I went a mom and pop store. I'm always wondering: do they think I'm about to steal something? It's caused me to be hyper vigilant of myself and wondering if other people are being vigilant of me, as well. I always feel eyes. Like I said that experience, no matter what level of achievement I attain, when I go into a place, what does that person think of me? You always have that image of what other people's image of me is.</p>
27.	<p>P: Yeah I try not to hang around lots of other black males because there's always a fear of who's watching us? I'm always gonna have that question of whose watching me and what are they thinking. So I try not to put myself in that situation where I'm in a group of black males because I feel that becomes amplified. You know not only am I seen as a threat but there's multiple threats now. Three or more is gang. So you always have that question of what's the perception of other people.</p>
28.	<p>I: Really? How has the recent (Snowden) surveillance stuff impacted you?</p> <p>P: I can't stop freaking out about the daily 'alarm clock' phone calls my dad makes from Pakistan.</p>
29.	<p>P: When freshman class came in this year, I was on the football bleachers and on the phone, and after I finished my call, I approached this group of freshman and after we talked for a while, one of them said "Oh you know when we first saw you, we thought</p>

	you were some crazy rapist or something.”
30.	P: During (Name’s), graduation within her department, another Indian (American Indian) man also graduated. When he walked on the stage, his family hollered and someone behind me made a remark about a bunch of wild banshees.
31.	I: Has your response to people’s fear changed over time? P: Before I used to think: What have I done to them? They don’t know me. What is it that makes them do that? Then over time, realizing it was ignorance, it became humorous. Because this person doesn’t know me, yet they’re putting all this energy into changing their path to getting away from me because they think I have this intention when really, I’m just thinking about what’s for dinner. So it became this thing where it went from feeling like I had done something wrong, to realizing that it was all them and not me.
32.	I: Have you ever actually had anyone communicate the pedophile stereotype to you directly? P: Not really, but I did have one interesting thing with a family member. I took my cousin with me. I’m his favorite uncle. And I took him with me when I was going to see the other half of my family at Christmas and my aunt said “Okay well make sure you don’t turn him out.” (don’t make him gay). Of course she was joking, but still.
33.	P: I always think about it whenever I raise my hand in class. That professors are ... I worry they are thinking “what crazy thing is this kid going to say?”
34.	I: Do you think that stereotype (Black male rapist) has affected your relationships? P: Um yeah it has definitely affected my dating life. When I want to date outside of my race, I always wonder if is it that they really like me or if it’s because “he’s the black guy with the big penis.” How do they see me? Am I just a way for them to rebel against their mother? Are they seeing me through my body or is it a real connection? So romantically its played out in that I worry that I won’t be seen as an emotional being, only as like a sexual fantasy.
35.	P: And now, I think that I’m actually able to enjoy the time that I spend with them (young nieces and nephews). But that was just a lot of work to be able to get to that place and yeah its nice to be able to hang out with kids. I: What allowed you from being disengaged to enjoying your time with them? P: I think I had to come to a place that the stakes were not as high as I thought they were. Like maybe from their point of view, we’re just building a sandcastle, that’s all we’re doing. Its not um a big deal, we’re just hangin out and um... (tears). Yeah I don’t knowI’m sorry (tears). I: Don’t apologize this is hard stuff to talk about. What do you think is stirring so deeply in you as we talk about that? P: (Tears) You know, I think I thought I was a bad person... for a long time. (Pause) Um and I think I really struggled with as that belief system, I’ve really worked to dismantle that, I think that I don’t have the that I don’t have the experience of depression that I used to.
36.	P: You start to trace back. Did I make a threatening move? Was it something I said? Something I did? Are they turning? No, they’re going the same direction. Why are

	they trying to get away from me? What did I do? So a lot of evaluating behaviors that I had done in that time period that caused them to change direction.
37.	P: And mostly white men would do it to me. And I'd be like: This Timothy McVeigh - looking motherfucker looking at me like I'm going to bomb somebody. You know what I mean? And I would say it out loud, sometimes.
38.	P: I was working at (Hardware store) maybe about two years ago. I was working in Customer Service. Most of the times that I had issues, it was that people, customers assuming that I looked too mean, or I looked too-. I'm not allowed to have certain looks even. They'll say: Why do you look so aggressive? I don't think I'm looking aggressive. It's just my face. What do you want me to do?
39.	P: Even though it makes me nervous to go to that rec center, I still go. I just don't think it's fair that only they should get to use all the nice facilities. So (laughing while talking) that's my small way of saying "eff you."
40.	P: And even though I didn't understand why I'd been pulled over, I didn't ask any questions (of the officer) because I didn't want to push my luck.
41.	P: Yes. I definitely knew that I needed to seem forceful without seeming angry or sort of getting their dander up. Because I knew that the moment they perceived me as an angry black man was the moment that I was going to have cuffs on me. I: That seems like a really tough position to feel like you've got to be assertive at the same time and that you also have to not come across as angry. P: Right. That's a really hard thing to do. It's a really hard balance to strike.
42.	P: I am more conscious of it. We have a girlfriend who got into a relationship with this man who has a six-year-old. She was like: "Oh, can you watch him for us?" And my partner and I were like: "Hm. No. We're not going to watch your kid." Because this kid could turn around and say we touched him inappropriately or something. So it's more <u>us</u> . We don't want to be stereotyped as that. I: Sure. Yeah. P: So, no, I'm not going to watch your kid. And no I don't want to be alone with your kid anywhere. And no. So I'm really-, we're really conscious about that.
43.	I: What's it like for you when someone crosses street? P: I laugh. I really do. It's um. It's humorous to me. There's always someone who is going to put you into this racially inferior "dangerous" box. I always tell people "If anything, I fear you more than you should fear me because you always have more access to power and law enforcement protection than I do. I'm always going to be looked upon as the criminal and you're always going to be looked at as the victim no matter what the situation may be." It reminds me of the Jim Crow crying rape days. So yeah, I laugh. What else can I do?
44.	P: And some of it was, to wear a headscarf... I hate that I even if have to say it, but it was my completely my choice. I was raised Muslim, but no one in my immediate family wore a scarf and to me, it was very much an act of resistance and liberation even and so part of it was my choice to wear it was like "well, fuck you guys. You think I'm suspicious or dangerous? Fine, I am. I'm choosing this."

45.	<p>P: And when we got back home, instead of the response of caring, it was more like “why did you let her hit you like that? I told you never to let someone do that.” So then it became like but wait, it wasn’t my fault. I think there was a sense that I could always be found at fault for something. I think ultimately again looking back as an adult, it’s kind of like um... I don’t think he knew how to go directly into just expressing the (tears) anguish around um being in a hopeless situation.</p>
46.	<p>P: They'll hold it (eye contact). Again, that will bring up a lot of anger. I would look at them back. And they would look at me far longer than if you're looking at someone and they look at you. Normally, you turn away. They keep holding it for a while before they actually look away. I've tested it out. I'm like: “Yeah. Let's see if this motherfu--.” It pisses me off because it's really just ignorance. You know what I mean? So anger's the thing that comes up for me.</p>
47.	<p>P: Sometimes, like when I wore hijab, I remember one man that my sister pointed out, he looked really angry. He was huffing and puffing and muttering. That’s one memory that sticks out. So yeah sometimes its curiosity, sometimes its ‘what are you doing here?’ kind of stare, and sometimes it would be accompanied by turning around a little bit and trying to pretend they weren’t staring. So knowing that it wasn’t okay to stare, doing it anyway and trying to hide it.</p>

Table 6

Inter-rater Reliability: Cohen's Kappa Coefficient

Theme	<i>K</i> Rater 1: KC	<i>K</i> Rater 2: MC	<i>K</i> Rater 3: SMa	<i>K</i> Rater 4: SMu	<i>K</i> Rater 5: SN	<i>K</i> Mean by Theme
STA	.69	.65	.77	.80	1.00	.78
IEA	.75	.66	.70	.79	.92	.76
PS	.91	.91	.81	.90	.91	.88
ECR	.79	.75	.75	.83	.87	.80
CS	.73	.93	.70	.70	.85	.78
COT	.92	.63	.79	.83	.92	.82
Overall	.81	.77	.77	.82	.92	.82

Note. STA =Situational Threat Activation; IEA = Index Event Activation; PS = Prevention Strategies; ECR = Emotional and Cognitive Reactions; CS = Challenge Strategies; COT = Change Over Time

Table 7

Experiences Coded as Index Event Activation

Index Event Activation	n	Affected Communities
Intrusive Type	19	All participants
Physical harm (shoving, beating, rough searching, removing participant's clothing)	9	Black men, women, and trans people, South Asian men, queer women, poor men, women, and trans people
Threats of violence and slurs	6	Black men, women, and trans people, South Asian men and women, and queer people of all genders
Detainment or arrest by police when no law has been broken	2	Black transgender and non-trans men, poor and working class participants
Stops and searches by police when no law has been broken or only minor law has been broken (tail light out, jaywalking)	8	Black, Latino/a, and South Asian participants of all genders, poor and working class participants
Pointing, gestures, criticism, or dismissal	15	Participants of color of all genders, sexual orientations
Staring which conveys hostility, or disgust, or starts from groups of people.	19	All participants
Being followed or watched closely by staff or security in stores or restaurants	18	All participants of color, all working class and poor participants
Consistent enhanced screening by TSA	4	Men and women of South Asian descent, Black woman
Verbal presumption of criminality microaggressions	19	All participants
Avoidant Type	19	All participants
Staring in a manner that conveys fear, whispering to others while staring	17	Nearly all participants of color, nearly all queer participants
Others refusing to engage or interact unless required (strangers, colleagues, teachers, fellow students, customers)	14	Nearly all participants of color, poor and working class participants
Others excessively apologizing or exhibiting "walking on egg shell" behaviors	12	All Black participants, some South Asian and Native American participants
Locking doors, crossing streets to get away from participant, moving away from participant on public transit	14	All male and transgender participants of color, some female and gender queer participants of color
Moving children away from participant	2	Two queer participants of color
Moving bags, valuables, away from participant	7	All Black and Latino men, some women of color

Table 8

<i>Experiences Coded as Situational Threat Activation</i>		
Situational Threat Activation	n	Affected Communities
Being asked to babysit or to spend time with small children	6	LGBT communities of all genders
Having to wait for someone or loiter for any reason	9	Black men, women, and trans people, South Asian men, queer women, poor men, women, and trans people
Being in a group of two or more persons of participant's same community	6	Black men, women, and trans people, South Asian men and women, queer men, women, and trans people
Using a public restroom or locker room	3	Gay men and transgender men
Waiting for an elevator with a white woman	3	Black men
Going to the airport	5	Muslim and South Asian communities, some Latino participants
Being the presence of, or interacting with, children	6	LGBT communities of all genders
Showing physical affection to a child	6	LGBT communities of all genders
Going to an expensive store or restaurant	10	Black and Latino communities
Going into any type of store	5	Some working class participants, some participants of color
Having to carry a large bag or box	2	Some Latino participants
Being politically outspoken	3	Some participants of color
Communicating regularly with relatives outside the U.S.	2	Some South Asian participants
Raising hand in class, especially to voice a strong opinion or disagree with another	4	Black participants of all genders
Having to present ID for any reason	2	Some queer participants and Muslim participants
Staying late at school or work	2	Some Black participants
Seeing a police officer, cruiser, or station	17	Nearly all participants
Going to customer service job or other job that require substantial interpersonal interaction	4	Some Black, Native American, and South Asian participants
Traveling or outings with family	4	Some Black, Latino/a, and South Asian participants
Holding a baby or small, child especially if crying	6	Some queer participants
News or alerts about crime allegedly committed by member of participant's community	4	Some men of color

Table 9

Criminal Archetypes Activated or Communicated to Participants

Stereotype Cued or Communicated	n	Affected Communities
Angry	1	Black and Native American participants
	1	
Aggressive	9	Poor, working class, and participants of color
Bad kids	7	Poor, working class, Black and Latino/a participants
Child molester or Pedophile	6	LGBT participants
Contagious or Poison	5	LGBT and Jewish participants
Dangerous	1	Participants of color, Muslim participants
	6	
Dirty or smelly	6	Working class, poor, Latino/a, and South Asian participants
Drug addict or drunk	5	Native American, poor participants
Drug dealer	2	Black men
Gang	6	Black participants of all genders
Gang member	5	Black queer, trans and non trans men
Greedy	3	Jewish, Black, and poor participants
Hiding/deceitful/Inauthentic	5	Queer, Black, and Latino/a participants
Mugger	6	Black and Latino men
Rapist or Sexually Aggressive	4	Black participants, LGBT participants
Rude or Impolite	1	Black, Latino/a, and Native American participants
	5	
Shoplifter	1	Black and Latino/a participants
	2	
Terrorist or Bomber	4	Latino, South Asian, and Muslim participants
Up to no good or Trouble-maker	5	Black, Latino/a, working class, and poor participants

Table 10

<i>Prevention and Challenge Strategies</i>	
Prevention Strategies	n = 19
Smiling more than participant normally would	8
Displaying evidence of wealth	4
Avoiding businesses or neighborhoods where one feels uncomfortable	12
Avoiding browsing, keeping hands in pockets in stores	8
Dressing in a certain manner, other than one normally would	9
Talking more, making more eye contact than normally would, or changing mannerisms	6
Getting to know security guards	1
Avoiding even small violations of the law (e.g. strong values about not shoplifting, not speeding, paying car registration on time)	5
Avoiding spending time with own community in groups	8
Avoiding being around people who are loud or breaking laws	5
Avoiding calling police	2
Self-monitoring, especially when experiencing strong feelings of fear or anger towards law enforcement, security, or TSA (e.g. monitoring tone around police officers, making sure hands are visible, refraining from asking questions, etc.)	17
Attempting to always appear purposeful and in motion (e.g. avoidance of loitering, sitting in public, or strolling leisurely)	10
Avoidance of feeling strong feelings (e.g. suppressing or repressing feelings during STA or IEA)	12
Avoiding picking money off the ground or discussing money	2
Walking in a certain manner, other than one normally would	3
Challenge Strategies	n = 16
Going to places dominated by white and/or wealthy people	2
Staring back	3
Calling out an injustice	6
Asking lots of questions, especially of law enforcement	6
Asserting rights to people in authority	8
Holding physical space	4
Refusing to patronize a business	4
Confirming behaviors	3
Observing police	3

Note. Motive of Prevention Strategy is to prevent IEA altogether, to de-escalate IEA, to reassure others, and/or disconfirm stereotype in eyes of oppressor. Motive of Challenge Strategy is to acknowledge the stereotyping, protest the stereotyping, and/or to express reactions to it.

Figure 3

Suspicion: Stereotypes by Level of Danger and Criminality

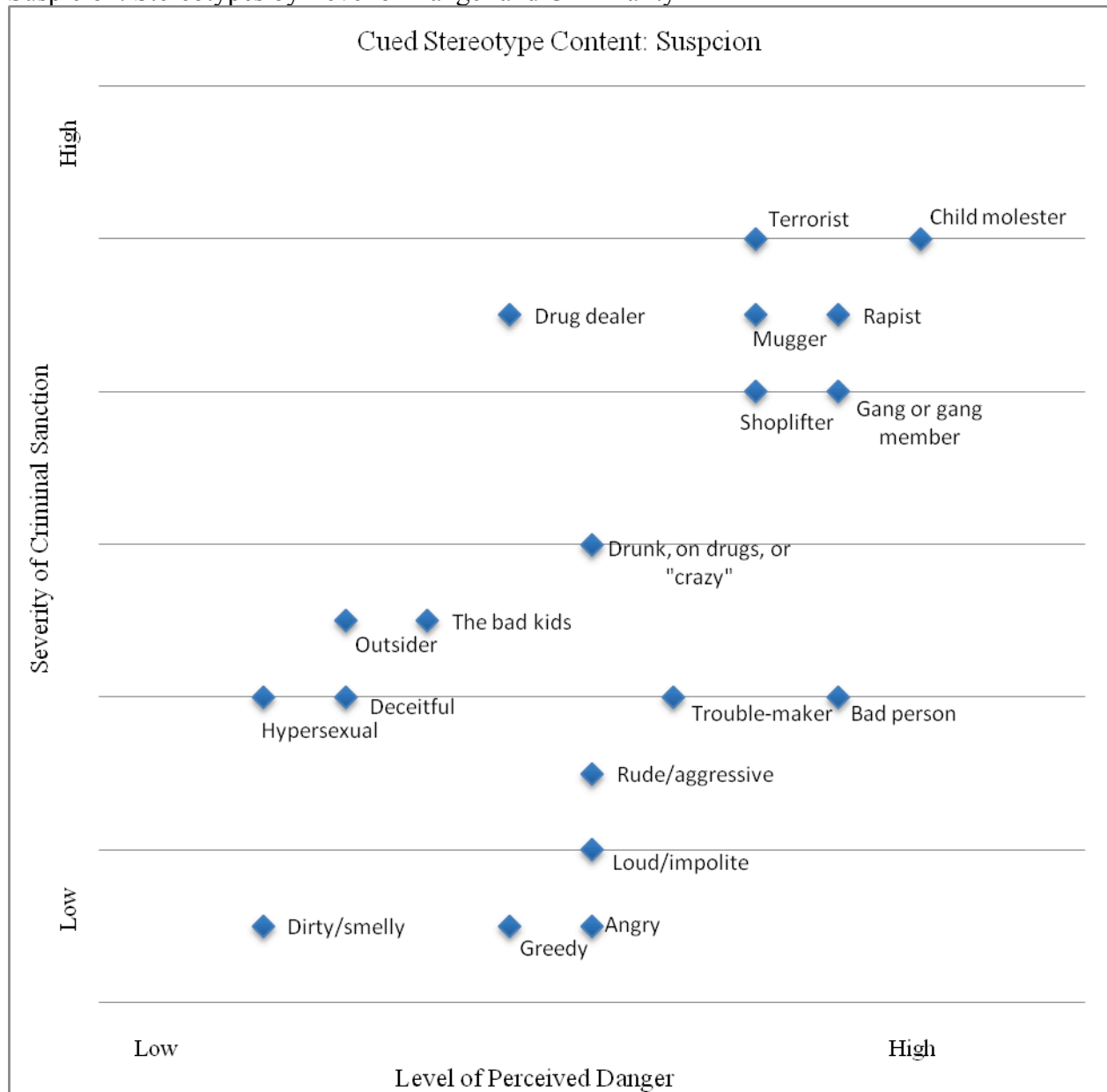


Table 11

Reactions by Context: Efforts to Stay Safe and Restore Coherence

Type of Reaction	Situational Threat Activation	Index Event Activation (Intrusion)	Index Event Activation (Avoidance)
Emotional N=19	-Anxiety, Worry, Fear -Vigilance/ on guard -Numbness -Attempts to suppress feelings	-Anger -Dissonance/Confusion -Fear -Hopelessness -Shame (N=2) -Embarrassment	-Dissonance/Confusion -Sadness/Loneliness -Empathy -Anger, Annoyance -Amused (N=3) -Fear (N=2) -Guilt (N=4) -Surprise -Relief (N=3)
Cognitive N=19	-Thought experiment -Risk assessment -Stereotype content -Maybe I am a bad person -Maybe I am paranoid (N=3) -Self talk/self re-assurance	-Safety planning -Stereotype content -Power analysis -Interpretation of actions of other as bias-motivated -Fantasies about acting in accordance with stereotype -Disengagement	-Re-tracing steps -Stereotype content -Hyper self-awareness or self-consciousness -Internal argument about whether or not event was bias-motivated -What did I do? Maybe I am a bad person. -Maybe I am being paranoid (N=2)
Bodily N=6	-Feeling of being watched even when alone -Shaky voice (N=2) -Sense of awkwardness, clumsiness, or restlessness	-Red face (N=1) -Shaky voice (N=3) -Trembling (N=4) -Violated (N=2) -Feelings in the throat (trouble swallowing, trouble speaking) N=4	-Unanchored/Ungrounded (N=4) -Floating on my own (N=2) -Being in an abyss (N=1)

Note. Unless otherwise stated, all reactions were expressed by five or more participants.

Figure 4

Visual Model of the Emergent Theory of Index Event and Situational Threat Activation

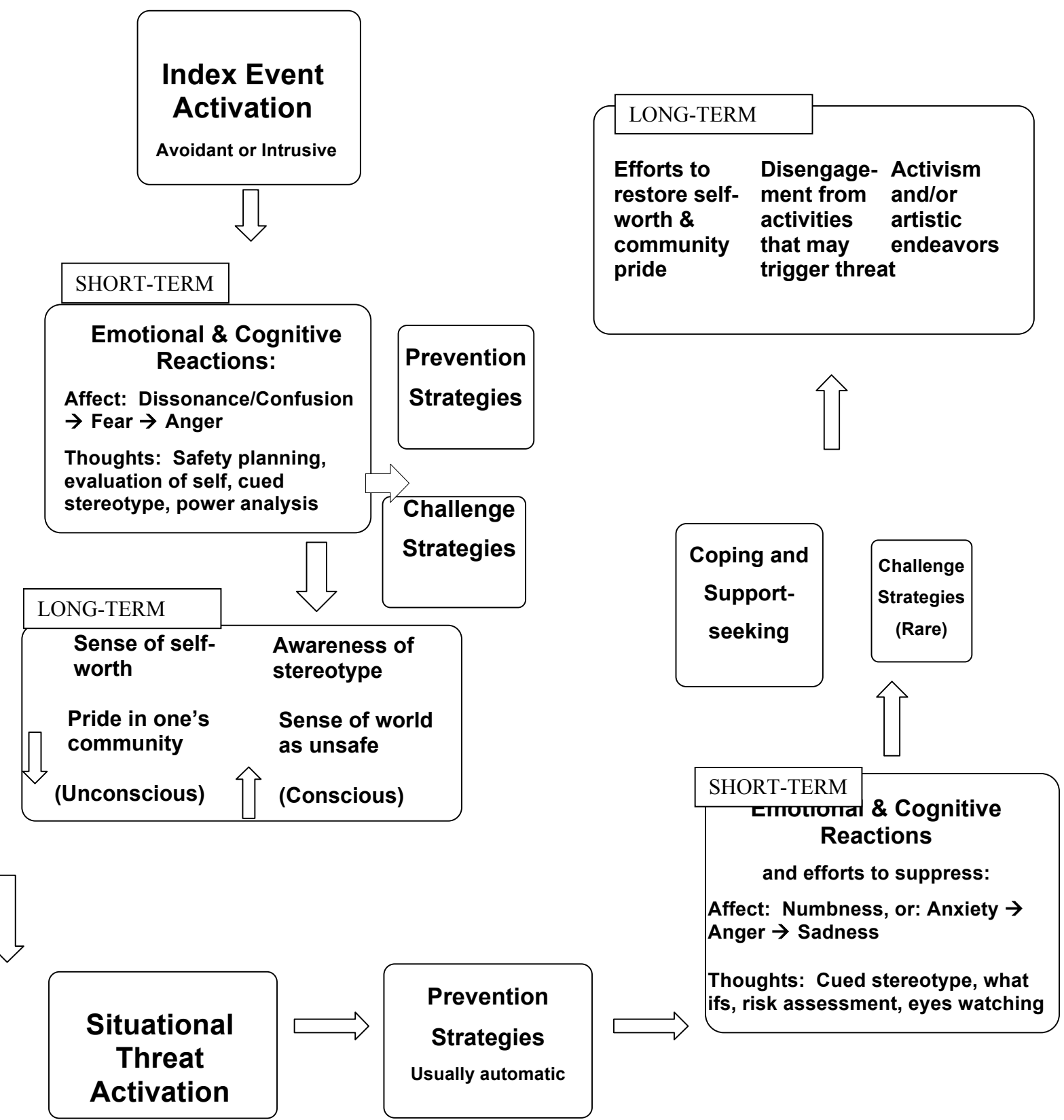
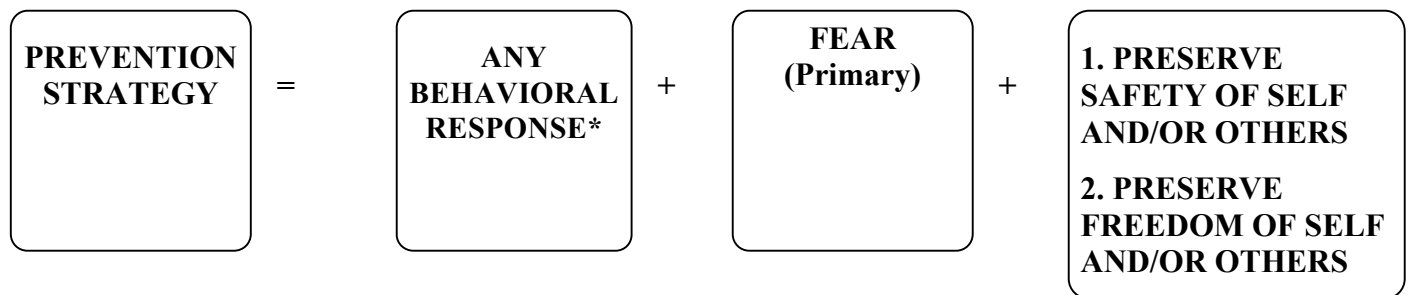
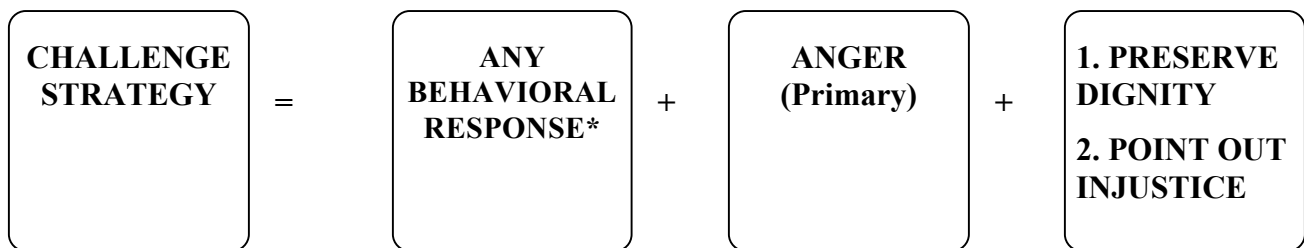
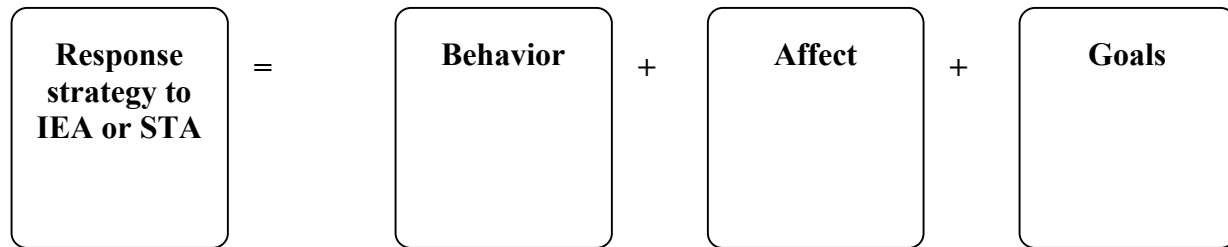


Figure 5

Differentiating between Challenge and Prevention Strategies



*The behavior itself must be understood in terms of the participant's goal(s) and affect in order to determine which strategy they are using. For example, a behavior (e.g. refusing to return to a store where one was followed) could be either a prevention or challenge strategy. Only the context of the participant's goals (e.g. boycotting vs. wanting to avoid an uncomfortable situation) and the participant's primary affect (fear/worry vs. anger) reveals the strategy.

