Anti-Black Racism Unveiled: It Doesn't All Look the Same

A thesis submitted by

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Abstract

This thesis investigates how people appraise different types of anti-Black racism. Preliminary work in our lab provided a four-category taxonomy of daily experiences with racism for us to test through further study. The four categories we discovered based on preliminary analysis are *discomfort/suspicion, problematic speech/actions, hateful speech/actions,* and *police interactions*. In Study 1, we recruited a sample of 50 Black participants and asked them to rate scenarios from these categories in terms of their level of severity, ambiguity, and physical danger. Analyses demonstrated that there were significant differences between how different categories of racism were evaluated for each of the 3 rating variables. Additionally, we asked participants to give their open-ended reactions to these scenarios, which informed the development of additional dependent variables in Study 2. In Study 2, we recruited 200 (50 Black, 50 White, 50 Hispanic/Latino, and 50 Asian) participants, and asked them once again to read scenarios depicting different categories of anti-Black racism and to rate them in terms of several dependent variables. Scenarios were slightly modified from Study 1, asking participants to evaluate how they believed that a Black victim depicted in the scenario would respond. Analyses replicated results from Study 1 for Black participants' assessments. Overall, analyses demonstrated various significant differences between how participants perceived different categories of racism. While there were few significant between-race differences in ratings by category of racism, future work should seek to limit desirability bias through limiting time for participant ratings, as well as understand more about the motivations for participant ratings.

Keywords: anti-Blackness, racism, discrimination

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Anti-Black Racism Unveiled: It Doesn't All Look the Same

Although racism is one of the most troubling issues plaguing our society, much remains unknown about it from a psychological science perspective. Clark, Anderson, Clark, and Williams (1999) conducted a literature review investigating the way in which social psychology has examined the experiences that Black Americans have with racism. The authors found that the literature seemed to primarily focus on the mechanisms of why racism occurs, rather than the psychological and physiological effects of racism that Black Americans face. Understanding how racism is perpetuated in day-to-day life and the effects that victims of racism suffer after those experiences are equally important in the scientific effort to study racism.

Clark et al. (1999) reported that experiences with perceived racism have been shown to elicit various coping responses from Black Americans. These coping responses have been connected to a number of physiological and psychological side effects, including elevated stress (Berger & Sarnyai, 2015), symptoms of posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD) (Berger & Sarnyai, 2015; Chou et al., 2012; Armstead et al., 1989), and increased vulnerability to disease due to suppressed immune function (Cohen & Herbert, 1996), all of which can lead to further health complications. It is important to study the effects of day-to-day racism because the more knowledgeable we are about racism and its effects, the better we may be able to proactively prevent it.

Previous research has also demonstrated some of the cognitive effects and reactions that marginalized people often display when facing discrimination. King (2005) investigated the level of stress Black American women reported when being ambiguously rated unfavorably by 2 White American male coworkers; the results from the study indicated that Black American women experienced increased stress when perceiving discrimination. Salvatore and Shelton

(2007) investigated the cognitive appraisals and related reactions of Black and White people when they witnessed prejudice in their workplace. The results from this study indicated that Black people's cognitive impairment was the strongest when witnessing instances of ambiguous discrimination, while White people's cognitive impairment was the strongest when witnessing blatant discrimination (Salvatore & Shelton, 2007). While the aforementioned results bring attention to the cognitive burden placed upon those who face discrimination, there remain gaps in the literature, such as Do reactions to experiences with racism vary depending on the type of racism in question? what physiological reactions may be associated with these cognitive appraisals and increased stress? To what degree do people of different racial identities converge and diverge in their perceptions of other people's episodes of racism? The current set of studies aims to understand various reactions to experiencing anti-Black racism and how these reactions might vary across different categories of racism and between individuals of different racial/ethnic identities.

When studying people's daily experiences with racism, it is important to remember that these encounters happen frequently, and some individuals are subjected to racism more often than others. Geronimus, Hicken, Keene, and Bound (2006) conducted a study using data from the National Health and Nutrition Examination Survey, calculating allostatic loads for adults ages 18-64 years old. Allostatic load is conceptualized as a measure of the physiological burden imposed by stress. The authors found that Black people had a greater probability of having a high score compared to White people at all ages, which could not be explained by racial differences in poverty. These results led to Geronimus et al. (2006) to proposing the weathering hypothesis, which posits that many Black Americans experience early health deterioration because of the cumulative impact of repeated experiences with racism and other forms of marginalization

(Geronimus et al., 2006; Geronimus, 1992). Moreover, the CDC recently cited racism as a major factor in the life expectancy of Black Americans being 4 years shorter than the life expectancy of White Americans (CDC, 2022). These are just two examples of the growing body of literature identifying the alarming impacts of racism, especially when an individual may have repeated encounters with racism.

Whereas correlational research has demonstrated the links between experiencing racism and negative health outcomes, important empirical questions remain (Cuevas et al., 2020; Harrell, 2000): How do personal experiences with racism affect the body? How do psychophysiological responses to experiences with racism compare to responses to other negative and stressful experiences? What is the precise relationship between bodily responses and self-reported stress, depression, coping, and health outcomes regarding racism? An ongoing study in our lab seeks to provide answers to some of these questions by examining racism as a form of trauma. This study recruits Black participants and asks them to recount past experiences from multiple categories: neutral events, experiences with racism, other negative events, and positive events. Then, in a subsequent phase of the study, participants listen to audio recorded narrations of their own life events, re-imagining themselves back in these scenarios, while the research team records physiological measures including heart rate, blood pressure, respiration rate, and skin response.

As this study has progressed, the variability in participants' accounts of racism has intrigued us. All of these experiences were significant enough for participants to remember and report them to us, sometimes even years after these experiences took place, but the events also represent a wide variability of situations related to racism. Consider the following examples:

1. After early dismissal, you and your friends head to Target. In every aisle, employees in red Target shirts are watching you to make sure you aren't shoplifting. First, it's a middle-aged Hispanic guy. In the electronics section, it's a younger white guy. You aren't doing anything wrong, so you and your friends ask each other, "Why do they keep staring at us?" The attention is all on your group of 6-7 Black kids.
2. It's late. You're out on your bike and see two girls you know. They are drunk and loud. You see flashing blue lights reflected in a window. You see the police car. You bike away with jittery legs. The police car makes a U-turn to approach you. The officer is hostile even though you haven't done anything wrong. Through their window, they bark questions and interrogate you.

The rich variability in the examples of racism led us to another set of questions that has not yet been answered in the literature: How can we classify different types of racism? If we can do so, how might these different types of racism affect the minds and bodies of victims differently? To answer these questions the current investigation seeks to: 1) develop and refine a taxonomy of personal experiences with anti-Black racism; 2) examine whether Black individuals' reactions (physiological, emotional, attitudinal, and cognitive) to experiences with racism vary by category of racism; 3) compare perceptions of these categories of racism across individuals of different racial/ethnic identities, in the effort to discover convergences and divergences in how people of different backgrounds think about and react to racism. Our hope is to create a richer model identifying different categories of racism and people's varying physiological and psychological reactions to these events.

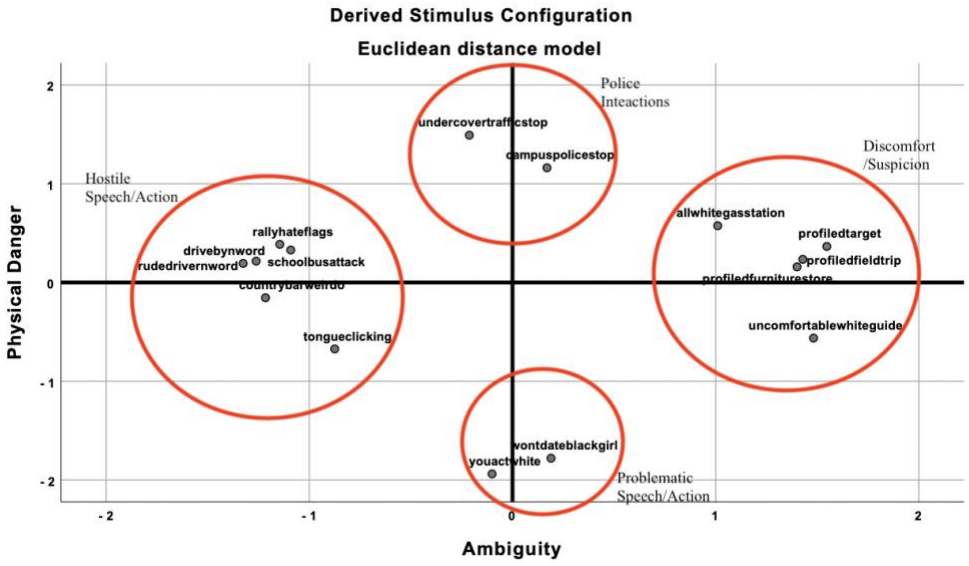
After collecting data from 15 participants in the initial study in our lab, we conducted a preliminary analysis with a small group of individuals to get an understanding of what different types of racism might be represented in this data set. For this preliminary analysis, we asked members of our lab to read and evaluate reported accounts of racism from the first 15

participants from the initial study. Lab members then received a survey where they were asked to complete pairwise similarity ratings for all scenarios and to rate them on their level of severity, ambiguity, and physical danger. These variables were chosen as the 3 rating variables because we thought these would map onto the scenarios best, based on the descriptions provided to us by participants from the study. We then used multidimensional scaling on the data collected from the 7 lab members who identified as Black to determine major dimensions underlying the accounts of racism. The results indicated a major vertical axis of ambiguity and a major horizontal axis of physical danger and suggested 4 distinct categories of racism (See Fig. 1).

Categories of Racism

Figure 1

Multidimensional Scaling of Preliminary Results for Black Participants



Preliminary analysis suggested 4 different categories of racism: *discomfort/suspicion, problematic speech/actions*, *police interactions*, and *hostile speech/actions*. The *discomfort/suspicion* category appears to be representative of those situations that some have

described as “microaggressions”; while there may be no direct or outwardly hateful actions, the perpetrator often acts skeptical of the participant without sufficient reasoning (See Appendix A). For example, “Your project group for your Product Process Design course is visiting a local craft brewery to do research. The older White man who is showing you around is clearly uncomfortable talking to you. They answer questions from your other group members, especially the two White women. But he won’t face you straight up or give you any recognition. You’re just observing his mannerisms.”

The *problematic speech/actions* category represents those scenarios where perpetrators act or speak in a manner that demonstrates belief in a stereotype about the victim’s racial group (See Appendix B). For example, “It’s Halloween and you're in 7th grade. You’re walking outside with friends. It’s dark and trick or treating is over. You’re dressed as Little Red Riding Hood, but it’s not a very good costume. One of your friends, a White girl, walks up and says, “Hey, did you realize you act really White?” You tell her that you don’t want to have this conversation. You distance yourself from her.”

The *police interactions* category is representative of those situations where victims believe they have been racially discriminated against by Police Officers (See Appendix C). For example, “You’re driving your Ford Escape. You see a White driver in a black Mustang. You joke around with him through your window at a stop sign. He turns on his lights and sirens. Turns out, he's an undercover detective. He pulls his gun and tells you to get out of your vehicle. He makes you lie on the ground.”

Lastly, the *hostile speech/actions* category represents those situations where the perpetrator is outwardly racist and may go to lengths such as calling the participant slurs and physically threatening them (See Appendix D). For example, “You finish your transaction at

Bank of America and walk to your car. It's snowing a little. The parking lot is crowded and you're waiting to turn. You have the right of way, but a red pickup truck speeds by and gets too close to your car. Through your window, you say, "Slow down. You almost hit me." The White guy driving the truck gives you the middle finger and says, 'F- you, n-word.'"

For this project, we sought to explore how individuals' perceptions of self-reported responses to examples of these 4 different categories of racism might differ. In Study 1, we selected 2 scenarios from each of the 4 categories previously identified. We then presented these anonymized scenarios to a new sample of Black respondents to ask them to imagine themselves in these scenarios and to describe their reactions – reactions which we would later have evaluated by blind coders. Additionally, participants were asked to rate the scenarios on several factors themselves. Overall, we wanted to assess how the evaluations of anti-Black scenarios would compare to the results from our preliminary model.

In Study 2, we hoped to replicate the findings from Study 1, as well as expand the current model to investigate a wider range of reactions to anti-Black racism and to compare such reactions across participants of different racial identities. Given that many of the variables that were coded for in Study 1 yielded significant differences between the categories of racism, we decided to test these effects directly through a Likert-type scale similar to those used in Study 1 for severity, ambiguity, and physical danger. We sought to develop a model of the reactions Black people have to experiencing different categories of day-to-day racism. Moreover, we investigated the degree to which participants from differing racial groups may have similar or diverging reactions to such episodes, and the potential implications of these reactions.

Study 1

Method

Design

Study 1 used a repeated-measures design, in which all participants were asked to evaluate scenarios from all 4 categories of racism. We designed and administered the study using Qualtrics software. After consenting, participants were given instructions on how they should evaluate the scenarios presented in the survey and asked to provide their race/ethnicity, gender, age, and Prolific ID. The heart of the survey consisted of 8 scenarios — 2 from each of the previously mentioned 4 categories of racism. The first time participants were presented with a scenario, it was accompanied by a text box where participants were asked to describe their feelings after imagining themselves in the scenario. After providing open-ended reactions, participants were presented with the same set of 8 scenarios again and asked to rate each scenario on 3 variables. After rating all scenarios, participants were thanked for their participation in the study, and then provided with a completion code that they would need to enter into Prolific to get paid.

Participants

For the current study, 50 participants who self-identified as Black were recruited through the Prolific platform. All participants were paid $7.50 upon completion of the study; participants took an average time of 31 minutes to complete the study. Prolific's automatic participant filters were used to recruit only those participants who were located inside of the United States and who reported their race as Black. Participants were excluded if they reported any other race other than Black on the Qualtrics survey ($n = 2$), or if they failed to enter the completion code and lacked

sufficient evidence that they had completed the study (n = 1). After exclusions, the final data analyses were conducted on 47 participants. These participants' ages ranged between 19-68 years old with a mean age of 38.79 (SD = 14.4); 40.4% (n = 19) of the participants identified as men and 59.6% (n = 28) of the participants identified as women.

Procedure

Participants were first tasked with reading the 8 scenarios in the survey, and then describing their bodily and emotional reactions while imagining themselves in the scenario. The 8 scenarios included 2 examples from each category of racism and were presented in random order. After completing the open-ended section of the study, participants were then shown the same 8 scenarios in the same order and asked to rate them on their level of severity, ambiguity, and physical danger on a Likert-type scale from 1-7 (Not at All – Extremely).

Measures: Self-Report

Severity. Participants were asked to rate each scenario on its level of severity on a scale from 1 (None at all) – 7 (Extremely).

Ambiguity. Participants were asked to rate each scenario on its level of ambiguity on a scale from 1 (None at all) – 7 (Extremely).

Physical Danger. Participants were asked to rate each scenario on its level of physical danger on a scale from 1 (None at all) – 7 (Extremely).

Before being entered into a repeated-measures ANOVA, participants' ratings were averaged across category of racism for each variable, producing one rating for each of the 4 categories of racism for each dependent variable.

Measures: Coded Results

The current analysis only uses the results from one blind coder, who was asked to evaluate all participants open-ended responses on their level of 12 variables. These variables represented a range of possible reactions to experiencing anti-Black racism.

Sadness. Sadness was measured through a research assistant rating each open-ended response on a scale from 1 (None at all) – 7 (Extreme), based on the level of sadness participants exhibited in their response.

Happiness. Happiness was measured through a research assistant rating each open-ended response on a scale from 1 (None at all) – 7 (Extreme), based on the level of happiness participants exhibited in their response.

Fear. Fear was measured through a research assistant rating each open-ended response on a scale from 1 (None at all) – 7 (Extreme), based on the level of fear participants exhibited in their response.

Anger. Anger was measured through a research assistant rating each open-ended response on a scale from 1 (None at all) – 7 (Extreme), based on the level of anger participants exhibited in their response.

Surprise. Surprise was measured through a research assistant rating each open-ended response on a scale from 1 (None at all) – 7 (Extreme), based on the level of surprise participants exhibited in their response.

Disgust. Disgust was measured through a research assistant rating each open-ended response on a scale from 1 (None at all) – 7 (Extreme), based on the level of disgust participants exhibited in their response.

Fear Response. Fear response was defined as, "observable behavior that someone would typically exhibit when they're scared: shaking, crying, panicked breathing, etc." Fear response was measured through a research assistant rating each open-ended response on a scale from 1 (None at all) – 7 (Extreme), based on the level of fear response participants exhibited in their response.

Avoidance. Avoidance was defined as, "behavior that involves the participant removing themselves from the situation." Avoidance was measured through a research assistant rating each open-ended response on a scale from 1 (None at all) – 7 (Extreme), based on the level of avoidance participants were likely to engage in based on2 their response.

Retaliation. Retaliation was defined as, "the participant saying they will get revenge on the perpetrator or reciprocating the actions (or similar actions) the perpetrator committed against them." Retaliation was measured through a research assistant rating each open-ended response on a scale from 1 (None at all) – 7 (Extreme), based on the level retaliation participants were likely to engage in based on their response.

Seeking a Confidant. Seeking a confidant was defined as, "the participant seeking out someone to talk/vent to about the situation." Seeking a confidant was measured through a research assistant rating each open-ended response on a scale from 1 (None at all) – 7 (Extreme), based on the level of seeking a confidant participants were likely to engage in based on their response.

Reporting the Incident. Reporting the incident was defined as, "the participant seeking out some form of legal/disciplinary action towards the perpetrator, so these situations will often identify talking to some form of legal/authority figure." Reporting the incident was measured through a research assistant rating each open-ended response on a scale from 1 (None at all) – 7 (Extreme), based on the level reporting the incident participants were likely to engage in based on their response.

Distress. Distress was measured through a research assistant rating each open-ended response on a scale from 1 (None at all) – 7 (Extreme), based on the level of distress participants exhibited in their response.

Before being entered into the model, all variables were averaged across category of racism, producing an overall average for each dependent variable for each of the 4 categories of racism. Eventually we hope to use information from additional blind coders (and conduct reliability analyses of their coding) to make more informed decisions about future work.

Results

Self-Report Measures

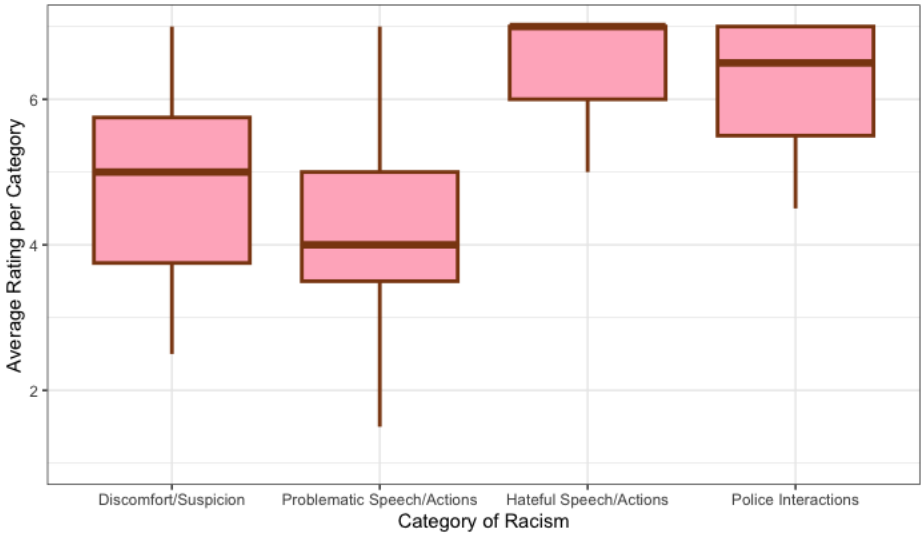
First, three repeated-measures ANOVA were conducted to test if participant reactions differed significantly on self-reported dependent variables: Severity, Ambiguity, and Physical Danger. The ANOVA conducted on perceived Severity, Ambiguity, and Physical Danger all reported significant differences between the categories, which then prompted us to conduct Dunn post-hoc tests on these data.

Severity. First, we evaluated the ratings of severity using a repeated-measures ANOVA, which reported an overall significant difference between the categories of racism, $F_{(3,46)} = 59.77$,

$p < .001$, $\eta_{p2} = .36$. A Dunn post-hoc test was then conducted, which indicated that all pairwise comparisons between the categories were statistically significant at $p < .05$, except for the comparison between *hateful speech/actions* and *police interactions* categories.

Figure 2

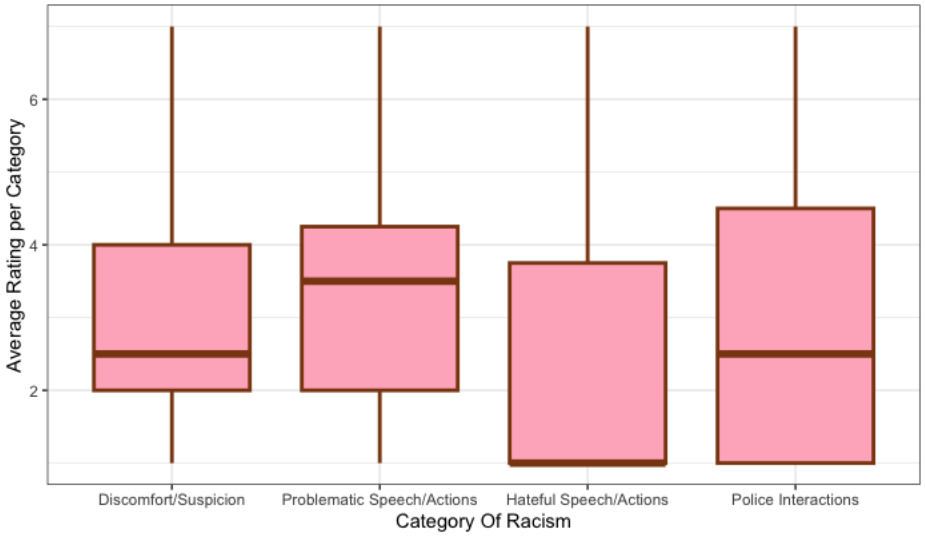
Severity Ratings by Category of Racism



Ambiguity. Next, we evaluated the similarity between category ambiguity ratings using a repeated-measures ANOVA, which reported an overall significant difference between the categories $F_{(3,46)} = 7.17$, $p < .001$, $\eta_{p2} = .36$. A Dunn post-hoc test was then conducted, which indicated that the pairwise comparison between *hateful speech/actions* and all other categories were statistically significant at $p < .05$, while all other comparisons were not significant.

Figure 3

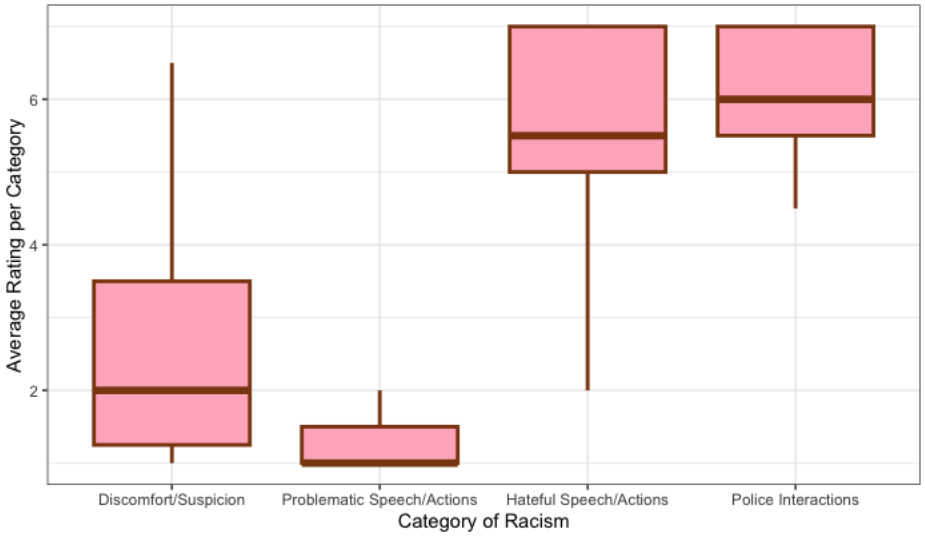
Ambiguity Ratings by Category of Racism



Physical Danger. Our repeated-measures ANOVA evaluating the physical danger scores for each scenario reported an overall significant difference between the categories, $F_{(3,46)} = 206.7$, $p < .001$, $\eta_{p2} = .71$. A Dunn post-hoc test was then conducted, which indicated that all pairwise comparisons between the categories were statistically significant at $p < .05$, except for the comparison between the *hateful speech/actions* and *police interactions* categories.

Figure 4

Physical Danger Ratings by Category of Racism



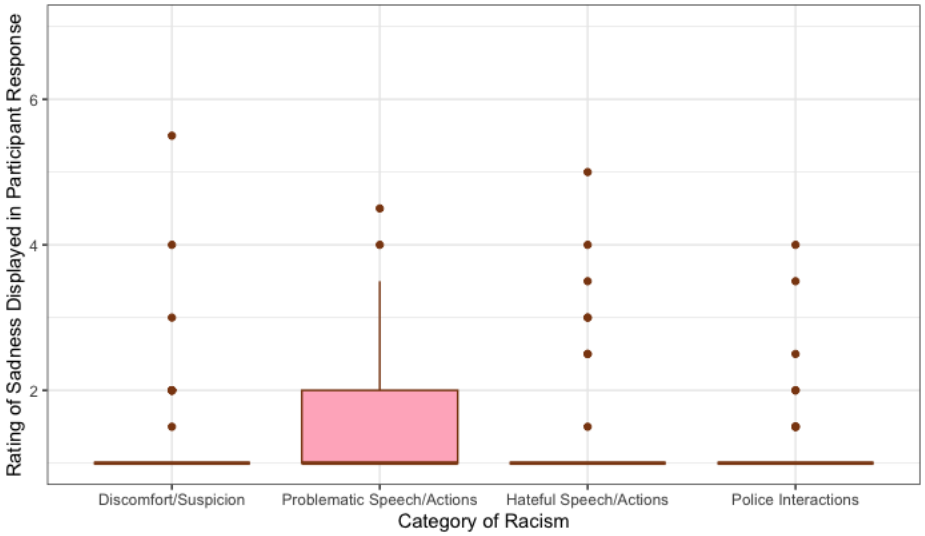
Coded Results

For the open-ended responses, our research assistant coded each response on their level of: sadness, happiness, anger, fear, surprise, disgust, fear response, avoidance, retaliation, finding a confidant, reporting the incident, and distress. We then conducted several repeated-measures ANOVA to test if the means significantly differed across each emotion and behavior variable.

Sadness. The repeated-measures ANOVA for sadness reported no overall significant difference between the categories $F_{(3, 131)} = 2.38$, $p = .07$, $\eta_{p2} = .03$.

Figure 5

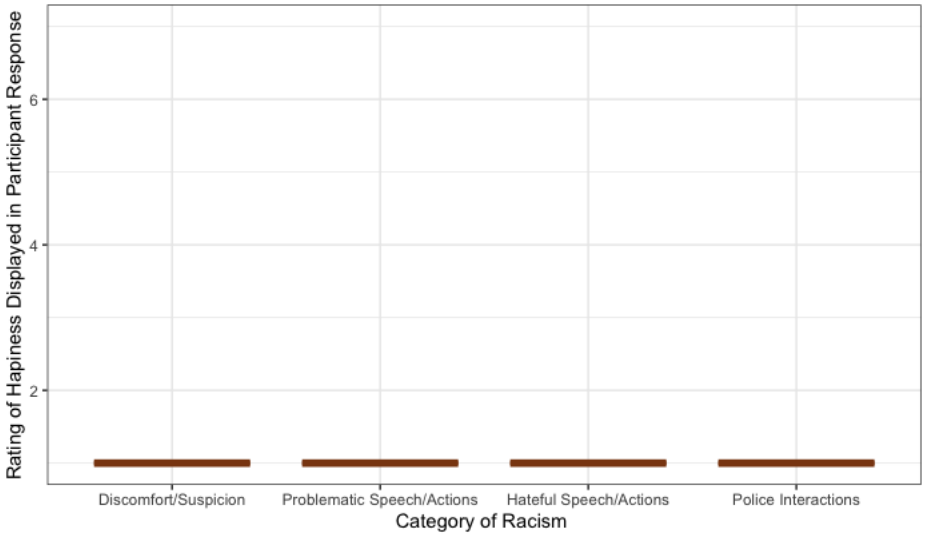
Sadness Ratings by Category of Racism



Happiness. The repeated-measures ANOVA for happiness reported no overall significant difference between the categories, $F_{(3, 131)} = .69$, $p = .56$, $\eta_{p2} = .01$.

Figure 6

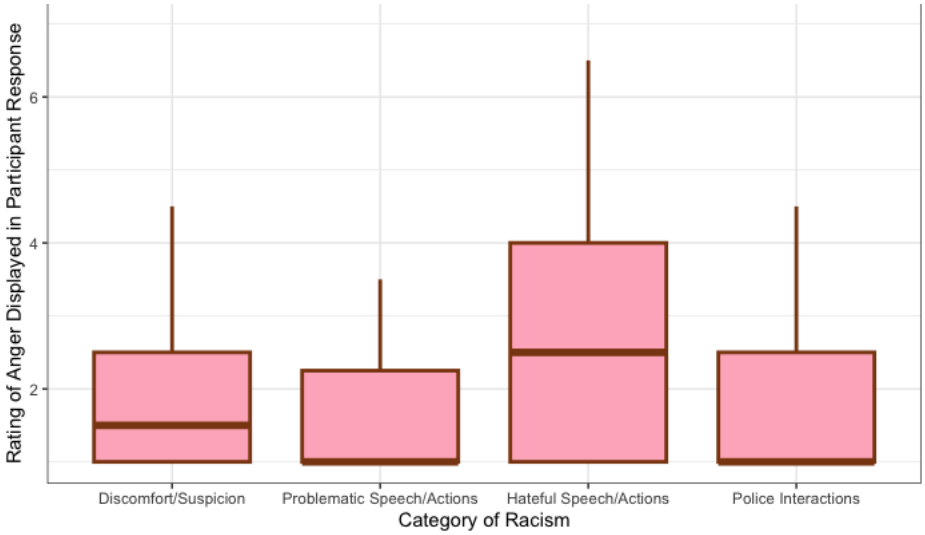
Happiness Ratings by Category of Racism



Anger. The repeated-measures ANOVA for anger reported an overall significant difference between the categories $F_{(3, 131)} = 9.18$, $p < .001$, $\eta_{p2} = .10$. A Dunn post-hoc test was then conducted, which indicated that all pairwise comparisons between the *hateful speech/actions* category and the other categories differed significantly at $p < .05$.

Figure 7

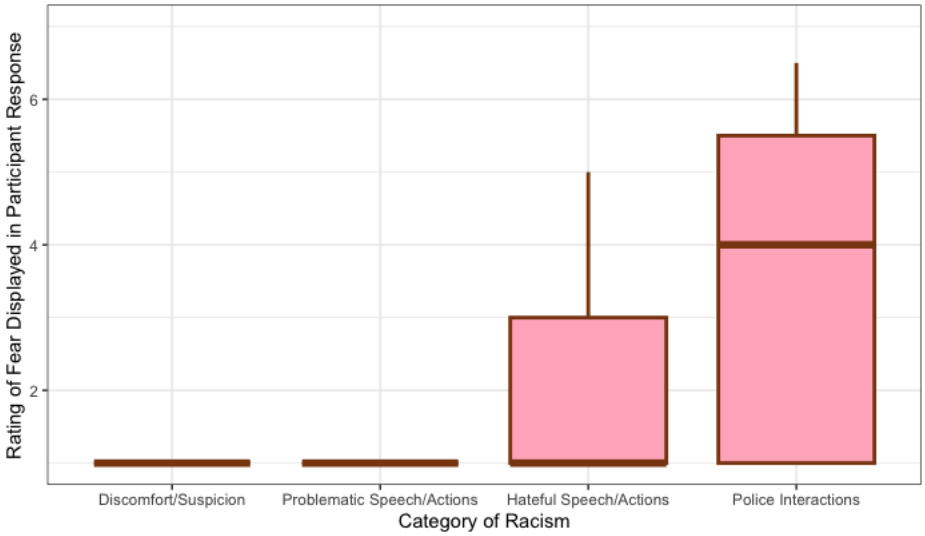
Anger Ratings by Category of Racism



Fear. The repeated-measures ANOVA for fear reported an overall significant difference between the categories, $F_{(3, 131)} = 53.37$, $p < .001$, $\eta_{p2} = .42$. A Dunn post-hoc test was then conducted, which indicated that all pairwise comparisons between the categories were statistically significant at $p < .05$ except for the comparison between the *discomfort/suspicion* and *problematic speech/actions* categories.

Figure 8

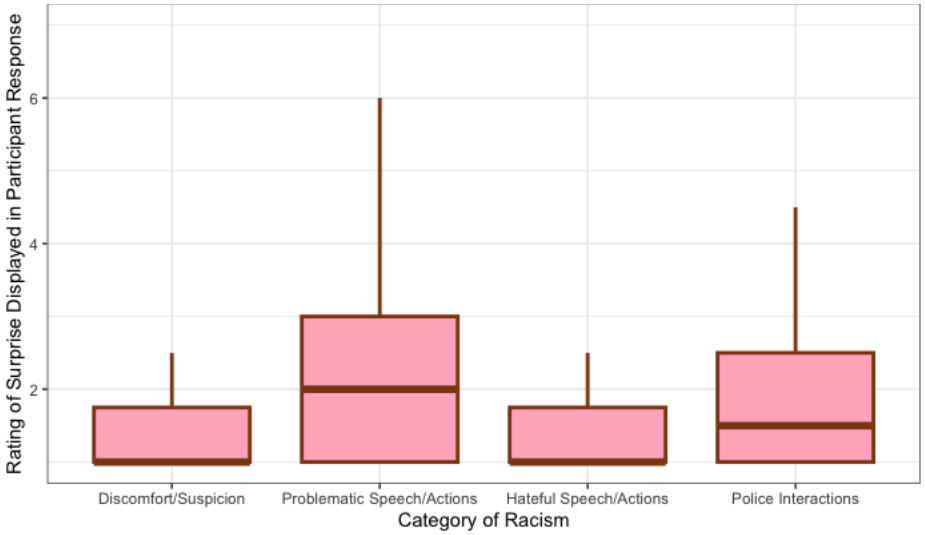
Fear Ratings by Category of Racism



Surprise. The repeated measures ANOVA for surprise reported an overall significant difference between the categories, $F_{(3, 131)} = 8.90$, $p < .001$, $\eta_{p2} = .09$. A Dunn post-hoc test was then conducted, which indicated that the pairwise comparisons between the *discomfort/suspicion* and *problematic speech/actions*, *discomfort/suspicion* and *police interactions*, and *problematic speech/actions* and *hateful speech/actions* clusters were statistically significant at $p < .05$.

Figure 9

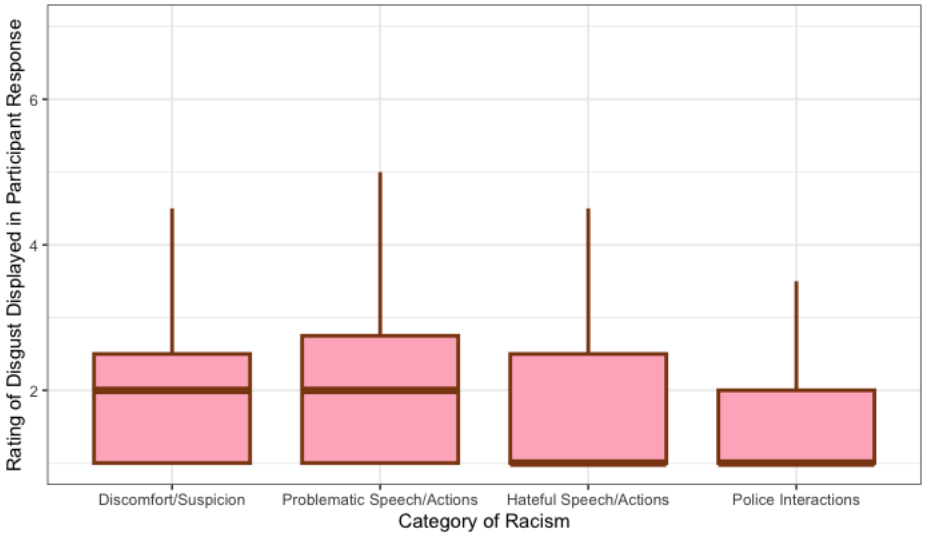
Surprise Ratings by Category of Racism



Disgust. The repeated measures ANOVA for disgust reported an overall significant difference between categories, $F_{(3, 131)} = 4.14$, $p < .01$, $\eta_{p2} = .04$. A Dunn post-hoc test was then conducted, which indicated that the pairwise comparisons between the *discomfort/suspicion* and *police interactions* categories and the *problematic speech/actions* and *police interactions* categories were statistically significant at $p < .05$.

Figure 10

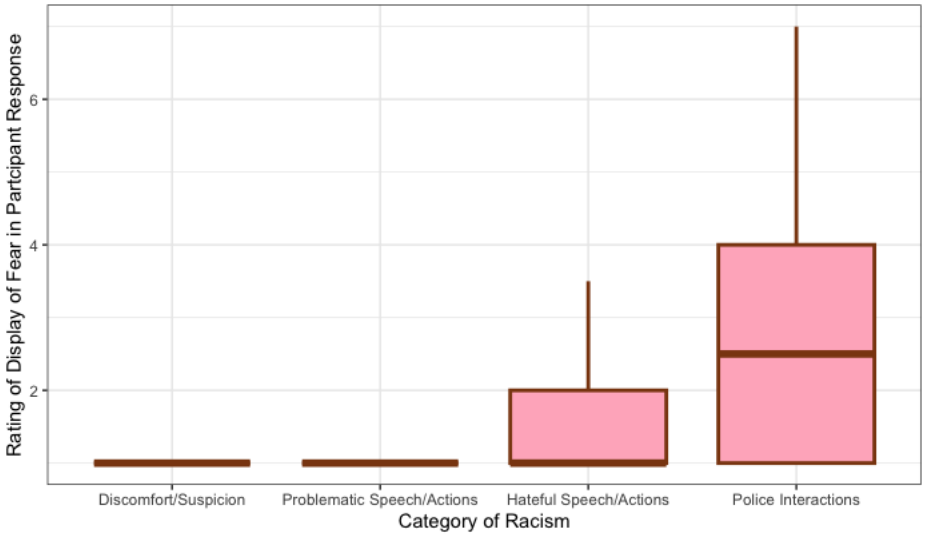
Disgust Ratings by Category of Racism



Fear Response. The repeated measures ANOVA for fear response reported an overall significant difference between the categories, $F_{(3, 131)} = 32.29$, $p < .001$, $\eta_{p2} = .29$. A Dunn post-hoc test was then conducted, which indicated that all pairwise comparisons between the categories were statistically significant at $p < .05$ except for the comparison between the *discomfort/suspicion* and *problematic speech/actions* categories.

Figure 11

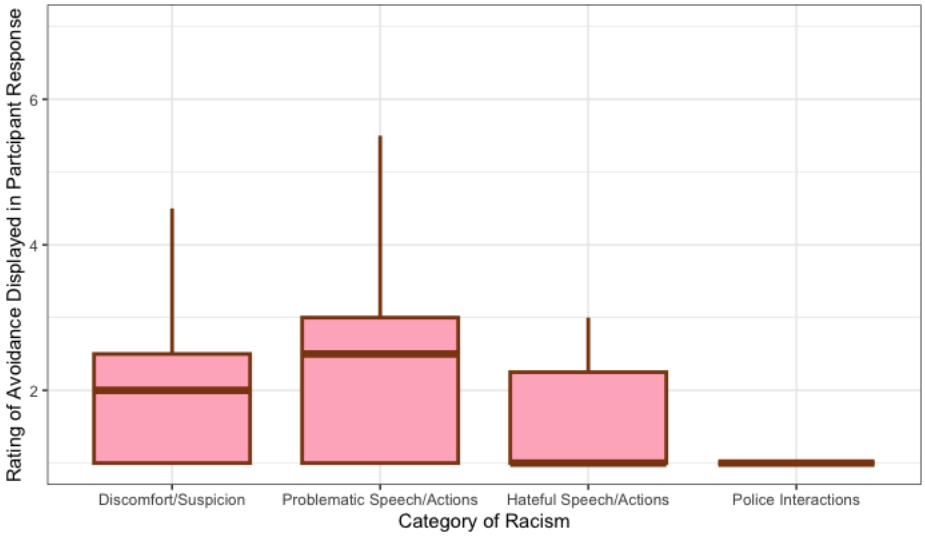
Fear Response Ratings by Category of Racism



Withdrawal/Avoidance. The repeated measures ANOVA for withdrawal/avoidance reported an overall significant difference between the categories, $F_{(3, 131)} = 17.47$, $p < .001$, $\eta_{p2} = .18$. A Dunn post-hoc test was then conducted, which indicated that pairwise comparisons between the *discomfort/suspicion* and *police interactions*, *discomfort/suspicion* and *hateful speech/actions*, *problematic speech/actions* and *police interactions*, and *problematic speech/actions* and *hateful speech/actions* categories were statistically significant at $p < .05$.

Figure 12

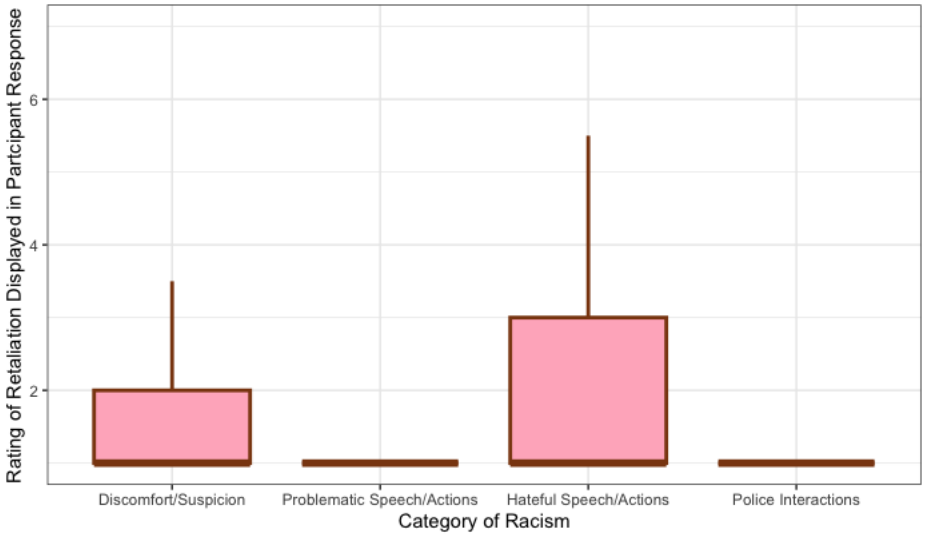
Avoidance Ratings by Category of Racism



Retaliation. The repeated measures ANOVA for retaliation reported an overall significant difference between the categories, $F_{(3, 131)} = 11.76$, $p < .001$, $\eta_{p2} = .14$. A Dunn post-hoc test was then conducted, which reported that the pairwise comparisons between the *discomfort/suspicion* and *problematic speech/actions*, *discomfort/suspicion* and *police interactions*, *problematic speech/actions* and *hateful speech/actions*, *police interactions and hateful speech/actions* categories were statistically significant at $p < .05$.

Figure 13

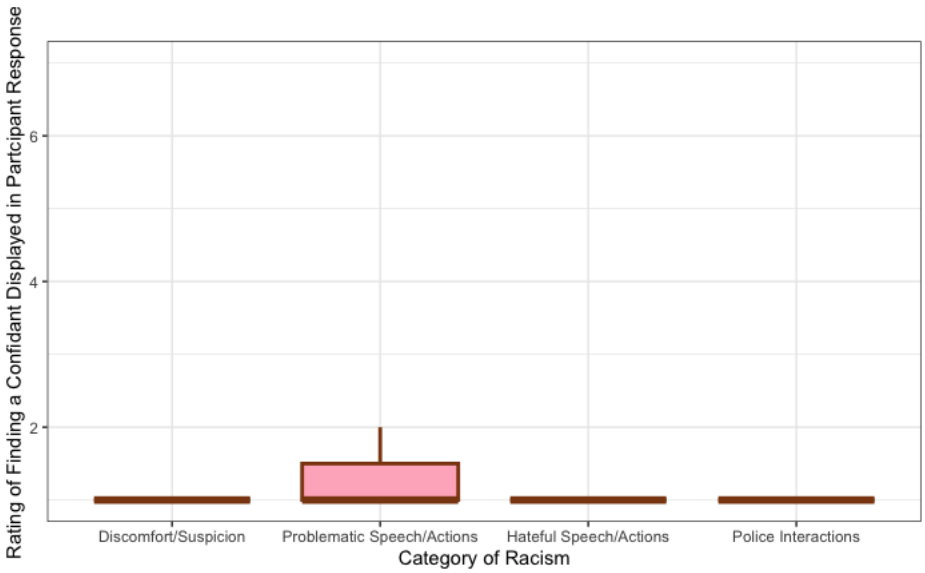
Retaliation Ratings by Category of Racism



Seeking a Confidant. The repeated measures ANOVA for seeking a confidant reported an overall significant difference between the categories, $F_{(3, 131)} = 4.59$, $p < .01$, $\eta_{p2} = .06$. A Dunn post-hoc test was then conducted, which indicated that the comparisons between *problematic speech/actions* and *hateful speech/actions*, and *problematic speech/actions* and *police interactions* categories were statistically significant at $p < .05$.

Figure 14

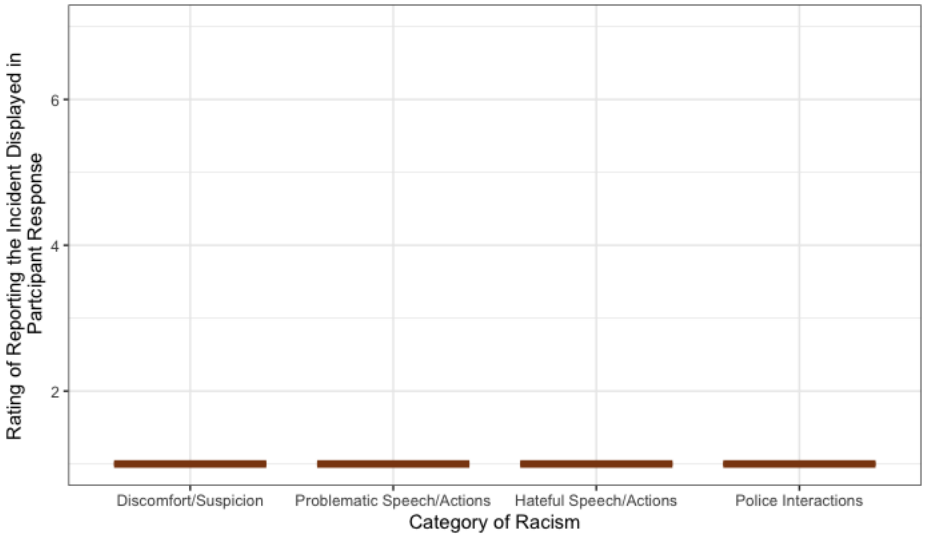
Seeking a Confidant Ratings by Category of Racism



Reporting the Incident. The repeated measures ANOVA for reporting the incident did not indicate an overall significant difference between the categories, $F_{(3, 131)} = 2.08$, $p < .11$, $\eta_{p2} = .03$.

Figure 15

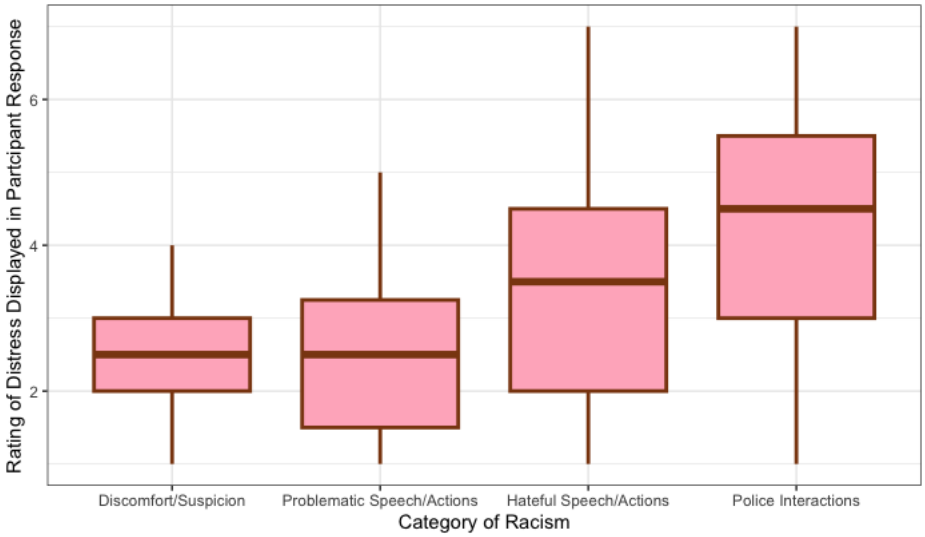
Reporting the Incident Ratings by Category of Racism



Distress. The repeated measures ANOVA for distress indicated an overall significant difference between the categories, $F_{(3, 131)} = 31.51$, $p < .001$, $\eta_{p2} = .20$. A Dunn post-hoc test was then conducted, which reported that all pairwise comparisons between the categories were statistically significant at $p < .05$ except for the comparison between the *discomfort/suspicion* and *problematic speech/actions* categories.

Figure 16

Distress Ratings by Category of Racism



Discussion

In Study 1, we designed a Qualtrics survey to investigate how Black adults respond to examples from different categories of anti-Black racism. Data analysis exhibited support for the notion of there being different forms of anti-Black racism, indicating that potential victims of racism do appraise these situations differently (Clark et al., 1999). Additionally, through qualitative data analysis, we identified several additional reactions that Black Americans may have when experiencing anti-Black racism, which we wanted to investigate more in-depth in Study 2.

Study 1 results revealed that all categories had medium to high average severity ratings, indicating that potential victims of racism take these situations seriously regardless of the category of racism in question. When evaluating the severity of the scenarios, on average participants rated those scenarios from the *hateful speech/actions* category as the most severe

followed by the *police interactions* category. The physical danger ratings followed a very similar pattern to that of the severity ratings, except the *police interactions* category was the highest rated followed closely by the *hateful speech/actions* category. Due to the complexity of racism, it is difficult to fully comprehend the effects and reactions to racism without considering the various dimensions on which victims appraise these situations. Hence, moving forward we propose the 4-category model as an initial model of anti-Black racism and its physiological and psychological effects.

The ambiguity ratings provided intriguing results as the rankings were very different from those of the other rating variables. The *problematic speech/actions* category had the highest average ambiguity rating, followed by the *discomfort/suspicion* category, then the *police interactions* category, and finally the *hateful speech/actions* cluster. Moreover, it was interesting that none of the categories other than the *hateful speech/actions* were found to be significantly different from each other in terms of ambiguity. These results indicate the variability that exists within experiencing a racist event, and the numerous questions that could be going through the victim's head during such events: Was the perpetrator intentionally racist? How should I respond to this situation, defend myself or flee? Will I be perceived as the aggressor if I retaliate? What did I do wrong? Is my life in danger? Victims are forced to make split second decisions on how to respond to racist situations that they experience, which likely contributes to the physiological and psychological reactions that manifest. As we continue our investigation into anti-Black racism, we hope to learn more definitively what aspects of racist experiences cause participants to view some experiences as more ambiguous than others.

The American Psychological Association (APA) reported in 2015 that 88% of the health psychology workforce was White, and 12% were racial/ethnic minorities. In comparison to the

U.S. population at the time which was 69% White and 38% racial/ethnic minorities. As evidenced, racial/ethnic minorities are severely underrepresented in the health psychology workforce, and specifically Black Americans only made up 4% of the entire psychologists U.S. workforce at the time (American Psychological Association, 2018). Considering the lack of Black representation in the psychology workforce, we wanted to understand if perceptions of anti-Black racism differed by race/ethnicity, to eventually consider how this could affect the day-to-day lives of Black Americans. Therefore, for Study 2, we recruited participants from White/European American, Hispanic/Latino, and Asian backgrounds, in addition to a new sample of Black American participants, to analyze the potential similarities and differences in potential anti-Black racism by race.

The current analysis only uses the results from only one blind coder – who was blind to the individual scenarios as well the category of racism that they belonged to – which still limits our ability to make strong conclusions in some ways. The present open-ended analysis was still used to inform about dependent variables in Study 2. Future work will analyze results from more blind coders to determine if variables not included in Study 2 should be reexamined.

For Study 2, we continued our investigation into anti-Black racism by designing a Qualtrics survey where participants were again asked to rate 8 scenarios – 2 from each category of racism – on several dimensions. In addition, to severity, ambiguity, and physical danger, participants were also asked to rate each scenario on the four variables derived from qualitative results, and also to rate each scenario on its degree of racism. For degree of racism ratings, we wanted to understand if certain categories of anti-Black racism were seen as more symbolic of racism compared to others, and whether such perceptions might vary by perceiver race/ethnicity. Finally, participants were asked to complete the Everyday Discrimination Scale (EDS) to

understand how participants' own experiences with racism may affect their perceptions of anti-Black racism. The EDS was developed as subjective measure of self-reported frequency of subtle discriminatory experiences (Williams et al., 1997). For the current study, we predicted participants that experience discrimination more frequently, as evidenced by the EDS, may have stronger reactions to reading anti-Black scenarios leading to more extreme ratings.

Moreover, for Study 2 we hypothesized that Black participants ratings for severity, ambiguity, and physical danger ratings would replicate those results from Study 1. Additionally, we hypothesized that Black participants ratings for the dependent variables derived from open-ended coding (fear, anger, surprise, avoidance, distress, retaliation) would replicate those results for Black participants from Study 1. Finally, we hypothesized that marginalized participants and/or those participants who shared more similar stereotypes would have results that would be more similar to Black participants compared to non-marginalized participants and/or those who don't share similar stereotypes.

Study 2

Method

Design

Study 2 used a mixed-model design with participant race as a between-groups variable and category of racism as a within-groups variable (all participants were asked to evaluate scenarios across all 4 categories of racism). Once again, we designed and administered the study using Qualtrics software. After consenting, participants were given instructions on how they should evaluate the scenarios presented in the survey and asked to provide their race/ethnicity, gender, age, and Prolific ID. Participants in Study 2 were asked to rate the same 8 scenarios that

participants were shown in Study 1. As in Study 1, they rated severity, ambiguity, and physical danger on a scale from 1 (Not at all) – 7 (Extremely); they were also asked to rate 7 more variables, as detailed below. Finally, participants were also asked to complete the Everyday Discrimination Scale (EDS) regarding their own racial/ethnic identity (Williams et al., 1997). This scale asked participants 9 questions about their everyday life, and they were asked to respond on a scale from 1 (Never) – 6 (Almost every day).

The final survey was composed of 8 scenarios — 2 from each of the previously mentioned 4 categories of racism and the EDS. Participants first read through each of the scenarios and provided their ratings for each dependent variable. After completing ratings for each scenario, participants were then asked to complete the EDS. After rating all scenarios and completing the EDS, participants were thanked for their participation in the study, and then provided with a completion code that they would need to enter into Prolific to get paid.

Participants

All participants for the current study were recruited using Prolific software and paid $7.50 upon completion of the study; participants took on average 18 minutes to complete the study. We recruited participants who identified as either Black, White, Hispanic/Latino, or Asian. We recruited 50 participants from each of these demographic groups, for a total of 200 participants. We made use of Prolific's participant filters to ensure we recruited even amounts of people from each racial/ethnic group. Additionally, we wanted to make sure that those participants who identified as Asian were representative of the Asian diaspora. Therefore, we also used Prolific's participants filters to ensure that the Asian racial/ethnic group was as evenly composed as possible of East Asians, South Asians, Southeast Asians. Participants were excluded from final analysis if they selected a race/ethnicity in the Qualtrics that was not a group we were

currently recruiting for, or they failed to enter the completion code and lacked sufficient evidence that they had completed the study. Additionally, we had a number of participants (n = 13) who identified as multiracial and/or selected multiple different races/ethnicities while completing the Qualtrics form. As it is not currently possible for us to identify which race/ethnicity a person may identify with more, or if they even distinguish between their racial/ethnic identities in this manner, we made decision to remove those participants from the final analyses. This decision is in no way meant to say that multiracial/multi-ethnics people's perception of anti-Blackness is not important. Rather, as the identities of these people are more complex, their perceptions of anti-Blackness may also be more complex and require further investigation before we are able to make strong conclusions about their perceptions. After exclusions, the final data analyses were conducted on 187 participants. These participants' ages ranged between 18-77 years old with a mean age of 35.49 (SD = 11.84). 44.4% (n = 83) of the participants identified as men, 53.5% (n = 100) of the participants identified as women, 1.1% (n = 2) of the participants identified as Non-binary/Third gender, and 1.1% (n = 2) did not indicate their gender identity.

Procedure

During Study 2, participants were again asked to read the same 8 scenarios from Study 1 and rate them on them 10 variables. The scenarios were slightly altered for Study 2, so that rather than imagining themselves in the situation, participants were asked to read the scenario from perspective of someone else who experienced the event. Specifically, participants were asked to read "eight scenarios depicting potential instances of anti-Black racism" and to "identify the degree to which each one is an example of racism, and rate them on several factors." Participants were asked to rate each scenario on a Likert-type scale from 1 (Not at All) – 7 (Extremely) on how much the person in the scenario would experience a variety of reactions. After completing

the ratings for each scenario, participants were also asked to complete the EDS regarding their racial identity (Williams et al., 1997). Finally, after completing the EDS participants were thanked for their participation in the study, and then provided with a completion code that they would need to enter into Prolific to get paid.

Measures: Self-Report

Severity. Participants were asked to rate each scenario on the level severity the victim was experiencing from 1 (None at all) – 7 (Extremely).

Ambiguity. Participants were asked to rate each scenario on the level of ambiguity the victim was experiencing on a scale from 1 (None at all) – 7 (Extremely).

Physical Danger. Participants were asked to rate each scenario on the level of physical danger the victim was experiencing on a scale from 1 (None at all) – 7 (Extremely).

Fear. A reliability test was conducted between Fear and Fear Response to examine similarity between the variables. The reliability between the Fear Response and Fear categories was strong ($\alpha = .83$), therefore the variables were measured as a singular construct "Fear." Participants were asked to rate each scenario on the level of fear the victim was experiencing on a scale from 1 (None at All) – 7 (Extremely).

Anger. Participants were asked to rate each scenario on the level of anger the victim was experiencing on a scale from 1 (None at All) – 7 (Extremely).

Surprise. Participants were asked to rate each scenario on the level of surprise the victim was experiencing on a scale from 1 (None at All) – 7 (Extremely).

Avoidance. Participants were asked to rate each scenario on the level of avoidance the victim as experiencing on a scale from 1 (None at All) – 7 (Extremely).

Distress. Participants were asked to rate each scenario on the level of distress the victim was experiencing on a scale from 1 (None at All) – 7 (Extremely).

Retaliation. Participants were asked to rate each scenario on how retaliatory the victim was feeling on a scale from 1 (None at All) – 7 (Extremely).

Before being entered into the model, all variables were averaged across category of racism, producing an overall average for each dependent variable for each of the 4 categories of racism.

Degree of Racism. Participants were asked to rate each scenario on how much it represented an act of racism on a scale from 1 (Not at all) – 7 (Extreme).

Everyday Discrimination Scale. The EDS is commonly used measure of discrimination that is well suited to measure frequency of racist experiences. This measure was developed as a subjective measure to capture self-reported frequency of routine, discriminatory experiences in everyday social situations. The EDS contains 9 questions that ask participants how often they experience discriminatory events on a scale from 1 (Never) – 6 (Almost Every day) (e.g. "You are treated with less courtesy than other people are"). Considering the nature of the current study, participants were asked to think specifically about how often they experience these events in regard to their race/ethnicity.

Results

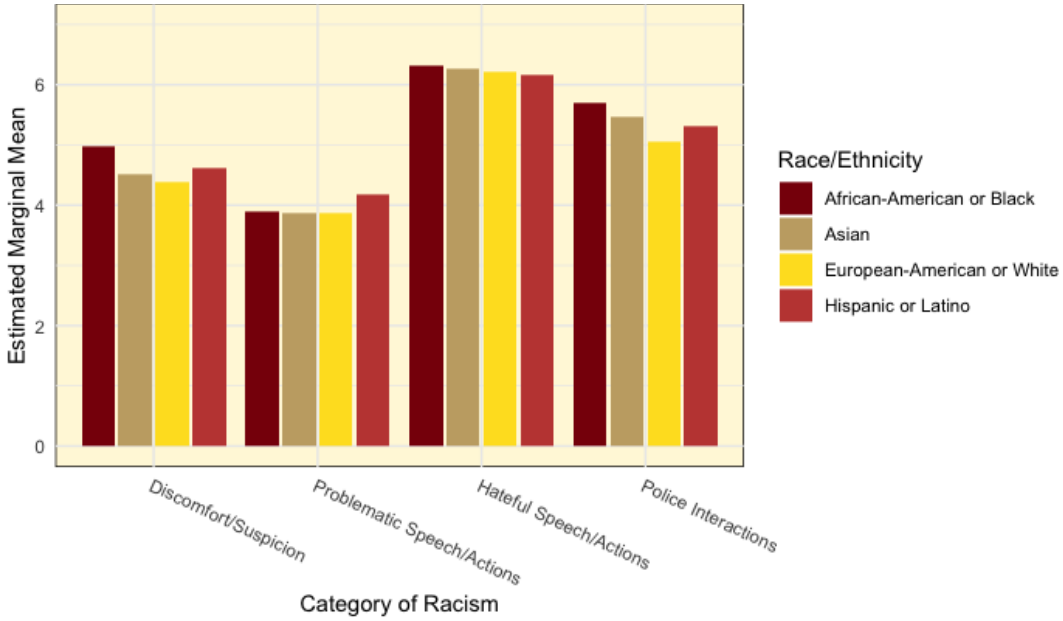
For each dependent variable, participant ratings were averaged across the 2 scenarios for each category of racism, so that for each dependent variable, each participant had a single rating for each of the 4 categories of racism. We then ran a 4x4 mixed-model factorial ANOVA for each dependent variable with category of racism as the within-subjects factor and participant race/ethnicity as the between-subjects factor.

Severity. During analysis of participants' severity ratings, Mauchly's test indicated that the assumption of sphericity was violated, $p < .05$; therefore, degrees of freedom were corrected using Greenhouse-Geiser estimates of sphericity, $\varepsilon = .96$. Analysis of results indicated that there was a significant main effect of category of racism on participants' severity ratings, $F_{(2.89, 527.93)} = 180.45$, $p < .001$, $\eta_{p2} = .50$, which supported our hypothesis and replicated Study 1. Post-hoc analysis indicated that all pairwise comparisons were statistically significant at $p < .001$ (Bonferroni corrected) such that highest severity ratings were given for *hateful speech/actions* ($M = 6.24$), followed by *police interactions* ($M = 5.38$), followed by *discomfort/suspicion* ($M = 4.62$), followed by *problematic speech/actions* ($M = 3.95$).

There was no significant effect of participant race/ethnicity, $F_{(3, 183)} = 1.03$, $p = .38$, $\eta_{p2} = .02$, and no significant interaction between participant race/ethnicity and category of racism, $F_{(8.66, 527.93)} = 1.33$, $p = .22$, $\eta_{p2} = .02$. Although there were no significant differences between severity ratings based on race/ethnicity, graphing of the results exhibited a pattern where Black participants and Hispanic/Latino participants tended to have higher severity ratings compared to their White and Asian counterparts. This pattern was replicated in other variables of interest as well, specifically for the *discomfort/suspicion* and *police interactions* categories.

Figure 17

Estimated Means for Severity by Participant Race and Category of Racism

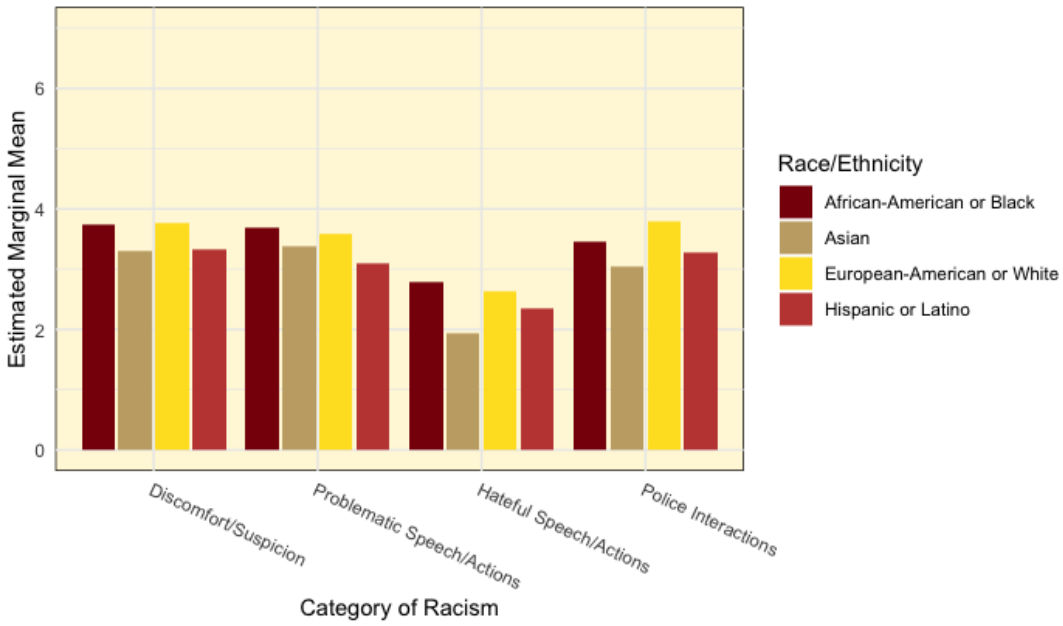


Ambiguity. During analysis of participants' ambiguity ratings, Mauchly's test indicated that the assumption of sphericity was violated, $p < .05$; therefore, degrees of freedom were corrected using Greenhouse-Geiser estimates of sphericity, $\varepsilon = .94$. Analysis of results indicated that there was a significant main effect of category of racism on participants' ambiguity ratings, $F_{(2.82, 515.18)} = 33.90$, $p < .001$, $\eta_{p2} = .16$, which supported our hypothesis and replicated Study 1. Post-hoc analysis indicated that all pairwise comparisons between *hateful speech/actions* and all other categories were statistically significant at $p < .001$ (Bonferroni corrected) such that highest ambiguity ratings were given for *discomfort/suspicion* ($M = 3.54$), *problematic speech/actions* ($M = 3.44$), and *police interactions* ($M = 3.39$), followed by *hateful speech/actions* ($M = 2.43$).

There was no significant effect of participant race/ethnicity, $F_{(3, 183)} = 1.33$, $p = .38$, $\eta_{p2} = .02$, and no significant interaction between participant race/ethnicity and category of racism, $F_{(8.45, 515.18)} = .81$, $p = .60$, $\eta_{p2} = .01$.

Figure 18

Estimated Means for Ambiguity by Participant Race and Category of Racism



Physical Danger. During analysis of participants' physical danger ratings, Mauchly's test indicated that the assumption of sphericity was violated, $p < .05$; therefore, degrees of freedom were corrected using Greenhouse-Geiser estimates of sphericity, $\varepsilon = .79$. Analysis of results indicated that there was a significant main effect of category of racism on participants' physical danger ratings, $F_{(2.37, 433.45)} = 905.18$, $p < .001$, $\eta_{p2} = .83$, which supported our hypothesis and replicated Study 1. Post-hoc analysis indicated that all pairwise comparisons were statistically significant at $p < .001$ (Bonferroni corrected) such that highest physical danger ratings were given for *police interactions* ($M = 6.04$), followed by *hateful speech/actions* ($M = 5.41$),

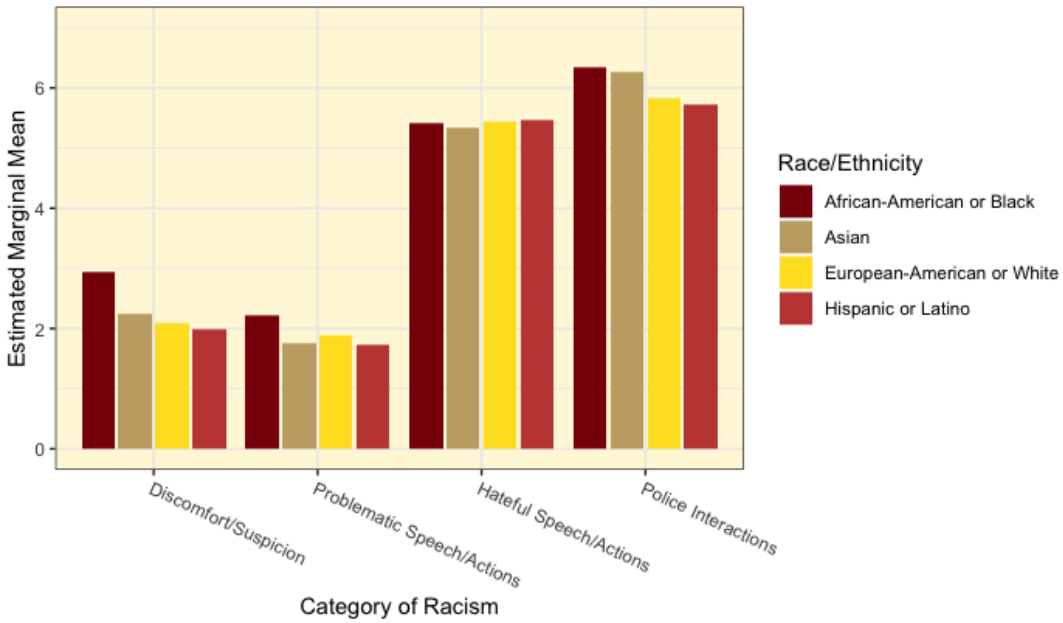
followed by *discomfort/suspicion* ($M = 2.31$), followed by *problematic speech/actions* ($M = 1.90$).

There was also a significant effect of participant race/ethnicity, $F_{(3, 183)} = 3.40$, $p < .05$, $\eta_{p2} = .05$. Post-hoc analysis indicated that the comparison between Black participants and Hispanic/Latino participants were statistically significant at $p < .05$ (Bonferroni corrected) such that highest physical danger ratings were given by Black participants ($M = 4.22$), Asian participants ($M = 3.90$), and White participants ($M = 3.82$), followed by Hispanic/Latino participants ($M = 3.73$).

Finally, there was also a significant interaction between participant race/ethnicity and category of racism, $F_{(7.11, 433.45)} = 2.46$, $p < .05$, $\eta_{p2} = .04$. Post-hoc analysis of simple main effects indicated there were statistically significant between-race differences at $p < .05$ (Bonferroni corrected) between ratings in the *discomfort/suspicion* and *police interactions* categories. For *discomfort/suspicion,* Black participants differed significantly from White participants and Hispanic/Latino participants, such that the highest physical danger ratings were given by Black participants ($M = 2.93$), and Asian participants ($M = 2.25$), followed by White participants ($M = 2.10$), and Hispanic/Latino participants ($M = 1.99$). For *police interactions*, Black participants significantly differed from Hispanic/Latino participants, such that highest physical danger ratings were given by Black participants ($M = 6.33$), Asian participants ($M = 6.26$), and White participants ($M = 5.83$), followed by Hispanic/Latino participants ($M = 5.73$).

Figure 19

Estimated Means for Physical Danger by Participant Race and Category of Racism

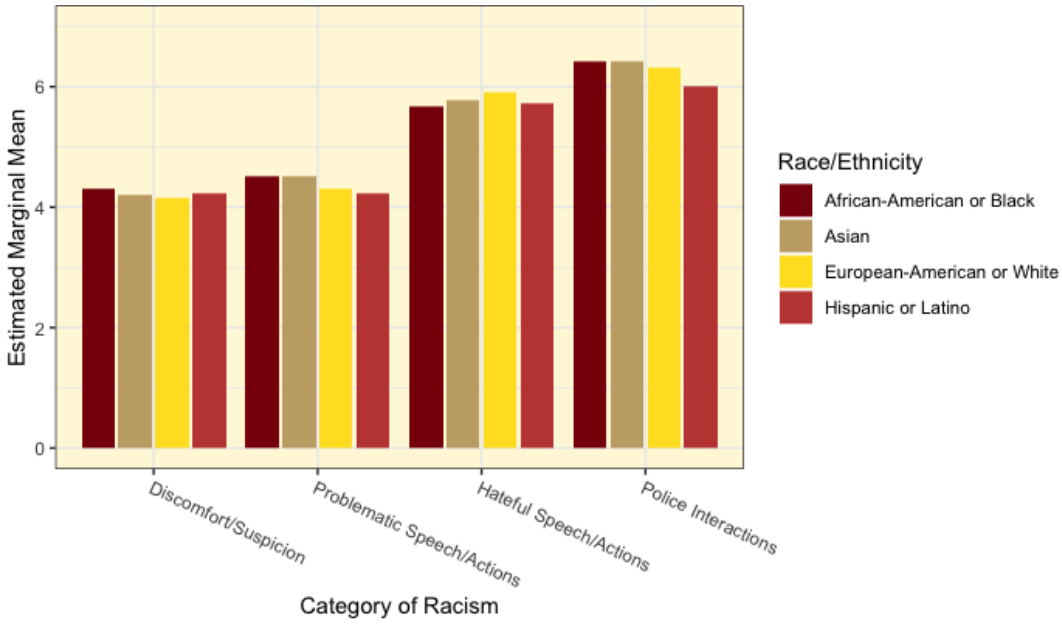


Distress. During analysis of participants' distress ratings, Mauchly's test indicated that the assumption of sphericity was violated, $p < .001$; therefore, degrees of freedom were corrected using Greenhouse-Geiser estimates of sphericity, $\varepsilon = .90$. Analysis of results indicated that there was a significant main effect of category of racism on participants' ambiguity ratings, $F_{(2.70, 477.84)} = 236.06$, $p < .001$, $\eta_{p2} = .57$, which replicated Study 1. Post-hoc analysis indicated that all pairwise comparisons were statistically significant except for the comparison *between discomfort/suspicion and problematic speech/actions* at $p < .001$ (Bonferroni corrected), such that highest distress ratings were given for *police interactions* ($M = 6.30$), followed by *hateful speech /actions* ($M = 5.77$), followed by *problematic speech/actions* ($M = 4.38$) and *discomfort/suspicion* ($M = 4.23$).

There was no significant effect of participant race/ethnicity, $F_{(3, 177)} = .37$, $p = .79$, $\eta_{p2} = .01$, and no significant interaction between participant race/ethnicity and category of racism, $F_{(8.01, 477.84)} = .85$, $p = .56$, $\eta_{p2} = .01$.

Figure 20

Estimated Means for Distress by Participant Race and Category of Racism



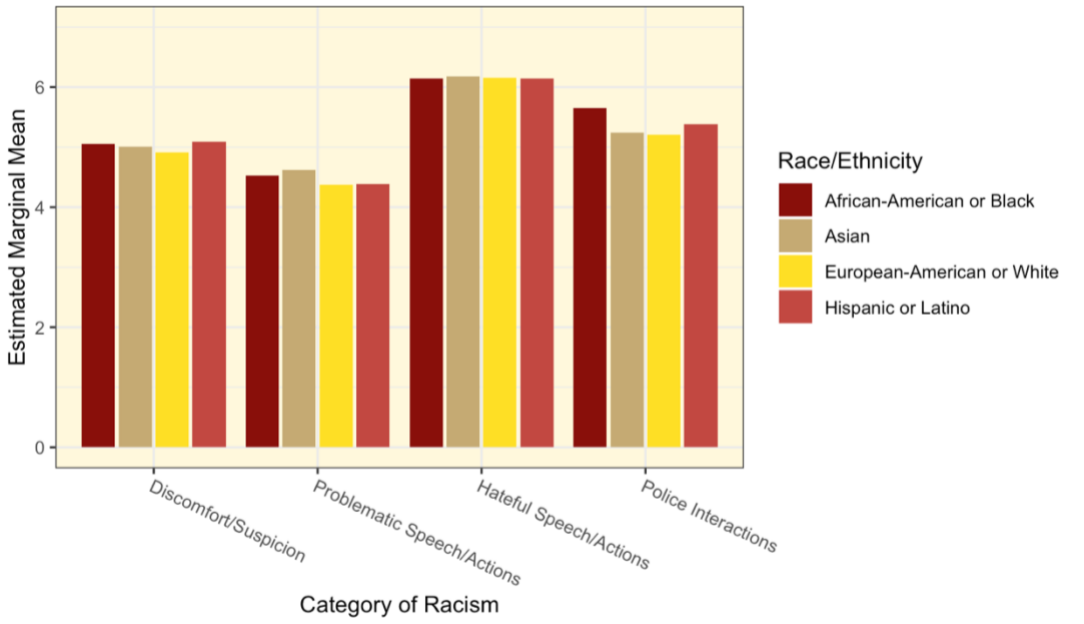
Anger. During analysis of participants' anger ratings, Mauchly's test indicated that the assumption of sphericity was violated, $p < .001$; therefore, degrees of freedom were corrected using Greenhouse-Geiser estimates of sphericity, $\varepsilon = .87$. Analysis of results indicated that there was a significant main effect of category of racism on participants' anger ratings, $F_{(2.62, 453.79)} = 89.04$, $p < .001$, $\eta_{p2} = .34$. Post-hoc analysis indicated that all pairwise comparisons were statistically significant at $p < .05$ (Bonferroni corrected) such that highest anger ratings were given for *hateful speech/actions* ($M = 6.15$), followed by *police interactions* ($M = 5.37$),

followed by *discomfort/suspicion* ($M = 5.01$), followed by *problematic speech/actions* ($M = 4.48$).

There was no significant effect of participant race/ethnicity, $F_{(3, 173)} = .30$, $p = .82$, $\eta_{p2} = .01$, and no significant interaction between participant race/ethnicity and category of racism, $F_{(7.87, 453.79)} = .61$, $p = .77$, $\eta_{p2} = .01$.

Figure 21

Estimated Means for Anger by Participant Race and Category of Racism



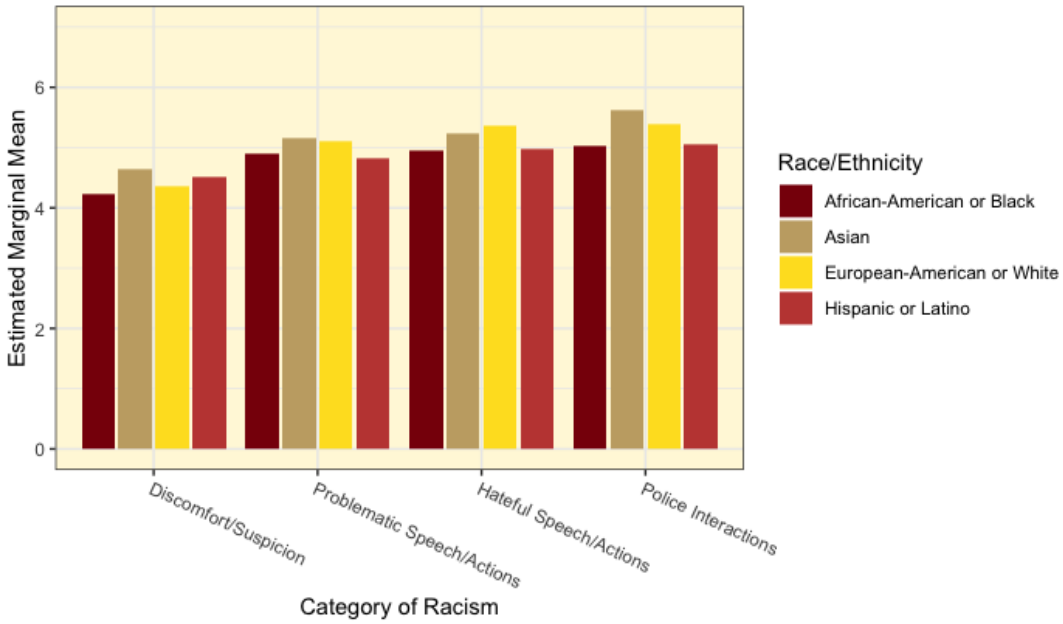
Surprise. During analysis of participants' surprise ratings, Mauchly's test indicated that the assumption of sphericity was violated, $p < .001$; therefore, degrees of freedom were corrected using Greenhouse-Geiser estimates of sphericity, $\varepsilon = .88$. Analysis of results indicated that there was a significant main effect of category of racism on participants' severity ratings, $F_{(2.64, 465.10)} = 21.27$, $p < .001$, $\eta_{p2} = .11$. Further analyses of pairwise comparisons demonstrated that all

comparisons between *discomfort/suspicion* and all other categories were statistically significant at $p < .001$ (Bonferroni corrected), such that highest surprise ratings were given for *police interactions* ($M = 5.28$), *hateful speech/behavior* ($M = 5.13$), and *problematic speech/behavior* ($M = 4.99$), followed by *discomfort/suspicion* ($M = 4.44$).

There was no significant effect of participant race/ethnicity, $F_{(3, 176)} = 1.15$, $p = .33$, $\eta_{p2} = .02$, and no significant interaction between participant race/ethnicity and category of racism, $F_{(7.93, 465.10)} = .67$, $p = .72$, $\eta_{p2} = .01$.

Figure 22

Estimated Means for Surprise by Participant Race and Category of Racism



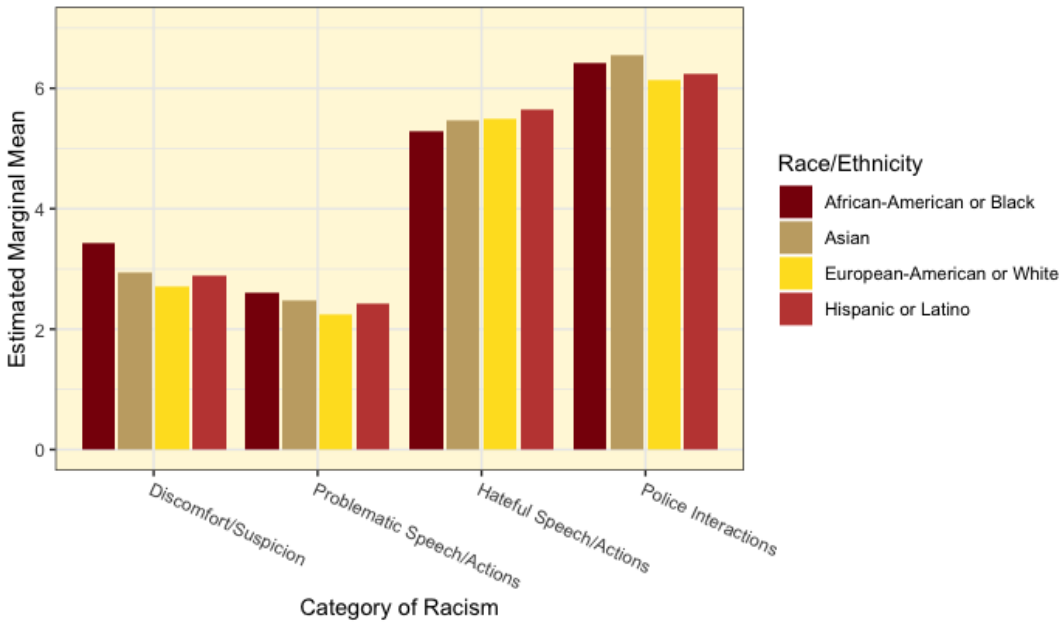
Fear. During analysis of participants' fear ratings, Mauchly's test indicated that the assumption of sphericity was violated, $p < .001$; therefore, degrees of freedom were corrected using Greenhouse-Geiser estimates of sphericity, $\varepsilon = .86$. Analysis of results indicated that there

was a significant main effect of category of racism on participants' severity ratings, $F_{(2.58, 446.69)} = 568.17$, $p < .001$, $\eta_{p2} = .77$. Post-hoc analysis indicated that all pairwise comparisons were statistically significant at $p < .001$ (Bonferroni corrected), such that highest fear ratings were given for *police interactions* ($M = 6.33$), followed by *hateful speech/actions* ($M = 5.48$), followed by *discomfort/suspicion* ($M = 3.00$), followed by *problematic speech/actions* ($M = 2.44$).

There was no significant effect of participant race/ethnicity, $F_{(3, 173)} = 1.10$, $p = .37$, $\eta_{p2} = .02$, and no significant interaction between participant race/ethnicity and category of racism, $F_{(2.58, 446.69)} = 1.64$, $p = .11$, $\eta_{p2} = .03$.

Figure 23

Estimated Means for Fear by Participant Race and Category of Racism



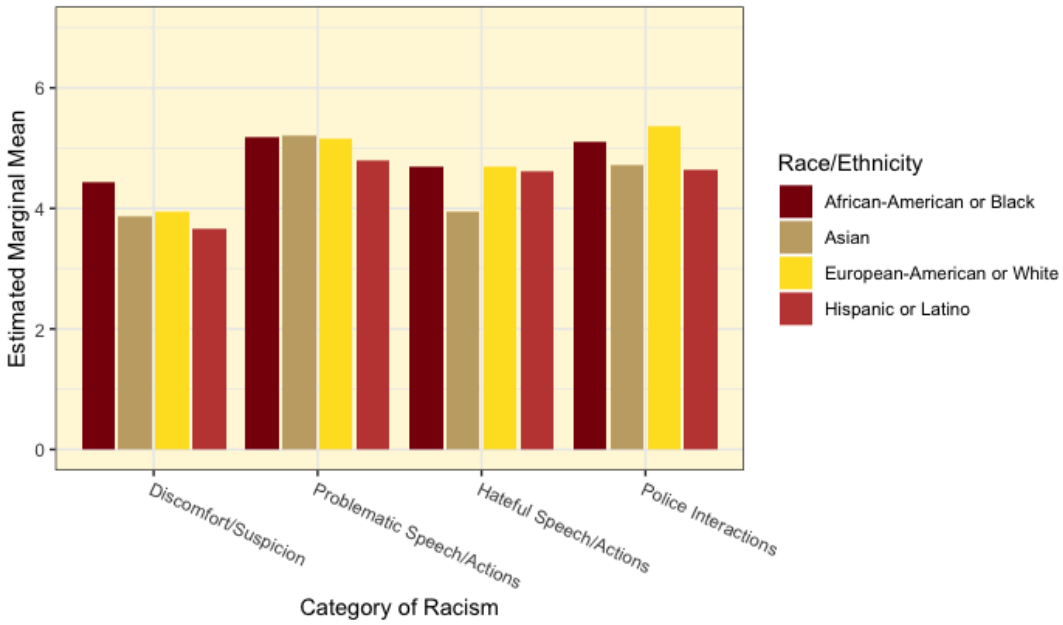
Avoidance. During analysis of participants' avoidance ratings, Mauchly's test indicated that the assumption of sphericity was violated, $p < .05$; therefore, degrees of freedom were

corrected using Greenhouse-Geiser estimates of sphericity, $\varepsilon = .95$. Analysis of results indicated that there was a significant main effect of category of racism on participants' avoidance ratings, $F_{(2.84, 494.36)} = 38.34$, $p < .001$, $\eta_{p2} = .18$. Post-hoc analysis indicated that all pairwise comparisons were statistically significant at $p < .001$ (Bonferroni corrected), except for the comparison between *problematic speech/actions* and *police interactions,* such that highest avoidance ratings were given for *problematic speech/actions* ($M = 5.08$) and *police interactions* ($M = 4.95$) followed by *hateful speech/actions* ($M = 4.49$), followed by *discomfort/suspicion* ($M = 3.98$).

There was no significant effect of participant race/ethnicity, $F_{(3, 174)} = 2.35$, $p = .07$, $\eta_{p2} = .04$. However, there was a significant interaction between participant race/ethnicity and category of racism, $F_{(2.84, 494.36)} = 2.32$, $p < .05$, $\eta_{p2} = .04$. Post-hoc analysis of simple main effects indicated that none of the between-race differences within any of the 4 categories of racism were statistically significant. Although post-hoc analysis did indicate that no between-race differences within the 4 categories of racism were statistically significant, graphing of results indicated that ratings tended to follow a pattern similar to other variables of interest. This pattern indicated that Black and Latino/Hispanic participants tended to have higher ratings on average compared to their White and Asian counterparts, specifically for the *discomfort/suspicion* and *police interactions* categories.

Figure 24

Estimated Means for Avoidance by Participant Race and Category of Racism



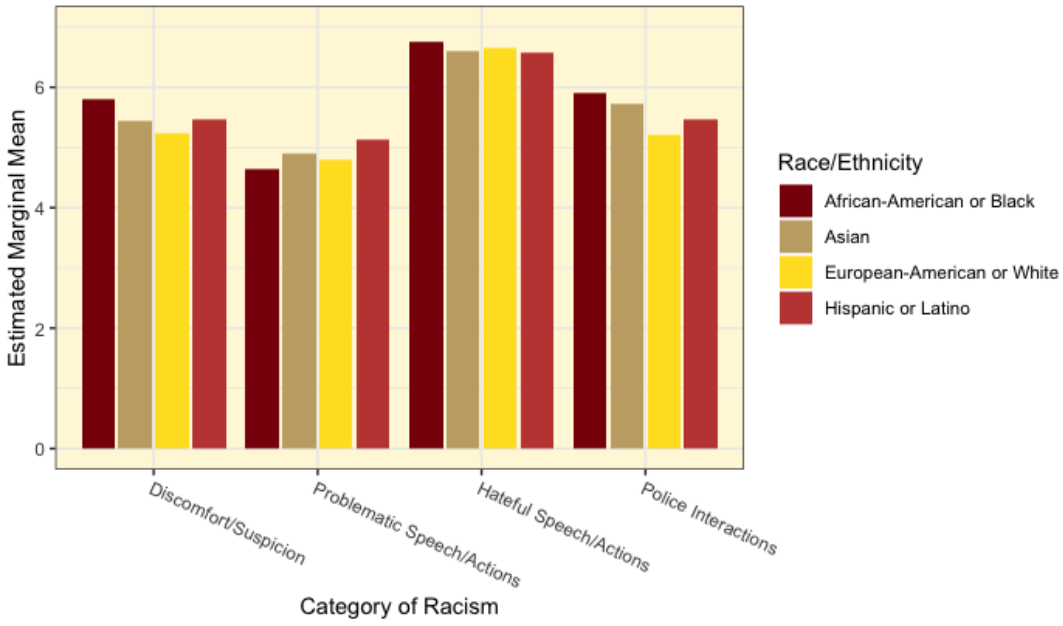
Degree of racism. During analysis participants' degree of racism ratings, Mauchly's test indicated that the assumption of sphericity was violated, $p < .001$; therefore, degrees of freedom were corrected using Greenhouse-Geiser estimates of sphericity, $\varepsilon = .92$. Analysis of results indicated that there was a significant main effect of category of racism on participants' severity ratings, $F_{(2.75, 496.81)} = 109.09$, $p < .001$, $\eta_{p2} = .38$. Further analyses of pairwise comparisons demonstrated that all comparisons were statistically significant at $p < .001$ (Bonferroni corrected), except for the comparison between *discomfort/suspicion* and *police interactions,* such that highest degree of racism ratings were given for *hateful speech/behavior* ($M = 6.65$), followed by *police interactions* ($M = 5.57$) and *discomfort/suspicion* ($M = 5.49$), followed by *problematic speech/behavior* ($M = 4.87$).

There was no significant effect of participant race/ethnicity, $F_{(3, 181)} = .95$, $p = .42$, $\eta_{p2} = .02$. However, there was a significant interaction between participant race/ethnicity and category of racism, $F_{(8.23, 496/81)} = 2.29$, $p < .05$, $\eta_{p2} = .04$. Post-hoc analysis of simple main effects indicated that none of the contrasts between the race/ethnicity groups significantly differed for any of the 4 categories of racism.

Although there were no significant differences between degree of racism ratings based on race/ethnicity, graphing of the results exhibited a pattern where Black participants and Hispanic/Latino participants tended to have higher degree of racism ratings compared to their White and Asian counterparts, especially in the *discomfort/suspicion* and *police interactions* categories. Moreover, this was pattern was replicated in results of the avoidance and severity ratings, which reported significant overall between-race differences by category of racism although post-hoc analysis revealed no pairwise comparisons were significant for either variable.

Figure 26

Estimated Means for Degree of Racism by Participant Race and Category of Racism



The current analysis only investigates EDS scores in an exploratory manner. Below I present several correlation tables demonstrating the relationship between each dependent variable and EDS score by participant race/ethnicity and category of racism. Overall, it appears that Black participants' ratings of racism tended to have the highest correlations with EDS scores. In the future, we hope to investigate the relationship between each dependent variable and EDS score more systematically (and interactively) using regression analyses.

Table 1

Correlation Table for Black Participants Discomfort/Suspicion Ratings with EDS

	Variable	r
1.	Severity	.58***
2.	Ambiguity	.26
3.	Physical Danger	.30*
4.	Distress	.39**
5.	Anger	.26
6.	Surprise	.35**
7.	Fear	.41**
8.	Avoidance	.14
9.	Degree of Racism	-.03

*. Correlation is significant at the .05 level.

**. Correlation is significant at the .01 level.

***. Correlation is significant at 001. level.

Table 2

Correlation Table for Asian Participants Discomfort/Suspicion Ratings with EDS

	Variable	r
1.	Severity	.08
2.	Ambiguity	-.16
3.	Physical Danger	.32*
4.	Distress	-.08
5.	Anger	.00
6.	Surprise	.03
7.	Fear	.25
8.	Avoidance	.03
9.	Degree of Racism	.02

*. Correlation is significant at the .05 level.

**. Correlation is significant at the .01 level.

***. Correlation is significant at 001. level.

Table 3

Correlation Table for White Participants Discomfort/Suspicion Ratings with EDS

	Variable	r
1.	Severity	.09
2.	Ambiguity	.21
3.	Physical Danger	.51***
4.	Distress	.13
5.	Anger	.03
6.	Surprise	.19
7.	Fear	.27*
8.	Avoidance	.15
9.	Degree of Racism	-.09

*. Correlation is significant at the .05 level.

**. Correlation is significant at the .01 level.

***. Correlation is significant at 001. level.

Table 4

Correlation Table for Hispanic/Latino Participants Discomfort/Suspicion Ratings with EDS

	Variable	r
1.	Severity	.23
2.	Ambiguity	.14
3.	Physical Danger	.19
4.	Distress	.36*
5.	Anger	.20
6.	Surprise	.03
7.	Fear	.27
8.	Avoidance	.20
9.	Degree of Racism	.07

*. Correlation is significant at the .05 level.

**. Correlation is significant at the .01 level.

***. Correlation is significant at 001. level.

Table 5

Correlation Table for Black Participants Problematic Speech/Actions Ratings with EDS

	Variable	r
1.	Severity	.09
2.	Ambiguity	.14
3.	Physical Danger	.17
4.	Distress	.06
5.	Anger	.00
6.	Surprise	-.12
7.	Fear	.20
8.	Avoidance	-.11
9.	Degree of Racism	.00

*. Correlation is significant at the .05 level.

**. Correlation is significant at the .01 level.

***. Correlation is significant at 001. level.

Table 6

Correlation Table for Asian Participants Problematic Speech/Actions Ratings with EDS

	Variable	r
1.	Severity	.07
2.	Ambiguity	-.09
3.	Physical Danger	.23
4.	Distress	-.18
5.	Anger	-.01
6.	Surprise	-.10
7.	Fear	.22
8.	Avoidance	-.10
9.	Degree of Racism	.01

*. Correlation is significant at the .05 level.

**. Correlation is significant at the .01 level.

***. Correlation is significant at 001. level.

Table 7

Correlation Table for White Participants Problematic Speech/Actions Ratings with EDS

	Variable	r
1.	Severity	.10
2.	Ambiguity	.04
3.	Physical Danger	.45***
4.	Distress	-.02
5.	Anger	.03
6.	Surprise	-.13
7.	Fear	.23
8.	Avoidance	-.06
9.	Degree of Racism	.05

*. Correlation is significant at the .05 level.

**. Correlation is significant at the .01 level.

***. Correlation is significant at 001. level.

Table 8

Correlation Table for Hispanic/Latino Participants Problematic Speech/Actions Ratings with EDS

	Variable	r
1.	Severity	.49***
2.	Ambiguity	.05
3.	Physical Danger	.15
4.	Distress	.43**
5.	Anger	.23
6.	Surprise	.10
7.	Fear	.20
8.	Avoidance	.37*
9.	Degree of Racism	.13

*. Correlation is significant at the .05 level.

**. Correlation is significant at the .01 level.

***. Correlation is significant at 001. level.

Table 9

Correlation Table for Black Participants Hateful Speech/Actions Ratings with EDS

	Variable	r
1.	Severity	-.13
2.	Ambiguity	.28*
3.	Physical Danger	.39**
4.	Distress	.25
5.	Anger	.14
6.	Surprise	.35**
7.	Fear	.48***
8.	Avoidance	.34**
9.	Degree of Racism	-.10

*. Correlation is significant at the .05 level.

**. Correlation is significant at the .01 level.

***. Correlation is significant at 001. level.

Table 10

Correlation Table for Asian Participants Hateful Speech/Actions Ratings with EDS

	Variable	r
1.	Severity	.14
2.	Ambiguity	.13
3.	Physical Danger	.15
4.	Distress	-.05
5.	Anger	-.22
6.	Surprise	-.07
7.	Fear	.11
8.	Avoidance	-.04
9.	Degree of Racism	-.17

*. Correlation is significant at the .05 level.

**. Correlation is significant at the .01 level.

***. Correlation is significant at 001. level.

Table 11

Correlation Table for White Participants Hateful Speech/Actions Ratings with EDS

	Variable	r
1.	Severity	.03
2.	Ambiguity	.23
3.	Physical Danger	.20
4.	Distress	-.14
5.	Anger	-.15
6.	Surprise	.27
7.	Fear	.06
8.	Avoidance	.16
9.	Degree of Racism	-.08

*. Correlation is significant at the .05 level.

**. Correlation is significant at the .01 level.

***. Correlation is significant at 001. level.

Table 12

Correlation Table for Hispanic/Latino Participants Hateful Speech/Actions Ratings with EDS

	Variable	r
1.	Severity	.26
2.	Ambiguity	.15
3.	Physical Danger	.20
4.	Distress	.20
5.	Anger	.04
6.	Surprise	.01
7.	Fear	.23
8.	Avoidance	16
9.	Degree of Racism	.12

*. Correlation is significant at the .05 level.

**. Correlation is significant at the .01 level.

***. Correlation is significant at 001. level.

Table 13

Correlation Table for Black Participants Police Interactions Ratings with EDS

	Variable	r
1.	Severity	-.13
2.	Ambiguity	.29*
3.	Physical Danger	.39**
4.	Distress	.25
5.	Anger	.14
6.	Surprise	.35**
7.	Fear	.48***
8.	Avoidance	.34**
9.	Degree of Racism	-.10

*. Correlation is significant at the .05 level.

**. Correlation is significant at the .01 level.

***. Correlation is significant at 001. level.

Table 14

Correlation Table for Asian Participants Police Interactions Ratings with EDS

	Variable	r
1.	Severity	.14
2.	Ambiguity	.13
3.	Physical Danger	.15
4.	Distress	-.05
5.	Anger	-.22
6.	Surprise	-.07
7.	Fear	.12
8.	Avoidance	-.04
9.	Degree of Racism	-.17

*. Correlation is significant at the .05 level.

**. Correlation is significant at the .01 level.

***. Correlation is significant at 001. level.

Table 15

Correlation Table for White Participants Police Interactions Ratings with EDS

	Variable	r
1.	Severity	.03
2.	Ambiguity	.23
3.	Physical Danger	.20
4.	Distress	-.14
5.	Anger	-.15
6.	Surprise	.27*
7.	Fear	.07
8.	Avoidance	.16
9.	Degree of Racism	-.08

*. Correlation is significant at the .05 level.

**. Correlation is significant at the .01 level.

***. Correlation is significant at 001. level.

Table 16

Correlation Table for Hispanic/Latino Participants Police Interactions Ratings with EDS

	Variable	r
1.	Severity	.26
2.	Ambiguity	.15
3.	Physical Danger	.20
4.	Distress	.20
5.	Anger	.04
6.	Surprise	.01
7.	Fear	.23
8.	Avoidance	.16
9.	Degree of Racism	.12

*. Correlation is significant at the .05 level.

**. Correlation is significant at the .01 level.

***. Correlation is significant at 001. level.

Discussion

The results from Study 2 replicated those from Study 1 for the ambiguity, severity and physical danger variables indicating significant differences between the different categories of racism to varying degrees. Moreover, analysis of physical danger ratings exhibited an overall significant difference between participant ratings by race, as well as significant between-race ratings by category of racism. Additionally, for the new dependent variables, we found that participants perceived significant differences between categories of racism for all variables. Going further, for 2 of these variables, avoidance and degree of racism, our mixed-model factorial ANOVA reported significant interactions between participant race and category of racism. However, post-hoc analysis revealed that none of the pairwise simple-effects between-race differences significantly differed by category of racism for either variable. While we did not find many between-race differences by category of racism for ratings of dependent variables,

these results still give us much to consider regarding perceiving different forms of anti-Black racism.

Although only 3 of our dependent variables demonstrated any form of significant between-race differences by category of racism, there was interesting pattern that arose. Specifically, for severity, anger, fear, and the degree of racism variables, Black and Latino/Hispanic participants tended to have higher ratings for the *discomfort/suspicion* and *police interactions* categories compared to their White and Asian counterparts. Going further, White participants seemed to fairly consistently have the lowest ratings across most dependent variables, except for ambiguity (where ratings are near that of Black participants) and surprise.

General Discussion

Overall, we found that participants seemed to distinguish between categories of anti-Black racism on numerous variables to differing degrees. Additionally, we found some evidence that participants may also perceive different categories of racism differently based on their race/ethnicity.

The current set of studies aimed to understand how, if at all, Black people differentiated between different forms of anti-Black racism, and how these perceptions diverged or were similar to participants from other racial/ethnic differences. We found that participants differentiated between categories of racism on all dependent variables to varying degrees. However, most variables did not show any significant between-race differences in ratings of categories of racism for the dependent variables. The current study was limited in some of its interpretive power between racial/ethnic groups as sample sizes were somewhat small when broken down by race/ethnicity. Therefore, future work should seek to replicate these results with

a larger sample of participants. Moreover, while results suggest that participants perceive racist scenarios from different categories of anti-Black racism fairly similarly for most dependent variables, we should start to consider the motivations behind these ratings. The current set of studies gave participants an unlimited amount of time to complete all ratings which opens the possibility that participants were subject to some desirability bias as they potentially sat and thought about their ratings, rather than making the snap judgments that are sometimes required when experiencing racism. Therefore, future studies should also consider limiting the amount of time participants are given to complete ratings.

While some may examine these results and conclude that overwhelmingly people of all identities tend to perceive anti-Black racism the same way, we must first stop and consider the motivations for participants' ratings and how these motivations may differ by participant race/ethnicity. While the current study is limited in the ability to understand the motivations behind participant ratings, future work should begin to consider how perceptions of different categories of anti-Black racism may differ for those who are frequently the victims of anti-Black racism compared to those who will likely not have anti-Black racism aimed directly toward them. The ability to fully comprehend racism allows for easier transitions from theoretical models to real-life applications. For instance, it is possible that Black participants rated the scenarios from the *police interactions* category as the most physically dangerous due to the prevalence of stories in the media about the increased frequency at which Black Americans face police brutality (Haile et al., 2023; Pamplin et al., 2023; Hawkins, 2022). However, another possibility could be that police officers carry weapons which, again, in combination with recent reports of police brutality could cause participants to believe they are in physical danger. Analysis of results from Study 2 showed evidence that Black participants significantly differed

from White and Latino/Hispanic participants on how physically dangerous they rated scenarios from the *discomfort/suspicion* category. Moreover, we also saw Black and Latino/Hispanic participants differed on how physically dangerous scenarios from the *police interactions* category. Considering this, it is important that we start to understand the motivations for the differences in perceptions in an effort to support Black Americans who are confronted with anti-Black racism.

Frequent racist encounters can weigh heavily on one's mind and as we continue to investigate anti-Black racism, we should also be considering how Black Americans are coping with these experiences. Consider the Jacobs et al. (2023) article which reports on the literature currently available in field investigating how Black people cope with anti-Black racism. Jacobs et al., (2023) reported that for Black American women, John Henryism – the belief that one may cope with social discrimination through expending increased effort – had some protective factors from racism but was detrimental in the long run. Additionally, the authors reported that avoiding acknowledging racial stressors was associated with higher self-deprecation, lower self-esteem, and lower life satisfaction (Jacobs et al., 2023). As evidenced, not only are Black people frequently facing anti-Black events, but they also may not have the appropriate tools to cope with these experiences either (Clark et al., 1999). Considering this we must think about why Black people don't have the tools to cope with racism, and the role that systemic racism may have as well.

In their article, Jacobs et al. (2023) also reported on healthy ways that Black Americans have coped with anti-Black racism, one of the primary methods being relying on community support. While the use of community support should be encouraged to cope with racist encounters, it also should not be the only tool. Evidence has shown that racial/ethnic minorities,

including Black Americans, are severely underrepresented in the health psychology field, meaning while Black Americans may be unfortunately familiar with racist experiences, they often don't have the professional training to cope with these stressors. Considering this, it is time to start thinking about how we are training all healthcare psychology workers to work with people who may be frequent victims of racism. Specifically, healthcare workers should be trained to consider how severe these experiences are to victims, the frequency with which these experiences could occur, and the resulting effects on one's mental health. Moreover, while the current study did not report any between-race differences for the non-Black participants, future work should begin to consider other forms of race/ethnic specific racism and perceptions of these events by members not belonging to those groups.

Finally, through the current set of studies we aimed to increased understanding of how Black Americans perceived anti-Black scenarios from different categories of racism, as well as how participants from different racial/ethnic backgrounds perceived these events. However, we did not examine what actions one may take to assist the victim of anti-Black racism. Future work should continue to investigate how perceptions of different categories of racism are diverging and/or similar based on participant race/ethnicity, as well as how participants actions may differ even if ratings are similar.

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Appendix A

Police Interactions Scenarios

Scenario A1

It’s late. You’re out on your bike and see two girls you know. They are drunk and loud. You see flashing blue lights reflected in a window. You see the police car. You bike away with jittery legs. The police car makes a U-turn to approach you. The officer is hostile even though you haven't done anything wrong. Through their window, they bark questions and interrogate you.

Scenario A2

You’re driving your Ford Escape. You see a white driver in a black Mustang. You joke around with him through your window at a stop sign. He turns on his lights and sirens. Turns out, he's an undercover detective. He pulls his gun and tells you to get out of your vehicle. He makes you lie on the ground.

Appendix B

Discomfort/Suspicion Scenarios

Scenario B1

After early dismissal, you and your friends head to Target. In every aisle, employees in red Target shirts are watching you to make sure you aren't shoplifting. First, it's a middle-aged Hispanic guy. In the electronics section, it's a younger white guy. You aren't doing anything wrong, so you and your friends ask each other, "Why do they keep staring at us?" The attention is all on your group of 6-7 Black kids.

Scenario B2

Your project group for your Product Process Design course is visiting a local craft brewery to do research. The older white man who is showing you around is clearly uncomfortable talking to you. They answers questions from your other group members, especially the two white women. But he won't face you straight up or give you any recognition. You're just observing his mannerisms.

Appendix C

Problematic Speech/Action Scenarios

Scenario C1

You're in grade school, you and a friend are standing in your favorite teacher's classroom. Randomly, your friend tells you that they would never date a Black person. Your teacher gasps, stops arranging chairs, and looks shocked, but she doesn't intervene. You respond to your friend, but they don't think what they said was a big deal. You're alone with two white people. You walk out to find your dad.

Scenario C2

It's Halloween and you're in 7th grade. You're walking outside with friends. It's dark and trick or treating is over. You're dressed as Little Red Riding Hood, but it's not a very good costume. One of your friends, a white girl, walks up and says, "Hey, did you realize you act really white?" You tell her that you don't want to have this conversation. You distance yourself from her.

Appendix D

Hateful Speech/Action Scenarios

Scenario D1

You're home from college and organizing a rally for racial justice with your friends. You're walking, holding signs, chanting, and protesting peacefully. Suddenly, 4 pickup trucks approach. They have KKK and Confederate flags attached. The drivers honk their horns, rev their engines, and yell the n-word and other racial slurs at your group. They shout, "Go back where you came from." Your friend says you should keep going, and you do.

Scenario D2

You finish your transaction at Bank of America and walk to your car. It's snowing a little. The parking lot is crowded and you're waiting to turn. You have the right of way, but a red pickup truck speeds by and gets too close to your car. Through your window, you say, "Slow down. You almost hit me." The white guy driving the truck gives you the middle finger and says, "Fuck you, n-word."