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An Exploration of Racially Minoritised People's Experiences of Race-Based Stereotype Threat During Police-Initiated Encounters.

by

Cassandra Afiya Simms-Sawyers

ORCID ID:

https://orcid.org/0009-0001-4570-3370

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Abstract

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Chapter one of this thesis is a systematic review of 16 studies, aiming to investigate if racially minoritised [RM] people's psychological experiences and behavioural responses to police-initiated encounters differ from White people's due to the fear of being judged in line with racialised criminality stereotypes [i.e., race-based stereotype threat; RB-ST]. The findings suggest that RM people experience higher levels of RB-ST during police-initiated encounters, and there was mixed support that this translates to greater self-reported anxiety relative to White people. Evidence that RM people might experience greater physiological arousal and cognitive load or engage in more self-regulatory efforts than White people was limited, and evidence to suggest they demonstrate more suspicious-appearing behaviours than White people was mixed. However, for RM but not White people, anxiety, self-regulatory efforts, and suspicious-appearing behaviour were related to experiences of RB-ST, suggesting potential racial differences underlying experiences of police-initiated encounters. Clinical and theoretical implications are discussed, and directions for future research are outlined.

Chapter two is a qualitative research study using in-depth interviews to explore whether RB-ST, shown to shape Black men's experiences of police-initiated encounters in the United States, applied to Black men living in the United Kingdom. The mechanisms underpinning experiences of police-related RBST were also explored. Eight participant interviews were subjected to reflexive thematic analysis. Interpretation of the data found an awareness of Black criminality stereotypes elicited RB-ST during police-initiated encounters. For most Black men, this led to anxious cognitions, a range of negative affective states, and self-regulatory strategies, which were perceived to mitigate suspicious-appearing behaviours. For fewer Black men, police-related RB-ST was characterised by anxiety-related cognitions leading to increased cognitive load, negative affective states resulting in greater physiological arousal, and self-regulatory efforts, which together were perceived to manifest in suspicious-appearing behaviour. Greater exposure to racism, racial socialisation strategies, and cumulative experiences of police-initiated encounters appeared to reduce the intensity of RB-ST and enhanced perceived coping. Tentative evidence to suggest police-related RB-ST impacts on long-term emotional well-being was also found. The theoretical and clinical practice implications are identified, and future research directions are suggested.

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Research Thesis: Declaration of Authorship

Print name: CASSANDRA SIMMS-SAWYERS

Title of thesis: An Exploration of Racially Minoritised People's Experiences of Race-based Stereotype Threat During Police-Initiated Encounters.

I declare that this thesis and the work presented in it are my own and has been generated by me as the result of my own original research.

I confirm that:

1. This work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
2. Where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
3. Where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
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5. I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
6. Where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;
7. None of this work has been published before submission

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Chapter 1 Exploring the Impact of Race-Based Stereotype Threat on Racially Minoritised People's Experiences of Police-Initiated Encounters: A Systematic Review

1.1 Abstract

Stereotype threat (ST) is the apprehension arising from a perceived risk of being evaluated in line with a negative stereotype applicable to one's identity group. Fears of confirming the negative stereotype can impair performance, resulting in stereotype-congruent behaviour. This review investigates if police encounters induce race-based ST [RB-ST] among racially minoritised [RM] people, manifesting in more suspicious-appearing behaviour relative to White people. A systematic literature search yielded 431 papers; 13 fulfilled the eligibility criteria, within which 16 distinct studies of acceptable methodological quality were identified. Results indicate police encounters elicit more RB-ST for RM people, and it was partially evidenced that they experience greater anxiety compared to White people. Whilst police encounters were found to induce similar psychological and behavioural responses regardless of race, RB-ST was associated with feelings of anxiety, self-regulatory efforts, and suspicious-appearing behaviours for RM but not White people, although this warrants further investigation. Future research should elucidate how RB-ST effects translate to racial differences in responses to police encounters or whether other factors, such as the normalisation of police encounters among RM populations, buffer the impact. The findings could inform police policy and training that mitigates experiences of RB-ST and aid the development of psychological interventions to alleviate the long-term effects of police-related RB-ST on mental well-being.

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1.2 Introduction

Embedded in culture are racial stereotypes depicting Black and Hispanic people as aggressive, violent, dangerous, and prone to criminality (Devine & Elliot, 1995; Eberhardt et al., 2004; Kleider-Offutt et al., 2017). Such stereotypes may explain why the police have disproportionately targeted RM people (Crutchfield et al., 2012; Medina Ariza, 2014; Vera Sanchez & Adams, 2011) and subjected them to more coercive policing strategies (Gau & Brunson, 2015; Mccarthy et al., 2021) and violence (Aymer, 2016; Goff et al., 2014).

RM people are acutely aware of the negative racial stereotypes assigned to their group; 82% of Black people reported the belief that White people perceive them as violent (Sigelman & Tuch, 1997), while 20% reported experiences of being misperceived as criminals by strangers (Cheryan & Monin, 2005). Similarly, qualitative findings highlight that Hispanic people firmly believe they risk being targeted by police due to their race (Menjívar & Bejarano, 2004; Rosenbloom & Way, 2004). Although the literature has given considerable attention to the influence of negative racial stereotypes on policing practices (Spencer et al., 2016), less is known about how the fear of being judged in line with negative racial stereotypes affects the psychological experience and behaviour of RM people during police encounters (Najdowski et al., 2015). This is an essential area for further investigation, given that adverse police contact can have long-term consequences for RM people, including a deterioration in their mental well-being (Del Toro et al., 2019; McLeod et al., 2020).

1.2.1 Stereotype threat

Stereotype threat [ST], a derivate of social identity threat, relates to the apprehension that arises when at risk of being perceived in terms of a negative stereotype that applies to one's identity group and the anxiety experienced due to concerns about confirming the stereotype (Steele & Aronson, 1995; Steele et al., 2002). This review concerns RM people's experiences of race-based ST [RB-ST], that is, the psychological concern experienced when one perceives they are viewed or treated differently due to their race (Kahn, Lee, et al., 2017).

Negative stereotypes need not be endorsed by the targeted group member, nor must there be evidence of biased or differential treatment (Aronson, 2002). Instead, ST is elicited when a societal-level stereotype about one's identity group applies to the situational context (Schmader & Johns, 2003; Steele et al., 2002; Wout et al., 2009) and targets are consciously aware of the possibility and probability of being judged accordingly (Marx & Goff, 2005; Wout et al., 2009). ST is more likely to be triggered in those who identify more strongly with a negatively stereotyped identity group (Goff et al., 2008; Steele et al., 2002) and under stress-inducing conditions with consequential outcomes (Roberson & Kulik, 2007).

ST has been shown to have deleterious effects on performance, inadvertently producing stereotype-congruent behaviours (Pennington et al., 2016; Steele, 2011). Through their seminal work, Steele and Aronson (1995) demonstrated that priming Black students with the stereotype that Black people are low in intelligence led to underperformance on standardised tests relative to their White and unprimed Black peers. Though the majority of ST research has been undertaken in academic settings, meta-analytic studies show that the effects of ST have been widely replicated for different social groups across a variety of domains (Armstrong et al., 2017; Gentile et al., 2018; Schmader & Forbes, 2017; Spencer et al., 2016) including intergroup interactions. Though

studied less extensively, ST research has been shown to adversely affect the targets' nonverbal behaviour, which can provoke negative responses from their interactional partners (Bosson et al., 2004; Goff et al., 2008; Vorauer & Turpie, 2004). This has led to a growing acknowledgement that ST harms interpersonal and intrapersonal experiences (Goff et al., 2008; von Hippel et al., 2011).

Compared to White people, police encounters have the potential to be more stress-inducing and to prompt negative expectations among RM people due to prevalent stereotypes that associate them with criminality and a history of being subjected to racially biased policing (Najdowski, 2012). A recent report found evidence of institutional racism within the largest UK police force, amounting to a long history of over-policing Black people, namely through stop and search practices, which has fostered generational mistrust of the police within the Black community (Casey, 2023). Furthermore, as policing has long been considered a White male profession (Leutz & McLaughlin, 2021; Casey, 2023), police encounters may provide the necessary conditions for RB-ST through the activation of prejudice concerns (Steele et al., 2002; Najdowski, 2012). This may result in RM suspects displaying stereotype-congruent behaviours, provoking negative responses from police officers.

1.2.2 Mechanisms and behavioural consequences of stereotype threat

A systematic review of the literature highlighted that no one mediator of ST has received undisputed empirical support (Pennington et al., 2016). Nonetheless, there is a consensus that ST impairs performance and behaviour via three distinct but interrelated processes: 1) physiological arousal related to anxiety, 2) vigilance to threat-related cues and regulation of thoughts, emotional states, and behaviour, and 3) cognitive load (Major & O'Brien, 2005; Schmader et al., 2008).

1.2.2.1 Arousal and anxiety

ST produces anxiety-related physiological arousal (Schmader et al., 2008). Compared to non-threatened individuals, those under ST experience increased blood pressure (Blascovich et al., 2001; Lehman & Conley, 2010), heart rate (Croizet et al., 2004), skin conductance (Murphy et al., 2007; Osborne, 2007), and cortisol levels (Matheson & Cole, 2004; Townsend et al., 2011).

It has also been shown that anxiety due to ST can manifest through non-verbal behaviour (Gregersen, 2005; Harrigan & O'Connell, 1996). For instance, gay men concerned about stereotypes which associate homosexuality with child molestation engaged in more fidgeting, gaze aversion, and nervous smiling when interacting with preschool children compared to their heterosexual, non-threatened counterparts (Bosson et al., 2004). Similarly, Black participants concerned about their White interaction partners being prejudiced fidgeted more (Shelton, 2003) and made less eye contact (Vorauer & Turpie, 2004). Thus, compared to innocent White suspects, concerns about being perceived as a criminal might elicit greater anxiety and associated arousal, leading innocent RM suspects to exhibit more anxious behaviours during police encounters.

1.2.2.2 Self-regulation

ST causes individuals to discern whether they are being judged or confirming negative stereotypes, which they attempt to disprove through self-regulatory efforts (Richeson & Shelton, 2010; Schmader et al., 2008). This includes heightened vigilance to situational cues signalling potential threats, their physiological and emotional state, and behaviour (Schmader et al., 2008; Steele et al., 2002). Research has shown that women exposed to the stereotype that men were better at mathematics were more cognitively vigilant of the environment in which threat was induced (Murphy et al., 2007) and spent more time worrying about their performance when completing mathematical problems (Beilock et al., 2007). Further, neurological evidence indicates those under ST devote

more attentional resources to situational cues consistent with their concerns, engage in more emotional and behavioural regulatory processes and thus, attend less to tasks at hand (Gehring & Knight, 2000).

With stereotype concerns and performance monitoring at the forefront of attention, it is suggested that those under ST actively attempt to control their demeanour and suppress negative appraisals or anxious thoughts to counter feelings of threat (Cook et al., 2011; Schmader et al., 2008; Smith et al., 1997). Such efforts disrupt the flow of automatic behaviours, resulting in non-verbal behaviours which appear less fluid and authentic (Richeson & Shelton, 2007; Shelton, 2003). For example, Black participants concerned that their White interaction partners were prejudiced reported more negative emotions and contempt for their partner and felt less authentic during the encounter. Nevertheless, compared to non-threatened Black participants, they made more effortful attempts to facilitate positive interaction with their partners (Shelton et al., 2005). Similarly, Erba (2018) found that Hispanic individuals who possessed a strong identification with their ethnic/cultural background were more concerned about being negatively stereotyped by non-Hispanic partners and made a conscious effort to alter their behaviour during interracial interactions.

During police encounters, RM suspects may be more motivated than White suspects to present as innocent due to criminal stereotypes assigned to their group (Najdowski, 2012ab). Subsequently, they might devote more attention to cues from police officers to discern whether they are being negatively stereotyped and engage in more efforts to monitor and control their behaviour to avoid confirming racial stereotypes of criminality (Najdowski, 2012ab). This may result in less attentiveness to a police officer's enquiries, improper responses, and overly controlled behaviours which appear suspicious. In line, Davis & Leo (2012) purport that because self-regulatory processes deplete

cognitive resources, individuals under ST are compromised in the ability to respond effectively during criminal interrogations, making them appear more suspicious.

1.2.2.3 Cognitive load

ST can impair performance on complex cognitive tasks (Hess et al., 2003; Quinn & Spencer, 2001; Steele & Aronson, 1995). It is theorised that the combined effects of physiological arousal and self-regulatory efforts due to ST divide attention, placing more demand on executive resources, resulting in cognitive load (Richeson & Shelton, 2007; Schmader et al., 2008). In line with research demonstrating the harmful effects of arousal on cognitive functioning (Kirschbaum et al., 1996; Zajonc, 1965), anxiety-related arousal due to ST has been shown to reduce working memory efficiency (Barber et al., 2020; Inzlicht & Kang, 2010; Schmader et al., 2008). In addition, self-regulatory efforts, such as assessing situational cues for potential threats, monitoring, and altering one's performance, overload working memory with distracting information (Beilock et al., 2007; Richeson & Shelton, 2003). For instance, White participants who engaged in more self-regulatory efforts while interacting with a Black experimenter underperformed on tasks requiring cognitive resources (Richeson & Shelton, 2003).

Research has also shown that increased cognitive load can manifest in non-verbal and vocal non-verbal behaviours. For instance, those experiencing more significant cognitive load are observed to have difficulties completing tasks, take longer to initiate speech, possess more speech disturbances (Hrubes & Feldman, 2001), avert their gaze more frequently (Doherty-Sneddon & Phelps, 2005), blink less (Leal et al., 2008) and display more facial expressions (Wallbott & Scherer, 1991). Thus, compared to White people, RM people under RB-ST may experience reduced working memory capacity during police encounters; this might hinder their ability to respond effectively to interrogatory enquiries and result in non-verbal and vocal non-verbal behaviours that

make them appear deceptive, provoking negative responses from police officers (Davis & Leo, 2012; Najdowski, 2012ab).

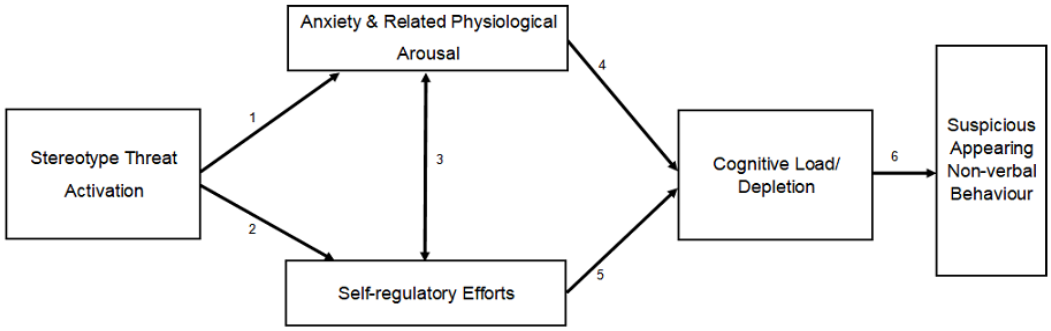
1.2.3 Police encounters and stereotype threat

Police officers are trained to and often rely on non-verbal and vocal non-verbal behavioural cues such as gaze aversion, nervous appearance, tense posturing, and hand, leg, head, or body movements (Mann et al., 2004; Strömwall & Granhag, 2003; Vrij et al., 2006) self-adaptors (i.e., self-touch or fidgeting to ease psychological discomfort), smiling, and speech disturbances (Vrij & Semin, 1996), as indicative of deception and potential danger (Inbau et al., 2001; Kahn, Steele, et al., 2017). This is significant, as innocent RM suspects under RB-ST may exhibit the same non-verbal behaviours police officers construe as deceptive, suspicious, or dangerous; as such, their encounters with police may have deleterious consequences (Kahn, Steele, et al., 2017).

Drawing on deception and ST literature, Najdowski (2012ab) was the first to consider the impact of RB-ST on innocent Black suspects during police encounters. Due to racial stereotypes depicting Black people as criminals (Devine & Elliot, 1995), Najdowski (2012ab) theorised that Black people possess greater concerns about negative judgement and unfair treatment from police officers compared to White people. As such, police encounters might trigger anxiety and physiological arousal, causing innocent Black suspects to engage in more self-regulatory efforts to avoid confirming racial stereotypes of criminality. According to Najdowski (2012ab), the combined effects of arousal and self-regulation could increase cognitive load, impairing their performance and behaviour during police encounters. As the behavioural symptoms of ST share similarities with the non-verbal behaviours police officers perceive are indicative of deception, Najdowski proposed that innocent Black suspects under RB-ST may be erroneously judged as guilty or suspicious (see **Figure 1**). Thus, experiences of RB-ST during police encounters may

manifest in non-verbal behaviours that invertedly lead innocent Black suspects to confirm the very stereotype they are motivated to disprove.

Figure 1 *Najdowski's (2012ab) model of stereotype threat among Black civilians during police encounters*



1.2.4 Critique and limitations

There have been considerable efforts to explore the effects of ST on performance across multiple domains and for various outcomes, including the academic achievement of Black and Hispanic people (Seo & Lee, 2021; Steele & Aronson, 1995), gender and mathematics ability (Spencer et al., 1999), elderly memory retention (Chasteen et al., 2005; Hess & Hinson, 2006), driving skills (Yeung & von Hippel, 2008) and athletic performance (Hively & El-Alayli, 2014) among other studies. Despite these efforts, the exact mechanisms underlying ST remain unclear; it is conceivable that a range of mediating and moderating variables are responsible beyond those discussed above (Pennington et al., 2016). Further, ST literature mainly pertains to RM individuals from the United States and focuses predominantly on negative stereotypes that affect their academic performance (Gaines et al., 2012; Seo & Lee, 2021). As such, this body of work has overlooked experiences of ST among non-US RM individuals and other contexts where ST might have deleterious consequences for RM people, such as criminal justice settings (Najdowski et al., 2015ab).

Additionally, there is a dearth of empirical literature exploring the effect of ST on interracial interactions. Stereotype knowledge often generates expectations about interaction partners (Darley & Gross, 1983). Considering that many stereotypes are inherently harmful, intergroup interactions may trigger negative expectations (Hamilton et al., 1990), providing the necessary conditions for ST, and this is more notable during interracial interactions due to the activation of prejudice concerns (Steele et al., 2002). A separate yet related body of literature on interracial interactions has shown that interracial, as opposed to same-race interactions, trigger negative cognitive, affective, and behavioural responses which impair performance (Toosi et al., 2012), paralleling the downstream effects of ST. Whilst there is some evidence from this work that interracial police-civilian encounters are more likely to suffer from interpersonal challenges (Voigt et al., 2017), little is known about the role ST plays during these encounters.

1.2.5 Purpose of review

Taken together, there is evidence to suggest that RB-ST might impact innocent RM people's experiences of police encounters, the consequences of which can result in racial disparities in policing not accounted for by the intentions of police officers (Davis & Leo, 2012). This may promote a vicious cycle which perpetuates fear and mistrust of police and strengthens beliefs of police racism (Ayres & Borowsky, 2008; Cochran & Warren, 2012; Kahn, Lee, et al., 2017). Despite these implications, as discussed, there is limited understanding of RB-ST within policing contexts. Extending on existing ST and interracial interactions literature, the present review aimed to provide a narrative synthesis of empirical literature exploring RM people's experiences of RB-ST during police encounters. Najdowski's model (2012ab) was used to guide the literature search. Although this theoretical model relates specifically to the experiences of Black people, this review applies it more broadly to RM people to examine if their psychological experiences and behavioural responses to police encounters differ from their White counterparts.

1.2.6 Research Questions

Compared to White people,

- Do RM people experience more RB-ST during police encounters?
- Do police encounters elicit greater anxiety, physiological arousal, self-regulatory efforts and cognitive load, which together manifest in more suspicious or deceptive appearing non-verbal behaviours for RM people?
- To what extent are racial differences in psychological and behavioural responses to police encounters attributable to RB-ST for RM people?

1.3 Methods

1.3.1 Screening and eligibility criteria

Studies had to meet the following criteria to be eligible for inclusion: a) RM participants were the targets of criminal stereotypes (e.g. Black or Hispanic people); b) police encounters were either real, staged, or hypothetical; c) studies focused specifically on RB-ST; d) participants were aged 18 years and over; e) outcomes were reported across the domains of RB-ST, anxiety, physiological arousal, self-regulatory processes or self-presentational concerns, cognitive function, non-verbal and vocal non-verbal behaviour.

Research examining RM people's experiences of RB-ST in the context of policing is a new area of study. Therefore, to ensure relevant studies were captured, very few limitations were applied to the eligibility criteria, and both published and unpublished literature were considered for inclusion. The sole interest of this review was the concept of RB-ST. Therefore, studies with a primary focus on other forms of ST were excluded. Empirical research was the subject of the review; thus, theoretical papers, literature reviews, and single-case studies were also excluded. Qualitative studies were initially

considered, but the review did not lend itself to a mixed methods approach. Only one potentially eligible qualitative study was identified during the literature search. As such, it was impossible to achieve the principle of data saturation nor present a meaningful synthesis of the data with its inclusion (Hannes & Macaitis, 2012; Gough, 2015).

1.3.2 Search strategy:

The initial search was conducted in November 2021 and repeated in July 2022 to avoid the omission of new relevant literature. Peer-reviewed literature was identified through PsychINFO and MEDLINE electronic databases via EBSCO Host. ProQuest Dissertation and Theses, Web of Science, and Google Scholar were also searched to identify unpublished literature. In line with recommendations for searching grey literature via Google Scholar, the titles and abstracts of the first 300 records were screened for eligibility (Haddaway et al., 2015).

Variations of the keywords and Boolean phrases were combined to identify relevant articles (See **Table 1**). Search terms A, B, and C were intended to capture racially minoritised groups, police encounters, and outcomes relating to RB-ST, respectively. The search strategy was adapted to each database's requirements, including MeSH headings or controlled vocabulary where appropriate. Three independent reviewers screened the search results for relevance against the exclusion criteria using a three-step process: assessing each study's title, followed by the abstract and then undertaking a full-text review. A hand search was completed by reviewing the reference lists of included studies and any studies that had subsequently been cited. The lead author also contacted key researchers in the field to enquire about any ‘in press,’ unpublished, or ongoing studies.

1.3.3 Data extraction:

Data extraction was completed by the first author and organised across three tables to capture study features and key findings. Three reviewers extracted the data independently (**see Appendix A, B and C**). The first author reviewed all included studies, the second reviewed seven, and the third reviewed nine. The extracted data were cross-checked for accuracy, and disagreements were resolved through discussion with a fourth reviewer. There was no response from authors (i.e., Epstein, 2012 & Pagan & Reyna, 2016abc) when contacted to clarify inconsistencies or to source additional or missing data. Therefore, the findings presented were data available to the authors when conducting the review.

A narrative synthesis of the data is presented as substantial heterogeneity across the included studies precluded a meta-analysis (Brown & Richardson, 2017). Namely, participants assigned to RM groups were racially diverse, and there was also diversity in the age and gender of participants. Different measures were used to capture RB-ST. Although most studies used an adapted version of the Explicit Stereotype Threat Scale (Goff et al., 2008), differences in the modifications applied may point to potential differences in the conceptualisation and measurement of RB-ST across the included studies. Also, there was variability in the interventions employed and outcomes investigated, and there was inconsistency across the reported effects.

Table 1 *Search terms for PsychINFO and MEDLINE electronic databases.*

Search Category	Search terms
A	*ethnic* OR rac* OR minorit* OR "people of colo#r" OR Black* OR Hispanic**
B	*police OR policing OR "law enforcement" OR cop OR (police N5 (interaction* or encounter*)) OR (police N10 (investigate* OR interrogate*))*
C	"*stereotyp* threat*" OR "stereotype threat*" (("threat of") N3 stereotyp*) OR "social identity threat*" OR "identity threat*"* and *"non-verbal behavio#r" OR "non-verbal communication" OR "physiological arousal" OR anxi* OR fear OR (self AND(regulat* OR monitor*)) cognit* OR "cognitive load" OR "cognit* deplet*" OR vigilan**

1.3.4 Risk of bias and quality assessment:

The QualSyst tool (Kmet et al., 2004) was chosen to critically evaluate the quality of included studies as it allows for assessng studies with any study design. Further, final quality ratings can be presented numerically through a scoring system that allows for a systematic and reproducible means of evaluating the quality of included studies (Lee et al., 2008). Studies were not excluded based on quality. For this review, a conservative cut-off of 75% was selected to define studies that met adequate quality standards (Kmet et al., 2004). Studies were further classified as strong [quality rating of > 0.80], good [quality rating of .71 to .79], adequate [quality rating of .50 to .70], and limited [quality rating of <.50], in line with Lee et al. (2008).

Two raters independently evaluated the included studies against QualSyst criteria. Two ratings were yielded per paper from a pool of three raters (authors 1, 2, & 3). Interrater agreement was assessed using Cohen's Kappa (1960), this showed moderate agreement between rater one and two (κ = .59 [95% CI, .44 to .73], $p < .001$) and substantial agreement between raters one and three (κ = .73 [95% CI, .61 to .85], p

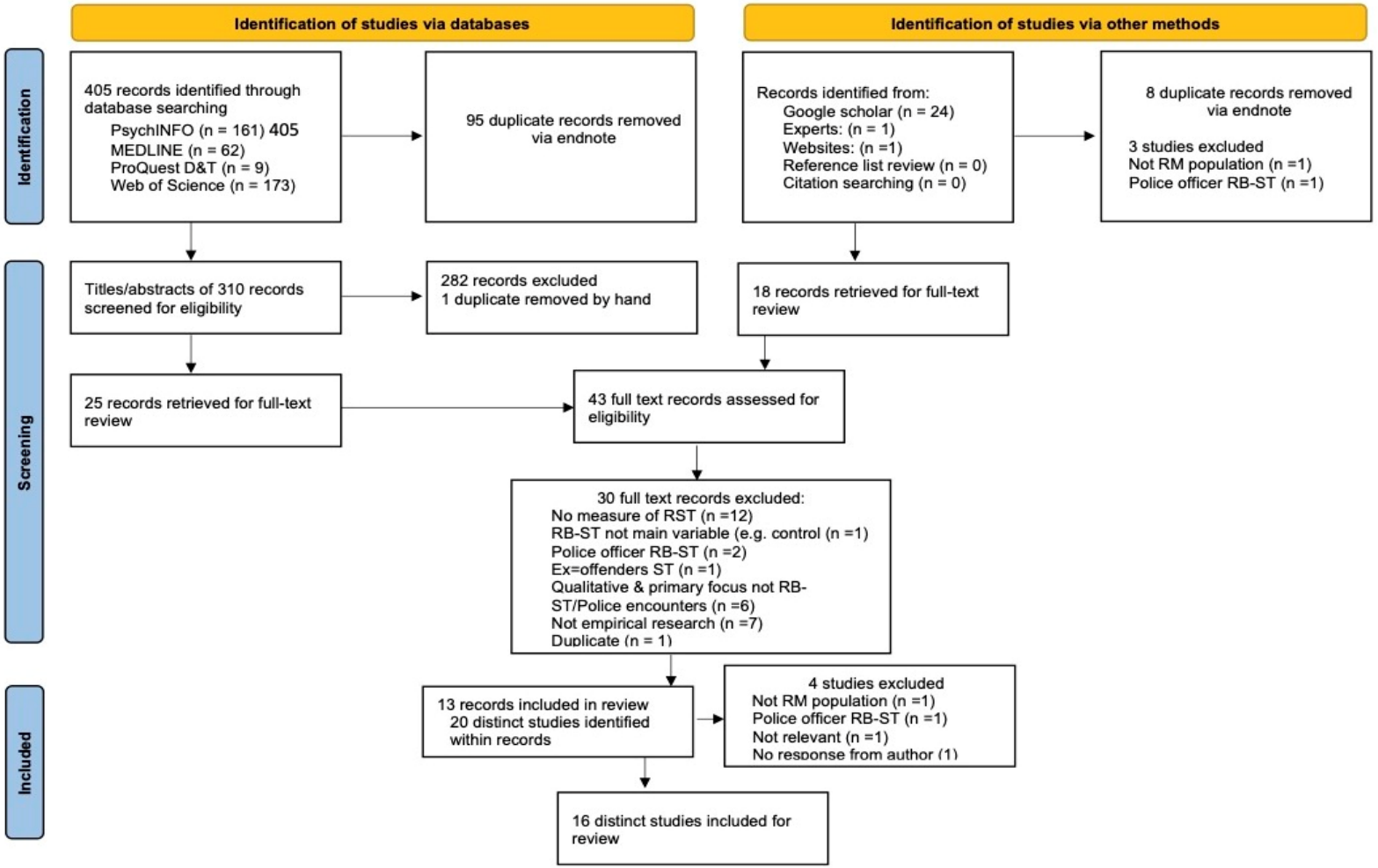
< .001). Discrepancies were discussed and resolved with a fourth rater to achieve agreement.

1.4 Results

1.4.1 Search results

Details of screening and exclusion can be found in **Figure 2**. A total of 13 articles remained, within which 20 distinct studies were reported. After applying the inclusion criteria, 16 studies exploring RB-ST in the context of police encounters were identified. A second reviewer (author 2) performed the search strategy independently and retrieved the same articles, except for one article which had been excluded (i.e., Kahn & Money, 2022ab). This constituted an initial agreement level of 94%. Once the discrepancy was resolved and a decision was made to include this article, an agreement level of 100% was achieved.

Figure 2 *PRISMA flow diagram illustrating literature search strategy*



1.4.2 Study characteristics

Table 2 summarises the characteristics of all included studies (see **Appendix A**). The studies were carried out between 2012 and 2021 in the USA. Except for five peer-reviewed studies published across three articles, the studies were predominantly grey literature; 10 were unpublished theses, and one was a conference poster presentation.

Participants

A total of 4,370 participants were included in the studies reviewed. Eleven studies reported on age, which ranged between 17 and 78 years. All participants were US citizens or residents. Nearly half (*n* = 7) of the studies recruited participants from university student populations, two of which also included community samples. RM groups deemed susceptible to RB-ST during police encounters comprised Black (*n* = 863), Hispanic (*n* = 444), Asian (*n* = 276), Mixed racial heritage (*n* = 56), and Native American (*n* = 15*)* participant*s*. Less susceptible racial/ethnic groups were categorised as White (*n* = 2,699) or 'Other ethnic background' ([i.e., non-Black] *n*= 15). There were more male participants (*n* = 2304*)* than female *(n* = 2043*);* 10 participants self-categorised as transgender, six as *'Other',* and seven did not disclose their gender.

Design

Eight studies utilised cross-sectional survey designs (Kahn et al., 2017; Kahn et al., 2021ab; Najdowski, 2012a; Najdowski et al., 2015ab; Najdowski et al., 2012; Robinson, 2018), seven employed quasi-experimental designs (Abate, 2021; Appleby, 2015; Epstein, 2012; Kinney, 2020; Najdowski, 2012b; Pagan et al., 2016b; Strine, 2018) and one was a field study (Pagan & Reyna, 2016a).

Interventions

Six studies used surveys to investigate prior or anticipated experiences of RB-ST during police encounters (Kahn et al., 2017; Khan & Money, 2022ab; Najdowski, 2012a; Najdowski et al., 2015a; Najdowski et al., 2012). Five studies exposed participants to a thought induction task involving a hypothetical police encounter before administering study measures (Abate, 2021; Najdowski et al., 2015b; Pagan and Reyna, 2016ab; Robinson, 2018). Three studies used staged encounters with a mock security officer (Najdowski, 2012b; Strine, 2018) or detective (Appleby, 2015) before administering measures. One study investigated participants' expectations of their interactions with police officers after exposure to either a cross-deputisation policy communicating racial criminality stereotypes or a policy forbidding cross-deputisation (Epstein, 2012). Kinney (2020) presented an audio clip of a police encounter alongside an image of either a Black or White citizen; participants reflected on how they might feel under similar circumstances before completing study measures.

1.4.3 Measures

A summary of all study measures can be found in **Table 3** (see **Appendix B**).

RB-ST: All studies included a measure of RB-ST. Of these, 12 studies used a modified version of the Explicit Stereotype Threat Scale ([Goff et al., 2008; Marx & Goff, 2005; Marx et al., 2005; Epstein, 2012; Kahn et al., 2017; Kahn & Money, 2022ab; Kinney, 2020; Najdowski, 2012ab; Najdowski et al., 2015ab; Najdowski et al., 2012; Pagan & Reyna, 2016b; Strine, 2018). Two studies developed a bespoke scale (Pagan & Reyna,2016a; Robinson, 2018), and The Stereotype Confirmation Scale (Contrada et al., 2001) was used in one study (Abate, 2021). After participants had been interviewed by a mock detective about a suspected theft, Appleby (2015) measured RB-ST using a

questionnaire exploring their perceptions of bias and veracity judgement of the mock detective.

Anxiety/physiological arousal: Nine studies investigated whether police encounters elicit heightened anxiety. Self-report anxiety scales were used across seven studies to capture anticipated anxiety following an imagined police encounter (Abate, 2021; Epstein, 2012; Najdowski et al., 2015b; Pagan & Reyna, 2016ab; Robinson, 2018) anxiety following a staged encounter with a mock detective (Appleby, 2015) or security officer (Najdowski, 2012b), or anxiety experienced during past police encounters (Najdowski, 2012a; Najdowski et al., 2012). Of these, only two studies investigated anxiety-related physiological arousal by measuring pre- and post-cortisol levels after imagining a police encounter (Abate, 2021) or heart rate during a staged encounter with a security officer (Najdowski, 2012b).

Self-regulatory efforts: Six studies investigated the association between police encounters and self-regulatory efforts. Anticipated self-regulatory efforts were captured using a self-consciousness scale (Najdowski, 2012b; Pagan & Reyna, 2016b) or self-regulatory efforts scale (Najdowski, 2012b; Najdowski et al., 2015b), and an action scale was used to determine if police encounters would cause participants to alter their behaviour to avoid appearing nervous (Robinson, 2018). Appleby (2015) used a scale to assess the degree to which participants planned strategies to approach an interview with a mock detective and their motivations to be believed.

Cognitive load: Three experimental studies (Kinney, 2020; Najdowski, 2012b; Strine, 2018) examined whether police encounters increased cognitive load. Strine (2018) assessed cognitive capacity and analytical thinking through verbal behaviours. The number of specific words participants used was presumed to reflect participants' cognitive capacity, with a decline suggesting increased cognitive load. Two studies measured

working memory capacity utilising The Stroop colour ([Stroop, 1935] Najdowski, 2012b) and n-back task ([Stoet, 2018] Kinney, 2020).

Non-verbal behaviour: Three studies (Appleby, 2015; Najdowski, 2012b; Najdowski et al., 2015b) examined whether police encounters were associated with non-verbal behaviours that could be misconstrued as deceptive. Two experimental studies (Appleby, 2015; Najdowski, 2012b) objectively measured participants' non-verbal behaviour during staged encounters with a mock detective or security officer, and three studies gathered subjective accounts of non-verbal behaviour during an encounter with a mock detective or security officer (Appleby, 2015; Najdowski, 2012b) or following an imagined police encounter (Najdowski et al., 2015b).

1.4.4 Analysis methods

Table 3 (see **Appendix B**) shows that multiple analytical strategies were employed. The most common were ANOVAs and MANOVAs, used across nine and five studies. Advanced correlational techniques were used less frequently to examine the relationship between RB-ST and dependent outcomes; three studies used structural equation modelling, and three performed mediation analyses, which were tested using Preacher and Hayes' approach (2008) or regression models.

1.4.5 Quality assessment

Using the QualSyst tool (Kmet et al., 2004), quality assessment scores ranged from .68 to 1 with an average summary score of .87 (SD = .10). Quality ratings for each study are reported in **Table 3** (see **Appendix B**), scores closer to 1 indicate better quality. Only two (Pagan & Reyna, 2016b; Robinson, 2018) fell below the conservative cut-off point of .75 but remained above the threshold of acceptable quality (i.e., >.55). Applying Lee et al. 's (2008) classification system, 12 studies received an overall rating of strong

(Abate, 2018; Epstein, 2012; Kahn et al., 2017; Khan & Money, 2022ab; Kinney, 2020; Najdowski, 2012ab; Najdowski et al., 2015ab; Najdowski et al., 2012; Pagan & Reyna, 2016b), two were rated as good (Appleby, 2015; Strine, 2018) and a further two were rated adequate (Pagan & Reyna, 2016a; Robinson, 2018).

1.4.6 Key findings

Table 3 (see **Appendix B**) summarises the extracted data for each of the 16 studies across 13 papers.

1.4.6.1 Experimental manipulations

Eight studies undertook experimental manipulations to induce RB-ST before a staged encounter (Appleby, 2015; Najdowski, 2012b; Strine, 2018) or an imagined encounter (Abate, 2021; Epstein, 2012; Kinney, 2020; Pagan & Reyna 2016ab); irrespective of race, six studies reported an increase in RB-ST (Abate, 2021; Epstein, 2018; Pagan & Reyna, 2016ab; Strine, 2018; Najdowski, 2012b). Three of four studies found that the RB-ST condition elicited greater self-reported anxiety (Najdowski, 2012b; Pagan & Reyna, 2016b) or anxiety-related arousal (Najdowski, 2012b), and all studies reported an increase in self-consciousness or self-regulatory efforts during encounters (Abate, 2021; Appleby, 2015; Epstein, 2012; Kinney, 2020; Najdowski, 2012b; Pagan & Reyna 2016ab; Strine, 2018). Of three studies examining cognitive load (Kinney, 2020; Najdowski, 2012b; Strine, 2018), only Strine (2018) found that the RB-ST condition was associated with greater analytical thinking and a decline in cognitive processes during encounters. Two studies examined objectively coded non-verbal behaviour (Appleby, 2015; Najdowski, 2012b), both partially evidenced that the RB-ST condition elicited more guilty-appearing behaviours, including increased eye contact, less smiling (Najdowski, 2012b) and faster speech (Appleby, 2015) during staged encounters. One study assessed subjective perceptions of non-verbal behaviour, showing that participants in the RB-ST

condition perceived they behaved more suspiciously or nervously during a staged encounter (Najdowski, 2012b).

1.4.6.2 Race-based outcomes (Research questions 1 & 2)

1.4.6.2.1 RB-ST

Fifteen studies reported that RM participants generated higher ratings on RB-ST measures compared to White participants following a staged encounter with a mock security officer (Najdowski, 2012b; Strine, 2018) or imagined police encounter (Abate, 2021; Epstein, 2012; Najdowski et al., 2015b; Pagan & Reyna, 2016ab; Robinson, 2018), and when capturing past (Najdowski, 2012a; Najdowski et al., 2012; Kahn & Money, 2022ab) or anticipated responses (Najdowski et al., 2015a; Khan et al., 2017; Kinney, 2020) to police encounters through surveys. Only Appleby (2015) reported no racial group differences in reported RB-ST.

1.4.6.2.1.1 Race subgroups

Six studies found that Black participants reported significantly more RB-ST than White participants (Kinney, 2020; Najdowski, 2012ab; Najdowski et al., 2015ab; Strine, 2018). Similarly, two studies demonstrated that Black participants (Robinson, 2018) and BIPOC ([Black, Indigenous, and People of Colour] Abate, 2021) reported significantly more RB-ST than 'Other' ethnic groups and White participants, respectively. Three studies found that Hispanic participants reported significantly more RB-ST compared to White (Pagan & Reyna, 2016ab) or Hispanic participants in a control condition (Epstein, 2012). Kahn et al. (2017) showed that Black, Hispanic, and Native American participants reported significantly more RB-ST than White participants.

Najdowski (2012b) found that compared to White participants, Black participants reported significantly more RB-ST and perceived it more likely they would be stereotyped as a criminal due to their race under RB-ST and control conditions; notably, these effects

were no longer significant after controlling for perceived racism. It was also found that under RB-ST, Hispanic (Epstein, 2012) but not Black participants (Najdowski et al.,2015b) expected more negative interactions with police officers compared to White participants. However, Black participants were found to be more concerned about the likelihood of being accused of wrongdoing than White participants (Najdowski et al., 2015b), although another study failed to replicate this finding (Najdowski, 2012b).

Higher perceived phenotypical racial stereotypically was significantly associated with increased RB-ST among Black, Hispanic, and Native-American participants but not White participants (Kahn et al., 2017). Similarly, the more Black and Hispanic participants perceived race/ethnic identity as central to their self-concept, the more they anticipated experiencing RB-ST (Najdowski et al., 2012).

The COVID-19 pandemic was shown to impact RM participants' experiences of police-related ST due to mask-wearing. Two studies revealed that Black and Asian participants reported more RB-ST during police interactions due to mask-wearing, which increased significantly after mask-wearing was mandated (Kahn & Money 2022ab). In contrast, White participants were unburdened by RB-ST and mask-related concerns (Kahn & Money 2022ab). Across both studies, Black participants generated higher ratings on measures of RB-ST relative to Asian participants (Kahn & Money 2022ab).

1.4.6.2.1.2 Gender

Four studies explored gender differences (Kahn & Money, 2022b; Najdowski et al., 2015a; Najdowski, 2012a; Robinson, 2018), of which only two reported significant findings. Men obtained significantly higher ratings for RB-ST than women (Najdowski et al., 2015b), but Black men reported significantly more RB-ST than Black women and men and women of White ethnicity (Najdowski et al., 2015a; Najdowski, 2012a). The remaining studies found no significant gender differences in susceptibility to RB-ST for Black, Asian,

or White participants (Kahn & Money, 2022b) or between Black and White participants (Robinson, 2018).

1.4.6.2.2 Anxiety

Of the seven studies examining racial differences in self-reported anxiety, four reported that RM people were no more likely to experience anxiety during police encounters (Appleby, 2015; Najdowski, 2012ab; Robinson, 2018). Notably, when the perceived risk of being stereotyped as a criminal was high, Najdowski (2012b) found that Black participants reported significantly less anxiety compared to White counterparts during a staged encounter with a security officer. Also, Robinson found no differences in anxiety between subgroups of RM people (Robinson, 2018).

Contrastingly, three studies did find support for racial differences in heightened anxiety (Abate, 2021; Najdowski et al., 2015b; Pagan & Reyna, 2016b). After imagining a police encounter, Black (Najdowski et al., 2015b) and Hispanic participants (Pagan & Reyna, 2016b) anticipated greater anxiety relative to White participants. Abate (2021) found that Black males, but not Hispanic or White males, reported significantly greater state anxiety when imagining a police encounter compared to Black males who did not imagine an encounter, suggesting anxiety during police encounters may be more salient for Black men. Although Najdowski et al. (2012) did not assess racial group differences, past experiences of police encounters were found to elicit anxiety for Black and Hispanic participants, supporting these findings.

1.4.6.2.2.1 Anxiety-related arousal

Two studies investigated if police encounters elicit more anxiety-related physiological arousal in RM people but found no evidence to support this (Abate, 2021; Najdowski, 2012b). Despite reporting higher RB-ST, Abate (2021) found BIPOC had lower

cortisol levels at follow-up relative to White participants; this also contradicted their finding that Black males reported higher state anxiety after an imagined police encounter.

1.4.6.2.3 Self-regulation

Apart from Najdowski et al. (2015b), studies found no evidence that RM people engage in significantly more self-conscious/regulatory behaviours than their White counterparts (Appleby, 2015; Najdowski, 2012a; Najdowski, 2012b; Pagan & Reyna, 2016b; Robinson, 2018). In fact, Najdowski (2012b) found that when the risk of being stereotyped was high, Black participants felt they had made significantly fewer attempts to control their behaviour than White participants.

However, Najdowski et al. (2015b) found some support to suggest that police encounters might be associated with increased self-regulatory efforts for RM people; after imagining a police encounter, Black men anticipated having significantly more self-regulatory thoughts focused on detecting threat-related cues and engaging in more self-monitoring efforts compared to White men.

1.4.6.2.4 Cognitive load

Three studies examined the influence of police encounters on cognitive processes, analytical thinking (Strine, 2018) and working memory capacity (Kinney, 2020; Najdowski, 2012b) but failed to evidence that police encounters elicit significant racial differences in cognitive load.

1.4.6.2.5 Non-verbal behaviour

Of two experimental studies examining objectively coded non-verbal behaviour (Appleby, 2015; Najdowski, 2012b), only one partially evidenced that RM groups appeared more deceptive during police encounters. Najdowski (2012b) found no racial differences in eye contact or frequency of smiles; however, Black men displayed

significantly more nervous-appearing behaviours compared to White men. Despite this finding, Black men used significantly fewer self-adaptors during a staged encounter with a security officer, regardless of whether the perceived risk of being stereotyped was high or low (Najdowski, 2012b). In contrast, Appleby (2015) found no observed differences in non-verbal or vocal non-verbal behaviours.

Two studies exploring subjective perceptions of non-verbal behaviour (Najdowski, 2012b; Najdowski et al., 2015b) found limited evidence to support that RM people appear more deceptive during police encounters. Najdowski (2012b) found that when the perceived risk of being stereotyped was high rather than low, Black men felt their non-verbal behaviour appeared less nervous and less suspicious than White men. In comparison, Najdowski et al. (2015b) found that Black males anticipated they would behave more suspiciously than White men during a police encounter.

1.4.6.3 Associations (Research question 3)

Table 4 (see **Appendix C**) summarises studies investigating direct and indirect associations between RB-ST and hypothesised downstream effects.

1.4.6.3.1 Anxiety/arousal

Three studies explored the relationship between RB-ST and anxiety (Abate, 2021; Najdowski et al., 2012; Pagan & Reyna, 2016b). One examined the relationship between RB-ST and anxiety-related arousal (Abate, 2021). Pagan and Reyna (2016b) found that anticipated anxiety was positively associated with and mediated by RB-ST for Hispanic but not White participants (Pagan & Reyna, 2016b). Similarly, Najdowski et al. (2012) found RB-ST mediated the association between the strength of Black and Hispanic participants' racial/ethnic identification and police anxiety. In contrast, Abate (2021) found no relationship between RB-ST and negative affect/anxiety or change in cortisol.

1.4.6.3.2 Self-regulation

Three studies exploring the association between RB-ST and self-regulatory efforts/consciousness reported mixed findings (Najdowski, 2012b; Najdowski et al., 2015b; Pagan & Reyna, 2016b). Pagan and Reyna (2016b) found RB-ST positively predicted and mediated the association between imagining a police encounter and self-consciousness for Hispanic but not White participants. Similarly, RB-ST and negative expectations about a police officer's actions were associated with anticipated concerns about their behaviour appearing suspicious, and both effects were mediated by self-regulatory efforts in Black but not White men (Najdowski et al., 2015b). These findings contrasted with that of Najdowski (2012b), where RB-ST was shown to have a partially suppressing effect on the relationship between race and self-controlled behaviour, with Black men making significantly fewer attempts to avoid appearing nervous than White men.

1.4.6.3.3 Cognitive load

One study explored the relationship between cognitive load and RB-ST; no mediation effect of RB-ST was found for the relationship between high perceived stereotype relevance and greater analytical thinking (Strine, 2018). Whilst RB-ST partially mediated the relationship between high perceived stereotype relevance and a decrease in cognitive processes, there were no racial differences for this effect among Black and White men (Strine, 2018).

1.4.6.3.4 Nonverbal behaviour

One study explored the relationship between RB-ST and objectively coded non-verbal behaviour (Najdowski, 2012b), and two examined the relationship between RB-ST and subjective perceptions of non-verbal behaviour (Najdowski, 2012b; Najdowski et al., 2015b). RB-ST partially mediated the association between race and objectively coded

nervous appearance, suggesting that Black men who perceived there was a high risk of being stereotyped displayed more nervous-appearing behaviour (Najdowski, 2012b). However, the mediating effect of RB-ST was absent when accounting for perceptions of police racism. Although Najdowski (2012b) also found that Black men were observed using significantly fewer self-adaptors regardless of perceived stereotype relevance, stereotype threat did not mediate this relationship.

Whilst Najdowski (2012b) found Black men anticipated appearing less nervous and suspicious than White men, the effect of race on subjective accounts of nervous and suspicious appearance was not mediated by RB-ST or concerns about being accused. In contrast, Najdowski et al. (2015b) found that Black men anticipated behaving more suspiciously than White men during a police encounter; anticipated RB-ST and negative expectations about the police officer's actions were both associated with anticipated suspicious behaviour during police encounters and were mediated by self-regulatory efforts for Black, but not White men. However, these effects occurred in opposite directions; Black men who reported more RB-ST concerns anticipated engaging in more self-regulatory efforts and, in turn, anticipated appearing more suspicious (Najdowski et al., 2015b). In comparison, Black men who reported more negative expectations about the officer’s actions anticipated engaging in fewer self-regulatory efforts and were less likely to anticipate behaving less suspiciously (Najdowski et al., 2015b). Although there was an association between Black men's expectations of being accused of wrongdoing and anticipated suspicious behaviour during police encounters, self-regulatory efforts did not mediate this effect (Najdowski et al., 2015b). For White men, only anticipated expectations about being accused of wrongdoing were positively associated with and partially mediated by self-regulatory efforts (Najdowski et al., 2015b).

1.5 Discussion

This systematic review aimed to explore the literature to investigate if and how RM people's psychological experiences and behaviour during police encounters differ from White counterparts due to RB-ST. Although RM people report more RB-ST than their White counterparts, the results appear to suggest police encounters induce threat regardless of one's racial identity. Compared to White people, evidence to suggest RM people experience greater anxiety during police encounters was mixed, and there was no support that they experience greater physiological arousal. Similarly, evidence to suggest that RM people engage in more self-regulatory efforts than White people was largely unsupported, nor was there evidence to suggest they experience greater cognitive load than White people. There was also mixed evidence to suggest that RM people display more suspicious-appearing non-verbal behaviours than White people during police encounters.

Interestingly, the findings suggest there could be some distinct racial differences underlying psychological experiences and behavioural responses to police encounters. Anxiety and use of self-regulatory strategies were attributable to RB-ST for RM people but not for White people. Cognitive load was associated with greater RB-ST concerns, yet this finding was demonstrated across all racial groups. On the other hand, there was mixed evidence to suggest that suspicious-appearing non-verbal behaviour during police encounters was due to RM people's experiences of RB-ST. Overall, Najdowski's (2012ab) model was partially supported, but this review highlighted mixed findings across the literature, which require further investigation.

1.5.1 Synthesis of findings

Do RM people experience greater RB-ST during police encounters?

Research has consistently shown that stigmatised groups, including RM people, are susceptible to experiencing ST in situations where negative stereotypes are personally relevant (Pennington et al., 2016; Spencer et al., 2016). Except for one (Appleby, 2015), all included studies found RM people reported significantly greater RB-ST than White people, demonstrating that this phenomenon could also apply to policing contexts.

Given that criminality stereotypes are targeted towards males rather than women (Miller et al., 1986) and are especially pronounced for Black men (Plant et al., 2011), it was expected that this review would highlight gender differences. Only two of four studies (Kahn & Money 2022b; Najdowski, 2012a; Najdowski et al., 2015a; Robinson, 2018) evidenced that males, but especially Black men, appear most susceptible to RB-ST during police encounters (Najdowski et al., 2015a; Najdowski, 2012a).

Two studies evidenced that RM people who identify more strongly with or whose physical appearance shared a more remarkable resemblance to their racial/ethnic group were more susceptible to RB-ST during police encounters (Najdowski et al., 2012; Kahn et al., 2017). Although this supports existing work that has shown that those more invested in and with higher identification with stereotyped domains are susceptible to ST effects (Cadinu et al., 2003; Erba, 2018; Goff et al., 2008; Steele et al., 2002), such findings should be interpreted cautiously. Meta-analytic reviews of broader ST literature have found limited evidence to support the notion that high domain identification is a necessary condition for ST effects (Nguyen & Ryan, 2008; Shewach, Sackett, & Quint, 2019), which might also explain why some studies included in the present review were unable to identify noticeable gender differences (Kahn & Money, 2022b; Robinson, 2018).

There was some evidence that perceptions of police racism heighten threat-based concerns (Najdowski, 2012b; Epstein, 2012). Similarly, research has evidenced that perceived discrimination increases one's susceptibility to ST (Thames et al., 2013), which suggests RB-ST experiences may be associated with but are distinguished from the beliefs of police racism (Najdowski, 2012b).

Overall, the results of this review support evidence of RB-ST in contexts other than police encounters (Pennington et al., 2016), with the finding that RM people are more likely to experience RB-ST during police encounters relative to White people. That said, the reviewed studies also highlight that regardless of race, police encounters evoke threat concerns (Pagan & Reyna, 2016ab; Abate, 2021), whether innocent or guilty (Appleby, 2015) but especially when police encounters are interrogatory (Najdowski, 2012b; Strine, 2018).

Do RM people experience more anxiety and associated physiological arousal during police encounters due to RB-ST?

The findings, although mixed, offered some support that police encounters elicit more self-reported anxiety among RM people (Abate, 2021; Najdowski et al., 2015b; Pagan & Reyna, 2016b), which appears to be mediated by experiences of RB-ST (Najdowski et al., 2012; Pagan & Reyna, 2016b), a finding that was not replicated for White participants. Whilst this lends support to theory and research that has shown ST elicits feelings of anxiety (Major & O'Brien, 2005; Schmader et al., 2008; Steele & Aronson, 1995), four of seven studies did not find support for this relationship. Similar inconsistencies in the association between ST and anxiety are reported across the broader literature (Hess et al., 2009; Spencer et al., 1999; Steele & Aronson, 1995; Tempel & Neumann, 2014).

Only two studies employed measures of physiological arousal (Najdowski, 2012b; Abate, 2021); neither evidenced that RM people experience more psychological arousal

during their encounters with police officers, and both found discrepancies in self-reported and physiologically assessed anxiety. Again, similar discrepancies are reported elsewhere, wherein stereotype-threatened individuals have reported similar levels of stress (Townsend et al., 2011) or lower levels of anxiety (Bosson et al., 2004) than non-threatened individuals, however, physiological measures did not support the findings in either study. An explanation for such findings is that stereotype-threatened individuals might attempt to regulate their emotional state by suppressing unwanted thoughts and feelings (Masten et al., 2011). Countering or denying feelings of threat enables stereotype-threatened individuals to focus their efforts on improving their performance on the task at hand (Von Hippel et al., 2005), which, in turn, might hinder their ability to access or accurately report their internal states (Kit et al., 2008). This could explain why the construct of anxiety has been inconsistently captured in this line of research (Bosson et al., 2004; Steele & Aronson, 1995).

However, like most of the included studies, ST effects have typically been examined under artificial testing conditions, which are unlikely to replicate the same levels of anxiety and related physiological arousal that would occur in real-world settings (Shewach et al., 2019). This may offer an alternative explanation for why the present review identified mixed support for the association between police-related RB-ST and anxiety and no support for the association between police-related RB-ST and increased physiological arousal among RM people.

Whilst this review found police encounters are inherently anxiety-provoking irrespective of race (Appleby, 2015; Pagan & Reyna, 2016b; Najdowski, 2012b), there was some support that anxiety was more pronounced for Black people. Interestingly, unlike their White counterparts, RB-ST was associated with anxiety for RM people (Najdowski et al., 2012; Pagan & Reyna, 2016b), suggesting this may be particularly

important to consider in the policing of RM communities where racialised criminality stereotypes exist.

Do RM people engage in more self-regulatory efforts during police encounters due to RB-ST?

Overall, the studies reviewed found limited support that RM people engage in more self-regulatory efforts than White people (Appleby, 2015; Najdowski, 2012ab; Najdowski et al., 2015b; Pagan & Reyna, 2016b; Robinson, 2018), suggesting investigatory police encounters lead people to engage in more self-regulatory efforts regardless of race. This contradicts the evidence of ST in contexts other than policing domains (Brown & Pinel, 2003; Keller & Dauenheimer, 2003; Smith et al., 1997). However, the finding that RM but not White people, engage in self-regulatory efforts due to RB-ST (Pagan & Reyna, 2016b; Najdowski et al., 2015b) points to potential racial differences driving the motivation to control or alter behaviour during police encounters.

In fact, due to RB-ST, it was also found that all Black men (Najdowski, 2012b) and some Black men in Najdowski et al.'s (2015b) study engaged in fewer self-regulatory efforts than White men. This finding corroborates previous research showing that an individual's concern about negative evaluation can also reduce motivation and effort under ST. Such findings can be linked to the theory of learned helplessness, which posits that individuals become incapable or unwilling to escape adversity when they realise their behaviour will not impact the outcome (Maier & Seligman, 1976). As RM men expect to be negatively stereotyped by the police (Warren, 2011) and often perceive they are powerless during such encounters (Yancy, 2017; Long & Joseph-Salisbury, 2019), learned helplessness may play a significant role in their self-regulatory efforts. That is, believing they have no control over the outcome of police encounters, RM men may demonstrate reduced effort. This might explain why they were found to engage in self-regulatory efforts to a similar degree or less than White men.

However, when interpreting these findings, it is important to consider the role of motivation under the experimental conditions of the reviewed studies. Specifically, participant performance had no implications beyond the experiment itself. Thus, motivation levels are unlikely to resemble those demonstrated in high-stakes and real-world settings with consequential performance outcomes (Shewach et al., 2019). As Shewach et al. (2019) posit, participants in ST research are often aware they are part of a stereotyped group, and it is usually inferred they will perform poorly relative to non-stereotyped groups; as such, they are more likely to exhibit reduced effort under testing conditions. Thus, a plausible explanation for the finding that stereotype-threatened RM people engaged in self-regulatory efforts to a similar degree, or less relative to White counterparts, could be attributed to the lack of consequential outcomes that were associated with staged or hypothetical police encounters and, therefore, might not reflect how RM people under RB-ST respond to actual police encounters.

Do RM people experience increased cognitive load during police encounters due to RB-ST?

Current evidence fails to support the notion that police encounters elicit greater cognitive load for RM people relative to their White counterparts (Kinney, 2020; Najdowski, 2012b; Strine, 2018). Although one study found RB-ST mediated the relationship between the investigatory encounter and a decline in cognitive processes (Strine, 2018), no racial differences were reported. In part, this finding supports research that has shown ST depletes cognitive resources (Hess et al., 2003; Quinn & Spencer, 2001; Steele & Aronson, 1995), which could hinder one's ability to respond effectively during police interrogations but does not support existing literature showing that RB-ST mediates racial differences in cognitive ability tasks, leading Black people to underperform relative to White people (McKay et al., 2003; Ployhart et al., 2003).

Strine's (2018) findings might overestimate the role of RB-ST as a mediator of cognitive decline during police encounters. It is theorised that situations must be cognitively demanding for ST effects to be observed (Steele, 2010). As such, ST research has typically employed tests of cognitive ability, which increase in difficulty (Shewach et al., 2019). Indeed, ST research has consistently shown that as test difficulty increases, the magnitude of ST effects also increases (Nguyen & Ryan, 2008; Shewach et al., 2019). However, when Shewach et al. (2019) reviewed ST studies that more closely reflected the ability testing conditions in real-world settings, the effects of ST on cognitive performance ranged between small and negligible, suggesting experimental studies that include complex cognitive tests may inflate the impact of ST on cognitive performance. As this relates to the present review, test difficulty, as opposed to police-related RB-ST, might better explain the observed depletion in cognitive resources, which appears to occur irrespective of one's race.

Do RM people exhibit more non-verbal behaviours associated with suspiciousness or guilt during police encounters due to RB-ST?

Whether non-verbal behavioural responses to police encounters were objectively observed (Appleby, 2015; Najdowski, 2012b) or subjectively reported (Appleby,2015; Najdowski, 2012b; Najdowski et al., 2015b), the three studies reviewed found limited evidence to suggest that RM people engage in more suspicious appearing behaviours compared to White people. There was some support that RB-ST influences the non-verbal behaviours of RM but not White people, though not in the direction expected. Findings from two studies suggested that negative expectations about police officers' actions led Black men to engage in fewer self-regulatory efforts (Najdowski et al., 2015b) and less suspicious behaviours than White men (Najdowski, 2012b; Najdowski et al., 2015b) due to RB-ST. RM people may not overtly exhibit indicators of anxiety as they are socialised from an early age on how to adapt their behaviour to survive police encounters (Sewell et al.,

2016; Thomas & Blackmon, 2015). Consistent with this argument, stereotype-threatened individuals who expected negative evaluations were found to make fewer efforts to alter their behaviour due to the belief that they lack the personal resources to disconfirm negative expectations (Cadinu et al., 2003; Ployhart et al., 2003; Skorich et al., 2013). This learned response of helplessness may protect RM people from adverse police contact and false accusations of wrongdoing, as a reduced motivation to alter or control behaviour may mean they do not demonstrate behaviours that could be interpreted as suspicious.

In contrast, two further studies evidenced that due to experiences of RB-ST, Black men who possessed more significant concerns about being accused of wrongdoing appeared more nervous (Najdowski, 2012b) and engaged in more self-regulatory efforts, leading to more suspicious-appearing behaviours than White men (Najdowski et al., 2015b). This offers tentative support for the notion that stereotyped threatened individuals attempt to disconfirm negative racial stereotypes through self-presentational strategies (Gehring & Knight, 2000; Inzlicht & Kang, 2010; Schmader et al., 2008), making them appear less authentic or guilty (Rand, 2000). Black men's nervous-appearing behaviour was not related to their experience of RB-ST when accounting for perceived police racism (Najdowski, 2012b). Therefore, perceptions of racial discrimination might play an instrumental role in influencing RM people's behaviour, over and above situational cues that may increase the perceived risk of being stereotyped as a criminal (Najdowski, 2012b).

Although the findings of this review point to within racial group differences whereby Black men's experiences of RB-ST may either increase or minimise their perceived risk of being judged as guilty or suspicious during police encounters, there was limited evidence to suggest RM people engage in more deceptive appearing behaviours than White people. Contrary to previous research which highlights anxiety as a mediator of the ST-

underperformance relationship (Major & O'Brien, 2005; Marx & Stapel, 2006; Schmader et al., 2008; Steele & Aronson, 1995), this review found no support that anxiety due RB-ST translated to more suspicious appearing behaviours, irrespective of race (Appleby, 2015; Najdowski, 2012b; Najdowski et al., 2015b). This might suggest that police-related RB-ST elicits different processes, which could play an essential role in influencing psychological experiences and behavioural responses.

1.5.2 Theoretical Contributions

The finding that RM people are more susceptible to RB-ST during police encounters lends support to Najdowski's (2012ab) theoretical model and extends ST theory to the domain of police encounters. However, there was only partial support that RB-ST predicts greater anxiety for RM people during police encounters and no support that it predicts increased physiological arousal. Also, support for the prediction that RB-ST generates an increase in self-regulatory efforts among RM people was limited, and there was no evidence that RB-ST predicted increased cognitive load. Lastly, Najdowski's prediction that the effects of RB-ST manifest in more deceptive-appearing non-verbal behaviours during police encounters was largely unsupported.

Nonetheless, interesting findings emerged from this review that, with further investigation, could contribute to theory development. RM and White people engage in self-regulatory efforts to appear truthful during police encounters, which paradoxically results in the display of more deceptive-appearing behaviours. This effect was associated with RB-ST and concerns about being accused of wrongdoing for RM but not White people. Further, within-racial group differences, including gender, the centrality of one's racial/ethnic identity to one's self-concept, perceived racism, negative expectations about a police officer's actions, and concerns about being falsely accused, may influence if and how RB-ST is experienced during police encounters. Future research should explore how

These factors generate differential experiences of police-related RB-ST among RM people and how these interplay with existing models of RB-ST.

The present review identified varied and inconclusive outcomes regarding the mechanisms underpinning police-related RBST. This challenges the usefulness of RB-ST as a theoretical account of RM people's psychological and behavioural responses to police encounters. Najdowski (2012ab) purports that performance and behaviour are undermined by RM people's efforts to avoid confirming racialised stereotypes of criminality during police interactions, yet this disregards the perceived physical threat that police pose to RM people. Research has shown that people automatically associate police with a physical threat (Olivett & March 2021), evoking physiological and behavioural responses aimed at self-preservation (LeDoux & Pine, 2016). Moreover, certain RM groups possess greater susceptibility to police-threat associations, given that they are more likely to experience police contact, hostile treatment, and violence during encounters (Crutchfield et al., 2012; Schimmack & Carlsson, 2020; Voigt et al., 2017).

Arguably, RM people's responses to police encounters might be less about their concerns of confirming racialised stereotypes of criminality and more related to their awareness that such stereotypes exist, fears these stereotypes could be applied to them, and concerns about the outcome of police encounters which in turn, may activate a threat response. Providing some support for this idea, a recent laboratory study found police were viewed as threatening and evoked automatic and defensive physiological and behavioural responses, including active avoidance (e.g., fleeing/escaping), heightened motor-free responses (e.g., freezing/hesitation) and wide range of physiological reactions (e.g., recoiling/flinching), suggesting civilians may be reflexively defensively during police encounters and that the threat of potential harm may drive this response (Olivett & March, 2023). Threat-driven responses such as fleeing, a defensive flinch, or hesitation could be

misconstrued as guilt, non-compliance, or aggression, respectively, prompting negative responses from the police (Olivett & March, 2023). However, further research is needed to determine whether these mechanisms might better explain RM people's experiences of police encounters in real-world settings.

1.5.3 Strengths and limitations of included studies

Quality assessment ratings reflected that most of the included studies were of strong methodological quality (n = 12). Nonetheless, several methodological flaws were highlighted across the studies, including selection bias (*n*=6), sample size limitations (*n* = 7), a failure to describe randomisation methods (n = 4), insufficient power and failure to report variance estimates (*n* = 4*).* The findings of this review should be considered in light of the methodological limitations discussed.

Insufficient sample sizes and low power may account for conflicting and non-significant findings outlined in the present review. In their meta-analytic review of ST research, Shewach et al. (2019) observed that not only has ST research typically employed small samples, but sample sizes were also associated with differing effect sizes for ST; that is, small ($n < 50$) to moderate ($100 > n > 49$) samples yield stronger mean effect sizes for ST effects than larger sampled studies. This questions whether the RB-ST effects reported in the reviewed studies would be reproducible in larger sampled studies.

Further, several studies collapsed RM participants into a homogenous group to improve the detection of group differences. As evidenced by the present review, ST does not affect RM people similarly, nor those within the same racial group, perhaps due to variations in lived experiences of discrimination (VanLandingham et al., 2022). It should also be noted that participants under study were predominately Black or Hispanic, limiting the generalisability of the findings to other RM groups. Samples were also biased by location as all studies were undertaken in the USA, and there was an over-representation

of psychology students, many of whom received an incentive for participation (e.g., course credits).

The use of incentives in experimental studies is associated with significant decreases in ST effects compared to studies where motivational incentives are absent (Shewach et al., 2019). This may account for the non-significant RB-ST effects identified in the present review. Incentivised participants may exert more effort and attention to their performance under experimental conditions (Shewach et al., 2019) than individuals under RB-ST would exhibit in real-world settings. Therefore, the use of incentives across the reviewed studies may underestimate RB-ST effects among RM people during police encounters.

Nearly half of the included studies relied on hypothetical police encounters. However, heterogeneity in the type of encounters imagined and differences in the ability to estimate their response to a real police encounter may limit the ecological validity of the findings. Indeed, research has produced conflicting findings on whether behavioural intentions accurately estimate actual behaviour (Ayton et al., 2007; Webb & Sheeran, 2006). Despite possessing greater ecological validity, three studies employing simulated encounters were still lacking in the real threat of actual encounters. Thus, it is likely that these studies did not produce sufficient threat to elicit the expected racial differences in the downstream effects of RB-ST (Roberson & Kulik, 2007). Moreover, whether the encounters were hypothetical or simulated, initial responses may have been forgotten or reduced in intensity at the time of completing measures.

Measurement challenges were also noted; the included studies relied on self-measures, which are subject to potential social desirability bias and may have produced results which are unreliable and underestimated experiences of RB-ST during police encounters (Kit et al., 2008; Masten et al., 2011).

Lastly, different measures were used to assess RB-ST across the included studies, and these may have lacked convergent validity. Moreover, none of the measures were initially designed to measure police-related RB-ST. Instead, they were adapted from scales designed to assess RB-ST in unrelated domains. Thus, inadequate measures and using unvalidated tools were significant limitations of the included studies.

1.5.4 Strengths and limitations of the review

The review followed a systematic procedure with independent reviews of study quality. The QualSyst tool helped assess study quality; however, it was designed based on the authors' perceptions of key factors constituting study quality (Kmet et al., 2004). This might explain why the QualSyst failed to identify certain biases across the studies. For instance, our quality assessment revealed that study design and measurement bias may have led to inflated quality assessment ratings. Similarly, Shewach et al. (2019) report the presence of methodological flaws across ST literature, such as measurement bias, questionable study designs and analytical errors, all of which have inflated estimates of ST effects. Given that the QualSyst tool was primarily designed to determine a threshold for study inclusion, it may lack the ability to assess study quality comprehensively. On reflection, an alternative tool that permits a more sensitive appraisal of study quality could have been considered.

Notably, inter-rater agreement for risk of bias assessment ratings between authors 1 and 2 was marginally low, posing potential implications for the replicability and generalisability of the review findings. Low interrater-reliability ratings may overestimate the quality of included studies by failing to identify high bias, compromising the validity of the review findings and conclusions drawn (Sanderson, Tatt, & Higgins, 2007). This may have broader clinical implications; specifically, the review findings may be restricted in their ability to accurately estimate the influence of RBST on RM people's experiences of police

encounters and to make recommendations for police practice or psychological interventions that could mitigate or remediate any adverse outcomes.

The review included grey literature; since peer-reviewed literature is less likely to report non-significant findings (Hopewell et al., 2007), this helped to provide a balanced review of the evidence base (McAuley et al., 2000) and ensured the most recent evidence was reviewed (Bellefontaine & Lee, 2014). Given that grey literature comprised the majority of included studies (*n* =), it is plausible that non-significant findings in this review reflect publication bias across broader ST literature. Indeed, concerns have been raised regarding the robustness of ST effects (Flore & Wicherts, 2015; Zigerell, 2017). A recent and the most extensive meta-analytic review of ST research to date found that published studies reported ST effects that were two times stronger than those reported in unpublished studies; the authors concluded this might point to potential publication bias through a failure to publish non-significant results (Shewach et al., 2019).

Whilst the eligibility criteria allowed for the inclusion of a wide range of studies, the criteria for the population under study were perhaps too broad. As discussed, collapsing all racial groups subject to criminality stereotypes, an error frequently made across previous ST literature, assumes that ST is experienced similarly by all RM people and overlooks potential intergroup differences (Shapiro et al., 2013). Thus, the validity of this review might be undermined by its generalising of the findings to all RM groups. Additionally, data extraction was guided by Najdowski's (2012ab) model, which proposes key mechanisms underlying RB-ST during police encounters. As such, studies were only eligible if they measured mechanisms outlined in Najdowski's model (2012ab). Several studies explored other potential constructs that were not reported here due to the scope of the review.

However, the most significant limitation of the present review is the inability to accurately estimate how RB-ST influences RM people's psychological and behavioural

responses to actual police encounters due to the predominant inclusion of experimental studies. The vast majority of ST research has been conducted in laboratory settings, and similar to studies conducted within policing domains, limited research has been conducted in field settings (Sackett & Ryan, 2012). Meta-analytic findings suggest experimental studies produce significantly stronger ST effects than studies that resemble more naturalistic settings (Shewach et al., 2019), raising doubt over the extent to which ST research can be generalised to the real world (Sackett & Ryan, 2012; Shewach et al., 2019).

That said, most ST research, including studies in Shewach et al.'s (2019) meta-analysis, have focused mainly on ST effects in test performance scenarios (Lewis & Sekaquaptewa, 2016; Sackett & Ryan, 2012; Shewach et al., 2019) which are lacking in relevance to police encounters. Exploring intergroup interactions, a recent body of work highlights how ST effects can affect daily life experiences (Steele, 2011). Unpinned by the cue hypothesis, this work has encompassed a broader conception of the cues which increase ST vulnerability and proposes that our environments and how they are organised contain threatening cues which can trigger stereotypes (Murphy et al., 2007).

Several categories of situational cues exist, but perhaps the most relevant to police encounters are situations in which one's identity group is treated negatively; this may include overt discrimination as well as microaggressions (LaCosse, Sekaquaptewa, & Bennett, 2016). In addition to underperformance, research governed by the cue hypothesis reports a broader range of stereotype effects (Lewis & Sekaquaptewa, 2016) beyond those mentioned in the present review. Furthermore, such work has demonstrated that in real-world settings, ST may play a significant role in undermining performance across a wide range of domains (Burgess et al., 2010; Krendl, Gainsburg, & Ambady, 2012; Lambert et al., 2016; von Hippel, Sekaquaptewa, & McFarlane, 2015), including, during interracial interactions (Goff et al., 2008). Thus, the mechanisms underpinning

police-related RBST are likely to be broader than those proposed by Najdowski et al., 2012ab), accounting for mixed and non-significant findings reported in this review.

1.5.5 Implications for future research

Future research should continue to explore how racial stereotypes of criminality affect a diverse range of RM groups during police encounters, especially since it remains unclear how RB-ST might affect people with multiple racial identities (Thames et al., 2013). Exploration into how police-related RB-ST effects might differ between and within RM groups also warrants further investigation.

To address the methodological limitations identified in this review, future work could provide more valid insight into police-related RB-ST by increasing sample sizes and statistical power. Research using more sophisticated physiological technology than those employed by reviewed studies has shown an association between Black participants' cardiovascular reactivity and threat during interracial interactions (Mendes et al., 2002). This underscores the importance of future research incorporating more sophisticated physiological measures alongside self-report measures as a more reliable means of capturing individual differences in internal states (Kantor et al., 2001).

The clinical applicability of research findings could be enhanced through field research or recruiting from populations at increased risk of and with prior experiences of police contact, as they are more likely to have experienced RB-ST. Additionally, methods that induce threat vicariously could also be considered; compared to imagined encounters, this might elicit feelings of threat akin to real life and amplify racial differences in ST effects(Najdowski et al., 2015b; Kinney, 2020). However, such methods may involve exposure to distressing material, eliciting vicarious trauma symptoms (Bor et al., 2018), and thus pose ethical implications. Arguably, even if ecological validity was improved, such studies may be limited in their ability to mimic RM people's experiences of RB-ST in

actual police encounters, which present substantially higher levels of threat and negative expectations about potential consequences.

1.5.6 Implications for clinical practice

This review suggests that RM people are more susceptible to RB-ST, which might translate to higher levels of anxiety experienced during police encounters relative to White people. These findings carry clinical implications for mental health professionals, particularly those employed in forensic settings.

Stress elicited by ST and the effort required to cope can extend beyond the situations in which it arises, leading to long-term physical and mental health difficulties (Bhui et al., 2018; Paradies et al., 2015), a process known as ST spillover (Inzlicht et al., 2012). Furthermore, intrusive police encounters have been linked to an increased risk of developing race-based traumatic symptoms (Aymer, 2016; Geller et al., 2014). Psychologists and mental health professionals can apply this body of work to understand better how police encounters impact the well-being of RM service users and develop racially informed interventions which alleviate distress.

The findings of this review might also present implications for police policy, training, and practice. Police officers have access to the racist police officer stereotype during encounters with RM civilians; the fear of confirming this stereotype is linked to an overreliance on coercive strategies and lower endorsement of procedurally fair policing practices (Mccarthy et al., 2021; Trinkner et al., 2019). Educating police officers about RB-ST phenomena and training focused on developing practical interpersonal and de-escalation skills could help to improve the quality of their interactions with RM communities and, thus, ameliorate RB-ST effects for both parties (Johns et al., 2005; Kahn et al., 2018). Also, the implementation of policies which promote equitable

interactions, especially when interacting with RM communities, might ensure that police officers adhere to these standards of practice (Kahn, Steele.

Lastly, increasing community-focused policing frameworks exposes RM communities to non-investigatory contacts, which helps develop trust and positive police-civilian relations (Skogan & Hartnett, 2019). Community policing approaches could minimise the extent to which police encounters are perceived as threatening and reduce perceptions of police racism (Richardson & Goff, 2014). Moreover, increased contact with RM communities could afford police officers opportunities to challenge or disconfirm prejudiced attitudes, reducing their reliance on racial stereotypes of criminality (Hugenberg & Sacco, 2008; Spencer et al., 2016). However, the Casey (2023) report highlights a culture of denial and a systemic failure to address racist behaviours and discrimination in the largest UK police force. Thus, it is not only about the police adapting their policing of RM communities but also accepting responsibility to tackle racism through anti-racist policies and practices with the public rather than issuing hollow statements of zero tolerance that have proven untrue (Casey, 2023).

1.6 Conclusion

This review is the first to synthesise the available evidence relating to RM people's experiences of RB-ST during police encounters. The findings from 16 studies provide a preliminary insight into how RM people’s psychological experiences and behaviours may differ from those of their White counterparts. Whilst police encounters induce threat regardless of race, amounting to similar psychological experiences and behavioural responses, there is compelling evidence to suggest RM people are more likely to experience RB-ST, and it is partially evidenced that this threat leads to RM people experiencing greater anxiety relative to White people. Although further investigation is warranted, the evidence points to RB-ST being the underlying cause for experiences of

anxiety, self-regulatory efforts, and deceptive-appearing behaviours during police-initiated encounters for RM but not White people.

These findings contribute to our theoretical understanding of ST as applied to policing domains whilst highlighting future directions for research. However, as this field is dominated by studies conducted under experimental conditions with the inclusion of hypothetical and staged police encounters, it remains unclear how RB-ST shapes RM people's psychological experiences and behavioural responses to police encounters in real life. This review might provide some indication, but there are likely to be broader mechanisms of police-related RB-ST and outcomes at play than the ones explored here.

Ecologically valid research that seeks to elucidate how RB-ST translates to racial differences in responses to police encounters could inform police policy and training that is focused on mitigating RB-ST concerns and thus improving police-community relations. To address any long-term effects of RB-ST, clinicians, particularly those employed in forensic settings, should consider the impact of adverse police encounters on the mental well-being of RM service users and should seek to adopt a racially informed approach to care and treatment.

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Appendix A

Table 2 *Summary of key study characteristics and quality ratings*

Study	Location	Publication status	Study Design	Sample characteristics	Intervention	Stereotype threat prime	Conditions	Quality rating (%)
Abate (2021)	USA	UT	Quasi-experimental	***N***=143 psychology/criminal justice students **Gender**: male **Race:** 35 Black, 41 Hispanic, 2 multi-racial, & 65 White **Age (yrs):** *M* = 19.71, *SD* = 1.9, *range* = 18 -26	a. Random assignment to; Thought induction task- imagined police encounter or Imagined a control scenario b.Survey	Race made salient with demographic questionnaire	Race: (BIPOC vs White) X Stereotype induction (stereotype activation vs control)	81 (Strong)
Appleby (2015) Study 1	USA	UT	Quasi-experimental	***N*** = 87 community members **Gender:** 42 male & 45 female. **Race:** 46 Black & 41 White	Random assignment to culpability conditions; a. Innocent – no theft of wallet	Race made salient by stating the culprit was Black/White during interview	Race: (Black vs White) X Culpability: (innocent vs guilty)	79 (Good)

				Age (yrs): *M* = 33.83, *SD* = 10.61, *range* = 18 – 60yrs	or Guilty- theft of wallet b.Interview mock detective c.Survey			
Epstein (2012) Study 2	USA	UT	Quasi-experimental	***N*** = 120 Hispanic community members **Gender:** 77 male & 43 female **Age:** Not reported	a.Randomly assigned to; Policy forbidding cross-deputisation or Policy authorising cross-deputisation b.To determine policy effect, participants were given; No additional information (neutral) or	Policy authorising cross-deputisation and negative police position statement communicating stereotypes about Hispanics and police officers being racially biased.	Policy type: (forbid vs authorise) X Policy stance: (neutral vs positive vs negative)	92 Strong

					Police position statement opposing policy (positive) or Police position statement supporting policy (negative) c. Survey			
Kahn , Lee, Renauer, Henning, & Stewart (2017)	USA	PR	Cross-sectional	***N****= 1,089 community members* **Gender:** 433 male, 642 female, 7 transgender, and 7 missing **Race:** 71 Black, 26 Hispanic, 15 Native-American, 56 Multi-racial, & 921 White **Age (yrs):** 86 under 30, 284 between 30-44, 269 between 45-59, 301 between 60-74, 135 over 74	Postal survey		Race: (RM vs White)	100 Strong
Kahn & Money (2022)a	USA	PR	Cross-sectional	***N* =** 776, community members **Gender:** 404 male & 372 female	Online survey	n/a	Race: (Black vs Asian vs White)	90 Strong

			Race: *60 Black, 95 Asian,& 621 White* **Age (yrs*)*** *M = 40, SD* = 12.69, *range = 18-78*				
Kahn & MoneyUSA (2022)b	PR	Cross-sectional	***N* =** 534 community members **Gender:** 278 male & 256 female **Race:** 186 Black, 181 Asian, & 167 White **Age (yrs):** *M* = 36.7yrs*, SD* = 12*, range*= 18-77	Online survey	n/a	Race: (Black vs Asian vs White)	100 Strong
Kinney (2020) USA	UT	Quasi-experimental	***N* =** 311, respondents sourced via Prolific Academic crowdsourcing engine **Gender:** 131 male, 171 female, 3 transgender male, & 6 'Other' **Race:** 141 Black & 170 White **Age (yrs)**: *range* = 18-77	a.Random assignment to; Stereotype threat prime condition or Control condition b.Random assignment to Audio clip of civilian interacting with police officer presented with an image of a;	Experimental group was instructed to evaluate criminality stereotypes and impact on police encounters	Race: (Black vs White) X Stereotype Threat (activated vs control) X Police interaction: (Black suspect vs White suspect)	100 Strong

					Black civilian or White civilian c. Survey			
Najdowski (2012)a	USA	UT	Cross-sectional	***N* =** 233 undergraduate psychology students **Gender:** 114 male & 119 female **Race**: 49 Black & 184 White **Age (yrs):** *M* = 19, *SD*= 3, *range* = 17 – 38 yrs	Survey	n/a	Race: (White vs Black) X Gender: (male vs female)	95 Strong
Najdowski (2012)b	USA	UT	Quasi-experimental	***N* =** 79 undergraduate psychology students & community members **Gender:** Male **Race:** 40 Black & 39 White **Age (yrs):** *M* = 39, *SD* = 15, r*ange* = 18 – 76	a.Encounter with a mock security officer enquiring about; A theft -high perceived stereotype relevance or	Race made salient with demographic questionnaire	Race: (Black vs White) X Perceived stereotype relevance: (low vs High)	93 Strong

					Directions to diversity training - low perceived stereotype relevance b.Survey			
Najdowski, Bottoms, & Goff (2015)a	USA	PR	Cross-sectional	***N* =** 233 undergraduate psychology students **Gender:** 114 male & 119 female **Race:** 49 Black &184 White **Age (yrs):** *M* = 19*,* *SD*= 3, *range* = 17 – 38	Survey		Race: (Black vs White) X Gender: (male vs female)	95 Strong
Najdowski, Bottoms, & Goff (2015)b	USA	PR	Quasi-experimental	***N* =** *179* undergraduate psychology students and campus population. **Gender:** male **Race:** 79 Black & 100 White **Age (yrs):** *M* = 21*,* *SD*= 5, r*ange* = 17 – 38yrs	a.Thought induction task; hypothetical police encounter b.Survey	Race made salient with demographic questionnaire	Race: (Black vs White)	86 Strong

Najdowski, Bottoms, Goff & Spanton (2012)	USA	UCP	Cross-sectional	***N* =** *145* university students **Gender:** 65 male & 80 female **Race:** 51 Black & 94 Hispanic **Age (yrs)**: *M* = 19	Survey	n/a	n/a	90 Strong
Pagan, J. & Reyna (2016) a	USA	UT	Field-experimental	***N*** = 93 active protesters **Gender:** 46 male & 47 female **Race:** 52 Hispanic, 41 White **Age (yrs):** *M* age = 27.58*, SD*= 9.03	Randomly assigned to; a. Imagined police confrontation before RB-ST survey or b. RB-ST survey before imagined police confrontation	Intervention group (a) primed with negative racial stereotypes about protesters	Race: (Hispanic vs White) X Confrontation cue (before vs after survey)	68 Adequate
Pagan & Reyna (2016)b	USA	UT	Quasi-experimental	***N*** = 239, recruited from Amazon Mechanical Turk crowdsourcing engine **Gender:** 112 male & 127 female	Video of protest and; a. Imagined a police officer confrontation,	Race made salient with demographic questionnaire	Race: (Hispanic vs White) X Confrontation cue: (police confrontation vs.	85 Strong

				Race: 111 Hispanic & 128 White **Age (yrs):** *M* age = 37.71 , *SD* = 12.43	reflective account, and survey or b. Reflective account and survey (control group)	no police confrontation)	
Robinson (2018)	USA	UT	Quasi-experimental	***N* =** 37 recruited via Survey Monkey **Gender:** 15 males & 22 females **Race:** 22 Black & 15 'Other' ethnic backgrounds. **Age**: *range* = 18-52 years (1 missing)	a.Thought induction task- imaged police encounter b.Survey	Race: (Black vs Other) X Gender: (male vs female)	68 Adequate

Strine (2018)	USA	UT	Quasi-experimental	***N*=** 72, psychology students & community members **Gender:** male **Race:** 34 Black & 38 White **Age** (yrs): *M* = 40 *, SD* = 15yrs, *range* = 18-76	Encounter with a mock security officer asking about a. A theft or Directions for diversity training b. Survey	Demographic questionnaire	Race: (Black vs White) X Perceived stereotype relevance: (low vs high)	78 Good

Appendix B

Table 3 *Summary of study measures, analysis methods, and key findings*

Study	RB-ST Measures	Outcome Measures	Analysis	Findings
Abate (2021)	Stereotype Confirmation Concern Scale (Contrada et al., 2001)	**Affective states (including anxiety):** State-Trait Personality Inventory (Jacobs, Latham, & Brown, 1988; Spielberger, Gorsuch, & Lushene, 1970).	MANOVA	**RB-ST & Arousal:** Significant multivariate group differences based on race (p = .05, partial η^2 = .41); • BIPOC participants reported greater ST (p= .01) and lower cortisol levels at follow-up (p= .01) than White participants. • No significant multivariate differences of condition (RB-ST induction vs control groups) on baseline cortisol, change in cortisol, or follow-up cortisol condition (p = .13; Wilk's Λ = 0.63, partial η^2 = .38).
		Arousal: Cortisol	2x2 MANOVA	**State Anxiety:** Significant multivariate group differences based on race x condition on dependent outcomes (p = .001; Wilk's Λ = 0.72); • Black participants in ST induction group reported higher state anxiety than Black patients in control group (p = .002).

Appleby (2015) Study 1	Meta perceptions of mock detective questionnaire	**Anxiety:** Nervousness and discomfort scale **Self-regulatory efforts:** Interview strategies scale **Non-verbal behaviour:** Objectively coded non-verbal behaviour and non-vocal nonverbal cues	Binary logistic regressions 2 x 2 ANOVAs Binary logistic regression 2 x 2 MANOVAs	**RB-ST** ***Perceived bias and veracity judgement of mock detective:*** • Culpability, race, and race x culpability interaction not significant predictors of whether suspects thought the mock detective was biased (p = .06) or judged them as innocent or guilty (p = .81). **Anxiety:** ***Interview nervousness*** • No significant main effect of race (p = .71, ηp^2 = .002), culpability (p = .06, ηp^2 = .04) or race x culpability interaction (p = .40, ηp^2 = .01) on interview nervousness. ***Interview discomfort*** • No significant main effect of race(p = .23, ηp^2 = . 02), culpability (p = .29, ηp^2 = .02), or race x culpability interaction (p = .89, ηp^2 < .001) on interview discomfort. **Self-regulatory efforts:** ***Planning verbal statement*** • No significant main effect of race (p = .88, ηp^2 < .001), culpability (p = .50, ηp^2 <.01), or race x culpability interaction (p = .56, ηp^2 = .004) on planning of verbal statements. **Planning interview strategy** • No significant differences; regardless of race, similar portions of innocent and guilty participants devised a strategy for the interview (p = .18.) ***Non-vocal nonverbal cues:*** **Eye gaze, head movements, laughter, smiles, illustrators, leg/foot movement, trunk movements as dependent variables**

		At a multivariable level; • No significant main effect of race (p = .74, ηp^2 = .07), culpability (p = .75, ηp^2 = .07) or race x culpability interaction (p = .75, ηp^2 = .07). ***Vocal non-verbal cues:*** **Speech rate and speech disturbances as dependent variables** At a multivariable level; • No significant main effect of race (p = .16, ηp^2 = .05), culpability (p = .13, ηp^2 = .06) or race x culpability interaction (p = .27, ηp^2 = .03).
	2 x 2 ANOVAs	***Vocal non-verbal cues:*** ***Speech rate*** Significant main effect of culpability (p =.05, ηp^2 = .05). • Innocent suspects spoke faster than guilty suspects (p =.05, ηp^2 = .05). • No significant main effect of race; (p = .95, ηp^2 < .001) or race x culpability interaction (p = .49 ηp^2 = .01) on speech rate. **Speech disturbances** • No significant main effect of race (p = .06 ηp^2 = .05), culpability (p = .53, ηp^2 = .01) or race x culpability interaction (p = .13 ηp^2 < .13) on speech disturbances.

Epstein (2012) Study 2	Explicit stereotype threat scale (adapted from Marx & Goff, 2005) Negative Expectations Scale	**Anxiety:** Intergroup Anxiety Scale (Van Zomeren, Fischer & Spears, 2007)	Independent T-tests	**RB-ST:** • Hispanic participants in the ST condition reported significantly more ST vs those in the control group (p = .02. d = .43).** **Negative expectations:** • Hispanic participants in the ST condition expected more negative interactions with police officers vs those in control group (p = .004, d = .53).** **Anxiety:** • No significant differences in anxiety between Hispanic participants in the ST condition vs those in the control group. (p = .89).
Kahn , Lee, Renauer, Henning, & Stewart (2017)	Explicit Stereotype Threat Scale (adapted from Marx & Goff, 2005; Goff et al., 2012; Najdowski et al., 2015).	Self-reported phenotypic racial stereotypicality Scale	Independent t-test Pearson's Correlation	**RB-ST:** • RM participants reported significantly more ST than White participants (p < .001, d = .76).** **Self-reported phenotypic racial stereotypicality:** • Higher perceived phenotypical racial stereotypicality was significantly associated with increased ST for RM participants (r = *.17,* p < .05*) but not for* White participants (r = *- .01, p = n.s.)**

Kahn & Money (2022)a	Mask related Race-based Social Identity Threat Scale: Police ([SIT-P] Kahn et al.,2017)	One-Way ANOVA	**RB-ST:** Significant racial differences; ($F \geqslant 35.58$, $p < .001$); • Black participants reported more RB-ST than Asian participants ($p < .001$, $d = 0.76$), and Asian participants reported significantly more RB-ST than White participants ($p < .001$, $d = 0.59$) due to mask-wearing during COVID-19.

Kahn & Money (2022)b	Mask-related Race- **Gender** based Social Identity Threat Scale: Police ([SIT-P] Kahn et al.,2017 Change in police-related social identity threat due to mask-wearing scale	One-way ANOVA	**RB-ST:** **Threat pre-pandemic levels (non-mandatory mask-wearing)** Significant racial differences in self-reported RB-ST due to mask-wearing; • Black participants reported significantly more RB-ST than Asian (p < .001, d = 0.87)) and White participants (p < .001, d = 1.54) when interacting with police officers wearing masks. • Asian participants reported significantly more RB-ST than White participants (p < .001, d = 0.70) when interacting with police officers wearing masks.
		2 x 2 ANOVA	*RB-ST and Gender* • No significant race x gender interaction (p < .63) • No main effect of gender (p < .12) • Significant main effect of race (p < .001)
		One-way ANOVA	**Threat during the COVID-19 pandemic (mandatory mask-wearing)** • Black participants reported a significant increase in RB-ST during police encounters due to mandatory mask-wearing compared to Asian (p < .001, d = 0.97) and White participants (p < .001, d = 1.05). • No significant differences between Asian and White Participants ((p = .545).
		2 x 2 ANOVA	*RB-ST and Gender* • Significant main effect of race (p < .001). • No main effect of gender (p < .64). • No significant race x gender interaction (p < .80).

Kinney (2020)	Modified Explicit ST Scale (Najdowski, Bottoms, & Goff, 2015)	**Executive functioning:** n-back task (Stoet, 2018)	MANOVA's	Significant multivariate difference on dependent variables (including RB-ST and executive functioning) (p < .001, Wilks Λ = .61, η^2 = .39). **RB-ST:** Significant between-subjects effects • Black participants reported significantly more ST than White participants (p < .001). **Executive functioning:** *Response time* • No significant between-subjects effects on executive functioning response time.* E**xecutive functioning** *Accuracy* • No significant multivariate difference when executive functioning was included as a dependent variable (p < .001,Wilk's Λ = .61, η^2 = .39).
Najdowski (2012)a	Modified version of the Explicit Stereotype Threat Scale (Goff et al., 2008; Marx & Goff, 2005)	Anxiety Scale Self-consciousness scale	One-Way ANOVA 2x2 ANOVA	**RB-ST:** • Black participants agreed significantly that they experience more RB-ST than White participants (p = < .001, η_p^2= .24). **Anxiety*:*** • No significant racial differences.* **Self- consciousness**: • No significant racial differences.* *RB-ST Gender differences* • No significant main effect of gender.* • No significant race x gender interaction.*

Najdowski (2012)b	**RB-ST:** Modified version of the Explicit Stereotype Threat Scale (Goff et al., 2008; Marx & Goff, 2005). Concerns about being accused scale Perceived stereotype likelihood scale	**Anxiety**: Specific anxiety scale **Arousal:** Heart rate **Self-regulation:** Self-regulatory efforts scale **Cognitive load:** The Stroop colour naming task (1935) **Nonverbal behaviour:** Objectively coded non-verbal behaviour Subjective perceptions of non-verbal behaviour (e.g. *Suspiciousness, nervousness, and attempts to avoid appearing nervous and self-controlled behaviour)*	2 x 2 ANOVA & 2 x 2 and ANCOVA (controlling for perceived racism) 2x2 MANOVA and one-way ANCOVA (controlling for perceived racism)	**RB-ST:** Significant main effect of race; • Black participants reported more RB-ST than White participants (p = < .001, η_p^2= .20) but no significant racial differences when controlling for perceived racism* Significant main effect of perceived stereotype relevance; • Participants reported more ST reported when the perceived risk of being stereotyped was high vs low (p < .001, η_p^2= .21). • No significant race x perceived stereotype relevance interaction.* *Concerns about being accused and perceived stereotype likelihood:* Significant multivariate main effect of race (p = < .001, η_p^2= .19); • No significant racial differences for concerns about being accused of wrongdoing.* • Black participants perceived it more likely they would be stereotyped as criminals than White participants(p < .001, η_p^2= .19) but no significant racial differences when controlling for perceived racism* Significant multivariate main effect as by concerns about being accused and perceived stereotype likelihood (p = < .001, η_p^2= .40); • When the perceived risk of being stereotyped was high vs low, participants were more concerned about being accused of wrongdoing (p = < .001, η_p^2= .40) and perceived it more likely they would be stereotyped as a criminal (p = .01, η_p^2 = 08).

2 x 2 ANOVA	• No significant multivariate interaction as measured by concerns about being accused and perceived stereotype likelihood.*
ANCOVA (controlling for baseline heart rate)	**Anxiety:** • No significant main effect of race (p = .07, η_p^2 = *.04)* Significant main effect of perceived stereotype relevance; • Higher anxiety was reported when the perceived risk of being stereotyped was high vs low (p = < .001, η_p^2= .26). Significant race x perceived stereotype relevance interaction *(p* = .002, η_p^2= .12); • No racial differences in anxiety when the perceived risk of being stereotyped was low, but when high, Black participants reported significantly less anxiety than White participants (p = < .001, η_p^2= .23). **Arousal:** • No significant race differences.* Significant difference in heart rate; • Heart rates increased when perceived risk of being stereotyped was high versus low (p = .03, η_p^2= .07). • No significant race x perceived stereotype relevance interaction.*
2 x ANOVA	**Self-regulatory efforts:** • No significant main effect of race.* Significant main effect of perceived stereotype relevance; • When the perceived risk of being stereotyped was high vs low, participants engaged in more self-regulatory efforts (p = < .001, η_p^2= .35).

2x 2ANCOVA (controlling for reaction times to control trials	• No race x perceived stereotype relevance interaction.*
	***Cognitive load*:** • No significant racial differences in response times.* • No significant differences in response times regardless of perceived stereotype relevance (p = *n.s.*, η_p^2 = .05)* • No significant race x perceived stereotype relevance interaction.*
2 x 2 ANOVA	**Objectively coded non-verbal behaviour** ***Nervous appearance:*** Significant main effect of race; • Black participants appeared more anxious than White participants (p = .001, η_p^2=18). Significant main effect of perceived stereotype relevance. • Participants appeared more nervous when they perceived the risk of being stereotyped was high vs low (p = .03, η_p^2=.07). • No significant race x perceived stereotype relevance interaction.* ***Self-adaptors**:* Significant main effect of race; • Black participants used fewer self-adapters than White participants (p = < .001, η_p^2= .19). • No significant main effect of perceived stereotype relevance.* • No significant race x perceived stereotype relevance interaction.* ***Smiles:***

		• No significant main effect of race.* Significant main effect of perceived stereotype relevance; • Participants smiled less when the perceived risk of being stereotyped was high vs low (p = .09, η_p^2=.45). • No race x perceived stereotype relevance interaction.* ***Eye contact maintained:*** • No significant main effect of race.* Significant main effect of perceived stereotype relevance; • Participants maintained more eye contact when the perceived risk of being stereotyped was high vs low (p < .001, η_p^2= .20). • No significant race x perceived stereotype relevance interaction. ***Gaze aversion, head movements, gesturing, position shifts, & attempt to distance self from item reported stolen:*** • No significant main effects or race.* • No significant main effects of perceived stereotype relevance.* • No significant race x perceived stereotype relevance interaction.*
	2 X 2 MANOVA	**Subjective perceptions of non-verbal behaviour** • No significant multivariate main effect race.* Significant multivariate main effect of perceived stereotype relevance (p = .02, η_p^2= .13); • Participants perceived they behaved more suspiciously (p = .02, η_p^2= .07), nervously (p = .04, η_p^2= .05) and controlled their behaviour significantly more (p = .01, η_p^2= .08) when the perceived risk of being stereotyped was high vs low.

			Significant race x perceived stereotype relevance interaction (p = .05, η_p^2= .10); • When the perceived risk of being stereotyped was high rather than low, Black participants thought they acted less suspiciously (p = .03, η_p^2= .03), less nervous (p = .004, η_p^2 = .06) and made fewer efforts to control their behaviour (p = .05, η_p^2= .03) than White participants.
Najdowski, Bottoms, & Goff (2015)a	Stereotype Threat Scale (Goff, Steele, & Davies, 2008; Marx & Goff, 2005; Marx, Stapel, & Muller, 2005)	2 x 2 ANOVA	**RB-ST:** Significant main effect of race; • Black participants were more likely to agree that they experience RB-ST during police encounters than White participants (p < .001, Cohen's d = .57). • No significant main effect of gender p < .07, Cohen's d = .00) • No significant race x gender interaction (p = .10, partial η^2 =.01).
		T-tests	***Gender*** • Black men agreed significantly more that they experience RB-ST during police encounters (p = .03, d = .55). • Black women did not significantly agree or disagree (p = .81, d = .04). • White men (p < .001, d = - 1.16) and White Women p < .001, d = - 1.25) significantly disagreed.

Najdowski, Bottoms, & Goff (2015)b	Modified Explicit Stereotype threat scale (Goff, Steele, & Davies, 2008; Marx & Goff, 2005; Marx et al., 2005) Expectations about the officer's actions scale Expectations about being accused of wrongdoing scale	**Anxiety** Anticipated anxiety scale **Self-regulation** Anticipated self-regulatory efforts scale **Non-verbal behaviour** Anticipated suspicious behaviour scale	MANOVA and supplementary t-tests	Significant multivariate effect of race on dependent variables (p = <.001, Wilk's Λ =.49, partial η^{2} = .51) **RB-ST** *Explicit ST scale:* • Black men anticipated more RB-ST than White men (*p* = < *.001).* ○ Black men significantly agreed they would experience ST (p = .001, d = .41), and White men significantly disagreed (p = < .001, d =1.63). ***Expectations about officer's actions*** • *No main effect of race* (*p* = .06). **Expectations of being accused of wrongdoing** Significant main effect of race; • Black men anticipated being accused of wrongdoing significantly more than White men (*p* = .002). **Anxiety:** Significant main effect of race; • Black men anticipated more anxiety than White men (*p* = .02) **Self-regulatory efforts:** Significant main effect of race; • Black men anticipated engaging in significantly more self-regulatory efforts than White men (*p* = .03) **Anticipated suspicious behaviour**: Significant main effect of race; • Black participants anticipated behaving significantly more suspiciously than White participants (*p* = .01).

Najdowski, Bottoms, Goff & Spanton (2012)	Explicit stereotype threat scale (adapted from Goff et al., 2008)	**Racial identity:** Racial/Ethnic identity scale (Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley, & Chavous, 1998) **Anxiety:** Anxiety Scale	Linear regression	**Racial identity and RB-ST** • Black and Hispanic participants who identified more strongly with their racial/ethnic identity anticipated significantly more RB-ST (p = .01, R^2= .05). **Anxiety**: • For Black and Hispanic participants, RB-ST (p < .001, R^2= 26), but not higher racial/ethnic identification (R^2 = .02, p = .08), was significantly associated with greater police-related anxiety.
Pagan & Reyna (2016)a	Stereotype threat Scale	**Anxiety** Anxiety scale **Self-regulation:** Self-consciousness scale	2 x 2 ANOVA	**RB-ST:** Significant main effect of race; • Hispanic protesters anticipated greater RB-ST than White protesters (p = < .001, η_p^2 = .13). Significant main effect of confrontation cue; • Protesters who imagined the police encounter before completing measures reported greater RB- ST (p = .04, η_p^2 = .04). Significant race x confrontation cue interaction (p = .03., η_p^2 = .05); • Hispanic protesters were more likely to experience ST when imagining a police encounter before completing RB-ST measures vs after (p = < 0.01, η_p^2 = 0.14). White protesters were unconcerned about confirming negative stereotypes whether they imagined the police encounter before or after completing ST measures.

Pagan, J. & Reyna, (2016)b	Explicit Stereotype Threat Scale (Marx and Goff, 2005).	**Anxiety** Affect anxiety (Najdowski et al., 2015) **Self-regulation** Self-consciousness scale (Najdowski et al., 2015)	2 x 2 ANCOVA's	***RB-ST:*** Significant main effect of race; • Hispanic participants reported more RB-ST than White participants (p = < .001, η_p^2 = 0.11) Significant main effect of confrontation cue; • Participants who imagined a police encounter reported more RB-ST vs those who did not (p=. 002, η_p^2= .04). • No significant race x confrontation cue interaction (p = *n.s.*)* **Anxiety:** Significant race x confrontation interaction (p = .03, η_p^2= .02); • Imagining a police encounter was anxiety-provoking for White and Hispanic participants, but the effect was greater for Hispanic participants. (p = < .01, η_p^2= .06). • No significant main effect of confrontation cue; Anxiety levels for Hispanic and White participants did not differ significantly when they did not imagine a police encounter (p = *n.s.)*.* ***Self-consciousness**:* • No significant main effect of race.* Significant main effect of confrontation cue; • Participants imagining a police encounter anticipated more self-conscious behaviours vs those who did not (p = < .001, η_p^2 = .06)* • No significant race x confrontation cue interaction. (p = *n.s.)**

Robinson (2018)	Expectations of possible stereotyping scale Concerns about being accused of wrongdoing scale	**Anxiety:** Encounter scale - Reactions and feelings scale **Self-regulatory efforts** Action scale- Self-regulatory responses to encounter	2x2 ANOVA's	**RB-ST:** Expectations of possible stereotyping: Significant main effect of race; • Black participants expected to be stereotyped more than other ethnic groups (*p*= .02) • No significant main effect for gender (*p* = .09) • No significant race x gender interaction (*p* = .27). Concerns about being accused of wrongdoing**:** • No significant main effect of race (*p* = .98) • No significant main of gender (*p* = .64). • No significant race x gender interaction (*p* = .64). **Anxiety:** • No significant main effect of race (*p* = .98) • No significant main effect of gender (*p* = .64). • No significant race x gender interaction (p = .64). **Self-regulatory efforts** • No significant main effect of race (*p* = .42) • No significant main effect of gender (*p* = .27). • No significant race x gender interaction (*p* = .37).

Strine (2018)	**ST:** Explicit Stereotype Threat Scale (Goff et al., 2008; Marx & Goff, 2005)	Cognitive process and Analytical thinking inferred by verbal behaviour	2 X 2 ANOVA's	**RB-ST:** Significant main effect of race; • Black men reported greater ST than White men (p = < .001, η_p^2 = .23). Significant main effect of perceived stereotype relevance; • ST increased when the perceived risk of being stereotyped was high vs low (p = < .001, η_p^2 = .18). • No significant race x perceived stereotype relevance interaction (p = .07). **Cognitive processes:** • No significant main effect of race (p = .57, η_p^2 = .005) Significant main effect of perceived stereotype relevance; • Number of words used to express cognitive processes decreased when the perceived risk of being stereotyped was high vs low (p = <.001, η_p^2 = .20). • No significant race x perceived stereotype relevance interaction (p = .45, η_p^2 = .009. **Analytical thinking:** • No significant main effect of race *(*p = .24, η_p^2 = .02)**. Significant main effect of perceived stereotype relevance; • More words were used to express analytical thinking when the perceived risk of being stereotyped was high vs low (p = .05, η_p^2 = .05). No significant race x perceived stereotype relevance interaction (p = .99, η_p^2 < .001).

*No p-value and/or effect size reported.

** Sufficient data was reported to calculate effect sizes.

Appendix C

Table 4 *Summary of direct and indirect effects of key variables*

Study	Explanatory variable(s)	Hypothesised Mediator/moderator	Analysis	Outcome(s)	Findings
Abate (2021)	Group membership (RB-ST induction vs Control)	**Mediator:** change in cortisol (Between baseline and follow-up) **Moderator:** race (BIPOC vs White)	Structural Equation Modelling (Mplus version 8.1 software; Muthén & Muthén, 2017	Negative affect (Including anxiety)	**Arousal/anxiety:** **Direct effect** • Group membership was not a significant predictor of change in cortisol (*β* = -.06, *b* = -.35, *SE* = .90, *p* = .70.) (*β* = .04, *b* =.95, *SE* = 2.16, *p* = .66). • Change in cortisol was not a significant predictor of negative affect (*β* = 0.04, *b* =0.95, *SE* = 2.16, *p* = .66). **Indirect effect** • Change in cortisol level was not a significant mediator of the association between group membership and higher state anxiety *b* = -.03, *SE* = .10, *p* = .81). • Race was not a significant moderator of the association between group membership and change in cortisol levels (White, *b* = - .03, *SE* = .10, *p* = .81; BIPOC, 42 *b* = .01, *SE* = 0.09, *p* = .95).

Najdowski (2012)b	Race	**Mediators:** RB-ST Perceived stereotype likelihood Self-reported Anxiety	Regression Model with Sobel tests	Objectively coded nervous appearance	**Non-verbal behaviour – Nervous appearance** **Direct effect** RB-ST did not significantly predict nervous appearance (*β* = .30, SE = .10 *p* = .06) but approached significance. • Perceived stereotype likelihood did not significantly predict nervous appearance. (*β* = - .11, SE = .14 *p* = .45). • Anxiety did not significantly predict nervous appearance *(β* = .13, SE = .18 *p* = .34). **Indirect effect** • RB-ST partially mediated the association between race and nervous appearance (*z* = 2.28, *p* = .02) but not when controlling for perceptions of perceived racism (*z* = 1.41, *ns*.)*
				Self-adaptors	**Direct effect** • RB-ST did not significantly predict the frequency of self-adaptors (*β* = .12, SE = .24 *P* = .47). • Perceived stereotype likelihood did not significantly predict the frequency of self-adaptors (*β = .05, SE= 35 p* = .75). • Anxiety did not significantly predict the frequency of self-adaptors (*β* = .01, SE= 40 *p* = .97).
		Mediators: RB- ST			**Indirect effect** • No significant mediation effects emerged. The regression model revealed the effect of race on the

Perceived stereotype likelihood Concern about being accused Anxiety Heart rate Self-regulatory efforts		frequency of self-adaptors remained significant (*β* = -48, *SE* = .66, *p* =.001), and no potential mediators emerged as significant predictors.
	Eye contact	**Direct effect** • RB-ST did not significantly predict eye contact (*β* = .12, SE = .24, *p* = .47). • Perceived stereotype likelihood did not significantly predict eye contact (*β* = .03, *SE*= .03, *p* =.84). • Concerns about being accused did not significantly predict eye contact (*β* = .21, *SE* =.02 *p* =.25). • Anxiety did not significantly predict eye contact *(β* = .01, *SE* = .03, *p* =.94 • Heart rate did not significantly predict eye contact but approached significance (*β* = .50, *SE* = .00, *p* = 09) • Self-regulatory efforts did not significantly predict eye contact (*β* = -.02, *SE* = .03, *p* =.92). **Indirect effect** • Heart rate partially mediated the relationships between the perceived risk of being stereotyped and increased eye contact (z = 2.28, *p* = .02).
	Frequency of smiles	**Direct effect** • RB-ST did not significantly predict the frequency of smiles (*β* = -.20, *SE* = .22, *p* = .12).

Stereotype relevance		• Perceived stereotype likelihood did not significantly predict the frequency of smiles *(β* = .18, *SE*= .34, *p* =.17). • Concerns about being accused significantly predict the frequency of smiles (*β* = -.28, *SE* = .31, *p* =.04). • Anxiety did not significantly predict frequency of smiles *(β* = .04, *SE* = .44, *p* =.75) • Heart rate did not significantly predict frequency of smiles (*β* = .70, *SE* = .03, *p* = .01) • Self-regulatory efforts did not significantly predict the frequency of smiles (*β* = .70, *SE* = .04, *p* =.45).
		Indirect effect No significant mediation effects; • The regression model found perceived stereotype relevance remained a significant predictor of the frequency of smiles, and its effect increased in strength (*β* = -.69, *SE* = .69 p <.001).
	Self-reported suspicious behaviour	**Direct effect** When perceived stereotype relevance was high; • RB-ST did not significantly predict suspicious behaviour (*β* = .20, *SE* = .09, *p* = .93). • Perceived stereotype likelihood did not significantly predict suspicious behaviour *(β* = -.28, *SE*= .13, *p* =.29).

	• Concerns about being accused significantly predict suspicious behaviour (*β* = .29, *SE* = .10, *p* =.21). • Anxiety did not significantly predict suspicious behaviour *(β* = .23, *SE* = .22, *p* =.38) • Heart rate did not significantly suspicious behaviour (*β* = .24, *SE* = .02, *p* = .53) • Self-regulatory efforts did not significantly predict suspicious behaviour (*β* = -19, *SE* = .13, *p* =.32). **Indirect effect** When perceived stereotype relevance was high; • No significant mediation effects emerged. The regression model revealed the effect of race on suspicious behaviour was no longer significant (*β* = -26, *SE* = .31, *p* =.40), but no potential mediators emerged as significant predictors.
Self-rated nervous appearance	**Direct effect** When perceived stereotype relevance was high; • RB-ST did not significantly predict nervous behaviour (*β* = .38, *SE* = .10, *p* = .10). • Perceived stereotype likelihood did not significantly predict nervous behaviour *(β* = -.38, *SE*= .15, *p* =.13). • Concerns about being accused significantly predict nervous behaviour (*β* = -.13, *SE* = .11, *p* =.52).

	• Anxiety did not significantly predict nervous behaviour *(β* = .11, *SE* = .25, *p* =.66) • Heart rate did not significantly nervous behaviour (*β* = .39, *SE* = .02, *p* = .28) • Self-regulatory efforts did not significantly predict nervous behaviour (*β* = -08, *SE* = .15, *p* =.65). **Indirect effect** When perceived stereotype relevance was high; • No significant mediation effects emerged. The regression model revealed the effect of race on nervous behaviour was no longer significant (*β* = -46, *SE* = .35, *p* =.07), but no potential mediators were significant predictors.
Self-rated controlled behaviour	**Direct effect** When perceived stereotype relevance was high; • RB-ST significantly predicted controlled behaviour (*β* = .56, *SE* = .15, *p* = .02). • Perceived stereotype likelihood significantly predicted controlled behaviour *(β* = -.48, *SE*= .22, *p* =.05). • Concerns about being accused significantly predict controlled behaviour (*β* = -.28, *SE* = .17, *p* =.18). • Anxiety did not significantly predict controlled behaviour *(β* = .09, *SE* = .37, *p* =.70)

					• Heart rate did not significantly controlled behaviour (β = .40, *SE* = .03, *p* = .26) • Self-regulatory efforts did not significantly predict controlled behaviour (β = -07, *SE* = .23, *p* =.71). **Indirect effect** When perceived stereotype relevance was high; • RB-ST partially mediated the association between race and self-controlled behaviour to avoid appearing nervous (*z* = 1.7, *p* = .02). • Perceived stereotype likelihood was not a significant mediator of the association between race and self-controlled behaviour (*z* = -1.63, *p* = .10).
Najdowski, Bottoms, & Goff (2015)b	RB-ST Expectations about being accused Expectations about the police officer's actions	**Mediators:** Anticipated anxiety scale Anticipated Self-regulatory efforts	Structural Equation Modelling ([SEM] AMOS 18 software; Arbuckle)	Anticipated anxiety Anticipated self-regulatory efforts	**Indirect effect** • Expectations about being accused significantly predicted more anxiety for black (β = .40, *p* = .002) and White participants (β = .59, *p* = .002).[a] **Direct Effects:** When imagining a police encounter; • RB-ST significantly predicted more anticipated self-regulatory effects for Black (β = .19, *p* = .01) but not for White participants (β = .13, *p* = .15). • Expectations about being accused significantly predicted more anticipated self-regulatory efforts for

		White (*β* = .22, *P* = .002) but not Black participants *(β* = .10, *p* = .34). • Expectations about a police officer's actions significantly predicted less anticipated self-regulatory efforts for Black participants (*β* = - .19, *p* = .04). There was no significant association for White participants (*β* = -.10 .22, p = .31).
Anticipated suspicious behaviour	**Direct effects** When imagining a police encounter;	• Anticipated self-regulatory efforts significantly predicted more anticipated suspicious behaviour for Black (*β* = .37, *p* = .002) and White (*β* = .58*, p* = .002) participants. • Expectations about being accused positively predicated more anticipated suspicious behaviour for Black (*β* = .16, *p* = .03) and White (*β* = .15, *p* = .04) participants.
	Indirect effects: When imagining a police encounter;	• Self-regulatory efforts significantly mediated the effect of RB-ST on anticipated suspicious behaviour for Black (*β* = .07, 95% BC CI [.02, .13], p = .01) but not White (*β* = .08, 95% BC CI [-.03,.16], p = .15) participants • Self-regulatory efforts did not mediate the effect of expectations about being accused on anticipated suspicious behaviour for Black participants (*β* = -

					.04, 95 % BC CI [-.04,.12], *p* = .34), but there was a significant mediation effect for White participants *(β = .24,* 95% BC CI *[.11, .39] p* = .002). • Self-regulatory efforts mediated the effect of RB-ST on expectations about a police officer's actions for Black (.07, 95% BC CI [-.17, -.01], p = .04) but not White (.08, 95% BC CI [-.19, 06], p = .15) participants.
Najdowski, Bottoms, Goff & Spanton (2012)	High racial/ethnic identification	RB-ST	Regression Model and Sobel test	Police- related anxiety	**Anxiety:** **Direct effect** • Higher racial/ethnic identification was not a significant predictor of police-related anxiety (*p* = .08, R^2 = .02) • RB-ST significantly predicted more police anxiety (p < .001, R 2 = .26). **Indirect effect** • RB-ST was a significant mediator *(β* = .51) of the association between higher racial/ethnic identification and police anxiety *(z* = 2.54, *p* = .01).
Pagan & Reyna (2016)b	Race (Hispanic vs White)	ST	Preacher & Hayes' (2008) Model 4	Anticipated anxiety	**Direct effect** • RB-ST significantly predicted of anticipated anxiety for Hispanic (*β* =.510, *p*< .001, 95% CI [.353, .666]) and White participants (*β* =.359, *p*< .001, 95% CI • [.186, .531]).

				Path Analysis	Anticipated self-consciousness	**Indirect effect** • RB-ST significantly mediated the association between imaging a police encounter and anxiety for Hispanic (β = .230, *SE*=.102; 95% CI [.045, .448] but there was no indirect association for White participants (β = .06, *SE* = .063; 95% CI [-.055, .197]).[b] **Direct effect** • RB-ST significantly predicted of anticipated self-consciousness for Hispanic (β = .440, *p*< .001, 95% CI [.309, .562]) and White (β = .267, *p*< .001, 95% CI [.141, .392]) participants. **Indirect effect** RB-ST significantly mediated the association between imaging a police encounter and self-consciousness for Hispanic (β = .197, *SE* = .08; 95% CI [.040, .353] but there was no indirect association for White participants (β = .045, *SE* = .046; 95% CI [-.041,.15]).[c]
Strine (2018)	Perceived Stereotype relevance	ST		Regression Model with Sobel tests	Analytical thinking	**Direct effect** • RB-ST did not significantly predict the association between perceived stereotype relevance and analytical thinking (β = .04, SE = 1.41, *P* = .78). **Indirect effect** • No significant mediation effect; the regression model revealed

		the effect of perceived stereotype relevance on verbal behaviours linked to analytical thinking was no longer significant (R^2 = .06, p = .14).
	Cognitive processes	**Direct effect** • RB-ST significantly predicted the association between perceived the association between perceived stereotype relevance and cognitive processes (β = -.34, SE = 1.21, P = .01). **Indirect effect** • RB-ST partially mediated the association between perceived stereotype relevance and verbal behaviours linked to cognitive processes (z = -2.63, p = .009).

[a] For Black and White participants, SEM revealed non-significant paths between RB-ST and expectations about a police officer's actions to anticipated anxiety and suspicious behaviour and between anxiety to anticipated suspicious behaviour (p > .10).
[b & c] For White participants, there was no effect of the confrontation manipulation on RB-ST, thus mediation effects could not be tested. As such, the analysis was treated as a path analysis.

Appendix D

Table 5 *Quality assessment ratings*

	Q1. Objectives sufficiently described	Q2. Study design	Q3. Method of Subject Comparison	Q4. Subject Characteristics	Q5. Random allocation	Q6. Blinding of investigators	Q7. Blinding of subjects	Q8. Outcome and exposure measures	Q9. Sample size	Q10. Analytic methods	Q11. Estimate of variance	Q12. Confounding	Q13. Results reported in detail	Q14. Conclusion supported by results	1st rating	2nd rating	Discrepancies resolves	Percentage (%)
Abate (2021)																		
1st author	2	2	1	2	2	n/a	0	2	0	2	1	2	2	2	.77	.88	.81	**81 Strong**
3rd author	2	2	2	2	2	n/a	1	2	0	2	2	2	2	2				
4th author			1				0											
Appleby (2015)																		
1st author	2	2	2	2	1	2	n/a	2	0	2	2	0	2	2	.81	.79	.79	**79 Good**
2nd author	2	2	2	2	2		0	2	0	2	2	0	2	2				
4th author					2		0											

Epstein (2012)																		
1st author	2	2	2	2	1	n/a	n/a	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	.92	.91	.92	**92 Strong**
3rd author	2	2	2	2	1	n/a	2	2	n/a	2	1	n/a	2	2				
4th author							2		1		2	2						
Kahn et al. (2017)																		
1st author	2	2	2	2	n/a	n/a	n/a	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	.95	.95	1	**100 Strong**
2rd author	2	2	2	2	n/a	n/a	n/a	2	2	2	1	2	2	2				
4th author											2	2						
Kahn & Money (2021)[a]																		
1st author	2	2	2	2	n/a	n/a	n/a	2	2	2	2	0	2	2	.90	1	.90	**90 Strong**
3rd author	2	2	2	2	n/a	n/a	n/a	2	2	2	2	2	2	2				

4th author												0						
Kahn & Money (2021)[b]																		
1st author	2	2	2	2	n/a	n/a	n/a	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	n/a	**100 Strong**
3rd author	2	2	2	2	n/a	n/a	n/a	2	2	2	2	2	2	2				
4th author																		
Kinney (2020)																		
1st author	2	2	2	2	2	n/a	n/a	2	2	2	**2**	2	2	2	1	.96	1	**100 Strong**
2nd author	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	2				
4th author						n/a	n/a				2							

Najdowski (2012)[a]																		
1st author	2	2	2	2	n/a	n/a	n/a	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	.95	.95	**95 Strong**
3rd author	2	2	2	2	n/a	n/a	n/a	2	1	2	2	2	2	2				
4th author									1									
Najdowski (2012)[b]																		
1st author	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	.93	.95	.93	**93 Strong**
3rd author	2	2	2	2	n/a	n/a	n/a	2	1	2	2	2	2	2				
4th author					1	2	2											
Najdowski et al. (2015)[a]																		
1st author	2	2	1	2	n/a	n/a	n/a	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	.95	1	.95	**95 Strong**
3rd author	2	2	2	2	n/a	n/a	n/a	2	2	2	2	2	2	2				

4th author			1															
Najdowski et al. (2015)[b]																		
1st author	2	2	1	2	n/a	n/a	n/a	2	1	2	2	0	2	2	.82	.91	.86	**86 Strong**
3rd author	2	2	1	2	n/a	n/a	n/a	2	1	2	2	2	2	2				
4th author												1						
Najdowski et al. (2012)																		
1st author	2	2	1	2	n/a	n/a	n/a	2	2	2	0	n/a	1	2	.90	.95	.90	**90 Strong**
3rd author	2	2	1	2	n/a	n/a	n/a	2	2	2	2	n/a	2	2				
4th author											0		1					
Pagan & Reyna (2016)[a]																		
1st author	2	2	2	2	1	0	0	2	1	2	2	0	2	2	.71	.60	.68	**68 Adequate**

2nd author	2	2	2	2	1	0	0	2	0	2	0	0	2	2				
4th author									1		1							
Pagan & Reyna (2016)[b]																		
1st author	2	2	2	2	1	n/a	0	2	2	2	2	0	2	2	.81	.88	.85	**85 Strong**
2nd author	2	2	2	2	2	n/a	0	2	2	2	2	1	2	2				
4th author					1							1						
Robinson (2018)																		
1st author	1	2	2	1	n/a	n/a	n/a	2	0	2	2	0	2	2	.73	.60	.68	**68 Adequate**
2nd author	1	2	1	0	n/a	n/a	n/a	2	0	2	0	n/a	2	2				
4th author			1	1							2	0						
Strine (2018)																		
1st author	2	2	1	2	2	0	2	2	0	2	1	1	2	2	.75	.71	.78	**78 Good**

2nd author	2	2	2	1	0	0	2	2	1	2	0	2	2	2				
4th author			1	2	2				1		1	1						

Chapter 2 Exploring Black Men's Experiences of Race-Based Stereotype Threat During Police-Initiated Encounters Using Qualitative Methods

2.1 Abstract

For Black American men, concerns about being judged in line with criminality stereotypes can elicit race-based stereotype threat [RB-ST] and affect how they experience police-initiated encounters. However, less is known about whether police-related RB-ST transcends US populations. This qualitative study interviewed Black men in the UK with lived experiences of police-initiated encounters to explore if and how they experienced RB-ST. Interview transcripts were subject to reflexive thematic analysis yielding four over-arching themes; ''Awareness of Black Criminality Stereotypes', 'Under Threat', 'Responding to Threat', and 'Survival'. Participants' awareness of Black criminality stereotypes led to experiences of RB-ST during police-initiated encounters. This was characterised by anxiety-related cognitions and diverse emotional reactions, which, for a minority of participants, manifested physiologically and increased cognitive load. Self-regulatory strategies were perceived to ensure safety and mitigate the likelihood of appearing suspicious for most participants. Significantly, exposure to racism, racial socialisation, and cumulative police-initiated encounters buffered the intensity of RB-ST effects and increased perceived coping. There was tentative evidence to suggest the lasting consequences of police-related RB-ST might include poor self-esteem, dis-identification with aspects of Blackness, and race-based trauma symptoms. Future research should explore the generalisability of these findings to assist theory development and upskilling clinicians in race-based trauma presentations and interventions, which could enhance treatment for Black men affected by adverse police encounters.

13,409 words (excluding figures and tables). Prepared for *Qualitative Research in Psychology.*

2.2 Introduction

Permeating society are racialised stereotypes depicting Black men as aggressive, violent, and prone to criminal activity (Kleider-Offutt et al., 2017), especially gang, weapon, and drug supply crimes (Donnor & Brown, 2011; Williams, 2015). Within policing domains, these representations of Black masculinity fuel the criminalisation of Black men, who are typically assigned the presumption of guilt (Eberhardt et al., 2004; Long & Joseph-Salisbury, 2019; Park & Banaji, 2000) and subjected to higher levels of police surveillance, containment, and violence (Joseph–Salisbury et al., 2021; Long & Joseph-Salisbury, 2019; Vera Sanchez & Adams, 2011). Racial inequalities are evident in stop and search figures, with Black men being seven times more likely to be stopped by the police (UK Government, 2022), and compared to other racial groups, are more likely to experience police use of weapons and firearms (Home Office, 2022).

Research has explored extensively how Black criminality stereotypes negatively influence police officers' judgments and behaviour (Spencer et al., 2016). However, scant attention has been given to how criminality stereotypes shape Black people's experiences of police encounters (Najdowski et al., 2015). To explore the latter, emerging literature has started to apply the phenomenon of stereotype threat [ST] to policing domains; this relates to one's fears of being negatively stereotyped and concerns about confirming this stereotype, which, paradoxically, has been shown to result in stereotype-congruent behaviour (Steele & Aronson, 1995). Applying ST theory to policing contexts, Najdowski (2012) theorised that a fear of being perceived through the lens of Black criminality stereotypes might inadvertently lead Black people to display behaviour that police officers erroneously judge suspicious. Research undertaken exclusively in the United States [US]

suggests that police encounters do indeed elicit ST concerns among innocent Black people; however, the mechanisms underlying ST effects for Black people during their encounters with police and the subsequent impact on their behaviour remain unclear (Simms-Sawyers et al., 2023). Moreover, little is known about whether ST shapes the experience of police encounters for Black people outside the US. The present study adopts a qualitative inquiry to examine if and how the fear of being judged in line with Black criminality stereotypes shapes the psychological experience and behavioural responses to police encounters for innocent Black men living in the United Kingdom [UK].

2.2.1 Stereotype threat defined

For ST activation to occur, negative stereotypes do not have to be endorsed, nor is evidence of biased or differential treatment required (Aronson, 2002). Instead, ST is defined as a situational predicament where a negative, societal-level stereotype applicable to one's valued identity group is relevant to the context and elicits concerns that one might confirm this stereotype or be evaluated in line with it (Marx & Goff, 2005; Steele, 1997; Wout et al., 2009). Situations that cue negative stereotypes attack one's self-concept (Goff et al., 2008; Steele et al., 2002), motivating one to detach oneself from the threatened identity or engage in efforts to disconfirm the stereotype (Bergeron et al., 2006; Steele & Aronson, 1995; Steele et al., 2002). However, attempts to disconfirm negative stereotypes can have deleterious effects on performance and paradoxically result in stereotype-congruent behaviours (Pennington et al., 2016; Steele, 2011).

2.2.2 Proposed mechanisms underlying ST effects

Although the underlying mechanisms remain unclear, there is a consensus that ST may undermine performance through its effects on three distinct but interrelated processes: anxiety-related arousal, self-regulatory efforts, and cognitive load (Major & O'Brien, 2005; Schmader et al., 2008).

Concerns about being judged in line with a negative stereotype and unintentionally confirming it has been shown to heighten anxiety and related physiological arousal (Croizet et al., 2004; Lehman & Conley, 2010; Townsend et al., 2011), resulting in nervous-appearing behaviour (Shelton, 2003; Vorauer & Turpie, 2004). To discern whether they are being judged stereotypically or displaying stereotypic behaviour, stereotype-threatened individuals will exhibit increased vigilance to their psychological state, behaviour, and environment, which they monitor for potential threat cues (Beilock & McConnell, 2004; Murphy et al., 2007; Schmader et al., 2008; Steele et al., 2002). At the same time, they suppress negative appraisals and feelings to counter experiences of threat and control or alter their behaviour to disprove negative stereotypes (Cook et al., 2011; Schmader et al., 2008; Smith et al., 1997). However, self-regulatory efforts consume attentional resources such that stereotype-threatened individuals focus less on the task at hand (Cook et al., 2011; Gehring & Knight, 2000; Schmader et al., 2008). Also, self-regulatory efforts may disrupt the natural flow of behaviour, leading to inauthentic interactions (Richeson & Shelton, 2007; Shelton, 2003).

The combined effects of anxiety-related arousal and self-regulatory efforts overload working memory with distracting information, the effects of which are detectable through verbal and non-verbal behaviours and make stereotyped-threatened individuals appear nervous or present as though they are experiencing difficulties (Doherty-Sneddon & Phelps, 2005; Hrubes & Feldman, 2001; Leal et al., 2008; Wallbott & Scherer, 1991).

2.2.3 Raced-based ST and police encounters: theory

Drawing on ST theory, Najdowski (2012) proposed a theory of police-related raced-based ST [RB-ST] to outline the psychological experiences and behavioural responses of innocent Black civilians during police-initiated encounters. Although ST and RB-ST are used interchangeably throughout this paper, the latter explicitly denotes the psychological

concern experienced when one perceives they are viewed or treated differently due to race (Kahn et al., 2017).

The pervasiveness of Black criminality stereotypes led Najdowski (2012) to hypothesise that police-initiated encounters elicit greater concerns among Black people about being unfairly treated and stereotyped as criminals compared to White people. The anxiety elicited is said to heighten physiological arousal, causing Black people to engage in self-regulatory efforts to disprove or avoid confirming criminality stereotypes. However, the combined effects of arousal and self-regulatory efforts are proposed to deplete their cognitive resources, impairing performance during police-initiated encounters.

As the behavioural symptoms of ST share similarities with nonverbal behaviours, police officers associate with deception (Inbau et al., 2001; Kahn et al., 2018), including nervousness, gaze aversion, tense posturing, body movements (Mann et al., 2004; Strömwall & Granhag, 2003; Vrij et al., 2006), use of self-adaptors, smiling, and speech disturbances (Vrij & Semin, 1996). Najdowski (2012) further postulated that compared to White people, this may position Black people at greater risk of being erroneously judged as suspicious by police officers.

2.2.4 RB-ST and police encounters: evidence-base

Emerging evidence supports the notion that Black but not White people experience RB-ST during police encounters (Abate, 2021; Kahn et al., 2017; Kahn & Money, 2021; Kinney, 2020; Najdowski, 2012; Najdowski et al., 2015; Robinson, 2018; Strine, 2018), particularly when they possess high race centrality (Najdowski et al., 2012) or perceived phenotypic racial stereotypicality (Kahn et al., 2017). What remains less clear are the mechanisms underpinning police-related RB-ST.

Some studies have shown an association between police-related RB-ST and heightened anxiety for Black people (Najdowski et al., 2012), with Black men significantly

more affected than White men (Abate, 2021; Najdowski et al., 2015). However, others failed to support these findings (Appleby, 2015; Najdowski, 2012; Robinson, 2018). Also, the notion that Black people experience greater physiological arousal (Abate, 2021; Najdowski, 2012), engage in more self-regulatory efforts (Appleby, 2015; Najdowski, 2012; Robinson, 2018), and experience greater cognitive load than White people due to police-related RB-ST is largely unsupported (Kinney, 2020; Najdowski, 2012; Strine, 2018). Research has shown that Black men anticipate they would appear more suspicious during police-initiated encounters (Najdowski et al., 2015) and objectively appear more nervous than White people during staged encounters with a police-like figure. Yet, the evidence, overall, provides weak support for the premise that police-related RB-ST manifests in more suspicious-appearing non-verbal behaviours among Black people compared to their White counterparts (Appleby, 2015; Najdowski, 2012; Robinson, 2018).

Beyond Najdowski's (2012) theoretical model, others have examined whether police-related RB-ST was linked to factors such as learned helplessness, impaired social perception or cognition, aggression, and reduced cooperation, though many findings were insignificant. Compared to White people, Black people's experiences of police-related RB-ST were not associated with a state of learned helplessness (Robinson, 2018), impaired social perception (Kinney, 2020), aggression (Abate, 2021), or reduced cooperativeness with police (Appleby, 2015). Abate (2021), however, found evidence to suggest that under RB-ST, Black people exhibit enhanced social cognition.

Preliminary insights suggest Black people are likely to experience RB-ST during police-initiated encounters, but there is limited evidence to support Najdowski's (2012) model and the mechanisms proposed to underlie experiences of police-related RB-ST. Much of the literature points to police encounters eliciting some degree of threat irrespective of one's race (Simms-Sawyers et al., 2023). However, Najdowski et al. (2015) found that police-initiated encounters appear to evoke RB-ST concerns for Black people

but concerns about being accused of wrongdoing for White people. Thus, it is probable that there are key racial differences in psychological experiences and behavioural responses to police-initiated encounters.

2.2.5 Critiques and Limitations

Traditionally, ST phenomena have been explored under laboratory conditions and assessed quantitatively (Davis & Silver, 2003; Entsminger, 2017), while qualitative explorations have been neglected across the literature (Doan, 2008; Entsminger, 2017). This oversight also applies to research examining police-related RB-ST. Typically, experimental paradigms have involved inducing RB-ST in participants by making them consciously aware of Black criminality stereotypes before exposure to a simulated encounter with a police-like figure or inviting participants to estimate their responses to an imagined police encounter (for review, see Simms-Saywers et al., 2023). However, anticipated responses tend to underestimate actual behaviour (Ayton et al., 2007; Webb & Sheeran, 2006), and both experimental paradigms lack the threat of a real encounter.

Across the broader literature, ST as a theoretical construct remains poorly understood, which may be partly due to the lack of self-report measures designed to capture it (Masten et al., 2011; Pseekos et al., 2008). Existing measures have been guided by researchers' preconceptions and experimental findings (Pseekos et al., 2008) rather than those with lived experiences. Moreover, there are no psychometrically valid measures of RB-ST in the domain of police encounters (Najdowski et al., 2015). Instead, scales from other stereotyped domains have been adapted to investigate police-related RB-ST. Since ST effects and the mechanisms implicated vary between stigmatised groups (Pennington et al., 2016), modifying domain-specific measures to explore police-related RB-ST might produce unreliable outcomes.

To the best of our knowledge, research, as it pertains to Black peoples' experiences of police-related RB-ST, has not been conducted outside the US. In the UK, scant attention has been given to the voices of Black people regarding their experiences of police encounters (Robertson & Wainwright, 2020). However, research has shown that police stop and searches are perceived as a 'normal' occurrence for Black people (Gunter, 2015; Jackson & Smith, 2014), and compared to their White, more suspicious-looking peers, Black men believe they are more likely to be targeted and stereotyped by the police as potential suspects of crime (Gunter, 2015; Jackson & Smith, 2014; Long & Joseph-Salisbury, 2019; Sharp & Atherton, 2007). Such findings suggest that Black men in the UK are likely to experience RB-ST during police-initiated encounters.

2.2.6 Rationale

Quantitative methods have offered limited insight into ST as a theoretical construct (Doan, 2008; Pseekos et al., 2008), and Black men's voices concerning their experiences of police encounters have been understudied in the UK (Robertson & Wainwright, 2020). Therefore, this study sought to establish whether experiences of police-related RB-ST, which have been evidenced in the United States, applied to Black people living in the UK. Given that criminality stereotypes are more pronounced for men, especially Black men (Plant et al., 2011), this study focused on exploring the experiences of Black men living in the UK.

To advance our theoretical understanding of RB-ST phenomena, further research is needed to delineate how Black criminality stereotypes impact psychological and behavioural responses to police encounters. In doing so, this study employed qualitative inquiry to gather in-depth explorations into lived experiences of police-initiated encounters. Qualitative inquiry is well suited to studies with exploratory aims (Creswell & Poth, 2016) and which seek to uncover the underlying construct of phenomena that quantitative measures have been unable to fully capture (Creswell et al., 2011; Hesse-Biber & Leavy,

2010; Liamputtong, 2019). Furthermore, qualitative inquiry is championed as an approach which prioritises the voices of marginalised or under-acknowledged populations who are often silenced (Spencer, Fairbrother, & Thompson, 2020).

2.2.7 Research questions

Through qualitative inquiry, the present study sought to understand if and how Black criminality stereotypes shape the experience of police-initiated encounters for Black men living in the UK. The following areas were of particular interest: (a) How do Black men understand and experience police-related RB-ST, specifically regarding their affective, cognitive, self-regulatory, and behavioural responses? (b) What strategies, if any, do Black men use to buffer experiences of police-related RB-ST or to navigate police encounters? (c) How do Black men perceive police-related RB-ST affects long-term emotional well-being?

2.3 Methodology

2.3.1 Study Design

This study was situated within an interpretive-constructionist paradigm, which informed all methodological considerations. An interpretive-constructionist approach was adopted as it privileges subjective experiences and multiple perspectives (Bowen, 2008), thus offering a rich insight into the unique meanings people construct about their world and social experiences (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015).

2.3.2 Participants

Black men with prior experiences of police-initiated encounters were recruited through purposive and snowballing sampling. Purposive sampling allows for the recruitment of information-rich participants with knowledge or experiences of the

phenomenon of interest (Denzin & Lincoln, 2002; Patton, 2002), whilst snowball sampling increases access to 'hard to reach' populations (Naderifar et al., 2017). Both sampling techniques are commonly used in qualitative inquiry (Naderifar et al., 2017; Palinkas et al., 2015), which centres on exploring unique experiences rather than producing generalisable findings (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

Participants were eligible if they 1) had at least one prior experience of a police-initiated encounter where they were innocent; 2) resided in the UK; 3) were aged 18 years and over; 4) possessed internet access for online interviews; and 5) were not experiencing psychological difficulties that could have been exacerbated through their participation. As Black Mixed-raced men perceive they are subjected to the same criminality stereotypes as Black men (Long & Joseph-Salisbury, 2019; Long, 2016), they were also deemed eligible.

The use of theoretical saturation to determine sample size has been contested (Korstjens & Moser, 2018) as it diverges from the reflexive process of qualitative inquiry that emphasises knowledge is constructed; thus, new insights are always available (Mason, 2010). As researchers are now encouraged to adopt a more interpretive approach in determining when to stop recruitment (Braun & Clarke, 2021; Whiffin et al., 2021), the sample size for the present study was determined by the expression of interest and considerations regarding the quality and richness of data.

2.3.3 Measures

A Qualtrics web-based survey (see **Appendix E**) was administered to all potential participants to screen their eligibility for participation and collect basic demographic information, including age, race/ethnicity, UK citizenship status, and contact details.

The development of the interview schedule was primarily based on Nadowski's (2012) theoretical model of police-related RBST, which was later utilised as a framework

to guide the interpretive phase of analysis. However, existing literature on Black people's experiences of police encounters in the UK also informed the development of the interview schedule. Accordingly, interview questions were developed to capture the themes of interest outlined in **Table 6.** As prior theory and research were used to inform the interview schedule and because all participants had experiences of police encounters and were fully informed that the study sought to explore the influence of racialised criminality stereotypes during these interactions, this allowed for a more direct line of questioning. However, it was acknowledged that this also produced some questions that could be considered leading.

Although potentially leading questions do not always compromise the authorship of participants' responses (Cairns-Lee, Lawley, & Tosey, 2022), the interview schedule was designed to minimise any bias introduced. In doing so, interviews were semi-structured in design, which assisted with making sense of subjective experiences (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015; Minichiello et al., 2008). Open-ended questions were used to explore the themes of interest, and by adhering loosely to the interview schedule (see **Appendix F**), participant responses determined follow-up questions. Together, this allowed the interviewer to obtain information of interest, minimised their influence over the direction and content of the interviews and allowed participants to introduce novel topics (Minichiello *et al.,* 1999). These steps were intended to ensure the researcher captured, as far as possible, a faithful description of participants' subjective accounts and what they perceived was meaningful (Creswell & Poth, 2016). Nevertheless, in keeping with an interpretive-constructivist approach, interviews were acknowledged as an interactive process where meaning was being co-constructed between the participants and the researcher (Boyland, 2019). Thus, whilst participants constructed meaning surrounding their experiences of police-initiated encounters, the interview design and direction of questioning were inevitably guided by the researchers' interpretation, what they deemed meaningful, and knowledge of ST theory (Creswell, 2014; Denzin & Lincoln, 2002; Koro-Ljungberg, 2008).

Author four reviewed an initial draft of the interview schedule, resulting in refinements to the question structure to improve openness and clarity. The interview schedule was then piloted with one participant to establish the appropriateness and relevance of the question set; this revealed ambiguity in the phrasing of questions, which was corrected, and questions were further modified to reduce repetition and enhance clarity. Pilot data were included in the main analysis as their account addressed research questions sufficiently and provided rich insight into their perspectives and experiences.

Table 6 *Themes of interest and corresponding interview questions*

Themes of interest	Example open-ended questions
General attitudes toward police and the use of stop and search	• *What are your thoughts on police stop and searches?* • *What do other Black men say about their experiences of stop and searches?*
Direct experiences of police-initiated encounters and perceptions of being targeted due to race	• *Could you tell me about your most memorable experience of being stopped and searched?* • *Could you describe, if any, experiences of feeling stereotyped during this stop and search?*
Impact of racial stereotyping on psychological experiences and behavioural responses to police-initiated encounters	• *What thoughts came to mind when the police officer(s) approached you?* • *What kind of feelings came up for you?* • *How did you feel in your body at the time?* • *How did these feelings and thoughts affect how you interacted with the police?* • *What kind of judgments do you think the police made about you based on your behaviour?*
Coping strategies developed for navigating future police-initiated encounters	• *How have your experiences of stop and search influenced how you might respond to police encounters in the future?*
The longer-term impact on wellbeing	• *To what extent have your experiences of being stopped and searched impacted your well-being?*

2.3.4 Procedure

The study advertisement (see **Appendix G**) was distributed on social media platforms (e.g., Facebook, Instagram, and relevant WhatsApp community groups) with a link to a Qualitrics web-based survey. Completion of the web-based survey was taken to indicate an initial interest in participating. All eligible participants were emailed a copy of the participant information form (see **Appendix H**), and an information-providing session was arranged. Information-providing sessions were conducted via phone to fully inform eligible participants about the study's purpose, review the participant information sheet, and address any queries. It was also highlighted that interviews would be video-recorded, participation was confidential, and they could withdraw their data from the study at any point without providing a reason. Following the information-providing session, participants were emailed a consent form (see **Appendix I**) and given up to one week to return a signed copy. This allowed participants sufficient time to make an informed decision about their participation or to opt out freely. After obtaining consent, a mutually agreed time for the interview was arranged.

Interviews conducted by the first author, took place between March and April 2023 and were digitally recorded via Microsoft Teams, a suitable equivalent to in-person interviews (Lo Iacono et al., 2016). Following the interviews, participants were debriefed verbally and in writing (see Appendix J) and provided information about ST theory as it relates to police-initiated encounters. In recognition of their contribution to the study, participants received an Amazon voucher worth £25.

Interviews were transcribed verbatim by the first and second authors and cross-checked for accuracy before deleting the respective digital recording. To preserve confidentiality, all participants were assigned a pseudonym.

2.3.5 Analysis

Transcripts were uploaded into NVivo (version 12) and analysed by the first author using reflexive thematic analysis [RTA] to identify patterns of meaning across the data (Braun & Clarke, 2019). Although interviews offered a space in which participants could describe and construct meaning around their subjective experiences of police-initiated encounters, it was acknowledged that during analysis, these meanings were reproduced through the researcher's interpretation of participants' narratives, their subjectivities (Creswell, 2014) and what was deemed meaningful to the study (Byrne & Carthy, 2021).

An experiential orientation to analysis was adopted whereby participants' accounts were deemed to reflect their contextually situated, subjective realities (Braun & Clarke, 2013). This was well suited to the aims of this study, which was primarily concerned with participants' perspectives and attitudes concerning their experience of police-related RB-ST and sense-making constructed around these events. A predominately inductive approach was employed during the data coding to remain close to the meanings participants communicated about their experiences (Braun & Clarke, 2013). However, as deductive approaches offer a lens through which the data can be interpreted (Braun & Clarke, 2022), ST theory was used to guide the interpretive phase of analysis, enabling participants' accounts to be organised meaningfully and in line with the research questions.

The analysis followed Braun & Clarke's (2006) six-step framework for RTA, outlined in **Table 7**. This iterative process involved the researcher moving recursively through the steps, making refinements as they became more immersed in the data (Braun & Clarke, 2021). The primary researcher undertook coding and theme development, representing their interpretation of the data (**see Appendix K**). However, authors two and three were invited to review coding and theme decisions to ensure meaningful interpretation and

explore alternative perspectives. Rather than obtaining consensus, this was aimed at advancing the interpretation of the data (Braun & Clarke, 2022).

Table 7 *Braun & Clarke's (2006) six-step framework for RTA.*

Step	Description
Step 1 Familiarisation	This began at the transcription stage and continued with the re-reading of transcripts, where initial ideas for coding were noted.
Step 2 Generating initial codes	Data were primarily open-coded at a semantic level. However, latent coding was also considered, resulting in double-coded items that portrayed the explicit meaning of participants' accounts and the researchers' interpretation, respectively (Patton, 1990).
Step 3 Searching for themes	This stage reflected the beginning stages of the interpretive analysis (Boyatzis, 1998). Using ST theory as a framework, patterns of meaning were identified, and codes were combined to establish initial themes and subthemes.
Step 4 Reviewing themes	Themes were refined to ensure they were distinct, formed a coherent and meaningful pattern, and represented the data set.
Step 5 Defining and naming themes	An interpretative analysis was completed, depicting the narratives discussed within individual themes and their relation to other themes. The names selected for each theme were intended to portray the essence of their content.
Step 6 Producing the report	Data excerpts capturing the core aspects of each theme were selected and reported alongside the interpretive analysis.

2.3.6 Reflexivity

While a researcher's position relating to the study topic can influence the research direction, this is considered a key asset to knowledge production; thus, reflexivity and subjectivity should be embraced (Braun & Clarke, 2019). The first author and primary researcher maintained reflexive notes throughout the research process. They reflected on their identities as a Black female and a trainee clinical psychologist. While they had no lived experiences of police-initiated encounters, they have past experiences of racism and

feelings of being racially stereotyped. These experiences were expected to shape how participants' accounts were interpreted but would, perhaps, offer a means of connecting with participants and, therefore, enhance the richness of data.

2.3.7 Ethics.

Ethical approval for this study was granted by the ethics committee at the University of Southampton on 9th March 2023: Reference number 79590. A1.

2.4 Findings

2.4.1 Participant and encounter characteristics

Participant characteristics are shown in **Table 8**. Most police-initiated encounters occurred in London, and all participants reported experiencing multiple encounters. There was considerable variation in the recency of police-initiated encounters ranging from 5 months to 12 years ago. Encounters consisted of street (n = 7) and vehicle (n = 6) stops, but most participants reported experiences of both (n = 5). Of note, Miles described a police-initiated encounter involving forced entry into his home. None of the encounters led to a criminal conviction or further action being taken.

Table 8 *Summary of participant and encounter characteristics*

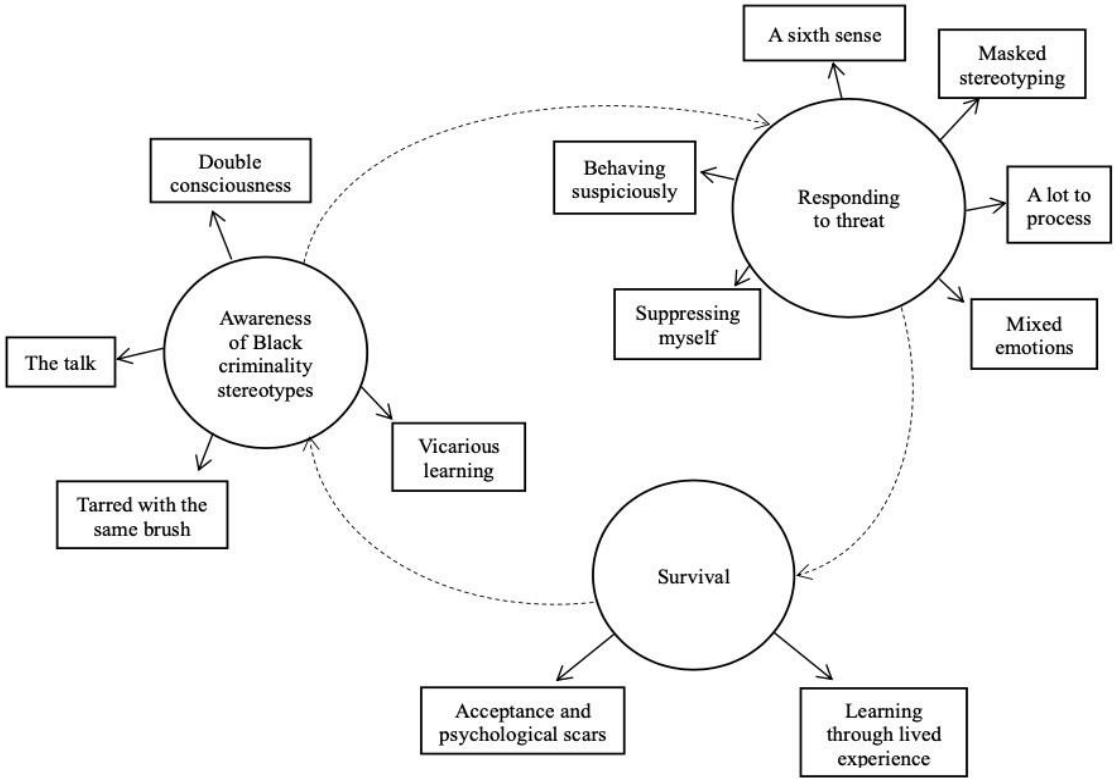
Name	Age	Ethnicity	Citizenship	Location	Type of the encounter	Recency of the encounter
Ade	28	Black African	Nigerian	Bristol	Car	≈ 2 years ago
Maurice	22	White and Black Caribbean	British	London	Street	≈ < 1 year ago
Stephan	38	Black African	British	London	Car and Street	≈ 2 years ago
Kayden	31	Black African	British	London	Car and Street	≈ 12 years ago
Miles	49	Black African	British	London	Car, Street, and Home	≈ 10 years ago
Kwame	22	Black African	Ghanian	London	Street	≈ 2 years ago
Jason	35	Black African	British	London	Car and Street	≈ 1 year ago
Dereck	21	Black African	British	London	Car and Street	≈ 7-8 years ago

Note. Sign ≈ means approximately. Participants were assigned a pseudonym.

2.4.2 Qualitative findings

RTA identified three over-arching themes; ‘Awareness of Black Criminality Stereotypes’, ‘Responding to Threat’, and ‘Survival’; they are summarised alongside their respective sub-themes in **Figure 3**. The findings are presented as an interpretive analysis of the overarching and sub-themes with illustrative excerpts from the raw data.

Figure 3 *Experiences of police-related RB-ST: a thematic map of overarching themes and sub-themes*



2.4.3 Awareness of Black criminality stereotypes

This theme depicts how participants developed an awareness of stereotypes depicting Black men as criminals and their learning that such stereotypes govern policing practice. This awareness appeared to shape their attitudes and expectations of police before having any direct experiences of police-initiated encounters. It consists of four subthemes, '*double consciousness'*, '*the talk'*, '*vicarious learning'*, and '*Tarred with the same brush'*.

2.4.3.1 'Double consciousness'

Participants embraced and celebrated their Blackness (n = 8). However, the historical persistence of racism remained at the forefront of their consciousness, forcing

them to reflect on their Blackness through the White Gaze. As such, they were cognizant of being devalued based on their race;

> *To me [Blackness], it's almost everything. But that's not by choice. That's because people wanna make it everything. It's not just police doing this and that that makes you think about your Blackness. It's also because of everything Black people have gone through in general. Yeah. It's the racism we face, it's passed down in our history... So it makes you think upon it ...People don't see me as Maurice. It's you're Black. That's what people see without knowing who I am… when White people look on Black people, it's you're Black... but when they look upon their race...oh, it's a person...* (Maurice)

Observing themselves through the White gaze led to an acute awareness of the negative stereotypes society, particularly White people, hold about them (n=7); "…*the stereotype around Black people is they're aggressive, they're dangerous, they're a threat…It has been well documented throughout history… in how the news portrays information about Black individuals… in every facet of society"* (Kayden). Thus, participants *'double consciousness'* led them to the simultaneous but reluctant holding of two conflicting identities; that is, their true, affinitive identity as Black and the societal or White view of themselves. The pervasiveness of Black criminality stereotypes, as understood by participants, functioned to maintain White privilege and power and to silence and oppress Black people; "*It's part of a system that's designed to corrupt and keep people having a smaller voice and feeling a certain way about themselves"* (Miles).

2.4.3.2 'The talk'

During pre-teen and teenage years, participants (n = 5) described being subjected to *'the talk'* in preparation for police-initiated encounters and were warned by parents or relatives, "…*it's not 'if', it's 'when'"* (Kayden). Taught to approach police-initiated encounters with caution, to control their emotions, and to submit to police requests to avoid mistreatment, it was here that participants began to form negative expectations of

police. The notion of the talk still being a necessity elicited a sense of frustration; "*That's just shameful…It's terrible! No other race in society, or class, would have to tell their kids to do that!"* (Miles). Another participant reflected on the challenge of balancing advice from 'the talk' with the reality of police encounters;

> *… my dad was always like, 'Make sure you're aware of yourself when you're around the police', but, you know, there's always that other factor where… they will ask you questions to trigger you, to have that excuse to justify anything wrong they do to you in return….He said, 'Don't give them an excuse to do whatever negativity they will put upon you... You know, any questions they ask, just answer it'…But that's almost impossible…especially when they're ordering you to do things. How can you take orders and not feel like you're being dominated at the same time? (Jason)*

2.4.3.3 'Vicarious learning'

'Vicarious learning' took place through witnessing police interactions with the Black community, peer conversations (n = 4), or the media (n = 5). It played a crucial role in shaping participants' negative attitudes and expectations of police before acquiring direct experience and afforded them additional strategies for navigating police encounters. Through 'vicarious learning' it became "common knowledge" for participants that being a law-abiding citizen did not shield Black men from being racially stereotyped by the police. Maurice highlighted that "just being of colour puts more of a target on your back." Moreover, media portrayals of police brutality were a stark reminder that in the presence of police, the safety of Black men is under threat;

> …when they like, stop them [White people]. You know, they talk to them mainly, but for us Black people, it's not always like that. It's more like aggressiveness… Like, I've seen so many videos on social media regarding this…(Ade)

2.4.3.4 'Tarred with the same brush'

Although participants (n =8) did not object to police stop and search, they felt it was used as a racial profiling tool whereby all Black men were *'tarred with the same brush';*

> *… in theory, they make sense, errm as kind of like a deterrence ... But…unfortunately, because [police] inherently have these prejudices… it can never be used correctly…[Police] associate people of my colour as kind of more dangerous. So we're more likely to get stopped. Even though, in my lifetime, I've seen more White people or others with, let's say, knives and even drugs… So…the theory behind it is valid, but the execution of them is inherently flawed...* (Dereck)

Whiteness was seen to grant "*a bit of leeway"* (Maurice), and this leniency shown by police toward White people appeared to strengthen participants' (n = 7) belief that Black criminality stereotypes govern policing. As Black men, however, participants perceived they possessed few protective factors; "*it doesn't even matter, whether you're 12, you're 30, you're 40, as long as you're Black, you're a target"* (Stephen). Participants (n = 6) accepted that specific attire invited police suspicion (e.g. hoodies) but also discussed that indications of Black men possessing higher class, status, or material success were equally suspicious since it contradicted police presumptions of Black inferiority (n = 6).

> *So I feel like when they stop Black people…it's… they look shady, or, they look very wealthy… and why is that? So there is kind of, none of this acceptance that this person could be sort of, a very well-respected member of the public who worked hard to get to that position... Or, you know, this kid is wearing sort of baggy trousers… and he's got a hat to the side…if he's a White… 'Well, you know, the kids nowadays, that's what they do', versus 'Ohh here's a Black teenager, oh yeah, he looks like he's carrying a weapon. I'm sure he's up to no good. I'll stop him…' And I feel these judgments that they act out, is where they go wrong…… and usually the class thing is also I don't like the fact that this person's doing well, so that's the hatred in there.* (Miles)

Despite being acutely aware that class nor race protected Black men from being stereotyped as criminals, a few participants spoke to the intersection between race, class, and age and how this shaped encounters with police. Compared to older Black men, being a young Black male increased the risk of police-initiated encounters; "*When you get older, it's not too bad… They doubt you're out here with all these like, 19-year-olds selling drugs… But while you're young it's especially bad*" (Maurice). As Kayden's excerpt illustrates, the risk is further amplified by being young, Black, and working-class. Higher socio-economic status, however, was deemed to better equipped Black men to navigate police encounters;

> *I think we have a caveat… I was very fortunate in the sense that I was good in school… I grew up in a very White dominant area. Yeah, so my ability to code-switch with certain demographics makes it a lot easier for me to recognise the different situations and navigate them. Whereas, I had a lot of friends who only grew up in inner-city London, and so, when they face situations that are challenging, they aren't able to recognise that communicating a particular way is seen as lesser. Therefore your consequences [of police encounters] are going to be negative as a result of it.*
> (Kayden)

Overall, Participants' narratives (n = 5) depicted a sense of hopelessness about the police system changing. Despite constantly "*going over this ground for generations"* (Miles), "...*nothing has changed, nothing at all…zero...*" (Jason). As a dad, Stephen acknowledged the harsh reality that his "son will probably go through the same thing."

2.4.4 Responding to threat

This theme depicts situational cues that activated participants' awareness of Black criminality stereotypes *within police-initiated encounters themselves*, including the actions of police, which exacerbated concerns of being judged accordingly. Additionally, it captures participants' psychological and behavioural responses to perceptions of being racially stereotyped as a criminal. '*Responding to threat'* encompasses six sub-themes: 'a

sixth sense', 'masked stereotyping', 'a *lot to process', 'mixed emotions', 'suppressing myself', and 'behaving suspiciously'.* Notably, the emotional responses captured here verbally do not reflect the intensity in tone expressed during the interviews.

2.4.4.1 'A sixth sense'

Illustrated by the following excerpt, participants (n=6) described 'a sixth sense'. This was the anticipation that they were going to be targeted just by the mere presence of police and, thus, engaged in preparation for an encounter;

> …there was a few of them, like just standing at the entrance…So I kind of knew what was about to happen... I kind of braced myself… You know, like the whole theory is that as Black people, we have like a sort of double consciousness or whatever… I just already knew how I was being perceived from the White gaze…. so you kinda like have a sixth sense… (Kwame)

2.4.4.2 'Masked stereotyping'

Participants' narratives conveyed a heightened vigilance towards police officer actions, which they perceived exhibited 'masked stereotyping', the implicit communication of Black criminality stereotypes. Nearly all participants (n = 7) felt they had been racially stereotyped due to the officers' inability to provide a clear rationale for their decision; "*They didn't really justify why they'd done it... I kind of knew why it was …"* (Kayden). For others, (n = 3) being told they fit the description was taken to signal they were being targeted without sufficient evidence and solely due to race; *"…whenever you ask them why you're stopped, they tell you that you fit the description that they are looking for. That description is the same description for anybody of my race. A Black male…*" (Maurice). When participants were questioned about ownership of expensive possessions (n = 4) or when references were made to their suspected involvement in criminal activities stereotypically assigned to Black men ([n=4], e.g., drugs, weapon possession, or gangs), they felt this communicated stereotypical judgments of Black criminality;

> *… They [police] goes… 'there's a lot of gang activities'… 'I'm like, 'I'm a big guy…in my thirties… I don't know nothing about gang activity.' They were like, 'It doesn't matter, you know people in their forties still do gangs and sell drugs'...You know, it's just from simple conversation, [then] drugs and fraud, and all of this was bought into it.* (Stephan)

Half shared experiences of being singled out from their White peers for a stop and search, which was perceived as a strong indication of racial stereotyping. The remaining half felt police use of excessive force communicated stereotypical assumptions about Black men being aggressive and dangerous;

> *I just got stopped because there was high knife crime in the area… But the person with me didn't… We were literally dressed the same, in the sense that we don't look like we're from that walk of life at all. And you know, I'm Black, he's White, but I'm the one that gets stopped. (Kwame)*

> *I had no muscle, no size or nothing, and was obviously skinny. Looked like a baby… They still didn't hesitate to just treat me like I was some 43-year-old man who can bench press 100 kilograms. They just disregarded all context and kind of saw what they wanted to see, someone who can Bench press 100 kilograms…They saw me as a little Black BLOB, that's probably dangerous.* (Dereck)

2.4.4.3 Cognitions: 'a lot to process'

Participants' narratives conveyed a preoccupation with worry; these comprised anticipatory, self-doubt/conscious, and evaluative cognitions. Six participants expressed concern about the potential outcomes of the encounter;

> …[you] start *thinking, is something gonna happen? If it's gonna happen, I'm gonna have to get through something… Yeah, if they're gonna arrest me, I'm gonna have to hold myself in. But probably I'll go mad... and what's gonna happen if I do?* (Maurice)

Participants (n = 5) who expressed self-doubt/consciousness queried if their behaviour or physical attributes had led them to appear suspicious or threatening or

whether they had unknowingly committed a crime; "*Is it the hoodie that I'm wearing? Do I actually look dangerous as a little skinny 5-foot Black kid ?… And I was thinking, is there something I'm doing wrong?"* (Dereck). Embedded within their statements were evaluative and safety assessment thoughts reflecting a heightened awareness of their actions and how police might perceive these; "…*we were sitting here thinking should we come out or should we stay? What looks less dodgy? Coming out or staying* [in the house]?" (Miles). Whilst participants acknowledged they had 'a lot to process', few perceived this affected their attentiveness during encounters or ability to respond to interrogatory questioning; "… *every question, I handled it… They were easy to answer but, there was like a kind of grit… because each question was just another waste of time*" (Kwame). Only two participants expressed difficulties processing information;

> *I wasn't really in the position to really think…I was shocked… They say exactly why they're stopping you… at ridiculous speeds… And it's hard to follow sometimes…[because] you start thinking about everything. And you kind of have to process it… as fast as you can, to try and figure stuff out. But at that point, it's a bit too late…By the time I had really processed what he said, they were basically done…* (Maurice)

2.4.4.4 'Mixed emotions'

All participants described experiencing 'mixed emotions', which fluctuated during encounters and ranged from anxiety, anger, shame, and apathy.

> *...you get angry for having so much anxiety, you don't know what to do with it. Then you start getting angry again, and it builds up and it builds up…. And the thing is, police aren't open-minded…If they stop you, they won't sympathise with you… and that makes you anxious, and that makes you angry*. (Maurice)

Emotional responses seemed dependent on the nature of the encounter and the meanings participants constructed for the event. The absence of a clear justification for

the stop led participants to conclude they had been racially stereotyped, evoking feelings of frustration, anger, and rage toward police officers (n = 7). The repeated occurrence and normality of these events for Black men left others feeling apathetic (n = 3);

> *…I was like, 'Here we go again'... It was more like fed up and tired of it… I didn't get irate, I didn't get angry or high blood pressure, I was just like, I can't be bothered to deal with this racist kind of thinking or behaviour… So that's probably the most, in terms of an emotional response, that you got from me. Kind of apathy…. Like, this is the game, this is the system…*(Kayden)

Fears of being falsely accused of wrongdoing or physically harmed (n = 4) elicited anxiety and fear among participants; "*I was nervous… I was thinking 'are they gonna beat my arse"* (Jason) and another participant held at gunpoint shared; "*I feared for everything... that's when I thought I was gonna die*…" (Dereck). Being singled out from or under the scrutiny of White people evoked feelings of humiliation, embarrassment, and shame for several participants (n = 3); "*I felt alienated, I thought other people are looking at me thinking he's done something wrong…Some people were looking with empathy…or that disgust type of thing…"* (Kwame). Sometimes, shame extended beyond the encounter itself;

> *I said to that Inspector, 'We've been arrested at gunpoint. And you've got people here taking pictures, videos. We've lived in this community for so long, and now our names are tarnished… Because who would think we're innocent after something like that?'...So, in the end, we had to move…we couldn't stay in that property (Miles).*

Participants described a sense of powerlessness, with more than half (n = 5) reporting they felt dismissed or silenced by police officers; "*I was asking them, 'Why am I being targeted? Why do you think I have drugs in my car?' I just wanted to find out what proof they had…But they didn't answer those questions. They just carried on…"* (Ade).

Feelings of being disrespected and provoked were also mentioned (n = 3); "*If it's just fully White officers, then it's more interrogation, there's more disrespect"* (Stephan), and another stated, "...*they make you do things that will end up giving them a reason to arrest you… making little comments…".*(Maurice). Subsequently, participants understood their experiences of police-initiated encounters as an opportunity for White officers to exercise dominance and power over Black men; "*it's just a power trip" (*Stephan). Advice that is given during 'the talk' only served to perpetuate this power trip;

> *…you're kind of taught to say, 'Yes Sir, no Sir'… But that doesn't really help because they already see themselves here [points up], and you're there [points down]. They wanna elevate themselves over you, but if you let that happen, then I'm kind of conceding power. It's not that they're taking it. I'm conceding it. (Miles)*

For nearly half (n = 4), their emotional experiences manifested physiologically, which included breathlessness, heart racing, shaking, or tapping of their legs and hands due to anxiety. Others (n = 3) described how shock manifested feelings of immobilisation: "…a*nd he's just pointing a gun. And, you know when you freeze..."* (Miles). One participant described the physical sensation of inner rage: "...*[It was] bubbling yeah, tension that develops into like a literal physical tension between my body and the ground."* (Kwame).

2.4.4.5 Self-regulatory efforts: '*Suppressing myself*'

Recognising *"any wrong moves" (Dereck)* could escalate matters, participants (n = 8) discussed suppressing their emotions and monitoring or adjusting their behaviour to lessen the likelihood of being judged as threatening or suspicious; "*I should be allowed to be angry…But I don't feel like we can have those emotions. We're not allowed to… We have to be, almost like a robot to some degree"* (Jason). Participants (n = 6) described avoiding sudden movements, gesturing, and resisting the urge to act on their anger when provoked or handled with force. They all spoke about adjusting their communication style;

some spoke less and were scared to say the wrong thing (n = 4). Whilst others (n = 4) slowed the rate of their speech, softened their tone, and avoided profanities to minimise potential misunderstandings or adverse reactions;

> *So naturally, the way that I'll speak is like peaceful and kind of mellow. But I kind of had to times this by 100… for them pushing me aggressively, it was just like 'ouch' [softer tone]. I can't actually say anything. I can't be like, 'Oh, watch what you're doing'… I kind of felt like I had to just endure it…* (Dereck)

Ultimately, '*suppressing myself*' was about participants' efforts to disprove stereotypical judgments of criminality and to survive encounters;

> *'…the real criminals are out there, innit? So let me show you I'm not one of them. Get on with it, and you get back to work, and I can do the same.' It does feel like, at times, I'm suppressing myself a bit, but it's either that or something a lot worse, innit?* (Jason)

2.4.4.6 'Behaving suspiciously'

Despite participants' (n = 5) emotional, physiological, self-regulatory, and cognitive responses to concerns about being racially stereotyped as a criminal, most perceived this had no impact on their behaviour during encounters and perceived they were unlikely to have been judged as '*behaving suspiciously'*. Instead, participants felt knowledge about how to act during encounters and suppressing their behaviours mitigated this likelihood; "...*as long as you're not fidgeting, or acting like you've got something on you, they won't look at you…The moment you start panicking, or you're projecting that maybe you're scared, then they might think you've got something to hide…*" (Stephen).

Only three participants shared how feelings of threat manifested in their behaviour, namely, stuttering, shaking, a 'sheltered' body posture, or the expression of anger, and

perceived these reactions might have invited suspicion and negative responses from police;

> *I was being suspicious. That's probably what they thought… Kind of thing that happens when you argue with your friends over stuff, and you say that they've done something. As soon as they start acting nervous or they start getting angry, one of the first responses are, 'Why are you doing this? You must have done it.' Yeah, because you're not realising from their point of view, you've just frustrated them… so how can I blame the police for doing that?* (Maurice)

2.4.5 Survival

This final theme centres on the cumulative impact of police-initiated encounters, specifically how direct experiences shaped participants' coping strategies and the lasting impact of encounters on their well-being. It consists of two subthemes: '*learning through lived experience*' and '*acceptance and psychological scars*'.

2.4.5.1 'Learning through lived experience'

'*Learning through lived experience'* frequently entailed repeated exposure to police-initiated encounters, enabling participants to refine their *survival* strategies (n = 7). It was recognised that "…*people who have never experienced it will really kick off …But when you get it constantly, you're just thinking, okay, let's get this over"* (Miles). As such, concerns about safety led some participants (n = 3) to "*comply with all they [police] do, so nothing worse happens*" (Ade) because "*when it comes to police and stuff, you can never win"* (Stephen). These participants' narratives depicted a sense of learned helplessness and powerlessness. Three participants also adopted avoidance strategies, namely limiting their proximity to the police or avoiding anything that might elicit police suspicion (e.g. car-tinted windows, tracksuits, or hoodies).

Most participants, however, (n = 5) expressed the view that during police-initiated encounters, "*you have a select amount of power with your voice"* (Kayden) and adopted

an approach that involved compliance with verbal challenges. The latter entailed highlighting police racial stereotyping, using sarcasm or passive aggression to regain some degree of power;

> *I was just being, like, really blunt and, like…a bit cheeky… Taking jabs at them, but subliminally, so I wouldn't get in trouble, for me to at least do something. If I can't do anything, I can use my words, right?... If I can't physically push them off me and run away, if I can't show them like, you know, I shouldn't be here. Then I'm gonna express myself in some way. But it doesn't necessarily have to be in like an abrasive way, just like expressing myself verbally… trying to subvert their power.* (Kwame)

2.4.5.2 'Acceptance and psychological scars'

For most participants (n = 5), police-initiated encounters had no perceived impact on their well-being. Instead, they described reaching '*acceptance'* due to the negative consequences of holding on to their pain;

> *…if you let it get to you, you're letting someone else, you know, determine your mood. And that just causes, like, a domino effect on how you interact with people…That inner range has to come out somehow. If I wasn't making those jokes to myself, it would have had to come out somehow…So, throughout the day, I could have been really mean to someone who didn't deserve it. I could have physically done something to someone…*(Kwame)

However, as Miles highlighted, for some Black men who have endured police-initiated encounters, "*it's accepted that it's normal…[but] you don't realise how it affects you, because there's certain things you do that you don't realise are actually born out of those kinds of traumas"*. Although not communicated explicitly, the '*psychological scars'* of police-initiated encounters were evident across some participants' (n = 4) accounts. Participants 'double consciousness' made them acutely aware of how they would be perceived and negatively stereotyped under the White gaze. As such, they appeared to disidentify with aspects of Blackness that would position them at risk of being stereotyped as a criminal but also, perhaps, to preserve their self-esteem. Specifically, references

were made to not speaking, dressing, having hairstyles associated with Blackness, or not being 'dark enough' to fit the description of a Black male;

> *I stopped wearing this [points to du-rag] outside the house… It's kind of like covering your head with a hoodie to some people… If you wear a du-rag, you're not just Black. You're super Black kind of thing. And, like, if you're super Black and they already have prejudice against Black people, what kind of prejudice would be against super Black people?* (Dereck).

Other participants (n = 3) spoke directly to the impact of police-initiated encounters on self-esteem; "[it affects]…*sense of self-worth init? It's like, for a policeman to not see any example of a good version of someone like you after stopping hundreds of people..."* Whilst two participants described how heightened anxiety persisted beyond police-initiated encounters;

> *...it took, I'd probably say, maybe up to two months to get over… I kept dreaming about that whole thing because what if one of them shot?... What if I tripped and stumbled, and they took that to be threatening? All that kind of went through my mind. And I was speaking to my friends, and they all said the same thing…* (Miles).

2.5 Discussion

This study sought to understand how Black men living in the UK experience RB-ST during police-initiated encounters. Qualitative methods were used to centre the voices of Black men regarding their psychological experiences and behavioural responses to police-related RB-ST, coping strategies to buffer its effects, and the perceived impact of encounters on their wellbeing. Interviews were analysed using RTA and conceptualised through the theoretical lens of stereotype threat [ST] theory and Najdowski's (2012) model of police-related RB-ST. Interpretation of the data yielded three overarching themes; 'Stereotype Awareness', 'Responding to Threat', and 'Survival', and are discussed as they pertain to theory and research.

2.6 Main Findings

2.6.1 Awareness of Black Criminality Stereotypes

Consistent with the literature, the Black men in this study were acutely aware of racialised criminality stereotypes that society or White people assign to them (Sigelman & Tuch, 1997; Torres & Charles, 2004). This awareness is a prerequisite for experiences of police-related RB-ST (Najdowski, 2012). For racially minoritised people, identity formation relies on forging an understanding of their race, determining race centrality to their self-concepts, and an awareness of societal meanings ascribed to race (Okeke et al., 2009). This process was reflected through the subtheme '*double consciousness'* whereby Black men's lived experiences of racism forced them to contemplate their Blackness through the White gaze (Du Bois, 2008), a finding also noted to be critical to Black mixed-raced men's experiences of UK policing (Long & Joseph-Salisbury, 2019). For Black men in this study, their 'true' identities conflicted with stereotypical ideologies of Black masculinities constructed by White people, and as Du Bois (2008) posits, holding this sense of 'two-ness' harmed their self-concepts.

This theme also captured the process through which they internalised Black criminality stereotypes through '*the talk'*, a racial socialisation message alerting young Black people to the issue of racial profiling, methods of diffusing stereotypical perceptions of criminality, and practical strategies for navigating police encounters (Whitaker & Snell, 2016), as well as *'vicarious learning'* of the realities of police racism and brutality. As our findings show, this can foster negative attitudes and expectations of the police (Warren, 2011; Weitzer & Tuch, 2004). Thus, believing they were subjects of racial profiling, Black men's narratives supported the notion of Whiteness being a protective factor against police mistreatment (Alang et al., 2021; Kahn et al., 2016). In contrast, as prior work has shown, Blackness was perceived as a risk factor for police mistreatment despite

possessing appropriate capital [i.e., class, status, wealth, and education] (Donnor & Brown, 2011; Long & Joseph-Salisbury, 2019). In a society constructed to preserve White privilege, especially for White men, Black criminality stereotypes function to oppress Black people, especially Black men (DiAngelo, 2018; Kimmel & Ferber, 2000; Unnever & Chouhy, 2022), accounting for participants' expressed hopelessness about the eradication of racism within policing institutions.

Notably, the intersection between race, class, age, and gender appeared to play an integral role in determining Black men's risk of being targeted by the police or their ability to avoid such interactions; similar findings are reported by Long & Joesph-Salisbury (2019). Specifically, our findings suggest young working-class Black men are more likely to be the subjects of police attention. In line, research has continually shown that Black people from working-class backgrounds, but especially Black males aged 18 and under, are frequently subjected to more intrusive police-initiated encounters and, thus, experience more negative reactions to these interactions (Flacks, 2018; Gunter, 2015; Miller & D'Souza, 2016). This has led critics to speculate whether racialised police-initiated encounters are less about tackling crime and more do with reminding young Black boys of their place in society (Akala, 2019).

The finding that higher social class did not free Black men from being stereotyped as potential criminals by the police supports the notion that race disrupts all forms of capital, which is often relied upon to confer respectability (Rollock 2014 cited in Long & Joesph-Salisbury, 2019). That said, Black men in this study described how higher social class enabled them to navigate police encounters better. Mirroring our finding, Long and Joesph-Salisbury (2019) found that Black Mixed-raced men's ability to change their class association through education enabled the adoption of more 'middle-class language', assisting them to negotiate racial stereotypes of criminality during police encounters. Also, it was noted that older age might reduce the risk of Black men being criminalised by the

police, namely due to increased awareness of how their responses to encounters could escalate interactions and, as such, took precautions to minimise this likelihood or avoid police encounters (Long & Joesph-Salisbury, 2019). In part, this may account for why some Black men in this study perceived that older age reduced the risk of being targeted by the police.

2.6.2 Responding to threat

Our findings lend support to Najdowski's (2012) theory and research suggesting police encounters provide the necessary conditions for the activation of RB-ST among Black people who are aware of the probability of being stereotyped as a criminal (Abate, 2021; Kahn et al., 2017; Kahn & Money, 2022; Kinney, 2020; Najdowski et al., 2012; Najdowski, 2012; Najdowski et al., 2015; Robinson, 2018; Strine, 2018). The finding that the mere presence of police officers activated a ‘six sense’, a perceived knowingness among Black men that they were going to be targeted due to their race, shares similarities with Saulter’s (2018) work where the presence of a simulated police officer led Black people to anticipate racially biased treatment.

Present theory and research suggest stereotype-threatened individuals are vigilant to their internal state, behaviour, and environment to discern if they are confirming or being judged in line with a negative stereotype (Beilock et al., 2007; Murphy et al., 2007; Schmader et al., 2008; Steele et al., 2002). Consistently, we found Black men’s ‘sixth sense’ elicited concerns about their behaviour appearing suspicious and an increased vigilance to police officers’ verbal and nonverbal behaviours, which they believed communicated, implicitly, Black criminality stereotypes. Notably, Black men’s perceptions of ‘*masked stereotyping’* intertwined with beliefs of police racism, also evidenced by (Najdowski, 2012), and such beliefs have been evidenced to exacerbate ST effects (Thames et al., 2013).

Cognitions: This study is the first to explore the content of anxiety-related cognitions elicited by police-related RB-ST. The findings correspond with literature indicating ST evokes cognitions related to self-consciousness/doubt concerning behaviour or performance (Beilock et al., 2007; Steele & Aronson, 1995) and task outcome worries (Beilock et al., 2007; Logel et al., 2009; Rydell et al., 2014). As such, Black men described anxiety-related cognitions left them with 'a lot to process.' ST literature would purport that this would overload working memory (Barber, 2020; Inzlicht & Kang, 2010; Richeson & Shelton, 2007; Schmader et al., 2008) and impair response efficiency during police interrogation (Davis & Leo, 2012; Najdowski, 2012). However, we found limited support for this, aligning with prior work investigating the association between cognitive load and police-related RB-ST (Kinney, 2020; Najdowski, 2012).

Emotions: Consistent with Najdowski's (2012) model of police-related RB-ST and broader ST literature (Mayer & Hanges, 2003; Ployhart et al., 2003; Steele et al., 2002), our findings suggest anxiety is critical to Black men's experiences of police-related RB-ST. Yet, extending on previous literature, we identified anxiety and fear stemmed from concerns about physical safety as well as negative expectations about police actions and being wrongfully accused, as noted by Najdowski et al. (2015). Broader literature has shown ST produces a range of negative affective states (Inzlicht & Kang, 2010; Keller & Dauenheimer, 2003; Matheson & Anisman, 2009), which this study captured through the subtheme '*mixed emotions.'*

Alongside feelings of powerlessness, hopelessness, disrespect, and shame, which are typical responses to perceived discrimination (Jaramillo et al., 2015; Picho, 2018; Carter & Forsyth, 2010; Johnson, 2020; Huff et al., 2016), anger was shown to be a predominant response to police-related RB-ST and varied in intensity. However, within the literature, there is mixed support for an association between police-related RB-ST and anger (Abate, 2021; Najdowski, 2012), and in contrast to our study, no association has

been found between police-rated RB-ST and hopelessness (Robinson, 2018). For Black men in this study, feelings of disrespect, shame, and powerlessness stemmed from perceptions that police-initiated encounters were an opportunity for White policemen to exert power and dominance over them, a finding documented elsewhere (Yancy, 2017; Long & Joseph-Salisbury, 2019; Park & Banaji, 2000).

Physiological arousal: Supporting Najdowski's (2012) theory and research on police-related RB-ST, emotional responses manifested in heightened physiological arousal for half the Black men in this study. Such findings also corroborate the broader ST literature (Lehman & Conley, 2010; Matheson & Cole, 2004; Townsend et al., 2011). Yet, the remaining Black men could not recall or denied changes in their bodily sensations during encounters. The latter finding shares some similarities with Abate's (2021) finding that Black men under police-related RB-ST exhibited less physiological arousal than White men.

Self-regulation: Substantiating wider ST research (Brown & Pinel, 2003; Gehring & Knight, 2000; Keller & Dauenheimer, 2003) Black men were highly motivated to avoid appearing suspicious or threatening and, as such, engaged in self-regulatory efforts. Our findings lend support to Nadjowski's (2012) model of police-related RB-ST and the finding that Black men engage in more self-regulatory efforts than White men during police-initiated encounters (Najdowski et al., 2015). This finding contrasts with research that suggests Black people engage in self-regulatory efforts to a similar degree as White people (Appleby, 2015; Najdowski, 2012; Robinson, 2018). However, it has also been noted that there might be racial differences underlying their motivations to engage in self-regulatory efforts, such as RB-ST concerns for Black men and worries about being accused of wrongdoing by White men (Najdowski, 2012; Najdowski et al., 2015). Also contradicting our findings on self-regulation, within-racial group differences among Black men have also been highlighted, whereby some engage in fewer self-regulatory efforts

than White counterparts during police-initiated encounters, especially when concerns about the police officer's actions were greater than concerns about being stereotyped as a criminal (Najdowski, 2012; Najdowski et al., 2015).

Behaviour: Corresponding with current evidence (Appleby, 2015; Najdowski, 2012; Najdowski et al., 2015), this study found mixed support for the notion that police-related RB-ST might contribute to more suspicious-appearing behaviour during police-initiated encounters (Davis & Leo, 2012; Najdowski, 2012). Diverging from Najdowski's (2012) model, most Black men perceived their innocence, and self-regulatory efforts mitigated the likelihood of appearing suspicious. Only three described responses resembling non-verbal behaviours police officers perceive as indicators of deception (Kahn et al., 2018). However, this finding supports broader literature evidencing the deleterious effects of ST on verbal and non-verbal behaviour (Doherty-Sneddon & Phelps, 2005; Hrubes & Feldman, 2001; Leal et al., 2008; Wallbott & Scherer, 1991). Additionally, despite anger being a predominant emotion among Black men in this study, like Abate (2021), we found no evidence that police-related RB-ST amounted to self-regulatory decline and a reduction in impulse control leading to acts of aggression (Davis & Leo, 2012; Inzlicht & Schmeichel, 2012).

2.6.3 Survival

Mirroring strategies used by Black Americans to ensure their safety during police interactions (Bender et al., 2022), our findings revealed that repeated exposure to police-initiated encounters helped Black men to develop survival strategies involving compliance or a combination of compliance and verbal challenges or avoidance. Indeed, avoidance is a long-term consequence of ST (Steele & Aronson, 1995). The strategies of compliance or compliance and verbal challenges appeared to reflect a power dichotomy. For some Black men, repeated police-initiated encounters fostered learned helplessness, which was linked to the perception that attempts to regain power were a futile endeavour, hence their

compliance. Others recognised the limited power of their words, and using the strategy of compliance and verbal challenges, they ensured their survival while simultaneously minimising their sense of powerlessness.

Most participants reported no lasting impact on their well-being despite research confirming that experiencing ST can cause lasting psychological distress (Bhui et al., 2018; Inzlicht et al., 2012; Paradies et al., 2015). That said, Black men in this study acknowledged that experiences of police-related RB-ST can leave '*psychological scar*s' either knowingly or unknowingly. Racially motivated police stops increase the risk of race-based traumatic stress [RB-ST] (Aymer, 2016; Geller et al., 2014), which not only causes depression, anxiety, PSTD-like symptoms, and psychological numbing (Carter, 2007); it negatively affects interpersonal relationships, behaviour, cognitions, one's self-concept and self-esteem (Cénat et al., 2022). Our findings offered tentative support that racial injury due to police-related RB-ST might be linked to longer-term distress following encounters, with a few participants reporting nightmares, rumination, prolonged anger, and effects on self-esteem/concepts. Regarding the latter, participants spoke directly or indirectly to disidentifying from aspects of Blackness that are stereotypically associated with criminality. Disidentification is a survival strategy that redefines one's self-concept such that the stereotype-relevant domain is no longer viewed as important and a basis of one's self-esteem (Steele et al., 2002). For some Black men in this study, dis-identification may have served to protect their self-esteem/concepts, and the psychological distance dis-identification created from Black criminality stereotypes might account for their perceived ability to accept and overcome experiences of negative police encounters (Steele et al., 2002).

2.7 Theoretical contributions and future research directions

This study highlights the limitations of employing current ST theory as a framework for interpreting Black men's experiences of police-related RB-ST. Najdowski's (2012) model, as with broader ST literature, resides mainly within an individualistic paradigm, framing Black men's responses to police-related RB-ST as the problem. Deficit explanations perpetuate negative stereotypes of Black people (McCloud, 2016) and can be viewed as a strategy aimed at maintaining White privilege (Villenas & Deyhle, 1999).

To date, ST theory and research have, for the most part, disregarded the lived experiences of Black people in favour of White academics' presuppositions and experimental work, which restricts Black voices (Doan, 2008; Entsminger, 2017; McCloud, 2016). Our findings show that central to Black men's experiences of police-related RB-ST is not just the awareness and internalisation of Black criminality stereotypes but histories of racial oppression and racism, particularly at the hands of police. Future research should consider the generalisability of this finding to assist the development of a theory of police-related RB-ST that considers how broader factors of oppression and racism shape Black men's experiences of police-initiated encounters.

The findings highlighted within-racial group differences, with Najdowski's (2012) model of police-related RB-ST only accounting for the experiences of some Black men in the study. Thus, future theory and research might consider the likelihood that Black men's lived experiences of racism vary, and as such, their responses to RB-ST may differ (VanLandingham et al., 2022). Additionally, their realities of racial stigmatisation may mean they respond differently under threat compared to other stereotyped domains (Kit et al., 2008). These factors appear to be an oversight of Najdowski's (2012) model but could be investigated further to inform a theoretical model of police-related RB-ST that reflects the nuances and complexities of Black men's experiences.

Offering partial support for Najdowski's (2012) model was that anxiety and self-regulatory efforts appeared to be key mechanisms involved in Black men's experience of police-related RB-ST. However, evidence to support that police-related RB-ST translates to cognitive load was limited. Our finding that Black men were attentive and able to respond effectively to police interrogation shares similarities with existing work suggesting police-related RB-ST might improve social cognition during encounters (Abate, 2021); this may serve as an adaptive response to perceived racism/racial stereotyping (Whaley, 2001), though this requires further investigation. Furthermore, this study provided insight into the content of Black men's cognitions in response to police-related RB-ST, a mechanism not considered in Najdowski's (2012) proposed model nor previous studies in policing domains. Future research should seek to advance understanding of how police-related RB-ST shapes cognition content and how this might contribute to Black men's experiences of police-initiated encounters.

In support of Najdowski's (2012) model of police-related RB-ST, some Black men in this study reported that their emotional responses, mainly anxiety-related, manifested physiologically and behaviourally during police-initiated encounters. However, Black men also reported a range of emotional reactions that, for some, did not manifest physiologically and, for most, did not lead to more suspicious-appearing behaviours, deviating from Nadjowski's (2012) proposed model. The latter reflects our findings and previous work that Black men are socialised on what to expect and how to respond to police-initiated encounters, which may lessen the intensity or expression of emotional or behavioural responses (Harris & Amutah-Onukagha, 2019). Thus, racial socialisation to police racism appears to play a crucial role in Black men's response to police-related RB-ST. To assist theory development, it would be important for future research to explore whether Black men who receive racial socialisation messages are less susceptible to police-related RB-ST than those who do not.

This study was the first to explore coping strategies Black men acquire over time to combat RB-ST during police-initiated encounters. Given the small sample size, there is likely to be a wide range of coping strategies employed by Black men, and future research might consider exploring coping mechanisms specifically. Notably, this study found that underlying some Black men's compliance was a state of learned helplessness due to their repeated exposure to police-initiated encounters. The evidence in support of this finding is mixed (Najdowski et al., 2015; Robinson, 2018). However, future research might seek to delineate whether learned helplessness is a chronic response to police-related RB-ST.

Lastly, this is the first study to explore the lasting psychological consequences of police-related RB-ST on the well-being of Black men. The findings point to the possibility that Black men's repeated experiences of police-related RB-ST may result in psychological numbing (Alang et al., 2022) and/or dis-identification from aspects of their Blackness to preserve their self-esteem, whether such strategies have lasting consequences on psychological well-being warrants further attention.

2.8 Clinical implications

Our findings point to the likelihood that for some Black men, police-related RB-ST might lead to longer-term psychological distress and symptoms of racial trauma. Thus, police-related RB-ST may present clinical implications for psychologists, particularly those providing forensic mental health provision to Black men whose journeys into services typically involve interactions with the police (London Assembly Health Committee, 2017). Yet, for Black men who have been traumatised by their encounters with police, accessing psychological treatment that addresses their needs may be problematic, owing to the reliance on ethnocentric bias and Eurocentric practices (Williams et al., 2006; National Collaborating Centre for Mental Health, 2023).

First-line interventions recommended in NICE guidelines (National Institute for Health and Care Excellence; 2018) conceptualise trauma as the psychological injury that arises from sudden and potentially life-threatening experiences and locates symptoms as a problem that resides within individuals (Afuape, 2020). This conceptualisation risks neglecting the psychological damage that arises from cumulative exposures to social harm, such as repeated experiences of police racism or harassment (Afuape, 2020) and police-related RBST, which have the potential to be experienced as traumatic (Henderson, 2019). Further, recent qualitative findings suggest psychologists in the UK fail to explore how racism and social oppression lead to or exacerbate psychological distress due to their discomfort and lack of knowledge or skills to explore racialised experiences and racial trauma during assessment, formulation, and treatment (King, 2021).

Given the potential impact of police-related RBST on psychological well-being, this study demonstrates the importance of addressing the current learning and development needs of psychologists in the UK regarding cross-cultural working, knowledge of RB-ST effects, and the identification of racial trauma presentations. Training and competency frameworks that regularly appraise psychologists' confidence and skills in these areas could be implemented for trainees and qualified psychologists (King, 2021). Such efforts should accompany safe spaces where psychologists, particularly White psychologists, can reflect upon their stereotypical assumptions and biases within society and psychology (Williams et al., 2021) in addition to reflecting on how privilege and oppression might play out in therapeutic relationships with Black men (Naz, Gregory, & Bahu, 2019; King, 2021).

The absence of appropriate assessment tools can prevent psychologists from exploring racialised experiences (King, 2012). Hopefully, the findings reported in this study will shed light on how RB-ST shapes Black men's interactions with police, helping psychologists initiate discussions about these experiences during assessment and

formulation. Although limited, several assessment measures have been developed in the US to detect the presence of racial stress or trauma (e.g., Carter, 2013; Gallo et al., 2020; Williams et al., 2018; Williams, Printz, & DeLapp, 2018) which psychologists in the UK could draw upon aid the identification of racial trauma symptoms resulting from Black men's experiences of police-related RBST. Whilst these measures might need adapting to reflect experiences in the UK, the longer-term effects of police-related RBST reported in this study share some resemblance with the outcomes assessed in these measures, including avoidance, anger, hypervigilance, and low self-esteem (Carter, 2013); worries about the future, feelings of alienation, safety concerns (Williams et al., 2018;) and nightmares (Gallo, 2020).

In the absence of empirically supported models to treat racial trauma, the clinician's therapeutic approach and ability to deliver therapy through a culturally conscious lens become paramount (Williams et al., 2021). Naming police racism/harassment as a traumatic experience as opposed to accepting it as an everyday occurrence for Black men and normalising and validating threat responses that occur during and after traumatic police encounters may help to ensure Black men feel heard, understood, thus creating a safe therapeutic environment (King, 2021). While traditional and evidenced-based trauma-informed interventions can and should be adapted to meet the needs of Black men traumatised by police encounters, clinicians should be mindful of limitations (Williams et al., 2021; King, 2021). For instance, attempts to desensitise Black men to the risk police pose would be unhelpful, given that police can pose a threat to Black men (King, 2021). Furthermore, traditional trauma-focused approaches view and treat trauma through the lens of post-traumatic stress disorder, which assumes traumatic events have passed. However, for RM minoritised people, racially traumatic events persist throughout their lifespan (Cénat, 2023).

Although empirical validation is needed, there have been attempts to develop racial trauma-based treatments (e.g., Chioneso et al., 2020; Comas-Diaz, 2016; Metzger, Anderson, & Ritchwood, 2021; Perez-Chaves, 2019) which situate trauma in the context of systemic racism. Psychologists could consider referring to such interventions when working with Black men who have been traumatised by their encounters with police. Summarised by Cénat (2023), racial trauma-based treatments typically integrate traditional interventions with strength-based approaches that enhance service users' social support and connection with their communities (e.g. religion, spirituality, culture) as well as empowerment approaches drawn from liberation psychology, to assist service users in navigating past, current, and future experiences of racism and encouraging them to support others with shared experiences.

To sum up, the findings of this study and suggestions for clinical practice outlined above could better equip clinicians to assess, formulate, and provide racially informed interventions that address any longer-term distress resulting from police-related RB-ST. Also, with further training and experience in applying knowledge of police-related RBST and racial trauma to clinical work, psychologists might be better positioned to propose recommendations for police training and practice to mitigate Black men's experiences of police-related RB-ST.

2.9 Limitations

This is one study with a small sample of Black men (n = 8) who shared experiences of police-initiated encounters, which, except for one, occurred in London. Our findings may not reflect the experiences of other racially stigmatised populations subject to criminality stereotypes or how Black men in different areas of the UK experience policing.

Most participants were middle-class, university-educated, and aged 25 years or over. Whilst class and older age did not protect Black men from being targeted by the police, our findings suggest these factors better equipped them to navigate or avoid interactions with the police. Although this study offers valuable insights, research is needed to gain the perspectives of younger, less privileged Black boys and men who are at greater risk of experiencing police-initiated encounters and, thus, potentially experiencing police-related RBST.

The voices of Black boys and men are lacking across literature due to their mistreatment in society and research, and this has contributed to a fear and mistrust of researchers (Nichols, 2022). Although scant attention to recruitment strategies that might improve their engagement in research (Leissa, Randolph, & Stephens, 2021; Nicholson, Schwirian,& Groner, 2015), community-based participatory research strategies have shown promising results for the recruitment of racially minoritised people from working-class backgrounds (Nicholson et al., 2015; Leissa et al., 2022). As such, researchers exploring how the intersection between race, age, and class might shape the experiences of police-related RB-ST could consider networking with relevant community organisations and involving key stakeholders who are trusted in the community in their recruitment efforts or work alongside them as co-investigators (e.g., Collins et al., 2018). Additionally, to develop relationships and build trust among potential participants, researchers might wish to embed themselves within relevant community organisations and the community by attending local events accessed by Black boys and men (e.g., Collins et al., 2018). Such recruitment strategies may assist in amplifying the voices of Black boys and men from working-class populations within this field of research.

Black men opted to participate in the study, which may have introduced sampling bias. Of note, a potential participant declined participation based on not wanting to revisit distressing experiences. Thus, the present sample may reflect those with less distressing

experiences of police-initiated encounters. Also, Black men who opted to participate expressed an interest in the study topic and a desire to assist the researcher with vital research, and this may have led to socially desirable responses.

Except for one, all participants expressed a preference for individual interviews as opposed to focus group interviews. Individual interviews allowed for an in-depth exploration of personal perspectives and experiences (Qu & Dumay, 2011) and may have enhanced participants' willingness to disclose sensitive information (Sagoe, 2012). Focus groups, however, may have stimulated interactive discussions that sparked topics not previously considered by the researcher (Clearly, 2014) and data that captured both collective and diverse experiences of police-related RBST (e.g., Ivanoff & Hultberg 2006). Additionally, as focus groups rely on participant-led discussions with minimum input from facilitators (Ivanoff & Hultberg, 2006), the findings obtained from individual interviews are more likely to be influenced by researcher bias. Therefore, whilst the study findings offer an in-depth insight into personal experiences of police-related RBST, focus group discussions may provide a broader understanding of police-related RBST and the constructs underlying its psychological and behavioural effects for Black men.

Participants were selected due to their prior experience of police encounters, primed about the research topic, and responded to a question set informed by Najdowski's model of police-related RB-ST. As such, specific interview questions were potentially leading because they contained presuppositions about their experiences and thus were likely to have influenced or biased responses. However, variability in responses across the data set with some rejections of presuppositions evident in the interview schedule might indicate this bias did not comprise authorship of participants' responses (e.g., Cairns-Lee et al., 2022). The interview schedule was also designed to elicit negative but not positive experiences of police-initiated encounters. Black men in this study may have experienced

equally positive police-initiated encounters, which this study failed to capture and could have illuminated crucial factors which mitigated experiences of police-related RB-ST.

A reliance on participants' retrospective accounts may have hindered the accuracy of the findings, particularly since many described police-initiated encounters that occurred some years ago; this may account for some participants' inability to recall their physiological states when questioned. Moreover, it is proposed that stereotype-threatened individuals actively suppress negative thoughts and feelings, which impedes their ability to consciously access and recall internal states (Kit et al., 2008); this could mean our study did not fully capture responses to police-related RB-ST. Future research should aim to seek the perspective of Black boys and men who have recently experienced police-initiated encounters and anticipate them occurring again.

Given that all Black men in this study reported multiple police encounters, the findings might not provide an accurate representation of police-related RB-ST but rather reflect the cumulative learning experiences Black men develop to survive police encounters. One participant commented that Black men new to these experiences will react differently to those with prior experience. Indeed, the frequency at which police stop Black men may lead to emotional desensitisation (Alang et al., 2022; Kennedy & Ceballo, 2016).

For all Black men in this study, Blackness was central to their self-concepts, which has been shown to increase vulnerability to ST (Okeke et al., 2009). Thus, our findings might not speak to Black men where Blackness is less central to their self-concept. Finally, the findings also capture Black men’s perceptions of police racism as well as concerns about being stereotyped as a criminal. Both experiences are intertwined, and in this study, isolating their reactions to each was impossible. Najdowski (2012) found that perceptions of racism influenced Black men’s responses to police-initiated encounters, over and above situational cues that increased their perceived risk of being stereotyped

as a criminal. Therefore, the present findings might reflect Black men's psychological and behavioural responses to police racism more so than police-related RB-ST.

2.10 Reflexivity

As a Black female trainee clinical psychologist, the primary researcher and analyst of the data, it was acknowledged that the findings would be influenced by my experiences, assumptions, and values, which could invite bias and shape how data were interpreted and reported. An interest in social justice and racial disparities influenced the chosen research area. On reflection, emphasis was placed on portraying the most striking accounts to communicate the injustice of Black men's experiences. Consequently, this paper may or may not represent a balanced account.

During the initial stages of the research, the researcher considered their multiple but intersecting identities (racial marginalization and gender and education privilege) in terms of how these might aid the research process but also create a barrier. It was speculated whether gender and education privilege, which both, to some degree, protect from police-initiated encounters, would impede the understanding and interpretation of Black men's stories. However, shared racial identity and experiences of racism connected the interviewees and researcher, removing the privilege barrier. This was evident through the participants' narratives, where references were made to the researcher's race and assumptions about shared experiences were voiced. However, the primary researcher also acknowledged there may have been a tendency to co-construct meanings that resonated closely with their own experiences.

The remaining authors of this paper identify as White; they were involved in the conceptualisation process of this study and were alarmed by the stories shared by our interviewees. This highlighted to the primary researcher their desensitisation to the stories

told by Black men in this study. Much like our interviewees, perhaps this was a survival mechanism to survive vicarious experiences of racism during the research process.

2.11 Conclusion

This qualitative study provides insight into the impact of RB-ST on Black men's experiences of police-initiated encounters. As Najdowski (2012) hypothesised, this study found that anxiety and self-regulatory efforts were key to Black men's experiences of police-related RB-ST. However, the findings were mixed concerning police-related RB-ST, translating to heightened physiological arousal, cognitive load, and suspicious-appearing behaviour, thus offering only partial support for Najdowski's (2012) theory of police-related RB-ST.

Contributing to the evidence base as it pertains to policing domains, the study highlighted that Black men's experiences of police-related RB-ST evoked diverse emotional reactions, of which anger was predominant; anxiety-related cognitions relating to anticipatory and safety concerns and self-doubt/consciousness about behaviour. Also, self-regulatory efforts were perceived to mitigate the likelihood of suspicious-appearing behaviour. Of significance, lived or vicarious experiences of racism, racial socialisation, and cumulative experiences of police-initiated encounters were central in shaping Black men's responses to police-related RB-ST. Despite receiving scant attention in theory and literature, variations in exposure to these factors might account for individual differences in the way Black men experience and cope with police-related RB-ST, with increased exposure lessening the intensity of their reactions. These preliminary insights contribute to our understanding of ST theory as applied to the context of policing domains and also highlight future directions for research that could advance our knowledge of the mechanisms underlying Black men's experiences of police-related RB-ST.

Research that seeks to elucidate how RB-ST translates to racial differences in responses to police encounters could inform police policy and training that focuses on mitigating RB-ST concerns and, thus, improving police-community relations. This study found tentative support for the relationship between police-related RB-ST and lasting psychological distress. Clinicians, particularly those employed in forensic settings, should consider the impact of adverse police encounters on the mental well-being of RM service users and should seek to adopt a racially informed approach to care and treatment.

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Appendix E Screening Questionaire

Study Title: Exploring Black men's experiences of race-based stereotype threat during police-initiated encounters using qualitative methods.

Researcher: Cassandra Simms-Sawyers

ERGO number: 79590 A.1

Thank you for your interest in taking part in this study. To determine whether you are eligible to participate, please complete this brief screening questionnaire. If you are not eligible for the study, all personal data collected for the research will be deleted, and email communications destroyed.

1. Preferred name: _____
2. Contact number: _____
3. Email: _____
4. Age: ___ (***To participate in this study, you must be at least 18 years or older. Please do not return this questionnaire if you are under 18 years***).
5. Gender: _____
6. Occupation: _____
7. Are you a British citizen? Yes ☐ No ☐
8. If you answered no to question 7, please indicate your citizenship: _____
9. How would you describe your racial/ethnic identity:

Black: Black African ☐ Black Caribbean ☐ Other (please specify):

_____

Mixed: White and Black African ☐ White and Black Caribbean ☐

Other Mixed Black background (please specify): _____

10. Have you ever had an encounter with the police?
    ☐ Yes
    ☐ No
    ☐ Prefer not to say
11. If you answered yes to question 6, please indicate how recent:
    _____
12. Have you ever experienced being stopped and searched/questioned by the police?
    ☐ Yes
    ☐ No
    ☐ Prefer not to say
13. How were you stopped and searched/questioned?
    ☐ In a car
    ☐ In public
    ☐ Other (please state)
    ☐ Prefer not to say
14. Do you know anyone who has been stopped and searched?
    ☐ Yes
    ☐ No
    ☐ Prefer not to say
15. Would you be willing to participate in discussions with other participants about personal experiences with police encounters over Teams Microsoft video call?
    ☐ Yes
    ☐ No

Appendix E

Thank you very much for taking the time to participate in this study. Please return the filled questionnaire to the researcher Cassandra Simms-Sawyers, css1n19@soton.ac.uk

If you have any further queries, please feel free to reach out.

Appendix F Interview Schedule

Final Topic Guide for Individual Interviews

Process

- Outline the structure of the interview.
- Discuss confidentiality and obtain consent to record the interview.
- Ask questions interview questions.
- Debrief: define race-based stereotype threat and how it might relate to police encounters.
- Invite any questions/comments.
- Remind of the right to withdraw, discuss emotional support services available, and complaints procedures.
- Email a copy of the debrief form to the participant.

Interview questions:

Engagement questions:

1. **What are your thoughts on police stop and searches?**

2. **What have other Black men said about their experiences of stop and search?**

Prompt: Are these experiences the same for other racial groups? If not, why?

Direct experiences:

3. **Could you tell me about your most memorable experience(s) of being stopped and searched?**

Prompt: Where (e.g. car, street), Why (e.g. reason given by officer and own perceptions)

Psychological and behavioural responses to police encounters:

4. **What thoughts came to mind when the police officer approached you?**

Prompt: What made you think this? What was your biggest concern?

5. **Could you describe, if any, experiences of feeling stereotyped by the police?**

Prompt: what stereotype do you think they held about you? What made you think this? (e.g. what did they say or so)

If stereotyped:

6. **What kind of feelings came up for you?**

7. **How did you feel in your body at the time?**

Prompt: e.g. heart racing, sweating, heavy breathing

8. **How did these feelings and thoughts affect how you interacted with the police?**

Prompt: Was there anything you did more or less of?
Was there any experience of pressure to act in a certain way? If so, why?

9. **What kind of judgments do you think the police made about you based on your behaviour?**

Prompt: e.g. was there anything you did that they might have interpreted as suspicious? If so, what?

10. **How easy or difficult was it to follow their procedures and answer their questions? Why was it easy or difficult?**

If a participant reports multiple encounters:

11. **How have your experiences of stop and search influenced how you might respond to police encounters in the future?**

12. **To what extend have your experiences of being stopped and searched impacted on your wellbeing?**

Closing questions

12. **How important is being Black to your identity, and why?**

13. **Would you like to say anything else about what we have discussed today?**

Appendix G Advertisement

Appendix H Participant Information Form

Study Title: Exploring Black men's experiences of race-based stereotype threat during police-initiated encounters using qualitative methods.

Researcher: Cassandra Simms-Sawyers

ERGO number: 79590 A.1

You are being invited to take part in the above research study. To help you decide whether you would like to take part or not, it is important that you understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please read the information below carefully and ask questions if anything is not clear or if you would like more information before you decide to take part in this research. You may like to discuss it with others, but it is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you are happy to participate, you will be asked to sign a consent form.

What is the research about?

This research study is being undertaken by a 3rd-year trainee clinical psychologist (Cassandra Simms-Sawyers) at the University of Southampton as a requirement of their doctoral degree. The researcher is interested in exploring how race-based stereotype threat (e.g. the concern experienced when one perceives they are viewed or treated differently due to their race [Kahn et al., 2017]) is experienced by Black men during their interactions with police officers.

Little is known about how Black men experience race-based stereotype threat, but its effects can lead to negative police-civilian encounters and emotional distress (Inzlicht, Tullett, & Gutsell, 2011). By speaking to Black men about their experiences of race-based stereotype threat, this study aims to develop a questionnaire that can be used in future research to develop our understanding of this experience. Such research has implications for improving police policy and training, which could mitigate Black men's experiences of race-based stereotype threat during police encounters.

Why have I been asked to participate?

You have been invited to participate because you have completed a screening questionnaire indicating you are at least 18 years or over, identify as a male of Black or Black Mixed heritage, and previously encountered a police-initiated stop.

What will happen to me if I take part?

The researcher will call you at a mutually agreed-upon time to ensure you understand the research study what taking part will involve, and to answer any questions you may have. After this meeting, you will be sent a consent form. If you would like to participate in the study, you will need to sign and email the consent form to the researcher within seven days.

Once you have returned your consent form, the researcher will contact you to find out if you would like to take part in an individual interview or group discussion with no more than six participants. The lead researcher will facilitate group discussions and individual interviews, and will take place via Microsoft Teams. Group discussions will be held over two days, but you only need to attend one of the two sessions. You will be given the option to attend on the day that is most convenient for you. Individual interviews will take place over one session at a mutually agreed time.

If you decide to take part, you will be asked to share experiences of police encounters (e.g. being stopped and searched/questioned). The group discussion will last no more than 90 minutes, and individual interviews will last no more than 60 minutes. The session will be video recorded; this is a requirement of your participation as it enables the researcher to report your responses accurately. When all the questions have been asked, you will be debriefed, reminded about the study's aims, and given another opportunity to ask questions.

After the group discussion or individual interview, the researcher will follow up with an email that includes a summary of your experiences and statements. Please note that the researcher may collate this information for several weeks. When you receive this email, you will be asked to confirm if the summary accurately reflects your contribution to the group discussion or individual interview and if necessary, you will be able to correct or elaborate on this summary. You will be asked to return your feedback within five days of receiving the summary by emailing the researcher (css1n19@soton.ac.uk).

Are there any benefits to my taking part?

Your views would be a valuable contribution towards improving our current understanding of how race-based stereotype threat is experienced by Black men. You will also be reimbursed with £25 worth of Amazon vouchers to thank you for participating.

Are there any risks involved?

You might experience some emotional discomfort when recalling experiences of police encounters and when speaking about sensitive topics such as racism. The researcher will support you if you experience any emotional distress during or after the study. This might involve being given the option to leave the group discussion or individual interview and/or signposting you to a support service that can help with how you are feeling.

What data will be collected?

- Contact details and demographic information. The researcher will request a mobile number and email address to provide information about the study and invite you to a group discussion or individual interview. You will also be asked to provide demographic information, such as your racial/ethnic identity, gender, and occupation, as this information is relevant to the study. Any personal details emailed to the researcher will be deleted from their inbox and stored electronically in an encrypted file on a password-protected computer. This information will be destroyed once the study is finished and has been assessed by examiners as part of the researcher's doctoral degree.

- The researcher will upload and store video recordings electronically in an encrypted file on a password-protected computer. Group discussions and individual interviews will be video-recorded to ensure the researcher reports your responses accurately. The recording will be destroyed securely once transcribed.

Will my participation be confidential?

Your participation and the information we collect about you during the course of the research will be kept strictly confidential.

Only members of the research team and responsible members of the University of Southampton may be given access to data about you for monitoring purposes and/or to carry out an audit of the study to ensure that the research is complying with applicable regulations. Individuals from regulatory authorities (people who check that we are carrying out the study correctly) may require access to your data. All of these people have a duty to keep your information, as a research participant, strictly confidential.

If you agree to take part, you will be assigned a unique participant identification code. Your demographic details will be stored electronically under your participant identification code and kept separate from any personally identifiable information (e.g. name, contact details, and signed consent form) to prevent the risk of identification.

Your anonymity can not be guaranteed during the group discussion, but participants will be asked to keep discussions confidential. The researcher will also keep any information collected during the group discussion or individual interviews confidential.

The video recording of the group discussion or individual interview will only be accessible to the researcher and disposed of securely once transcribed. The researcher will need to share data with members of the research team at the University of Southampton. Before doing so, any personally identifiable information will be removed, and a pseudonym (false name) will be assigned to your data.

At the end of the research study, electronic copies of the anonymised transcripts will be sent to the lead supervisor (Dr Nick Maguire). They will be electronically archived and stored securely on the university server for a minimum of 10 years before being destroyed, which aligns with University of Southampton policy.

Do I have to take part?

No, it is entirely up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you decide you want to take part, please sign and email a copy of the consent form to css1n19@soton.ac.uk to show that you have agreed to take part.

What happens if I change my mind?

You have the right to change your mind and withdraw from the study at any time during the group discussion or individual interview and up to four weeks after participating without giving a reason and without your participant rights being affected. You can exercise your right to withdraw by emailing the researcher (css1n19@soton.ac.uk). If you decide you no longer wish to participate, all of the personal information collected about you up to this point will be securely

destroyed. For those participating in group discussions, destroying video-recorded data will not be possible until the recording has been transcribed. However, your contributions will not be transcribed or reported in the study results.

What will happen to the results of the research?

Your personal details will remain strictly confidential. The findings will be reported as part of the researcher's doctoral degree and may be submitted for publication in peer-reviewed journals or presented at a conference. Any reports of publications will not include information that can directly identify you without your specific consent. A summary of the main findings can be requested by emailing the researcher at css1n19@soton.ac.uk.

Where can I get more information?

If you would like more information about this study, you can contact the researcher, Cassandra Simms-Sawyers (css1n19@soton.ac.uk), or the lead supervisor, Dr. Nick Maguire (Nick.Maguire@soton.ac.uk).

What happens if there is a problem?

If you are concerned about any aspect of this study, you should speak to the researchers using the contact details above. They will do their best to answer your questions.

If you remain unhappy or have a complaint about any aspect of this study, please contact the University of Southampton Research Integrity and Governance Manager (023 8059 5058, rgoinfo@soton.ac.uk).

Data Protection Privacy Notice

The University of Southampton conducts research to the highest standards of research integrity. As a publicly-funded organisation, the University has to ensure that it is in the public interest when we use personally-identifiable information about people who have agreed to take part in research. This means that when you agree to take part in a research study, we will use information about you in the ways needed, and for the purposes specified, to conduct and complete the research project. Under data protection law, 'Personal data' means any information that relates to and is capable of identifying a living individual. The University's data protection policy governing the use of personal data by the University can be found on its website (https://www.southampton.ac.uk/legalservices/what-we-do/data-protection-and-foi.page).

This Participant Information Sheet tells you what data will be collected for this project and whether this includes any personal data. Please ask the research team if you have any questions or are unclear what data is being collected about you.

Our privacy notice for research participants provides more information on how the University of Southampton collects and uses your personal data when you take part in one of our research projects and can be found at http://www.southampton.ac.uk/assets/sharepoint/intranet/ls/Public/Research%20and%20Integrity%20Privacy%20Notice/Privacy%20Notice%20for%20Research%20Participants.pdf

Any personal data we collect in this study will be used only for the purposes of carrying out our research and will be handled according to the University's policies in line with data protection law. If any personal data is used from which you can be identified directly, it will not be disclosed to anyone else without your consent unless the University of Southampton is required by law to disclose it.

Data protection law requires us to have a valid legal reason ('lawful basis') to process and use your Personal data. The lawful basis for processing personal information in this research study is for the performance of a task carried out in the public interest. Personal data collected for research will not be used for any other purpose.

For the purposes of data protection law, the University of Southampton is the 'Data Controller' for this study, which means that we are responsible for looking after your information and using it properly. The University of Southampton will keep identifiable information about you for 10 years after the study has finished after which time any link between you and your information will be removed.

Thank you for taking the time to read the information sheet and considering taking part in the research.

Appendix I Consent Form

Study title: Exploring Black men's experiences of race-based stereotype threat during police-initiated encounters using qualitative methods.

Researcher name: Cassandra Simms-Sawyers, Trainee Clinical Psychologist

ERGO number: 79590 A.1

Please initial the boxes if you agree with the statements:

I have read and understood the information sheet (19.02.23 */version no. 2 of the participant information sheet*) and have had the opportunity to ask questions about the study.	
I agree to take part in this research project and agree for my data to be used for the purpose of this study.	
I understand my participation is voluntary, and I may withdraw during group discussions or individual interviews and up to four weeks after for any reason without my participation rights being affected.	
I understand that I may be quoted directly in research reports, but I will not be directly identified (e.g., my name will not be used).	
I understand that personal information about me will be collected to achieve the study's objectives, such as racial/ethnic origin, gender identity, age, and occupation.	
I understand that personally identifiable information collected about me will not be shared beyond the study team and will be handled in accordance with the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) and Data Protection Act (2018).	
I understand that taking part in the study involves video recording, which will be transcribed and then destroyed for the purposes set out in the participation information sheet.	
I agree to take part in discussion groups or an individual interview for the purposes set out in the participation information sheet and to be video recorded during the group via Microsoft Teams.	
I understand that my anonymity cannot be guaranteed in the discussion group, but information collected by the researchers will be kept confidential. Participants will also be asked to keep the discussions confidential.	
I understand that I must keep group discussions confidential.	
I give permission for the researcher to contact me by phone or email to check that the summary of my contributions to the group discussion or individual interview is accurate.	

Name of participant (print name)……

Signature of participant……

Date……

Name of researcher (print name)……

Signature of researcher ……

Date……

Appendix J Debrief Form

Study Title: Exploring Black men's experiences of race-based stereotype threat during police-initiated encounters using qualitative methods.

Ethics/ERGO number: 79590 A.1

Researcher(s): Cassandra Simms-Sawyers and Dr Nick Maguire

University email(s): Css1n19@soton.ac.uk Nick.Maguire@soton.ac.uk

Version and date: Version 2, February 2023

Thank you for taking part in our research project. Your contribution is valuable and greatly appreciated.

Purpose of the study

Race-based stereotype threat refers to the concern experienced when someone perceives they will be viewed or treated differently due to their race (Kahn et al., 2017). Research suggests that because negative racial stereotypes of criminality are prevalent in society, Black people, but especially Black men, are susceptible to experiencing raced-based stereotype threat during police encounters (Najdowski et al., 2015). Theory suggests the effects of stereotype threat, such as anxiety, distracted thinking, and attempts to adapt behaviour to avoid being judged negatively, result in non-verbal behaviours which police officers mistakenly perceive as indicators of guilt or suspiciousness (Najdowski, 2011). This may position Black people at greater risk of experiencing unfair treatment or negative interactions with police officers. However, research exploring this theory is limited, and even less is known about how to measure race-based stereotype threat during police encounters within research.

This research study aimed to explore how race-based stereotype threat is experienced by facilitating group discussions and individual interviews with Black men who have encountered police-initiated stops. It is hoped your data will not only help enhance our understanding of key factors underlying race-based stereotype threat during police encounters but will also assist with developing a questionnaire that can be used to capture these experiences accurately in future research. Such research has potential implications for improving police policy and training, as well as developing appropriate interventions which support Black men who experience distress following negative police encounters.

Once again, you are reminded of your right to withdraw your data from this study up to four weeks after participating without giving a reason and without your participant rights being affected. You can exercise your right to withdraw by emailing the lead researcher (Css1n19@soton.ac.uk)

Confidentiality

The results of this study will not include your name or any other identifying characteristics.

As this study involved group interviews, your confidentiality cannot be guaranteed. We kindly ask you to respect other participants' privacy and not disclose what was said and by whom during group discussions.

Study results

If you would like to receive a summary of the research findings when it is completed, please let us know by emailing the lead researcher (Css1n19@soton.ac.uk)

Further support

If taking part in this study has caused you discomfort or distress, you can contact the following organisations for support:

- Black Minds Matter UK- free mental services provided by professional Black therapists www.blackmindsmatteruk.com/
- The Black, African, and Asian Therapy Network (BAATN) – connects people to therapists of Black, African, Asian, and Caribbean Heritage around the UK and provides free resources and well-being services https://www.baatn.org.uk/
- Mind (Mental health charity) - https://www.mind.org.uk/
- Samaritans on 166 123 or https://www.samaritans.org/how-we-can-help-you/contact-us
- You can also contact your GP if you require support or a referral regarding your mental health.

Additional services for Southampton students:

- Student Hub - available 24hrs a day, seven days a week – T:02380599599

E: studenthub@soton.ac.uk/ Online chat:
https://www.southampton.ac.uk/studentservices/contact.page

Further reading

If you would like to learn more about this area of research, you can refer to the following resources:

Najdowski, C. J., Bottoms, B. L., & Goff, P. A. (2015). Stereotype threat and racial differences in citizens' experiences of police encounters. Law and human behavior, 39(5), 463. https://doi.org/10.1037/lhb0000140

Further information

If you have any concerns or questions about this study, please contact Cassandra Simms-Sawyers (css1n19@soton.ac.uk), who will do their best to help.

If you remain unhappy or would like to make a formal complaint, please contact the Head of Research Integrity and Governance, University of Southampton, by emailing rgoinfo@soton.ac.uk or calling + 44 2380 595058. Please quote the Ethics/ERGO number, which can be found at the top of this form.

Thank you again for your participation in this research.

Appendix K Themes, sub-themes and codes

Table 9 *Summary of themes, subthemes, and codes with illustrative excerpts*

Theme	Subtheme	Subtheme Description	Code(s)	Quote
Awareness of criminality stereotypes	Double consciousness	Blackness was embraced with pride, owing to its rich history and culture. However, the legacy of historical racism and present-day racism influenced how participants constructed their identities as Black men. While Blackness was central to their self-concepts, this was not always by choice. Instead, a conscious awareness of how they are negatively perceived and stereotyped as criminals under the White gaze shaped how they made sense of and formed their identity.	Black identity	Ade I cherish being Black, do you know what I mean?... I always stand up for Black people…I'll always be proud of being Black. Jason Well, I live with it every day, you know, it's part of me. You know it's part of my journey as well. You know, everything that is attached to my name is also attached to my colour, you know? Every step that I've made as well, you know? It's part of me, innit. When people think of me, it's not that I want people to think of my colour, but that is part of me, and everything that I've achieved was supported by it also the ladder as well. Kayden My whole experience living in England is shaped by being Black. Both positively and negatively. My experience is shaped because of racism; because of the colour of my skin, there's already expectations put upon me. There's already thoughts about what I'm capable of placed upon

			me and judgments placed upon me before I've ever said a thing.
		Societal stereotypes and oppression of Black people	Dereck So, it's not just the system. It's like the people in general who kind of associate people of my colour as kind of more dangerous... And it also kind of stems…, a bit like historical, cause views are like passed down... It's simple things, say a White mother walking with her White son might say, 'OK, be careful in this area. Be careful of these people', when really and truly, there's nothing to be careful of. And then these people grow up and have these views embedded in them, kind of thing…
			Stephan And you know, it might sound a bit cynical, but the reality is… this is my thinking, this is a White man's land. We need to understand that. You know, we need to know that at the end of the day, this is their land. You know, and… certain things we're not gonna be eligible for it. So, when you understand that, I think it helps in the long run to understand that, okay, there's certain things that I can't do.
The talk	During pre- and adolescent years, participants were subjected to 'the talk'. A conversation with elder relatives to warn them of their vulnerability of being	Early awareness	Kayden I've had conversations with my older brother, and we kind of recognise when the police are involved play the game effectively... Because ultimately, I know I've done nothing

		targeted by the police due to their race. Advice on navigating these encounters was given to ensure their safety. Namely, to be cautious of their behaviour to avoid escalating matters and to comply with an officer's demands.		wrong... So yes and no to whatever, get through the conversation. Because whatever they're looking for, they're not gonna find anything, and then what? I carry on with my life. So, I recognise and have had that talk on what the game is in itself. And so yeah, despite being 18, I knew how to deal with it. Maurice [His mum] …she told me what I needed to know. She said you're a Black male, you're likely to get stopped by the police at some point in your life. It's sad to say, but she was correct. [She said] ... Don't be rude to them at all. If they don't find anything on you or they arrest you, you don't have to give them your name, and you can leave whenever you're ready. Yeah, if they try and stop you, ask for their name, ask for their number and say that you would like to make a report. If they arrest you, then don't resist.
	Vicarious learning	Reaffirming the 'the talk' was vicarious learning and experiences. Through media portrayals of police brutality, direct observations of the police interacting with Black community members, and conversations with their peers, participants learnt more about the realities of police encounters. They acquired	Vicarious learning and experiences	Miles I speak to black friends, almost 99% have something similar to say... When I speak to white friends, they're absolutely shocked and appalled by it. So, this gives you an idea that this only happens to a group of people. Cause if they find it shocking and appalling clearly, this is something that happens to a select group of people.

			Jason I've seen them arrest a [Black] pregnant woman. Put her down on the floor. Yeah, you know, and when you see things like that and you think you put a pregnant woman down on the floor like, not in one snippet of a second thought, 'Ohh, she's pregnant. Let me, let's do it differently. So, me on the floor, you ain't thinking about my organs. You slam me down like it's fun innit? Yeah, you know, and these are the things that you weigh up while you're watching, and even subconsciously, you'll probably think, 'Well, he's done that to her; would he do that to me?' You know? Dereck So, they've been like, obviously countless videos on social media. I've seen the white people in handcuffs. They're swearing. There is so much kind of rudeness and that to the policeman, and the policeman is just standing there taking it. And then the Black ones I've seen is literally like them saying, "I'm not doing anything. I'm not doing anything." And then suddenly, they're pushed to the floor.
Tarred with the same brush	There were no objections to the use of police and stop and search. Yet, participants acknowledged these policing practices as a tool for racially profiling Black men. Simply because of their race, participants perceived there to be few, if	No objections to stop and search...but	Kayden So, my thoughts on police stop and search is that it is inherently used as a racially profiling tool. So, the theory behind it makes sense, but in practice is just used to kind of stereotype a specific population and demographic, which invariably affects young adults or young teenagers who are not White, is kind of my thoughts on It. And it

	any, protective factors which would prevent them from being targeted. For Black men, it was perceived that class, status, wealth, education level, or material indicators of success offered them no protection in the context of police-initiated encounters but, instead, could invite police officer suspicion. Whiteness, on the other hand, was perceived as a protective factor. Thus reinforcing their beliefs that societal stereotypes of Black criminality influence policing practices		hasn't been proven to work yet; the government and, the Met, and other police forces continue to keep using it and use the excuse of, like, gang culture and gang violence as a reason for why they're using it, although statistically, it's been shown not to be very effective in finding what they're looking to find and in building a relationship with the communities that they're working. So, in essence, it's an old tactic that's been used for years and years, which they continue to apply, which has no real place.
		Painting [Black men] with the same brush	Maurice Generally, the thing is, there's always the exception. So, when police are looking for you, and there's Black boys not doing this. There's always the ones that are. When the ones that are get caught, what does it do? It validates what they're saying... Yeah, and by validating it? It means it gives them a reason to become even more of a nuisance. Because of, for every ten that there aren't doing, there's one that probably is doing it. Yeah. Which means that every time they catch one, all they can say is we're right, we're right. They're all doing it. We'll catch them all. We'll catch them all. We'll catch them all. That's what they do.

	Limited/no protective factors (e.g., Class, Status, success, age, education, attire)	Miles So, you know, I've seen so many [Black] people, like, who are wealthy enough, and they do go through the same thing regardless. Stephen We've seen videos online where, you know, footballers, athletes, they've been stopped, they've been harassed, music artists, filmmakers. They've been harassed. So, it doesn't really matter. It doesn't really matter, no.
	Whiteness as a protective factor	Dereck … I could be going to class, and three of my White friends are going to class, and three Asian friends are going to class, and then out of the crowd, I'll get stopped, and it's like I'm dressed the same. And umm… I'm obviously going in the same direction, which would be towards, let's say, the university, but it's kind of me that's stopped, and it's just like this kind of bias against me. It's what I would say. That's what it is. Ade Errr, I think Black men's experiences are like…they're more. Like so, let's say there are 10 Black people, 8 of them would have been stopped and searched…. So, I feel like Black people experience it more than White people in regard to being stopped and searched. A hundred per cent.

		Police stereotypes about Black men	Dereck ...That we have the tendency to, let's say, more of a tendency to carry weapons or engage in violence or drug activity. Kayden ...that young Black men are more dangerous and more threatening, are more likely to be involved in like said crime... Kwame ...that Black people are criminals or, you know, especially Black boys are criminals, yeah. Maurice They're taught to stereotype...[they] are told what to look out for, and one of the things is Black males.
		Negative perceptions and experiences of police - unfair, abuse of power, leading to mistrust	Jason They're the ones with power, you know, and they need to kind of deal with it better, you know? It's like the way I see it, you know, when they say, 'Oh, protect and serve' It's not just a sword. It's a shield as well, you know. You can't be running around, you know, throwing about your weight

		around and everything and thinking people are gonna listen to you and still come to you when they need you. Kayden ...studies have shown people in power are more likely to be corrupt and abuse that power. It's not a policing thing. It's a power thing. It's a dynamic thing… It's a power dynamic. If you give people unlimited power, they're gonna become corrupt with it.
	Pessimism about change	Maurice They change the bare minimum. Yeah, they only change what they need to change to make things stay the same. They change to accommodate what's changing around them. They don't ever overhaul anything. They don't decide, rah…we need to completely change the way our system works because it's not working. They say the only reason it's not working is because of this. So if we just do this, then it's fine again. But it was never fine in the first place. Replacing a broken cog on a broken ship doesn't make this ship work. You need to scrap the whole thing and start again. Miles And as you get older and have less of these instances because now you kind of, you know, maybe you don't look a certain way. You know, you do hope that these

		things are in the past, but then something kind of kicks off and then you realise nothing's changed….
	Systemic racism and denial of it prevents change	Kayden Yeah, the [report] that said what every Black person knew, that the police system was institutionally racist. Well, every person of colour knew that the police were institutionally racist before that came out. Every single person knew that was the case unless you were White, British, and male. Some people they didn't recognise it or didn't want to believe it, but everyone of colour knew that was the case. And if they didn't know that was the case. Then you'd question where they've been living or what experiences they been having? But everyone who's had any life experience would know that was the case when it comes to the police. So yeah, you can never feel safe with the police. Which is messed up because who do you call when things go wrong? Cause I wouldn't call the police, why am I calling the police for? Miles [It's] a societal thing which should change from the top down...politicians should accept that we have a problem and put things in place, not have all these fake people running these fake inquiries that take years and years because they want to silence the public and then forget... When I look at the police, I see them as a small pawn in a big chess board, and I think it's a small part and they're just enforcing. They're, like, almost the doorman, but the problem is the club, not the doorman. He might refuse

				your entry, but where does it come from? Where's the instructions coming from?
Responding to threat	A sixth sense	Triggered by the mere presence of police officers, participants described sensing they were going to be targeted due to their race, sometimes in the absence of cues (e.g., raced-based stereotype threat). In response, they engaged in a mental preparation process.	Stereotype threat activation	Maurice Even before anything happens, you start getting put into response of what if something will happen. Miles We saw, you know, kind of this police van coming across and didn't think much about it. But then a friend of mine was driving, and he said: 'Ohh, the police have done a U-turn', so usually means like, right, here we go, they're gonna follow us. Jason I know they're there, [police] car's behind. But I am not acknowledging cause if I'm acknowledging you, then you're gonna think I'm changing the way I drive. So, I'm just gonna drive how I'm driving…pretend I don't see you, and you'd hopefully see me like as a normal civilian, you know?
	Masked stereotyping	Participants were especially vigilant to police officers' verbal and non-verbal	Confirmation of race-based	Maurice The police run up to me, knock my milkshake out my hand and go to arrest me and my two mates. They speak

	behaviour, which they felt communicated implicitly Black criminality stereotypes (e.g., aggressive, dangerous, threatening, up to no good, and criminal). For participants, the actions of police officers confirmed initial fears of being racially stereotyped.	stereotyping from officers	to my two mates and asked what happened. My two mates tell them, they let my two mates go instantly... the police let the two White people go. Kayden The main reason I felt stereotyped? Their excuse was that we were hand-shuffling the back of the car, which was quite vague in itself. But I was like, well if you're concerned about something being the car, why is it only two black people who are being searched rather than all four of us? And so, the reason for that, they are obviously assuming that young Black men are more dangerous and more threatening, are more likely to be involved in, like, said crime. Ade So, I just thought it was because, like, I was Black too, that's why, like, I was targeted. Like because they had no reason to do that. So, it goes back to that stereotype. Thinking that Black people they are always up to no good because I look a certain kind of way...or because I'm in a certain kind of car.
A lot to process	In response to police-related race-based stereotype threat, participants' minds were consumed with worry, which was suggestive of increased cognitive load. Worries comprised anticipatory thoughts	Cognitive load	Dereck ...I guess in my second encounter with them, that time I feared for everything...that's when I thought I was gonna die. But the fears of death were limited because it's not like I…. I was still thinking rationally, but I was just like,

	(e.g., What if thoughts), self-consciousness or doubts about their actions, appearance and behaviours (e.g., have I done something wrong?), as well as evaluative thoughts (e.g., what would make me look less suspicious). Also discussed was confusion surrounding the reasons for being stopped and searched and difficulties processing information throughout the encounter.		ohhh no! ...My second biggest fear was obviously getting hurt. Just like bodily injuries, stuff like that. Maurice ...All these types of thoughts going in my mind because I'd never been stopped by police before... and the way they was treating me, speaking to me, it was just more anticipation than anything. What's gonna happen?
Mixed emotions	Perceptions of being stereotyped as criminal due to race elicited a wide range of emotions/feelings during police-initiated encounters (e.g. sadness, anxiety, annoyance, frustration, anger, provoked, shame, embarrassment, humiliation, powerlessness and apathy). All participants reported mixed emotional states; for some, these emotions produced physiological sensations (e.g., breathlessness, heart racing, shaking, and uncontrollable hand and leg movements). Tension due to inner rage and feeling immobilized due to shock were also reported.	Emotions	Ade …because of the way you know, I was handled. You know, like being grabbed, being led onto the car. And all of that, you know, so it's only normal for me to, like, you know, feel anxious. Dereck ...a little bit of fear …[of] them just, like, misattributing me, or kind of getting the wrong identity. Just being like, hmm, well someone said this, that there was a person there, and you fit the description. So yeah, let's go, my guy. We'll keep you for like 24 hours... Kayden [I thought] …it's stupid. It's wasting my time. Obviously, I was frustrated as well…because there's no reason why I should have to go through it and have to deal with it.

			Maurice my lungs were gone, and I felt out of breath. I didn't walk, didn't run, didn't do nothing... I couldn't breathe...
Suppressing myself	Concerns about police violence and being misattributed for a crime they had not committed, participants engaged in self-regulation strategies. These were efforts to avoid appearing threatening, suspicious/guilty and to ensure their safety. Specifically, they described masking their emotions (e.g., fear, frustration, and anger) and adaptions to their nonverbal (e.g. avoiding sudden movements, gesturing, and resisting angry outbursts) and verbal communication (e.g. controlling rate, tone or volume, ensuring clear articulation or minimized speech).	Self-control/regulatory strategies	Ade ...if I carried on [speaking], that would have aggravated them more, and maybe got shot or something… Kwame I can't show that anger…So I'm gonna have to mask myself, which is gonna make myself more mad…out of that madness and inner rage, I have to find the composure to keep this situation calm and brief. Miles I can't make any sudden movements... I had to walk backwards with my hands out! Like, no one asked me to do that. I was walking backwards and sat down.
Behaving suspiciously	For some participants, concerns about being stereotyped as a criminal manifested in their non-verbal behaviours (e.g., shaking or bodily movements) and	Perceived suspicious behaviour	Maurice When you're tapping like I was, they're gonna think you are trying to hide something. No! I'm tapping because I'm nervous…I'm obviously not nervous about having anything on me. It's about you lot. At the end of the day,

	verbal communication (e.g., stuttering) and thus, they perceived that police officers judged them as suspicious or guilty. However, most participants perceived their behaviours during the encounter reflected their innocence and, therefore, were not viewed as suspicious by police officers.	you think that I'm not gonna be nervous of two police officers… Dereck I think they came off genuine. Umm. I think because not all of them were evil, so, I think they could see the genuineness in my eyes, and we're like, OK, let's not do something that we may regret kind of thing. So, yeah, I came across as genuine. Kayden I don't think that in that situation, anything we did was suspicious or could be deemed to be a threat, if I'm being honest, like, yeah, no. Nothing I'd say would even be akin to that sort of thought process. Jason The moment they… once you start moving your hands, they get erratic, man. That's what I feel… Don't get me wrong, but you know when you see certain people, and they're hyping up, and they're slapping their hands together, you know, I get that. But you know, there's certain, when you're getting angry, and your hands are flapping around a lot more. It's like: 'Shit, they're about to do something.'. That's the feeling that I get from them when they see because, you know, we're very verbal or hands as well, you know? So, I do see that as a thing sometimes, but maybe not.

Survival	Learning through lived experience	Lived experiences strengthened a sense of distrust towards the police. However, through lived experiences, they were able to refine their survival strategies for navigating police encounters. For some, this involved avoidance strategies, whereby they reduced their proximity with police officers or avoided anything which could elicit police officer suspicion. (e.g., car-tinted windows, hoodies, and tracksuits). Although all participants expressed concerns about being physically harmed, some participants stuck to compliance strategies to ensure their safety. Others recognized the 'limited' power of their voice and, in addition to their compliance, used verbal challenges to regain some degree of power during police encounters.	Avoidance	Dereck …if I see a police car parked near an alleyway, which is like a shortcut home, I'm not taking that shortcut home, if that makes sense. Because they might be like, 'Why are you in this alleyway? Where are you going?' And it's just like not an open enough space for me to be comfortably stopped if I have to be stopped, if that makes sense. Stephen: You know, when I was younger, my car was always tinted. But now, I don't tint my cars because I just don't want them to pull me over.
			Compliance	Maurice I'll make sure I know everything I need to know and say the bare minimum so I can go. Kayden In that encounter you have a significant role in how it can escalate. You can only control yourself. If you, unfortunately, say the wrong thing or the energy that you bring is… if you go into something combatively, without the tools to protect you, you're asking for trouble. So that's how you kind of survive and get through it.

			Challenges	Stephen: ...and then I'm always saying to them, I'm sure if I'm a White guy, we wouldn't be here. They're like, 'Oh, nah, it's nothing to do with that mate.' I'm Black, there's a lot to do with that, you know. And then I think, sometimes I say that, and all of a sudden, now, they give back my driver's license. And off you got. Kwame ...Every time I have bumped into them since, my tone lets them know that, once again, I'm unbothered, and it's gonna be pointless. So, ever since, it's just made me more passive-aggressive…. Yeah, passive-aggressive and annoyed for the fact that they waste time. Maurice When I get angry nowadays, It comes out as sarcasm, and me asking very strongly if they have brains to think because they lack common sense. Yeah, some of the things that police come up with make no sense, but to them, it makes perfect sense.
	Acceptance, healing, and scars	Most participants denied lasting psychological consequences because of police-initiated encounters. Instead, they discussed coming to terms with the event. Others recognised that such events leave scars which remain with Black men. Of those who experienced lasting distress,	Acceptance or Lasting distress	Ade But weirdly, things don't really bother me too much, and like, you know, after a few hours, I was fine. I was fine. So, like, when it first happened, I was like, OK…but after, I just moved on from that.

	heightened anxiety and the impact on self-esteem/worth were referred to.	Miles … I've never kind of, you know, taken the side that I hate them, etcetera. And I know a lot of people in my position, and they still carry that burden… When you carry something in anger and hatred and so forth, especially for a certain person, or individuals or groups, it's like drinking poison and hoping they will die. You're doing that harm to yourself. So that's how I feel now. I mean, even just talking to you. I've seen, like, a police car going past. I'm so indifferent to it. Maurice ...So, me leaving, and me feeling like I want to hurt someone, and I couldn't, made me wanna just go crazy. When I got home my heart felt like it was just pounding, beating out of my chest. I could hear my heart in my ears. I don't know if you've ever experienced that, but I could hear my heart beating in my ears, man. My ears weren't ringing. It was my heartbeat. The thing is, they are playing with other people's lives, playing with other people's dignity.