Intergroup Perceptions of Discrimination

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ABSTRACT

Efforts to effectively combat discrimination require an understanding of how groups in power think about those experiencing prejudice and discrimination. To study how White individuals think about the discrimination faced by different racial groups (Non-Hispanic White, Black, Asian, Middle Eastern, Native and Indigenous, Latinx and Hispanic, and Mixed-Race men and women), 304 White participants completed a modified version of the Everyday Discrimination Scale and the Heighten Vigilance scale for each of these 14 groups to assess participants' perceptions that individuals from each intersectional group experience discrimination. Further, explicit attitudes towards each group were assessed with feelings thermometers. Results of within-subjects ANOVAs demonstrated that all racial groups were perceived to experience different levels of discrimination from one another, with Black targets perceived as experiencing the most discrimination and White targets the least. When analyzing the groups at the intersection of race and gender, we found that Black men were perceived as experiencing the most discrimination, followed by Black women and that White men were perceived as experiencing the least discrimination with White women the second lowest group. Additionally, Asian women and Hispanic Latino men were perceived as facing more than their same-race counterparts. Overall, these data indicate that White individuals perceive differences in the group levels of discrimination faced by racial-gender groups, and highlight the importance of an intersectional approach when studying race and gender discrimination.

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Intergroup Perceptions of Discrimination

Racial prejudice and discrimination are pervasive in the United States. A 2019 study found that among their 3,716 participants, between 50-75% of Black, Hispanic, and Asian respondents reported experiencing discrimination (Lee et al., 2019). Even when using a more conservative measure, focusing on participants who have experienced discrimination multiple times rather than rarely, almost 70% of Black, 45% of Hispanic, 56% of Asian, 49% of American Indian, 71% of Pacific Islander participants reported experiencing racial discrimination from time to time or regularly. Comparatively, only about 30% of White participants experienced racial discrimination at similar frequencies. Notably, this study was conducted prior to Covid 19, after which there was an increase in anti-Asian prejudice (Wu et al., 2021) and anti-Hispanic prejudice (Lu et al., 2021). In the week following the death of George Floyd in May of 2020, Google searches for systemic racism, showing an increase in awareness of systemic racism (Systemic racism, n.d.) in the years following Covid 19.

The chronic nature of experiencing discrimination is associated with a variety of negative mental health outcomes including depressive symptoms (Cogburn et al., 2011; Lanier et al., 2016), increased cortisol levels (Huynh et al., 2017), dissociative symptoms (Polanco-Roman et al., 2016), and generalized anxiety disorder (Soto et al., 2010). Hypervigilance, the “chronic and pervasive state of alertness and readiness to respond to potential threats in the environment” (Rostosky et al., 2021, p.1) is thought to be implicated in the stress accompanying having a marginalized identity. The current literature suggests that stigma-related hypervigilance is associated with a variety of negative emotions (Rostosky et al. 2021) as well as with the presence of hostility in

encounters with racism (Carter & Forsyth, 2010). As such, hypervigilance serves as a good measure of the negative outcomes of chronic discrimination as it captures the salience of prejudicial treatment to those with marginalized identities. Given the current methodologies focusing on discrete instances of discrimination or an individual's experience, and the potential negative downstream consequences of experiencing discrimination, further research is needed to understand perceptions of the group-level hypervigilance experienced by People of Color in the U.S. to better combat prejudice.

While there is a wealth of literature on experiences of discrimination and its negative downstream consequences, the current literature lacks information on who majority group members perceive as experiencing discrimination. Perry et al. (2015) notes that awareness of racial bias is predictive of the ability to detect subtle forms of racial bias, as well as the likelihood to accept feedback as credible. Forscher et al. (2017) treat racial bias as a bad habit that can be countered with conscious effort. This indicates that for interventions to counter racial bias to be effective, the degree to which one perceives group members as the target of prejudice is a crucial piece of information. This study aimed to measure the perceptions majority group members hold about the experience of discrimination and hypervigilance experienced by minority group members (i.e., Black, Asian, Middle Eastern, Native and Indigenous, Latinx and Hispanic, and Mixed Race). Understanding who majority group members view as the victims of discrimination, how they explicitly feel about those groups, and how affected they believe these groups are by discrimination, as well as noting individual differences in these constructs, will help finetune anti-discrimination interventions.

Racial Identity and Perceptions of Racism

Perceptions and definitions of discrimination and racism vary based on the racial identity of the perceiver (see Carter & Murphy, 2015 and Chaney & Wedell, 2022 for reviews). For example, 53% of Black individuals, compared to 17% of White individuals, report that discrimination against minority groups is a critical issue in the U.S. today (Public Religion Research Institute, 2012). Similarly, 85% of Black Americans perceive racism against Black Americans as widespread in America, but only 66% of Hispanic Americans and 56% of White Americans perceive racism against Black Americans as pervasive (Jones, 2016). Interestingly, when a specific type of anti-Black racism was supplied (i.e., percentage of White men with unfavorable views of Black Lives Matter), then White, Black, and Latinx Americans were fairly accurate in their estimations of anti-black racism (Cipollina et al., 2022). This may stem from differing motivations in the labeling of prejudice. Richeson and Shelton (2003) and Shelton et al. (2005) found that Black individuals hold lower thresholds for racism cues which allows them to more easily determine if they or another ingroup member will be the target of racism. While in contrast, White individuals aim to avoid reinforcing stereotypes of White individuals as the perpetrators of prejudice (Apfelbaum et al., 2008; Goff et al., 2008; Salvatore & Shelton, 2007). These motivations likely prompt observed differences in thresholds as well as definitions of what constitutes prejudice, which in turn lead to differences in perceptions in the pervasiveness and seriousness of racial prejudice in the U.S. Indeed, White individuals seem to primarily label blatant racism as prejudicial, focusing on evidence of both intention and harm, while Black individuals attend to both blatant and ambiguous racism cues (Dovidio et al., 1997; McConnel & Leibold, 2001; Simon et al., 2019). This means that White individuals appear to not categorize ambiguous or non-

threatening forms of discrimination as racism, which can lead to possible racial differences in perceptions of group level discrimination.

While research has examined racial discrimination, the majority of this literature focuses on Black targets and White targets, failing to be inclusive and representative of the actual racial makeup of the United States. Further, studies representing racial groups beyond Black and White often study only the target group's experience of prejudice, meaning that there is limited ability to compare the experiences and perceptions of one racial group to another (Erhart & Hall, 2019; Skinner et al., 2020). While a handful of studies use a variety of racial targets, they focus on topics of stereotypes (Ghavami & Peplau, 2012) or implicit and explicit bias (Axt et al., 2014) rather than discrimination. Further research is needed representing many racial group targets within the same study, to better understand how groups that may not be the prototype of discrimination face prejudice that may differ from other groups.

Intersectionality

In addition to examining perceptions of discrimination experienced by different racial groups, it is important to apply an intersectional lens, as perceptions and experiences are not solely influenced by single identities, but rather the overlap of identities such as both race and gender. Cole (2009) warns that analyzing social identities as homogeneous groups, rather than acknowledging the intersection of identities represented within each group leads to inherent bias and loses necessary levels of complexity. Indeed, by failing to attend to intersectional identities, the unique experiences of oppressions in people with multiple marginalized identities, often referred to as "double jeopardy," is masked by "intersectional invisibility" (see Purdie-

Vaughns & Eibach, 2008 for more detail). Crenshaw (1989) examines how Black women face multiplicative effects of discrimination as the subjects of both racism and sexism, creating unique types of discrimination that are specific to their status as a Black woman (i.e., experiences beyond just racism or sexism).

Despite increasing evidence that individuals of multiple minority statuses are perceived differently than the sum of their marginalized parts (i.e., Black women experience prejudice differently than White women and Black men), few studies adopt this framework. Ghavami and Peplau (2012) found that when prompting participants to generate gender-by-race stereotypes, unique components were discovered that were not found in solely gendered or raced stereotypes. Additionally, they found that racial stereotypes were closer to stereotypes of men of a given race rather than women of the same race (Ghavami & Peplau, 2012). When studying perception of discrimination, studies show that participants rely on prototypes of discrimination and the presence of status asymmetry to determine if a discrete situation is discriminatory (Inman & Barron, 1998; Simon et al., 2013) such that it is expected that the target of discrimination is Black, and the discriminator is White. While informative, these studies were conducted with only male stimuli, meaning that there is limited knowledge of perceived discrimination against women of color. While psychological research is further adopting this intersectional lens, few apply it to racial groups beyond Black and White (Ghavami & Peplau, 2012). Indeed, the majority of the racial prejudice and discrimination literature focuses primarily on the comparison of experiences or perceptions of Black and White targets. While this focus has granted insight into the multitude of ways Black individuals have faced oppression, representing racism as exclusively anti-black racism fails to

account for the race-specific stereotypes and prejudices that affect other People of Color in the United States in much the same way presenting sexism as a White woman's issue is biased.

Group level targets and chronic experience

"Categories such as race, gender, social class, and sexuality do not simply describe groups that may be different or similar; they encapsulate historical and continuing relations of political, material, and social inequality and stigma," (Cole, 2009, p. 173). Delineating identities from solely individual traits and viewing them on the group level, and as a concept that social contexts and systemics interact with, highlights that experiences of prejudice and discrimination are not isolated to an individual in a given context. Rather, prejudice and discrimination are concepts that occur to groups and peoples of shared identities chronically and that the individual instance is an example of this persistent social pattern.

Much of the work on perceiving discrimination utilizes scenarios or vignettes (Inman & Baron, 1998; Simon et al., 2013), in which participants are asked to imagine a situation in which they see biased behavior in their immediate environment, such as a workplace (Avery et al., 2008). Inman and Baron (1996) found that participants were more likely to label the same behaviors as discrimination if the target of the behavior was Black and the perpetrator was White, than any other configuration of White and Black perpetrator and target. Similarly, Simon et al. (2013) found that both Black and White participants attributed behavior to discrimination more for Black victims when they were negatively compared to positively stereotyped, but stereotypes held no effect on attributions to discrimination for White victims. These studies do well at capturing

differences in labeling a situation as discriminatory, but they do not examine perceptions of the chronic discrimination that groups face. In this way, researchers are studying specific manifestations of discrimination rather than the whole construct.

Purpose of Present Study

The present study aimed to address the previously mentioned gaps in the literature by measuring White individuals' perceptions of the discrimination faced by 14 target racial-gender intersectional groups. In doing so, we examined the perceptions of discrimination against People of Color from racial identities that have been understudied on the group level and identified how perceptions of discrimination may differ at the intersection of race and gender[1], which can help us to better combat different forms of prejudice in the future. Becker and Swim (2012) found that receiving information about the pervasiveness and effects of sexism led to increased awareness of gender discrimination and lower endorsement of modern sexist beliefs, thus measuring perceptions of discrimination is a critical step towards combatting racial discrimination.

To examine our constructs of interest, we adapted the 5-item Everyday Discrimination Scale that measures repeated and commonplace biased treatment one might encounter in daily life (Williams et al., 1997) to be other-focused, which serves as a tool to measure perceived racial discrimination against target racial groups. Specifically, we examined perceptions of Non-Hispanic White, Black, Asian, Middle Eastern, Native and Indigenous, Latinx and Hispanic, and Mixed Race, men and

[1]This study is only including cis-gender men and cis-gender women targets, hence forth referred to as men and women. To more inclusively study effects of discrimination by target gender, future research should include genders outside of the binary, to include transgender, gender-fluid, a-gender, and other gender minority groups not included in the current study.

women. Hypervigilance towards discrimination was measured using the Abbreviated Heightened Vigilance Scale to capture perceptions of the long-term effects of racial discrimination against specific racial groups. As racial groups tend to show ingroup preference and both implicit as well as explicit hierarchies in preference with White being the most preferred, followed by Asian, and Hispanic or Black individuals (Axt et al., 2014), feeling thermometers were utilized as a measure of explicit bias. By measuring perceptions of men and women of each race, we were able to assess how participants perceive discrimination to vary as a function of gender as well as race. Participants also completed measures of Social Desirability and White Guilt.

We expected that Black targets would be perceived as experiencing the most discrimination and hypervigilance, and White targets would be perceived as experiencing the least amount of discrimination and hypervigilance, regardless of gender. Similarly, we expected that women targets would be perceived as experiencing more discrimination than men targets within each racial identity. Furthermore, we expected that women of each race would be perceived as experiencing more discrimination and vigilance than men of the same race. The analyses on feeling thermometers and non-Black racial minority targets were largely exploratory, as there is limited research on perceptions of these groups.

Method

Participants & Procedure

Participants were 329 monoracial White individuals above the age of 18 years currently residing in the U.S. and were recruited through Prolific. Our sample was 50% female, 49.3% male, and 0.7% intersex with a mean age of 35.18 years (*SD* = 13.02).

The majority of our sample identified their socioeconomic status growing up as middle class (39.1%) or working/laboring class (32.9%). Politically, the majority of our sample identified as somewhat (10.2%), moderately (21.7 %), or strongly liberal (32.9%).

Materials

Short Altered Everyday Discrimination Scale: The Everyday Discrimination Scale (EDS) was amended to be other-focused, such that instructions framed in personal pronouns “you/your” were instead written to say “they/ their” to indicate the prompts should be answered about the target racial group presented to the participants. For example, instructions read, “In their day-to-day life how often do you think any of the following things happened to them?” (Williams et al., 1997). The measure is comprised of 5 items reflecting different forms discrimination can take, such as, “They are treated with less courtesy or respect than other people,” (Williams et al., 1997). Participants responded with their perception of the target racial group’s experience of that form of discrimination with answers of 0 = *never*, 1 = *less than once a year*, 2 = *a few times a year*, 3 = *a few times a month*, 4 = *at least once a week* and 5 = *almost everyday*. Scores on each item were totaled, such that higher scores indicate higher levels of perceived discrimination for a given group. Reliability for this measure ranged from good to excellent with the lowest McDonald's Omega value being .83 (Asian Women) and the highest being .96 (Black men).

Altered Heightened Vigilance Scale: Participants completed an altered version of the four-item Heightened Vigilance Scale (Williams, n.d.) in which they estimated the frequency of various hypervigilant behaviors for the target racial group. Instructions were changed so that questions were answered as perceptions of the experience of the

target group, such as “In dealing with these day-to-day experiences that you just read, how often do you think that they: Think in advance about the kinds of problems they are likely to experience.” These questions immediately followed the EDS for the target group and were answered on the following scale: 0 = *never*, 1 = *less than once a year*, 2 = *a few times a year*, 3 = *a few times a month*, 4 = *at least once a week*, and 5 = *almost every day*. Scores on each item are totaled, such that higher scores indicate higher levels of perceived hypervigilance for a given group. Reliability for this measure was good to excellent for all target groups, with .87 being the lowest McDonald’s Omega (White men) and .96 being the highest (Native Indigenous and Mixed Race women).

Feeling Thermometers: Fourteen separate feeling thermometers were included to measure participants’ attitudes towards each racial-gender group included as targets (Esses, et al., 1993). Participants were asked “On a scale from 0 to 100, how cold or warm do you feel toward [target race, target gender].” The thermometers ranged from 1-100 with 1 being very cold and 100 being very warm. Lower scores on this measure indicate a strong dislike for the group while higher scores indicate positive feelings or liking of the specific group.

White Guilt Scale: The White Guilt Scale (Swim & Miller, 1999) consists of five items that assess the guilt associated with participation in a society known by the individual to be racist towards those who are not White. Participants respond to each item on a 5-point Likert scale from 1 = *strongly disagree*, 5 = *strongly agree*. One item included is “I feel guilty about the benefits and privileges that I receive as a White American.” This negatively phrased item is reverse scored, and a mean score is calculated such that

high scores indicate greater degrees of White guilt. Additionally, this scale showed good reliability (ω = .89).

Marlow Crowne Social Desirability Scale: The Social Desirability Scale is a 13-item (Crowne & Marlowe, 1960; Reynolds, 1982) true-false measure to assess the likelihood of participants to respond to questions in such a way that maximizes their favorable qualities instead of in ways that are true. Five questions are scored with True equaling one and false equaling zero, while the other eight are reverse scored. The measure includes items such as “I am sometimes irritated by people who ask favors of me” (which is reverse scored). Scores are summed and can range from 0 to 13, with higher scores representing a higher propensity to respond in a socially desirable manner. This scale showed good acceptable reliability (ω = .79).

Procedure

Participants were first screened through Prolific to ensure that the sample identified as monoracial White. Those who did completed the informed consent form, and the demographic questions. Three further filtering questions were included in the demographics asking participants to select the racial category they identify most strongly with, if they identify as Hispanic Latino, or of Spanish origin, and to select their race (allowing for multiple selections). If participants selected any options in addition to or differing from White, they were excluded from the analytic sample during data cleaning. Participants then answered the altered version of the Everyday Discrimination Scale, the altered Heightened Vigilance Scale, and feeling thermometers for each of the 14 racial/ethnic gender groups (i.e., Non-Hispanic White, Black, Asian, Middle Eastern, Native and Indigenous, Latinx and Hispanic, and Mixed Race; woman and man) in

randomized order. Participants were presented with instructions asking them to answer the scales for each target group (e.g. Black women, Mixed Race men). Participants then completed the battery of questionnaires including White Guilt, Social Desirability, and other measures that were not included in the present study. Upon completion, participants were debriefed and were compensated $4 for their time. Study procedures were approved by the local institutional review board.

Results

Plan of Analysis

During data cleaning, 25 participants were excluded from analyses as they identified as a race other than mono-racial White (seven excluded, examples of excluded races: White and Hispanic, White and Native Indigenous, White and Middle Eastern), or for not completing the entire study (18 excluded). Thus, our total analytic sample was 304 participants. We conducted a series of Analyses of Variances (ANOVAs) and t-tests to determine perceived differences between racial-gender groups. Three 2 (Gender: Male, Female) x 7 (Race: Non-Hispanic White, Black, Asian, Middle Eastern, Native and Indigenous, Latinx and Hispanic, Mixed Race) repeated measures analyses of variances (ANOVAs) were conducted to look at the main effects of race, gender, and the race-gender interaction for perceptions of discrimination, hypervigilance, and feeling thermometers. Significant interactions were probed using paired samples t-tests for each racial group to analyze target gender differences within racial categories. Significance for the omnibus test was assessed at the $\alpha = .05$ level. Bonferroni corrections were used for all specific comparisons and Greenhouse-Geisser corrections were applied when assumptions of sphericity were violated.

Further exploratory analyses were conducted using White Guilt, Social Desirability, and political ideologies as potential correlates and predictors of explicit attitudes, as well as perceptions of discrimination, hypervigilance, and differences for White and Black targets in perceived discrimination and hypervigilance.

Everyday Discrimination Scale

Results of the 2x7 within participants ANOVA on perceived group differences on the EDS revealed a significant main effect of race, $F(6, 1{,}818) = 441.98$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .59$. Black targets were perceived as experiencing the most discrimination on average, followed by Middle Eastern, Latinx Hispanic, Native Indigenous, Mixed Race, and Asian. White targets were perceived as experiencing the least discrimination (see Figure 1). Pairwise comparisons revealed that Native Indigenous and Latinx Hispanic targets were significantly different ($p < .01$), and that all other racial comparisons were significantly different from one another at the .001 level (see Table 1 for descriptive statistics). We found no significant main effect of gender, $F(1, 303) = 2.06$, $p = .153$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$. A significant race by gender interaction was found, $F(6, 1{,}818) = 62.47$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .17$. To examine this interaction, seven paired-samples t-tests were conducted to analyze potential gender differences within each race (see Figure 2). We found that Black men compared to Black women, $t(303) = -7.97$, $p < .001$, White women compared to White men, $t(303) = 11.39$, $p < .001$, Asian Women compared to Asian men, $t(303) = 4.83$ $p < .001$, and Latino Hispanic men compared to Latina Hispanic women, $t(303) = -6.53$, $p < .001$ were perceived as experiencing higher levels of discrimination. No significant target gender differences were found for Middle Eastern ($p = .693$), Native Indigenous ($p = .675$), or Mixed-Race targets ($p = .121$) on the Everyday Discrimination Scale.

Hypervigilance

Results of the 2x7 within participants ANOVA on perceived group differences on the Hypervigilance scale revealed a significant main effect of race, $F(6, 1{,}818) = 303.46$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .50$. Pairwise comparisons revealed that all racial comparisons except four were significantly different from one another at the $p < .001$ level (see Table 2 and Figure 3). Black targets were perceived as experiencing the most hypervigilance, though they did not significantly differ from Middle Eastern targets ($p = 1.000$); Mixed Race targets had the third highest hypervigilance score, followed by Latinx Hispanic and Native Indigenous targets, though Mixed Race targets did not significantly differ from Latinx Hispanic ($p = 1.000$) and Native Indigenous targets did not significantly differ from with Mixed Race ($p = .384$) or Latinx Hispanic targets ($p = 1.000$). There was a significant main effect of gender, $F(1, 303) = 112.60$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .27$, such that women were perceived as experiencing more hypervigilance than men. A significant race by gender interaction was found, $F(6, 1{,}818) = 102.22$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .25$. To examine this interaction, seven paired-samples t-tests were conducted to analyze potential gender differences within each race (see Figure 4). Significant gender differences were found for White, Asian, Middle Eastern, Indigenous Native, and Mixed Race targets, such that women targets were perceived as experiencing more Hypervigilance than men targets of the same race (all p values $< .001$). There were no significant gender differences in perceived Hypervigilance for Black and Latinx Hispanic targets ($p > .05$). See Table 2 for descriptive statistics.

Thermometers

Results of our 2x7 within participants ANOVA on the feeling thermometers revealed a significant main effect of race, $F(6, 1{,}812) = 21.30$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .07$ (see Figure 5). Asian targets had the highest score on the feeling thermometers, followed by Native Indigenous, Mixed Race, Latinx Hispanic, Black, Middle Eastern, and White targets had the lowest rating. Black targets were explicitly rated less favorable than Asian ($p < .001$), Native Indigenous ($p = .001$), Mixed Race targets ($p < .05$), and were rated more favorably than Middle Eastern targets ($p < .05$); no difference were found between Black and White targets ($p = .083$) or Latinx Hispanic targets ($p = .145$). White targets were rated less favorably than all groups ($p < .001$), except Black and Middle Eastern targets ($p = 1.000$) for which there was no significant differences. Asian targets were preferred to Middle Eastern targets ($p < .001$), Latinx Hispanic ($p < .01$), and Mixed Race targets ($p < .05$); no differences were found between Asian and Native Indigenous targets ($p = 1.000$). Middle Eastern targets were preferred less than Native Indigenous, Latinx Hispanic, and Mixed Race targets ($p < .001$). Native Indigenous targets did not significantly differ from either Latinx Hispanic ($p = .291$) or Mixed Race targets ($p = .789$), and Latinx Hispanic targets also did not significantly differ from Mixed Race targets ($p = 1.000$). See Table 3 for descriptive statistics.

There was a significant main effect of gender, $F(1, 302) = 153.57$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .30$ such that participants felt significantly more warm towards women targets than men targets. A significant race by gender interaction was found, $F(6, 1{,}812) = 29.08$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .20$. To examine this interaction, seven paired-samples t-tests were conducted to analyze potential gender differences within each race (see Figure 6).

Every race showed significant gender differences ($p < .001$) such that participants felt warmer towards women of every race compared to their same race men counterparts.

To investigate the lack of ingroup preference, we conducted a post-hoc bivariate correlation on the Black feeling thermometer, White feeling thermometer, and the difference between White and Black feeling thermometers and Social Desirability, political ideology (scored with 1 = strongly conservative to 7 = strongly liberal), and White Guilt, and found significant correlations between the White-Black difference score and White Guilt ($r = -.44$, $p < .001$), political attitudes ($r = -.49$, $p < .001$), but not Social Desirability ($r = .04$, $p = .502$). Thus, it appears that higher levels of White Guilt, and more conservative political ideologies were associated with greater difference between explicit liking of White targets and Black targets. Interestingly, Social Desirability, political ideology, and White Guilt were all significantly correlated with White feeling thermometers (Social Desirability: $r = .27$, $p < .001$; political ideology: $r = -.34$, $p < .001$; White Guilt $r = -.24$, $p < .001$) and Black feeling thermometers (Social Desirability $r = .22$, $p < .001$; political ideology: $r = .22$, $p < .001$; White Guilt $r = .26$, $p < .001$).

Discussion

The aim of our study was to examine White individuals' perceptions of the experience of discrimination faced by 14 racial-gender groups, as well as their explicit bias towards these intersectional groups. We hypothesized Black targets to be perceived as experiencing more discrimination and hypervigilance on average than White targets, and women targets to experience more discrimination and hypervigilance than men targets. Lastly, we expected that women targets of each racial group would be

perceived as experiencing more discrimination and hypervigilance than men targets of the same race. We found support for some of our hypotheses, as perceptions of the experience of discrimination, hypervigilance, and explicit attitudes differed as a function of race. In addition, perceptions of hypervigilance and explicit attitudes differed as a function of gender. Finally, we found intersectional race-gender effects for all three outcome variables. Overall Black targets were perceived as experiencing the most discrimination and hypervigilance scores, with Black men being the highest target group for perceived discrimination and Black women the highest on hypervigilance, and White targets, as well as White men, were the lowest on both these measures. Participants felt explicitly warmest towards Asian targets, and coldest towards White targets, with participants feeling the warmest towards Asian women and coldest towards White men.

Experiences of Discrimination

Overall, these results supported our hypothesis that Black targets are perceived as experiencing the most discrimination and White targets the least. Counter to our hypothesis, we found no gender effects for perceived discrimination but found significant effects at the intersection of gender and race. Further analyses revealed differences such that Black men, White women, Asian women, and Latino Hispanic men were perceived as experiencing more discrimination than their same-race counterparts; this was counter to our hypotheses on intersecting identities in which we predicted that women targets of all races would be perceived as experiencing higher discrimination than men of the same race. Black men, followed by Black women were perceived as experiencing the most everyday discrimination of any group, while White men and White women to a lesser extent, were perceived as experiencing the least

discrimination, supporting our hypotheses for White target gender differences but not Black targets.

When examining the main effect of race on the EDS, we found that Black individuals were perceived as experiencing the most discrimination, followed by Middle Eastern, Latinx Hispanic, Native Indigenous, Mixed Race, Asian, and lastly White targets, which were all significantly different from one another. These results appeared ordered both by prototypical skin tone of the target, but also the type of stereotypes associated with each group. As Black individuals are the prototype of the target of discrimination (Inman & Baron, 1996), it is unsurprising that they have the highest EDS mean. The group perceived as experiencing the second greatest degree of discrimination were Middle Eastern targets. While there is limited research on prejudice and discrimination towards Middle Eastern targets, research shows that this group is most often stereotyped as associated with terrorism, and that this is largely due to terrorism being the most distinct information laypeople are usually presented with about this group, even when accounting for intergroup contact and explicit bias (Ghavami & Peplau, 2012; Park et al., 2007). Stereotypic beliefs have been found to be predictive of discriminatory attitudes (Chiu et al., 2001) as well as self-reported discrimination (Talaska et al., 2008), thus it is likely that stereotypic beliefs may influence perceptions of discrimination.

On the other end, the low value for perceptions of discrimination faced by Asian targets may be linked to evidence suggesting that White individuals underestimate the degree that Asian individuals experience discrimination (Weathers & Truxillo, 2004), which is linked to the “model minority” myth in which Asian Americans are not

considered a disadvantaged minority (Cheung & Thatchenkery, 1997). Similarly, for self-report measures of experienced discrimination, White and Asian individuals usually have the lowest scores (Lee et al., 2019). It is likely that White individuals know that White people are a group that tend to face less discrimination than racial minorities. It should also be noted that as all participants identified as monoracial White, our findings on perceptions of discrimination that White individuals experience are a reflection of ingroup perceptions of discrimination. Thus, it appears that White individuals perceived themselves as experiencing gender differences in discrimination, but think they face the lowest level of discrimination when considering race. Previous research on anti-White prejudice or "reverse racism" have mixed results such that some studies find White participants view the decrease of anti-Black discrimination as accompanied by an increase in anti-White discrimination, while other studies find no evidence of this zero-sum belief (Earle & Hodson, 2020; Norton & Sommers, 2011). The present results show that without the prime of decrease anti-Black prejudice, White individuals on average perceive themselves as experiencing less discrimination than Black individuals. It also provides preliminary evidence that White individuals' prototype of sexism is likely a White woman.

Lee et al.'s (2019) analysis of the data in Boutwell et al. (2017) found different patterns of results depending on if participants were asked if they "have been treated with less respect or courtesy than other people" compared with "have been treated with less respect or courtesy than other people because of your race or ethnicity" (Lee et al., 2019). As specifying race as the cause of discrimination causes differing effects, this study may have had different results had the cause of discrimination been specified as

caused by race or gender, or the overlap of the two. Indeed, as participants were noticeably presented with more races as target than genders, it is possible that participants were only considering “racial discrimination” when reading the EDS instead of any type of discrimination. This argument would explain the lack of a gender effect in the EDS analyses. Relatedly, it could be the case that we hold prototypes of sexism focused around White women, such that participants may focus on race more than gender when considering women of color facing discrimination.

Our findings on perceived group differences in everyday discrimination by gender and race appear to tap into previous research on social prototypes, as well as highlight some of the complexities of intersecting identities. While feminist literature describes the “double jeopardy” of Black women experiencing both racism and sexism, as well as a prejudice unique to being a Black woman, from a perceiver’s standpoint Black women and Women of Color may not be the prototype of who a layperson imagines as the target of racial prejudice. Purdie-Vaughns and Eibach (2008) note that those with multiple subordinate-group identities (i.e., women of color) are not the prototype of any of their subordinate-group identities and therefore face “intersectional invisibility,” the inability of perceivers to categorize those with multiple marginalized identities as members of their respective groups, or the need to mentally warp their characteristics to be more prototypical of group membership. Indeed, Inman and Baron (1998) found that the prototype of racial discrimination is a White person discriminating against a Black person, or more specifically a White man and a Black man. While their study did not include women targets, paired with our findings that Black men were perceived as experiencing more discrimination than Black women, it is likely that perceivers would be

more likely to label a situation as racial discrimination if the target of that discrimination is a man. Relatedly, a possible explanation for the gender difference we found among White targets (i.e., White women perceived as experiencing more discrimination than White men) is that when considering White targets, or specifically White women, participants may have been considering sexism rather than racism, because the prototype of a woman is generally a White woman, it is likely that the prototype of the target of sexism is also White (Ridgeway & Kricheli-Katz, 2013). This gender difference is also seen with Asian targets, who were the second lowest group on perceived discrimination. As Asian and White women are perceived as more feminine and perceived as closer to the prototype of a woman (Schug et al., 2017) it is possible that gender, rather than race, was more saliant when considering both Asian and White women targets.

The results of this study can be compared with findings from research that has investigated self-focused perceived discrimination to examine the accuracy of how individuals and groups perceive outgroup experiences of discrimination. Weathers and Truxillo (2004) measured both White and Asian participants' perceptions of the experience of workplace discrimination of Asian, Hispanic, and Black targets. They found that White participants perceived Asian targets as experiencing less workplace discrimination than other racial minorities, but also that White participants perceived Asian targets as experiencing less discrimination than Asian participants did (Weathers & Truxillo, 2004), indicating that discrimination against Asian targets is likely less saliant to White individuals than discrimination against groups that are more prototypical.

Previous research on anti-prejudice interventions notes the importance of saliency and conscious awareness of biases, as well as discrepancies between beliefs and behavior in prejudice reduction. It was found that highlighting averse racists' (i.e., who endorse egalitarian values but still show negative reactions to minority groups) inconsistencies between their behavior towards a minority group and their egalitarian values was followed by high levels of guilt and reduction in prejudicial behavior (Hing et al., 2002) and those high in Bias Awareness were more likely to identify bias in themselves and others (Perry et al., 2015). Pairing White participants' perceptions of a target group's experience of discrimination with the group's self-reported lived experience of discrimination could be used in an intervention to highlight the discrepancies between perceived and actual group experiences and could increase awareness of discrimination against target groups. Taken together, this adaptation of the EDS could serve as a tool for bias reduction by utilizing behavior-moral values inconsistency effects and potentially increasing bias awareness.

Hypervigilance

Our hypotheses for hypervigilance mirrored our EDS hypothesis and were all supported in this measure. We found that Black targets were perceived as experiencing the most hypervigilance and White targets the least. A significant main effect of gender found that when collapsing across race, women targets were perceived as experiencing more hypervigilance than men targets. Our analyses of intersecting target identities found that our hypothesis that women targets in each race would be perceived as experiencing more hypervigilance than their men counterparts was only significant in

White, Asian, Middle Eastern, Native Indigenous, and Mixed Race targets, but not in Black and Hispanic Latinx targets.

When considering perceived hypervigilance, the order in which racial groups were perceived as experiencing the most hypervigilance to discrimination followed a similar pattern to the EDS finding but in addition there was a main effect of gender and a significant interaction. It is likely targets who were perceived as experiencing more discrimination were expected to take steps to avoid further harassment, which would explain the similar patterns observed. Indeed, literature suggests that those who perceive themselves as experiencing more discrimination also report higher levels of hypervigilance (Brabeck et al., 2021; Rippy & Newman, 2006). It should be noted that while the general pattern remains (i.e., Black targets followed by Middle Eastern targets perceived as experiencing the highest levels of hypervigilance and White and Asian targets the least) Mixed Race, Latinx Hispanic, and Native Indigenous targets did not significantly differ from one another.

Perceived hypervigilance showed an interesting gender-race interaction, with women targets perceived as experiencing more hypervigilance than men counterparts for all groups except Black and Latinx Hispanic. This could indicate that participants perceived women targets as being more affected by racial discrimination and therefore experience hypervigilance than men of the same race. Alternatively, it could be that these items tapped into behaviors that were not perceived as related to racial discrimination, but perhaps gender discrimination or harassment. Indeed, “preparing for insults,” “avoiding certain situations and places,” “watching what they say” and “being careful of appearances for service or avoid harassment” could all be interpreted as

behaviors to avoid gender-based discrimination or harassment. Interestingly, the interaction of women targets being perceived as experiencing more hypervigilance appeared in every racial group except Black and Latinx Hispanic, which were the only two groups in which men targets were perceived as experiencing more discrimination than women of the same race. This finding combined with the similar racial group ordering on EDS and hypervigilance paint the picture that participants' perceptions of hypervigilance could be influenced by their perceptions of discrimination.

Explicit Attitudes

We found main effects of both race and gender, and a gender by race interaction were discovered. Participants felt most warm towards Asian targets, and the least warm towards White targets. Participants also felt warmer towards women compared to men when collapsing across race and within each race.

Explicit attitudes towards groups, as quantified by feeling thermometers, showed participants felt warmest towards Asian and Native Indigenous targets, and least warm towards White targets. Participants on average felt coldest towards their own racial group and warmest to the group that not only was perceived as experiencing the least discrimination and hypervigilance, but also is only the target of negative emotions when they are perceived pose a real threat to opportunities (Maddox et al., 2008). These results are somewhat at odds with Erhart and Hall (2019)'s findings that participants had less favorable attitudes towards Native targets compared to Asian targets, while we found no significant differences in explicit attitudes. Interestingly, our finding that White individuals explicitly prefer Asian targets most, followed by Native Indigenous, Mixed Race, Latinx Hispanic, Black, Middle Eastern, and White (though not all significantly

different) mapped loosely onto the order of racial groups White individuals explicitly prefer in Axt et al. (2014) (White, Asian, Black, Hispanic).

Surprisingly, our findings that White participants explicitly liked White targets the least out of any target group is counter to the common finding that groups tend to explicitly prefer their ingroup over outgroups (Axt et al., 2014; Phillips & Olson, 2014). It could be that priming participants with discrimination, made saliant the prototype of White individuals as the perpetrators of discrimination (Inman & Baron, 1998) may have lowered explicit ingroup preferences through White Guilt or may have prompted participants to answer in a socially desirable manner. Indeed, we found support for these ideas through our bivariate correlations of Social Desirability, White Guilt, political ideology, and the White, Black, and White-Black difference feeling thermometers.

A main effect of gender and a gender-race interaction was found, such that women in general, and women of each racial group were explicitly preferred over men in general and men of the same race respectively. This is consistent with previous findings showing an explicit preference favoring women over men (Skowronski & Lawrence, 2001). To our knowledge, there is no previous research on explicit attitudes towards women compared to men of specific races, in which case the present findings provide an unique contribution to the field of explicit attitudes.

Limitations

Several limitations should be mentioned when considering our results. Our sample is not entirely representative of the United States population. Our participants were largely liberal in political views (64.8%) and previous literature has found that political ideology predicted prejudice and stereotyping, and that this relationship was

partially mediated by ethnic perspective taking (Sparkman & Eidelman, 2016). As completing a measure of discrimination for a racial outgroup is similar to group level perspective-taking, it is possible that the overrepresentation of liberal ideology in this sample affected the pattern of results through a tendency to use racial outgroup perspective-taking.

Additionally, because this study purposefully recruited a monoracial White sample, we could only look at racial ingroup effects and prejudice for White targets. Those with marginalized identities may be more likely to recognize other marginalized groups as similarly oppressed. Craig and Richeson (2012) found that when racial minorities were primed with discrimination against their own race, they experienced greater positive and higher perceived similarity towards Black individuals than those who were not primed, indicating that thinking about ingroup discrimination may make discrimination towards other racial groups more saliant. Conversely, priming White women with sexism led to derogation of racial groups, likely through the path of identity threats (Craig et al., 2012), indicating that a shared “disadvantaged racial minority identity” may only exist in under specific circumstances (Craig & Richeson, 2012). These potentially contradictory findings necessitate further work on perceptions of discrimination with attention to a variety of minority statuses. Additionally, Axt et al. (2014) found that explicit attitudes for racial outgroups differed as a function of participant race. Future research should analyze racial ingroup/outgroup effects on perceiving discrimination and hypervigilance.

A third limitation to consider is our measure of discrimination and hypervigilance. While EDS is a widely used measure of perceived lived experience of discrimination,

our adaptation of it as a measure of perceptions of group level experiences is still in its preliminary stages. We did not ask the source of the perceived discriminatory behavior (i.e., gender, race, gender and race, other factors), thus, we are unable to identify what identity participants perceived as the target of perceived discriminatory behavior. For these reasons, attributions of discrimination to target gender, race, or both, is purely speculatory.

Conclusions & Future Directions

These findings add to the current literature on intergroup perception. While a variety of literature examines individuals' likelihood to label discrete situations as discriminatory, limited research has examined perceptions of chronic discrimination. The results of this study highlight the need to focus on the intersection of gender and race in perceptions of discrimination and hypervigilance. Those with multiple marginalized identities have been found to experience more adversities such as increased exposure to workplace stress (Brown & Moloney, 2018), higher depressive symptoms and lower life satisfaction (Seaton et al., 2010) and decreased social well-being (Kertzner et al., 2010). Our findings highlight that White individuals are aware that many women of color face unique and often more frequent discrimination. But despite this, efforts to combat racial prejudice tend to focus efforts on racism targeting Black men, and anti-sexism activism centers around White women (Collins, 2000; Crenshaw, 1995). Attending to intersectional identities not only highlights marginalized experiences, but also reveals perceptions and stereotypes that only exist at these intersections.

Future research should examine if highlighting the discrepancy between perceived discrimination and minority experiences of discrimination, as well as the negative effects of discrimination, could serve to increase bias awareness and its downstream effects. This was found to be effective in Becker and Swim (2012), in which learning about the harm of benevolent sexism led to increased awareness of gender discrimination and lower endorsement of modern sexist beliefs.

Overall, the results of this study add an intersectional perspective to the areas of experiences of discrimination and hypervigilance, allowing laypeople's perceptions of the experiences of racial and gender groups to be compared for differences that are group specific. Our findings can inform the creation and implementation of more targeted anti-discrimination interventions and highlight discrepancies between perceived and experienced levels of discrimination. Beck and Swim (2012) noted that reductions in prejudice attitudes were predicted by learning about the harm caused by prejudice. Thus, interventions that capitalize on the prejudice-reducing effects of learning about disparities between their attitudes/perceptions and their moral values, as well as the prejudice reducing effect of learning about the harmfulness of stereotyping, while enabling inclusive and intersectional frameworks may be effective. Future research should examine whether interventions that focus on discrimination and hypervigilance awareness are effective tools to increase awareness of racial bias and decrease prejudicial behavior towards diverse targets.

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Table 1
Race and Gender Comparisons on Perceived Discrimination (EDS)

	Total	Women	Men	Mean Dif	Gender Differences
Black$_a$	17.81 ± 5.88	17.18 ± 6.17	18.44 ± 5.91	-1.26 ± 2.75	Women < Men
White$_b$	6.63 ± 3.34	8.12 ± 4.32	5.15 ± 3.76	2.97 ± 4.54	Women > Men
Asian$_c$	11.49 ± 5.41	11.95 ± 5.76	11.04 ± 5.55	0.91 ± 3.30	Women > Men
Middle Eastern$_d$	16.75 ± 5.78	16.71 ± 6.18	16.78± 5.84	-0.08 ± 3.33	No Difference
Native Indigenous$_e$	14.56 ± 6.19	14.52 ± 6.37	14.60 ± 6.36	-0.07 ± 3.01	No Difference
Latinx Hispanic$_f$	15.28 ± 5.70	13.44 ± 5.92	15.87 ± 5.90	-1.18 ± 3.15	Women < Men
Mixed-Race$_g$	13.60 ± 5.93	13.44 ± 6.19	13.75 ± 6.17	-0.31 ± 3.50	No Difference

Note: Results of seven paired samples t-tests to probe Race by Gender interaction. All within race comparisons and between race comparisons are significant after Bonferroni correction at the $p < .001$ level except Native Indigenous and Latinx Hispanic, which was significant at the $p < .01$ level. Each subscript letter denotes a race whose total column proportions do not differ significantly from each other at the $p < .05$ level.

Table 2
Race and Gender Comparisons on Perceived Hypervigilance

Target Race	Total	Women	Men	Mean Dif	Gender Differences
Black$_{a}$	14.43 ± 5.20	14.31 ± 5.55	14.56 ± 5.19	-0.26 ± 3.15	No Difference
White$_{b}$	6.21 ± 3.67	8.90 ± 5.61	3.51 ± 3.61	5.38 ± 5.93	Women > Men
Asian$_{c}$	11.10 ± 5.32	11.64 ± 5.70	10.56 ± 5.50	1.08 ± 3.45	Women > Men
Middle Eastern$_{a}$	14.18 ± 4.98	14.53 ± 5.14	13.83 ± 5.25	0.70 ± 2.83	Women > Men
Native Indigenous$_{a,d}$	12.36 ± 5.57	12.84 ± 5.77	12.23 ± 5.73	0.60 ± 2.83	Women > Men
Latinx Hispanic$_{d}$	12.38 ± 5.27	12.48 ± 5.58	12.28 ± 5.42	0.19 ± 3.17	No Difference
Mixed-Race$_{d}$	12.41 ± 5.50	12.49 ± 5.87	11.79 ± 5.57	0.70 ± 3.14	Women > Men

Note: Results of seven paired samples t-tests to probe Race by Gender interaction. All within and between race comparisons are significant after Bonferroni correction at the $p < .001$. Each subscript letter denotes a race whose total column proportions do not differ significantly from each other at the $p < .05$ level.

Table 3
Race and Gender Comparisons on Explicit Attitudes

Target Race	Feeling Thermometer (Range 0-100)				
	Total	Women	Men	Mean Dif	Gender Differences
Black$_{a}$	78.14 ± 20.11	80.54 ± 19.91	75.75 ± 21.70	4.86 ± 10.74	Women > Men
White$_{a,b}$	74.32 ± 20.39	80.89 ± 18.13	67.75 ± 26.00	13.07 ± 19.72	Women > Men
Asian$_{c}$	81.45 ± 16.86	84.08 ± 16.82	78.77 ± 18.68	5.31 ± 11.32	Women > Men
Middle Eastern$_{b}$	76.46 ± 19.37	79.84 ± 19.20	73.09 ± 21.72	6.84 ± 13.57	Women > Men
Native Indigenous$_{c,d}$	80.78 ± 17.78	82.92 ± 17.51	78.65 ± 19.26	4.25 ± 9.89	Women > Men
Latinx Hispanic$_{a,d,e}$	79.62 ± 18.27	82.56 ± 17.94	76.67 ± 20.21	5.86 ± 11.64	Women > Men
Mixed-Race$_{d,e}$	79.82 ± 17.67	82.46 ± 17.29	77.19 ± 20.21	5.29 ± 10.48	Women > Men

Note: Results of seven paired samples t-tests to probe Race by Gender interaction. Race comparisons are significant at the $p < .05$. Each subscript letter denotes a race whose Total column proportions do not differ significantly from each other at the $p < .05$ level.

Figure 1

Target Race Comparisons on EDS

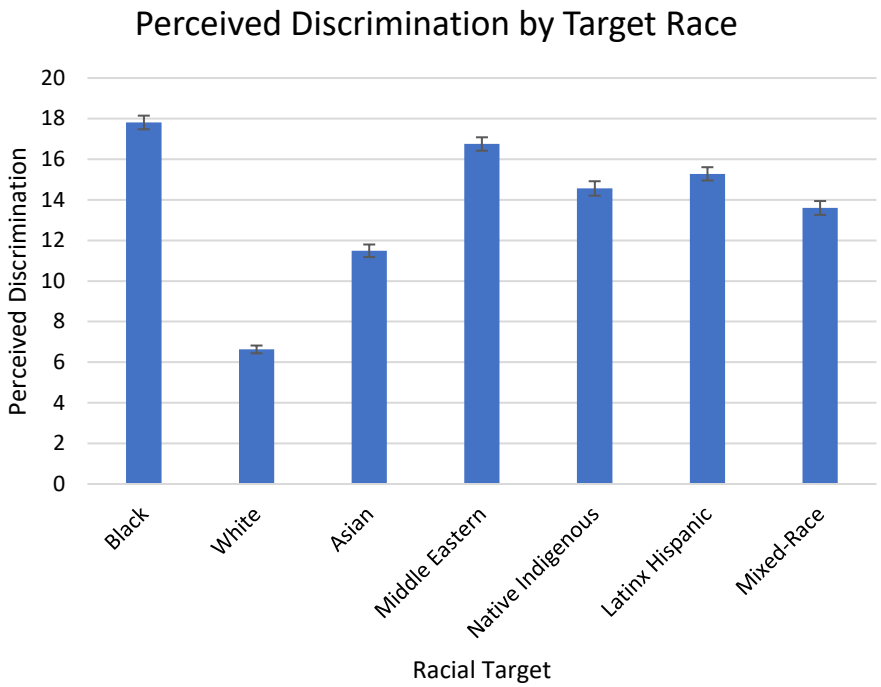

Figure 2

Target Race and Target Gender Comparisons on EDS

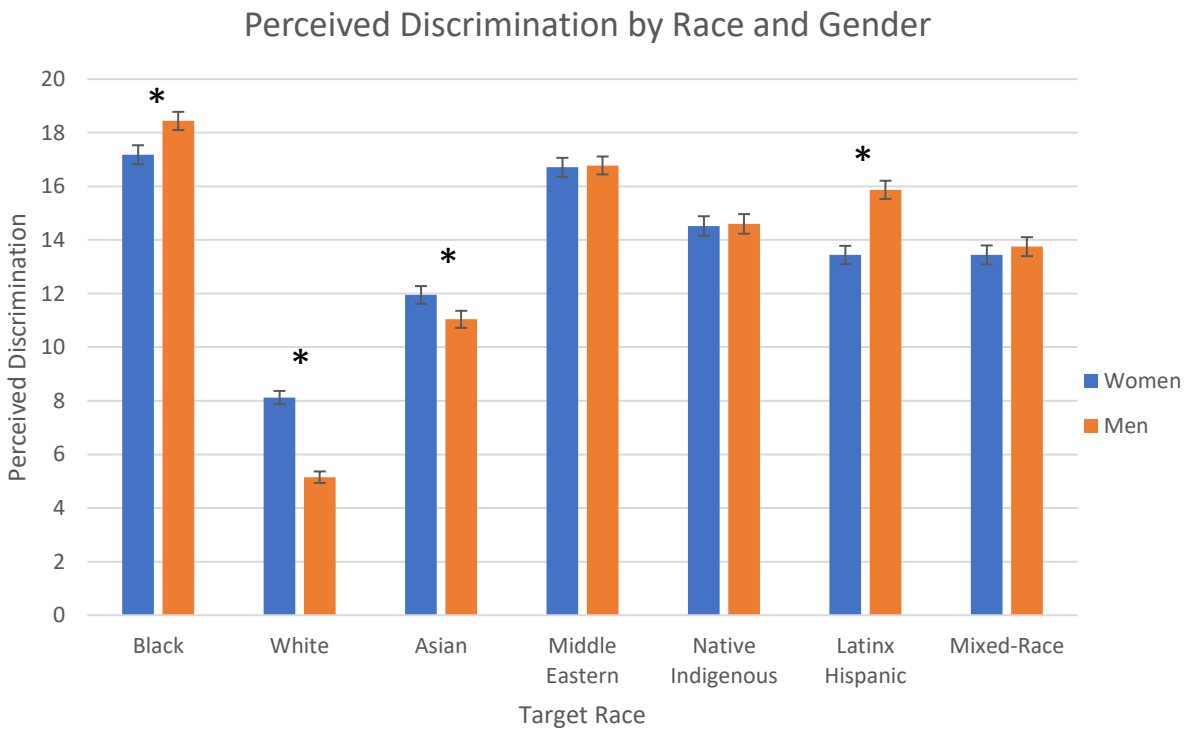

Figure 3

Target Race Comparisons on Hypervigilance

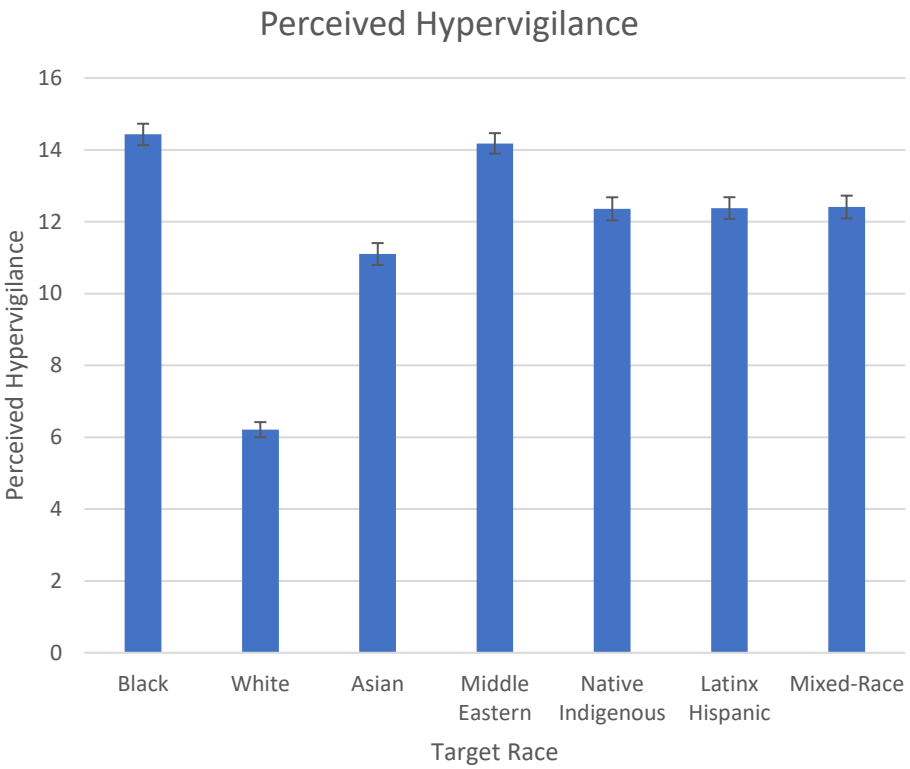

Figure 4

Target Race and Target Gender Comparisons on Hypervigilance

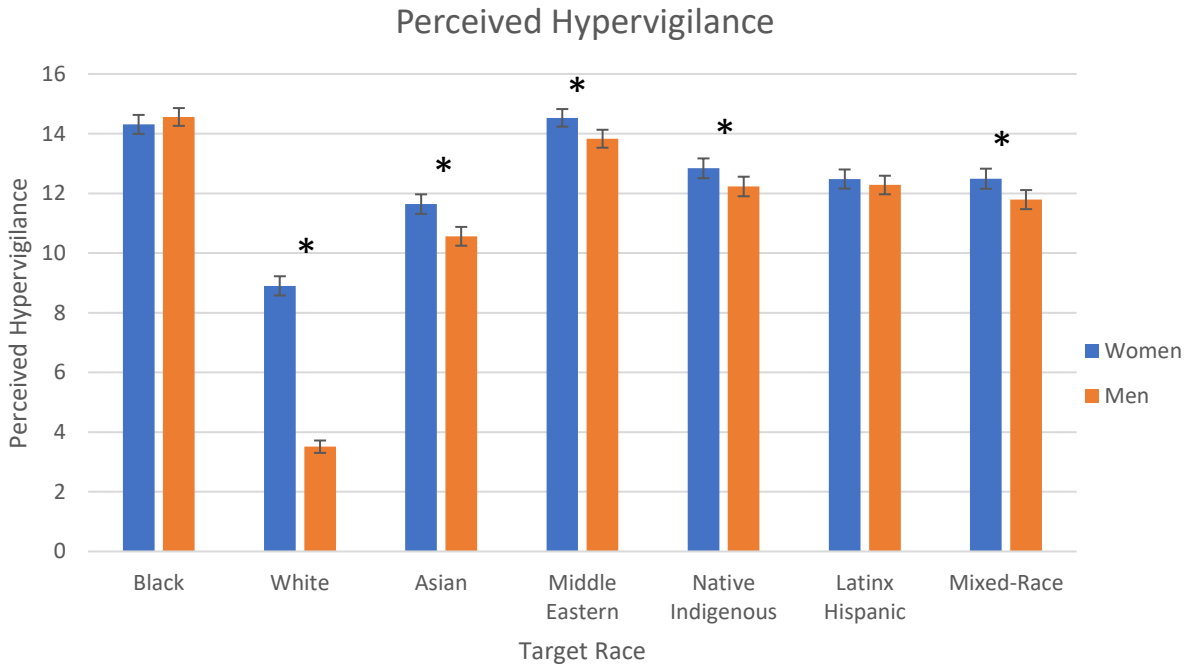

Figure 5

Target Race Comparisons on Feeling Thermometers

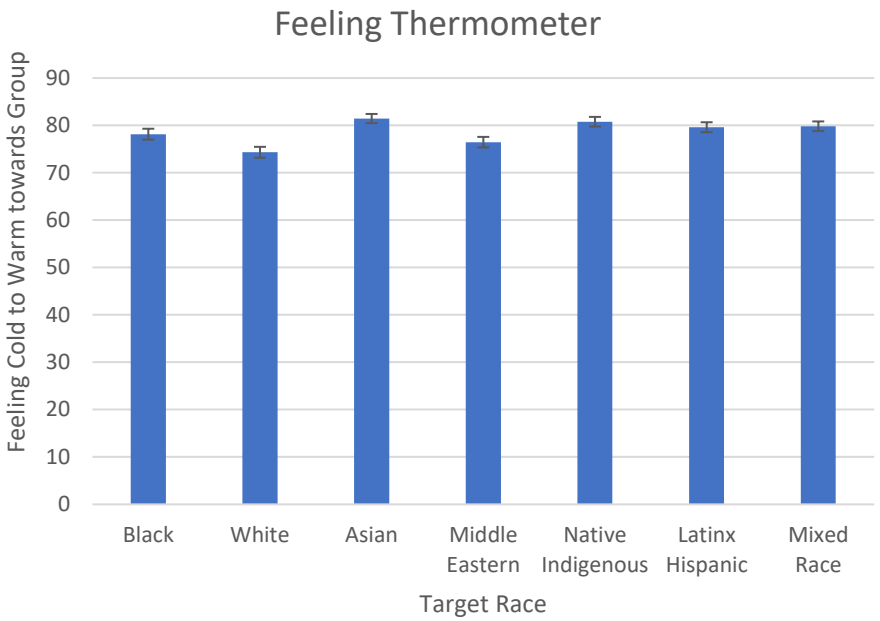

Figure 6

Target Race and Target Gender Comparisons on Feeling Thermometers