Protecting Our (White) Daughters:

Immigration, Benevolent Sexism and Racial Resentment

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Abstract

In recent advocacy for restrictive immigration policies, conservative U.S. politicians have advanced a narrative of Latinx male criminality, with White women most commonly serving as victims. This particular anti-immigrant discourse links benevolent sexism with racial resentment and ethnocentrism to emphasize a need to protect White women from Latinx male immigrants. Calls to protect White women from imperilment by racially other men have a long history in Western political culture. Past research on immigration and public opinion has established that the race of immigrants is an important motivator of immigration policy views. This project shifts the focus of immigration and public opinion scholarship to consider how the identity of purported "victims" of immigration uniquely affects immigration attitudes. An analysis of CCES data finds that benevolent sexism has a notable impact on the immigration attitudes of White Americans. An original survey experiment finds that, among White Americans, benevolent sexism predicts anti-immigration attitudes only when the victim of a Latinx male immigrant's crime is a White woman.

Running head: Protecting Our (White) Daughters

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> [Illegal immigrants] don't want to use guns because it's too fast and it's not painful enough. So they'll take a young, beautiful girl, 16, 15, and others, and they slice them and dice them with a knife because they want them to go through excruciating pain before they die. And these are the animals that we've been protecting for so long. Well, they're not being protected any longer, folks.
>
> - President Donald Trump, June 2017[1]

1 Introduction

In 2015, Kate Steinle was walking on a San Francisco pier, arm-in-arm with her father. Then she was shot and killed. The crime was allegedly committed by an undocumented immigrant, Jose Ines Garcia Zarate, who was acquitted of the murder charge in 2017, but had been deported to Mexico five times prior to the shooting. President Trump and other conservative politicians were quick to use the case to bolster their anti-immigration agenda. Calling her "beautiful Kate," Trump marshaled Steinle's death to advocate building a wall on the U.S.-Mexico border and ending sanctuary cities. Beyond this case, conservative politicians have advanced a narrative of Latinx male criminality, with White women like Steinle serving as victims.

Who is said to suffer at the hands of undocumented immigrants should affect American's attitudes on immigration. Following deeply ingrained and intertwined norms of White supremacy and patriarchy, White Americans, in particular, should be expected to express stronger anti-immigrant attitudes when the victim of an immigrant's crime is a White woman. Chivalry, or

[1] For a video of this speech, which was part of a Youngstown, Ohio rally, see https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/donald-trump-illegal-immigrants-animals-slice-dice-young-beautiful-girls-us-president-a7861596.html

benevolent sexism, is rooted in the idea of protecting a certain kind of woman—White, traditional, virtuous and feminine—from the threat of a racially other man (Driver 2018, Davis 1983, Hill Collins 1991).

Past work has demonstrated that the race of immigrants affects White Americans' attitudes on immigration (Brader et al. 2008, Valentino et al. 2013), whether the immigrants are said to be harming individuals, threatening American culture, or harming the economy. The extant literature, however, does not specify the object of harm. Emphasis on the object of harm in political rhetoric prompts the following question: When Latinx male immigrants are presented as criminals, how do the race and gender of their victims affect White Americans' immigration attitudes?

I expect the race and gender of the target of immigrant harm will uniquely affect immigration attitudes. Holding the race and gender of the immigrant constant as a Latinx man, I find anti-immigration attitudes are not stronger depending on the race and gender of the victim, but that benevolent sexism only affects immigration attitudes when the victim of immigrant crime is a White woman. Racial resentment remains important in explaining anti-immigrant attitudes, regardless of the victim's race-gender category.

2 Theory

The idea that White women must be protected from the threats of racially other men is far reaching both historically and globally. Writing about colonialism, Stoler (2001) describes this phenomenon as a peril:

> White men used the protection of white women as a defense against imagined threats—"the red peril," "the black peril" (in Africa), the "yellow peril" (in Asia).

> They imposed—and women actively participated in—protective models of womanhood and motherhood and prescriptions for domestic relations that constrained both the women and men in servitude and those who ostensibly ruled. (p. 843)

In the American context, Black men are often cast as perpetrators of both racially and sexually motivated crimes against White women (Driver 2018, Davis 1983, Hill Collins 1991). In current immigration discourse, Latinx men similarly represent a source of imperilment for White women. When immigration rhetoric aligns with the peril narrative, anti-immigration attitudes are mobilized through a racialized sexism that protects White women from racially other men to maintain white supremacist patriarchy. Political elites' transference of the peril source to Latinx male immigrants emphasizes race-gender linkages in citizens' understandings of immigration. Past literature on immigration and racial attitudes has neglected how sexism and racism constitute one another, limiting our understanding of what undergirds hostility towards immigration.

For instance, Brader et al. (2008) found that immigrants' racial identity matters for White opinion on immigration. News about the costs of immigration has the greatest effect on White opposition to immigration when Latinx, rather than European, immigrants are cued. Brader and colleagues' treatments used either a White male immigrant or a Latinx male immigrant, as they were interested only in whether the race of the immigrant affected immigration attitudes. In sum, Brader and colleagues presented convincing evidence that the race of immigrants primed different immigration attitudes among White Americans, but left unexplored gendered aspects of immigration rhetoric.

Media portrayals of immigrants overrepresent Latinx men relative to all other immigrant groups (Mohamed and Farris 2019), and news coverage of immigration has centered Latinx immigrants since 1994, when Proposition 187 was on the ballot in California (Valentino et al. 2013). Metaphors of immigrants as invaders (Chavez 2013) are commonly used in U.S. news media, and immigrants are commonly depicted as undocumented, with stories often highlighting immigrant arrests and detentions (Farris and Mohamed 2018). The emphasis on undocumented status paints immigrants as criminal by default, having entered the country illegally. Overall, Hispanic Americans have taken the brunt of negative immigration sentiment since 1996 (Burns and Gimpel 2000).[2]

Meanwhile, White women are commonly overrepresented as victims in crime news stories, which PBS anchor Gwen Ifill dubbed "missing white woman syndrome" in 2004. To empirically test whether missing white woman syndrome exists, Sommers compared crime reporting in news media with FBI data (2016). He found that White female victims of abduction or kidnapping received a disproportionately large amount of media coverage relative to the actual victimhood rate. This coverage was also more intensive for White women than that for victims of other races and genders. Similarly, according to Uniform Crime Report data, a White female is the least likely type of homicide victim. Black women and men of any race are more likely to be victims of homicide in the U.S. (Bonn 2015). The same patterns have been found in Canada (Gilchrist 2010).

Jardina (2019) investigated the impact of White identity – as distinct from White's out-group racial animus – on immigration attitudes, but neglected the ways in which racial and gender categories overlap to form distinct subgroup identities. Race and gender cannot always be easily

[2] Although Asian immigrants outnumber Latinx immigrants (Pew 2018), the vast majority of political rhetoric associates immigration with South and Central America, with the Southern border as the key entry point.

separated from one another when we examine attitudes toward groups, as distinct stereotypes connect the two in American political culture. The limited body of work on intersectional stereotypes has thus far emphasized the stereotype of the welfare queen for Black women (Hancock 2004, Soss et al. 2011). The study of intersectional stereotypes builds upon Crenshaw's conception of intersectionality (1989) to better understand the multiple marginalization of Black women in the U.S. legal system. Intersectional stereotypes are a tool for understanding the particular stereotypes associated with overlapping group categories, such as, but not limited to, race and gender.

Individuals have distinct ideas about groups defined by both race and gender, and explicit cues make these stereotypes relevant to political evaluations (McConnaughy and White 2011, Cassese 2019). Importantly for the purposes of this study, for White Americans, stereotypes of women are most similar to stereotypes of White women and the least similar to stereotypes of Black women (Ghavami and Peplau 2012). The stereotype overlap between White women and women generally suggests that White people view White women as prototypical women; when White people think about women generally, they are often bringing to mind considerations about White women.

Glick and Fiske's conception of hostile and benevolent sexism[3] (1996) is of particular use in parsing which victims of immigration elicit the harshest immigration attitudes. Benevolent sexism invokes warm, protective feelings toward women who embody traditional feminine virtues of morality, purity and chastity. These qualities are more in line with stereotypical understandings of White woman than women of color. Benevolent sexists believe men should protect women, women should be in heterosexual relationships, and women are different from men in subjectively positive ways. Benevolent sexism does not fit "standard notions of prejudice," but nonetheless narrowly

[3] Though there is nothing nice about benevolent sexism, as the name implies, I will use this term for ease of comparison with prior literature.

defines women as weaker and inferior to men (Glick & Fiske, 1996, p. 492). In the authors' conception of the term, benevolent sexism exists on three dimensions: protective paternalism, complementary gender differentiation, and heterosexual intimacy. I expect that White women, particularly when presented as crime victims, evoke benevolent sexist ideas.

I predict, though, that this set of beliefs will only be applied to White women. The model of femininity implicit in benevolent sexism, specifically protective paternalism, is most strongly associated with White women in American society, as well as in other Western societies. Protective paternalism encompasses the following beliefs: that women should be put on a pedestal, women should be cherished and protected by men, men should sacrifice to provide for women, and women should be rescued first in a disaster (Glick & Fiske, 1996, p. 500). While White women will be deemed worthy of protection, Black women, Latinx women, and other non-White women are typically viewed as less feminine, less docile, and less needing and worthy of protection. As such, I expect that benevolent sexism will be at work when White Americans exposed to a White female victim of immigrant crime oppose immigration.

A body of empirical work testing this theory exists within criminology. These studies examine differential sentencing and court decisions by perpetrator race and gender (Crew 2006, Romain & Freiburger 2016, Holcomb et al. 2004), and consider both victim and perpetrator race and gender (Franklin & Fearn 2008). The effects of race and gender on sentencing are mixed. Possible interactions between benevolent sexism and racial resentment provide a promising avenue for understanding American public opinion on issues that are both gendered and racialized.

I hypothesize that when immigration is contextualized as a Latinx man harming a White woman, White Americans will express the most immigration-restrictive attitudes. Additionally, when

a White woman is the victim of immigrant crime, both racism and benevolent sexism will undergird anti-immigration attitudes. White women are the group deemed most worthy and needing of protection from a racially "other" man. Both of these expectations are specific to White respondents.

Meanwhile, I do not expect hostile sexism to predict immigration attitudes when there is a White female victim of immigrant crime. Hostile sexists favor restricting women's roles in society, discriminating against women and committing violence against women, among other means of harming women. These attitudes are distinct from the idea that women need protection; instead hostile sexists accept or support the idea that certain kinds of women should be harmed.

I expect that the second-most anti-immigration attitudes will be cued by claims that Latinx men threaten White men, among White respondents. While White men are not the "beneficiaries" of benevolent sexism, they are worthy of protection under the logic of White supremacy and in-group favoritism. White men are less deserving of protection than White women, but are more deserving of protection than African Americans or Latinx Americans, regardless of gender. A threat against a White man will not elicit quite as strongly restrictive immigration attitudes as a threat toward a White woman, but will still predict restrictive immigration attitudes more than threats toward a racial minority victim.

Glick and Fiske (1996) offered fleeting attention to connections between racism and sexism. They found that hostile sexists are more likely to be racist than benevolent sexists, using a measure of modern racism. But might the race of a target woman determine whether hostile or benevolent sexism, or both, are directed toward her? Women of different races may encounter different forms of sexism. Indeed, in an experiment by McMahon and Kahn (2016), when respondents were only

given information on a woman's race, they expressed higher levels of benevolent sexism for White women than Black women, but there were no racial differences in expressions of hostile sexism.

Using survey data with a student sample, McMahon and Kahn (2018) found, for Whites, protective paternalism is related to anti-Black bias. They also experimentally tested the effect of threat on Whites' endorsement of protective paternalism. They randomly assigned participants to read an article about crime threat that does not cue race or gender, or a control treatment about traffic. Importantly, they did not cue race or gender in the crime threat article. The crime threat article strengthened endorsement of protective paternalism and negativity toward immigration for male respondents, regardless of respondent race. McMahon and Kahn improved our understanding of the links between threat, gender and protective paternalism, but left unclear the role of immigrant-victim dyads in mediating the relationship between immigration negativity and protective paternalism.

Thus far, there has been limited empirical work that tests the theoretical notion that benevolent sexism is applied to White women alone. Young (2003) articulates a logic of masculinist protection, in which the chivalrous security state protects the feminine, subordinate citizenry from threats, but she does not interrogate the uneven application of this coercive protection. The notion that benevolent sexism, or chivalry, is directed toward White women alone emerges from Black feminist critiques of interlocking systems of patriarchy, White supremacy, and capitalism. White men protect White women under racist patriarchy, as their bodies are needed to perpetuate the race and production. Meanwhile, women of color do not experience chivalry or benevolent sexism, as protecting Black and Latinx women from harm would not serve the linked agendas of patriarchy, White supremacy and capitalism (Davis 1983, Hill Collins 1991). Instead, racially marginalized women are exploited by multiple systems of domination.

I hypothesize that Latinx violence directed at African American women and men, or Latinx women and men, will not heighten anti-immigration attitudes. Exposure to African American and Latinx American victims of Latinx immigrant crime will not exacerbate anti-immigration attitudes. Although African Americans may be perceived as more traditionally American than Latinx Americans, hostility toward both groups should dampen any desire to protect these individuals from an outsider threat. As racial prejudice writ large predicts both animosity toward African American and Latinx Americans, racist White Americans will likely be racist toward both groups. I do not expect significant differences by gender for these two racial groups because benevolent sexism is typically only applied to White women.

Animosity toward Latinx Americans only partially explains anti-immigration attitudes. We must turn our attention to the purported victims of immigration to understand who White Americans value, vis a vis the constructed violent Latinx male immigrant. The victims of immigration, whether more abstract or particular groups of individuals, must be deemed worthy of protection to motivate anti-immigrant attitudes.

The narrative of Latinx male threat to White women should mobilize attitudes on punitive or containing immigration policies, in particular. The Black peril narrative has been used by White Americans as a justification for actions ranging from school segregation, to incarcerating Black men, to lynching Black men. Following this pattern, I expect Latinx male threats to White woman to elicit support for policies of surveillance, removal and separation from American society: racial/ethnic profiling of Latinx Americans, deportation, and building a border wall.

3 Research Design

To test these hypotheses, I first look to data from the 2016 Cooperative Congressional Election Study (CCES). The CCES data allows me to determine whether there is a relationship between benevolent sexism and immigration attitudes, absent any specific racial or gender priming. I then turn to an original survey experiment, which allows me to manipulate the race and gender of a victim of immigrant-perpetrated crime, while holding all other variables constant. I compare the findings of the experiment to the observational data, helping me to discern the external validity of my findings. In other words, the comparison will provide leverage over whether the experimental results are generalizable to how White Americans typically think about immigration. I expect to find the strongest relationship between benevolent sexism and immigration attitudes when respondents are primed with a White female victim, relative to all other experimental treatments and the observational data.

3.1 Observational Data

Taking an initial look at the relationship between benevolent sexism, racism and immigration attitudes, I use the 2016 CCES common content and the University of Virginia's module (Hughes 2019). The survey used a national, representative sample of Americans, who were recruited in fall 2016 by YouGov. Respondents were surveyed in two waves — before and after the 2016 presidential election — with 1,500 completing the survey before the election, and 1,269 returning to complete the survey after the election.

I use the University of Virginia module, in particular, as it includes measures of hostile and benevolent sexism. The module contains four questions to assess hostile sexism, and four questions to assess benevolent sexism, developed by Winter (2018) as a shorter version of Glick and Fiske's 22-item measure. The module also contains questions on racism, though these are distinct from the

racial resentment questions I use in the survey experiment. The CCES asks four questions on modern racism: 1) whether angry racism exists; 2) whether White people have advantages; 3) whether the respondent is fearful of people of other races; and 4) whether racial problems are rare, isolated situations.[4] These questions do not capture attitudes toward Black Americans in particular, perhaps making them better suited to capture attitudes related to non-Black immigrants.

The common content of the 2016 CCES includes binary immigration policy questions that I use as dependent variables[5]: whether the U.S. should 1) identify and deport illegal immigrants; 2) increase the number of border patrols on the U.S.-Mexican border; 3) grant legal status to all illegal immigrants who have held jobs and paid taxes for at least 3 years, and not been convicted of any felony crimes; 4) grant legal status to people brought to the U.S. illegally as children, but who have graduated from a U.S. high school; 5) fine U.S. businesses that hire illegal immigrants; or 6) increase the number of visas for overseas workers to work in the U.S.[6] I expect the first two questions, which highlight attitudes toward surveilling and removing immigrants, to be most affected by benevolent sexism. I expect that benevolent sexists will favor these positions under the guise of masculine protectionism, while the other immigration questions should primarily tap other considerations.

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[4] See DeSante & Smith (2018) for details on the measure, also known as Fear, Institutionalized Racism, and Empathy (FIRE).

[5] All variables used in my analysis have been rescaled to run between 0 and 1 for ease of comparison. 1 indicates anti-immigration attitudes, and 0 indicates pro-immigration attitudes.

[6] I do not use two immigration questions included in the CCES that are specific to Syria and Muslim immigrants.

I also include data on respondent's gender identities, party identifications, income levels and education levels to use as control variables in my analysis. To account for the alternative explanation that economic considerations shape anti-immigrant attitudes (Dancygier & Donnelly 2013, Hanson et al. 2007), I also include respondents' belief that the national economy is worsening as a control variable. Only White respondents were included in my model, as my hypotheses are specific to this group.

[Table 1 about here]

3.1.1 Results

I use logistic regression to model the effects of benevolent sexism, hostile sexism and racism on each of the dichotomous dependent variables. This analysis will allow me establish, absent any direct racial or gender priming, whether the discourse around immigrant crime, with its emphasis on Latinx criminals and White female victims, has affected immigration attitudes through benevolent sexism. I expect that as benevolent sexism increases, so too will favoring the surveilling and removing of immigrants.

As expected, benevolent sexism increases anti-immigration attitudes for some, but not all, immigration policies. Benevolent sexism increases anti-immigration attitudes when the policy in question is identifying and deporting immigrants, increasing the number of border patrols, not granting legal status to people brought to the U.S. illegally as children, or not increasing the number of work visas for immigrants, though the effect of benevolent sexism on the last policy does not approach conventional levels of statistical significance. Benevolent sexism has a large and statistically significant effect on the desire to increase the number of border patrols, in particular. As benevolent sexism goes from 0 to 1, the likelihood of favoring an increase in the number of border patrols

approximately doubles ($p < 0.01$), controlling for hostile sexism, racism, perceptions of the national economy worsening, and the respondent's party identification, gender and education level. Meanwhile, an increase in benevolent sexism from 0 to 1 is associated with a 0.75 point increase in the likelihood of favoring increasing deportations ($p < 0.10$), controlling for the same covariates as above. Surprisingly, given my hypotheses, a one-point increase in benevolent sexism was also associated with a 0.85 point increase ($p < 0.05$) in the probability of opposing granting legal status to people who were illegally brought to the U.S. as children, or dreamers, controlling for the same covariates.

[Figure 1 about here]

But, absent priming of race and gender, do other factors better explain why some White Americans favor more punitive immigration policies than others? Table 2 shows the full models from which the predicted probabilities for benevolent sexism were derived. For all but one of the immigration policy questions, racism has a positive and statistically significant effect on favoring the restrictive policy. Hostile sexism has a positive and statistically significant effect on favoring all but two of the restrictive immigration policies. Perceptions that the national economy is worsening is associated with a statistically significant increase in anti-immigration attitudes when the policy in question is deportation, granting legal status to illegal immigrants who meet certain requirements, and granting legal status to dreamers. Notably, the perception of the national economy does not have a statistically significant effect on preferences for increasing border patrols, the policy that was most strongly associated with benevolent sexism.

[Table 2 about here]

Overall, it seems that absent any particular cueing of immigrants or purported victims of immigration, benevolent sexism may increase preferences for punitive immigration policies. This analysis, though, cannot speak to my hypotheses of varying levels of support for punitive immigration policies, given victims' race-gender combinations. It also remains unclear whether benevolent sexism has differential effects by victim race-gender category, or whether hostile sexism and racism have far larger effects on immigration attitudes than benevolent sexism.

3.2 Survey Experiment

To find answers to my specific hypotheses, I conducted a survey experiment using a Mechanical Turk (MTurk) sample (N = 1,005) on August 18, 2019. The study was restricted to U.S. participants and these participants were paid $0.84 for their time.[7] MTurk convenience samples have been criticized for their deviations from nationally representative samples, but scholars are reaching a consensus that MTurk samples are imperfect, but adequate for use in experimental research (Berinsky et al. 2012, Coppock 2019, Mullinix et al. 2015). Following these analyses, I will generalize my MTurk findings with caution.[8]

Participants were asked to read a news article that describes a Latinx male threat against a randomly assigned young person. The victim was either male or female, and either White, Black, or Latinx. In this 2x3 design, race and gender were indicated with a picture of the victim, along with male or female pronouns through the text. Each article humanized a high school student who has

[7] See Online Appendix section 7.1 for additional details on the survey experiment.

[8] See Online Appendix Table 6.5 for a comparison of my MTurk respondent demographics and CCES respondent demographics.

been murdered by an illegal immigrant man from Mexico. Although the treatments were fictional for the purpose of this study, the articles were modeled on actual news coverage of immigrant crime. It should be noted that the use of print-format news, rather than advertising or video, likely creates a conservative test of my hypotheses.[9] The articles are identical, except for the gender and race of the victim, which are cued through the image of the victim, the use of "cheerleader" or "football player" in the headline, the name of the victim, the name of the victim's mother, gender pronouns and calls to protect "our daughters" in the female treatments or "our families" in the male treatments.

Here, I did not mention the victim's race or gender explicitly, following Mendelberg's (2001) finding that implicit racial appeals are more effective amid norms of equality (but see Valentino et al. 2018, Reny et al. 2019). The victim in each image appeared to be high-school aged, and each subject was holding books or other school supplies.[10] The articles stated that a high school student had been killed by an illegal immigrant, and included some details on the crime:

> Claire McIntire was fatally shot while walking home from Springfield High School last week. Police have arrested Javier Lopez, who came here illegally from Mexico, on charges of first-degree murder.

[9] The article format constrains how emotions can be manipulated, as the use of music, videos of violent crime, and use of Black-and-White in campaign advertisements affect emotional responses to issues (Brader 2006).

[10] See Appendix for full treatments.

The victim was humanized not only as a function of youth, but also because some details about their lives were included.[11] The governor of the unnamed state and an unnamed political party announced an initiative to work with ICE to protect either daughters or families from crimes by illegal immigrants. The article closed with a quote from the mother of the victim.

Building on work by Brader et al. (2008) and others, I used a Latinx man as the perpetrator in every condition. Varying the race of the immigrant-perpetrator would test Brader and colleagues' findings for replicability, but would not provide additional insight into which victim identities motivate anti-immigrant attitudes. Varying the gender of the immigrant would help determine what attributes of immigrants can influence policy attitudes, but was beyond the scope of this inquiry. Instead, I kept the race and gender of the immigrant constant to provide the same baseline of comparison to both past work and for the comparisons among victims.

Because I expect the most consequential effects among those assigned to the White female and White male conditions, I weighted my sample to assign more respondents to those conditions than the Black and Latinx conditions. I do not expect to find substantial differences between respondents assigned to the Black or Latinx victims, regardless of victim gender, and I may be able to collapse these categories by race, gender or both treatment categories in later stages of analysis.

[Table 3 about here]

Immediately after exposure to one of the articles, I included a factual manipulation check (Kane & Barabas 2019). I ran my analyses among White respondents who answered the

[11] As all of the victims are high school students, negativity toward the victim may be limited; people might be more likely to sympathize with a young crime victim than an older adult.

manipulation check question correctly.[12] Respondents were then asked a battery of immigration questions regarding: 1) deporting illegal immigrants; 2) requiring police to check the immigration status of people they stop or detain; 3) building a wall on the U.S.-Mexico border; 4) whether immigrants increase crime; 5) whether immigrants help the economy; and 6) whether immigrants harm American culture (see descriptive statistics in Table 4 below).

I expect that the first three questions on deportation, checking immigration status, and building the wall, as well as the crime question, will be most influenced against immigrants for those assigned to the White female victim. In other words, I expect the priming of benevolent sexism and racism to be strongest in the White female condition. Those with high levels of both benevolent sexism and animus against Latinx people will be especially opposed to immigration when exposure to the White female victim stokes both racial and gendered considerations. I predict minimal differences by victim race and gender for the questions on the economy and American culture.

I measured sexism using a subset of Glick and Fiske's benevolent and hostile sexism questions.[13] I included three questions to measure hostile sexism, and five questions to measure benevolent sexism, as I am more interested in variation among benevolently sexist respondents. Of the benevolent sexism measures, two measure protective paternalist attitudes, one measures attitudes toward comparative gender differentiation, and one measures attitudes toward heterosexual

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[12] To pass the check, respondents needed to answer that an illegal immigrant (and not a classmate, drug dealer or drunk driver) killed the high school student in the article. The manipulation check helps ensure that I am analyzing responses from individuals who read at least some of the article, though it does not indicate their exact level of attentiveness.

[13] Three of the CCES benevolent sexism questions overlap with those used in my survey experiment, but none of the CCES hostile sexism questions overlap with those in the experiment. Hostile and benevolent sexism have a slight, negative correlation (α = -0.11) in the CCES data.

intimacy.[14] For example, a statement of protective paternalism is that "men should be willing to sacrifice their own well-being in order to provide financially for the women in their lives." The hostile sexism and benevolent sexism measures have a slight positive correlation ($\alpha = 0.16$).[15]

I included several alternative measures of racial attitudes, as well. I constructed a measure of ethnocentrism using Kinder and Kam's model (2009): Hardworking/Lazy, Intelligent/Unintelligent, and Peaceful/Violent are the three stereotypes from which Kinder and Kam constructed their ethnocentrism measure, which I mirror.[16] I also included four racial resentment questions, using the same wording as Kinder and Sanders (1996). Although these questions are tailored to measure White Americans' attitudes about African Americans, not Latinx Americans, they remain of use for measuring racial animus with subtlety. Racial resentment and ethnocentrism are positively correlated at $\alpha = 0.45$. I also asked a series of questions to include as control variables in regressions. I expect each of them to be correlated with both the pre-treatment and post-treatment questions. These included: state, gender, race, education level, party identification and income level.[17]

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[14] A potential weakness of this study is the fact that I condition on post-treatment variables. Ideally, I would have measured the independent variables in the first wave of a two-wave design. I would then present the treatments and measure the dependent variables in the second wave. This design was not possible due to budget constraints. See Montgomery et al. (2018) and Klar et al. (2019) for a debate of the issue.

[15] The positive correlation between hostile and benevolent sexism in the survey experiment is more in line with Glick and Fiske (1996) than the CCES data, where the two measures were negatively correlated.

[16] Respondents were asked to rate Blacks, Whites, Hispanic Americans, and Asian Americans on seven-point scales that ranged from hardworking to lazy, from intelligent to unintelligent, and from peaceful to violent.

[17] All variables used in my analysis have been rescaled to run between 0 and 1 for ease of comparison.

[Table 4 about here]

3.2.1 Results

First, to test my hypothesis that White female victims will elicit the strongest anti-immigration attitudes, relative to other race-gender groups, I compare the means of a composite dependent variable of immigration attitudes by treatment. My results fail to provide support for this hypothesis.

I created a variable that averages multiple punitive immigration measures, by assigned treatment. This composite dependent variable is a simple average of three ordinal variables: 1) whether all immigrants living in the U.S. illegally should be deported; 2) whether the U.S. should build a wall on the southern border; and 3) whether the police should check people's immigration status if they suspect they are in the country illegally. These variables focus on attitudes toward physically removing immigrants, attitudes toward restricting immigrants' movement, and attitudes toward surveilling and racially profiling immigrants, respectively. I group these variables for theoretical reasons, rather than issues of statistical power, and I interpret my results the at the level of the composite variable, rather than its constituent parts.

The race-gender condition that prompted the strongest anti-immigration attitudes was the Latinx female victim, at 3.6 (see Figure 2 below). The mean of the composite dependent variable is 3.4 for the White female victim, which is then followed in magnitude by the White male, the Latinx male, the Black man, and, lastly, the Black woman (the averaged variable ranges from 1 to 6.25).[18]

[18] Though I intended to combine the Black and Latinx conditions into one or two categories, this strategy is unwise in light of the analysis so far. The mean values of the composite variable are quite similar for the Black and Latinx male conditions, but the mean value for the Latinx female condition

Most of the confidence intervals for these values overlap, indicating a lack of statistical significance, and t-tests confirm that the each mean is statistically indistinct from any other mean.

[Figure 2 about here]

Although the White female victim does not elicit stronger anti-immigration attitudes than the other treatments, I expect that benevolent sexism has the largest effect on holding anti-immigration attitudes when a White woman is present as the victim of an immigrant's crime. I model this relationship using ordinary least squares regression, with the same composite anti-immigration variable as my dependent variable.[19]

I estimate the same model separately for each condition to allow the intercepts to vary. I include benevolent sexism, hostile sexism, racial resentment, ethnocentrism, belief that immigrants hurt the American economy, party identification, and respondent gender and education level as covariates. The models are estimated among only White respondents who passed the manipulation check (see full models below in Table 3). I include the belief that immigrants hurt the American economy in the model to account for the alternative explanation that economic considerations cause anti-immigration sentiment.

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is 0.6 points higher than the mean value for the Black female condition. The mean value for the Latinx female condition is 0.3 points higher than that for the Latinx male condition. At the same time, though, t-tests indicate none of the means by condition are statistically distinct from either all of the other conditions combined, or distinct from the White female condition in particular. As such, we should not make much of the fact the mean of the composite variable appears to be highest in the Latinx female condition.

[19] There is little difference in precision between using OLS regression and ordered logit when a categorical dependent variable has more than seven categories (Rhemtulla et al. 2012).

In generalizing the results of this survey experiment, it is essential to bear in mind that the MTurk sample is more aligned with the Democratic party and better educated than a nationally representative sample. For instance, Democrats comprise 48% of the MTurk sample, but 42% of the CCES sample. And 54% of respondents in the MTurk sample have a bachelor's degree or higher degree, while 39% of participants in the CCES sample have the same level of education. As Republican identifiers are generally more opposed to immigration than Democrats, I would expect that the underrepresentation of Republicans in the MTurk sample underestimates the degree to which Americans hold anti-immigration opinions. Meanwhile, those with higher levels of education are less susceptible to implicit racial priming (Huber & Lapinski 2006). I expect the higher education levels of the MTurk respondents relative to the U.S. population to limit the effects of racial, and perhaps gender, priming in the experiment, biasing my estimates downward.

[Table 5 about here]

Benevolent sexism only affects holding anti-immigration attitudes when the victim of immigrant crime is a White woman. When the victim is a White woman, a one-point increase in benevolent sexism is associated with a 0.21 point increase in the likelihood of holding anti-immigration attitudes, holding all other covariates at their means (see Figure 3 below). The coefficient is statistically significant at the $p < 0.01$ level. For all other crime victims, the relationship between benevolent sexism and holding anti-immigration attitudes does not approach conventional levels of statistical significance. For each condition, holding the belief that immigrants hurt the U.S. economy has a positive and statistically significant effect, but does not lessen the impact of benevolent sexism when the victim is a White woman.

[Figure 3 about here]

In line with my hypotheses, when the victim is a Black woman, Latinx woman, White man or Black man, benevolent sexism does not have a statistically significant effect on holding anti-immigration attitudes. When the victim is a White man or Latinx woman, benevolent sexism has a small, positive effect on holding anti-immigration attitudes, but the relationships do not approach conventional levels of statistical significance. When the victim is a Black woman, Black man or Latinx man, benevolent sexism has a small, negative effect on holding anti-immigration attitudes, but, again the relationships do not approach conventional levels of statistical significance. Overall, my analysis shows that when victim race and gender are primed in a story of Latinx male immigrant crime, only White female victims embolden benevolent sexism as a consideration for anti-immigration opinion formation.

I find ethnocentrism has a large, positive and statistically significant effect ($p < 0.01$) on immigration attitudes only when the victim is a White woman. A one-point increase in ethnocentrism is associated with a 0.47 point increase in the likelihood of holding anti-immigration attitudes when the victim is a White woman and all other covariates, including racial resentment, are held at their means. Meanwhile, it is clear across treatments that the effect of racial resentment on holding anti-immigration attitudes is both positive and statistically significant ($p < 0.01$).[20] Racial resentment affects immigration attitudes in most cases, while the importance of benevolent sexism and ethnocentrism remains specific to White female victims.

[20] The effect of racial resentment on holding anti-immigration attitudes is positive but not statistically significant when the victim is a Black woman. This is likely due to a lack of statistical power for the Black female condition (N=62).

4 Discussion

This study aimed to determine the degree to which White Americans' opposition to immigration is related to the race and gender of purported victims of Latinx male immigrant crime, as well as whether benevolent sexism has unique effects on anti-immigration sentiment. More specifically, I sought to understand whether benevolent sexism underlies anti-immigration attitudes in particular ways when White women are represented as victims of Latinx male immigrants' crimes.

Looking first at data from the 2016 CCES, I find that benevolent sexism can affect anti-immigrant attitudes. In particular, benevolent sexism has a substantively and statistically significant effect on favoring an increase in surveillance and defense of the U.S.-Mexico border, among White Americans. This is a new insight for understanding what attitudes motivate immigration attitudes, more generally, as this body of work, in the American context, has largely ignored the potential effects of sexism on an issue we have categorized as racial/ethnic alone.

Turning to the survey experiment, I find that though there are no statistically significant differences in levels of anti-immigration attitudes depending on the race-gender combination of a purported victim of immigrant crime, benevolent sexism explains anti-immigration attitudes only when the victim in question is a White woman. This provides further evidence that benevolent sexism is specific to White women, and does not apply to women across racial lines. In narratives of immigrant criminality, benevolent sexism only motivates anti-immigration attitudes when a White woman has been harmed or is in danger of harm. Concerns about Latinx immigrant men imperiling Americans are specific to White female victims.

With the exception of McMahon and Kahn's work, scholars of public opinion have not probed the connection between benevolent sexism and immigration. In this field of study, we have a

strong understanding of the connections between racial/ethnic prejudice and immigration attitudes. Specifically, Brader et al. (2008) provide evidence that White Americans' attitudes toward immigration are far more negative when presented with a Latinx male immigrant rather than a White male immigrant. Valentino et al. (2013) build on this, showing that anti-Latinx attitudes rather than general ethnocentrism best explain anti-immigration attitudes. Past work on racial priming and immigration attitudes aids our understanding of how racial resentment is an important aspect of opinion formation on immigration. I shift the angle of analysis, demonstrating that benevolent sexism and narrative congruence provide distinct leverage White Americans' immigration attitudes.

5 Conclusion

This paper set out to answer the following question: When Latinx immigrants are presented as criminals, how do the race and gender of their victims affect immigration attitudes? I find that White female victims of immigrant crime bring benevolent sexism to bear on immigration attitudes. Even when immigration is not discussed in the context of criminality, or of specific race-gender groups, benevolent sexism helps predict anti-immigration attitudes – sometimes even more strongly than racism. We must consider race and gender simultaneously if we wish to better understand public opinion on immigration.

We are left with several questions. First, the mechanism through which benevolent sexism affects immigration attitudes is unclear. It is possible that anger is a causal factor in this story, as those with high levels of benevolent sexism wish to protect White women as a resource. Fear could be an important emotional pathway for benevolent sexism, as well. Second, though I do not expect the same model to work when the immigrant in question is a Latinx woman, rather than man, this notion is not empirically tested. Further, this study helps explain only White American's immigration

attitudes. It is reasonable to expect that the immigration attitudes of Black and Latinx Americans, for example, will not fit into this framework. As previously discussed, benevolent sexism and chivalry, more generally, are concepts specific to White gender politics. These concepts likely do not transfer cleanly to Black, Latinx, and other racial minorities' conceptions of gender politics.

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7 Figures

Figure 1

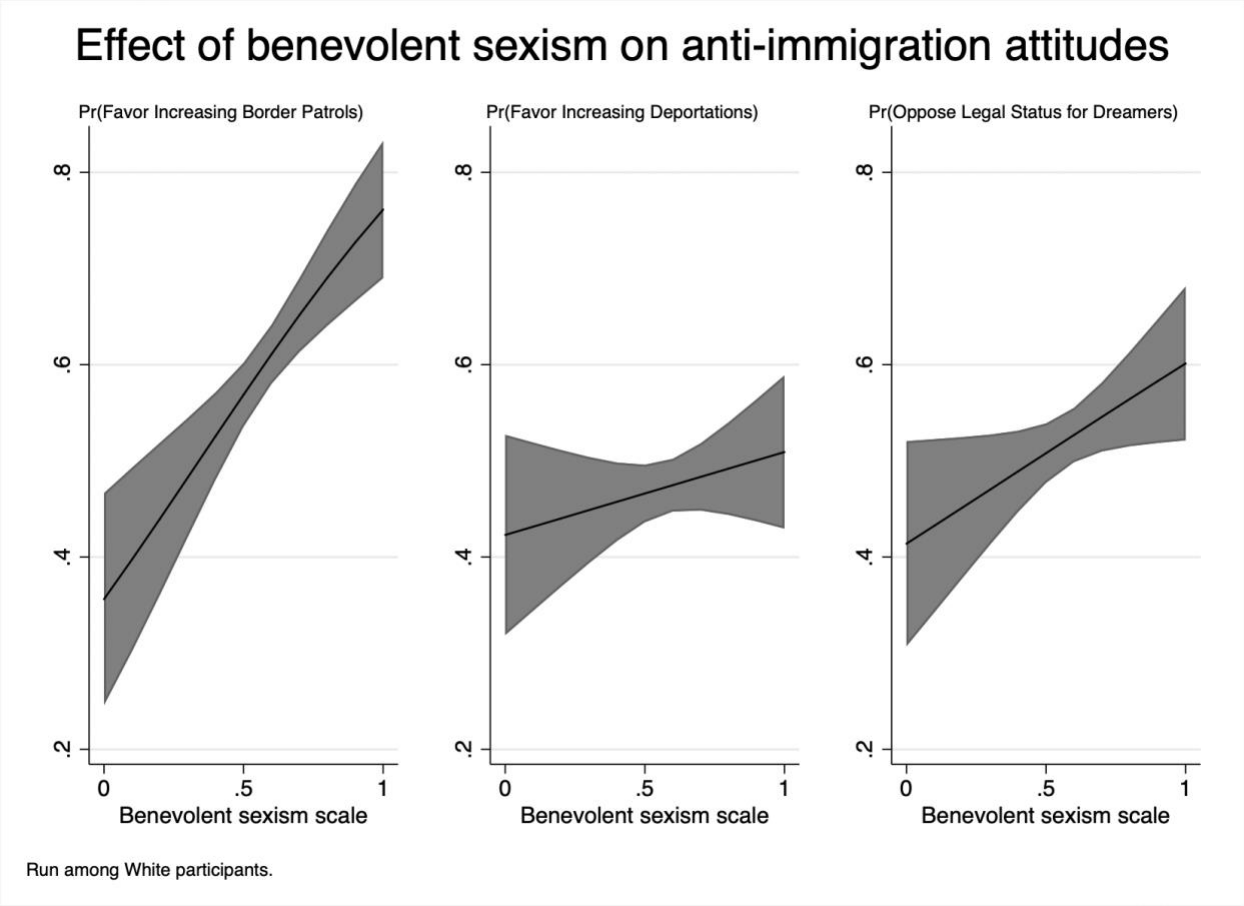


Figure 2

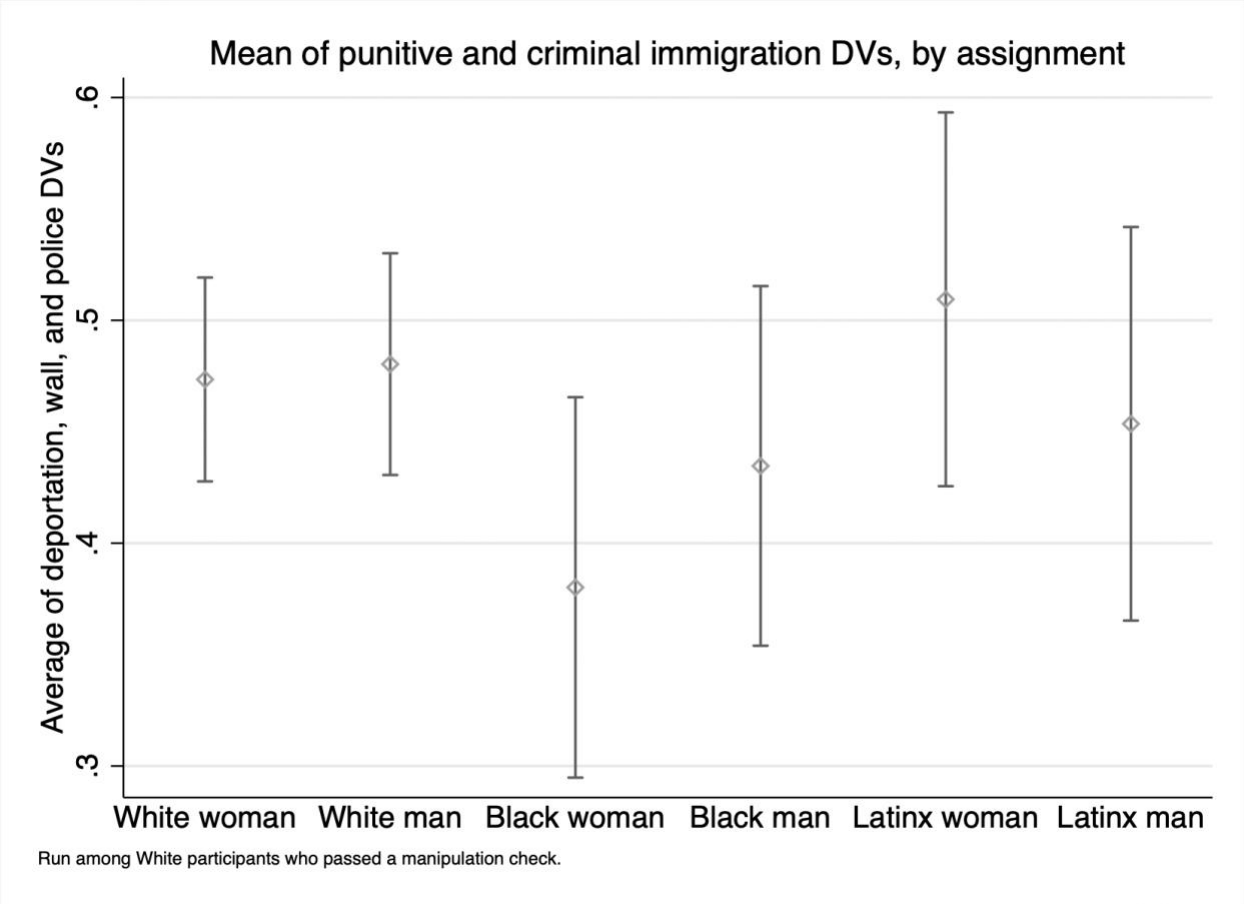
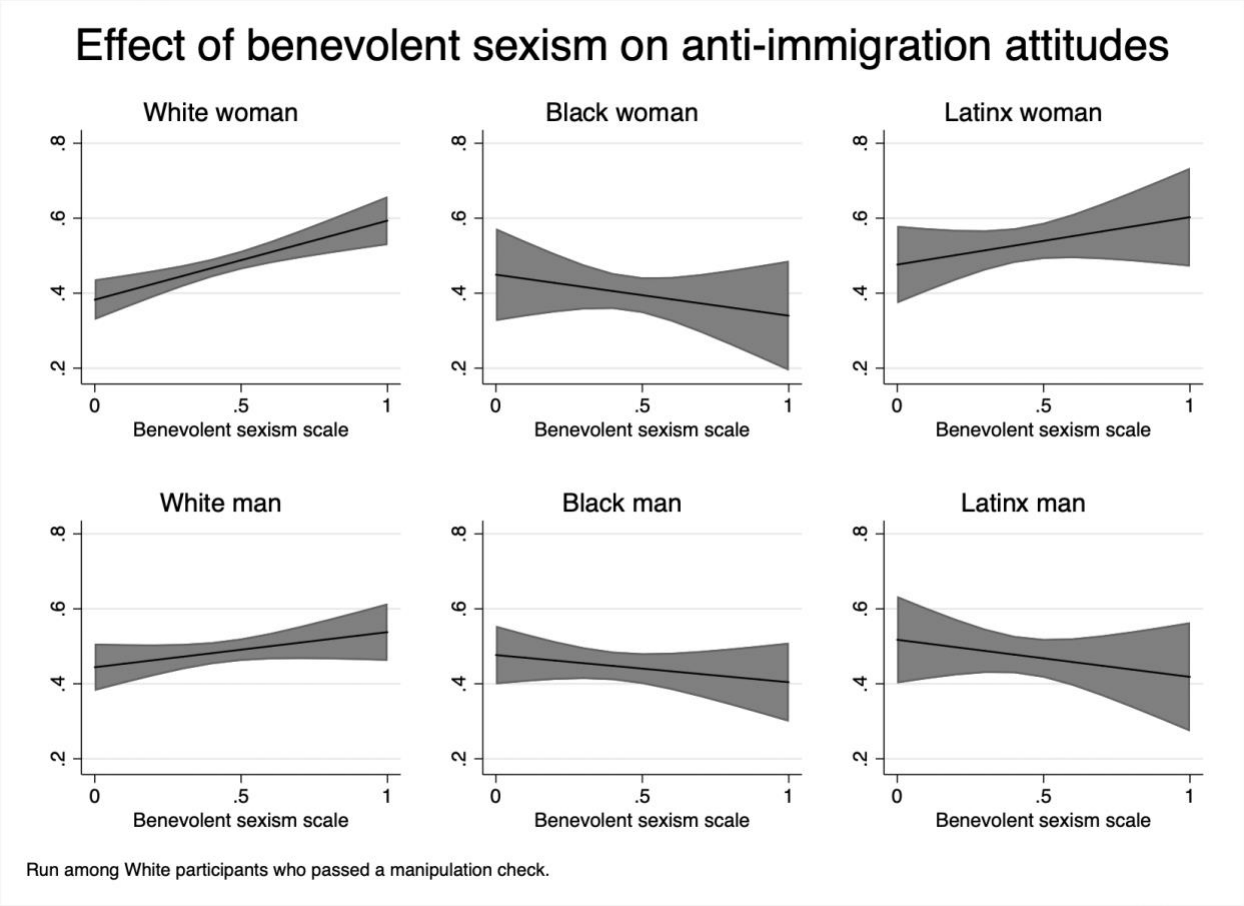

Mean of punitive and criminal immigration DVs, by assignment
Average of deportation, wall, and police DVs
.3
.4
.5
.6
White woman
White man
Black woman
Black man
Latinx woman
Latinx man
Run among White participants who passed a manipulation check.

Figure 3



Run among White participants who passed a manipulation check.

8 Tables

Table 1. Dependent and independent variables, summary statistics

Variable	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min.	Max.	N
Dependent variables					
Identify and deport illegal immigrants	0.462	0.499	0	1	1003
Increase the number of border patrols on the U.S.-Mexican border	0.583	0.493	0	1	1003
Do not grant legal status to all illegal immigrants who meet requirements	0.493	0.5	0	1	1003
Do not grant legal status to people brought to the U.S. illegally as children	0.526	0.5	0	1	1003
Fine U.S. businesses that hire illegal immigrants	0.702	0.458	0	1	245
Do not increase the number of work visas	0.820	0.385	0	1	245
Independent variables					
Benevolent sexism scale	0.560	0.166	0	1	1002
Hostile sexism scale	0.418	0.249	0	1	1003
Overall racism scale	0.312	0.203	0	1	884

Source: CCES 2016. Run among White respondents only.

Table 2. Benevolent sexism's effects on holding anti-immigration attitudes

	Identify and deport illegal immigrants	*Increase the number of border patrols on the U.S.-Mexican border*	*Do not grant legal status to all illegal immigrants who meet require-ments*	*Do not grant legal status to people brought to the U.S. illegally as children*	*Fine U.S. businesses that hire illegal immigrants*	*Do not increase the number of work visas*
Benevolent sexism scale	0.745^	1.833**	–0.751^	0.848*	–0.156	0.571
	(0.450)	(0.403)	(0.434)	(0.427)	(0.845)	(0.961)
Hostile sexism scale	1.299**	0.913*	1.951**	1.584**	–0.375	0.982
	(0.402)	(0.368)	(0.389)	(0.390)	(0.786)	(0.959)
Overall racism scale	3.072**	2.108**	2.844**	3.195**	2.388*	0.482
	(0.460)	(0.426)	(0.448)	(0.452)	(1.022)	(1.216)
National economy worsening	1.789**	0.479	0.993**	1.018**	–0.284	1.099
	(0.329)	(0.299)	(0.318)	(0.315)	(0.667)	(0.827)
Respondent Party ID (3-way): Republican respondent	0.422*	0.585**	0.296	0.515**	0.303	0.383
	(0.181)	(0.181)	(0.180)	(0.186)	(0.431)	(0.552)
Respondent Party ID (3-way): Democratic respondent	–0.512**	–0.137	–0.351*	–0.009	–0.973*	–0.416
	(0.177)	(0.158)	(0.170)	(0.167)	(0.378)	(0.436)
Female respondent	–0.083	–0.392**	–0.090	–0.073	–0.951**	0.134
	(0.151)	(0.136)	(0.146)	(0.144)	(0.301)	(0.347)
Respondent Education Level	–0.049	–0.032	–0.072	–0.138*	0.012	–0.310^
	(0.073)	(0.066)	(0.071)	(0.070)	(0.151)	(0.180)
Intercept	–2.915**	–1.825**	–1.615**	–2.254**	1.426^	1.155
	(0.447)	(0.398)	(0.422)	(0.423)	(0.846)	(0.981)
PCP	0.757	0.699	0.736	0.751	0.764	0.820
N	1,181	1,181	1,181	1,181	282	282

** p<0.01; * p<0.05; ^ p<0.10 two tailed.
Note: Analysis run among White respondents only.

Table 3. Assigned condition

Item	Number	Percent
White woman	316	31
White man	284	28
Black woman	97	10
Black man	105	10
Latinx woman	99	10
Latinx man	104	10
Total	1,005	100

Table 4. Dependent and independent variables, summary statistics

Variable	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min.	Max.	N
Dependent variables					
Average of deportation, wall, and police DVs	0.465	0.371	0	1	773
Favor deportation	0.464	0.401	0	1	772
Police check immigration status	0.542	0.391	0	1	773
Favor border wall	0.388	0.422	0	1	773
Immigrants increase crime rates in the U.S.	0.386	0.339	0	1	773
Immigrants hurt America's economy	0.337	0.321	0	1	773
America's culture is harmed by immigrants	0.307	0.34	0	1	773
Independent variables					
Benevolent sexism scale	0.435	0.24	0	1	773
Hostile sexism scale	0.353	0.243	0	1	773
Racial resentment scale	0.433	0.335	0	1	773
Ethnocentrism score	0.486	0.097	0	1	760

Source: MTurk August 2019. Run among White respondents who passed a manipulation check.

Table 5. Benevolent sexism's effects on holding anti-immigration attitudes, by assignment

	Average of deportation, wall, and police DVs					
	White woman	White man	Black woman	Black man	Latinx woman	Latinx man
Benevolent sexism scale	0.211**	0.094	–0.109	–0.072	0.127	–0.099
	(0.055)	(0.064)	(0.127)	(0.083)	(0.108)	(0.121)
Hostile sexism scale	0.144**	0.007	0.087	0.226**	0.037	–0.205
	(0.054)	(0.074)	(0.134)	(0.083)	(0.124)	(0.146)
Racial resentment scale	0.371**	0.250**	0.236	0.488**	0.374**	0.496**
	(0.058)	(0.069)	(0.157)	(0.108)	(0.130)	(0.101)
Ethnocentrism score	0.465**	0.237	0.523	0.003	0.117	–0.285
	(0.140)	(0.188)	(0.340)	(0.231)	(0.355)	(0.308)
Immigrants hurt America's economy	0.174**	0.414**	0.378**	0.220*	0.297**	0.413**
	(0.054)	(0.064)	(0.101)	(0.091)	(0.107)	(0.105)
Respondent Party ID (3-way): Republican respondent	0.111**	0.147**	0.259**	0.153*	0.119^	0.244**
	(0.036)	(0.040)	(0.088)	(0.063)	(0.063)	(0.072)
Respondent Party ID (3-way): Democratic respondent	–0.167**	–0.170**	–0.065	–0.142*	–0.191**	–0.094
	(0.031)	(0.042)	(0.064)	(0.055)	(0.065)	(0.069)
Female respondent	0.067**	0.067*	0.020	0.100*	0.013	–0.109^
	(0.025)	(0.031)	(0.053)	(0.044)	(0.051)	(0.055)
Respondent Education Level	–0.023	–0.002	–0.028	–0.002	0.003	0.029
	(0.015)	(0.017)	(0.031)	(0.026)	(0.028)	(0.028)
Intercept	–0.045	0.068	–0.032	0.083	0.163	0.335^
	(0.082)	(0.111)	(0.189)	(0.149)	(0.202)	(0.173)
N	237	190	62	76	72	70
R^2	0.75	0.71	0.77	0.83	0.77	0.75
Std Error of Regression	0.19	0.20	0.18	0.17	0.19	0.21

** p<0.01; * p<0.05; ^ p<0.10 two tailed.

Note: OLS models run among White respondents who passed a manipulation check.

9 Online Appendix

9.1 Sample summary statistics

Appendix Table 1. Respondent summary statistics

	MTurk	CCES
Racial ID summary variable		
Non-Hispanic White	77.4% (778)	70.9% (1003)
Hispanic	6.5% (65)	9.2% (130)
African American	7.7% (77)	12.5% (177)
Asian	7.2% (72)	3.2% (45)
Other	1.3% (13)	4.2% (60)
Respondent gender		
Female	48.4% (455)	50.9% (721)
Male	51.7% (486)	49.1% (695)
Respondent party ID (3-way)		
Republican	22.4% (225)	24.2% (343)
Independent	29.6% (297)	33.8% (479)
Democratic	48% (481)	42% (594)
Respondent education level		
High school or less	10.2% (102)	27.4% (390)
College or Associates	35.7% (358)	33.6% (475)
Bachelor's	38% (381)	24.3% (344)
More than Bachelor's	16.2% (163)	14.6% (207)
Respondent income level		
Less than $29,999	25.6% (257)	21.6% (272)
$30K to $49,999	22.2% (223)	20.1% (253)
$50K to $69,999	20.9% (210)	17.7% (223)
$70K or more	31.3% (315)	40.7% (513)

Raw numbers in parenthesis.

9.2 Experiment Details

Due to a technical issue, multiple copies of the study were released on MTurk. As completing the survey both voids the deception of the experiment and primes the concepts of interest, I identified participants that completed the survey more than once by worker Id and removed all but the first survey they completed (N = 21).

Though "sons" would provide a more direct comparison to "daughters" in the text of the article, using the word sons would diverge from reality. While politicians discuss crime by immigrants as a threat to daughters or families, they do not invoke sons in the same way. Masculinity norms set the expectation that men will defend themselves and will not require outside protection. Meanwhile, benevolent sexism dictates that women, particularly White women, need protection. By using "families" in discussing crimes against men, politicians avoid muddying masculinity, instead shifting focus away from men themselves. Such a verbal gesture is unnecessary when women are the victims of crime, as the idea men must protect women aligns easily with femininity norms and commonly held sexist attitudes. Using the term "families" instead of "sons" may overestimate any effects of benevolent sexism being applied to the young men in the treatments. Even so, I do not expect any significant effects of benevolent sexism on immigration opinions among those exposed to a male victim.

9.3 Alternative Model Specifications with Components of Composite Dependent Variable Separated

Appendix Table 2. Benevolent sexism's effect on believing all immigrants living in the U.S. illegally should be deported, by assignment

	White woman	White man	Black woman	Black man	Latinx woman	Latinx man
Benevolent sexism scale	0.160*	0.028	–0.192	–0.153	0.196	–0.127
	(0.069)	(0.079)	(0.181)	(0.116)	(0.135)	(0.132)
Hostile sexism scale	0.164*	–0.002	0.123	0.205^	–0.001	–0.287^
	(0.067)	(0.092)	(0.192)	(0.115)	(0.155)	(0.160)
Racial resentment scale	0.440**	0.241**	0.250	0.683**	0.331*	0.543**
	(0.072)	(0.085)	(0.224)	(0.150)	(0.162)	(0.111)
Ethnocentrism score	0.459**	0.406^	0.436	–0.002	0.303	–0.284
	(0.174)	(0.231)	(0.485)	(0.321)	(0.442)	(0.336)
Immigrants hurt America's economy	0.189**	0.438**	0.565**	0.211	0.369**	0.448**
	(0.068)	(0.079)	(0.144)	(0.127)	(0.134)	(0.115)
Respondent Party ID (3-way): Republican respondent	0.091*	0.092^	0.095	–0.019	0.119	0.235**
	(0.044)	(0.050)	(0.126)	(0.088)	(0.079)	(0.079)
Respondent Party ID (3-way): Democratic respondent	–0.142**	–0.182**	–0.055	–0.201*	–0.148^	–0.074
	(0.038)	(0.052)	(0.091)	(0.076)	(0.082)	(0.075)
Female respondent	0.079*	0.034	0.031	0.126*	0.004	–0.191**
	(0.031)	(0.039)	(0.076)	(0.062)	(0.063)	(0.060)
Respondent Education Level	–0.031^	0.006	–0.025	0.018	0.005	0.027
	(0.018)	(0.021)	(0.045)	(0.036)	(0.035)	(0.031)
Intercept	–0.041	0.008	–0.021	0.075	0.038	0.377*
	(0.103)	(0.136)	(0.270)	(0.207)	(0.252)	(0.188)
N	236	190	62	76	72	70
R^2	0.68	0.61	0.59	0.74	0.69	0.74
Std Error of Regression	0.23	0.25	0.26	0.23	0.24	0.22

** p<0.01; * p<0.05; ^ p<0.10 two tailed.

Note: OLS models run among White respondents who passed a manipulation check.

Appendix Table 3. Benevolent sexism's effect on believing the police should be required to check the immigration status of people they stop or detain, by assignment

	White woman	White man	Black woman	Black man	Latinx woman	Latinx man
Benevolent sexism scale	0.309**	0.135	0.118	0.085	0.059	–0.069
	(0.077)	(0.086)	(0.192)	(0.120)	(0.125)	(0.175)
Hostile sexism scale	0.205**	–0.073	–0.045	0.224^	–0.101	–0.112
	(0.076)	(0.099)	(0.204)	(0.119)	(0.144)	(0.211)
Racial resentment scale	0.287**	0.273**	0.482*	0.584**	0.556**	0.405**
	(0.080)	(0.091)	(0.238)	(0.154)	(0.150)	(0.146)
Ethnocentrism score	0.720**	0.075	0.301	–0.416	0.391	–0.286
	(0.194)	(0.250)	(0.516)	(0.332)	(0.411)	(0.443)
Immigrants hurt America's economy	0.120	0.347**	0.177	0.205	0.155	0.355*
	(0.076)	(0.085)	(0.153)	(0.131)	(0.124)	(0.151)
Respondent Party ID (3-way): Republican respondent	0.083^	0.140*	0.167	0.143	0.134^	0.266*
	(0.050)	(0.054)	(0.134)	(0.090)	(0.073)	(0.104)
Respondent Party ID (3-way): Democratic respondent	–0.173**	–0.139*	–0.098	–0.100	–0.074	–0.001
	(0.043)	(0.056)	(0.096)	(0.079)	(0.076)	(0.099)
Female respondent	0.101**	0.044	0.029	0.146*	0.009	–0.036
	(0.035)	(0.042)	(0.081)	(0.064)	(0.059)	(0.079)
Respondent Education Level	–0.005	–0.015	–0.021	–0.063^	0.011	0.008
	(0.020)	(0.023)	(0.047)	(0.037)	(0.032)	(0.041)
Intercept	–0.158	0.292*	0.084	0.397^	0.065	0.390
	(0.115)	(0.147)	(0.287)	(0.213)	(0.234)	(0.249)
N	237	190	62	76	72	70
R^2	0.59	0.52	0.59	0.71	0.66	0.51
Std Error of Regression	0.26	0.27	0.27	0.24	0.22	0.30

** p<0.01; * p<0.05; ^ p<0.10 two tailed.

Note: OLS models run among White respondents who passed a manipulation check.

Appendix Table 4. Benevolent sexism's effect on believing the U.S. should build a wall on the U.S.-Mexico border, by assignment

	Favor border wall					
	White woman	White man	Black woman	Black man	Latinx woman	Latinx man
Benevolent sexism scale	0.166*	0.117	–0.255^	–0.150	0.125	–0.101
	(0.079)	(0.080)	(0.147)	(0.123)	(0.128)	(0.127)
Hostile sexism scale	0.061	0.097	0.181	0.248*	0.212	–0.214
	(0.077)	(0.093)	(0.156)	(0.122)	(0.147)	(0.153)
Racial resentment scale	0.392**	0.236**	–0.023	0.197	0.236	0.540**
	(0.082)	(0.086)	(0.183)	(0.159)	(0.154)	(0.106)
Ethnocentrism score	0.193	0.230	0.831*	0.428	–0.343	–0.287
	(0.199)	(0.235)	(0.395)	(0.341)	(0.421)	(0.322)
Immigrants hurt America's economy	0.217**	0.456**	0.391**	0.243^	0.367**	0.436**
	(0.077)	(0.080)	(0.117)	(0.135)	(0.127)	(0.110)
Respondent Party ID (3-way): Republican respondent	0.154**	0.209**	0.514**	0.336**	0.103	0.231**
	(0.051)	(0.051)	(0.103)	(0.093)	(0.075)	(0.076)
Respondent Party ID (3-way): Democratic respondent	–0.186**	–0.190**	–0.043	–0.124	–0.349**	–0.206**
	(0.044)	(0.053)	(0.074)	(0.081)	(0.078)	(0.072)
Female respondent	0.021	0.122**	0.000	0.029	0.027	–0.099^
	(0.036)	(0.039)	(0.062)	(0.065)	(0.060)	(0.058)
Respondent Education Level	–0.035^	0.002	–0.038	0.040	–0.006	0.052^
	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.036)	(0.038)	(0.033)	(0.030)
Intercept	0.077	–0.096	–0.158	–0.222	0.385	0.236
	(0.118)	(0.138)	(0.220)	(0.219)	(0.240)	(0.181)
N	237	190	62	76	72	70
R^2	0.61	0.67	0.77	0.68	0.76	0.79
Std Error of Regression	0.27	0.25	0.21	0.24	0.23	0.21

** p<0.01; * p<0.05; ^ p<0.10 two tailed.

Note: OLS models run among White respondents who passed a manipulation check.

9.4 Experimental Treatments

Appendix Figure 1. White female victim treatment

After Murder of High School Cheerleader, Governor to Crack Down on Illegal Immigration

By Robert Smith

As the town of Springfield mourns a high school student who was allegedly killed by an illegal immigrant, Gov. David Thomsen announced a new initiative to investigate undocumented immigrants.

Claire McIntire was fatally shot while walking home from Springfield High School last week. Police have arrested Javier Lopez, who came here illegally from Mexico, on charges of first-degree murder.

McIntire was on the high school cheerleading squad, and had been preparing for the state semi-final competition next month with her teammates.

McIntire initially was reported missing Monday and her body was found Wednesday in a wooded area off Orchard Lane. Her body showed signs of trauma.

"Claire's murder never should have happened," Thomsen said at a press conference today. "That's why our police force is committed to working with ICE to arrest and deport the criminals putting our daughters at risk."

The initiative will create a new office within the state police department to work with ICE, or Immigration and Customs Enforcement, to identify and arrest immigrants who do not have required documentation.

"I'm grateful that Governor Thomsen is taking illegal immigration seriously," said Patricia McIntire, Claire's mother. "No mother should lose her daughter to a dangerous criminal who had no right to be in the country."

Appendix Figure 2. White male victim treatment

After Murder of High School Football Player, Governor to Crack Down on Illegal Immigration

By Robert Smith

As the town of Springfield mourns a high school student who was allegedly killed by an illegal immigrant, Gov. David Thomsen announced a new initiative to investigate undocumented immigrants.

Andrew McIntire was fatally shot while walking home from Springfield High School. Police have arrested Javier Lopez, who came here illegally from Mexico, on charges of first-degree murder.

McIntire was on the varsity football team, and had been preparing for the state championship competition next month with his teammates.

McIntire initially was reported missing Monday and his body was found Wednesday in a wooded area off Orchard Lane. His body showed signs of trauma.

"Andrew's murder never should have happened," Thomsen said at a press conference today. "That's why our police force is committed to working with ICE to arrest and deport the criminals putting our families at risk."

The initiative will create a new office within the state police department to work with ICE, or Immigration and Customs Enforcement, to identify and arrest immigrants who do not have required documentation.

"I'm grateful that Governor Thomsen is taking illegal immigration seriously," said Patricia McIntire, Andrew's mother. "No mother should lose her child to a dangerous criminal who had no right to be in the country."

Appendix Figure 3. Black female victim treatment

After Murder of High School Cheerleader, Governor to Crack Down on Illegal Immigration

By Robert Smith

As the town of Springfield mourns a high school student who was allegedly killed by an illegal immigrant, Gov. David Thomsen announced a new initiative to investigate undocumented immigrants.

Kiara Brown was fatally shot while walking home from Springfield High School. Police have arrested Javier Lopez, who came here illegally from Mexico, on charges of first-degree murder.

Brown was on the high school cheerleading squad, and had been preparing for the state semi-final competition next month with her teammates.

Brown initially was reported missing Monday and her body was found Wednesday in a wooded area off Orchard Lane. Her body showed signs of trauma.

"Kiara's murder never should have happened," Thomsen said at a press conference today. "That's why our police force is committed to working with ICE to arrest and deport the criminals putting our daughters at risk."

The initiative will create a new office within the state police department to work with ICE, or Immigration and Customs Enforcement, to identify and arrest immigrants who do not have required documentation.

"I'm grateful that Governor Thomsen is taking illegal immigration seriously," said Patricia Brown, Kiara's mother. "No mother should lose her daughter to a dangerous criminal who had no right to be in the country."

Appendix Figure 4. Black male victim treatment

After Murder of High School Football Player, Governor to Crack Down on Illegal Immigration

By Robert Smith

As the town of Springfield mourns a high school student who was allegedly killed by an illegal immigrant, Gov. David Thomsen announced a new initiative to investigate undocumented immigrants.

Maurice Brown was fatally shot while walking home from Springfield High School. Police have arrested Javier Lopez, who came here illegally from Mexico, on charges of first-degree murder.

Brown was on the varsity football team, and had been preparing for the state championship competition next month with his teammates.

Brown initially was reported missing Monday and his body was found Wednesday in a wooded area off Orchard Lane. His body showed signs of trauma.

"Maurice's murder never should have happened," Thomsen said at a press conference today. "That's why our police force is committed to working with ICE to arrest and deport the criminals putting our families at risk."

The initiative will create a new office within the state police department to work with ICE, or Immigration and Customs Enforcement, to identify and arrest immigrants who do not have required documentation.

"I'm grateful that Governor Thomsen is taking illegal immigration seriously," said Patricia Brown, Maurice's mother. "No mother should lose her child to a dangerous criminal who had no right to be in the country."

Appendix Figure 5. Latinx female victim treatment

After Murder of High School Cheerleader, Governor to Crack Down on Illegal Immigration

By Robert Smith

As the town of Springfield mourns a high school student who was allegedly killed by an illegal immigrant, Gov. David Thomsen announced a new initiative to investigate undocumented immigrants.

Louisa Garcia was fatally shot while walking home from Springfield High School. Police have arrested Javier Lopez, who came here from illegally Mexico, on charges of first-degree murder.

Garcia was on the high school cheerleading squad, and had been preparing for the state semi-final competition next month with her teammates.

Garcia initially was reported missing Monday and her body was found Wednesday in a wooded area off Orchard Lane. Her body showed signs of trauma.

"Louisa's murder never should have happened," Thomsen said at a press conference today. "That's why our police force is committed to working with ICE to arrest and deport the criminals putting our daughters at risk."

The initiative will create a new office within the state police department to work with ICE, or Immigration and Customs Enforcement, to identify and arrest immigrants who do not have required documentation.

"I'm grateful that Governor Thomsen is taking illegal immigration seriously," said Gloria Garcia, Louisa's mother. "No mother should lose her daughter to a dangerous criminal who had no right to be in the country."

Appendix Figure 6. Latinx male victim treatment

After Murder of High School Football Player, Governor to Crack Down on Illegal Immigration

By Robert Smith

As the town of Springfield mourns a high school student who was allegedly killed by an illegal immigrant, Gov. David Thomsen announced a new initiative to investigate undocumented immigrants.

Miguel Garcia was fatally shot while walking home from Springfield High School. Police have arrested Javier Lopez, who came here illegally from Mexico, on charges of first-degree murder.

Garcia was on the varsity football team, and had been preparing for the state championship competition next month with his teammates.

Garcia initially was reported missing Monday and his body was found Wednesday in a wooded area off Orchard Lane. His body showed signs of trauma.

"Miguel's murder never should have happened," Thomsen said at a press conference today. "That's why our police force is committed to working with ICE to arrest and deport the criminals putting our families at risk."

The initiative will create a new office within the state police department to work with ICE, or Immigration and Customs Enforcement, to identify and arrest immigrants who do not have required documentation.

"I'm grateful that Governor Thomsen is taking illegal immigration seriously," said Gloria Garcia, Miguel's mother. "No mother should lose her child to a dangerous criminal who had no right to be in the country."