

# Standpoints and Situatedness: Examining the Perception of Benevolent Sexism in Black and White Undergraduate Women and Men

Psychology of Women Quarterly  
2022, Vol. 0(0) 1–19  
© The Author(s) 2022  
Article reuse guidelines:  
[sagepub.com/journals-permissions](https://sagepub.com/journals-permissions)  
DOI: 10.1177/03616843211043108  
[journals.sagepub.com/home/pwq](https://journals.sagepub.com/home/pwq)  
SAGE

Tangier M. Davis<sup>1</sup> , Isis H. Settles<sup>1,2</sup> , and Martinque K. Jones<sup>3</sup> 

## Abstract

Racial differences in benevolent sexism have been underexplored. To address this gap, we used standpoint theory as a framework to examine race-gender group differences in the endorsement of benevolent sexism and how cultural factors (i.e., egalitarianism, religiosity, and racial identity) and inequality factors (i.e., experiences with racial discrimination and support for social hierarchies) might mediate this relationship. Among 510 Black and white undergraduate women and men, we found racial differences, such that Black women and men had higher endorsement of benevolent sexism than white women and men. Further, there was a gender difference for only white participants, with white men endorsing these attitudes more than white women. For Black women, religiosity and racial identity mediated the relationship between their race-gender group and greater benevolent sexism compared to white women, but only religiosity mediated the relationship for Black men. Neither inequality mediator accounted for benevolent sexism differences; however, both were associated with white women's lower benevolent sexism, as was egalitarianism. Given these findings, we discuss implications for benevolent sexism theory, the possibility that cultural factors may shape Black women and men's standpoint by establishing group-based norms and expectations around benevolently sexist behavior, and suggest culturally appropriate methods to reduce sexism.

## Keywords

benevolent sexism, race differences, gender differences, egalitarianism, religiosity, racial discrimination, standpoint theory

## Introduction

Benevolent sexism refers to attitudes toward women that are positive and prosocial in outward appearance, but intrinsically motivated by stereotypical views and feelings of paternalism towards women (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Despite appearing innocuous, research has shown that benevolent sexism can be just as harmful to women as hostile sexism, linking women's experiences of benevolent sexism to increased feelings of body shame (Shepherd et al., 2011), lower performance on cognitive tests (Dardenne et al., 2007), and feelings of incompetence (Dumont et al., 2010). Further, research has shown that although women are less likely than men to endorse hostile sexism, gender differences in benevolent sexism endorsement are much smaller (Becker, 2010; Connelly & Heesacker, 2012; Fischer, 2006). This suggests that women are more willing to overlook the negative consequences associated with benevolent sexism perhaps because, on the surface, the idea that women should be revered and receive beneficial treatment is desirable (Becker, 2010; Becker & Wright, 2011; Jost & Kay, 2005).

However, little research to date has examined how race intersects with these gender-related patterns to predict endorsement

of benevolent sexism. Therefore, in the current study, we addressed two related questions: (1) Are there racial-gender differences in the endorsement of benevolent sexism among Black and white<sup>1</sup> undergraduate women and men? (2) Does the standpoint of these groups, as reflected by cultural and inequality factors, explain this difference? Standpoint theory posits that the socio-historical positionality of an individual—that is, their context, identity, and power—can affect their attitudes (Stoetzler & Yuval-Davis, 2002). As such, we examine whether cultural factors (egalitarianism, religiosity, and racial identity) and inequality factors (experiences with racial discrimination and support for social hierarchies), thought to shape the standpoint of Black and white undergraduate women

<sup>1</sup>Department of Psychology, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI, USA

<sup>2</sup>Department of Afroamerican and African Studies, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI, USA

<sup>3</sup>Department of Psychology, University of North Texas, Denton, TX, USA

## Corresponding Author:

Isis Settles, Department of Psychology, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI 48109, USA.

Email: [issetles@umich.edu](mailto:issetles@umich.edu)

and men, would manifest in differences in their benevolent sexism attitudes. We chose these factors because previous studies have found that Black and white people differ along these dimensions; so, if racial differences do exist in benevolent sexism, these factors may play a role. We propose that cultural factors may shape individuals' standpoint by establishing group-based norms and expectations around behavior and that inequality factors may shape standpoints by increasing feelings of threat. We suggest that among Black women and men, these elements might work together to make the caring and protective nature of benevolent sexism more salient than the restrictive and paternalistic aspect.

### *Benevolent Sexism*

Benevolent sexism is an important social problem due to its subtle nature. Glick and Fiske (1997) argued that benevolent sexism emerged because men and women have intimate relationships and are dependent on one another for sexual reproduction, making it difficult for men to have purely negative feelings towards women. This dependency is combined with men's greater power and status over women (i.e., patriarchy) and differentiation in gender roles (Glick & Fiske, 2001). The result is an adherence to norms of male dominance, traditional gender roles, and paternalistic protectionism with seemingly positive and well-meaning justifications that maintain women's lower status, without threatening their willingness to form intimate relationships with men. Although these behaviors (e.g., calling women co-workers pet names) may seem to be unproblematic to some, theorists argue that they are motivated by beliefs about women's physical and intellectual inferiority and a desire to maintain the existing social hierarchy and resulting gender role differentiation (Herzog & Oreg, 2008). By proliferating this ideology, benevolent sexism works as a complement to hostile sexism, such that hostile sexism is used to punish women who step outside of traditional gender roles, whereas benevolent sexism rewards women who maintain them (Glick & Fiske, 2001).

Still, despite its negative aspects, benevolent sexism is appealing to many people, perhaps because they are not interpreting the behaviors as negative or harmful, but rather as a form of care and protection (Barreto & Ellemers, 2005; Jost & Kay, 2005; Sibley et al., 2007). For instance, studies have shown that women who are higher in psychological entitlement (i.e., beliefs that they are superior and deserve praise and social status) are also more likely to perceive benevolently sexist behaviors positively, more likely to endorse benevolent sexism, and more likely to become unhappy with their relationships when they do not receive special treatment (Hammond & Overall, 2013; Hammond et al., 2014; Overall et al., 2011). Thus, the literature suggests that although some do perceive benevolent sexism negatively, others see it in a positive light and that certain contextual factors may make one interpretation more salient than the other.

### *Standpoint Theory*

Feminist standpoint theory, which postulates that an individual's social position affects their experience and social reality (Stoetzler & Yuval-Davis, 2002), can help us understand how social group membership might shape interpretations of benevolent sexism. According to this theory, the positionality of the individual (i.e., their context, identities, and power) affects their perception of the "truth" and consequently their attitudes towards various experiences or phenomena. Power plays a particularly important role in this theory, as privilege can "suppress or distort relevant evidence" (Rolin, 2009, p. 219) and obscure the underlying social structures that support certain dynamics (Collins, 1997). Consistent with these ideas, identification with a social group (i.e., racial/ethnic, gender, sexual orientation, etc.) has been shown to affect the perceptions, attitudes, and behavior of individuals who belong to it (Charness et al., 2007; Chen & Li, 2009; Van Knippenberg, 2000).

Applying standpoint theory to benevolent sexism suggests that positionality, context, and socio-historical experiences of individuals in a social group may influence whether they interpret this behavior as problematic and restrictive or as reflecting the care and protection of women. Although women are more likely to endorse benevolent than hostile sexism, and are often just as likely to accept benevolent sexism as men are (e.g., Becker & Wright, 2011; Glick et al., 2000; Glick & Fiske, 2001), women and men also differ in the reasons why they might endorse benevolent sexism, consistent with standpoint theory. In particular, men may uphold benevolent sexism to maintain their dominant position in society, whereas women may be motivated by a desire to see their world as fair and legitimate (Jost & Kay, 2005). Moreover, benevolent sexism works with hostile sexism to create the belief that women and men have their own strengths and weaknesses that are complementary to each other; these complementary beliefs can obscure the advantages that men hold and lead women to have more positive feelings about their lower status (see also Glick & Fiske, 2001).

### *Incorporating Race into Benevolent Sexism*

Although there is evidence supporting gender differences in benevolent sexism, there has been little emphasis on race. Very few of the studies cited previously gave a racial breakdown of their participants (e.g., Becker, 2010; Hammond et al., 2016; Jost & Kay, 2005), and when reported, the samples were majority white (e.g., Connelly & Heesacker, 2012; Glick & Fiske, 1996). Glick et al.'s (2000) cross-national study found cultural differences in endorsement of benevolent sexism but did not examine racial differences within nations. Due to the unique history of Black people in America, Glick et al.'s (2000) findings cannot speak to racial differences in the US. Indeed, the limited work that has examined the role of race in benevolent sexism in US samples

found that benevolent sexism did not correlate with hostile sexism among Black people, although it did for white people, suggesting that benevolent sexism may be perceived differently by these groups (Hayes & Swim, 2013).

**Cultural Factors.** Cultural factors, the cultural beliefs and attitudes that social group members have about themselves and other members of their group, may strongly influence one's standpoint and can also affect the behaviors of those who belong to these groups (Cohen et al., 2013; Verkuyten & Pouliasi, 2006). In the present study, we consider three cultural factors: egalitarian sex role attitudes, religiosity (i.e., the importance of religion in one's life; Gallagher & Tierney, 2013), and racial identity.

Egalitarian sex role attitudes are beliefs that there are no strict roles and duties that men and women should perform, such as women's work and men's work (Beere et al., 1984). Those who have *less* egalitarian and *more* traditional sex role attitudes show higher endorsement of benevolent sexism, consistent with benevolent sexism's rewarding of traditional gender-typed behavior (Anderson & Johnson, 2003; Glick & Fiske, 1997). However, racial differences in egalitarian attitudes are somewhat unclear (Jones et al., 2018). Some studies find that Black and white participants are similar in their egalitarian attitudes (Cole & Zucker, 2007). Other researchers report that, because of the historical participation of Black women in the workforce, Black people tend to endorse gender role egalitarianism in the workplace and in educational settings (Binion, 1990). At the same time, due to socialization practices, Black people are also more likely to support traditional gender roles in their relationships (Binion, 1990; Hall & Pichon, 2014; Kane, 2000). Because conceptualizations of benevolent sexism focus on sexist behaviors within interpersonal relationships, Black people's support of more traditional roles in their interpersonal relationships may lead them to show a higher endorsement of benevolent sexism.

Religiosity has also been associated with higher levels of benevolent sexism (Glick et al., 2002; Mikołajczak & Pietrzak, 2014). This association likely exists because many forms of religion promote traditional sex roles for men (e.g., they are the protectors) and women (e.g., they require protection; Glick et al., 2002; Glick et al., 2016; Mikołajczak & Pietrzak, 2014). Religiosity is likely especially influential for Black people because they tend to be more religious than white people (Holt et al., 2014; Krause, 2002; Sanchez & Carter, 2005; Taylor et al., 1996). Further, although Black women tend to be more religious than Black men, Black men tend to hold leadership roles in the church, reflecting traditional gender roles (Levin & Taylor, 1993; Taylor et al., 2009). Hence, religion plays a vital role in the Black community, and the values that accompany religiosity, such as the traditional roles of men and women, are deeply ingrained within the culture. Consequently, we may expect Black women and men to endorse benevolent sexism more than white women and

men in part because these attitudes align with their religious beliefs.

Racial identity is another cultural factor that may affect Black people's attitudes towards benevolent sexism. Dimensions of racial identity, specifically racial centrality (i.e., the importance of race to a person's self-concept) and private regard (i.e., how positively one feels about their racial group; Sellers et al., 1997) are associated with Black people's greater engagement in race-related activities (e.g., activism; Lott, 2008; Szymanski & Lewis, 2015; White-Johnson, 2012), relationships, and organizations (Sellers et al., 1997). Contact with ingroup members provides Black people with information about cultural norms and provides ingroup role models (Van Camp et al., 2010). Further, gender role norms are often transmitted as part of cultural messages (Brown et al., 2017; Lesane-Brown, 2006). For Black girls, these cultural and gender-specific messages tend to be aligned with traditional gender roles (e.g., Brown et al., 2017—"let a man be a man"). This research suggests that a stronger racial identity among Black young adults may reflect greater acceptance of cultural norms and expectations, including those related to benevolent sexism. In all, racial centrality and private regard, as well as religiosity and egalitarianism, are cultural factors that may influence the perceptions and behaviors—that is, the standpoint—of an individual.

**Inequality Factors.** We examined two factors related to inequality that may also lead to more positive perceptions of benevolent sexism: experiences with racial discrimination and support for social hierarchies. Experiences of racial discrimination may shift an individual's standpoint by making them more likely to perceive and interact with the world as if it is threatening. Theorists have argued that experiences of mistreatment can lead a person to be hypervigilant for threats that are relevant to their self-concept (e.g., threats against their social groups), creating a cycle that can affect their psychological and physical well-being (Crocker & Major, 1989; Rucker et al., 2010).

Black people are particularly likely to experience dehumanization, discrimination, and a lack of protection from authorities that distinguishes them from white people and individuals from other minoritized groups (Jones, 2018; Lee et al., 2019; White People Calling the Police on Black People, 2019). Research finds that Black people are more likely than white people to anticipate and be vigilant for discrimination (Hicken et al., 2013; Lee & Hicken, 2016) and individuals who see the world as more threatening are more likely to support benevolent sexism attitudes (Phelan et al., 2010). The contrast between race-based discrimination, and the "kind" and protective behaviors reflected in benevolent sexism, may lead Black people to see the latter as expressions of care and concern. In contrast, white people's racial privilege mostly protects them from experiencing racialized discrimination; thus, for them the restrictive nature of benevolent sexism may be the most salient aspect of this type of behavior.

Support for social hierarchies that are rooted in inequality may also help to explain racial differences in benevolent sexism. However, the literature around this is somewhat mixed. Research on race differences in support of social hierarchies suggests that Black people are more likely to oppose social hierarchies—likely because they are often disadvantaged by these systems (Lee et al., 2011). For example, Ho et al. (2015) distinguished between two forms of social dominance orientation: a preference for group-based dominance through active subordination (group-based dominance) and a preference for group-based inequality through “hierarchy-enhancing ideologies and social policies” (p. 1003; hierarchy-enhancing ideologies). They found that hierarchy-enhancing ideologies, the focus in the current study, were less supported by Black participants than white participants.

However, as noted previously, experiencing social threats (e.g., racism) can lead people to engage in system-justification processes that help them to make sense of their world and their experience. Research has shown that despite being in a marginalized group, and thus not benefitting from social hierarchies, marginalized people sometimes support the status quo (see Jost et al., 2004, for a review). For instance, studies have found that Black people and low-income people were more likely than other groups to support limitations on citizen’s rights, and low-income Latinx individuals were more likely to believe that the government benefits all equally than were high-income Latinx individuals (Jost et al., 2003; Jost & Kay, 2005). Given these findings, it is still unclear whether we might expect Black women and men in our study to support social hierarchies in an attempt to increase their sense that the world is just and fair, or whether they will oppose social hierarchies that disadvantage them. However, because support for social hierarchies is related to endorsement of benevolent sexism attitudes (Jost & Kay, 2005; Sibley et al., 2007), we propose that it might explain the racial differences in benevolent sexism we propose.

### The Current Study

In the current study, we addressed two related questions: (1) Are there racial-gender differences in benevolent sexism among Black and white undergraduate women and men? (2) Does the standpoint of these groups, as reflected by cultural and inequality factors, explain this difference? We examine these research questions in a sample of college undergraduates, most of whom are in a period of emerging adulthood which is marked by increased cognitive abilities allowing for more abstract thought, including an analysis and re-evaluation of one’s attitudes and beliefs (Arnett, 2000; Schwartz, 2016). Further, increased intergroup interactions often lead to the strengthening of racial identity, particularly for people of color (Syed & Azmitia, 2009), and may also lead students to have more experiences of racial and gender discrimination that can shape their awareness of societal inequality (Baysu et al., 2014). Therefore, college offers an excellent opportunity to

examine how cultural and inequality factors may affect benevolent sexism attitudes for Black and white students.

Although there is research on gender differences in attitudes toward benevolent sexism, there is little empirical research that focuses on understanding the role that one’s race-gender group can have in their attitudes towards this form of sexism. We theorized that two factors reflecting standpoint differences might explain racial-gender differences in benevolent sexism attitudes—cultural factors, by establishing norms about racial and gender roles, and inequality factors, by increasing perceptions of threat. We used quantitative methods to test three hypotheses:

1. Black women and men would report higher endorsement of benevolent sexism than white women and men, and Black and white men would endorse benevolent sexism more than Black and white women, respectively.
2. Black women and men’s higher endorsement of benevolent sexism would be explained by cultural factors, specifically lower endorsement of egalitarian sex roles, higher levels of religiosity, and higher racial identity (i.e., racial centrality and private regard).
3. Black women and men’s higher endorsement of benevolent sexism would be explained by more frequent and bothersome experiences with racial discrimination. If Black women and men expressed greater support for social hierarchies, this would explain their higher endorsement of benevolent sexism (we make this conditional prediction given the contradictory literature cited previously).

## Method

### Procedure and Participants

An initial sample of 569 undergraduate students were recruited from the psychology department subject pool at a large Midwestern university. The sample was collected as part of a larger study examining whether responses to scenarios featuring ambivalent sexism were affected by the race and gender of the perpetrator and victim. Participants were randomly assigned to a scenario condition and then asked to evaluate the motivations of the man and the response of the woman in the scenario. In the current study, however, we focused on the participants’ attitudinal measures, which they completed after the scenario manipulation. In addition to our selected variables, the following measures were completed but outside of the scope of this study’s focus and are not discussed further: self-esteem, gender identity, Big Five personality, attitudes towards Black people, hostile sexism, modern racism, and motivation to control prejudice. Because there were no condition differences on the measures of interest, we collapsed across conditions in our current analyses. From the initial sample, we selected only the Black ( $n = 144, 28.2\%$ ) and white



( $n = 366$ , 71.8%) participants to yield a final sample size of 510. Participants were 282 women (55.3% of sample) of whom 99 (35.1%) were Black women and 183 (64.9%) were white women, and 228 men (44.7%) of whom 45 (19.7%) were Black men and 183 (80.3%) were white men.

Participants' ages ranged from 18 to 56 years old ( $M = 20.2$  years,  $SD = 3.0$  years). An ANOVA indicated that there was a significant race-gender difference in age,  $F(3, 501) = 3.31$ ,  $p = .020$ ; post-hoc comparisons revealed that Black women ( $M = 19.6$ ,  $SD = 1.5$ ) were significantly younger than Black men ( $M = 21.2$ ,  $SD = 5.6$ ;  $p = .017$ ). Of the participants who reported their year in school ( $n = 507$ ), 124 (24.5%) were first-year students, 119 (23.5%) sophomores, 138 (27.2%) juniors, and 126 (24.9%) were seniors or had been in the university for more than 4 years. Students completed the survey online in exchange for course credit.

## Measures

**Benevolent Sexism.** Benevolent sexism was assessed using the 11-item Benevolent Sexism subscale of the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI; Glick & Fiske, 1996). The subscale measures the three dimensions that make up attitudes of benevolent sexism: protective paternalism (e.g., "Women should be cherished and protected by men"), heterosexual intimacy (e.g., "Every man ought to have a woman whom he adores"), and complementary gender differentiation (e.g., "Many women have a quality of purity that few men possess"). Participants indicated their agreement with each item on a scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). Reliability analyses and examination of item correlations indicated that one of the reverse-scored items ("In a disaster, women need not be rescued before men") performed poorly for both Black and white participants, with correlations close to zero with most of the other scale items. Therefore, this item, which appeared to be semantically confusing, was removed (Tavakol & Dennick, 2011). We averaged the remaining items, and in the final 10-item scale, higher mean scores indicated greater endorsement of benevolent sexism.

Previous studies reported good internal reliability for scores on this scale in mostly white student samples (alphas ranged from .73 to .85; Glick & Fiske, 1996), but less satisfactory reliability in a Black student sample ( $\alpha = .67$ ; Hayes & Swim, 2013). Similarly, our reliability was .82 for the combined sample and .83 for our white subsample, but somewhat lower yet still acceptable ( $\alpha = .72$ ; Tavakol & Dennick, 2011) for our Black subsample (see Table 1 for alphas by race-gender group for all scales; for all scales, alpha by race-gender group are similar to those reported by racial group). Criterion validity was supported in past research through positive correlations with social desirability and with positive stereotypes towards women (Glick & Fiske, 1996).

**Egalitarianism.** Individual attitudes towards equality between women and men were assessed with the Sex Role Egalitarianism Scale (SRES; King & King, 1990). The 27-item SRES measures attitudes towards women and men in nontraditional sex roles (e.g., "Things work out best in a marriage if the husband stays away from housekeeping tasks—reverse scored"). Participants responded on a scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). After reverse scoring the appropriate items, we computed an average, such that higher scores represented a greater endorsement of egalitarianism between women and men.

Reliability analysis for the measure for our total sample yielded a Cronbach's alpha of .94 (.93 for Black participants and .95 for white participants) consistent with previous research ( $\alpha = .84$  in a Black student sample; Berkel, 2004;  $\alpha = .94$  in a majority white student sample; King & King, 1990). Positive correlations with the Attitudes Towards Women Scale speak to the measure's criterion validity (King & King, 1990).

**Religiosity.** Participants' religiosity was measured with a single item that asked, "How important would you say religion is to your life?" Participants responded on a scale of 1 (*not at all important*) to 7 (*extremely important*). Previous research has shown that scores on one-item measures of religiosity are reliable and valid (Abdel-Khalek, 2007, 2012; Afhami et al.,

**Table 1.** Correlations and Alphas Among Study Variables by Race-Gender Group.

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	Alphas
1. Benevolent sexism	—	-.07/-.01	.32*/.41*	.24*/.46*	.04/.08	-.23*/-.26	.68/.66
2. Egalitarianism	-.48*/-.30*	—	-.07/-.12	.47*/.28	.04/.21	-.51*/-.41*	.92/.93
3. Religiosity	.27*/.28*	-.12/-.28*	—	.09/.32*	.22*/.11	-.09/-.27	—
4. Racial identity	.33*/.18*	-.03/-.13	.22*/.23*	—	.13/.42*	-.44*/-.69*	.92/.91
5. Racial discrimination experiences	.28*/.19*	-.21*/-.39*	.12/.24*	.10/.12	—	-.14/-.32*	.96/.97
6. Support for social hierarchies	.27*/.07	-.47*/-.59*	.07/.22*	.10/.17*	.24*/.20*	—	.91/.93
Alphas	.78/.77	.94/.93	—	.90/.87	.97/.97	.93/.89	

Note. Correlations are above the diagonal for the Black subsample; below the diagonal for the white subsample. The alphas for the Black subsample are on the right of the table; the alphas for the white subsample are at the bottom of the table. Within each racial subsample, correlations and alphas for women are in front of the slash and correlations and alphas for men are after the slash.

\* $p < .05$ .

2017; Wills, 2009). Further, an advantage to such a one-item measure is that participants will use the most salient meaning to them (e.g., spirituality, organized religious involvement, importance of religious beliefs) when responding (Wills, 2009).

**Racial Identity.** Due to the psychometric properties of the racial identity subscales, described in detail within the preliminary analyses section, we measured participants' racial identity by combining two abbreviated versions of the centrality and private regard subscales of the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI; Sellers et al., 1997). Item wording was adjusted to ask about one's racial group rather than being Black so as to be usable for all participants. The centrality subscale consisted of four items reflecting how important race is to one's self-concept (e.g., "In general, being a member of my racial group is an important part of my self-image"). The private regard subscale consisted of three items assessing how positively one feels about being a part of their racial group (e.g., "I am happy that I am a person of my race"). Participants responded to both subscales on a scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). We averaged the items for each measure, and higher scores indicated higher racial centrality and private regard.

Previous research found scores on the centrality subscale to be reliable ( $\alpha = .80$  in a Black student sample; Vandiver et al., 2009), as we did in our study (overall alpha of .88;  $\alpha = .89$  for the Black sample, .87 for the white sample). Evidence for criterion validity comes from the subscale's high correlation with intragroup contact (Sellers et al., 1997). Similarly, the private regard subscale has been found to be reliable in previous research ( $\alpha = .62$  in a Black student sample; Vandiver et al., 2009) and in our own (overall alpha of .87;  $\alpha = .90$  for the Black sample, .84 for the white sample). A negative correlation with a measure of self-hatred speaks to the measure's criterion validity (Vandiver et al., 2009). Our racial identity scale that combined racial centrality and racial private regard items was also reliable (overall alpha of .91;  $\alpha = .92$  for the Black sample, .89 for the white sample).

**Racial Discrimination Experiences.** Participants' experience with race-based discrimination was measured using the Daily Life Experiences (DLE) scale, which is a subscale of the Racism and Life Experiences Scale (Harrell, 1994). The DLE assesses the frequency with which an individual believes they experience discrimination in their daily life as a consequence of their race (e.g., "How often because of race have you felt that you were being accused of something or treated suspiciously?"); participants responded to each item on a scale of 0 (*never*) to 5 (*once a week or more*). The DLE also assesses how bothered the participants were by their experiences with racism; participants responded to each item on a scale of 0 (*has never happened to me*), 1 (*doesn't bother me at all*) to 5 (*bothers me extremely*). We scored the DLE by multiplying the frequency response by the bothered response, similar to previous studies (e.g., Roberts et al., 2008). We then averaged

across all items, so that higher scores on this composite variable indicated more frequent and bothersome experiences with racial discrimination.

Reliability analysis for the combined measure yielded a Cronbach's alpha of .97 for the total sample and .96 for both Black and white subsamples. Previous research also reported good internal reliability (.90 in a Black student sample; Harrell et al., 1997). Further, criterion validity is evidenced by the measure's high correlation with cultural mistrust (i.e., mistrust of white people).

**Support for Social Hierarchies.** We measured participants' support for social hierarchies with a subset of items from the Social Dominance Orientation (SDO) scale, which was developed to measure an individual's desire for group dominance and their attitudes towards social hierarchies (Pratto et al., 1994). Because we were interested in measuring support for social hierarchies, we selected 6-items that assessed their hierarchy-enhancing ideologies (e.g., "It would be good if all groups could be equal"—reverse scored; "We should do what we can to equalize conditions for different groups"—reverse scored), while excluding the scale items that captured attitudes towards group dominance, as distinguished by previous researchers (Ho et al., 2012). Participants responded on a scale of 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). After reverse scoring the items, we created an average, such that higher scores indicate more support for social hierarchies.

In the current study, we had a reliability of .92 overall ( $\alpha = .92$  for Black sample and .91 for the white sample). Previous research also reported high reliability ( $\alpha = .83$  in a mostly white and Asian student sample; Pratto et al., 1994). Negative correlations with altruism and concern for others speak to the measure's criterion validity (Pratto et al., 1994).

### Positionality Statement

We believe that it is important to highlight the positionality of the authors in the current study. First, we want to acknowledge that we are three Black women writing about the experiences and perceptions of Black people, and as a result, our own interpretations of the data may be affected by our personal social locations. We argue that no work is ever truly objective, but that being aware of our own social position and biases can help contextualize our work. We hope that this work is used to further understanding of experience and the ways in which benevolent sexism manifests for different individuals.

### Results

In our analyses, we used the participant's race and gender to create four groups: Black women, Black men, white women, and white men. We chose to create a single variable composed of four groups instead of testing a race-gender interaction from two separate variables because some intersectionality scholars have asserted that an interaction effect may not accurately

represent the experience of people occupying various race-gender locations (Bowleg, 2008; Warner et al., 2018). Specifically, because identities are theorized to be interdependent rather than independent of one another (Bowleg, 2008; Cole, 2009), the independence of categories assumed in statistical interactions are not consistent with an intersectional analysis (see Warner et al., 2018, for more information on this argument and see Else-Quest & Hyde, 2016, for alternative perspectives).

Analysis of the patterns of missing data revealed that fewer than 0.9% of all items for all cases were missing. Considering individual cases, approximately 96.3% of participants had no missing data whatsoever, and 97.1% of items had no missing data across all cases. No item had more than 6.9% missing values. Little's MCAR test indicated that the data were not missing completely at random,  $\chi^2(9676) = 10,362.60$ ,  $p < .001$ . Given this, missing data were handled using expectation maximization, an appropriate technique when data are not missing completely at random (Olinsky et al., 2003; Schlomer et al., 2010). Sensitivity analysis indicated that we had the ability to detect small effects (Cohen's  $f^2 = .04$ ) for all analyses given our sample size of 510 participants with power of 0.95 at  $p = 0.05$  (Faul et al., 2007).

### Preliminary Analyses

Correlations and Cronbach's alphas are reported in Table 1 separately for our Black and white women and men subsamples. Preliminary analyses indicated that racial centrality and private regard were highly correlated,  $r(510) = .69$ ,  $p < .001$ . Because of this, we conducted a factor analysis which indicated that all the items on the two subscales loaded on a single factor. Consequently, we combined these two subscales into one scale that we named "racial identity."

### Race-Gender Differences in Benevolent Sexism

We conducted a MANOVA to test Hypothesis 1 (group differences in benevolent sexism) and to simultaneously explore

group differences in the cultural (egalitarianism, religiosity, and racial identity) and inequality (experiences with racial discrimination and support for social hierarchies) mediators. The MANOVA revealed a significant multivariate effect, Wilks' Lambda = .54,  $F(18, 1417.53) = 19.04$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .19$ . Follow-up univariate analyses showed that there were group differences in all variables (see Table 2). Specifically, and partially supporting Hypothesis 1, Black women reported higher benevolent sexism than white women ( $d = 1.06$ ) and white men ( $d = 0.47$ ). Black men also reported significantly higher benevolent sexism than both white women ( $d = 0.93$ ) and men ( $d = 0.37$ ); however, Black women did not differ from Black men ( $d = 0.19$ ), contrary to our prediction. Finally, white men reported more benevolent sexism than white women, as predicted ( $d = 0.59$ ).

### Race-Gender Differences in Cultural Factors

We used the same MANOVA to examine group differences in our cultural mediators—egalitarianism, religiosity, and racial identity (see Table 2). We found that white women had a significantly higher level of egalitarianism than Black women ( $d = 0.30$ ), Black men ( $d = 0.88$ ), and white men ( $d = 0.90$ ); Black women were higher in egalitarianism than Black men ( $d = 0.53$ ) and white men ( $d = 0.55$ ), who did not differ from one another ( $d = 0.01$ ). Every group differed significantly on religiosity: Black women were higher than Black men ( $d = 0.50$ ), white women ( $d = 1.08$ ), and white men ( $d = 1.42$ ); Black men had higher levels of religiosity than white women ( $d = 0.51$ ) and white men ( $d = 0.80$ ); and white women had higher levels of religiosity than white men ( $d = 0.27$ ). Finally, Black women reported significantly higher levels of racial identity than Black men ( $d = 0.43$ ), white women ( $d = 0.73$ ), and white men ( $d = 1.00$ ); Black men reported higher racial identity than white men ( $d = 0.50$ ), but were not different from white women ( $d = 0.25$ ); and white women had higher levels of racial identity than white men ( $d = 0.27$ ). Thus, Black and white women reported higher levels of egalitarianism than men; Black women and men reported being more religious

**Table 2.** Analyses of Variance for Dependent and Independent Study Variables by Race-Gender Group.

Dependent variables	Black Women	Black Men	White Women	White Men	F
	M (SD)	M (SD)	M (SD)	M (SD)	
Benevolent sexism	4.41 <sub>a</sub> (.79)	4.34 <sub>a</sub> (.89)	3.49 <sub>b</sub> (.94)	4.02 <sub>c</sub> (.86)	29.49*
Cultural variables					
Egalitarianism	3.96 <sub>a</sub> (.60)	3.64 <sub>b</sub> (.59)	4.14 <sub>c</sub> (.54)	3.65 <sub>b</sub> (.56)	26.70*
Religiosity	5.48 <sub>a</sub> (1.52)	4.64 <sub>b</sub> (1.99)	3.62 <sub>c</sub> (1.98)	3.10 <sub>d</sub> (1.87)	38.83*
Racial identity	4.31 <sub>a</sub> (.76)	3.97 <sub>b</sub> (.81)	3.78 <sub>b</sub> (.68)	3.60 <sub>c</sub> (.65)	23.25*
Inequality variables					
Racial discrimination experiences	6.44 <sub>a</sub> (5.06)	7.04 <sub>a</sub> (5.55)	2.98 <sub>b</sub> (3.88)	2.42 <sub>b</sub> (2.96)	33.62*
Support for social hierarchies	1.81 <sub>a</sub> (1.00)	2.10 <sub>a</sub> (1.25)	2.03 <sub>a</sub> (1.00)	2.58 <sub>b</sub> (1.09)	14.02*

Note.  $N = 510$ . For each row, means with different subscripts are significantly different.

\* $p < .05$ .

than white women and men (and white women were more religious than white men); and Black women had the highest levels of racial identity, followed by Black men and white women.

### Race-Gender Differences in Inequality Factors

We also examined group differences in our inequality mediators—experiences of racial discrimination and support for social hierarchies (see Table 2). We found that Black women and men did not differ in their reports of racial discrimination ( $d = 0.09$ ), but Black women did report more experiences with discrimination than white women ( $d = 0.85$ ) and men ( $d = 1.03$ ). Black men also reported more experiences of discrimination than white women ( $d = 0.91$ ) and men ( $d = 1.07$ ), but white women and men did not differ from each other ( $d = 0.12$ ). White men reported higher support for social hierarchies than Black women ( $d = 0.73$ ), Black men ( $d = 0.41$ ), and white women ( $d = 0.53$ ); Black women did not differ from Black men ( $d = 0.26$ ) or white women ( $d = 0.22$ ); and Black men and white women did not differ either ( $d = 0.06$ ). In sum, Black women and men reported that they experienced more frequent and bothersome discrimination than white women and men, and white men had the greatest support for social hierarchies among all the groups.

### Mediation Analyses

To test Hypotheses 2 and 3, mediation analyses were used to examine whether the two proposed types of variables (cultural and inequality factors) mediated the group differences found in benevolent sexism. We used the PROCESS macro in SPSS (Model 4) which allowed us to test categorical independent variables and multiple mediators (Hayes, 2017). All five potential mediators were entered simultaneously. We used indicator coding in each analysis to treat our independent variable (i.e., race-gender) as multicategorical (Hayes & Preacher, 2014). Because white women displayed the lowest levels of benevolent sexism, all analyses were interpreted in reference to this group. Although we did not make specific mediational hypotheses about white men as compared to white women (because that was not the focus of the current study), we report results comparing these groups for completeness.

When the other groups were not being directly examined, they were treated as covariates in each model to account for their effects and to make white women the referent group. This method is recommended over aggregating groups (e.g., Black women compared to everyone else) or discarding data (Black and white women only) as it better represents the effects of race-gender group overall on benevolent sexism (Hayes & Preacher, 2014). Thus, for the first analysis, the Black women group (vs. white women) was the independent variable; egalitarianism, religiosity, racial identity, experiences of racial discrimination, and support for social hierarchies were the mediators; and benevolent sexism was the dependent variable.

Dummy variables representing Black men and white men were included as covariates to make white women the reference group. This analysis determined whether the five mediators accounted for the difference between Black women's and white women's benevolent sexism. The second and third analyses were similar, except that Black men and white men were the independent variables, respectively, and the covariates changed accordingly.

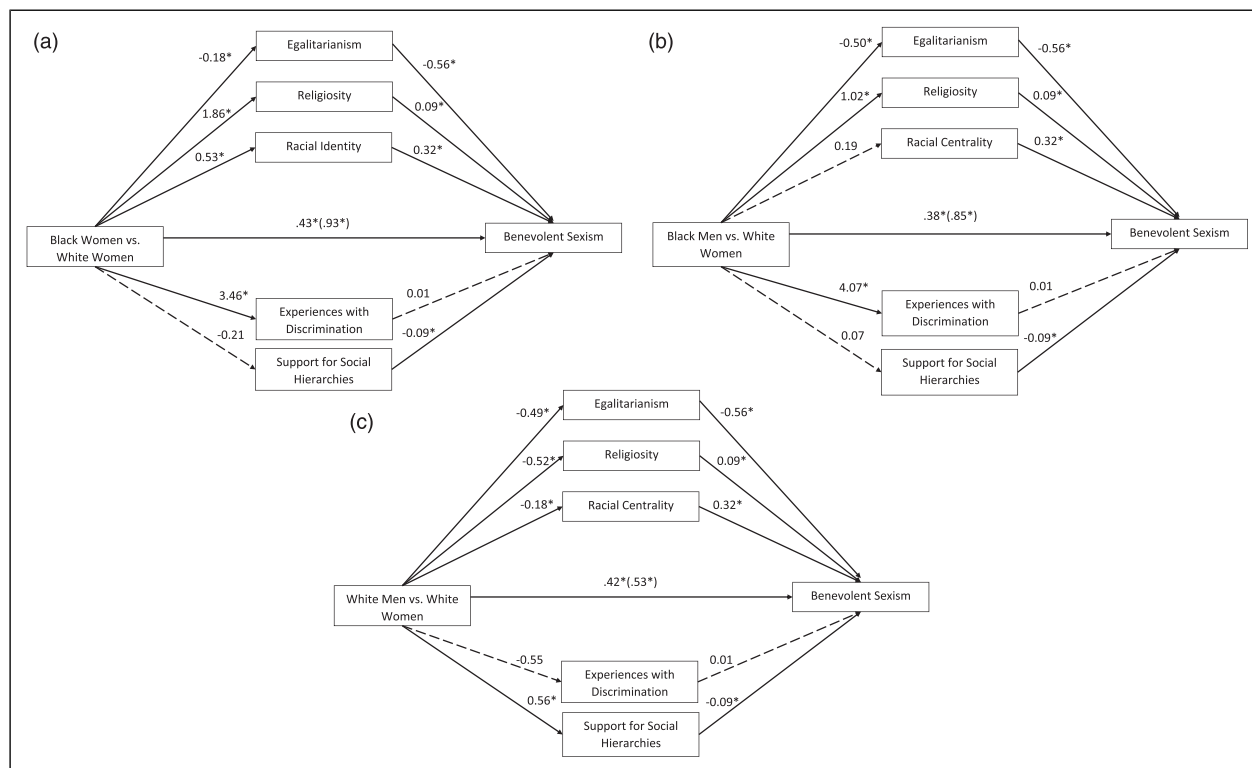
In a multicategorical analysis, the coefficient for the paths from race-gender group to the mediators represent the adjusted mean difference between the focal group (e.g., Black women) and the referent group (white women) on the mediator (see Figure 1, Panel a; Hayes & Preacher, 2014). As these replicate the information presented in Table 2, we do not repeat those results when reporting the mediational analyses. In addition, the relationship between the mediators and benevolent sexism are the same across all three analyses. Specifically, among the cultural mediators, results indicated that egalitarianism was related to less benevolent sexism whereas religiosity and racial identity were related to more benevolent sexism. Among the inequality mediators, racial discrimination was unrelated to benevolent sexism, but support for social hierarchies was related to less benevolent sexism.

However, comparing the above pattern of relationships between the mediators and benevolent sexism, which aggregates across all race-gender groups, to the bivariate correlations of these same variables for *each* race-gender group (see Table 1), we observed important differences suggesting that relationships were not homogeneous across race-gender groups. As a result, in addition to our planned mediational analyses, we conducted post-hoc analyses to examine whether the relationship between each mediator and benevolent sexism was moderated by race-gender group. In doing so, we were able to determine whether indirect effects of race-gender group on benevolent sexism via each mediator were qualified by race-gender group moderation as well.<sup>2</sup>

In our analyses, we used bootstrapping to estimate the effects of the models. Bootstrapping provides an estimate of the indirect effect by repeatedly taking samples of cases in the data and estimating the mediation model coefficients based on each bootstrap sample; the relative indirect effects are calculated from the estimated coefficients (Hayes & Preacher, 2014). Each of our analyses was based on 5,000 resamples of the data set with a bias corrected 95% confidence interval. Effects were considered significant at the .05 alpha level if the confidence interval did not include 0. Table 3 presents the total indirect effects, specific indirect effects, and contrasts between the specific indirect effects. Table 4 presents the interaction of each race-gender dummy variable and mediator on benevolent sexism (e.g., Black women vs. white women by egalitarianism predicting benevolent sexism) as well as the conditional effects (i.e., simple slope) of each mediator on benevolent sexism by race-gender group.

**Black Women.** We began testing Hypothesis 2 with Black women (see Figure 1, Panel a, and Table 3). Tests of indirect





**Figure 1.** Mediated relationships between race-gender group and benevolent sexism through cultural and inequality mediators. Note. Coefficients in parentheses represent the total effects. Unstandardized coefficients are presented. Dotted lines indicate *ns* pathways.  $*p < .05$ .

effects indicated that lower egalitarianism, higher religiosity, and higher racial identity mediated the relationship between being a Black woman (vs. white woman) and benevolent sexism. However, post-hoc moderation analyses (see Table 4) indicated a significant interaction such that egalitarianism was related to lower benevolent sexism for white women but these variables were unrelated for Black women. The relationship between religiosity and higher benevolent sexism did not differ between Black and white women, nor did the relationship between racial identity and benevolent sexism. Together, these results suggest that religiosity and racial identity accounted for Black women's higher benevolent sexism compared to white women, but egalitarianism did not.

Tests of the indirect effects for Hypothesis 3 indicated that neither experiences with racial discrimination nor support for social hierarchies mediated the relationship with being a Black woman (vs. white woman) and benevolent sexism. Post-hoc moderation analyses indicated that racial discrimination was unrelated to benevolent sexism for Black women but related to higher benevolent sexism for white women; this interaction was significant. Further, support for social hierarchies was related to less benevolent sexism for Black women but more benevolent sexism for white women; this interaction was also significant. Thus, the interpretation of the mediation analyses are unchanged for Black women (i.e., neither social inequality

factor explained their higher benevolent sexism) but indicate that inequality factors were positively associated with benevolent sexism for white women.

*Black Men.* We found that Black men had an almost identical pattern of results to those of Black women (see Figure 1, Panel b, and Table 3). The only difference was that for Black men, the indirect effects indicated that their racial identity did not mediate the relationship to explain their higher benevolent sexism compared to white women. Post-hoc moderation analyses (see Table 4) indicated a significant interaction for egalitarianism such that as with Black women, egalitarianism was unrelated to benevolent sexism for Black men, and the relationships between religiosity and racial identity with benevolent sexism did not differ between Black men and white women. Further, neither racial discrimination nor support for social hierarchies was related to benevolent sexism for Black men. Therefore, Black men's higher endorsement of benevolent sexism was accounted for by their higher religiosity—egalitarianism and racial identity were not influential factors for them, nor were either of the inequality variables.

*White Men.* Testing Hypothesis 2 for white men, the indirect effects indicated that lower egalitarianism, lower religiosity, and lower racial identity mediated the relationship between being a white man (vs. white woman) and

**Table 3.** Indirect Effects of Race-Gender Group on Benevolent Sexism Through Cultural and Inequality Mediators.

	Race and Gender Groups					
	Black Women Versus White Women		Black Men Versus White Women		White Men Versus White Women	
	<i>b</i>	[95% C.I.]	<i>b</i>	[95% C.I.]	<i>b</i>	[95% C.I.]
Total indirect effect	.50*	[.37, .64]	.48*	[.30, .66]	.11*	[.003, .22]
Specific indirect effect						
Egalitarianism	.10*	[.03, .19]	.28*	[.16, .41]	.27*	[.19, .36]
Religiosity	.16*	[.09, .25]	.09*	[.03, .17]	-.05*	[-.09, -.01]
Racial identity	.17*	[.09, .26]	.06	[-.02, .15]	-.06*	[-.11, -.01]
Experiences with racial discrimination	.02	[-.01, .05]	.05	[-.02, .13]	-.01	[-.03, .003]
Support for social hierarchies	.05	[-.01, .11]	-.01	[-.06, .03]	-.05*	[-.12, -.002]
Contrasts between indirect effects						
Religiosity—Egalitarianism	.06	[-.05, .18]	-.19*	[-.34, -.05]	-.32*	[-.41, -.24]
Religiosity—Racial identity	-.01	[-.12, .11]	.03	[-.07, .12]	.01	[-.05, .07]
Religiosity—Support for social hierarchies	.14*	[.06, .24]	.10*	[.03, .18]	.01	[-.07, .09]
Religiosity—Experiences with racial discrimination	.12*	[.01, .23]	.03	[-.07, .15]	-.04	[-.08, .002]
Egalitarianism—Racial identity	-.07	[-.19, .05]	.22*	[.05, .39]	.33*	[.24, .43]
Egalitarianism—Support for social hierarchies	.08	[-.01, .18]	.28*	[.15, .44]	.33*	[.21, .46]
Egalitarianism—Experiences with racial discrimination	.06	[-.05, .17]	.22*	[.08, .37]	.28*	[.20, .37]
Racial identity—Support for social hierarchies	.15*	[.07, .24]	.07	[-.001, .15]	-.01	[-.08, .08]
Racial identity—Experiences with racial discrimination	.12*	[.02, .23]	.006	[-.10, .13]	-.05*	[-.10, -.004]
Experiences with racial discrimination—Support for social hierarchies	-.03	[-.10, .04]	-.06	[-.15, .02]	-.05	[-.11, .01]

Note.  $N = 510$ . 5,000 bootstrap resamples and a 95% confidence interval were used. Unstandardized indirect effects are presented. Dummy coding was used to compare the target race-gender group to white women.

\*Upper and lower 95% confidence interval does not contain 0.

benevolent sexism (see Figure 1, Panel c, and Table 3). Post-hoc moderation analyses (see Table 4) indicated that the strength of the significant relationship between higher egalitarianism and lower benevolent sexism was greater for white women than white men, but the relationships that religiosity and racial identity had with benevolent sexism did not differ between groups. Thus, egalitarianism, religiosity, and racial identity accounted for differences in white men's benevolent sexism compared to white women. Although white men's lower religiosity and racial identity contributed to lower benevolent sexism, examination of the contrasts between the indirect effects suggest that because egalitarianism was the strongest mediator, white men's higher egalitarianism better predicted their overall higher benevolent sexism compared to white women.

For Hypothesis 3, indirect effects indicated that experiences with racial discrimination did not influence white men's endorsement of benevolent sexism; post-hoc moderation analyses indicated that racial discrimination was associated with more benevolent sexism for white men and white women but the strength of this relationship was similar for both groups. Indirect effects suggested that support for social hierarchies mediated white men's higher endorsement of benevolent sexism compared to white women. However,

post-hoc moderation analyses indicated that support for social hierarchies was unrelated to benevolent sexism for white men although support for social hierarchies was positively related to benevolent sexism for white women. Together these results suggest that social inequality factors did not account for white men's higher benevolent sexism compared to white women.

## Discussion

The aim of this study was to answer two research questions: (1) Are there racial-gender differences in the endorsement of benevolent sexism among Black and white undergraduate women and men? (2) Does the standpoint of these groups, as reflected by cultural and inequality factors, explain this difference? More specifically, we hypothesized that Black women and men would report higher endorsement of benevolent sexism than white women and men, and Black and white men would report more benevolent sexism than Black and white women, respectively. We also predicted that the higher endorsement of benevolent sexism would be explained by cultural and inequality factors, because these would shape individuals' standpoints. The study results partially supported our hypotheses, and suggest that cultural factors, rather than

**Table 4.** Interaction Between Each Mediator and Race-Gender Group on Benevolent Sexism and Conditional Effects of Each Mediator on Benevolent Sexism by Race-gender Group.

Mediators	Black Women				Black Men				White Men				White Women			
	Interaction		Conditional Effect		Interaction		Conditional Effect		Interaction		Conditional Effect		Interaction		Conditional Effect	
	b	[95% C.I.]	b	[95% C.I.]	b	[95% C.I.]	b	[95% C.I.]	b	[95% C.I.]	b	[95% C.I.]	b	[95% C.I.]	b	[95% C.I.]
Egalitarianism	.66*	[-.34, .98]	-.08	[-.33, .16]	.73*	[.30, 1.16]	-.01	[-.40, .37]	.31*	[.03, .59]	-.43*	[-.63, -.24]	—	—	-.74*	[-.94, -.54]
Religiosity	.04	[-.07, .16]	.16*	[.06, .26]	.04	[-.09, .17]	.16*	[.04, .27]	.01	[-.08, .09]	.12*	[.06, .18]	—	—	.11*	[.06, .17]
Racial identity	-.18	[-.44, .08]	.23*	[.03, .44]	.02	[-.31, .34]	.43*	[.15, .71]	-.20	[-.44, .04]	.22*	[.04, .39]	—	—	.41*	[.25, .58]
Racial discrimination experiences	-.03*	[-.06, -.01]	.004	[-.02, .03]	-.03	[-.07, .004]	.01	[-.02, .04]	-.01	[-.04, .02]	.03*	[.01, .06]	—	—	.04*	[.02, .06]
Support for social hierarchies	-.39*	[-.59, -.20]	-.17*	[-.32, -.02]	-.38*	[-.60, -.16]	-.16	[-.34, .03]	-.17*	[-.33, -.02]	.05	[-.05, .16]	—	—	.22*	[.11, .34]

Note. N = 510. Interactions were performed with a dummy coded race variable in which the stated race-gender group is the focal group and white women are the referent. Thus, no separate interaction terms are provided for white women.

\*Indicates that the 95% confidence interval does not contain zero.

inequality factors, better explain Black women and Black men's higher benevolent sexism compared to white women. Our findings contribute insights into the role that race-gender group membership can have on the perception and interpretation of benevolent sexism and to the specific factors that influence this relationship.

Comparing racial groups, we found that Black women and men reported more benevolent sexism than white women and men. Further, we found the expected within racial-group gender difference only for white participants. Specifically, although white men were more likely to endorse attitudes of benevolent sexism than white women, the difference between Black women and Black men was not significant. This lack of a gender difference among our Black participants is notable because it is consistent with the only other study to examine within-race gender differences in benevolent sexism (Hayes & Swim, 2013), but differs from other studies that omit race from consideration and find that women endorse benevolent sexism at lower levels than men (e.g., Becker, 2010; Connelly & Heesacker, 2012; Fischer, 2006; Glick & Fiske, 1996). The fact that we observed gender differences for our white participants but not our Black participants suggests that by omitting a consideration of race, previous research may be generalizing its findings about gender differences to groups to whom the patterns may not apply.

Although not tested directly, these racial group differences lend support to our standpoint argument in which we suggested that Black women and men would be more likely to endorse benevolent sexism attitudes because they perceive such subtle and benevolently sexist behaviors as a form of care and protection rather than a form of restriction. This is consistent with gender-focused studies that find that women higher in benevolent sexism perceive protective restrictions (e.g., being told they cannot do something because it is unsafe for them) more favorably and motivated out of concern (Moya et al., 2007). Further, the results of several studies suggest that benevolent sexism endorsement is tied to social status and power of groups. In contrast to hostile sexism, benevolent sexism is more likely to be endorsed by women, particularly in gender-traditional contexts where women have fewer economic and social resources (Glick et al., 2000). Additionally, exposure to benevolent sexism increases women's perceptions that society is fair (Jost & Kay, 2005). Thus, this subtle, seemingly positive form of sexism may be more acceptable to marginalized social groups. Our results suggest that this pattern may extend beyond women to racially marginalized groups, such that Black women and men are more likely to endorse benevolent sexism due to their lower social status and limited access to resources. Since beliefs that society is fair are related to the pursuit of long-term goals for disadvantaged groups (Laurin et al., 2013), endorsement of benevolent sexism may enable marginalized groups to persist in the face of challenges if their attitudes are rooted in system legitimizing ideologies. Whether benevolent sexism endorsement among Black women and men operates to maintain gender

inequality is unclear. However, results from Hayes and Swim (2013), wherein hostile and benevolent sexism were unrelated for Black participants, call into question whether these attitudes reflect ambivalent beliefs about women for Black people that serve to maintain the patriarchal status quo (Glick & Fiske, 1997).

Our second research question suggested that cultural and inequality factors might differentially shape the standpoints of Black women and men as compared to white women and men. However, our results provided support for two of the cultural factors, but not those related to inequality. Our analysis of cultural attitude mediators indicated that contrary to predictions, egalitarianism was unrelated to benevolent sexism for Black women and Black men and therefore did not account for their higher benevolent sexism compared to white women. As predicted, greater religiosity explained Black women and Black men's higher endorsement of benevolent sexism compared to white women. A stronger racial identity also mediated this relationship for Black women but did not for Black men. In contrast, neither experiences of racial discrimination nor support for social hierarchies mediated race-gender differences in benevolent sexism among Black women and men.

Using our measure of egalitarian sex role attitudes, which focuses on equity in romantic relationships and household roles, we found that Black women and men had lower mean endorsement of egalitarianism than white women. This is consistent with the existing literature, which has found that Black women and men are more traditional in their relationship roles (Binion, 1990; Hall & Pichon, 2014; Kane, 2000). However, our results do not speak to whether Black women and men have lower endorsement of egalitarianism related to work roles, or whether such attitudes would explain racial differences in benevolent sexism (Binion, 1990). This relationship could be explored in future research using different measures of egalitarian sex roles. Interestingly, our post-hoc moderation analyses revealed that despite their lower mean levels of egalitarianism, Black women and men's egalitarian attitudes were unrelated to their endorsement of benevolent sexism. In contrast, more egalitarian attitudes were associated with lower endorsement of benevolent sexism for white women and men. These results for Black women and men are in contrast with the findings of previous studies (Anderson & Johnson, 2003; Glick & Fiske, 1997), but support the idea Black Americans' egalitarian attitudes may be context specific (e.g., workplace vs. familial relationships; Binion, 1990) and may occupy a conceptual space distinct from other gender-related attitudes, such as benevolent sexism.

Our findings related to religion are generally consistent with previous research. For example, research indicates that religion is a vital and influential component of Black culture that can impact the values that the community holds (Taylor et al., 2009). Considering that greater religious beliefs have been linked to higher endorsement of benevolent sexism (Glick et al., 2002; Mikołajczak & Pietrzak, 2014), the strong



mediating role that religiosity has for this group aligns with existing research. Racial identity operated differently for the Black women and Black men in our sample. We theorized that a stronger racial identity would result in greater acceptance of cultural norms and attitudes, including those about benevolent sexism. Our results supported the relevance of racial identity as it was associated with greater benevolent sexism for both Black women and Black men. However, higher levels of racial identity only accounted for, or mediated, Black women's (but not Black men's) higher level of benevolent sexism compared to White women. This may be because benevolent sexism relates to gender relations, and gender norms are often contained within race-related socialization messages for women (Brown et al., 2017; Lesane-Brown, 2006).

Our lack of significant findings for mediation by inequality factors suggest that threat perceptions related to Black women and men's marginalized status do not play a role in their benevolent sexism attitudes. We found that Black women and men reported significantly more frequent and bothersome racial discrimination than white women and men, consistent with other research in this area (Jones, 2018; Lee et al., 2019). Further, contrary to previous system-justification theory findings (Jost et al., 2004; Jost & Kay, 2005), we found that Black women and men (and white women) reported lower support for social hierarchies than white men, suggesting that these groups in our study are less likely to support social group inequality that marginalizes them (Ho et al., 2015; Lee et al., 2011). However, we did not find support for our proposition that Black women and men's experiences of racial discrimination and support for social hierarchies might make the comparatively benign behaviors of benevolent sexism be seen as forms of care and protection. In fact, our post-hoc moderation analyses indicated that Black women's support for social hierarchies was negatively related to benevolent sexism, opposite our predictions. The finding for Black men was in the same direction but not significant, possibly due to their small size within our sample: more support for social hierarchies was related to lower endorsement of benevolent sexism attitudes. These patterns may indicate that benevolent sexism is distinct from other attitudes related to equality between groups for Black women, and possibly Black men as well. It is unclear whether a lack of mediation and these counterintuitive findings are due to the measures we used to assess inequality; perhaps different measures might elicit the pattern of relationships we theorized, such as a measure of awareness of racial prejudice towards Black people that taps more general perceptions of race-based societal unfairness, or a measure of intergroup anxiety that taps assessments of group-based threat. Alternatively, it might be that inequality factors have some relevance for benevolent sexism attitudes but are less useful as explanatory mechanisms than cultural values, particularly since many of the cultural and inequality factors were correlated with each other in our study. Finally, inequality constructs may interact with cultural values in more complicated relationships than were examined here.

Several other interesting findings emerged in our mediation analyses. Results for white men indicated that their higher benevolent sexism compared to white women was better accounted for by their more traditional gender role attitudes than their lower religiosity or racial identity. Thus, due to white men's standpoint, attempts to reduce benevolent sexism would need to focus on shifting their attitudes about appropriate roles for women and men toward greater equality. Additionally, our results highlighted some social inequality correlates of benevolent sexism among white men and women in our study. In particular, more experiences of racial discrimination were associated with greater endorsement of benevolent sexism for both white women and men. For white women but not white men, support for social hierarchies was associated with more benevolent sexism, consistent with previous research (Jost & Kay, 2005; Sibley et al., 2007). Thus, although these inequality factors do not account for race-gender differences in benevolent sexism, they, along with cultural factors, do help explain why white women reported the lowest benevolent sexism across groups. Only for white women were all five mediators associated with benevolent sexism in the expected direction; lower benevolent sexism was significantly related to their higher egalitarianism, lower religiosity, lower racial identity, lower racial discrimination, and lower support for social hierarchies. Our selection of variables that best explained white women's benevolent sexism attitudes may reflect the focus of the previous literature on understanding benevolent sexism through a white lens.

Finally, we note that across groups, a sizable direct effect of race-gender group and benevolent sexism remained after accounting for the effects of the mediators. This suggests that there are other important explanatory factors not modeled in our analyses. For example, right-wing authoritarianism has been shown to impact one's standpoint, as individuals with high right-wing authoritarianism tend to desire traditionalism, social cohesion, and security at the expense of personal freedom; right-wing authoritarianism has also been linked to benevolent sexism (Sibley et al., 2007). Identifying more of these perspective-shifting factors is an important direction for future studies.

### *Standpoint Theory*

Standpoint theory helps to explain our findings, as the theory claims that there is no universal experience (Stoetzer & Yuval-Davis, 2002). Instead, an individual's perspective will vary based on their "situatedness" or social position, which is determined by the multiple identities that they hold (e.g., their race, gender, class, etc.; Allen, 1992; Collins, 2000) and by their experiences with oppression and power (Collins, 1997). These conceptualizations are also consistent with intersectionality theory which posits that individuals' social locations shape their standpoint, due to the power and privilege versus marginalization of their multiple social identities (Cole, 2009; Crenshaw, 1990; Settles, 2006). As Black women

researchers with a particular standpoint, we want to make clear that we are not suggesting that Black people are more sexist than white people. Rather, we propose that Black people's history in the US has created specific cultural norms and social structures that may lead them to perceive behaviors that are defined as benevolent sexism differently than those without such histories. At the same time, we posit that white women have the lowest endorsement of benevolent sexism because their racial privilege protects them from racialized forms of mistreatment. Due to this privilege, the restriction and control components of benevolent sexism behaviors may be more salient and objectionable, and consequently, are more likely to be rejected.

### *Limitations and Future Directions*

There were several important limitations to this study. First, it is unclear whether the Benevolent Sexism subscale of the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (Glick & Fiske, 1996) is interpreted the same way by Black and white women and men. In this study, we argue that Black women and men endorse benevolent sexism at a higher rate because there are socio-historical differences that lead them to interpret these behaviors differently. Hayes and Swim (2013) reported a somewhat lower benevolent sexism scale reliability for Black participants in their study than we found in ours and suggested researchers exercise caution when using this measure. We acknowledge the possibility that racial differences may be due to measurement constraints, for example, if benevolent sexism manifests differently for Black people, and the items on the scale do not capture this difference. Another possibility is that Black and white people may envision different actors when they answer the items on the scale, and their answers may vary based on who they imagine to be the perpetrator and the target. Qualitative methods, which are primarily concerned with understanding an individual's experience from their perspective and in their own words (Creswell & Poth, 2016), can facilitate understanding of the meanings Black (and white) participants attach to the constructs that comprise benevolent sexism.

A second limitation is that the sample we used in this study consisted of college students, who are not representative of the population as a whole for a variety of reasons (e.g., they tend to be younger, have a higher education, and be more liberal than the non-college student populations; Hooghe et al., 2010). Furthermore, because most college students in our sample are not yet married or employed full-time, they may have a limited understanding of their actual attitudes towards the statements in the benevolent sexism scale. Instead, they must envision future versions of themselves and forecast their attitudes, which is often difficult for individuals to do (Kahneman & Snell, 1992). To address this issue and that of generalizability, future research should focus on examining attitudes towards benevolent sexism in older and more diverse populations, including married people, working people, and non-Black people of color. More generally, our results suggest the importance of replicating prior studies of benevolent

sexism using primarily white samples to determine if similar relationships (e.g., benevolent sexism endorsement and greater psychological entitlement; Hammond & Overall, 2013; Hammond et al., 2014; Overall et al., 2011) are found with Black samples.

### *Practice Implications*

For scholars, study findings directly point to the necessity of examining racial differences in benevolent sexism and other forms of gender-based mistreatment. However, the study implications extend beyond this group and may also inform the work of mental health practitioners, parents, educators, and policy makers. Although more research is needed to examine the extent to which specific groups of individuals (e.g., Black men) endorse benevolent sexism, previous studies do suggest that both men and women endorse benevolent sexist attitudes (Becker, 2010; Connelly & Heesacker, 2012; Fischer, 2006) and more frequent experiences of benevolent sexism are associated with negative psychological outcomes, especially for women (Dardenne et al., 2007; Dumont et al., 2010; Shepherd et al., 2011). To that end, mental health practitioners may work to reduce benevolent sexist attitudes, and in doing so, take a culturally informed approach, thereby acknowledging how attitudes may be differently motivated and expressed across cultural groups. For instance, considering Black men, it may be the case that due to the historical oppression of their racial group, benevolent sexist behaviors aimed towards Black women are motivated by a desire to create a sense of community across Black people and not subtle negative attitudes about women. When working with men, practitioners should work to disentangle the motivations behind benevolent sexism; this may look like affirming altruistic intentions whilst challenging the sexist notions underlying men's chivalrous behaviors. In their work with women, it is equally key that practitioners acknowledge and support women in understanding the link between personally held benevolent sexist attitudes and their presenting concerns (e.g., decreased relationship satisfaction; Hammond & Overall, 2013; Hammond et al., 2014; Overall et al., 2011) and support women in adopting attitudes that may be more adaptive.

Additionally, parents and educators play a critical role in shaping individuals' understanding of benevolent sexism and other forms of gender-based mistreatment (e.g., Montañés et al., 2012). Considering our findings, it remains imperative that both educators and parents support youth in developing attitudes that affirm the equality of the genders (more egalitarianism) and further challenge the gender binary and heteronormative standards, each of which are social structures maintained by benevolent sexism (Glick & Fiske, 2001). Finally, for policy makers, our findings offer a new lens by which to understand and reduce sexism in organizations (e.g., workplace and school). Organizations should continue to develop trainings and policies to redress sexism. Because certain groups of individuals may be more or less inclined to enact or perceive

benevolent sexism, training should include explicit mention of benevolent sexism, including examples, and the negative implications of this form of gender-based mistreatment for organizations. In this way, individuals across cultural groups will be able to ascertain what benevolent sexism is and its impact on them and their organization. Attending to seemingly innocuous attitudes and behaviors, like benevolent sexism, will contribute to a better organizational climate, and potentially mitigate the risk for more egregious forms of gender-based mistreatment (Brassel, 2020; Settles et al., 2013).

## Conclusion

The role that race-gender group membership has on attitudes towards benevolent sexism has been largely unexplored, despite the increasing call for intersectional research in psychology (Grzanka et al., 2017; Valdez & Golash-Boza, 2017). Thus, the goal of this study was to introduce a race-gender analysis and explore cultural and inequality factors that affect perceptions of benevolent sexism. We confirmed research by Hayes and Swim (2013), in that Black women and men endorsed benevolent sexism at higher rates than white women and men, but only among the latter two groups were gender differences observed. Further, we found that Black women and men endorsed benevolent sexism more than white women to the extent that they were more religious; a stronger racial identity also accounted for Black women's higher endorsement of benevolent sexism compared to white women. However, inequality factors, assessed here as experiences with racial discrimination and support for social hierarchies, did not account for racial differences in benevolent sexism but did help to explain white women's lower benevolent sexism. This study highlights the importance of considering an individual's standpoint and how their situatedness is shaped by the groups they belong to and can impact their attitudes. Further, it cautions against generalizing findings derived from largely white samples to other groups. In the present work, we have centered Black people by explicitly theorizing about how their unique cultural values and experiences shape their attitudes about relations between women and men. Doing so makes an important contribution given that this population has been understudied in psychological research in general, and largely unexamined in benevolent sexism research. As such, the findings of this study should encourage other researchers to continue to center marginalized communities in their own work, so that we can continue to understand how intersecting identities affect benevolent sexism and other attitudes.

## Declaration of Conflicting Interests

The author(s) declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

## Funding

The author(s) received no financial support for the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

## ORCID iDs

Tangier Davis  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6870-4835>

Isis H. Settles  <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5015-7231>

Martinque K. Jones  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6406-237X>

## Notes

1. We chose not to capitalize white as a racial category to decenter whiteness in our research.
2. We did not run our mediation analyses with race-gender as a simultaneous moderator, due to criticism regarding this method (Jacoby & Sassenberg, 2010).

## References

- Abdel-Khalek, A. M. (2007). Religiosity, happiness, health, and psychopathology in a probability sample of Muslim adolescents. *Mental Health, Religion & Culture, 10*(6), 571-583. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13674670601034547>.
- Abdel-Khalek, A. M. (2012). Subjective well-being and religiosity: a cross-sectional study with adolescents, young and middle-age adults. *Mental Health, Religion & Culture, 15*(1), 39-52. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13674676.2010.551324>.
- Afhami, R., Mohammadi-Zarghan, S., & Atari, M. (2017). Self-rating of religiosity (SRR) in Iran: Validity, reliability, and associations with the Big Five. *Mental Health, Religion & Culture, 20*(9), 879-887. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13674676.2017.1313825>.
- Allen, W. (1992). The color of success: African-American college student outcomes at predominantly white and historically Black public colleges and universities. *Harvard Educational Review, 62*(1), 26-45. <https://doi.org/10.17763/haer.62.1.wv5627665007v701>.
- Anderson, S. J., & Johnson, J. T. (2003). The who and when of "gender-blind" attitudes: Predictors of gender-role egalitarianism in two different domains. *Sex Roles, 49*(9-10), 527-532. <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1025836807911>.
- Arnett, J. J. (2000). Emerging adulthood: A theory of development from the late teens through the twenties. *American Psychologist, 55*(5), 469-480. <https://psycnet.apa.org/doi/10.1037/0003-066X.55.5.469>.
- Barreto, M., & Ellemers, N. (2005). The burden of benevolent sexism: How it contributes to the maintenance of gender inequalities. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 35*(5), 633-642. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.270>.
- Baysu, G., Phalet, K., & Brown, R. (2014). Relative group size and minority school success: The role of intergroup friendship and discrimination experiences. *British Journal of Social Psychology, 53*(2), 328-349. <https://doi.org/10.1111/bjso.12035>.
- Becker, J. C. (2010). Why do women endorse hostile and benevolent sexism? The role of salient female subtypes and internalization

- of sexist contents. *Sex Roles*, 62(7–8), 453–467. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-009-9707-4>.
- Becker, J. C., & Wright, S. C. (2011). Yet another dark side of chivalry: Benevolent sexism undermines and hostile sexism motivates collective action for social change. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 101(1), 62–77. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0022615>.
- Beere, C. A., King, D. W., Beere, D. B., & King, L. A. (1984). The sex-role egalitarianism scale: A measure of attitudes toward equality between the sexes. *Sex Roles*, 10(7–8), 251. <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF00287265>.
- Berkel, L. V. A. (2004). A psychometric evaluation of the Sex-Role Egalitarianism Scale with African Americans. *Sex Roles: A Journal of Research*, 50(9–10), 737–742. <https://doi.org/10.1023/B:SERS.0000027836.51374.a3>.
- Binion, V. J. (1990). Psychological androgyny: A Black female perspective. *Sex Roles*, 22(7–8), 487–507. <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF00288166>.
- Bowleg, L. (2008). When Black+ lesbian+ woman ≠ Black lesbian woman: The methodological challenges of qualitative and quantitative intersectionality research. *Sex Roles*, 59(5–6), 312–325. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-008-9400-z>.
- Brassel, S. (2020). *It's not just "bad apples"-it's also about the barrel: Critically analyzing organizational and social factors in sexual harassment rates and outcomes* [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. University of Michigan. <http://hdl.handle.net/2027.42/155160>.
- Brown, D. L., Blackmon, S. K., Rosnick, C. B., Griffin-Fennell, F. D., & White-Johnson, R. L. (2017). Initial development of a gendered racial socialization scale for African American college women. *Sex Roles*, 77(3–4), 178–193. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-016-0707-x>.
- Charness, G., Rigotti, L., & Rustichini, A. (2007). Individual behavior and group membership. *American Economic Review*, 97(4), 1340–1352. <https://doi.org/10.1257/aer.97.4.1340>.
- Chen, Y., & Li, S. X. (2009). Group identity and social preferences. *American Economic Review*, 99(1), 431–457. <https://doi.org/10.1257/aer.99.1.431>.
- Cohen, D., Dillon, F. R., Gladwin, H., & De La Rosa, M. (2013). American parents' willingness to prescribe psychoactive drugs to children: A test of cultural mediators. *Social Psychiatry and Psychiatric Epidemiology: The International Journal for Research in Social and Genetic Epidemiology and Mental Health Services*, 48(12), 1873–1887. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s00127-013-0710-2>.
- Cole, E. R. (2009). Intersectionality and research in psychology. *American Psychologist*, 64(3), 170–180. <https://psycnet.apa.org/doi/10.1037/a0014564>.
- Cole, E. R., & Zucker, A. N. (2007). Black and white women's perspectives on femininity. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 13(1), 1–9. <https://doi.org/10.1037/1099-9809.13.1.1>.
- Collins, P. H. (1997). Comment on Hekman's "Truth and method: Feminist standpoint theory revisited": Where's the power? *Signs. Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 22(2), 375–381. <https://doi.org/10.1086/495162>.
- Collins, P. H. (2000). Gender, Black feminism, and Black political economy. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 568(1), 41–53. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2F000271620056800105>.
- Connelly, K., & Heesacker, M. (2012). Why is benevolent sexism appealing?: Associations with system justification and life satisfaction. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 36(4), 432–443. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0361684312456369>.
- Crenshaw, K. (1990). Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color. *Stanford Law Review*, 43, 1241–1299.
- Creswell, J. W., & Poth, C. N. (2016). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches*. New York: Sage. <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F1524839915580941>.
- Crocker, J., & Major, B. (1989). Social stigma and self-esteem: The self-protective properties of stigma. *Psychological Review*, 96(4), 608–630. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-295X.96.4.608>.
- Dardenne, B., Dumont, M., & Bollier, T. (2007). Insidious dangers of benevolent sexism: Consequences for women's performance. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 93(5), 764–779. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.93.5.764>.
- Dumont, M., Sarlet, M., & Dardenne, B. (2010). Be too kind to a woman, she'll feel incompetent: Benevolent sexism shifts self-construal and autobiographical memories toward incompetence. *Sex Roles*, 62(7), 545–553. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-008-9582-4>.
- Else-Quest, N. M., & Hyde, J. S. (2016). Intersectionality in quantitative psychological research: II. Methods & techniques. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 40, 319–336. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0361684316647953>.
- Faul, F., Erdfelder, E., Lang, A. G., & Buchner, A. (2007). G\* Power 3: A flexible statistical power analysis program for the social, behavioral, and biomedical sciences. *Behavior Research Methods*, 39(2), 175–191. <https://doi.org/10.3758/BF03193146>.
- Fischer, A. R. (2006). Women's benevolent sexism as reaction to hostility. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 30(4), 410–416. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-6402.2006.00316.x>.
- Gallagher, S., & Tierney, W. (2013). Religion/spirituality. *Encyclopedia of Behavioral Medicine*, 1644–1646.
- Glick, P., & Fiske, S. T. (1996). The ambivalent sexism inventory: Differentiating hostile and benevolent sexism. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 70(3), 491–512. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.70.3.491>.
- Glick, P., & Fiske, S. T. (1997). Hostile and benevolent sexism: Measuring ambivalent sexist attitudes toward women. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 21(1), 119–135. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-6402.1997.tb00104.x>.
- Glick, P., & Fiske, S. T. (2001). An ambivalent alliance: Hostile and benevolent sexism as complementary justifications for gender inequality. *American Psychologist*, 56(2), 109–118. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.56.2.109>.
- Glick, P., Fiske, S. T., Mladinic, A., Saiz, J. L., Abrams, D., Masser, B., Adetoun, B., Osagie, J. E., Akande, A., Alao, A., Annetje, B., Willemssen, T. M., Chipeta, K., Dardenne, B., Dijksterhuis,



- A., Wigboldus, D., Eckes, T., Six-Materna, I., Expósito, F., & López, W. L. (2000). Beyond prejudice as simple antipathy: Hostile and benevolent sexism across cultures. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 79(5), 763-775. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.79.5.763>.
- Glick, P., Lameiras, M., & Castro, Y. R. (2002). Education and Catholic religiosity as predictors of hostile and benevolent sexism toward women and men. *Sex Roles*, 47(9-10), 433-441. <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1021696209949>.
- Glick, P., Sakalli-Uğurlu, N., Akbaş, G., Orta, İ. M., & Ceylan, S. (2016). Why do women endorse honor beliefs? Ambivalent sexism and religiosity as predictors. *Sex Roles*, 75(11), 543-554. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-015-0550-5>.
- Grzanka, P. R., Santos, C. E., & Moradi, B. (2017). Intersectionality research in counseling psychology. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 64(5), 453-457. <https://doi.org/10.1037/cou0000237>.
- Hall, N. M., & Pichon, L. C. (2014). Gender roles, sociosexuality, and sexual behavior among US Black women. *Health Psychology and Behavioral Medicine*, 2(1), 171-182. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21642850.2014.882236>.
- Hammond, M. D., & Overall, N. C. (2013). When relationships do not live up to benevolent ideals: Women's benevolent sexism and sensitivity to relationship problems. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 43(3), 212-223. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.1939>.
- Hammond, M. D., Overall, N. C., & Cross, E. J. (2016). Internalizing sexism within close relationships: Perceptions of intimate partners' benevolent sexism promote women's endorsement of benevolent sexism. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 110(2), 214-238. <https://doi.org/10.1037/pspi0000043>.
- Hammond, M. D., Sibley, C. G., & Overall, N. C. (2014). The allure of sexism: Psychological entitlement fosters women's endorsement of benevolent sexism over time. *Social Psychological and Personality Science*, 5(4), 422-429. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1948550613506124>.
- Harrell, S. P. (1994). *The Racism and Life Experience Scales*. Unpublished Manuscript.
- Harrell, S. P., Merchant, M. A., & Young, S. A. (1997). *Psychometric properties of the Racism and Life Experiences Scales (RaLES)*. Unpublished manuscript.
- Hayes, A. F. (2017). *Introduction to mediation, moderation, and conditional process analysis: A regression-based approach*. Guilford Press.
- Hayes, A. F., & Preacher, K. J. (2014). Statistical mediation analysis with a multicategorical independent variable. *British Journal of Mathematical and Statistical Psychology*, 67(3), 451-470. <https://doi.org/10.1111/bmsp.12028>.
- Hayes, E. R., & Swim, J. K. (2013). African, Asian, Latina/o, and European Americans' responses to popular measures of sexist beliefs: Some cautionary notes. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 37(2), 155-166. <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0361684313480044>.
- Herzog, S., & Oreg, S. (2008). Chivalry and the moderating effect of ambivalent sexism: Individual differences in crime seriousness judgments. *Law & Society Review*, 42(1), 45-74. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-5893.2008.00334.x>.
- Hicken, M. T., Lee, H., Ailshire, J., Burgard, S. A., & Williams, D. R. (2013). "Every shut eye, ain't sleep": The role of racism-related vigilance in racial/ethnic disparities in sleep difficulty. *Race and Social Problems*, 5(2), 100-112. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12552-013-9095-9>.
- Ho, A. K., Sidanius, J., Pratto, F., Levin, S., Thomsen, L., Kteily, N., & Sheehy-Skeffington, J. (2012). Social dominance orientation: Revisiting the structure and function of a variable predicting social and political attitudes. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 38(5), 583-606. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167211432765>.
- Holt, C. L., Schulz, E., Williams, B. R., Clark, E. M., & Wang, M. Q. (2014). Social support as a mediator of religious involvement and physical and emotional functioning in a national sample of African-Americans. *Mental Health Religion & Culture*, 17, 421-435. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13674676.2013.824953>.
- Hooghe, M., Stolle, D., Mahéo, V.-A., & Vissers, S. (2010). Why can't a student be more like an average person?: Sampling and attrition effects in social science field and laboratory experiments. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 628(1), 85-96. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002716209351516>.
- Ho, A. K., Sidanius, J., Kteily, N., Sheehy-Skeffington, J., Pratto, F., Henkel, K. E., Foels, R., & Stewart, A. L. (2015). The nature of social dominance orientation: Theorizing and measuring preferences for intergroup inequality using the new SDO<sub>7</sub> scale. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 109(6), 1003-1028.
- Jacoby, J., & Sassenberg, K. (2010). *It takes four to tango: Why a variable cannot be a mediator and a moderator at the same time*. Unpublished manuscript.
- Jones, A. (2018). *Police stops are still marred by racial discrimination, new data shows Prison Policy Initiative*. <https://www.prisonpolicy.org/blog/2018/10/12/policing/>.
- Jones, M. K., Buque, M., & Miville, M. L. (2018). African American gender roles: A content analysis of empirical research from 1981 to 2017. *Journal of Black Psychology*, 44(5), 450-486. <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0095798418783561>.
- Jost, J. T., Banaji, M. R., & Nosek, B. A. (2004). A decade of system justification theory: Accumulated evidence of conscious and unconscious bolstering of the status quo. *Political Psychology*, 25, 881-919. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9221.2004.00402.x>.
- Jost, J. T., & Kay, A. C. (2005). Exposure to benevolent sexism and complementary gender stereotypes: Consequences for specific and diffuse forms of system justification. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 88(3), 498-509. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.88.3.498>.
- Jost, J. T., Pelham, B. W., Sheldon, O., & Ni Sullivan, B. (2003). Social inequality and the reduction of ideological dissonance on behalf of the system: Evidence of enhanced system justification among the disadvantaged. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 33(1), 13-36. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.127>.
- Kahneman, D., & Snell, J. (1992). Predicting a changing taste: Do people know what they will like?. *Journal of Behavioral*

- Decision Making*, 5(3), 187-200. <https://doi.org/10.1002/bdm.3960050304>.
- Kane, E. W. (2000). Racial and ethnic variations in gender-related attitudes. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 26(1), 419-439. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.26.1.419>.
- King, L. A., & King, D. W. (1990). Abbreviated measures of sex role egalitarian attitudes. *Sex Roles*, 23(11-12), 659-673. <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF00289254>.
- Krause, N. (2002). Church-based social support and health in old age exploring variations by race. *The Journals of Gerontology: Series B*, 57(6), S332-S347. <https://doi.org/10.1093/geronb/57.6.S332>.
- Laurin, K., Gaucher, D., & Kay, A. (2013). Stability and the justification of social inequality. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 43(4), 246-254.
- Lee, H., & Hicken, M. T. (2016). Death by a thousand cuts: The health implications of Black respectability politics. *Souls*, 18(2-4), 421-445. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10999949.2016.1230828>.
- Lee, R. T., Perez, A. D., Boykin, C. M., & Mendoza-Denton, R. (2019). On the prevalence of racial discrimination in the United States. *Plos One*, 14(1), e0210698. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0210698>.
- Lee, I. C., Pratto, F., & Johnson, B. T. (2011). Intergroup consensus/disagreement in support of group-based hierarchy: An examination of socio-structural and psycho-cultural factors. *Psychological Bulletin*, 137(6), 1029-1064. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0025410>.
- Lesane-Brown, C. L. (2006). A review of race socialization within Black families. *Developmental Review*, 26(4), 400-426. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.dr.2006.02.001>.
- Levin, J. S., & Taylor, R. J. (1993). Gender and age differences in religiosity among Black Americans. *The Gerontologist*, 33(1), 16-23. <https://doi.org/10.1093/geront/33.1.16>.
- Lott, J. L. (2008). Racial identity and black students' perceptions of community outreach: Implications for bonding social capital. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 77(1), 3-14.
- Mikołajczak, M., & Pietrzak, J. (2014). Ambivalent sexism and religion: Connected through values. *Sex Roles*, 70(9-10), 387-399. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-014-0379-3>.
- Montañés, P., de Lemus, S., Bohner, G., Megías, J. L., Moya, M., & García-Retamero, R. (2012). Intergenerational transmission of benevolent sexism from mothers to daughters and its relation to daughters' academic performance and goals. *Sex Roles*, 66(7-8), 468-478. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-011-0116-0>.
- Moya, M., Glick, P., Expósito, F., De Lemus, S., & Hart, J. (2007). It's for your own good: Benevolent sexism and women's reactions to protectively justified restrictions. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 33(10), 1421-1434. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0146167207304790>.
- Olinisky, A., Chen, S., & Harlow, L. (2003). The comparative efficacy of imputation methods for missing data in structural equation modeling. *European Journal of Operational Research*, 151(1), 53-79. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0377-2217\(02\)00578-7](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0377-2217(02)00578-7).
- Overall, N. C., Sibley, C. G., & Tan, R. (2011). The costs and benefits of sexism: Resistance to influence during relationship conflict. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 101(2), 271-290. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0022727>.
- Phelan, J. E., Sanchez, D. T., & Broccoli, T. L. (2010). The danger in sexism: The links among fear of crime, benevolent sexism, and well-being. *Sex Roles*, 62(1-2), 35-47. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s11199-009-9711-8>.
- Pratto, F., Sidanius, J., Stallworth, L. M., & Malle, B. F. (1994). Social dominance orientation: A personality variable predicting social and political attitudes. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 67(4), 741-763. <https://psycnet.apa.org/doi/10.1037/0022-3514.67.4.741>.
- Roberts, L. M., Settles, I. H., & Jellison, W. A. (2008). Predicting the strategic identity management of gender and race. *Identity: An International Journal of Theory and Research*, 8(4), 269-306. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15283480802365270>.
- Rolin, K. (2009). Standpoint theory as a methodology for the study of power relations. *Hypatia*, 24(4), 218-226. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1527-2001.2009.01070.x>.
- Rucker, L. S., West, L. M., & Roemer, L. (2010). Relationships among perceived racial stress, intolerance of uncertainty, and worry in a Black sample. *Behavior Therapy*, 41(2), 245-253. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.beth.2009.04.001>.
- Sanchez, D., & Carter, R. T. (2005). Exploring the relationship between racial identity and religious orientation among African American college students. *Journal of College Student Development*, 46(3), 280-295. <https://doi.org/10.1353/csd.2005.0031>.
- Schlomer, G. L., Bauman, S., & Card, N. A. (2010). Best practices for missing data management in counseling psychology. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 57(1), 1-10. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0018082>.
- Schwartz, S. J. (2016). Turning point for a turning point: Advancing emerging adulthood theory and research. *Emerging Adulthood*, 4(5), 307-317. <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F2167696815624640>.
- Sellers, R. M., Rowley, S. A., Chavous, T. M., Shelton, J. N., & Smith, M. A. (1997). Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity: A preliminary investigation of reliability and construct validity. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 73(4), 805-815. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.73.4.805>.
- Settles, I. H. (2006). Use of an intersectional framework to understand Black women's racial and gender identities. *Sex Roles*, 54(9-10), 589-601. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s11199-006-9029-8>.
- Settles, I. H., Cortina, L. M., Buchanan, N. T., & Miner, K. (2013). Derogation, discrimination, and (dis)satisfaction with jobs in science: A gendered analysis. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 37(2), 179-191. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0361684312468727>.
- Shepherd, M., Erchull, M. J., Rosner, A., Taubenberger, L., Forsyth Queen, E., & McKee, J. (2011). "I'll get that for you": The relationship between benevolent sexism and body self-perceptions. *Sex Roles*, 64(1), 1-8. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-010-9859-2>.
- Sibley, C. G., Wilson, M. S., & Duckitt, J. (2007). Antecedents of men's hostile and benevolent sexism: The dual roles of social dominance orientation and right-wing authoritarianism. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 33(2), 160-172. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167206294745>.
- Stoetzel, M., & Yuval-Davis, N. (2002). Standpoint theory, situated knowledge and the situated imagination. *Feminist Theory*, 3(3), 315-333. <https://doi.org/10.1177/146470002762492024>.

- Syed, M., & Azmitia, M. (2009). Longitudinal trajectories of ethnic identity during the college years. *Journal of Research on Adolescence, 19*(4), 601-624. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1532-7795.2009.00609.x>.
- Szymanski, D. M., & Lewis, J. A. (2015). Race-related stress and racial identity as predictors of African American activism. *Journal of Black Psychology, 41*(2), 170-191. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0095798414520707>.
- Tavakol, M., & Dennick, R. (2011). Making sense of Cronbach's alpha. *International Journal of Medical Education, 2*, 53-55. <https://doi.org/10.5116/ijme.4dfb.8dfd>.
- Taylor, R. J., Chatters, L. M., & Jackson, J. S. (2009). Correlates of spirituality among African Americans and Caribbean Blacks in the United States: Findings from the national survey of American life. *Journal of Black Psychology, 35*(3), 317-342. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0095798408329947>.
- Taylor, R. J., Chatters, L. M., Jayakody, R., & Levin, J. S. (1996). Black and white differences in religious participation: A multisample comparison. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, 35*(4), 403-410. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1386415>.
- Valdez, Z., & Golash-Boza, T. (2017). Towards an intersectionality of race and ethnicity. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 40*(13), 2256-2261. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2017.1344277>.
- Van Camp, D., Barden, J., & Sloan, L. R. (2010). Predictors of black students' race-related reasons for choosing an HBCU and intentions to engage in racial identity—relevant behaviors. *Journal of Black Psychology, 36*(2), 226-250. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0095798409344082>.
- Van Knippenberg, D. (2000). Work motivation and performance: A social identity perspective. *Applied Psychology, 49*(3), 357-371. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1464-0597.00020>.
- Vandiver, B. J., Worrell, F. C., & Delgado-Romero, E. A. (2009). A psychometric examination of Multidimensional Inventory of Black identity (MIBI) scores. *Assessment, 16*(4), 337-351. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1073191109341958>.
- Verkuyten, M., & Pouliasi, K. (2006). Biculturalism and group identification: The mediating role of identification in cultural frame switching. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 37*(3), 312-326. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022022106286926>.
- Warner, L. R., Settles, I. R., & Shields, S. A. Intersectionality theory in the psychology of women. In C. Travis, & J. White (Eds), *The handbook on the psychology of women*. American Psychological Association. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0000059-027>. (in press).
- White People Calling the Police on Black People (2019). <https://www.theroot.com/tag/white-people-calling-the-police-on-Black-people>.
- White-Johnson, R. L. (2012). prosocial involvement among African American young adults: Considering racial discrimination and racial identity. *Journal of Black Psychology, 38*(3), 313-341. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0095798411420429>.
- Wills, E (2009). Spirituality and subjective well-being: Evidences for a new domain in the personal well-being index. *Journal of Happiness Studies, 10*(1), 49-69. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10902-007-9061-6>.