Online Appendix

Protecting Our (White) Daughters: U.S. Immigration and Benevolent Sexism

Rachel Smilan-Goldstein

A. Wording of hostile and benevolent sexism measures.

All statements presented on a five-point Likert scale from "Strongly Agree" to "Strongly Disagree." Order of statements randomized.

<u>Survey Experiment 2019</u>

Hostile sexism	Benevolent sexism
Many women interpret innocent remarks or acts as being sexist.	Women, compared to men, tend to have a superior moral sensibility.
Most women appreciate fully all that men do for them.	There is no particular need for men to protect and cherish women.
Once a woman gets a man to commit to her, she tries to put him on a tight leash.	Men should be willing to sacrifice their own well being in order to provide financially for the women in their lives.
	Men are complete without women.

In the survey experiment data, Cronbach's α for hostile sexism is 0.70 and for benevolent sexism is 0.73.

<u>CCES 2016</u>

Hostile sexism	Benevolent sexism
When women demand equality these days, they are actually seeking special favors.	Many women have a quality of purity that few men possess.
Women who complain about discrimination often cause more problems than they solve.	Compared to men, women tend to have a superior moral sensibility.
Feminists are making reasonable demands of men.	Men have no special obligation to provide financially for the women in their lives.
Women must overcome more obstacles than men to be professionally successful.	There is no need for men to cherish or protect women.

As in Winter (2022), which uses the same CCES data, Cronbach's α for hostile sexism is 0.80 and for benevolent sexism is 0.46. He explains that benevolent sexism's reliability is likely affected by reverse-worded items. Considered separately, the reliabilities of the forward and reverse-coded items are 0.69 and 0.67, respectively (p. 10).

Table A1. Respondent summary statistics

	MTurk	CCES
Racial ID		
Non-Hispanic White	77.4%	70.6%
	(770)	(992.6)
Hispanic	6.5%	9.2%
	(65)	(128.7)
African American	7.7%	12.3%
	(77)	(173.4)
Asian	7.0%	3.0%
	(70)	(41.7)
Other	1.3%	4.9%
	(13)	(69.2)
Gender		
Female	48.3%	51.2%
	(450)	(720.5)
Male	51.7%	48.8%
	(481)	(685.9)
Party ID (3-way)		
Republican	22.5%	26.9%
	(223)	(337.6)
Independent	29.5%	34.8%
	(293)	(489)
Democrat	48%	38.4%
	(477)	(539.8)
Education level		
High school or less	10.2%	40.0%
	(101)	(562.4)
College or Associates	35.6%	32.4%
	(354)	(455.7)
Bachelor's	37.8%	17.9%
	(376)	(251.5)
More than Bachelor's	16.4%	9.7%
	(163)	(136.9)
Income level		
Less than $29,999	25.4%	27.6%
	(253)	(348.3)
$30k to $49,999	22.3%	20.2%

	(223)	(254.6)
$50k to $69,999	20.9%	17.3%
	(208)	(217.8)
$70k or more	31.4%	34.9%
	(312)	(439.4)

Raw numbers in parentheses.
MTurk 2019 data is unweighted. CCES 2016 data uses UVa team survey weight.

Table A2. Assigned condition

Victim race and gender	Number	Percent
White woman	313	31.5
White man	281	28.2
Black woman	96	10.0
Black man	104	10.5
Latina woman	97	10.0
Latino man	104	10.5
Total	995	100

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

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

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

By Robert Smith

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Figure A1. White woman victim treatment

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

By Robert Smith

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Figure A2. White man victim treatment

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

By Robert Smith

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Figure A3. Black woman victim treatment

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

By Robert Smith

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Figure A4. Black man victim treatment

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

By Robert Smith

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

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

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

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

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

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

"I'm grateful that Governor Thomsen is taking illegal immigration seriously," said Gloria Garcia, Louisa's mother. "No mother should lose her daughter to a dangerous criminal who had no right to be in the country."
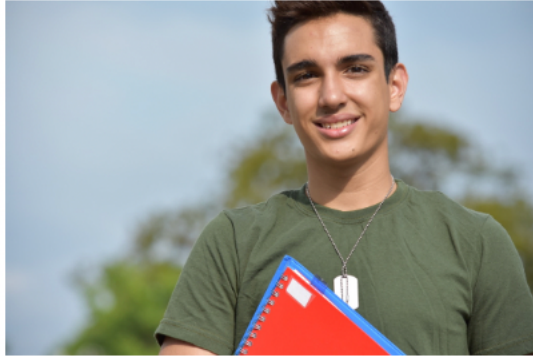
Figure A5. Latina woman victim treatment

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

By Robert Smith

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

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

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

Garcia initially was reported missing Monday and his body was found Wednesday in a wooded area off Orchard Lane. His body showed signs of trauma.
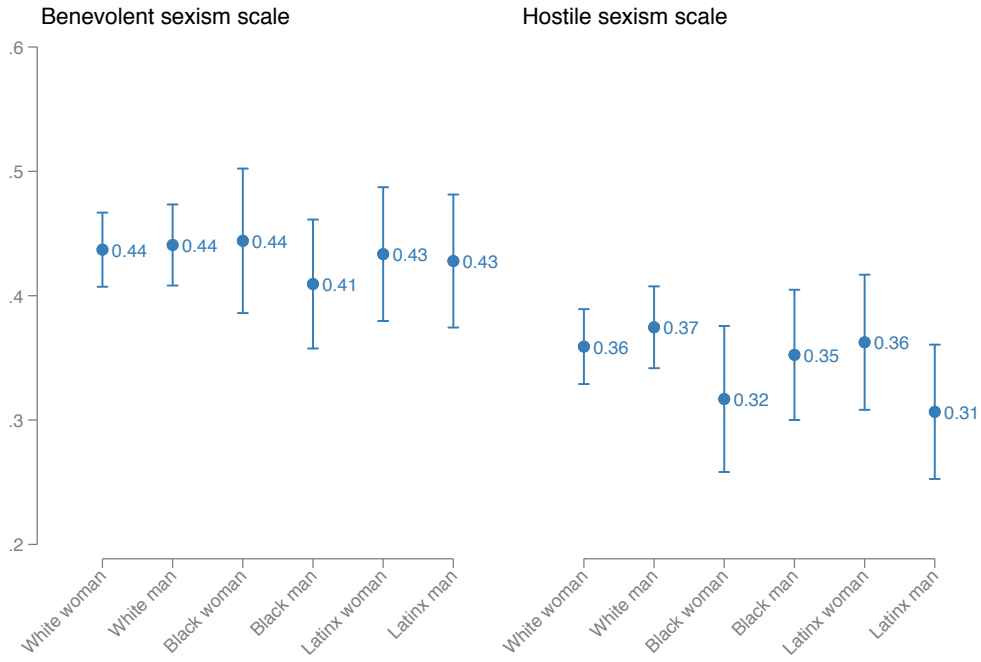
"Miguel's murder never should have happened," Thomsen said at a press conference today. "That's why our police force is committed to working with ICE to arrest and deport the criminals putting our families at risk."

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

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

Figure A6. Latino man victim treatment
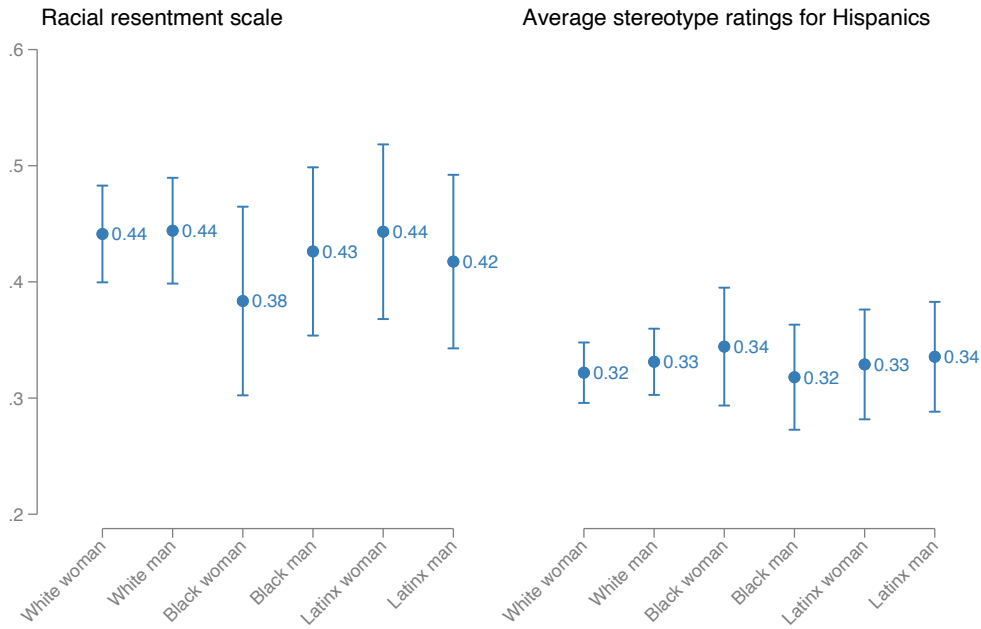
Means by Assigned condition

Benevolent sexism scale

Hostile sexism scale

Means by Assigned condition

Racial resentment scale

Average stereotype ratings for Hispanics

Figure A7

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Table A3. Confirmatory Factor Analysis of Composite Dependent Variable

Deportation	
Immigration attitude	0.932***
	(0.01)
Constant	1.157***
	(0.05)
Policing	
Immigration attitude	0.842***
	(0.01)
Constant	1.379***
	(0.05)
Border wall	
Immigration attitude	0.838***
	(0.01)
Constant	0.921***
	(0.04)
var(e.Deportation)	0.131
	(0.02)
var(e.Policing)	0.290
	(0.02)
var(e.Border wall)	0.297
	(0.02)
var(Immigration attitude)	1
	(.)
N	764
Size of Residuals	
SRMR	0.000
CD	0.919

Data from MTurk experiment August 2019. Confirmatory factor analysis run among White respondents who passed a manipulation check.
Standard errors in parentheses.
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table A4. Interactive effect of condition and benevolent sexism on holding restrictive immigration attitudes

	Average of deportation, wall, and police DVs
Assigned condition: White man	0.035
	(0.040)
Assigned condition: Black woman	0.045
	(0.060)
Assigned condition: Black man	0.074
	(0.051)
Assigned condition: Latina woman	0.081
	(0.055)
Assigned condition: Latino man	0.085
	(0.054)
Benevolent sexism scale	0.196**
	(0.055)
Assigned condition: White man X Benevolent sexism scale	-0.121
	(0.080)
Assigned condition: Black woman X Benevolent sexism scale	-0.231^
	(0.119)
Assigned condition: Black man X Benevolent sexism scale	-0.234*
	(0.106)
Assigned condition: Latina woman X Benevolent sexism scale	-0.101
	(0.110)
Assigned condition: Latino man X Benevolent sexism scale	-0.161
	(0.109)
Hostile sexism scale	0.079*
	(0.035)
Racial resentment scale	0.365**
	(0.034)
Average stereotype ratings for Hispanics	-0.001
	(0.040)
Immigrants hurt America's economy	0.332**
	(0.032)

Respondent Party ID (3-way): Republican respondent	0.151**
	(0.021)
Respondent Party ID (3-way): Democratic respondent	-0.141**
	(0.019)
Female respondent	0.045**
	(0.015)
Respondent Education Level	-0.008
	(0.009)
Intercept	0.113**
	(0.042)
N	708
R^2	0.73
Std Error of Regression	0.19

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

Data from 2019 MTurk experiment. OLS regression run among White respondents who passed a manipulation check.
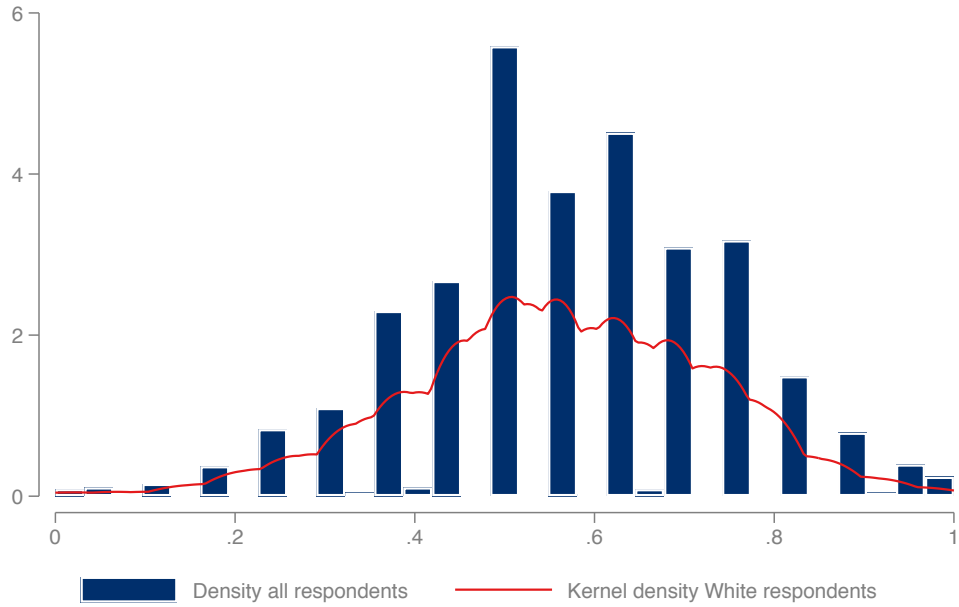
Table A5. Effect of benevolent sexism on holding restrictive immigration attitudes, by assignment

	Average of deportation, wall, and police DVs					
	White woman	White man	Black woman	Black man	Latina woman	Latino man
Benevolent sexism scale	0.220**	0.088	-0.040	-0.066	0.072	-0.029
	(0.057)	(0.066)	(0.123)	(0.083)	(0.102)	(0.132)
Hostile sexism scale	0.121*	0.014	0.119	0.238**	0.020	-0.141
	(0.057)	(0.078)	(0.135)	(0.086)	(0.122)	(0.139)
Racial resentment scale	0.404**	0.287**	0.268	0.482**	0.400**	0.444**
	(0.058)	(0.070)	(0.161)	(0.102)	(0.123)	(0.101)
Average stereotype ratings for Hispanics	0.035	-0.022	0.047	0.073	-0.133	-0.013
	(0.071)	(0.085)	(0.142)	(0.109)	(0.117)	(0.142)
Immigrants hurt America's economy	0.214**	0.419**	0.338**	0.202*	0.336**	0.451**
	(0.058)	(0.067)	(0.110)	(0.096)	(0.097)	(0.109)
Respondent Party ID (3-way): Republican respondent	0.118**	0.145**	0.286**	0.163*	0.076	0.228**
	(0.036)	(0.040)	(0.089)	(0.064)	(0.063)	(0.075)
Respondent Party ID (3-way): Democratic respondent	-0.165**	-0.165**	-0.062	-0.131*	-0.221**	-0.060
	(0.032)	(0.044)	(0.066)	(0.055)	(0.064)	(0.067)
Female respondent	0.059*	0.062^	0.020	0.101*	-0.014	-0.079
	(0.026)	(0.033)	(0.056)	(0.044)	(0.049)	(0.055)
Respondent Education Level	-0.020	0.002	-0.034	-0.000	-0.009	0.027
	(0.015)	(0.017)	(0.032)	(0.027)	(0.027)	(0.029)
Intercept	0.142*	0.155*	0.172	0.049	0.343**	0.139
	(0.060)	(0.076)	(0.135)	(0.117)	(0.120)	(0.125)
N	236	192	62	75	71	72
R^2	0.74	0.70	0.76	0.83	0.79	0.74
Std Error of Regression	0.19	0.21	0.18	0.17	0.18	0.21

** $p<0.01$; * $p<0.05$; ^ $p<0.10$ two tailed.
Data from 2019 MTurk experiment. OLS regression run among White respondents who passed a manipulation check.
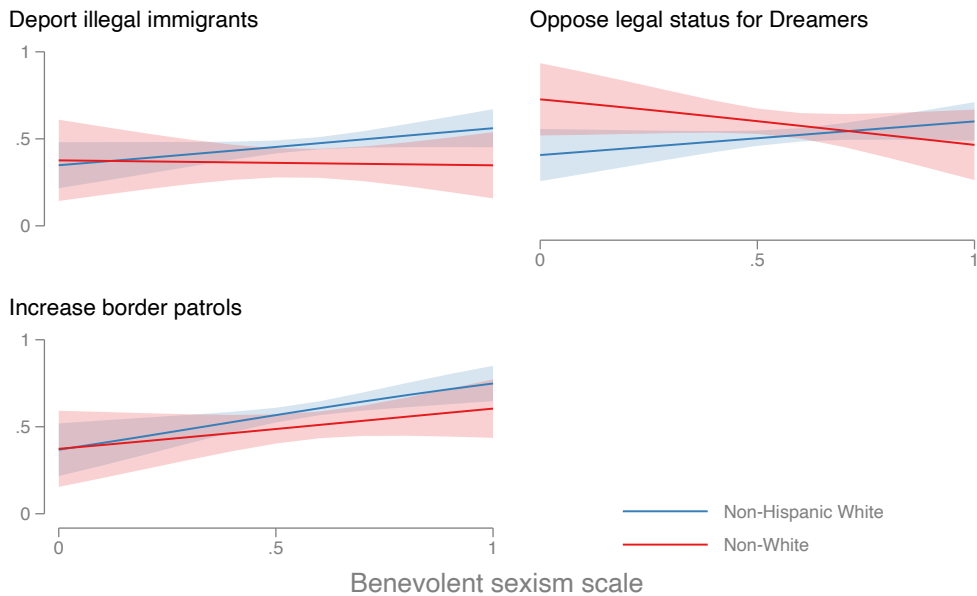
Distribution of Benevolent Sexism

Data from 2016 CCES panel.

Figure A8

Association of benevolent sexism with immigration policy attitudes

Figures show predicted probabilities and 95 percent confidence intervals of benevolent sexism in models that also includes hostile sexism, racism, perceptions the economy is worsening, partisanship, gender identity and education level. Data from 2016 CCES using UVa team survey weight.

Figure A9

Table A6. Association of benevolent, hostile sexism with holding restrictive immigration attitudes, among White respondents

	Identify and deport illegal immigrants	Increase the number of border patrols on the U.S.-Mexican border	Do not grant legal status to people who were brought to the U.S. illegally as children	Do not grant legal status to all illegal immigrants who meet requirements
Benevolent sexism scale	1.276^	1.996**	1.095	0.214
	(0.744)	(0.663)	(0.704)	(0.753)
Hostile sexism scale	1.539**	1.067*	1.183*	2.207**
	(0.563)	(0.543)	(0.582)	(0.535)
Overall racism scale	2.947**	1.627**	2.931**	2.628**
	(0.614)	(0.611)	(0.663)	(0.601)
National economy worsening	2.501**	0.746^	1.127*	1.116*
	(0.454)	(0.450)	(0.515)	(0.507)
Respondent Party ID (3-way): Republican respondent	0.324	0.211	0.721**	0.269
	(0.236)	(0.242)	(0.250)	(0.244)
Respondent Party ID (3-way): Democratic respondent	-0.592*	-0.588*	-0.008	-0.250
	(0.276)	(0.248)	(0.275)	(0.267)
Female respondent	0.138	-0.316	-0.250	-0.079
	(0.220)	(0.200)	(0.216)	(0.214)
Respondent Education Level	-0.053	-0.021	-0.241*	-0.063
	(0.104)	(0.092)	(0.101)	(0.102)
Intercept	-3.649**	-1.648**	-2.084**	-2.379**
	(0.698)	(0.617)	(0.686)	(0.689)
N	870	870	870	870

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

CCES 2016. Analysis run among White respondents using UVa team survey weight.

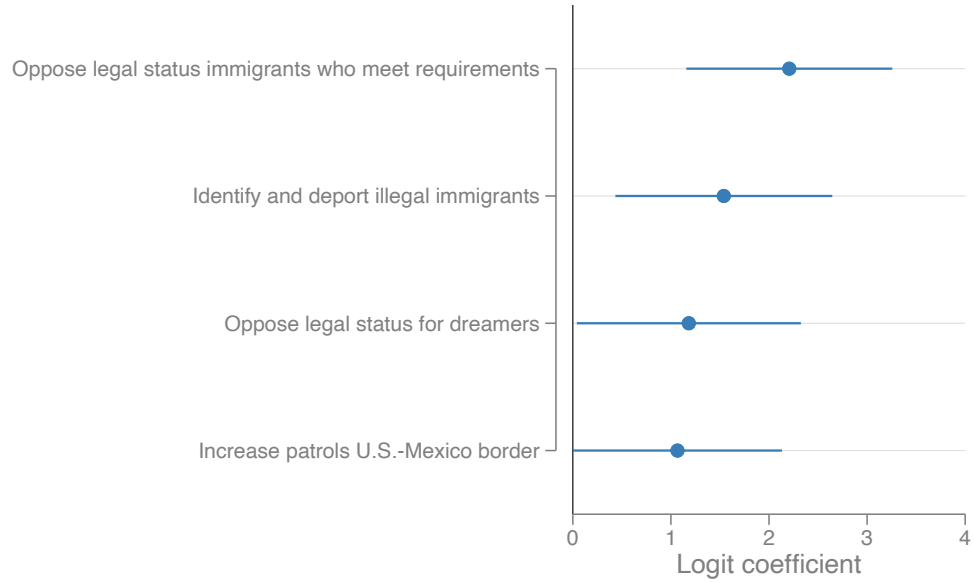Association between hostile sexism and immigration attitudes

Figure shows logit coefficients and 95 percent confidence intervals in models that also include benevolent sexism, FIRE racism, perceptions the economy is worsening, partisanship, gender identity and education level. Data from 2016 CCES panel using UVa team survey weight. Analysis run among White participants.

Figure A10

Table A7. Interactive effect of benevolent sexism and racial resentment
on holding restrictive immigration attitudes, by assignment

	Average of deportation, wall, and police DVs					
	White woman	White man	Black woman	Black man	Latina woman	Latino man
Benevolent sexism scale	0.224*	-0.027	0.161	-0.143	0.271	-0.053
	(0.087)	(0.106)	(0.187)	(0.118)	(0.178)	(0.177)
Racial resentment scale	0.408**	0.177^	0.518*	0.388**	0.575**	0.412*
	(0.089)	(0.106)	(0.238)	(0.144)	(0.177)	(0.185)
Benevolent sexism scale x Racial resentment scale	-0.009	0.262	-0.564	0.219	-0.414	0.064
	(0.154)	(0.189)	(0.399)	(0.238)	(0.302)	(0.308)
Hostile sexism scale	0.120*	0.022	0.118	0.251**	-0.016	-0.135
	(0.059)	(0.078)	(0.134)	(0.087)	(0.124)	(0.143)
Average stereotype ratings for Hispanics	0.036	-0.029	0.106	0.067	-0.111	-0.009
	(0.072)	(0.084)	(0.147)	(0.109)	(0.117)	(0.145)
Immigrants hurt America's economy	0.214**	0.413**	0.341**	0.212*	0.355**	0.450**
	(0.058)	(0.067)	(0.109)	(0.096)	(0.098)	(0.110)
Respondent Party ID (3-way): Republican respondent	0.118**	0.141**	0.298**	0.163*	0.072	0.225**
	(0.037)	(0.040)	(0.089)	(0.064)	(0.063)	(0.077)
Respondent Party ID (3-way): Democratic respondent	-0.165**	-0.170**	-0.062	-0.134*	-0.226**	-0.062
	(0.032)	(0.044)	(0.065)	(0.056)	(0.064)	(0.068)
Female respondent	0.059*	0.065*	0.032	0.098*	-0.013	-0.079
	(0.026)	(0.033)	(0.056)	(0.044)	(0.049)	(0.055)
Respondent Education Level	-0.021	-0.000	-0.027	0.003	-0.012	0.026
	(0.015)	(0.017)	(0.032)	(0.027)	(0.027)	(0.030)
Intercept	0.141*	0.206*	0.053	0.069	0.279*	0.150
	(0.065)	(0.084)	(0.158)	(0.119)	(0.128)	(0.137)
N	236	192	62	75	71	72
R^2	0.74	0.70	0.77	0.83	0.80	0.74
Std Error of Regression	0.19	0.21	0.18	0.17	0.18	0.21

** $p<0.01$; * $p<0.05$; ^ $p<0.10$ two tailed.
Data from 2019 MTurk experiment. Analysis run among White respondents who passed a manipulation check.

Table A8. Propensity score matching of benevolent sexism
for each treatment compared to White woman treatment

	Average treatment effect
White man	0.03
	(0.03)
Black woman	0.03
	(0.03)
Black man	-0.05
	(0.04)
Latina woman	0.01
	(0.03)
Latino man	-0.03
	(0.03)

** p<0.01; * p<0.05; ^ p<0.10 two tailed. AI robust standard errors
in parentheses. Data from 2019 MTurk experiment. Analysis run
among White respondents who passed a manipulation check.

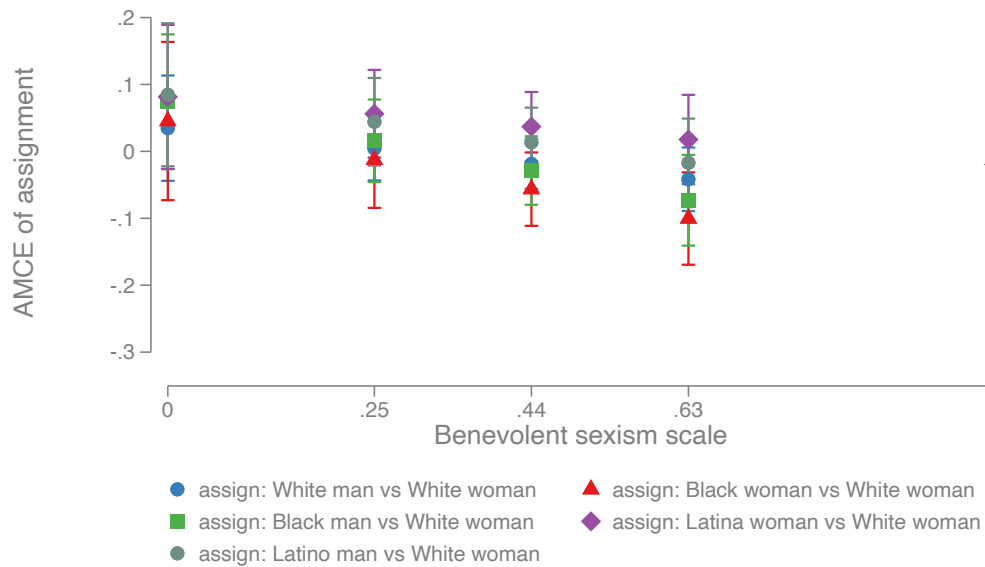AMCE of assignment at different levels benevolent sexism

Figure shows AMCEs and 95 percent confidence intervals at different levels of benevolent sexism
in OLS model that also includes hostile sexism, racial resentment, hispanic stereotype ratings, perceptions
immigrants hurt the economy, gender identity and education level. Run among White respondents
who passed a manipulation check. Data from 2019 MTurk survey experiment.

Figure A11