

IN-GROUP GENDER CONSCIOUSNESS AND WHITE WOMEN'S PERCEPTIONS OF  
RACISM

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A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES IN PARTIAL  
FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS

GRADUATE PROGRAM IN SOCIOLOGY

YORK UNIVERSITY

TORONTO, ONTARIO

September 2023

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## Abstract

The denial of racism is pervasive in our societies and has negative implications for anti-racist social change and cross-solidarity coalition building. In the U.S., White people are less likely to report that there is racial inequality compared to People of Color (POC). Previous research has identified marginalized group consciousness, preservation of the status quo through group presentation and group image, and critical knowledge of historical racism (i.e., the Marley hypothesis) as predictors of perceptions of racism. No previous study has explicitly explored the impact of White people's marginalized group consciousness on perceiving racism and how these other frameworks may contribute to that relationship. This study examines whether White American women's greater marginalized group consciousness in the form of gender consciousness (i.e., identifying as a feminist, perceiving gender discrimination, demonstrating pro-gender equality values) positively correlates with greater perceptions of racism. Specifically, I hypothesized that it would have a positive impact on their perception of (1) anti-Black, anti-Hispanic, and anti-Asian discrimination, (2) anti-Black racism as a systemic issue, and (3) anti-Black policing. I utilized data from the American National Election Study (2020) and conducted Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) analysis to study this connection. Each study's sample consisted of between 1,290 to 1,947 White American women. Overall, the results confirmed my hypothesis that there is a positive correlation between gender consciousness and perceptions of racism, as almost all aspects of gender consciousness significantly affected the group's perceptions of racism. I argued that the increased reporting of perceived racism is informed by a greater understanding of oppression overall, heightened motivation to recognize racism due to overlapping group interests, and exposure to mainstream feminism. The findings of this thesis contribute to the inquiry about perceived racism by being the first study to study the impact of

gender consciousness on perceptions of racism.

**Keywords:** perceived racism, denial of racism, recognition of racism, group consciousness, group interests, solidarity

## **Acknowledgement**

I am very grateful for the expertise and knowledge that my thesis committee has offered me. This endeavor would not have been possible without the support of my supervisor Professor Cary Wu. Thank you for providing guidance and mentorship throughout the process of developing this thesis. Special thanks to my second reader Professor Carmela Murdocca for offering helpful suggestions and support throughout the process as well. I would further like to thank my defence committee member Professor Jack Rozdilsky for contributing with helpful ideas and suggestions to develop my project. I am also very thankful for the informative comments I received from colleagues at the Canadian Sociological Association (CSA) Conference 2023, where I presented parts of my thesis research. I am further thankful for the guidance and support that Professor Luin Goldring provided during the early stages of my thesis proposal. Additionally, I would like to recognize the support I received from my peers through feedback and discussion sessions in class. I would also like to thank Dr. Ali Hadidi at York University's Writing Centre for providing constructive feedback on my writing. I would also like to highlight the helpfulness and support of our Graduate Program Administrator Audrey Tokiwa, thank you for patiently helping me navigate this process! Thanks should also go to my lovely partner Soheil for offering endless support and encouragement.

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## Introduction

This thesis explores whether White women's gender group consciousness is associated with their perception of racial discrimination, anti-Black systemic racism, and anti-Black racist policing. Perceptions of racism and racial discrimination reveal individuals' understanding that Black, Indigenous, and People of Color (BIPOC) face adversity in society. A public that holds a strong perception of racism facing historically colonized and racialized groups is more likely to support efforts to decrease racial inequality through, for example, equity-affirming policies (Brodish, Brazy, and Devine, 2008; DeBell, 2017). There is also potential for solidarity and coalition-building when individuals recognize out-group oppression (e.g., Ferree & Roth, 1998; Mays, 2021).

In the US, the ideology of colorblindness and denial of racism have greatly influenced the media and public discussions on racism and anti-racist work in recent years. This discourse is exemplified by the banning of books on issues of racism, such as the civil rights movement, in American school libraries (Harris & Alter, 2022). Institutional racism, particularly anti-Black police violence, has also gained more media attention in recent years through the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement (Lebron, 2023). Compared to People of Color (POC), White Americans tend to be less perceptive of existing racial discrimination and racism in general (e.g., Greene, 2020; Lopez, 2009), and of institutional as opposed to interpersonal racism (e.g., Bonilla-Silva, 2006; Salter, Adams & Perez, 2018). Whites also report lower perceptions of racist policing (e.g., Nelson, Sanbonmatsu & McClerking, 2007; Yuan, Wu, & Melde, 2022). However, little research has explored how gender identity, and specifically gender consciousness, can shape White Americans' perceptions of racism.

Previous research shows that White women that score higher on certain aspects of in-group gender consciousness (i.e., feminist identity and perceiving sexism) report greater perceptions of racism (e.g., Banks et al., 2014; Yoon et al., 2013). This thesis seeks to fully explore the impact of the three core aspects of gender consciousness (i.e., feminist identity, perceived gender discrimination, and gender equality values). Specifically, I aim to explore whether White women's in-group gender consciousness can improve their perceptions of racism in the US. Exploring White women's perception of racism offers an interesting approach for two reasons. First, while strong identification with Whiteness decreases Whites' perceptions of racism (Bonam et al., 2019), gender consciousness can improve perceptions of racism (e.g., Banks et al., 2014; Yoon et al., 2013). Second, compared to White men, White women have been less scrutinized as aggressors and enablers of racism (Schuller, 2021). Group consciousness theory offers a framework to explore how White women's gender awareness and group interests may improve their perceptions of racism. Awareness of racism, in turn, reflects an aspect of White women's racial out-group consciousness. This study is the first that explicitly explores the impact of in-group consciousness on perceptions of racism.

This study addresses whether White women's greater gender in-group consciousness can improve their perceptions of three areas of racism in the US. Namely (1) anti-Asian, anti-Hispanic, and anti-Black racial discrimination, (2) anti-Black racism as a systemic issue, and (3) anti-Black racism in the police system. I investigate these relationships by analyzing survey data from the American National Election Study (ANES) 2020. I will measure the statistical impact of each aspect of in-group gender consciousness (i.e., feminist identity, perceived gender discrimination, pro-gender equality values) on the factors measuring perceptions of the aforementioned forms of

racism. In doing so, this study provides reliable evidence of the potential impact of White women's gender in-group consciousness.

This thesis is divided into five major parts. In the Introduction, I will outline the theoretical frameworks that have previously addressed perceptions of racism and how I build on these frameworks in analyzing all three empirical studies I conduct. I also highlight in-group versus out-group consciousness and the possible implications of White women's gender group consciousness on their perceptions of racism. Next, in Chapter 1, I explore whether White women's gender consciousness shapes their perception of anti-Asian, anti-Hispanic, and anti-Black discrimination. This exploration highlights how the Black/White paradigm shapes White women's view of different forms of group-specific racial discrimination. In Chapter 2, I specifically study the impact of White women's gender group consciousness on their perception of anti-Black racism as a systemic issue. This research further centers a crucial component of how White women make sense of racial inequality facing Black Americans. In Chapter 3, I further explore White women's perception of anti-Black racism in the police system and whether their gender group consciousness can improve this perception. Racist anti-Black policing illustrates an example of institutional anti-Black racism, which strongly builds on the findings in Chapter 2. Finally, in the "General Discussion" and "Conclusion" sections, I provide a general discussion and conclusion of the findings from all three empirical studies.

### **Methodology statement**

In this thesis, I acknowledge the social construction nature of race and gender. My research also draws heavily from the field of Critical Whiteness Studies (CWS) and, in particular, its objective to make visible the social construction of whiteness as a way to challenge white supremacy (e.g., Dyer, 2017; Frankenberg, 1993). Social constructivism was first theorized in the 1960s by Berger

and Luckmann (1966). Later works started to build in the dimension of race and gender among Black women (Geddings, 1984), which in turn inspired Frankenberg's (1993) work on White women. Frankenberg's life-history interview study revealed that just like other racialized groups, white women reproduce their whiteness through cultural practices, and she echoed Black critics' (e.g., Jackson, 1973) emphasis on de-centering whiteness by naming such process. As a group, white women's enablement of white supremacy has largely been ignored in dominant platforms due to their marginalization by gender. It is however evident through, for example, their opposition of the racial equality movement in the 1920's to the 1970's (McRae, 2018) and their construction and entertainment of white feminism (Moon & Holling, 2020). Through studying white women specifically, we may make white women's role in reproducing racism further visible, which can provide useful knowledge about how to dismantle this ideology.

De-centering whiteness has been a key objective in the feminist movement since the third wave, as white women's experience was presented as the default experience of womanhood (Schuller, 2021). There is also bias in academic research, as for instance, women of color (WOC) are underrepresented in clinical health research (Bierer et al., 2022). While these points address the harm of centering white women as the "default" women, it is crucial to note that one issue at bay is the unnamed status of whiteness. In other words, it is not necessarily the research that focuses on white women itself that causes harm if accompanied by a dominant focus on studies de-centering white women<sup>1</sup>. The heightened research focus on WOC and their experiences, as well as the positionality of WOC, is vital, and studies on white women should not be more prominent than studies on WOC. I am here arguing for the usefulness of naming and exploring whiteness as

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<sup>1</sup> Given the long history of white-centered research, to center these studies is a longstanding project of great importance.

a part of research on racism, *in addition* to scholarship that necessarily centers and names the experiences of marginalized groups as a part of the de-centering of white womanhood and centering of WOC.

Here, 'race' is understood as a current recording of a historical and social process, i.e., racialization. My study is situated in the current social context of the US, so I am mainly referring to groups that are recognized as racialized (e.g., 'White,' 'Black,' and 'Asian') in this historical moment as recorded in the data (Brubaker, 2006). Racialization is an active process (ibid.), and it is important to contextualize and distinguish the current moment from past moments. For instance, there is a great difference in how different groups were recognized before colonialism, as compared to when different groups eventually were deemed "White," such as the Irish (Douglas, 2002) and Swedes (Lundström & Teitelbaum, 2017). Although the variable 'race' is treated as a part of an independent variable in my analyses, this is done in reference to the currently dominant racialization of groups in the US, which is shaped by sociocultural, economic, and historical processes. Throughout my thesis, I aim to avoid essentialist categorization as I approach race as a conjunctural product of racialization. "White," "Black," and other racialized groups are capitalized throughout the thesis to highlight the social construction of racialization (Painter, 2020).

## Literature review

Overall, POC report greater perceptions of racism compared to White people (Greene, 2020).

White people also tend to report better perceptions of interpersonal racism as opposed to structural and systemic racism (e.g., Bonilla-Silva, 2006; Salter, Adams & Perez, 2018). While White Americans can enable their privilege by denying racism, other racial groups, such as Black and Asian people, can all employ similar strategies to enable the status quo by denying racism.

There are three major theories that scholars have developed to explain why some people perceive racism in our society while others do not. In this section, I discuss how these theories on perceptions of racism may be fruitful for my analysis. This section mainly describes how gender group consciousness may relate to white women's perception of racism. Furthermore, I will discuss how other core theories of group-presentation and group-image, as well as the Marley hypothesis, are connected to my theorization of the impact of gender consciousness. The aim is to connect how gender in-group consciousness may relate to one aspect of out-group consciousness (i.e., perceived racism). By providing a discussion on the development, adoption, and criticism of these theories, I am able to ground the analysis of my three empirical studies (see Chapters 1, 2, and 3) in a thoroughly examined understanding of what shapes perceptions of racism. Finally, I present a summary of the relevance that these points provide for my research project.

**The first framework** is the consciousness of one's social positioning, which is also tied to experiences with oppression. In the literature, the study of this concept is mainly built on group consciousness theory (Miller, Gurin, Gurin, & Malanchuk, 1981). Group consciousness is a theory that explores group members' identification with and support of either their group's privileged position or opposition to their marginalized position (Miller et al., 1981). At the core of contemporary group consciousness theory, an over five decades-long rich volume of research

has established that race or gender alone does not predict political behaviors as strongly as group consciousness (e.g., Bejarano et al., 2021; Dawson 1994; Hochschild 1995; Marsh & Ramirez, 2019). Within the literature on group consciousness, political behavior has mainly been conceptualized as voting (Miller et al., 1981; Stokes-Brown, 2006) and policy preferences (Dawson, 1994; Hochschild, 1995). Recent studies on group consciousness have focused more on intersectional identities (e.g., Curtin, Nair & Okuyan, 2020; Nair & Vollhardt, 2020) beyond solely focusing on race or gender (e.g., Jardina & Mickey, 2022; Ruppanner et al., 2019). Instead of centering political behavior specifically, my thesis will explore how group consciousness can impact perceptions of racism, which in turn has important policy implications (Adams et al., 2008).

A key debate within the study of group consciousness concerns which factors that shape group consciousness. The consensus of what group consciousness consists of rests on three pillars across research on racialized and gendered identities. The first one is group identification, followed by perceived oppression, and finally, values or attitudes towards said oppression (Miller et al., 1981). However, research on racial group consciousness focuses on additional characteristics such as competitive tendencies (e.g., Citrin & Sears, 2014). Both identification with womanhood and feminism has previously been used to measure the identity aspects of gender consciousness (e.g., Henderson-King & Stewart, 1994). The latter has been found to relate more to other aspects of gender consciousness and the protection of group interests overall (Mikołajczak, Becker, & Iyer, 2022). Gender group consciousness is therefore conceptualized in my thesis as identifying as a feminist, perceiving gender discrimination, and having pro-gender equality values.

Different experiences with oppression – not just racism or specific forms of racism – can improve perceptions of both in-group and out-group racism. In this sense, developing a group consciousness can be impactful. For instance, Black people have reported a greater perception of anti-Asian discrimination than Asians in the US (Wu & Kim, 2023). Moreover, people who have experienced racism are more likely to perceive racist policing (Yuan, Wu, & Melde, 2022). Similarly, racial group consciousness has been found to impact Black and Latinx Americans' perception of racist policing (Barboza, 2012; Russel & Garrand, 2023). Aspects of gender group consciousness, such as feminist identity (Banks et al., 2014; Harbin & Margolis, 2022) and perception of sexism (Harnois, 2017; Yoon et al., 2013) has also been found to improve White women's perception of racism overall. This indicates that a group's consciousness of in-group oppression may transcend the ability to detect similar patterns of oppression facing other groups. The ability to perceive oppression beyond the marginalization of one's own group has important implications for solidarity. For instance, this has been demonstrated within social movements that shape community organizing and can impact public policy (e.g., Ferree & Roth, 1998; Mays, 2021). Proximity to someone who experiences racism can also improve perceptions of racism as found among White people in interracial relationships (Vasquez, 2014). However, the “racial equivalence” notion has been used by some White folks to claim that they, too, are victims of racism. This phenomenon is known as “reverse racism” (Song, 2014). Scholars have found that belief in "reverse racism," or "racism facing White people," limits Whites' perceptions of actual racism (e.g., Carter & Murphy, 2015; Norton & Sommers, 2011). In this sense, self-reported victimization by racism improves perceptions of racism while it declines Whites' perceptions of racism.

Consciousness may also help to explicate the role of belonging to dominant political groups. While Manning, Harmann, and Gerteis (2015) found that Black Americans view racism as more systemic than White Americans, they found that these differences were smaller than what previous studies have demonstrated. They demonstrated that although Black people are more likely to reject colorblind ideology, both Black and White Americans subscribe to abstract liberalism (i.e., individualist belief system). Notably, social dominance orientation has also been found to decrease White folks' ability to perceive institutional racism facing Black people (Marshburn, Reinkensmeyer, & Knowles, 2022). White conservative Protestants tend to have a more individualistic, rather than structural, perception of racism compared to other Whites (Emerson & Sikkink, 1999). Social identity has also been found to strongly impact perceptions of the police, even beyond race, in both the US (Perry & Whitehead, 2019; Toosi, Layous, & Reevy, 2021) and in Australia (Oliveira & Murphy, 2015). For instance, Christian nationalist identity increases the probability of believing that police treat black and Whites equally. Further, it is also associated with justifying anti-Black police violence by stereotyping Black folks as violent compared to Whites. These findings extended beyond the impact of conservative ideological beliefs and racialized group membership (Perry & Whitehead, 2019). Patriotism also strongly shapes positive views of the police, such as that they are treating everyone fairly and that they are not discriminating. These results were consistent for both Black and White people, while Black participants overall reported more negative views of the police (Taylor & Wilcox, 2021). On the other hand, liberals view more racism in the police, but White privilege reading sessions improved perceptions among both liberals and conservatives (Cooley, Brown-Iannuzzi, & Cottrell, 2019).

Overall, White women's consciousness of the oppression they experience in patriarchy may build an awareness of key components of oppression that can make it easier for them to detect certain similarities in oppressive tactics. For example, if they are conscious of gender discrimination in the workplace regarding salary, they may be better equipped to notice racial discrimination regarding salary. Notably, the sexism that White women face and anti-Black, anti-Hispanic, and anti-Asian racism all have different historical and contemporary contexts and characteristics. In this sense, the lived experience of racism can never be reflected in a different form of oppression by a person who is racialized as White.

**The second framework** is self- or group-image and self- or group-presentation in favor of the status quo (i.e., White hegemony). The purpose of minimizing or denying racism to uphold a certain self-image is to keep oneself comfortable as a "good" and "not racist" person. Self-presentation, in turn, is simply the manifestation of this self-image in interactions with others. These tactics can be understood as protecting group interests for those who benefit most economically and socially from racism. While White people are obviously privileged in white hegemony, other racialized groups can also have self-interest in favor of this system depending on the context. In this sense, White hegemony is a system that mainly benefits White Americans socially and economically, but also other groups based on the context due to proximity to Whiteness.<sup>2</sup> Additionally, self-presentation leading to an expressed denial of racism can also be a result of internalized racism in the form of colorblind ideology (e.g., Fernandes, 2017; Neville, Coleman, Falconer & Holmes, 2005; Speight, Hewitt, & Cook, 2016). For instance, Asian

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<sup>2</sup> The model minority myth exemplifies the Whiteness proximity as it narrates that Asian Americans work "just like White Americans" to gain wealth through "individual success" (Yi & Museus, 2015). Another example is how colorism favors features and skin tones of BIPOC that are in closer proximity to White beauty standards (e.g., pale skin, slim bodies) (Jones, 2019).

Americans have been found to internalize the model minority myth and display colorblind and anti-Black attitudes (Yi & Todd, 2021). Another example is how internalized racism among Black people can make them more accepting of colorism (Maxwell et al., 2015). Due to this conundrum, both Whites and other racial groups may use tactics of self-image and self-presentation to deny the occurrence of racism in order to uphold the status quo.

Within POC communities, there are also differences in reported perceptions of racism based on immigration history and other related factors. Native-born POC in Western countries tends to report greater perceptions of racism compared to Immigrants of Color (IOC). Scholars have found that identity negotiations, for instance, race and nationality, complicate how IOC may describe or report their perceptions and experiences with racism. For instance, a small-scale qualitative study revealed that immigrants from Zimbabwe reported relatively low perceptions of racism in the UK. However, further interview dialogue revealed that this was due to their complex identity negotiations. For instance, without UK citizenship, they were hesitant to complain, and furthermore, they compared racism in the UK with economic inequality in their home country. The latter factor was then used to justify their immigration journey by downplaying the racism they perceived abroad (Hall, 2023). Additionally, due to the power dynamics of racism, it is much more socially costly to address issues of racism for POC as they may get black-listed, stereotyped, and accused of using the 'race card' as if their concerns are not legitimate (Eddo-Lodge, 2017; Dunn & Jacqueline, 2011). Further, Whiteness being the norm is reinforced through White-centric perspectives dominating mainstream platforms such as the media, where perspectives of POC tend to be marginalized or tokenized in favor of White hegemony (Ward, 2008). Similarly, low rates of perceiving racism beyond the interpersonal form may be explicated by its direct visibility through interpersonal interaction and overtly racist

events and behaviors (by extremists in particular) commonly shared in traditional media (Eddo-Lodge, 2017). This form of socialization can make it difficult for any person, especially those more privileged, to perceive racial inequality overall. Conversely, Knowles et al. (2014) argued against the idea that Whites do not notice their privileges as they are normalized (i.e., the "invisibility thesis"). Instead, they held that "Whites frequently behave in ways that presuppose cognizance of Whiteness and the privileges it confers."

Racism can also be difficult to recognize when people do not view themselves, and others, as potential "racists" or "extremists". In turn, this has resulted in both non-extremists and people who are engaged in far-right extremism, to deny, and being denied any association with racism even if evidence of such incidents or behaviors is presented (e.g., Hagren, 2019; Lentin, 2018). This also extends to attempts to control the narrative of spaces as "non-racist" or even "anti-racist" (Nelson, 2014). A presupposition for denial of racism is a negative view of racially marginalized people, which clashes with "dominant democratic and humanitarian norms and ideals" (Van Dijk, 1992). This may explain the policing of what in particular dominant groups deem as "racist" or not. Anti-racist self-images are "maintained through the strategy to deny racism and accusations of racism" (Hagren, 2019). As previously discussed, while Whites mainly practice this, this can also extend to POC, whether that is, for instance, due to internalized racism or to uphold certain privileges (e.g., colorist privileges).

Whites' lack of cognizance of their racial identity, whether actual or just reported, limits them from recognizing White privilege (Knowles et al., 2014). However, recognizing White privilege may require a greater racial identity as it centers the harmfulness of the oppressor, while recognizing racism may be "easier" as it does not necessarily require as much reflection of one's own positionality and privilege. Centering the marginalized groups' disadvantages (as opposed to

the privileged groups' advantages) informs the delegitimization of these groups' systemic inequality. This “(dis)advantage frame” has been utilized strategically by the media (Jun, Chow, Maurits van der Veen, and Bleich, 2022) to inform threat perceptions (Dover, 2022), which in turn negatively influenced views on White privilege (Lowery, Knowles, and Unzueta, 2007). The denial of racism to protect the dominant group’s self-image and presentation as morally “good” is reflected by regular people as well as those with authority (Dijk, 2002). Systemic racism is actively, explicitly, and publicly questioned by those in power by well-known politicians and journalists (Ng & Lam, 2020) as well as healthcare leaders (Iacobucci, 2021). Furthermore, perceiving systemic and especially institutional racism forces us to acknowledge these problems of institutions that are the core of Western society, such as federal agencies, health care, and the police system. This can be a difficult reality to face as it clashes with the imagination of multiculturalism and equality that we are socialized to believe that these institutions are actively working on (Van Dijk, 1992).

In this thesis, perceiving racism is differentiated from recognizing racism. Self-reported perceptions may not reflect actual awareness but attitudes or negotiations of one’s self-image or self-presentation. In this sense, by recognizing racism, individuals acknowledge the occurrence of racism, while self-reported perceptions may not truly reflect what they perceive. I argue that shared group interests may increase White women’s motivation to recognize racism as they may see the value of coalition building and solidarity work. In this sense, as their gender consciousness increases, I theorize that their perception and motivation to recognize racism will increase. In other words, they would be less likely to adjust their self-presentation and self-image in favor of White hegemony by denying or minimizing the occurrence of racism in society.

**The third framework** consists of the Marley hypothesis. This concept explains a lack of perceived racism, in particular racism as a systemic issue, by a lack of knowledge of racial history. One study found that a lack of knowledge about the history of racism explicates Whites' interpersonal, as opposed to a systemic, view of racism (Rucker & Richeson, 2021). Zell and Lesick (2022) further found that White republicans reported less knowledge of historical racism and less individual *and* systemic racism as compared to White democrats. Among undergraduate students, Whites perceive less racism overall and have less of a systemic view as compared to Black students. Following the Marley hypothesis, this was mediated by Whites' low historical knowledge of racism. Moreover, racial identity was also of importance as those with higher scores also reported a low perception of systemic racism (Nelson, Adams & Salter, 2013). Onyeador et al. (2021) found that while receiving information about the history of racism improves perceptions of anti-racist progress, this was due to downplaying historical racist events rather than more strongly affirming racism in the present. Similarly, Black people have been found to perceive past racism to be much worse than Whites, which creates a challenge as to what the groups believe is needed to change to achieve racial equality (DeBell, 2017). Racial prejudice has also been linked to these differences in view of racial progress (Brodish, Brazy, & Devine, 2008). Nonetheless, various interventions throughout the literature have been found to positively impact the perception of racial inequality among Whites. Examples include educational sessions on White privilege (Lopez, 2009; Stewart et al., 2012), particularly among social conservatives (Cooley, Brown-Jannuzzi & Cottrell, 2019), Black History Month dissemination education from critical sources (Salter, 2010), and intergroup dialogue (Aldana et al., 2012).

While knowledge production about racial history has been found to improve Whites' perceptions of racism as a systemic issue, the *context* of this knowledge production has not previously been

addressed. I would like to highlight the potential knowledge production that may take place in feminist spaces. The feminist identity of White women with greater gender consciousness would make them more likely to take part in these spaces. The increased focus on intersectionality within mainstream feminist spaces since the third wave can potentially improve White women's perceptions of racism (Crenshaw, 2017). Other aspects of group consciousness (i.e., perceived gender discrimination and pro-gender equality values) may have similar effects, given the strong correlation between these variables. It is, however, notable that the knowledge that White women may acquire from mainstream feminist movements may be limited unless it truly reflects the original sources (e.g., BLM, Idle No More).

## My contribution

Considering the discussed points in this literature review, I argue that gender group consciousness can be a fruitful framework for understanding what may shape White women's perceptions of racism. This research project offers an opportunity to explore whether in-group gender consciousness can transcend to improved perceptions of racism. The connection to the previous literature is threefold. Firstly, a consciousness of sexism has the potential to improve White women's ability to detect familiar patterns of out-group oppression in the form of racism. Secondly, heightened consciousness may lead to identification of shared group interests and a solidarity mindset may motivate recognition of racism as it becomes less attractive to uphold patriarchy and racism by denying it. And finally, progressive changes within the mainstream feminist movement, since the third wave, hold the potential to contribute to knowledge acquisition on racial issues that generally have been found to improve perceptions of racism as a systemic issue.

One of the main strengths of group consciousness theory is its focus on how group members relate to their group membership, enabling analysis beyond social positioning. When we understand how group members relate to their group membership, we may be able to explain differences in behaviors that cannot be understood solely by social positioning. Group consciousness offers an analytical toolkit that can examine to what extent group members may perceive or act in their group's interests or not. The development of an intersectional lens has further problematized this by exploring how actors' group awareness may differ based on their various intersectional identities (Crowder, 2023). It is, in particular, this more recent trajectory of the framework that informs my thesis project. I believe that it enables an exploration of the impact of White women's group membership at the intersection of gender, which is shaped by racialization.

In this study, I further distinguish between in-group and out-group consciousness. In-group consciousness refers to the traditional conceptualization of "group consciousness" that concern how individuals relate to the oppression of their own social group membership (Miller et al., 1981). By out-group consciousness, I am referring to how individuals relate in regard to the oppression of social out-group members. Previous studies have explored aspects of out-group consciousness (i.e., awareness of racism) in relation to aspects of in-group gender consciousness (i.e., feminist identity or perceived sexism) (e.g., Banks et al., 2014; Harnois, 2017). However, no study has explicitly investigated the potential relationship between in-group and out-group consciousness. In this study, I explore not only in-group consciousness (i.e., gender group consciousness) but I also investigate its impact on an aspect of out-group consciousness (i.e., perceived racism). Overall, it seems that gender group consciousness may not only increase awareness of racism but it may also increase White women's motivation to *recognize* racism. I

have also highlighted the potential knowledge acquirement that may take place in mainstream feminist spaces due to their increased intersectionality focus. Based on this theoretical background, I expect that:

***H1:** White women with greater gender consciousness will report greater perceptions of anti-Black, anti-Hispanic, and anti-Asian discrimination, respectively.*

***H2:** White women with greater gender consciousness will report greater perceptions of anti-Black racism as a systemic issue.*

***H3:** White women with greater gender consciousness will report greater perceptions of anti-Black racist policing.*

## **Chapter 1: Do White women's gender group consciousness shape their perceptions of anti-Black, anti-Hispanic, and anti-Asian discrimination?**

### **Introduction**

In this chapter, I investigate whether White women's gender group consciousness shapes their perception of anti-Black, anti-Hispanic, and anti-Asian discrimination. I expect that their gender consciousness levels may shift both their group-presentation and consciousness in regard to perceived racial discrimination. White women may notice more discrimination facing Black, Hispanic, and Asian people, as they are able to notice the oppression they face themselves through sexism. They may also be more motivated to recognize racial discrimination if they notice similarities in oppression which may reveal shared group interests and the potential of solidarity. Moreover, feminist identity specifically may also contribute to better perceptions of racial discrimination due to the increased focus on intersectionality in the mainstream feminist movement (Crenshaw, 2017).

Specifically, I seek to address the following question: *Do White women who have stronger gender group consciousness also have stronger perceptions of racial discrimination facing Black, Hispanic, and Asian people in the US?*

Through exploring perceptions of different group-specific racism, we can compare how the impact of group consciousness may vary depending on the group in question. The visibility of anti-Hispanic, particularly anti-Black discrimination, is more prominent in mainstream institutions, platforms, and the media, compared to anti-Asian discrimination (Lee, 2022).

However, the rise of anti-Asian racism in relation to the Covid-19 pandemic has increased the focus on anti-Asian racism as well (ibid.). Previous research has illustrated that experiences with

other forms of oppression, and not just racism, can improve perceptions of anti-Asian discrimination (Wu & Kim, 2023) and racism overall (Banks et al., 2014; Yoon et al., 2013).

Few studies have explored how perceptions of different forms of racism (e.g., anti-Black, anti-Asian racism) may differ and why, which is reflective of the Black/White paradigm. This paradigm illustrates the academic, political, and public discourse on racism as constituted by binary dynamics of White and Black people solely in the US, with other racialized groups being understood at best relationally, and at worst peripherally, to these main groups (Alcoff, 2013). Through the Black/White paradigm, groups other than Black and White are further "unseen," which may decline the perception of the racism these groups face. Conversely, a denial of the more visible racism that, for instance, Black people face may highlight racist ideas about why there is racial inequality in society. This can be exemplified by cultural racism and the model minority myth. Both of these concepts affirm individualism and use individuals' ability to thrive despite oppression to justify the idea that racial inequality would not be a problem in our society. Cultural racism is an example of "modern" or "new racism," which is constituted by covert expressions of racial oppression (Kandola, 2018). In the US, an example of cultural anti-Black racism is to view Ebonics as unprofessional or not 'proper' English when used by Black Americans (Kendi, 2019, p. 83). This form of cultural racism has been used to justify, for instance, anti-Black work discrimination (ibid.). Further, Latinx Americans are also often subjected to cultural racism and have their diversity homogenized and viewed as "foreign" (Lacayo, 2017). On the other hand, Asian Americans are stereotyped through the model minority myth, which inherently addresses experiences with racism as an obstacle that subjects individually overcome (Yi & Museus, 2015). Through this individualistic lens, not only anti-Asian racism but all forms of racism are viewed as something to individually "overcome"

through individual exceptionalism and not something to dismantle systemically (ibid.). In this sense, the model minority myth functions as a harmful stereotype for all POC as it inherently rejects the idea of racism as a systemic issue. As noted, it is expected that White women, just like other studied groups, will have lower perceptions of anti-Asian discrimination due to the lack of visibility in the mainstream.

This study utilizes data from the American National Election Study (ANES) 2020 to explore the impact of White women's gender consciousness on their perceptions of anti-Black, anti-Hispanic, and anti-Asian discrimination. The sample consists of a nationally representative sample of 1,947 White women.

## Data and methods

To explore how White women's gender consciousness may relate to their perception of racial discrimination, I utilize data from the American National Election Study (ANES) 2020. The purpose of ANES is to conduct data for analysis of public opinion and voting behavior during presidential elections in the US. The post-election data was collected from November 8<sup>th</sup>, 2020, until January 4<sup>th</sup>, 2021. A total of 8,617 respondents participated in the post-election survey that mainly drew from the pre-election participation pool, whereas a representative sample of 1,947 White Women from the pre-and follow-up post-election survey will be included in the analysis. The data file is available for download from the ANES 2020 website (<https://electionstudies.org>). A descriptive summary is included of all the main variables in Table 1. All analysis was weighted with the individual post-election "V200010b" weight variable according to ANES standards, and all analysis was conducted in R Studio. Table 1 shows descriptions of the key variables and the coding.

## **Dependent variable**

The outcome variables, which are operationalized as the perception of anti-Black, anti-Hispanic, and Anti-Asian discrimination, are drawn from the survey questions “How much discrimination is there in the United States today against [Blacks/Hispanics/Asians]?”. The answer options included "None at all," 'A little,' 'A moderate amount,' 'A lot,' and 'A great deal.'

## **Main predictor variable**

*Feminist identity* was measured by asking respondents if they consider themselves to be a feminist or an anti-feminist, where the answer options included "Feminist," "Anti-feminist," and "Neither ."I recoded this variable into a dummy variable where "0" represented "anti-feminist," "neither," and "1" represented identifying as a "feminist ."I utilize “feminist identity” as opposed to "woman identity" as it has been found to more strongly relate to other factors of gender group consciousness (Henderson-King & Stewart, 1994). Feminist identity also correlates more strongly with the protection of group interests (Mikołajczak, Becker, & Iyer, 2022), which is a core aspect of group consciousness theory overall.

*Perception of gender discrimination.* The variable ‘perception of gender discrimination’ is the key predictor variable that the survey question will measure 'How much *DISCRIMINATION* is there in the United States today against [women]?', where the answer options were “A great deal," "A lot," "A moderate amount," "A little," and "None at all ."I reversed these values.

*Pro-gender equality values* were measured by the research question "When women demand equality these days, how often are they actually seeking special favors?" with the answer options "Never," "Some of the time," "About half of the time," "Most of the time," and "Always ."I reversed these values.

## **The control variables**

**Political affiliation** was measured by asking participants to place themselves on a seven-point scale ranging from "extremely liberal" to "extremely conservative ."I reversed these values.

**Educational attainment** was measured on a scale of "Less than high school credential," "High school credential," "Some post-high school, no bachelor's degree," "Bachelor's degree," and "Graduate degree ."The education variables that were collected through online surveys or over the telephone were recoded into one variable.

**Employment status** was measured on a scale of "Working now," "Temporarily laid off," "unemployed," "retired," "permanently disabled," "homemaker," and "student" (with the latter four options including those who work less than 20hrs/pk). I recoded these values into "1" as "Temporarily laid off"/"Unemployed," "2" as all values indicating working less than 20 hours, and "3" as "Working now" (reflecting full-time employment).

Total **family income** was measured on a 22-point scale ranging from "Under \$9,999" to "\$250,000 or more". I recoded these values based on standard income categorization (Walrack, 2023); "1" as "low income" ( $\leq$ \$49,999), "2" as "middle income" ( $\leq$ \$149,999), and "3" as "high income" ( $\geq$ \$150,000).

**The region** was collected in regard to whether the respondent resided in "1" as "South," "2" as "Midwest," "3" as "West," or "4" as "Northeast" in the US I recoded these values to reflect more liberal regions (Pew Research Center, 2014).

**Experience(s) with sexism** was measured with the question, "How much discrimination have you personally experienced because of your sex or gender?". The answer options included ranged on a five-point scale from "A great deal" to "None at all" I reversed these values.

***Interracial relationship*** status was measured by the inquiry of the race/ethnicity of the respondent's spouse or partner. The answer options included "White, non-Hispanic," "Black, non-Hispanic," "Hispanic," and "Asian, Native Hawaiian/other Pacific Islander, Native American/Alaska Native or multiple races, non-Hispanic ."I recoded this into a dummy variable where "0" reflected no interracial relationship "(i.e., White, non-Hispanic partner) and "1" reflected interracial relationship (i.e., all other values).

***The following question measured experience (s) with sexual harassment*** in the workplace, "Have you ever personally experienced sexual harassment at work or not?". The answer options were "Have" and "Have not ." I utilized this as a dummy variable and reversed the values.

***Age*** was collected from age 18-80, and I recoded this variable into three values where "1" reflected age 18-39, "2" reflected age "40-59", and "3" reflected age 60-80. These values were based on common categorizations of adult years reflecting "young," "middle age," and "old age" (Lachman, 2001).

***Table 1. Descriptive statistics of main variables***

<b><i>Variable</i></b>	<b><i>Coding scheme</i></b>	<b><i>Mean/Frequency</i></b>	<b><i>SD</i></b>
<i>Perceived anti-Black discrimination</i>	1 = None at all, to 5 = A great deal	3.456	1.074
<i>Perceived anti-Hispanic discrimination</i>	1 = None at all, to 5 = A great deal	3.064	0.962
<i>Perceived anti-Asian discrimination</i>	1 = None at all, to 5 = A great deal	2.618	0.858

<i>Feminist identity</i>	0 = non-feminist, 1 = feminist	0.292	0.455
<i>Perceived gender discrimination</i>	1 = None at all, to 5 = A great deal	2.799	1.074
<i>Gender equality values</i>	1 = Always, to 5 = Never	4.131	0.939

### Plan of analysis

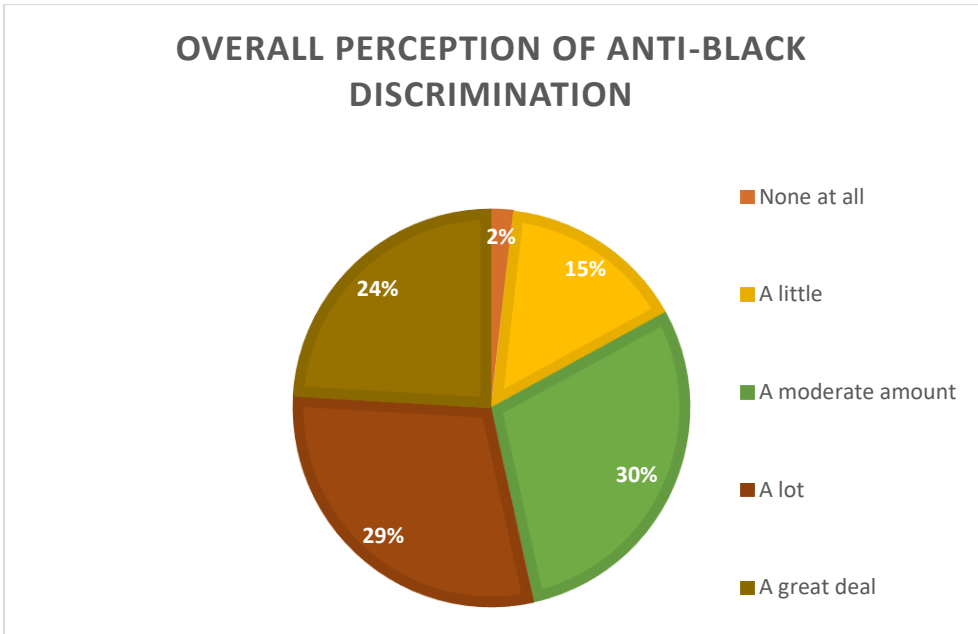
My analysis includes several steps. First, I will show descriptive statistics of the perceptions of all the key variables (see Table 1). Secondly, I run individual cross-tabulations of all three predictor variables to test whether they relate to the outcome variable. Then, I will conduct an OLS regression to demonstrate the relationship between gender group consciousness and perception of racial discrimination. I additionally utilized two groups of control variables in the analysis that were curated after a test of multicollinearity so that highly correlated variables would not be included in the same regression. Group 1 control for age, education, region, and frequency of experiences with sexism. Group 2 controls for employment, income, interracial relationship, and experience with sexual harassment in the workplace.

### Results

Figure 1 depicts the overall distribution of perception of anti-Black, anti-Hispanic, and anti-Asian discrimination among White American women. Overall, for anti-Black discrimination, 30%

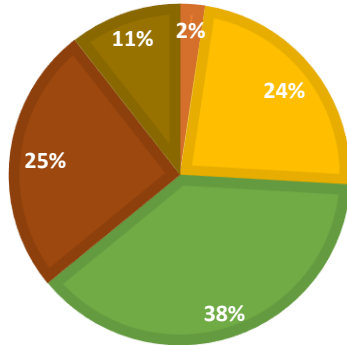
perceived a moderate amount, 29% perceived a lot, 24% perceived a great deal, 15% perceived a little, and merely 2% perceived none at all. In regard to anti-Hispanic discrimination, overall, 38% perceived a moderate amount, 25% perceived a lot, 24% perceived a little, 11% perceived a great deal, and merely 2% perceived none at all. For anti-Asian discrimination, overall, around two-fifths (41%) perceived a little or a moderate amount (38%), respectively, while 11% perceived a lot and merely 5% perceived a great deal or none at all respectively. As would be expected based on the literature on the model minority myth (Yi & Museus, 2015) and the Black/White paradigm (Alcoff, 2013), White women's perception of anti-Asian discrimination is comparably much lower. Specifically, the group's view of anti-Black discrimination is generally the strongest, while their view of anti-Hispanic discrimination is weaker, but not as weak as their view of anti-Asian discrimination.

*Figure 1. Differences in perceived racial discrimination*



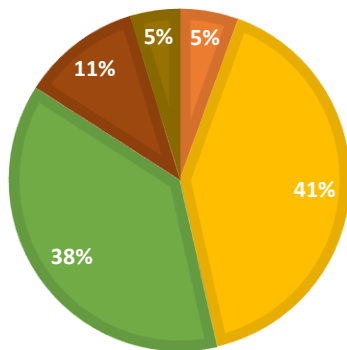
### OVERALL PERCEPTION OF ANTI-HISPANIC DISCRIMINATION

None at all   A little   A moderate amount   A lot   A great deal



### OVERALL PERCEPTION OF ANTI-ASIAN DISCRIMINATION

None at all   A little   A moderate amount   A lot   A great deal



To test the correlation between White women's gender consciousness and their perception of racial discrimination, I will now move on to the cross-tabulations to test the significance of their relationship. Overall, the majority of the sample (67.1%) identified as non-feminists, while 32.9% identified as feminists.

In regard to perceived anti-Black discrimination (see Table 2), it is only at the “highest” perception that feminists were in the majority (69.8%), as compared to non-feminists (30.2%). Among those with the "lowest" perception of anti-Black discrimination, the vast majority (95.8%) identified as non-feminists and 4.2% identified as feminists. Similarly, among those with "low" perceptions, the vast majority (95.2%) identified as non-feminists, and 4.8% identified as feminists. It was also the majority (85.2%) of those with "medium" perceptions who identified as non-feminists as opposed to feminists (14.8%). Among those with "high" perceptions, the difference was less significant as 59.1% were non-feminists, and around two-fifths (40.9%) were feminists.

**Table 2. White women’s feminist identity vs. perception of anti-Black discrimination**

<b>Perceived anti-Black discrimination</b>	<b>Feminist identity</b>		
	Non-feminist	Feminist	Total
<b>Lowest</b>	23	1	24
	95.8 %	4.2 %	100 %
<b>Low</b>	197	10	207
	95.2 %	4.8 %	100 %
<b>Medium</b>	335	58	393
	85.2 %	14.8 %	100 %
<b>High</b>	224	155	379

	59.1 %	40.9 %	100 %
<b>Highest</b>	87	201	288
	30.2 %	69.8 %	100 %
<b>Total</b>	866	425	1291
	67.1 %	32.9 %	100 %

$\chi^2=329.874 \cdot df=4 \cdot \text{Cramer's } V=0.505 \cdot p=0.000$

The vast majority (93.1%) of those who reported the “lowest” perception of anti-Hispanic discrimination were non-feminists as compared to feminists (6.9%) (see Table 3). At the “low” perception level, the vast majority (92.0%) also identified as non-feminists as opposed to feminists (8.0%). It was also the majority (71.7%) among those with “medium” perceptions who identified as non-feminists instead of feminists (28.3%). However, those who perceive “high” levels of anti-Hispanic discrimination mainly identified as feminists (53.7%) and not non-feminists (46.3%). Similarly, the majority (73.6%) of those with the “highest” perception were feminists as compared to the non-feminists (26.4%).

*Table 3. White women’s feminist identity vs. perception of anti-Hispanic discrimination.*

		<b>Feminist identity</b>		
<b>Perceived anti-Hispanic discrimination</b>	Non-feminist	Feminist	Total	
	<b>Lowest</b>	27	2	29
	93.1 %	6.9 %	100 %	

<b>Low</b>	301	26	327
	92 %	8 %	100 %
<b>Medium</b>	359	142	501
	71.7 %	28.3 %	100 %
<b>High</b>	150	174	324
	46.3 %	53.7 %	100 %
<b>Highest</b>	29	81	110
	26.4 %	73.6 %	100 %
<b>Total</b>	866	425	1291
	67.1 %	32.9 %	100 %

$\chi^2=251.923 \cdot df=4 \cdot \text{Cramer's } V=0.442 \cdot p=0.000$

In regard to perceived anti-Asian discrimination, among those with the “lowest” perception, non-feminists were in the vast majority (90.5%) as compared to feminists (9.5%) (see Table 4). For those with a "low" perception, non-feminists were also in the majority (78.0%) as opposed to feminists (22.0%). This was also the case for those with "medium" perceptions, as non-feminists were in the majority (63.5%) and not feminists (36.5%). Conversely, at "high" perception levels, feminists were in the majority (60.7%) as compared to non-feminists (39.3%). This was also the case for those with the "highest" perceptions, where the majority (81.8%) were feminists as opposed to non-feminists (18.2%)

*Table 4. White women’s feminist identity vs. perception of anti-Asian discrimination.*

**Feminist identity**

<b>Perceived anti-Asian discrimination</b>	Non-feminist	Feminist	Total
<b>Lowest</b>	67	7	74
	90.5 %	9.5 %	100 %
<b>Low</b>	425	120	545
	78 %	22 %	100 %
<b>Medium</b>	313	180	493
	63.5 %	36.5 %	100 %
<b>High</b>	53	82	135
	39.3 %	60.7 %	100 %
<b>Highest</b>	8	36	44
	18.2 %	81.8 %	100 %
<b>Total</b>	866	425	1291
	67.1 %	32.9 %	100 %

$\chi^2=145.612 \cdot df=4 \cdot \text{Cramer's } V=0.336 \cdot p=0.000$

All associations from these cross-tabulations were significant ( $p < .000$ ). Overall, it appears that feminist identity is not needed to report a "medium" or "high" perception of anti-Black discrimination. However, for perceived anti-Hispanic and anti-Asian discrimination, not just the "highest" but also a "high" perception of racial discrimination is associated with feminist identity, in contrast to perceptions of anti-Black discrimination.

Next, I test whether white women's perception of gender discrimination significantly correlates with their perceptions of anti-Black, anti-Hispanic, and anti-Asian discrimination.

Overall, the majority were either reporting "low" (35.9%) or "medium" (35.7%) perceptions of gender discrimination. Around one-fifth (19.1%) had "high" perceptions, while merely 4.7% had the "highest" and 4.6% had the "lowest" perceptions of gender discrimination.

Generally, the majority of White women's perception of anti-Black discrimination increased slightly for each unit increase in perceived gender discrimination (see Table 5). The majority of the "lowest" perception of anti-Black discrimination correlated with the "lowest" (62.5%), followed by a "low" (25.0%), "medium" (8.3%), the "highest" (4.2%), and a "high" (0.0%) perception of gender discrimination. The majority (73.4%) of the "low" perceptions of anti-Black discrimination and gender discrimination correlated. This was followed by the "medium" (15.5%), "lowest" (9.7%), "high" (1.0%), and "highest" (0.5%) perceptions of gender discrimination. The majority (45.3%) of the "medium" perceptions of anti-Black discrimination correlated with the "low" perception of gender discrimination. This was closely followed by the "medium" perception at 43.5%, while 6.6% reported "high," 4.3% reported the "lowest," and 0.3% reported the highest perception of gender discrimination. The majority (44.6%) of the "high" perception of anti-Black discrimination correlated with a "medium" perception of perceived gender discrimination. This was followed by 27.2% reporting "low," 23.7% reporting "high," 3.2% reporting the "highest," and 1.3% reporting the "lowest" perception of gender discrimination. Finally, the majority (44.8%) of the "highest" perception of anti-Black discrimination correlated with the "high" perception of gender discrimination. This was followed by 30.2% with "medium" perceptions, 16% with the "highest" perceptions, 8.3% with "low" perceptions, and merely 0.7% with the "lowest" perceptions.

*Table 5. White women's perception of gender discrimination vs. perception of anti-Black discrimination.*

		Perceived gender discrimination					
Perceived anti-Black discrimination		Lowest	Low	Medium	High	Highest	Total
	<b>Lowest</b>		15	6	2	0	1
		62.5 %	25 %	8.3 %	0 %	4.2 %	100 %
<b>Low</b>		20	152	32	2	1	207
		9.7 %	73.4 %	15.5 %	1 %	0.5 %	100 %
<b>Medium</b>		17	178	171	26	1	393
		4.3 %	45.3 %	43.5 %	6.6 %	0.3 %	100 %
<b>High</b>		5	103	169	90	12	379
		1.3 %	27.2 %	44.6 %	23.7 %	3.2 %	100 %
<b>Highest</b>		2	24	87	129	46	288
		0.7 %	8.3 %	30.2 %	44.8 %	16 %	100 %
<b>Total</b>		59	463	461	247	61	1291
		4.6 %	35.9 %	35.7 %	19.1 %	4.7 %	100 %

$\chi^2=692.784 \cdot df=16 \cdot \text{Cramer's } V=0.366 \cdot \text{Fisher's } p=0.000$

In regard to perceived anti-Hispanic discrimination, the majority of each increase in perceived gender discrimination reflected exactly one unit increase in the outcome variable except for the step from "Medium" to "High" (see Table 6). The majority (62.1%) of the "lowest" perception of

anti-Hispanic discrimination correlated with the "lowest" perception of gender discrimination- This was followed by around one-fifth (20.7%) who had "low" perceptions, 13.8% who had "medium" perceptions. Merely 3.4% had "high" perceptions, and 0.0% had the "highest" perceptions of gender discrimination. The majority (68.8%) of the "low" perception correlated with the "low" perception of gender discrimination. Almost one-fifth (18.7%) had "medium" perceptions. Merely 7.3% had the "lowest" perception, 4.0% had a "high" perception, and 1.2% had the "highest" perception of gender discrimination. The majority (48.9%) of the “medium” perception of anti-Hispanic discrimination also had "medium" perceptions of gender discrimination. This was followed by 33.7% who reported "low" perceptions and 12.8% who reported "high" perceptions. Merely 2.4% reported the "lowest," and 2.2% reported the "highest" perceptions of gender discrimination. Among those with a “high” perception of anti-Hispanic discrimination, the majority (38.6%) had a “medium” perception of gender discrimination. This was closely followed by 37.0% who had a "high" perception of gender discrimination. Close to one-fifth (17.3%) had "low" perceptions and merely 5.9% had the "highest" perception, and 1.2% had the "lowest" perception. Finally, the majority (44.5%) of those with the "highest" perception of anti-Hispanic discrimination had a "high" perception of gender discrimination. Around one-fourth (24.5%) had the "highest" perception, followed by 23.6% who had a "medium" perception. Merely 6.4% had a "low" perception, and 0.9% had the "lowest" perception.

*Table 6. White women’s perception of gender discrimination vs. perception of anti-Hispanic discrimination.*

### **Perceived gender discrimination**

<b>Perceived anti-Hispanic discrimination</b>	Lowest	Low	Medium	High	Highest	Total
<b>Lowest</b>	18	6	4	1	0	29
	62.1 %	20.7 %	13.8 %	3.4 %	0 %	100 %
<b>Low</b>	24	225	61	13	4	327
	7.3 %	68.8 %	18.7 %	4 %	1.2 %	100 %
<b>Neither agree nor disagree/Medium</b>	12	169	245	64	11	501
	2.4 %	33.7 %	48.9 %	12.8 %	2.2 %	100 %
<b>High</b>	4	56	125	120	19	324
	1.2 %	17.3 %	38.6 %	37 %	5.9 %	100 %
<b>Highest</b>	1	7	26	49	27	110
	0.9 %	6.4 %	23.6 %	44.5 %	24.5 %	100 %
<b>Total</b>	59	463	461	247	61	1291
	4.6 %	35.9 %	35.7 %	19.1 %	4.7 %	100 %

$\chi^2=705.088 \cdot df=16 \cdot \text{Cramer's } V=0.370 \cdot \text{Fisher's } p=0.000$

For perceived anti-Asian discrimination, a similar pattern was found where the majority of each level of perceived gender discrimination tended to correlate with the level of perceived racial discrimination (see Table 7). Among those with the "lowest" perception of anti-Asian discrimination, the majority was split between having the "lowest" (36.5%) and a "low" (36.5%) perception of gender discrimination. Around one-fifth (21.6%) had a "medium" perception. Merely 4.1% had a "high" perception, and 1.4% had the "highest" perception of gender

discrimination. For those with a "low" perception of anti-Asian discrimination, the majority (56.9%) had "low" perceptions of gender discrimination. This was followed by 28.4% with "medium" perceptions and 8.6% with "high" perceptions. Merely 4.0% had the "lowest" perceptions, and 2.0% had the "highest" perceptions of gender discrimination. The majority (48.5%) of those with a "medium" perception of anti-Asian discrimination also had a "medium" perception of gender discrimination. This was followed by around two-fifths who had either "low" perceptions (22.9%) or "high" perceptions (22.5%). Merely 4.5% had the "highest" perceptions, while 1.6% had the "lowest" perceptions. The majority (49.6%) of those with a "high" perception of anti-Asian discrimination also had "high" perceptions of gender discrimination. This was followed by 34.1% who had "medium" perceptions, 8.1% who had the "highest" perceptions, 7.4% who had "low" perceptions, and 0.7% who had the "lowest" perceptions. For those with the "highest" perception of anti-Asian discrimination, the majority (43.2%) correlated with having a "high" perception of gender discrimination. This was followed by 36.4% who reported the "highest" perception and 11.4% who reported a "medium" perception." Merely 6.8% had a "low" perception, and 2.3% had the "lowest" perception of gender discrimination.

All associations from these cross-tabulations were significant ( $p < .000$ ). Overall, this shows that White women's levels of perceptions of these group-specific racial discriminations tend to correlate with similar levels of their perception of gender discrimination.

*Table 7. White women's perception of gender discrimination vs. perception of anti-Asian discrimination.*

**Perceived gender discrimination**

<b>Perceived anti-Asian discrimination</b>	Lowest	Low	Medium	High	Highest	Total
<b>Lowest</b>	27	27	16	3	1	74
	36.5 %	36.5 %	21.6 %	4.1 %	1.4 %	100 %
<b>Low</b>	22	310	155	47	11	545
	4 %	56.9 %	28.4 %	8.6 %	2 %	100 %
<b>Medium</b>	8	113	239	111	22	493
	1.6 %	22.9 %	48.5 %	22.5 %	4.5 %	100 %
<b>High</b>	1	10	46	67	11	135
	0.7 %	7.4 %	34.1 %	49.6 %	8.1 %	100 %
<b>Highest</b>	1	3	5	19	16	44
	2.3 %	6.8 %	11.4 %	43.2 %	36.4 %	100 %
<b>Total</b>	59	463	461	247	61	1291
	4.6 %	35.9 %	35.7 %	19.1 %	4.7 %	100 %

$\chi^2=581.573 \cdot df=16 \cdot Cramer's V=0.336 \cdot Fisher's p=0.000$

Next, I test whether white women's gender equality values significantly correlated with their perceptions of anti-Black, anti-Hispanic, and anti-Asian discrimination. Overall, 0.8% had the "weakest," 6.9% had a "weak," 12.4% had a "medium," 32.9% had a "strong," and the majority (47%) had the "strongest" gender equality value.

Those with the "lowest" perception of anti-Black discrimination mainly (7.5%) had the "strongest" gender equality value (see Table 8). This was closely followed by those with a "strong" value (33.3%), a "weak" value (12.5%), a "medium" value (8.3%), and the "weakest" value (8.3%). For those with a "low" perception of anti-Black discrimination, the majority (43.5%) had a "strong" value. Around one-fifth, respectively, had the "strongest" (21.7%) or a "medium" value (19.8%). This was followed by 14.0% who had a "weak" value and merely 1.0% who had the "weakest" gender equality value. Among those with a "medium" perception, the majority (42.7%) had a "strong" gender equality value. This was followed by 30.8% who had the "strongest" value and 17.8% who had a "medium" value. Merely 7.9% had a "weak" value, and 0.8% had the "weakest" value. The majority (57.3%) of those with a "high" perception had the "strongest" gender equality value. This was followed by 27.2% who reported a "strong" gender value and 9.5% who reported a "medium" value. Merely 5.5% had a "weak" value, and 0.5% had the "weakest" gender equality value. Those with the "highest" perception of discrimination mainly (74.7%) had the "strongest" gender equality value. Around one-fifth (19.4%) had a "strong" value, followed by 3.8% who reported a "medium" value. Merely 1.7% had a "weak" value, and 0.3% had the "weakest" value.

*Table 8. White women’s gender equality value vs. perception of anti-Black discrimination.*

Gender equality value						
Perceived	Weakest	Weak	Medium	Strong	Strongest	Total
<b>anti-Black</b>						

<b>discriminatio</b>						
<b>n</b>						
<b>Lowest</b>	2	3	2	8	9	24
	8.3 %	12.5 %	8.3 %	33.3 %	37.5 %	100 %
<b>Low</b>	2	29	41	90	45	207
	1 %	14 %	19.8 %	43.5 %	21.7 %	100 %
<b>Medium</b>	3	31	70	168	121	393
	0.8 %	7.9 %	17.8 %	42.7 %	30.8 %	100 %
<b>High</b>	2	21	36	103	217	379
	0.5 %	5.5 %	9.5 %	27.2 %	57.3 %	100 %
<b>Highest</b>	1	5	11	56	215	288
	0.3 %	1.7 %	3.8 %	19.4 %	74.7 %	100 %
<b>Total</b>	10	89	160	425	607	1291
	0.8 %	6.9 %	12.4 %	32.9 %	47 %	100 %

$\chi^2=230.277 \cdot df=16 \cdot \text{Cramer's } V=0.211 \cdot \text{Fisher's } p=0.000$

Among those with the “lowest” perception of anti-Hispanic discrimination, the majority (37.9%) had the “strongest” gender equality value (see Table 9). Around one-fourth (24.1%) had a "strong" value, followed by 17.2% who had a "weak" value, and 13.8%, who had a "medium" value. Merely 6.9% reported the "weakest" value. The majority (46.5%) of those with a "low" perception had a "strong" value. This was followed by those with the "strongest" value (27.5%), a "medium" value (15.3%), and a "weak" value (10.1%). Merely 0.6% reported the "weakest" value. For those with a "medium" perception, the majority (40.1%) had the "strongest" gender

equality value. This was followed by 36.7% who had a "strong" value, 15.0% who had a "medium" value, and 7.2% who had a "weak" value. Merely 1.0% reported the "weakest" value. Among those with a "high" perception, the majority (67.3%) had the "strongest" gender equality value. Around one-fifth (20.1%) had a "strong" value, followed by 8.6% who had a "medium" value and 4.0% who had a "weak" value. No respondents (0.0%) had the "weakest" value. The majority (79.1%) of those with the "highest" perception had the "strongest" gender equality value. This was followed by 15.5% who had a "strong" value. Merely 2.7% had a "medium" value, 1.8% had a "weak" value, and 0.9% had the "weakest" value.

*Table 9. White women's gender equality value vs. perception of anti-Hispanic discrimination.*

		<b>Gender equality value</b>					
<b>Perceived anti-Hispanic discrimination</b>		<b>Weakest</b>	<b>Weak</b>	<b>Medium</b>	<b>Strong</b>	<b>Strongest</b>	<b>Total</b>
		<b>Lowest</b>	2	5	4	7	11
		6.9 %	17.2 %	13.8 %	24.1 %	37.9 %	100 %
<b>Low</b>		2	33	50	152	90	327
		0.6 %	10.1 %	15.3 %	46.5 %	27.5 %	100 %
<b>Medium</b>		5	36	75	184	201	501
		1 %	7.2 %	15 %	36.7 %	40.1 %	100 %
<b>High</b>		0	13	28	65	218	324
		0 %	4 %	8.6 %	20.1 %	67.3 %	100 %

<b>Highest</b>	1	2	3	17	87	110
	0.9 %	1.8 %	2.7 %	15.5 %	79.1 %	100 %
<b>Total</b>	10	89	160	425	607	1291
	0.8 %	6.9 %	12.4 %	32.9 %	47 %	100 %

$\chi^2=183.350 \cdot df=16 \cdot Cramer's V=0.188 \cdot Fisher's p=0.000$

Among those with the “lowest” perception of anti-Asian discrimination, the majority (39.2%) reported the “strongest” gender equality value (see Table 10). This was followed by 37.8% who had a “strong” value, 9.5% who had a “weak” value, 8.1% who had a “medium” value, and 5.4% who had the “weakest” value. The majority (41.3%) of those with a “low” perception had a “strong” gender equality value. This was followed by 36.9% who had the “strongest” value, 13.6% who had a “medium” value, and 8.1% who had a “weak” value. Merely 0.2% reported the "weakest" gender equality value. For those with a "medium" perception, the majority (52.5%) had the "strongest" gender equality value. This was followed by having a "strong" value (27.6%), a "medium" value (13.4%), and a "weak" value (5.7%). Merely 0.8% reported the "weakest" value. Among those with a "high" perception, the majority (63.0%) reported the "strongest" gender equality value. Around one-fifth (21.5%) had a "strong" value. This was followed by 8.9% who had a "medium" value and 5.9% who had a "weak" value. Merely 0.7% reported the "weakest" value. Finally, the majority (75.0%) of those with the "highest" perception had the "strongest" gender equality value. This was followed by 15.9% who had a "strong" value, 4.5% who had a "medium" value, and 4.5% who had a "weak" value. No participants (0.0%) reported the “weakest” value.

All associations from these cross-tabulations were significant ( $p < .000$ ). These findings illustrate that the stronger perceptions of racial discrimination tend to correlate with greater gender equality values, although these values can be strong among those with low perceptions of racial discrimination as well. Moreover, given that the survey question measuring pro-gender equality values used a statement that made the participants report their agreement about whether anti-sexism work has "gone too far," it is unsurprising that the women of this survey reported strong values due to group interests.

*Table 10. White women's gender equality value vs. perception of anti-Asian discrimination.*

		<b>Gender equality value</b>					
<b>Perceived anti-Asian discrimination</b>		<b>Weakest</b>	<b>Weak</b>	<b>Medium</b>	<b>Strong</b>	<b>Strongest</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Lowest</b>		4	7	6	28	29	74
		5.4 %	9.5 %	8.1 %	37.8 %	39.2 %	100 %
<b>Low</b>		1	44	74	225	201	545
		0.2 %	8.1 %	13.6 %	41.3 %	36.9 %	100 %
<b>Medium</b>		4	28	66	136	259	493
		0.8 %	5.7 %	13.4 %	27.6 %	52.5 %	100 %
<b>High</b>		1	8	12	29	85	135
		0.7 %	5.9 %	8.9 %	21.5 %	63 %	100 %
<b>Highest</b>		0	2	2	7	33	44
		0 %	4.5 %	4.5 %	15.9 %	75 %	100 %

<b>Total</b>	10	89	160	425	607	1291
	0.8 %	6.9 %	12.4 %	32.9 %	47 %	100 %

$\chi^2=88.640 \cdot df=16 \cdot Cramer's V=0.131 \cdot Fisher's p=0.000$

These cross-tabulations provided some preliminary support for the correlation between these three aspects of gender consciousness and White women's perceptions of anti-Black, anti-Hispanic, and anti-Asian discrimination. In the next step, I conduct a multivariate regression analysis to test whether group consciousness can significantly predict the group's perceptions of racial discrimination.

*Table 11. Multivariate regression on White women's perceptions of racial discrimination*

	<b>PERCEIVED ANTI-BLACK DISCRIMINATION</b>	<b>PERCEIVED ANTI-HISPANIC DISCRIMINATION</b>	<b>PERCEIVED ANTI-ASIAN DISCRIMINATION</b>
<b>FEMINIST IDENTITY</b>	0.607*** (0.061)	0.497*** (0.057)	0.330*** (0.055)
<b>PERCEIV. GENDER DISCRIMINATION</b>			
<b>WEAKEST PERCEPTION</b>	1 [Reference]	1 [Reference]	1 [Reference]
<b>WEAK PERCEPTION</b>	0.457*** (0.106)	0.438*** (0.100)	0.330*** (0.095)
<b>MEDIUM PERCEPTION</b>	0.917***	0.882***	0.746***

	(0.108)	(0.101)	(0.096)
<b><i>STRONG PERCEPTION</i></b>	1.524***	1.311***	1.106***
	(0.118)	(0.111)	(0.105)
<b><i>STRONGEST PERCEPTION</i></b>	1.693***	1.620***	1.484***
	(0.146)	(0.137)	(0.131)
<b>GENDER EQUALITY VALUES</b>			
<b><i>WEAKEST VALUE</i></b>	1 [Reference]	1 [Reference]	1 [Reference]
<b><i>WEAK VALUES</i></b>	-0.143	0.063	0.372
	(0.289)	(0.271)	(0.258)
<b><i>MEDIUM VALUES</i></b>	-0.009	0.184	0.513**
	(0.283)	(0.265)	(0.252)
<b><i>STRONG VALUES</i></b>	0.059	0.137	0.297
	(0.278)	(0.261)	(0.249)
<b><i>STRONGEST VALUES</i></b>	0.269	0.298	0.307
	(0.280)	(0.262)	(0.250)
<b>CONSTANT</b>	2.309***	1.929***	1.535***
	(0.286)	(0.269)	(0.256)
<b>OBSERVATIONS</b>	1,291	1,291	1,291
<b>R2</b>	0.415	0.358	0.269
<b>ADJUSTED R2</b>	0.411	0.353	0.264
<b>RESIDUAL STD.</b>	0.743	0.697	0.663
<b>ERROR (DF = 1281)</b>			

<b>F STATISTIC (DF = 9; 1281)</b>	100.957***	79.276***	52.339***
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As shown in Table 11, I found that White women's gender consciousness partially impacts their perception of racial discrimination facing Black and Hispanic people in the US. Identifying as a feminist had a highly significant impact on perceived anti-Black ( $\beta = 0.607$ ), anti-Hispanic ( $\beta = 0.497$ ), and anti-Asian ( $\beta = 0.330$ ) discrimination. Perceptions of gender discrimination also had a highly significant impact on perceived racial discrimination facing all three groups.

Specifically, at the “weak” ( $\beta = 0.457$ ,  $\beta = 0.48$ ,  $\beta = 0.330$ ), “medium” ( $\beta = 0.917$ ,  $\beta = 0.882$ ,  $\beta = 0.746$ ), “strong” ( $\beta = 1.524$ ,  $\beta = 1.311$ ,  $\beta = 1.106$ ), and “strongest” ( $\beta = 1.693$ ,  $\beta = 1.620$ ,  $\beta = 1.484$ ) level of perceived gender discrimination in reference to the “weakest” level respectively.

Gender equality values only had a significant impact on perceived anti-Asian discrimination at the “medium” level ( $\beta = 0.513$ ) in reference to the “weakest” level, while all other values had no significant impact on perceived racial discrimination. Gender group consciousness explains 41% of the variance in perceived anti-Black discrimination, 35% of the variance in perceived anti-Hispanic discrimination, and 26% of the variance in perceived anti-Asian discrimination.

These results remained significant across all three models when I controlled for age, income, political ideology, employment, education, patriotic tendencies, harassment experiences, experiences with sexism, region, and being in an interracial relationship (see Tables 22, 23, and 24 in Appendix).

## Discussion

This study offers a nuanced comparison between White women's perceptions of anti-Black, anti-Hispanic, and anti-Asian discrimination. The results show that, in general, greater gender consciousness does improve White women's perceptions of these different forms of racism. I

argue that gender consciousness can transcend to White women's ability to detect and willingness to report more racism in society due to increased awareness, empathy, and solidarity. For instance, different experiences with sexism, such as job discrimination or stereotyping, may improve their perception of different racial discrimination and stereotyping. For example, feminists (which is a part of gender consciousness identity) are stereotyped as angry and militant to this day (Moore & Stathi, 2020). In turn, if they can recognize this, they may be better equipped to detect racial stereotyping, such as cultural racism facing mainly Black and Hispanic Americans (Kendi, 2019; Lacayo, 2017) and the model minority myth stereotyping Asian Americans (Yi & Museus, 2015). Through greater gender consciousness, White women may also be more willing to recognize racism due to shared group interests. Successful coalition-building has strengthened the liberation of different forms of oppression throughout history (e.g., Ferree & Roth, 1998; Mays, 2021). I argue that shared group interests increase White women's motivation to recognize racial discrimination because it weakens their motivation to uphold White hegemony and patriarchy by not recognizing these issues. Without a strong gender consciousness, White women may instead strongly identify more with their Whiteness which is correlated with low recognition of racism to uphold the status quo (Bonam et al., 2019).

In contrast to both perceived anti-Black and anti-Hispanic discrimination, gender equality values had some impact on perceived anti-Asian discrimination. The upsurge of visible anti-Asian hate crimes may explain this; however, this would contradict a similar impact we would expect regarding the increased visibility of racism facing Black people. We can also consider that pro-gender values are needed to perceive anti-Asian discrimination, while that aspect of gender consciousness may not be needed for perceiving anti-Black and anti-Hispanic discrimination. This may be due to the Asian model minority stereotype that minimizes messaging about the

discrimination they are facing. As anti-Black and anti-Hispanic racism appears to be more visible in White-centered spaces in general, perceiving gender discrimination and identifying as a feminist alone may improve perceptions of those two groups. Conversely, valuing gender equality may be necessary to improve the perception of Asian discrimination as it may need to be connected through values of in-group oppression. Notably, gender equality values were measured by attitudes toward whether the feminist movement has “gone too far”. This might have important implications for White women's ability to detect the pattern of silencing opposition to sexism, and perhaps this can transcend to their understanding of denial of racism. The discourse on denial of racism is in some ways similar to the discourse on denial of sexism, where the notion that pro-equality work is excessive or even dangerous functions as a way to silence these social movements. The finding that White women's gender equality values did not predict their perception of anti-Black or anti-Hispanic discrimination may illustrate that either they did not find equality values to transcend or other aspects of gender consciousness were of more importance. Finally, the increased focus on intersectionality within the mainstream feminist movement may also function as knowledge dissemination about issues of racism. While feminist identity was an important predictor to perceive all the forms of group-specific racism, it is still noticeable that further factors were "needed" to perceive anti-Asian discrimination and that overall, White women's perception of anti-Asian discrimination was comparably low. This may also be illustrated by the Black/White paradigm as while more information about racism may surface in mainstream feminism, not all groups will be centered, and information may not truly reflect the original movements (e.g., pro-Black, pro-Native).

## **Chapter 2: Do White women's gender group consciousness shape their perception of anti-Black racism as a systemic issue?**

### **Introduction**

In this chapter, I explore the impact of White women's gender group consciousness on their perception of anti-Black racism as a systemic issue. I theorize that both the group's actual awareness, as well as their motivation to recognize this form of racism will be impacted. This is due to an ability to detect similar patterns of oppression in sexism and racism, as well as shared group interests and solidarity. I also expect that exposure to information about racial issues is more likely among those who identify as feminists, which is an important aspect of gender consciousness. I expect this effect because of the increased intersectionality focus in the mainstream feminist movement (Crenshaw, 2017).

Specifically, I address the question: *Do White women's gender group consciousness shape their perception of anti-Black racism as a systemic issue?*

Social science scholars have utilized perceptions of racism as a systemic issue as an important predictor of people's understanding of racism since the 1960s (Carmichael & Hamilton, 1967). Scholars distinguish between interpersonal and systemic perceptions of racism. While an interpersonal perception of racism can lead to the minimization or denial of racist events, a systemic view of racism has been found to improve overall perceptions of racism (Tator, Henry, Smith, & Brown, 2006). Wood and Graham (2017) found that White people subscribing to 'progressivism and subtle racism' are more likely to 'recognize the structural impediments to racial equality' compared to those subscribing to cultural racist belief systems. Moreover, those viewing racism as systemic were more likely to have a greater perception of racial inequality (Miller, O'Dea & Saucier, 2021; Nelson, 2009), endorse anti-racist policy (Adams et al., 2008), be more supportive of BLM and to participate in a protest.<sup>3</sup> (Miller, O'Dea, & Saucier, 2021). Previous studies have also revealed that those who do not perceive racism as structural are more likely to report anti-Black prejudice and less likely to exhibit racial empathy and openness to diversity (for review, see Yi, Neville, Todd, and Mekawi, 2022). This highlights the utility of the concept, as this thesis aims to explore what shapes White women's perception of racism overall. White people's understanding of what causes racial inequality is a crucial determinant of their understanding of racism overall. As discussed in Chapter 1, despite being a more visible marginalized group, the racial oppression that Black Americans face is not recognized by the majority of White folks. Moreover, denial of anti-Black racism is widespread across other racial

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<sup>3</sup> Other important predictors were low racial prejudice, affirming White privilege, social action motivation, and not wanting to appear as racist.

groups as well, through, for instance, cultural racism (Kendi, 2019) and the model minority myth (Yi & Museus, 2015). To truly understand anti-Black racism, it is important to understand it as a systemic issue and not minimize it to something practiced solely by intentional extremists on an interpersonal level. Instead, anti-Black racism is entrenched in all parts of society in institutions such as health care, government, and police units, as well as in socialization. People who report a comprehensive understanding of how historical events and patterns have shaped the contemporary manifestation of anti-Black racism are much less likely to assume a "post-racial" narrative or to deny systemic racism in general. Suppose White women's gender consciousness can improve their understanding of anti-Black racism as a systemic issue. In that case, this has important implications for coalition-building and solidarity work where White women can utilize their privilege to support de-colonial, anti-racist work that addresses this issue. For this study, I utilize data from the American National Election Study (ANES) 2020 survey, where a sample of 1,291 White women was included.

## Data and methods

### **Data and sample**

To explore how gender consciousness may impact how White women perceive racial inequality facing Black Americans as being grounded in systemic inequality, I utilize data from the ANES 2020. The post-election data was collected from November 8<sup>th</sup>, 2020, until January 4<sup>th</sup>, 2021. A total of 8,617 respondents participated in the post-election survey that mainly drew from the pre-election participation pool, whereas a representative sample of 1,291 White Women from the pre- and follow-up post-election survey will be included in the analysis. The data file is available for download from the ANES 2020 website (<https://electionstudies.org>). A descriptive summary is included of all the main variables in Table 1. All analysis was weighted with the individual post-

election "V200010b" weight variable according to ANES standards, and all analysis was conducted in R Studio. Table X shows descriptions of the key variables and the coding.

### **Dependent variables**

**Perception of anti-Black racism as a systemic issue.** A systemic perception of anti-Black racism reflects an understanding of racial inequality being grounded in racial oppression operating at both the interpersonal and institutional levels in society. The variable is drawn from the survey question statement, 'Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for blacks to work their way out of the lower class .' Participants were asked to indicate if they 'disagree strongly,' 'disagree somewhat,' 'neither agree nor disagree,' 'agree somewhat,' or 'agree strongly' with the statement. Through coding, I reversed these values. I operationalize an agreement with the part that stresses 'created conditions' as an understanding of both interpersonal and structural conditions, while the agreement with the part that addresses 'generations of slavery and discrimination' as an understanding of the impact of historical processes on said conditions.

### **Main predictor variable**

***Feminist identity*** was measured by asking respondents if they consider themselves to be a feminist or an anti-feminist, where the answer options included "Feminist," "Anti-feminist," and "Neither ." I recoded this variable into a dummy variable where "0" represented "anti-feminist," "neither," and "1" represented identifying as a "feminist ." I utilize "feminist identity" as opposed to "woman identity" as it has been found to more strongly relate to other factors of gender group consciousness (Henderson-King & Stewart, 1994). Feminist identity also correlates more

strongly with the protection of group interests (Mikołajczak, Becker, & Iyer, 2022), which is a core aspect of group consciousness theory overall.

***Perception of gender discrimination.*** The variable ‘perception of gender discrimination’ is the key predictor variable that will be measured by the survey question ‘How much discrimination is there in the United States today against [women]?', where the answer options were "A great deal," "A lot," "A moderate amount," "A little," and "None at all ."I reversed these values.

***Pro-gender equality values*** were measured by the research question "When women demand equality these days, how often are they actually seeking special favors?" with the answer options "Never," "Some of the time," "About half of the time," "Most of the time," and "Always ."I reversed these values.

### **The control variables**

***Political affiliation*** was measured by asking participants to place themselves on a seven-point scale ranging from "extremely liberal" to "extremely conservative ."I reversed these values.

***Educational attainment*** was measured on a scale of "Less than high school credential," "High school credential," "Some post-high school, no bachelor's degree," "Bachelor's degree," and "Graduate degree ."The education variables were recoded to one variable in the same ways as the gender and race variables (see the data and sample section above).

***Employment status*** was measured on a scale of "Working now," "Temporarily laid off," "unemployed," "retired," "permanently disabled," "homemaker," and "student" (with the latter four options including those who work less than 20hrs/pk). I recoded these values into "1" as "Temporarily laid off"/"Unemployed," "2" as all values indicating working less than 20 hours, and "3" as "Working now" (reflecting full-time employment).

Total *family income* was measured on a 22-point scale ranging from “Under \$9,999” to “\$250,000 or more”. I recoded these values based on standard income categorization (Walrack, 2023); “1” as “low income” ( $\leq$ \$49,999), “2” as “middle income” ( $\leq$ \$149,999), and “3” as “high income” ( $\geq$ \$150,000).

*The region* was collected in regard to whether the respondent resided in "1" as "South," "2" as "Midwest," "3" as "West," or "4" as "Northeast" in the US I recoded these values to reflect more liberal regions (Pew Research Center, 2014).

*Experience(s) with sexism* was measured with the question, "How much discrimination have you personally experienced because of your sex or gender?". The answer options included ranged on a five-point scale from "A great deal" to "None at all" I reversed these values.

*Interracial relationship* status was measured by the inquiry of the race/ethnicity of the respondent's spouse or partner. The answer options included "White, non-Hispanic," "Black, non-Hispanic," "Hispanic," and "Asian, Native Hawaiian/other Pacific Islander, Native American/Alaska Native or multiple races, non-Hispanic ."I recoded this into a dummy variable where "0" reflected no interracial relationship "(i.e., White, non-Hispanic partner) and “1” reflected interracial relationship (i.e., all other values).

*Experience(s) with sexual harassment* in the workplace was measured by the question, "Have you ever personally experienced sexual harassment at work or not?". The answer options were "Have" and "Have not ." I utilized this as a dummy variable and reversed the values.

*Age* was collected from age 18-80, and I recoded this variable into three values where "1" reflected age 18-39, "2" reflected age "40-59", and "3" reflected age 60-80. These values were

based on common categorizations of adult years reflecting "young," "middle age," and "old age" (Lachman, 2001).

*Table 12. Descriptive statistics of main variables*

Variable	Coding scheme	Mean/Frequency	SD
<i>Perceive anti-Black racism as systemic</i>	1 = Disagree strongly, to 5 = Agree Strongly	3.021	1.500
<i>Feminist identity</i>	0 = non-feminist, 1 = feminist	743 (70.8%)	NA
<i>Perceived gender discrimination</i>	1 = None at all, to 5 = A great deal	2.799	0.957
<i>Gender equality values</i>	1 = Always, to 5 = Never	4.131	0.939

### **Plan of analysis**

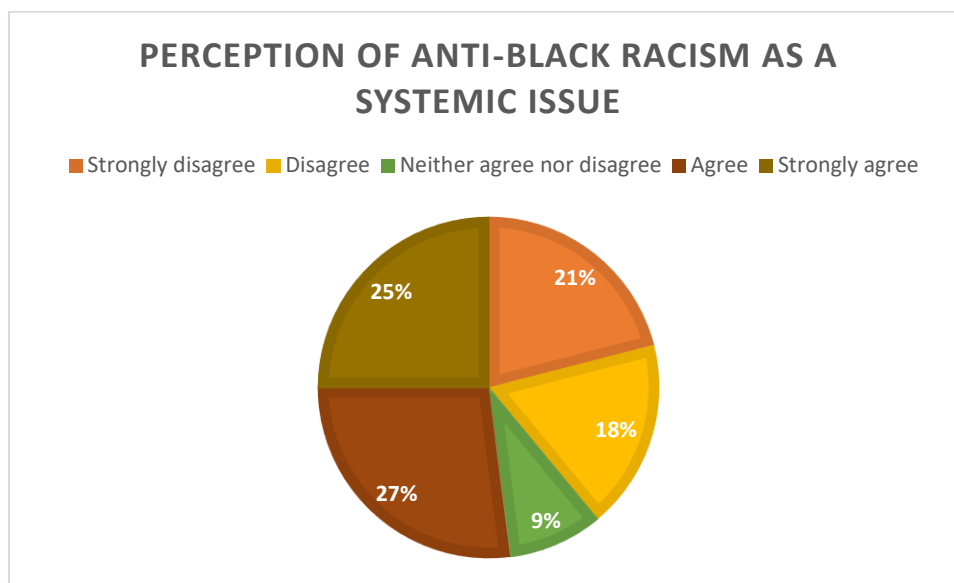
My analysis includes several steps. First, I will show descriptive statistics of the perceptions of all the variables (see Table 12). Secondly, I run individual cross-tabulations of all three predictor variables to test whether they relate to the outcome variable. Then, I conducted an OLS regression to demonstrate the relationship between gender group consciousness and the perception of anti-Black racism as systemic. I additionally utilized two groups of control variables in the analysis that were curated after a multicollinearity test so that highly correlated variables would not be included in the same regression. Group 1 control for age, education,

region, and frequency of experiences with sexism. Group 2 controls for employment, income, interracial relationship, and experience(s) with sexual harassment in the workplace.

## Results

As shown in Figure 2, the majority (27.2%) of the participants "agreed" with a systemic view of anti-Black racism, followed by 24.8% who "strongly agreed" with this view. Around two-fifths either "strongly disagreed" (20.6%) with a systemic perception or "disagreed" (18.4%). Merely 9.0% "neither agreed nor disagreed." While the majority reported a systemic view of anti-Black racism, a notable fraction still did not have this perception, as expected (e.g., Bonilla-Silva, 2006; Salter, Adams & Perez, 2018).

*Figure 2. White women's overall perception of anti-Black racism as a systemic issue*



In the next step, I will test whether there is a significant correlation between White women's gender consciousness (i.e., feminist identity, perceived gender discrimination, gender equality values) and their perception of anti-Black racism as a systemic issue.

The finding of the correlation between feminist identity and systemic perception of anti-Black racism is shown in Table 13. Overall, the majority (67.1%) of the respondents were non-feminists, while 32.9% identified as feminists. The vast majority (93.6%) of the White women who "strongly disagree" with a systemic view of anti-Black racism were non-feminists, while merely 6.4% of feminists reported the same belief. A similar pattern was found regarding non-feminists "disagreeing" (89.1%) and "neither agreeing nor disagreeing" (85.3%) with the statement, in contrast to feminists (10.9% and 14.7%, respectively). Among those who reported to "agree" with the statement, the majority were also non-feminists (61%), while 39% of feminists held this belief. It was only among those who "strongly agreed" with anti-Black racism being systemic that feminists were in the majority (71.2%) as opposed to non-feminists (28.7%). All in all, this illustrates that self-identified feminists are much more likely to have the strongest perception of anti-Black racism as systemic compared to non-feminists.

*Table 13. The relationship between feminist identity and systemic perception of racism*

Systemic perception of anti-Black racism	Feminist identity		Total
	Non-feminist	Feminist	
<b>Strongly disagree</b>	249	17	266
	93.6 %	6.4 %	100 %
<b>Disagree</b>	212	26	238
	89.1 %	10.9 %	100 %
<b>Neither agree nor disagree</b>	99	17	116
	85.3 %	14.7 %	100 %
<b>Agree</b>	214	137	351

	61 %	39 %	100 %
<b>Strongly agree</b>	92	228	320
	28.7 %	71.2 %	100 %
<b>Total</b>	866	425	1291
	67.1 %	32.9 %	100 %

*Chi-squared value of 373.278. Since the p-value (<.000) is less than 0.01, we reject the null hypothesis and conclude that the two variables are dependent.*

Overall, the majority (35.9%) of the respondents had a "weak" perception, followed by 35.7% who had a "medium" perception of gender discrimination. Around one-fifth (19.1%) had a "strong" perception, while merely 4.7% had the "strongest" perception, and 4.6% had the "weakest" perception (see Table 14). Among those who strongly disagree with a systemic view of anti-Black racism, the majority (46.6%) had a "weak" perception of gender discrimination. Around 31.2% had a "medium" perception, 12.4% had the "weakest" perception, 7.1% had a "strong" perception and merely 2.6% had the "strongest" perception. The majority (55.9%) of those who disagree with the statement had a "weak" perception and 31.5% had a "medium" perception. Around 8.4% had a "strong" perception, 3.8% had the "weakest" perception and merely 0.4% had the "strongest" perception. Among those who neither agreed nor disagreed with the statement, around two fifths (40.5%) had a "weak" perception and 35.3% had a "medium" perception. Around 12.9% had a "strong" perception, 6.0% had the "weakest" perception and 5.2% had the "strongest" perception. Around two-fifths (41.6%) of those who agreed with the statement had a "medium" perception and around 33.0% had a "weak" perception. Around one fifth (21.4%) had a "strong" perception, 2.0% had the "weakest" and 2.0% had the "strongest" perception. The majority (36.9%) of those who strongly agreed with the statement had a "strong" perception and 36.2% had a "medium" perception. Around 13.4% had a "weak" perception,

12.5% had the “strongest” perception, and merely 0.9% had the “weakest” perception. These results show that greater perceptions of gender discrimination tend to correlate with a more systemic perception of anti-Black racism, particularly among those who "neither agree nor disagree" and onward.

*Table 14. The relationship between perceived gender discrimination and systemic perception of racism*

<b>Systemic perception of anti-Black racism</b>	<b>Perception of gender discrimination</b>					<b>Total</b>
	<b>Weakest perception</b>	<b>Weak perception</b>	<b>Medium perception</b>	<b>Strong perception</b>	<b>Strongest perception</b>	
<b>Strongly disagree</b>	33	124	83	19	7	266
	12.4 %	46.6 %	31.2 %	7.1 %	2.6 %	100 %
<b>Disagree</b>	9	133	75	20	1	238
	3.8 %	55.9 %	31.5 %	8.4 %	0.4 %	100 %
<b>Neither agree nor disagree</b>	7	47	41	15	6	116
	6 %	40.5 %	35.3 %	12.9 %	5.2 %	100 %
<b>Agree</b>	7	116	146	75	7	351
	2 %	33 %	41.6 %	21.4 %	2 %	100 %
<b>Strongly agree</b>	3	43	116	118	40	320
	0.9 %	13.4 %	36.2 %	36.9 %	12.5 %	100 %
<b>Total</b>	59	463	461	247	61	1291
	4.6 %	35.9 %	35.7 %	19.1 %	4.7 %	100 %

*Chi-squared value of 287.121. Since the p-value (<.000) is less than 0.01, we reject the null hypothesis and conclude that the two variables are dependent.*

Overall, the majority (47.0%) had the "strongest" gender equality value, followed by 32.9% who reported a "strong" value and 12.4% who had a "medium" value. Merely 6.9% reported a "weak" value, and 0.8% had the "weakest" value (see Table 15). The majority (39.8%) of those who "strongly disagree" with a systemic view of anti-Black racism reported "strong" gender equality values, followed by "medium" (21.8%) and the "strongest" value (21.1%). Around 15.0% reported a "weak" value and merely 2.3% had the "weakest" value. Similarly, 44.5% of those with a "strong" value, followed by those with the "strongest" (24.8%) and "medium" value (20.2%), reported "disagree" with the statement. Around one tenth (10.1%) reported a "weak" value and merely 0.4% reported the "weakest" value. Among those who "neither agreed nor disagreed," the majority (44.8%) also reported a "strong" gender equality value, followed by the "strongest" value (32.8%). Around 16.4% had a "medium" value, 5.2% had a "weak" value and merely 0.9% had the "weakest" value. Among those who "agreed" with the statement, the majority (53.3%) had the "strongest" equality value, followed by those with a "strong" value (33.9%). Around 7.7% had a "medium" value, 4.8% reported a "weak" value, and merely 0.3% had the "weakest" value. The vast majority (83.4%) of those who "strongly agreed" with anti-Black racism being systemic had the "strongest" gender equality value. Around 13.1% reported a "strong" value, and merely 2.5% had a "medium" value, 0.6% had a "weak" value, and 0.3% had the "weakest" value.

These results demonstrate that, albeit there is a slight increase in perception of systemic racism as pro-gender equality values increase, the participants also reported strong equality values while disagreeing with a systemic view of racism. Given the nature of the survey question (see the Data and Method section), it is unlikely that participants who value their group interests generally

report low gender equality values. It is, therefore, not surprising that the difference at different levels of gender perception is small.

*Table 15. The relationship between gender equality values and systemic perception of racism*

Systemic perception of anti-Black racism	Pro-gender equality values					Total
	Weakest value	Weak value	Medium value	Strong value	Strongest value	
<b>Strongly disagree</b>	6	40	58	106	56	266
	2.3 %	15 %	21.8 %	39.8 %	21.1 %	100 %
<b>Disagree</b>	1	24	48	106	59	238
	0.4 %	10.1 %	20.2 %	44.5 %	24.8 %	100 %
<b>Neither agree nor disagree</b>	1	6	19	52	38	116
	0.9 %	5.2 %	16.4 %	44.8 %	32.8 %	100 %
<b>Agree</b>	1	17	27	119	187	351
	0.3 %	4.8 %	7.7 %	33.9 %	53.3 %	100 %
<b>Strongly agree</b>	1	2	8	42	267	320
	0.3 %	0.6 %	2.5 %	13.1 %	83.4 %	100 %
<b>Total</b>	10	89	160	425	607	1291
	0.8 %	6.9 %	12.4 %	32.9 %	47 %	100 %

*Chi-squared value of 341.711. Since the Fisher's p-value (<.000) is less than 0.01, we reject the null hypothesis and conclude that the two variables are dependent.*

All associations from these cross-tabulations were significant (p<.000). These bivariate analyses illustrated some initial support of White women's feminist identity, perception of gender

discrimination, and gender equality values, significantly relating to their perception of anti-Black racism as systemic. In the next step, I employ multivariate regression analysis to test whether these measurements of in-group gender consciousness can predict the group's perception of systemic racism.

*Table 16. Multivariate regression on White women's systemic perception of racism*

	<b>NO</b>	<b>CONTROL 1</b>	<b>CONTROL 2</b>	<b>CONTROL 3</b>
	<b>CONTROLS</b>			
<b>FEMINIST</b>	1.033***	0.502***	0.813***	1.021***
<b>IDENTITY</b>	(0.091)	(0.095)	(0.092)	(0.092)
<b>PERCEIVED</b>				
<b>GENDER</b>				
<b>DISCRIMINATION</b>				
<b>WEAKEST</b>	1 [Reference]	1 [Reference]	1 [Reference]	1 [Reference]
<b>PERCEPTION</b>				
<b>WEAK</b>	0.495***	0.362**	0.511***	0.552***
<b>PERCEPTION</b>	(0.158)	(0.149)	(0.154)	(0.157)
<b>MEDIUM</b>	0.693***	0.451***	0.648***	0.766***
<b>PERCEPTION</b>	(0.160)	(0.151)	(0.155)	(0.159)
<b>STRONG</b>	1.056***	0.706***	1.015***	1.123***
<b>PERCEPTION</b>	(0.175)	(0.167)	(0.170)	(0.178)
	1.127***	0.688***	1.011***	1.275***

<b><i>STRONGEST PERCEPTION</i></b>	(0.217)	(0.207)	(0.211)	(0.226)
<b>GENDER EQUALITY VALUES</b>				
<b>WEAKEST VALUE</b>	1 [Reference]	1 [Reference]	1 [Reference]	1 [Reference]
<b><i>WEAK VALUES</i></b>	0.066 (0.429)	0.143 (0.404)	0.146 (0.416)	-0.036 (0.425)
<b><i>MEDIUM VALUES</i></b>	0.433 (0.419)	0.362 (0.395)	0.483 (0.406)	0.293 (0.415)
<b><i>STRONG VALUES</i></b>	0.577 (0.413)	0.392 (0.389)	0.629 (0.400)	0.465 (0.409)
<b><i>STRONGEST VALUES</i></b>	1.207*** (0.415)	0.870** (0.392)	1.188*** (0.402)	1.094*** (0.411)
<b>AGE</b>		0.006 (0.043)		
<b>INCOME</b>		0.058 (0.049)		
<b>POLITICAL IDEOLOGY</b>		0.315*** (0.025)		
<b>EMPLOYMENT</b>			-0.050 (0.061)	
<b>EDUCATION</b>			0.144***	

				(0.034)
<b>PATRIOTIC</b>				0.562***
<b>TENDENCY</b>				(0.070)
<b>EXPERIENCED</b>				0.001
<b>HARASSMENT</b>				(0.069)
<b>EXPERIENCED</b>				-0.087**
<b>SEXISM</b>				(0.040)
<b>INTERRACIAL</b>				0.454***
<b>RELATIONSHIP</b>				(0.140)
<b>REGION</b>				0.129***
				(0.031)
<b>CONSTANT</b>	1.264***	0.564	0.150	1.174***
	(0.424)	(0.422)	(0.455)	(0.428)
<b>OBSERVATIONS</b>	1,291	1,291	1,291	1,291
<b>R2</b>	0.340	0.418	0.383	0.356
<b>ADJUSTED R2</b>	0.336	0.412	0.377	0.349
<b>RESIDUAL STD. ERROR</b>	1.101 (df = 1281)	1.036 (df = 1278)	1.067 (df = 1277)	1.090 (df = 1278)
<b>F STATISTIC</b>	73.439*** (df = 9; 1281)	76.408*** (df = 12; 1278)	61.031*** (df = 13; 1277)	77) 58.744*** (df = 12; 1278)

As shown in Table 16, gender group consciousness significantly impacted White women's perception of anti-Black racism as a systemic issue. Identifying as a feminist ( $\beta=1.033$ ) and

perceived gender discrimination had a significant impact at the level of "weak" ( $\beta=0.495$ ), "medium" ( $\beta=0.693$ ), "strong" ( $\beta=1.056$ ), and "strongest" ( $\beta=1.127$ ) level. These results were in reference to not identifying as a feminist and the "weakest" level of perceived gender discrimination. Pro-gender equality levels were, however, only significant at the "strongest" level ( $\beta=1.207$ ) in reference to the "weakest" level. The "weak" ( $\beta=0.066$ ), "medium" ( $\beta=0.433$ ), and "strong" ( $\beta=0.577$ ) values of pro-gender equality did thereby not have a significant impact. Overall, gender group consciousness explains 34% of the variance in White women's perception of anti-Black racism as a systemic issue.

These results remained when I controlled for age, income, and political ideology in Control Group 1. Similarly, gender group consciousness was still significant when I held constant employment, education, patriotic tendencies, and experiences with sexual harassment in Control Group 2. Finally, when I controlled for experiences with sexism, interracial relationship, and region in Control Group 3, my three main predictor variables were still significant.

## Discussion

This study contributes with strong evidence of how White women's greater gender group consciousness positively shapes their perception of anti-Black racism as a systemic issue. As the perception of gender discrimination was significantly impactful at all levels, the perception of systemic anti-Black racism does not necessarily require a strong perception of gender discrimination. This may reflect the importance of other aspects of gender consciousness, as White women can perceive little gender discrimination yet still affirm anti-Black racism as a systemic issue. However, the greater levels of perceived gender discrimination may contribute to

the overall impact of greater gender consciousness. Further, my findings suggest that only the "strongest" pro-gender equality value has a significant effect, indicating that a systemic view requires strong ideals. This may reflect the greater values needed to affirm anti-Black racism as a systemic issue. In order to strongly oppose anti-equality gender values (as the original survey question was operationalized), White women may need to have a strong understanding of the impact of sexism. As this understanding may likely extend to a systemic view of sexism, such perception may translate into a greater understanding of anti-Black racism as systemic as well.

Overall, white women's greater gender consciousness may have a positive impact on their view of anti-Black racism as a systemic issue for three key reasons. Firstly, if they are conscious of sexism, they may be more able to perceive how anti-Black racism may operate similarly.

Specifically, suppose white women are conscious of sexism as a systemic issue. In that case, they may be better equipped to detect certain patterns of racist oppression as entrenched in interpersonal and institutional levels and through socialization. For example, gender consciousness may include understanding how systemic sexism makes it much more likely that women take care of invisible labor (e.g., household chores, childcare) as opposed to men in shared households (Crain, Poster, & Cherry, 2016). In turn, white women who recognize the systemic sexism of invisible labor, etc., may be more likely to perceive anti-Black systemic racism in the form of, for instance, the "Mammification" of Black women<sup>4</sup> (Pilgrim, 2023).

Moreover, this awareness of racism sharing certain similarities with the sexism that White women face may increase the group's motivation to acknowledge and recognize anti-Black racism as a systemic issue. I argue that this can partially be because certain shared group interests

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<sup>4</sup> The mammy caricature objectified Black women and was used to justify anti-Black racism during slavery and the Jim Crow era by "[portraying] an obese, coarse, maternal figure" who "volunteered" to care for the White family (Pilgrim, 2023).

to dismantle these systems of oppression may emerge, resulting in solidarity. When you have solidarity with other groups, the first step is to recognize that they are indeed also facing oppression. Moreover, the impact of gender consciousness may also be influenced by the knowledge of systemic racism and anti-Black racism that the group may acquire in mainstream feminist spaces. Due to the heightened focus on intersectionality in the contemporary mainstream feminist movement, white women may be more likely to encounter information about these issues there (Crenshaw, 2017). They may also be more receptive to this information as it is presented to them in a space that largely caters to their interests.

## **Chapter 3: Do White women's gender group consciousness shape their perception of anti-Black racism in U.S. policing?**

### **Introduction**

In this chapter, I will focus on anti-Black racist policing, which is a clear example of systemic racism. If White women are conscious of sexism, this is likely exemplified by their cognizance of sexual harassment in the workplace, unequal pay, and the MeToo movement. In this sense, this consciousness may increase their ability to detect how racism manifests in some similar ways through, for instance, racist aggressions in the workplace and unequal hiring opportunities. If they are aware of such similarities across oppressions, they may also be more motivated to recognize racism, specifically anti-Black racist policing in this case. I argue that this motivation would stem from identifying shared group interests to dismantle these systems of oppression, which would manifest as solidarity. Knowledge of racism that increases perceptions of racism as

a systemic issue may also be acquired uniquely through the increased focus on intersectionality in mainstream feminism (Crenshaw, 2017).

Specifically, I seek to address the question: *Do White women with stronger gender group consciousness also have stronger perceptions of anti-Black racist policing?*

In 2020, the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement gained widespread, international attention (Lebron, 2023). BLM has acted as a community response to fatal police brutality since 2013 (ibid.). The denial of racist policing by white people is a crucial issue because when dominant groups do not recognize this violence, they are directly or indirectly functioning as barriers towards progressive policy implementation and social change overall. Among people who recognize systemic racism in the police, a push for either reform or abolition has formed the discourse about racism in the police since the civil rights movement (Kaba, 2020). White women have historically and contemporarily been found to enable racist policing. Historically, White women have, for instance, weaponized their privilege against Black men through false accusations of rape (Hodes, 2014). Contemporarily, the act of stereotyping Black men and women as dangerous has, for example, resulted in various incidents of White women calling the police on unarmed Black people for existing in public (Armstrong, 2021). White women's overall pattern of weaponizing their identity against Black people through utilizing the police highlights the importance of understanding how the group's perception of racist policing can be improved.

Previous studies have explored how Black and Latinx Americans' group consciousness (Barboza, 2012; Russel & Garrand, 2023) shapes their perception of the police. Linked fate<sup>5</sup> among racial group members who are disproportionately dealing with the police are more likely to view the

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<sup>5</sup> Linked fate concerns individuals' perception of shared destiny with their group members and explains how group consciousness can result in political cohesion among group members (Barboza, 2012).

police as racist (e.g., Barboza, 2012). White peoples' racial group consciousness did not significantly impact the perception of racist policing (Russel & Garrand, 2023). However, aspects of White women's gender group consciousness have been found to improve perceptions of racism in general (e.g., Banks et al., 2014; Harbin & Margolis, 2022). To test the impact of White women's gender consciousness on their perception of anti-Black racist policing, this study draws survey data from the American Election Study (ANES) 2020. A sample of 1,290 White women is included in the analysis.

## Data and methods

### Data and sample

To explore how perceptions of gender discrimination may shape how White women perceive racism in U.S. policing, I utilize data from the American National Election Study (ANES) 2020. The post-election data was collected from November 8<sup>th</sup>, 2020, until January 4<sup>th</sup>, 2021. A total of 8,617 respondents participated in the post-election survey that mainly drew from the pre-election participation pool. A representative sample of 1,290 White Women from the pre-and follow-up post-election survey will be included in the analysis. The data file is available for download from the ANES 2020 website (<https://electionstudies.org>). In Table 1 a descriptive summary is included of all the main variables. All analysis was weighted with the individual post-election "V200010b" weight variable according to ANES standards, and all analysis was conducted in R Studio. Table X shows descriptions of the key variables and the coding.

### Dependent variable

***Perception of anti-Black racism in U.S. policing.*** The variable “perception of anti-Black racism in U.S. policing” is the key outcome variable. This variable was measured by the survey

question: "In general, do the police treat Whites better than blacks, treat them both the same or treat blacks better than Whites?". The answer options included: "Treat Whites better," "Treat both the same," and "Treat blacks better." As the initial univariate analysis revealed that only 16 White women reported that the police treat Black people better, I limited my multivariate analysis to explore the other two values. I then reversed the values and transformed the variable into a dummy variable where "0" reflect the value "Treat both the same" and "1" reflects "Threat Whites better."

### **Group consciousness variables**

***Perception of gender discrimination.*** The variable 'perception of gender discrimination' is the key predictor variable that was measured by the survey question 'How much discrimination is there in the United States today against [women]?', where the answer options were "A great deal," "A lot," "A moderate amount," "A little," and "None at all." I reversed these values.

The ***pro-quality values*** variable is measured by the research question "When women demand equality these days, how often are they actually seeking special favors?" with the answer options "Never," "Some of the time," "About half of the time," "Most of the time," and "Always." I reversed these values.

***Feminist identity*** was measured by asking respondents if they consider themselves to be a feminist or an anti-feminist, where the answer options included "Feminist," "Anti-feminist," and "Neither." I recorded this variable into a dummy variable where "0" represented "anti-feminist," "neither," and "1" represented identifying as a "feminist." I utilize "feminist identity" as opposed to "woman identity" as it has been found to more strongly relate to other factors of gender group consciousness (Henderson-King & Stewart, 1994). Feminist identity also correlates more

strongly with protection of group interests (Mikołajczak, Becker, & Iyer, 2022), which is a core aspect of group consciousness theory overall.

### **The control variables**

**Educational attainment** was measured on a scale of "Less than high school credential," "High school credential," "Some post-high school, no bachelor's degree," "Bachelor's degree," and "Graduate degree." The education variables collected through online surveys or telephone interviews were re-coded to one variable.

**Employment status** was measured on a scale of "Working now," "Temporarily laid off," "unemployed," "retired," "permanently disabled," "homemaker," and "student" (with the latter four options including those who work less than 20hrs/pk). I recoded these values into "1" as "Temporarily laid off"/"Unemployed," "2" as all values indicating working less than 20 hours, and "3" as "Working now" (reflecting full-time employment).

Total **family income** was measured on a 22-point scale ranging from "Under \$9,999" to "\$250,000 or more". I recoded these values based on standard income categorization (Walrack, 2023); "1" as "low income" ( $\leq$ \$49,999), "2" as "middle income" ( $\leq$ \$149,999), and "3" as "high income" ( $\geq$ \$150,000).

**The region** was collected in regard to whether the respondent resided in "1" as "South," "2" as "Midwest," "3" as "West," or "4" as "Northeast" in the U.S. I recorded these values to reflect more liberal regions (Pew Research Center, 2014).

**Experience(s) with sexism** was measured with the question, "How much discrimination have you personally experienced because of your sex or gender?". The answer options included ranged on a five-point scale from "A great deal" to "None at all" I reversed these values.

***Interracial relationship*** status was measured by the inquiry of the race/ethnicity of the respondent's spouse or partner. The answer options included "White, non-Hispanic," "Black, non-Hispanic," "Hispanic," and "Asian, Native Hawaiian/other Pacific Islander, Native American/Alaska Native or multiple races, non-Hispanic." I recoded this into a dummy variable where "0" reflected no interracial relationship "(i.e., White, non-Hispanic partner) and "1" reflected interracial relationship (i.e., all other values).

***Experience(s) with sexual harassment*** in the workplace was measured by the question: "Have you ever personally experienced sexual harassment at work or not?". The answer options were: "Have" and "Have not." I utilized this as a dummy variable and reversed the values.

***Age*** was collected from age 18-80, and I recoded this variable into three values where "1" reflected age 18-39, "2" reflected age "40-59", and "3" reflected age 60-80. These values were based on common categorizations of adult years reflecting "young," "middle age," and "old age" (Lachman, 2001).

***Political ideology*** was measured by asking participants to place themselves on a seven-point scale ranging from "extremely liberal" to "extremely conservative." I reversed these values.

***Perceived use of force*** was measured by the survey question, "How often do police officers use more force than necessary?". The answer options included "Never," "Rarely," "About half the time," "Most of the time," and "All of the time."

***Stopped by the police*** was measured by the survey question, "During the past 12 months, were you or any of your family members stopped or questioned by a police officer, or did this not happen in the past 12 months?". The answer options included "Was stopped or questioned in the

past 12 months" and "Was not stopped or questioned in the past 12 months". I reversed these values.

**Overall arrestment history** was measured by the survey question, "Have you ever been arrested, or has that never happened to you?". The answer options included "Have been arrested" and "Never arrested." I reversed these values.

**Patriotic tendency** was measured by the survey question, "Have you displayed an American flag on your house or in your yard in the past year, or not?". The answer options included "Yes" and "No."

**The violent stereotype** was measured by the survey question, "On this scale from 1 to 7, where 1 means peaceful and 7 means violent, where would you rate blacks in general on this scale?". The answer options ranged on a 7-point scale, and I reversed these values.

*Table 17. Descriptive statistics of key variables*

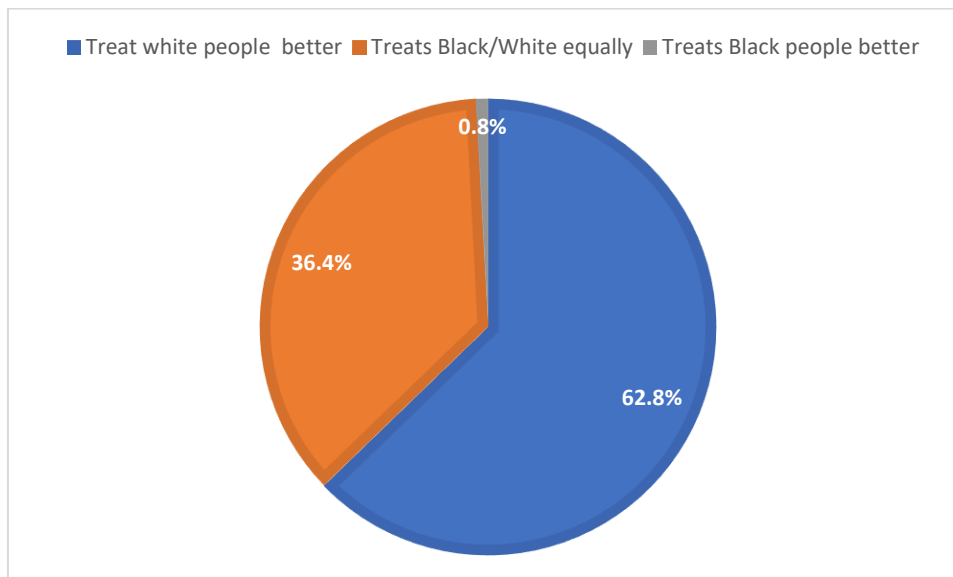
<b>Variable</b>	<b>Coding scheme</b>	<b>Mean/Frequency</b>	<b>SD</b>
<i>Perceived racist policing</i>	0 = police treat equally, 1 = police treat Whites better	433 (41.6%)	NA
<i>Feminist identity</i>	0 = non-feminist, 1 = feminist	735 (70.7%)	NA
<i>Perceived gender discrimination</i>	1 = None at all, to 5 = A great deal	2.805	0.956
<i>Gender equality values</i>	1 = Always, to 5 = Never	4.130	0.940

**Plan of analysis**

My analysis includes several steps. First, I will show descriptive statistics of the perceptions of the key variables (see Table 17). Secondly, I conducted a univariate analysis of the outcome variable, followed by an OLS regression to demonstrate the relationship between gender group consciousness and perception of racist policing (see Table 2). I additionally utilized three groups of control variables in the analysis that were curated after a multicollinearity test so that highly correlated variables would not be included in the same regression. Group 1 control for employment, income, experiences with sexism, and political ideology. Group 2 controls for age, education, harassment experiences, and perception of the use of force in policing. In group 3, I controlled for patriotic tendencies, region, interracial relationships, having been stopped by the police or arrested, and violent stereotypes of Black people.

## Results

*Figure 3. White women's perception of racist policing*



The result of the univariate analysis is presented in Figure 3. While an extremely low portion of the White women in this study reported believing that Black people are treated better by the

police than Whites (0.8 %), a significant number believed that both groups are treated equally by the police (36.4 %). However, the majority (62.8 %) believed that Whites are treated better than Black people by the police. Given this skewed distribution, it appears that White women are most likely to either view Whites' treatment by the police as privileged or to view police treatment as non-racially biased. As discussed in the Method section, I will, for this reason, solely explore these two values in the bivariate and multivariate analysis. Notably, viewing the police as non-racist aligns with much previous scholarship on White peoples' perceptions (e.g., Nelson, Sanbonmatsu & McClerking, 2007; Yuan, Yuning, & Chris, 2022).

In the next step, I tested whether each individual aspect of gender consciousness (feminist identity, perceived gender discrimination, gender equality values) significantly correlates with their perceptions of anti-Black racist policing.

As shown in Table 18, the majority (66.9%) of the participants are non-feminists, while 33.1% identified as feminists. The great majority (94.7%) of those who believe that the police treat Black and White people equally did not identify as feminists. Also, among those who believe that Whites are treated better by the police, around half (50.4%) of the respondents were non-feminists. This illustrates that while having a view of the police as non-racist is very unlikely among self-identified feminists, those who view the police as racially biased are almost as likely to be feminists as non-feminists. In other words, the likelihood of perceiving anti-Black racist policing is more probable among White women who identify as feminists.

*Table 18. White women's feminist identity vs. perceived anti-Black racist policing*

**Feminist identity**

**Total**

<b>Perceived racist policing</b>	Non-feminist	Feminist	
<b>Treat Black/White equally</b>	450	25	475
	94.7 %	5.3 %	100 %
<b>Treat Whites better</b>	406	399	805
	50.4 %	49.6 %	100 %
<b>Total</b>	856	424	1280
	66.9 %	33.1 %	100 %

$$\chi^2=262.676 \cdot df=1 \cdot \phi=0.455 \cdot p=0.000$$

In the next step, I tested whether there is a significant correlation between perceptions of racist policing in relation to perceived gender discrimination. Overall, the majority (36.0%) had a "medium" perception of gender discrimination, followed by 35.5% with a "weak" perception. Around one-fifth (19.3%) had a "strong" perception, merely 4.7% had the "strongest" perception, and 4.5% had the "weakest" perception. Among White women who view the police as treating Black and White people equally, the majority (50.3%) had a "weak," followed by a "medium" (31.6%) perception of gender discrimination (see Table 19). Merely 8.6% had the "weakest," 7.4% had a "strong," and 2.1% had the "strongest" perception of gender discrimination. Among those who view the police as pro-White biased, the majority (38.6%) had a medium perception of gender discrimination. Around half of the respondents had either a "weak" (26.7%) or "strong" (26.3%) perception, while merely 6.2% had the "strongest" and 2.1% had the "weakest" perception of gender discrimination. Overall, this illustrates that White women who view the police as racially biased tend to have greater perceptions of gender discrimination.

*Table 19. White women's perceived gender discrimination vs. perceived anti-Black racist policing*

Perceived racist policing	Perceived gender discrimination					Total
	Weakest	Weak	Medium	Strong	Strongest	
Treat Black/White equally	41	239	150	35	10	475
	8.6 %	50.3 %	31.6 %	7.4 %	2.1 %	100 %
Treat Whites better	17	215	311	212	50	805
	2.1 %	26.7 %	38.6 %	26.3 %	6.2 %	100 %
Total	58	454	461	247	60	1280
	4.5 %	35.5 %	36 %	19.3 %	4.7 %	100 %

$\chi^2=145.527 \cdot df=4 \cdot \text{Cramer's } V=0.337 \cdot p=0.000$

Next, I tested whether a significant correlation exists between perceiving racist policing and gender equality values. Overall, the majority (62.2%) had the "strongest" gender equality value, followed by 32.8% who had a "strong" value and 12.5% with a "medium" value. Merely 6.8% had a "weak" value, and 0.8% had the "weakest" value. Among those who believe that the police treat Black and White people equally, the majority (42.3%) had "strong" gender equality values (see Table 20). Around one-fifth, respectively, had "medium" (22.3%) or "strongest" (21.5%) values, while 12% had "weak" values and 1.9% had the "weakest" values. Among those who believe that the police treat Whites better, the majority (62.2%) had the "strongest" gender equality values, followed by "strong" values (27.2%). Merely 6.7% had "medium" values and 3.7% had "weak" values, while 0.1% had the "weakest" values. This shows that while most

respondents, regardless of their view of the police, had fairly strong gender equality values, these values were more prominent among those who viewed the police as racist.

*Table 20. White women’s gender equality values vs. perceived anti-Black racist policing*

<b>Perceived racist policing</b>	<b>Gender equality values</b>					<b>Total</b>
	Weakest	Weak	Medium	Strong	Strongest	
<b>Treat Black/White equally</b>	9	57	106	201	102	475
	1.9 %	12 %	22.3 %	42.3 %	21.5 %	100 %
<b>Treat Whites better</b>	1	30	54	219	501	805
	0.1 %	3.7 %	6.7 %	27.2 %	62.2 %	100 %
<b>Total</b>	10	87	160	420	603	1280
	0.8 %	6.8 %	12.5 %	32.8 %	47.1 %	100 %

$\chi^2=226.438 \cdot df=4 \cdot \text{Cramer's } V=0.421 \cdot \text{Fisher's } p=0.000$

All associations from these cross-tabulations were significant ( $p<.000$ ). In the next step, my multi-variate analyses will explore whether White women’s gender group consciousness can predict their perception of anti-Black racist policing in the U.S.

*Table 21. Multivariate analysis of the effect of gender consciousness on perceiving racist policing*

**NO                      CONTROL 1      CONTROL 2      CONTROL 3**

**CONTROLS**

<b>FEMINIST</b>	0.311***	0.158***	0.210***	0.267***
<b>IDENTITY</b>	(0.031)	(0.034)	(0.032)	(0.032)
<b>PERCEIVED</b>				
<b>GENDER</b>				
<b>DISCRIMINATION</b>				
<b>WEAKEST</b>	1 [Reference]	1 [Reference]	1 [Reference]	1 [Reference]
<b>PERCEPTION</b>				
<b>WEAK</b>	0.004	-0.032	-0.006	0.023
<b>PERCEPTION</b>	(0.055)	(0.052)	(0.052)	(0.054)
<b>MEDIUM</b>	0.077	0.013	0.051	0.079
<b>PERCEPTION</b>	(0.055)	(0.053)	(0.053)	(0.054)
<b>STRONG</b>	0.187***	0.099*	0.115**	0.182***
<b>PERCEPTION</b>	(0.060)	(0.060)	(0.058)	(0.060)
<b>STRONGEST</b>	0.178**	0.086	0.062	0.159**
<b>PERCEPTION</b>	(0.074)	(0.076)	(0.073)	(0.074)
<b>GENDER</b>				
<b>EQUALITY</b>				
<b>VALUES</b>				
<b>WEAKEST VALUE</b>	1 [Reference]	1 [Reference]	1 [Reference]	1 [Reference]
<b>WEAK VALUES</b>	0.211	0.221	0.162	0.180
	(0.148)	(0.141)	(0.142)	(0.146)
<b>MEDIUM VALUES</b>	0.164	0.138	0.156	0.127
	(0.144)	(0.137)	(0.138)	(0.143)

<b>STRONG VALUES</b>	0.328**	0.265*	0.293**	0.308**
	(0.142)	(0.135)	(0.136)	(0.141)
<b>STRONGEST VALUES</b>	0.477***	0.363***	0.408***	0.438***
	(0.143)	(0.136)	(0.137)	(0.141)
<b>EMPLOYMENT</b>		0.004		
		(0.021)		
<b>INCOME</b>		0.033*		
		(0.017)		
<b>EXPERIENCES WITH SEXISM</b>		-0.024*		
		(0.013)		
<b>POLITICAL IDEOLOGY</b>		0.098***		
		(0.009)		
<b>AGE</b>			0.046***	
			(0.015)	
<b>EDUCATION</b>			0.067***	
			(0.012)	
<b>HARASSMENT EXPERIENCES</b>			0.019	
			(0.024)	
<b>PERCEIVED USE OF FORCE</b>			0.166***	
			(0.016)	
<b>PATRIOTIC TENDENCIES</b>				0.138***
				(0.025)
<b>REGION</b>				0.001

					(0.011)
<b>INTERRACIAL</b>					0.132***
<b>RELATIONSHIP</b>					(0.048)
<b>STOPPED BY</b>					-0.036
<b>POLICE</b>					(0.034)
<b>HISTORY OF</b>					0.060
<b>BEING</b>					(0.037)
<b>ARRESTED</b>					
<b>VIOLENT</b>					0.018*
<b>STEREOTYPE</b>					(0.009)
<b>CONSTANT</b>	0.064	-0.150	-0.594***	-0.208	
	(0.146)	(0.151)	(0.155)	(0.166)	
<b>OBSERVATIONS</b>		1,29	1,28	1,28	1,28
<b>R2</b>	0.275	0.348	0.341	0.300	
<b>ADJUSTED R2</b>	0.270	0.342	0.335	0.292	
<b>RESIDUAL STD. ERROR</b>	0.379 (df =	0.361 (df =	0.363 (df =	0.374 (df =	
	1280)	1266)	1266)	1264)	
<b>F STATISTIC</b>	53.952*** (df	52.045*** (df =	50.472*** (df =	36.151*** (df =	
	= 9; 1280)	13; 1266)	13; 1266)	15; 1264)	

Note: \* $p < 0.1$ ; \*\* $p < 0.05$ ; \*\*\* $p < 0.01$

As illustrated in Table X, gender group consciousness significantly impacts White women's perception of anti-Black racism in the police system. Specifically, through identifying as a feminist ( $\beta = 0.311$ ) and perceiving "high" ( $\beta = 0.187$ ) and the "highest" ( $\beta = 0.178$ ) levels of

gender discrimination in relation to the "lowest" level. Also, having "strong" ( $\beta=0.328$ ) and "strongest" ( $\beta=0.477$ ) pro-gender-equality values in relation to the "weakest" level had significant impacts. In contrast, the "medium" ( $\beta=0.077$ ) and "weak" ( $\beta=0.004$ ) perceptions of gender discrimination and "medium" ( $\beta=0.164$ ) and "weak" ( $\beta=0.211$ ) pro-gender equality values did not have a significant impact in relation to the "weakest" levels respectively. Overall, gender group consciousness explains 27% of the variance in perceived racist policing.

When I held constant employment, income, experiences with sexism, and political ideology, the impact of gender group consciousness generally remained significant. Similarly, when I controlled for age, education, harassment experiences, and attitudes toward the police use of force, my three main predictors remained generally significant. However, the impact of "strong" perceived gender discrimination, in reference to the "weakest" level, was the only value of this variable that remained significant when I utilized the controls from groups 1 and 2. Finally, when I controlled for patriotic tendencies, region, interracial relationships, having been stopped by the police or arrested, and violent stereotypes of Black people, gender group consciousness still had a significant impact.

## Discussion

My findings suggest that, as hypothesized, greater gender group consciousness can improve White women's perception of racism in the police system. Improved perceptions of racist policing required overall a "strong" perception of gender discrimination and pro-gender equality value. This implies that it is only at the strong level of gender group consciousness that White women perceive the police as racially biased. Identifying as a feminist in reference to not identifying as a feminist was also a significant predictor. I argue that there are three main reasons why gender consciousness improves white women's perceptions of anti-Black racist policing.

Firstly, as their awareness of sexism as an oppressive system is greater, they are more likely to detect similarities in how the police systematically operate in anti-Black, racist ways. For instance, a consciousness of systemic gender oppression in the form of catcalling in public spaces (DelGreco, Ebesu Hubbard, & Denes, 2021) may make it more receptive for the group to perceive racist anti-Black bias in public police stops (Lofstrom et al., 2021). Notably, racial stereotyping is one of the main predictors of perceived racism in the police. White women may need to overcome various stereotypes of, in particular, Black Americans in order to report greater perceptions of anti-Black racism in the police and overall. Specifically, to perceive anti-Black racism in the police, stereotypes about criminality and violence need to be challenged (Kahn, Thompson, & McMahon, 2017; Smith & Merolla, 2019). With this in mind, White women's gender consciousness may, for instance, extend to awareness of sexist stereotypes of women and feminists. In turn, they may also be better equipped to recognize the aforementioned anti-Black stereotypes. Secondly, the motivation to recognize this awareness may also be heightened by those who perceive these similarities. This is because shared group interests may appear, namely, to dismantle both systems of oppression (sexism and anti-Black policing), which leads to solidarity.

Thirdly, white women with greater gender consciousness are also more likely to be exposed to mainstream feminist spaces due to their feminist identity. These spaces are contemporarily more inclusive of an intersectional perspective (Crenshaw, 2017). In turn, this exposure to issues of racism, including anti-Black racism and racist policing, may also increase their awareness and motivation to recognize this issue. It is also more probable that they would acquire this information in a way that catered to issues that concern white women due to the whiteness focus of mainstream feminism. While this may make the information more accessible, this also risks

that the information is "watered down" or not fully reflecting the original sources of, for instance, the BLM movement.

## General Discussion

Analyzing data from ANES 2020, I showed that gender consciousness has a significant impact on White women's perceptions of racism. Gender group consciousness was measured by feminist identity, perceived gender discrimination, and pro-gender equality values. Overall, greater levels of consciousness were needed to detect racism as a systemic issue (Chapter 2) and racist policing (Chapter 3), while perceptions of racial discrimination were predicted by both low and high levels of perceived gender discrimination (Chapter 1). In Chapter 1, perceived anti-Asian discrimination was also the only outcome variable that was significantly predicted by gender equality values, as compared to perceived anti-Black and anti-Hispanic discrimination. The implications of these differences are elaborated on in the Discussion section of each chapter. Here, I will discuss the overall implications of these findings in relation to the literature.

This thesis's three main findings contribute to our understanding of how White women perceive racism. Firstly, I found that, in general, greater gender consciousness can transcend White women's ability to detect racism. In this sense, White women may be able to perceive more racism if they have greater gender consciousness, as they are then better equipped to detect patterns of oppression similar to the sexism that they face.<sup>6</sup> For instance, those who have greater consciousness may report this due to incidents they have witnessed in the workplace or at school or through news coverage of the "MeToo" movement. This may then make it more likely to

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<sup>6</sup> I intentionally distinguish between the sexism all women face and the sexism that White women face, as in-group consciousness is rooted in one's own experiences. Moreover, especially given the phenomena of White feminism, I cannot assume that White women with greater gender consciousness necessarily include more than the experiences of White women in this consciousness.

perceive the oppressive nature of racist incidents in the workplace or at school or through news coverage about the BLM movement. This aligns with previous literature demonstrating the potential of in-group awareness of oppression transcending to out-group awareness of racism. For instance, racial group consciousness has been correlated with greater perceptions of racist policing (Barboza, 2012; Russel & Garrand, 2023). Moreover, aspects of gender consciousness (i.e., feminist identity and perceptions of sexism) have been found to improve White women's perceptions of racism overall (Banks et al., 2014; Yoon et al., 2013). Notably, while White people's self-reported experiences with "reverse racism" weakens their perceptions of actual racism (e.g., Carter & Murphy, 2015; Norton & Sommers, 2011), perceptions of sexism among White women have the opposite effect (Yoon et al., 2013). This illustrates that the positionality of being oppressed is a key factor in the positive impact of group consciousness on perceptions of racism among White women. Secondly, their willingness to report greater perceptions of out-group oppression, namely racism, may increase. Black, Asian, and Latinx people's motivation to recognize racism is complicated by internalized racism (e.g., Fernandes, 2017; Yi & Todd, 2021) and other intersecting identities such as immigration status (Hall, 2023). White Women's motivation to recognize racism may, on the other hand, be complicated by the discrepancy between their privilege as White and oppression as women. While the White aspect of their identity has a lot to gain by not recognizing racism (Bonam et al., 2019), when women's awareness of sexism transcends to their awareness of racism and they perceive shared group interests, their motivation may shift. The group interests of those marginalized by gender and race may overlap, which is fruitful for solidarity, and empathy may improve. Historically successful solidarity coalition work (e.g., Ferree & Roth, 1998; Mays, 2021) may motivate White women with greater gender consciousness to recognize racism in order to dismantle sexism and racism.

In turn, this makes it less valuable to self-present in ways that uphold these systems of oppression, including racism, by denying its existence.

Thirdly, it is not just the reproduction of the status quo through self-image control or racial or gender group consciousness that has been found to predict an individual's perceptions of racism. As suggested by the Marley hypothesis, knowledge about racial history can improve perceptions of racism as a systemic issue in particular (e.g., Cooley et al., 2019; Zell & Lesick, 2022). Similarly, educational initiatives on Black History Month, etc., have been found to increase people's awareness of racism. While White women's greater gender consciousness does not necessarily indicate a greater knowledge span on racism, I argue that identifying as a feminist, in particular, may improve exposure to these educational initiatives. Given the rise of intersectionality focuses within the third wave of the mainstream feminist movement (Crenshaw, 2017), in combination with the heightened accessibility of feminist discourse through social media in the past decade, White women in these spaces are more likely exposed to information about group-specific racisms (e.g., anti-Black racism), systemic racism, and institutional racism. Notably, White women have, through, in particular, the first and second waves of mainstream feminism, demonstrated neglect of Women of Color's experiences (Schuller, 2021). In fact, the whole notion of White feminism is essentially composed of selected aspects from the Womanist movement, etc., in favor of the self-interests of White women (ibid.). This has shown that White women's gender consciousness does not necessarily transcend to awareness of racism. However, as the study results of this thesis have demonstrated, there is potential for greater gender group consciousness among this group to improve their perceptions of various forms of racism. These findings also mirror other empirical support for aspects of White women's gender consciousness improving their perception of racism (e.g., Banks, 2014; Yoon et al., 2013). This may also further

explicate why gender group consciousness among White women essentially shaped White feminism before this shift occurred (Schuller, 2021). Also, due to the stigma of identifying as a feminist (McCabe, 2005), it is also more likely that those who self-identified as a feminist in the survey lean towards a strong and perhaps radical identification. In turn, this could further increase the likelihood of being exposed to intersectional feminist discourse, although radical spaces are not necessarily intersectionality-focused (Schuller, 2021). Moreover, their overall gender consciousness may make them more receptive and empathic towards this information, as discussed through changed group-presentation motivations and increased awareness.

## Conclusion

An emerging research area is identifying mechanisms that can improve out-group members' perceptions of different forms of racism. Specifically, studies have shown that consciousness of one's own marginalized positioning through, for instance, race or gender can predict a greater perception of out-group racism and racism overall. This thesis explored whether White women's greater gender consciousness can improve their perceptions of group-specific racial discrimination (facing Black, Asian, and Hispanic people), anti-Black systemic racism, and racist policing. The findings highlight that greater levels of gender consciousness do increase these perceptions, in particular the latter two. These findings contribute to the literature by expanding on the previously dominating theoretical frameworks of group-presentation, consciousness, and the Marley hypothesis. I theorize that White women's gender consciousness heightens their ability and motivation to recognize racism as a form of oppression. Through awareness of sexism, they may detect similarities in patterns of oppression, such as microaggressions in the workplace, as well as recognize the value of collective responses to oppression (e.g., MeToo and BLM). Some group interests may also overlap, which specifically relates to group-presentation

and the motivation to recognize racism, as they recognize more sexism. Moreover, feminist identity highlights a particular aspect of gender consciousness that may expose the group to information that can also improve their perceptions of racism. Specifically, the increased focus on intersectionality in the mainstream feminist movement may make information about different forms of racism more accessible to White women. This builds on the Marley hypothesis that affirms that greater knowledge of racial history correlates with a greater understanding of racism as a systemic issue through identifying mainstream feminist spaces as a potential opportunity for this knowledge acquisition.

Much is yet to be done to improve White women's solidarity in the dismantlement of racism. However, the findings of this thesis show that gender consciousness can improve White women's perception of different forms of racism and may be one of many important steps in the direction of dismantling racial inequality. As white women are the group that benefits most from affirmative action (Crenshaw, 2006), my research may further be valuable when we consider perceptions of racism stemming from institutional spaces where white women are increasingly in positions of power, such as in the sectors of law, and health care (Warner, Ellman, & Boesch, 2018). Moreover, as I show that white women with greater gender consciousness are more sensitive to perceiving racism, this may also have important implications for how privileged people understand racism in society, and we can use this information to strategize against racism. Further, my research demonstrates that it is a matter of subjectivity in the form of gender consciousness, and not necessarily concrete experiences of sexism, that positively shapes white women's perceptions of racism. This highlights the importance of how we relate to our social positioning, not just the status of our social positioning itself and the experiences it may entail.

Further, White women's perception, among others, of racism in the police has important implications for the public response towards racist policing. As perceiving racist policing increases support of reform (Jackson et al., 2022; Ilchi, Frank, & Hickling, 2022), educational initiatives can use the finding of this study to improve White women's perception and possibly their support of anti-racist work in regard to racist policing. As the findings highlight the importance of White women's gender consciousness, this brings forward valuable information about how the group's perceptions of racism may be influenced. Educational anti-racist initiatives may use this information to ground exercises and materials in an understanding of the limitations and possibilities that this may present. As White women's greater gender group consciousness is a strong predictor of perceptions of racism, educational initiatives may need to address in-group oppression as well in order to enable greater knowledge-building about racism.

There are three main limitations of this study. Firstly, a comparison of more directly contrasting perceptions of what creates racial inequality (e.g., systemic vs. interpersonal) could make the argument of my thesis clearer. Measuring perceptions of, for instance, anti-Black racism as a systemic issue is limited to capturing a stronger perception that is associated with an overall greater understanding of racism (Tator et al., 2006). Conversely, to additionally measure perceptions of racism as an interpersonal issue could have the potential to contrast such analysis with a factor that is associated with overall lower perceptions of racism (ibid.). Secondly, if the independent variable (focused on sexism) had more directly mirrored the outcome variables (focused on racism), that could also improve the connections I make. For instance, in Chapter 2, if the survey question would specifically measure if the respondents viewed sexism as a systemic issue, then I could more strongly infer a relation between perceptions of sexism and racism. And finally, if I had included men in the analysis, I could have made a more convincing argument of

whether the perception of gender discrimination is important based on gender. Despite these limitations, this study contributes with an empirical investigation of mechanisms that shape White women's understandings of racism in the U.S.

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## Appendix (For Chapter 1)

*Table 22. Control group 1 for white women’s perceptions of racial discrimination*

	<b>PERCEIVED ANTI-BLACK DISCRIMINATIO N</b>	<b>PERCEIVED ANTI-HISPANIC DISCRIMINATIO N</b>	<b>PERCEIVED ANTI-ASIAN DISCRIMINATIO N</b>
<b>FEMINIST IDENTITY</b>	0.309*** (0.065)	0.247*** (0.062)	0.244*** (0.060)
<b>PERCEIVED GENDER DISCRIMINATION</b>			
<b>WEAKEST PERCEPTION</b>	1 [Reference]	1 [Reference]	1 [Reference]
<b>WEAK PERCEPTION</b>	0.390***	0.374***	0.305***

	(0.102)	(0.097)	(0.095)
<b>MEDIUM PERCEPTION</b>	0.789***	0.767***	0.704***
	(0.104)	(0.099)	(0.097)
<b>STRONG PERCEPTION</b>	1.336***	1.150***	1.045***
	(0.115)	(0.109)	(0.107)
<b>STRONGEST PERCEPTION</b>	1.453***	1.416***	1.410***
	(0.142)	(0.135)	(0.132)
<b>GENDER EQUALITY VALUES</b>			
<b>WEAKEST VALUE</b>	1 [Reference]	1 [Reference]	1 [Reference]
<b>WEAK VALUES</b>	-0.123	0.113	0.393
	(0.277)	(0.263)	(0.258)
<b>MEDIUM VALUES</b>	-0.067	0.162	0.508**
	(0.271)	(0.257)	(0.252)
<b>STRONG VALUES</b>	-0.072	0.065	0.277
	(0.267)	(0.253)	(0.248)
<b>STRONGEST VALUES</b>	0.039	0.157	0.268
	(0.269)	(0.255)	(0.250)
<b>AGE</b>	0.049*	-0.032	-0.014
	(0.030)	(0.028)	(0.028)
<b>INCOME</b>	0.072**	0.050	-0.011
	(0.033)	(0.032)	(0.031)

<b>POLITICAL IDEOLOGY</b>	0.179*** (0.017)	0.143*** (0.016)	0.051*** (0.016)
<b>CONSTANT</b>	1.750*** (0.289)	1.636*** (0.275)	1.491*** (0.269)
<b>OBSERVATIONS</b>	1,291	1,291	1,291
<b>R2</b>	0.466	0.399	0.275
<b>ADJUSTED R2</b>	0.461	0.394	0.268
<b>RESIDUAL STD. ERROR (DF = 1278)</b>	0.711	0.675	0.661
<b>F STATISTIC (DF = 12; 1278)</b>	92.964***	70.826***	40.411***

*Table 23. Control group 2 for white women's perceptions of racial discrimination*

	<b>PERCEIVED ANTI-BLACK DISCRIMINATION</b>	<b>PERCEIVED ANTI-HISPANIC DISCRIMINATION</b>	<b>PERCEIVED ANTI-ASIAN DISCRIMINATION</b>
	<b>N</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>N</b>
<b>FEMINIST IDENTITY</b>	0.519*** (0.063)	0.382*** (0.059)	0.307*** (0.057)
<b>PERCEIVED GENDER DISCRIMINATION</b>			

<b><i>WEAKEST PERCEPTION</i></b>	1 [Reference]	1 [Reference]	1 [Reference]
<b><i>WEAK PERCEPTION</i></b>	0.469*** (0.105)	0.415*** (0.099)	0.333*** (0.096)
<b><i>MEDIUM PERCEPTION</i></b>	0.901*** (0.106)	0.836*** (0.100)	0.738*** (0.097)
<b><i>STRONG PERCEPTION</i></b>	1.505*** (0.116)	1.265*** (0.109)	1.093*** (0.106)
<b><i>STRONGEST PERCEPTION</i></b>	1.657*** (0.144)	1.544*** (0.136)	1.464*** (0.131)
<b>GENDER EQUALITY VALUES</b>			
<b><i>WEAKEST VALUE</i></b>	1 [Reference]	1 [Reference]	1 [Reference]
<b><i>WEAK VALUES</i></b>	-0.110 (0.284)	0.119 (0.267)	0.377 (0.258)
<b><i>MEDIUM VALUES</i></b>	0.004 (0.277)	0.235 (0.261)	0.511** (0.252)
<b><i>STRONG VALUES</i></b>	0.086 (0.273)	0.181 (0.257)	0.303 (0.248)
<b><i>STRONGEST VALUES</i></b>	0.266 (0.274)	0.309 (0.258)	0.311 (0.250)
<b>EMPLOYMENT</b>	0.081* (0.041)	0.085** (0.039)	0.051 (0.038)

<b>EDUCATION</b>	0.041*	0.084***	-0.011
	(0.023)	(0.022)	(0.021)
<b>PATRIOTIC TENDENCIES</b>	0.307***	0.193***	0.072*
	(0.048)	(0.045)	(0.044)
<b>EXPERIENCED HARASSMENT</b>	0.076	-0.035	-0.047
	(0.047)	(0.045)	(0.043)
<b>CONSTANT</b>	1.493***	1.206***	1.372***
	(0.311)	(0.292)	(0.283)
<b>OBSERVATIONS</b>	1,291	1,291	1,291
<b>R2</b>	0.440	0.381	0.273
<b>ADJUSTED R2</b>	0.434	0.375	0.265
<b>RESIDUAL STD. ERROR (DF = 1277)</b>	0.728	0.685	0.663
<b>F STATISTIC (DF = 13; 1277)</b>	77.201***	60.563***	36.808***

*Table 24. Control group 3 for white women's perceptions of racial discrimination*

<b>PERCEIVED</b>	<b>PERCEIVED</b>	<b>PERCEIVED</b>
<b>ANTI-BLACK</b>	<b>ANTI-HISPANIC</b>	<b>ANTI-ASIAN</b>

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	<b>DISCRIMINATIO</b>	<b>DISCRIMINATIO</b>	<b>DISCRIMINATIO</b>
	<b>N</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>N</b>
<b>FEMINIST IDENTITY</b>	0.608***	0.484***	0.309***
	(0.063)	(0.059)	(0.056)
<b>PERCEIVED GENDER</b>			
<b>DISCRIMINATION</b>			
<i>WEAKEST</i>	1 [Reference]	1 [Reference]	1 [Reference]
<i>PERCEPTION</i>			
<i>WEAK PERCEPTION</i>	0.490***	0.452***	0.319***
	(0.106)	(0.100)	(0.095)
<i>MEDIUM PERCEPTION</i>	0.964***	0.895***	0.721***
	(0.108)	(0.102)	(0.097)
<i>STRONG PERCEPTION</i>	1.573***	1.313***	1.059***
	(0.120)	(0.113)	(0.108)
<i>STRONGEST</i>	1.798***	1.632***	1.398***
<i>PERCEPTION</i>	(0.153)	(0.144)	(0.137)
<b>GENDER EQUALITY</b>			
<b>VALUES</b>			
<i>WEAKEST VALUE</i>	1 [Reference]	1 [Reference]	1 [Reference]
<i>WEAK VALUES</i>	-0.202	0.037	0.391
	(0.288)	(0.271)	(0.258)
<i>MEDIUM VALUES</i>	-0.086	0.145	0.525**
	(0.281)	(0.265)	(0.253)

<b>STRONG VALUES</b>	-0.004 (0.277)	0.107 (0.261)	0.313 (0.249)
<b>STRONGEST VALUES</b>	0.206 (0.278)	0.267 (0.262)	0.321 (0.250)
<b>EXPERIENCED SEXISM</b>	-0.061** (0.027)	-0.008 (0.026)	0.045* (0.024)
<b>REGION</b>	0.068*** (0.021)	0.038* (0.020)	-0.015 (0.019)
<b>INTERRACIAL RELATIONSHIP</b>	0.252*** (0.095)	0.152* (0.089)	0.077 (0.085)
<b>CONSTANT</b>	2.286*** (0.290)	1.874*** (0.273)	1.488*** (0.260)
<b>OBSERVATIONS</b>	1,291	1,291	1,291
<b>R2</b>	0.424	0.361	0.272
<b>ADJUSTED R2</b>	0.419	0.355	0.265
<b>RESIDUAL STD. ERROR (DF = 1278)</b>	0.738	0.696	0.663
<b>F STATISTIC (DF = 12; 1278)</b>	78.472***	60.149***	39.772***