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Perceptions of Police Use of Force at the Intersection of Race and Pregnancy

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Perceptions of Police Use of Force at the Intersection of Race and Pregnancy

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Abstract

Attention surrounding forceful policing largely focuses on men's experiences, but Black women, even when pregnant, are also harmed by police use of force. Previous research demonstrating anti-Black biases in perceptions of police use of force toward men cannot be directly applied towards women, due to unique stereotypes of Black women and mothers. How do race and pregnancy influence perceptions of police use of force against women? It was expected that pregnancy would elicit more positive responses in the current study, but only when pregnant women were also White. Benevolent sexism (BS) and social dominance orientation (SDO) were tested as moderators of the interaction between race and pregnancy, and perceived physical pain of the woman was tested as a mechanism for disparate outcomes. Data were collected from 463 participants who read a fictitious news article detailing a police use of force incident where the race (Black, White) and pregnancy status (pregnant, not pregnant) of a female target was varied. A survey was used to measure responses towards the target, including support for the amount of force used, victim blaming, and endorsement of disciplinary sanctions against the officer. Results showed main effects of race and pregnancy, where responses were more positive towards Black and pregnant women, with no significant interactions. Tests of moderation suggested that BS and SDO may relate to disparities in police accountability by target race, such that those lower in these social attitudes are more likely to endorse criminal charges against an officer when the woman is Black. Physical pain was not found to be a mechanism. Findings are discussed in relation to theories of prejudice suppression, shifting standards, and social discourse surrounding the Black

Lives Matter movement. This study contributes to the extant body of literature on perceptions of police use of force by addressing the gaps which do not represent women and motherhood in the policing empirical literature.

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Introduction

In recent decades, and particularly after the death of 18-year-old Michael Brown in 2014 (Ferguson, Missouri), the forceful policing of people of color has been in the media spotlight, with videos of police shootings often going viral. The deaths of Black men and boys by police have galvanized large social movements, such as Black Lives Matter (BLM), to bring their deaths and the acquittals of those who killed them to nationwide conversations and scrutiny. These men's names, such as Eric Garner, Philando Castile, Alton Sterling, Michael Brown, and Tamir Rice, have become recognized by many Americans. However, the high prevalence of these *men's* names begs the questions: What about *women*?

While more men than women are killed by police officers (in 2017, 214 Black men compared to 9 Black women were killed; The Washington Post, 2019), Black women are disproportionately killed compared to White women. White women make up approximately 61% of the United States' female population and 56% of women killed by police, whereas African-American and Black women make up 13% of the female population but 33% of women killed by police (U.S. Census Bureau, 2019; The Washington Post, 2019). Fatal force is only one indicator of biased policing, however, and Black women are also more likely to experience non-fatal levels of force (e.g., having a gun drawn but not fired) than White women (Kramer, Remster, & Charles, 2017). Importantly, the stories of police interactions with men garner more attention from the media than the stories of these women (Jacobs, 2017; McClellan, 2018). Given this gender discrepancy, as well as less recognition of women's involvement and leadership

in anti-police brutality activism, organizations such as the African-American Policy

Forum (AAPF) have made a call for gender-inclusion in conversations about use of force

by police officers (e.g., the Say Her Name campaign; Crenshaw & Ritchie, 2015).

　　　　The inclusion of women in conversations about biased policing is important. As

members of a marginalized racial group *and* a marginalized gender, women of color

experience erasure from mainstream discourse at multiple levels. In a report written for

the AAPF, it was argued that simply focusing on police use of force against Black men

will not wholly illuminate the systemic realities of police brutality, as it is limited to only

one perspective (Crenshaw & Ritchie 2015). The invisibility of women in these

conversations fails to acknowledge the far reach that fatal force, incarceration, and

economic marginalization also have on their families and communities. Not only should

we know the names of men like Terence Crutcher, Stephon Clark, and Freddie Gray, we

should also know the names of women such as Kendra James, Rekia Boyd, Tyisha

Miller, Margaret Mitchell, and Tarika Wilson, all Black women who were killed in police

encounters and received less media attention (McClellan, 2018). Without giving attention

to these women, officers may not be held accountable for their actions, and policies for

more equitable policing may only be relevant for use of force against men. It has also

been contended that Black women receive less media attention because they are blamed

for the force used against them, thereby justifying the actions of the police officers

(Ritchie, 2017). These discussions highlight the need to understand the perceived

culpability of Black women and police officers in interactions where physical force is

used, as well as whether these officers will be held responsible for harmful policing

behaviors.

When focusing on the use of force against Black women, of central importance to

the current study is force against *pregnant* women. The greater perceived vulnerability of

pregnant women compared to women who are not pregnant (Sutton, Douglas, &

McClellan, 2011) is contradicted by the fact that pregnant women of color are harmed by

police officers in interactions. How will these two identity statuses influence perceptions

of police use of force? Specifically, this study will explore differences by race in

perceptions of police use of force against pregnant and non-pregnant women, reflecting

claims that Black mothers are disproportionately policed (Ritchie, 2017). This study

utilizes an experimental design to analyze the influence of racial identity and pregnancy

status on perceptions of use of force by police officers against women. It applies an

intersectional framework to discuss how processes of dehumanization, social dominance,

sexism, and gendered racial stereotypes may differentially influence endorsement of

police use of force, endorsement of discipline for officers, victim blaming, and

perceptions of victim's physical pain.

Examples of Police Use of Force Against Women

Before reviewing the theoretical framework, it is important to put this study into

context by giving attention to the stories of women harmed during police interactions.

Despite receiving fewer amounts of media attention, Black women often experience

similar levels of police force as those experienced by Black men. For example, in 2014

Tanisha Anderson died while being restrained to the pavement by an officer outside of

her home (Cleveland, OH). Her story bears a resemblance to the death of Eric Garner in

2014, who was suffocated by a police officer who used a chokehold during a similar

restraint (Staten Island, New York). Other Black women killed include Malissa Williams,

who was shot at 137 times by police in 2012 after a high-speed car chase was initiated

when a car backfire was mistaken for gunshots (Cleveland, OH). Kendra James was also

fatally shot after being directed to leave the backseat of a vehicle (Portland, OR, 2003).

Natasha McKenna, who was in custody in a county jail, was tasered four separate times

while in full restraints during an episode of schizophrenia in 2015 (Fairfax, Virginia). She

went into cardiac arrest and ultimately passed away. Yvette Smith, an unarmed 47-year-

old woman was shot immediately after being ordered to exit her home by a police officer

responding to a domestic violence call (Bastrop, TX, 2014).

It is important to note that although the stories above ended with these women's

deaths, non-lethal levels of use of force (e.g., physical restraint, pepper spray, or other

non-lethal tactical techniques) are also an important part of the narrative of disparate

policing. Non-lethal levels of force may be used during routine interactions with police

officers (e.g., during traffic stops) and may unnecessarily result in injury to Black

women. For instance, after a verbal altercation with an officer in 2014, Keyarika Diggles

had her head forced onto a counter before being pulled into a nearby jail cell (Jasper,

TX). Breaion King, who was stopped for speeding, was thrown in the air several times

while an officer repeatedly pushed her to the pavement as she yelled for help (Austin,

TX, 2015). Dash cam footage of Sandra Bland document her yelling in pain and warning

an officer that her wrist felt about to break during an arrest after being pulled over for

allegedly failing to signal a lane change (Hempstead, TX, 2015). Three days later she was

found hanged in police custody; her death was ruled a suicide. To honor Sandra Bland,

the AAPF released an updated report to commemorate her and other women's deaths in

police encounters, as well as to frame this gender-specific context of racial injustice and

outline community mobilization strategies (i.e., the Say Her Name report; Crenshaw &

Ritchie, 2015). Generally, these incidents go relatively unnoticed, with less public

outcries, and are often overshadowed by incidents involving Black men and boys (Jacobs,

2017).

Pregnant women who are harmed by police officers are similarly not often given

attention by the media (Ritchie, 2017). Pregnancy is a unique situation where an

additional life is put in harm's way – the life of an unborn fetus. Perhaps one of the most

famous historical brutalizations of a pregnant Black woman that is used as a backdrop to

these discussions is that of Mary Turner who was lynched, burned, and had her baby

removed from her body by a mob in 1918 (Lowndes County, GA). Nearly 100 years later

in June of 2017, Charleena Lyles, a pregnant Black woman who had called the police to

report a burglary in her apartment, was shot in front of three of her children after

brandishing a knife (Seattle, WA). Many questioned whether lethal force was justified.

At seven months pregnant, Malaika Brooks refused to sign a speeding ticket for fear of

admitting guilt and was subsequently tasered three times in under one minute,

handcuffed, and pulled face down to a police vehicle (Seattle, WA). Aviana White was

wrestled to the ground and tasered on both her leg and stomach after proclaiming her

pregnancy because she walked away from an officer to make a phone call (Pass

Christian, Mississippi). These women are only a few in a growing list of pregnant women who have been harmed by police officers. This use of force against Black mothers can be viewed as consistent with other disproportionate policing outcomes experienced by pregnant Black women such as stop and frisks (Amnesty International, 2017), giving birth in shackles in jails (Southall & Weiser, 2018), being denied health checks after incidents of force, and being targeted without consent for drug testing during pregnancy check-ups (Kerker, Horwitz, & Leventhal, 2004). The common thread to these situations is that of Black motherhood.

Stories such as those outlined above serve as the backdrop for the current study. Parallel to the absence of women in conversations of police brutality, women have also been largely absent from social psychological research on both lethal and nonlethal police use of force. While empirical evidence demonstrates race as a contributing factor in criminal justice disparities, much of this research has not tested gender differences (Goff & Kahn, 2013; Kahn & Martin, 2016). Thus, the main goal of the current study is to extend these results to Black women and demonstrate some unique risks associated with their gender identity. The large body of research with males may be used as a starting point for hypothesizing about women, although the processes underlying bias against men are not assumedly the same as for women. To begin, findings from social psychological research on racially disparate policing are reviewed.

Social Psychological Research on Police Use of Force

Previous social psychological research has demonstrated anti-minority racial bias at various points in the criminal justice system (e.g., see Kahn & Martin, 2016 for a

review). This bias partially stems from racial profiling, regardless of its illegality and

violation of U.S. Constitutional rights of equal protection from unreasonable search and

seizure (ACLU, 2019). Racial profiling occurs when individuals are targeted for policing

based on their racial identity and contribute to racial disparities in stop and frisks (Hester

& Gray, 2018; Ridgeway, 2006), incarceration rates (NAACP, 2019), use of force (BJS,

2018), fatal force (The Washington Post, 2019), and use of the death penalty (Eberhardt,

Davies, Purdie-Vaughns, & Johnson, 2006).

        In police interactions, police officers engage with a potentially threatening

situation using various levels of force (National Institute of Justice, 2004). This

continuum of force may range from high to low levels, including lethal force (e.g., the

use of deadly weapons such as guns) as the highest level and no force as the lowest. Mid-

levels of force may include verbal force (non-threatening commands to gain compliance),

bodily force (holding, grabbing, using joint locks, punching, or kicking), less-lethal

methods such as blunt impact (via a baton or projectile), chemicals (i.e., pepper spray), or

conducted energy devices (CEDs, or tasers) (Terrill, 2003; Kahn, Steele, McMahon, &

Stewart, 2016). The choice of which type of force to use is meant to be context-

dependent and may move non-linearly across a continuum within a single interaction.

What constitutes excessive or unreasonable force can be difficult to determine, as

reasonable force is often judged by the officer in the moment in response to their

observations (Atherly & Hickman, 2014). This creates potential issues regarding

accountability. Officers' interpretations of the situation may be subject to racial bias and

stereotypes (Steen, Engen, & Gainey, 2005), which can result in greater use of force and

likelihood of lethal force against Black and other men of color than against White men for the same behaviors. As social psychological research has demonstrated, once racial stereotypes are activated (e.g., criminal stereotypes of Black individuals, Devine, 1989), they may be used as a lens through which to interpret information consistent with the racial stereotype.

According to data collected by The Washington Post, in 2014 and 2015, Black people were disproportionately represented in police killings, and they were younger and more likely to be killed by officers of all races (Menifield, Shin, & Strother, 2018). As a response to increased awareness surrounding this disparity, and the high instance of these men and boys being unarmed, research has focused on understanding the increased risk of fatality as a result of one's racial identity. One large focus of this research has centered on the phenomenon of shooter bias (for a review, see Kahn & McMahon, 2015). Shooter bias research investigates how individual's social identities, as well as contextual variables, play a role in decisions to shoot a suspect (Correll, Park, Judd, & Wittenbrink, 2007; Correll, Wittenbrink, Park, Judd, & Goyle, 2011; Greenwald, Oakes, & Hoffman, 2003). Shooter bias is measured by reaction times and "correct" shooting decisions (i.e., correctly shooting an armed suspect, and correctly *not* shooting an unarmed suspect). Anti-Black shooter bias has been demonstrated by samples of undergraduate university students (Correll et al., 2002; Correll et al., 2011), community members (Correll et al., 2007), and police officers (Correll, Park, Judd, Wittenbrink, Sadler, & Keesee, 2007; Plant & Peruche, 2005; Sadler, Correll, Park, & Judd, 2012). As a whole, participants are generally faster to shoot Black suspects, are more likely to fail to shoot armed White

suspects, and more likely to mistakenly shoot unarmed Black suspects. Because it is

based on the knowledge of cultural stereotypes linking Black people with violence, Black

participants can also show this bias toward Black suspects (Correll et al., 2002; Kahn &

Davies, 2010).

Despite the plethora of shooter bias studies, only one has specifically included

gender in addition to race (Plant, Goplen, & Kunstman, 2011). In assessing the effect of

race and gender in a shooter bias paradigm, participants were less likely to shoot female

suspects and most likely to mistakenly shoot Black men. This suggests that women may

be perceived as less physically threatening than men even when armed, consistent with

the notion that Black women are less associated with danger and fear cues than Black

men (Navarrete et al., 2009; Thiem, Neel, Simpson, & Todd, 2019). Although no direct

reports of within-gender comparisons were given, patterns of means suggest that

individuals may be more likely to mistakenly not shoot armed White women than not

shoot armed Black women, illustrating a pattern of bias away from shooting White

women (Plant et al., 2011). These responses may be interpreted as greater protection of

White women than Black women, a protection which will be tested in the current study

for White pregnant women.

Research on non-lethal levels of use of force has also shown anti-Black and anti-

minority racial biases. For instance, non-lethal use of force incident reports illustrate that

officers are likely to use more force on Black men, who are also more likely to have

tasers used against them rather than soft hand control (Fridell & Lim, 2016).

Additionally, officers are more likely to use tasers, pepper spray, and hands and body

force against Black than White individuals (Goff, Lloyd, Geller, Raphael, & Glaser,

2016). This disparity is consistent with data reported by the Bureau of Justice Statistics

(BJS) indicating that Black individuals are more likely to experience force as well as

perceive it to be excessive (BJS, 2018). Importantly, the more phenotypically White an

individual is, the less force is ultimately used in an interaction, suggesting that not only

can "Blackness" increase the risk of excessive force but "Whiteness" plays a potentially

protective role (Kahn, Goff, Lee, & Motamed, 2016).

Racial disparities also persist in individuals' reported support for and perceptions

of police officers' use of force, with more negative outcomes for Black suspects (Goff,

Jackson, Di Leone, Culotta, & DiTomasso, 2014; Holmes & Smith, 2012). For instance,

White individuals are more likely to approve of police use of force compared to Black

individuals, especially when force is used against Black suspects (Johnson & Kuhns,

2009) and when these suspects are teenagers (Goff et al., 2014). Public perceptions of

bias may not always be consistent with the existence of actual racial bias but are critical

for understanding the extent of police brutality as a social issue (Kahn & Martin, 2016).

Although trust in police officers tends to be fairly positive, such perceptions are

influenced by attributions of equity and justice (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Tyler 2004, &

2005). Public perceptions that officers are treating individuals fairly are important for

trust and future cooperation with police officers (Kahn, Thompson, & McMahon, 2016).

As previously mentioned, social movements such as Black Lives Matter were created in

response to public outrage over shootings of unarmed Black individuals by police

officers. The increased number of protests stemming from these shootings reflects the

state of tension between police officers and the general public. Understanding how the

public responds to police behaviors may also have implications for the amount of media

coverage those harmed by police officers receive and whether or not the public will press

for accountability of the police.

Taken together, the findings reviewed above indicate the potential for racial

disparities to emerge in the current study with its focus on race, gender, and pregnancy.

First, support for force against Black women may be greater due to racially biased

perceptions of threat and crime reflecting negative Black stereotypes (Devine, 1989),

where "Black" and "crime" are bidirectionally priming each other (Eberhardt, Goff,

Purdie, & Davies, 2004). How a woman behaves within an interaction with a police

officer may be interpreted through activated negative stereotypes that are not activated by

White women. Second, "Whiteness" may provide a potentially protective factor (Kahn,

Goff, et al., 2016) that may be reflected in less support for force against White women.

These results would be relevant in light of statistics indicating that Black women are

more likely to report experiences of excessive force when compared to White women

(BJS, 2018). These results would also be consistent with the empirical evidence outlined

above but would be one of the first studies to specifically address racial disparities within

the female gender identity, as well as for pregnant women. Parenthood is a factor largely

ignored in examinations of police behaviors. Therefore, this study's focus on women and

pregnancy is a novel contribution to the body of work on racially disparate policing.

Disparities in public perceptions of police use of force may also be a catalyst in disparate

support for policies and officer accountability. To better understand how these disparities

may arise, it is important to discuss the social psychological processes that may

contribute to these biased outcomes.

The Role of Racial Bias

Social psychological research examines possible explanations that exacerbate or

contribute to racially biased policing, even if research is unable to examine the direct

causes in any one specific incident (Goff & Kahn, 2012). If one can understand the

motivational mechanisms of unequal treatment, this can be used as a framework for

policy and training. One potential mechanism is racial bias. While the primary concern of

the current study is to address the specific instance of use of force against *pregnant*

women, racial bias can be used as a framework to understand how racial disparities may

emerge in support for force against women of various racial backgrounds.

Racial prejudice is understood as a socialized process that comes in two related,

but distinct forms: implicit and explicit prejudice. Implicit prejudicial attitudes are

unconscious, automatic, and reflect long periods of socialized and subtle bias (Dovidio,

2001; Greenwald & Banaji, 1995; Rudman, 2004). On the other hand, explicit attitudes

are consciously accessible, based on controlled cognitive processing, and often reflect

social norms (Crandall, Eshleman, & O'Brien, 2002; Nosek, 2007). Both implicit and

explicit attitudes can be conceptualized on continuums of severity, where individuals can

vary between high and low on both. Accurately measuring these forms of bias can be

difficult in social psychological research due to changing norms in prejudice expression

(Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986). Participants may be unwilling or unable to report explicitly

prejudicial attitudes and methods do not always allow for researchers to use implicit tests

of attitudes, such as the Implicit Association Test (IAT; Greenwald, McGhee, &

Schwartz, 1998), as predictors of outcomes. As a response to shifting norms in the

expression of bias, many measures have been created to reflect modern and subtle forms

of bias (e.g., Modern Racism Scale, McConahay, 1986; Symbolic Racism Scale, Henry &

Sears, 2002). One such measure is social dominance orientation (SDO).

Social Dominance Orientation

Social dominance is a social attitude that society is arranged in a hierarchy, that

some groups should dominate other groups, and that "superior" and "inferior" groups

exist. Social Dominance Theory is a broader theory of intergroup relations such that

individuals tend to desire their own in-group to dominate over outgroups. Individual

differences in these beliefs are referred to as a social dominance *orientation,* and central

to the theory of SDO is the belief in hierarchy-enhancing policies and myths. These

beliefs maintain or create disadvantage for groups that are lower in the hierarchy

(outgroup members) and advantage for those who are higher in the hierarchy (ingroup

members). Hierarchy-attenuating beliefs, on the other hand, minimize disadvantages and

have egalitarian goals. Aimed at the individual, group, and policy levels, social

dominance has been conceptualized to create a system of coordinating and perpetuating

inequality at multiple levels of a social structure (Pratto, Sidanius, & Levin, 2006).

Social dominance orientation is based on legitimizing myths which are "any

coherent set of socially accepted attitudes, beliefs, values, and opinions that provide

moral and intellectual legitimacy to the unequal distribution of social value" (pp. 380-

381; Sidanius et al., 1992). SDO can be more strongly predictive of racial policy attitudes

than other attitude measures (e.g., symbolic racism; Sidanius et al., 1992), supporting its

value as a measure of racial bias. Importantly, SDO is positively related to support for the

death penalty, support for painful executions, the belief that death penalties are a crime

deterrent, less empathy and concern for others, less support for women's and racial

equality (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994), and greater support for police

officers in the Rodney King beating in 1991 (Sidanius & Liu, 1992). Social dominance

orientation is also strongly related to anti-Black racism and modern racism scales,

sexism, and support for law-and-order policies (Pratto et al., 1994). It is a strong predictor

of old-fashioned (blatant) racism, as well as the endorsement of violence and aggression

against low-status groups (Ho et al., 2015). Notably, police officers tend to score high in

SDO (Sidanius et al., 1992), suggesting a potential pathway between SDO and use of

force in the field.

Given these points, the current study will assess SDO as a predictor of support for

police use of force. Individuals who are higher in SDO are expected to endorse greater

use of force in general, as well as expected to endorse greater use of force against Black

women specifically. Similarly, those who are higher in SDO may endorse use of force

against Black women, regardless of their pregnancy status, as a mechanism for enhancing

punishment and deterring future crime. These individuals tend to be concerned about

crime and inefficiency of the criminal justice system as a social problem in the United

States (Harrod, 2005), which is consistent with hierarchy-enhancing beliefs of

incarceration. This process may work in conjunction with criminal stereotypes about

Black people (e.g., Devine & Elliot, 1995).

Dehumanization

　　Another relevant aspect of racial bias is the dehumanization of Black people (Goff, Eberhardt, Williams, & Jackson, 2008, 2009; Haslam & Loughnan, 2014; Leyens et al., 2000). Dehumanization may be related to the current study given its ties to SDO (Kteily, Bruneau, Waytz, & Cotterill, 2015) and suggest a possible mediating variable: perceptions of pain. Dehumanization occurs when humans are related to animals (SAGE References, 2010) and are therefore less likely to be afforded the kindness and protection given to humans (Hodson, Kteily, & Hoffarth, 2014). Regarding Black people in particular, one such animal that they are commonly likened to is an ape. This is evidenced in media portrayals of stories describing cases of capital crimes where Black defendants are more likely to be described in ape-relevant terms (i.e., savage, barbaric, hairy, and ape) than White defendants (Goff et al., 2008). Individuals higher in SDO are more likely to outright deny the humanity of individuals (Kteily et al., 2015) and these processes justify violence through the perception that Black persons feel fewer uniquely human emotions (Leyens et al., 2000). Some researchers have conceptualized dehumanization as a process based in antipathy, given its high correlation with dislike and feelings of coldness (Haslam & Loughman, 2014), where others have suggested that when racially biased attitudes are unable to account for disparities in treatment by police, dehumanization may be an alternative mechanism (Kahn, Goff, & McMahon, 2016).

　　Particularly relevant to the current study is the relation of racial bias and dehumanization to lowered perceptions of (Trawalter, Hoffman, & Waytz, 2012) and less empathy for (Forgiarini, Galluci, & Maravita, 2011) physical pain experienced by Black

people. It is important to emphasize that measures of reduced perceptions in physical pain are not a direct proxy for dehumanization. Rather, biases in pain perceptions are part of a downward process of dehumanizing individuals. As a consequence of dehumanization, individuals who are animalized are perceived to be insensitive to pain and able to tolerate unusual levels of pain (Haslam, 2006; Hoffman, Trawalter, Axt, & Oliver, 2016). These lowered perceptions of pain can serve as legitimizing responses to justify extremities such as genocide and torture (Harris & Fiske, 2011) and may contribute to racially biased policing outcomes (Owusu-Bempah, 2017).

Another form of dehumanization that is related to lowered pain perceptions is that of *super*humanization. Superhumanization refers to the attribution of nonhuman qualities that are "supernatural (transcending the laws of nature), extrasensory (transcending the bounds of normal human perception), and magical (influencing or manipulating the natural world through symbolic or ritualistic means)" (Waytz, Hoffman, & Trawalter, 2015, p. 352). Appearing complimentary, these qualities are reflected in media portrayals of Black people as able to see the future, as spirits, ghosts, or gods, or as physically stronger than average. Such portrayals contribute to lowered perceptions of pain, as these characters are moral agents who either help or harm others in a way that renders themselves incapable of experiencing their pain (as nonhuman beings). The superhumanization of Black males and females has been tested at implicit and explicit levels, with greater superhumanization related to lowered attributions of pain (Waytz et al., 2015).

These findings provide evidence that the endorsement of racially biased beliefs and dehumanization (resulting in biased perceptions of pain) may differentially justify an officer's use of force depending on a woman's racial identity. When police interactions result in Black women having cuts, scrapes, and bruises from being roughly handled, dehumanization processes may lower perceptions of, and empathy for, their physical pain. Similarly, the fetuses of pregnant Black women may also not be seen as needing the same protection afforded to White fetuses through these processes, relating to greater endorsement of police force against young Black boys (Goff et al., 2008). Thus, perceivers may be more likely to justify the use of force against Black women during harmful interactions with police officers, even when she is pregnant. The current study therefore asks participants to report how much physical pain they think women experienced during the police interaction, which will be tested as a mediator for endorsement of force, endorsement of officer discipline, and victim blaming. Aside from racial bias, social dominance, and pain perceptions, another relevant social psychological concept for the current study is that of sexism, which I will review below.

Ambivalent Sexism

Conceptualized as *ambivalent* sexism, sexism is driven by two main subtypes: hostile and benevolent sexism (Glick & Fiske, 1996; Glick & Fiske, 1997). These two types function to either denigrate or protect women differentially, dependent upon women's behaviors and subsequent perceptions of these women. Benevolent sexism (BS) is the seemingly more "positive" form of sexism which rewards women for adhering to gendered norms and roles and is related to physical protection. On the other hand, hostile

sexism (HS) is the more traditional form of gender-based prejudice that punishes women

for deviating from gendered expectations (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Both benevolent and

hostile sexist attitudes are endorsed by men, with women also likely to endorse

benevolent sexism (Glick & Fiske, 2001). Both forms of sexism are rooted in patriarchal,

hierarchy-enhancing ideals of gender roles and serve to maintain the oppression of

women and the dominance of men. Ambivalent sexism has been demonstrated across a

variety of cultures worldwide with national levels of both hostile and benevolent sexism

related to indexes of gender inequality (Glick et al., 2000).

Ambivalent sexism is considered a modern form of prejudice, not simply rooted

in feelings of antipathy towards an outgroup or low-status group (women), but rather

simultaneous (dis)like and (dis)respect (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Whereas hostile sexism is

consistent with traditional definitions of prejudice (i.e., antipathic, Allport, 1954),

benevolent sexism may masquerade as a positive attitude. More specifically, benevolent

sexism posits that women are moral, defenseless, pure, and good, and they should be

cherished, "put on a pedestal", sacrificed for, financially supported, and physically

protected (Glick & Fiske, 1996). The positive beliefs about the benevolently sexist

treatment of women may partially explain why women are just as likely as men to

endorse benevolently sexist beliefs (Glick & Fiske, 2000); women benefit and are

socialized to enjoy when men act in benevolently sexist ways (Kilianski & Rudman,

1998). The perpetuation of oppression, however, occurs through these positive beliefs

towards women with their restriction to gendered roles to receive these benefits (Berke &

Zeichner, 2016). Other negative outcomes related to benevolent sexism include increased

body monitoring (Shephard et al., 2011), impairments in cognitive performance (Dardenne, Dumont, & Bollier, 2007), and preoccupation over oppressive Western beauty ideals (Forbes, Collinsworth, Jobe, Braun, & Wise, 2007). Benevolent sexism is also associated with opposition to gender-based affirmative action policies (Fraser, Osborn, & Sibley, 2015).

Given these findings, benevolent sexism is not the desired outcome for women. The physical protection that is afforded by BS, however, is relevant to the current study and could contribute to racial disparities in treatment and support. This physical protection is referred to as "protective paternalism" and is one of three components of BS (with heterosexual intimacy and complementary gender differentiation being the other two). Protective paternalism is a response to the inherent fragility of womanhood, perpetuating the idea that men, as the complementary and "stronger" gender, are responsible for ensuring women's protection. Protective paternalistic ideals may theoretically be partially responsible for fewer instances of force against women when compared to men (BJS, 2018), potentially deterring male police officers from physically harming women. The bias away from shooting women, even women who were holding guns, that was demonstrated by Plant, Goplen, and Kunstman (2011) may be interpreted as reflecting benevolently sexist protection. Similarly, BS could influence participants' perceptions of the necessity of the physical protection of women when force does occur. By believing that women are more deserving of protection, participants may evaluate police use of force as less appropriate. However, not all women may be perceived as equally "deserving" of benevolently sexist protections.

        To better understand how BS may or may not be applied to women in police

interactions, it is important to elaborate on the interaction between sexism, gender roles,

and stereotypic images of women. As mentioned above, BS can be a mechanism for

rewarding women who adhere to traditional, stereotypic roles (Glick & Fiske, 1996),

therefore reinforcing women's gendered (and limited) behaviors (Baretto & Ellemers,

2005). Research has found that chaste women, housewives, and mothers are more likely

to have BS directed toward them, whereas women who are career-oriented, promiscuous,

or feminist are more likely to have HS directed toward them (Glick, Diebold, Bailey-

Werner, & Zhu, 1997; Sibley & Wilson, 2004). These differences parallel perceptions of

warmth and competence which, according to a model of mixed stereotype content (Fiske,

Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002), subgroup women into those who are either high or low on

dimensions of both warmth and competence. These dimensions correspond with either

benevolent or traditional prejudicial perceptions and, as a result, these women are

therefore either deserving or undeserving of BS. Specifically, women who are perceived

to be high in warmth but low in competence, such as homemakers, evoke pity (Fiske et

al., 2002), which then influences benevolently sexist treatment (e.g., greater interpersonal

kindness). On the other hand, those who are perceived to be high in competence but low

in warmth, such as career women or feminists, evoke contempt, which is reflected in

hostilely sexist treatment (e.g., greater interpersonal distance).

        Racial stereotypes are also relevant for the application of sexism in that they are

indirectly related to roles and gendered expectations of behavior. When gender role cues

are not present, race may be a viable alternative by which to judge women. For instance,

BS is more likely applied towards White women than Black women (McMahon & Kahn, 2016) and this difference may be rooted in gendered racial stereotypes about Black women, which will be discussed in-depth in a later section. "Ideal" victims who are most deserving of protection from a BS viewpoint are White, middle class, passive, and weak (Ammons, 1995); White women are not subject to the same negative stereotypes as Black women. These stereotypes work to solely validate White women's experiences as victims, as well as blame Black women for violence and discredit their experiences (Esqueda & Harrison, 2005). As an example, when responding to incidents of intimate partner violence (IPV), police officers write reports with greater concern for risk of harm when the victims are White compared to when victims are Black (McMahon, 2018). Therefore, while BS may predict less endorsement of overall police use of force against women in the current study, this effect may be exacerbated when the woman is White.

Pregnancy and Sexism

Due to the influence of stereotypes and gender roles, BS is especially relevant when considering pregnancy as a social identity factor. As an early phase of motherhood, pregnancy can be considered the "ultimate" feminine experience as a biological fulfillment of a traditional role of mother and caretaker (Eagly, 1987). Considered in conjunction with the protective paternalistic belief in the fragility of women, and in the further perceived fragility of pregnant women (Sutton et al., 2011), BS may predict greater protection of women when they are pregnant as compared to when they are not pregnant.

Previous research looking at the relationship between sexism and pregnancy provides context and support for this hypothesis. Individuals endorse greater restriction of women's rights and behaviors while pregnant to protect pregnant women from harm to themselves or the babies which they carry (Huang, Osborne, Sibley, & Davies, 2014; Sutton et al., 2011). These restricted behaviors include avoiding the consumption of alcoholic beverages, eating certain cheeses (Sutton et al., 2011), and a lack of support for abortion when a woman's life is endangered by pregnancy (Huang et al., 2014). Both BS and HS have been found to predict the endorsement of "shouldn'ts" for pregnant women (Murphy, Sutton, Douglas, & McClellan, 2011).

Pregnancy status also interacts with gender roles to punish women who step outside of prescribed social roles, such as those who are working mothers. Punishment may take the form of decreased pay recommendations (Correll, Benard, & Paik, 2007), lowered likelihood of hiring (Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2004) and lowered likelihood of promotion (Bragger, Kutcher, Morgan, & Firth, 2002). When ostensibly pregnant women posed as either job applicants (inconsistent with homemaker gender roles) or shoppers (consistent with gender stereotypes), pregnant shoppers experienced more interpersonal expressions of benevolent sexism (e.g., touching and being overly helpful), while pregnant applicants experienced more interpersonal expressions of hostile sexism (e.g., more standoffish and less helpful; Hebl, King, Glick, Singletary, & Kazama, 2007). Similarly, infantilizing and kindness are also shown towards pregnant women, but not single women (Murphey et al., 2011), further demonstrating applications of BS and HS, respectively, towards women as a result of gendered expectations and stereotypes.

In light of these findings, sexist attitudes will be tested as a moderator of the endorsement of police use of force against pregnant and not pregnant Black and White women, through perceptions of physical pain. It is expected that benevolently sexist attitudes will result in increased perceptions of physical pain experienced by pregnant women, consistent with the BS notion that women are weak (Glick & Fiske, 1996) and pregnant women are more vulnerable to harm (Sutton et al., 2011). This increase in pain may increase perceptions of deservingness of protection and therefore less endorsement of force. It is possible, however, that the act of getting arrested and the potential association of women in police interactions with crimes may conflict with gendered expectations of women being passive and helpless (Dasgupta, 2002; Gilbert, 2002). This may result in a perceived lack of deservingness of protection and increased deservingness of "punishment" for acting outside of norms. Furthermore, while BS attitudes are expected to moderate the relationship between pregnancy status, pain perceptions, and support for force, resulting in greater levels of protection, pregnant White women are expected to receive the greatest levels of protection.

It is important to note that the abovementioned findings regarding sexism and pregnancy have not addressed the role of race, with confederates either specifically being White women (e.g., Hebl et al., 2007) or race being ignored as a condition for manipulation or analyses. Although some have assessed benevolent sexism as it applies differentially to Black and White women (e.g., McMahon & Kahn, 2016) and is reflected more in police responses to White victims of IPV than Black (McMahon, 2018), this study will be the first to address sexism as it relates to both race and pregnancy in

policing contexts. Thus, the current study will use an intersectional approach in the

application of the theories of both sexism and racially biased disparities. Intersectionality

is now reviewed below.

Intersectionality

The current study is specifically interested in the implications of the intersection

of race and pregnancy status within one gender identity. The term "intersectionality" was

originally coined by Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989) to discuss how individuals with multiple

marginalized identities, especially Black women, are rendered invisible in works of both

feminism and anti-racism. This invisibility, referred to as "intersectional invisibility", is

similarly present in social psychological research where White women are the default for

studying sexism and Black men are the default for studying racism (Goff & Kahn, 2013;

Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008; Sesko & Biernat, 2010; Thomas, Dovidio, & West,

2014). Intersectionality is important in social psychological research because it results in

the examination of more than discrete experiences (i.e., simply being Black, or simply

being a woman, Collins, 1998) where combinations of social inequality and privilege are

relational, not isolated (Collins, 2015). While some may see intersecting identities as

having an additive effect, creating a so-called "double" (Beal, 1970) or "triple" (Green,

1995) jeopardy, this assumes that the influence of each identity can be studied as separate

influences. Other approaches, however, call for identities to be studied together to

recognize how the intersection of multiple identities creates an experience not able to be

teased apart (Goff, Thomas, & Jackson, 2008; Lewis & Gzranka, 2016). In this way, the

whole identity experience is greater than the sum of its parts. Certainly, the number of

intersecting identities does not end at race and gender when we also consider sexual

orientation, nationality, disability status, marital status, immigration status, and

geography, to name a few, resulting in a seemingly infinite number of intersectional

experiences that could be imagined.

For this reason, intersectional research is generally uncommon in social

psychological literature. The greater the number of identity conditions, the larger the

sample size needed for analyses (Goff & Kahn, 2013). Access to participants can be

restricted or expensive, creating barriers to conducting intersectional research. There is

also the risk of interpreting intersectional data through an additive, rather than an

interlocking narrative, which can obscure experiences through culturally irrelevant or

inconsiderate designs (Bowleg, 2008). With these barriers in mind and as a starting point,

the current study will be limited to the intersection of racial identity and pregnancy status

within gender identity. This design will test how race and pregnancy may simultaneously

contribute to biased support for policing. These biases may be driven from intersectional

stereotypes (i.e., gendered racism) which will be reviewed below.

Intersectionality and Stereotyping

The term "gendered racism", which is the "simultaneous experience of both

racism and sexism" (Lewis & Gzranka, 2016, p. 37) was coined by sociologist Philomena

Essed (1991). This term supports the notion that researchers should not ignore the unique

positions created when individuals hold multiple marginalized identities. Along with

unique experiences, unique implications for person perception exist at intersecting

identities (Kang & Bodenhausen, 2015), as race and gender interact to create unique

stereotypes (Goff, Thomas, & Jackson, 2008; Lewis, Mendenhall, Harwood, & Browne

Huntt, 2016). These stereotypes are not simply the addition of racial stereotypes with

gendered stereotypes, they are specific stereotypes in their own right which qualitatively

differ from those of Black males and White females. For instance, themes of experienced

gendered racial microaggressions towards Black women pertain to communication style

(being loud), aesthetic beauty assumptions (having a certain body type), feelings of

invisibility, receiving a lack of respect, and stereotyped expectations (e.g., an angry Black

woman; Lewis et al. 2016). Additional themes include sexual objectification and the

strong Black female stereotype (Lewis & Neville, 2015).

It has been argued that police officers may target mothers of color, as understood

through the historical devaluing of Black mothers during enslavement to take away and

sell their children, as well as stereotypes of these mothers as promiscuous, neglectful, and

abusive (Ritchie, 2017). Black mothers are painted to be "burdens" to the state, which

results in heightened surveillance of their behaviors, greater regulation of their access to

resources, and may result in a greater likelihood of punishment (Ritchie, 2017).

Stereotypes such as the single and uneducated "Welfare queen," with many children

living off of welfare benefits, the promiscuous and immoral "Jezebel", the overbearing,

aggressive, and emasculating "Sapphire", the asexual and poor "Mammy" (Collins,

2000), and the domineering and pathological matriarch (Ritchie, 2017) are common

typecasts of Black women. Each of these stereotypes has its own historical implications

and contexts and have been demonstrably related to not only poor treatment and

invisibility, but also negative psychological outcomes. Gendered racism is positively

related to both global (Thomas, Witherspoon, & Speight, 2008) and more specific (Lewis & Neville, 2015) measures of psychological stress. The internalization of gendered racial stereotypes such as the "Mammy" and "Sapphire" also predict negative self-esteem for Black women, above and beyond single-faceted racial identity attitudes (Thomas et al., 2008).

Further, the intersection of race, gender, and social identity statuses (such as pregnancy) work to not only reinforce the above gendered racial stereotypes but can also create additional stereotypes. This includes the endorsement of negative stereotypes about Black women's sexual behaviors (e.g., more sexual partners, lack of birth control use, having more children and being pregnant more often), and SES (less education and more likely to use government assistance programs), which is consistent with historical representations of these intersecting identities (i.e., the promiscuous and welfare queen stereotypes, respectively). Interactions between race and pregnancy can affect other stereotypes, such as not following a doctor's orders, and create perceptions such as Black adolescent females being more responsible for uncontrollable contraceptive sabotage than White adolescent females (Katz & McKinney, 2016). This indicates that motherhood and motherhood-to-be have unique implications for the characterization of Black females.

These gendered racial stereotypes also serve to justify the use of violence against Black women (Dukes & Gaither, 2017). Consistent with stereotypes acting as lenses through which to interpret behaviors, previous research has found that the same behavior can lead to a greater likelihood of a Black woman being judged as a "slut", consistent with the Jezebel stereotype, than a White woman (Armstrong, Hamilton, Armstrong, &

Seeley, 2014). Similarly, the same behaviors performed by a pregnant or non-pregnant

woman in an interaction with a police officer may also be judged based on her race.

These judgments may be consistent with intersectional stereotypes of motherhood, such

as the aggressive matriarch or Sapphire (Collins, 2000; Ritchie, 2017).

In the context of perceptions of police use of force, the behaviors of the woman

(i.e., the reason she was apprehended, resistance of arrest, verbal or physical aggression)

may be interpreted to be either more or less violent and therefore more or less deserving

of a forceful response by a police officer. While Black women are already perceived

more culpable than White women for violence against them, those who provoke their

assailants are perceived to be more culpable, consistent with aggressive stereotypes, and

exacerbated when participants endorse traditional gender-role beliefs (Esqueda &

Harrison, 2005). Additionally, violent women are often painted as insane or an oddity due

to acting outside of gendered norms of femininity (Gilbert, 2002). As a result, systems do

not know how to handle these women, which can have negative implications in contexts

of criminal justice. These stereotypes may contribute to the observed disparities in stop

and frisks by police, medical attention after use of force, and incarceration rates of

pregnant and nonpregnant Black and White women, as well as the discriminatory

application of laws for drug screening during pregnancy in many states (Amnesty

International, 2017).

In relating these gendered racial stereotypes to sexism, benevolent sexism may

work as a protective mechanism for women and mothers through the fulfillment of

gendered expectations. Pregnancy is an inherently feminine role (Eagly, 1984), and the

perceived vulnerability of pregnant women (Sutton et al., 2011) may activate the

protective paternalistic nature of BS. Black women and mothers, however, may not be

seen as equally worthy of protection as those who are White. The gendered racial

stereotypes discussed above may undermine potential protections triggered by BS. This

notion is consistent with previous research indicating that protective paternalism, as a

result of BS, is more likely applied towards White than Black women (McMahon &

Kahn, 2016). Protective paternalism, as benevolent sexism, functions to "reward" women

for adherence to stereotypic expectations (Glick & Fiske, 1996) and stereotypes of

"women" as a general category are perceived to be most relevant to White women and

least relevant to Black women (Ghavami & Peplau, 2013). Stereotypes of Black mothers

as aggressive, neglectful, and abusive (Ritchie, 2017) may also destabilize images of

warm and nurturing motherhood. Therefore, benevolent sexism may predict less

endorsement of use of force against White women when compared to Black women, as

White women may be seen as worthier of protection. Similarly, benevolent sexism may

serve as a protective mechanism for pregnant women, resulting in less endorsement of

force when compared to nonpregnant women, but more so when these women are White.

On the other hand, and as a complementary consideration to benevolent sexism,

hostile sexism may work to punish Black women through negative stereotyping. These

stereotypes deviate from feminine expectations that women are to be tender, yielding, and

soft-spoken (Bem, 1974); conceptions of what is "feminine" and a "gendered role" is

ultimately rooted in White experiences and White expectations (Klein & Kress, 1976;

Ritchie, 2017; Sibley & Wilson, 2004), with White women often portrayed as stereotypic

victims of crimes (Eigenberg & Park, 2016; Kulig & Cullen, 2016). Thus, where

benevolent sexism may serve as a protective mechanism for White (but not Black)

pregnant and nonpregnant women, hostile sexism may predict greater endorsement of use

of force against Black women as a mechanism for "punishing" these women for

assumedly deviating from gendered norms. Although not central to the hypotheses of the

current study, the effects of hostile sexism will also be explored.

The Current Study

Overall, this study fills a gap in the literature by examining perceptions of police

use of force against women, expanding on the extant body of literature that consists

primarily of men as targets of biased policing (e.g., Goff et al., 2014; Holmes & Smith,

2012; Johnson & Kuhns, 2009; Kahn, Thompson, & McMahon, 2016). This study

addresses criticisms that women, specifically women of color, are excluded from

conversations surrounding police brutality (Ritchie, 2017; Say Her Name, 2015), and lack

representation in the media. Further, this study is the first social psychological study, to

my knowledge, to apply intersectional theories of racial bias and sexism to pregnancy in

a policing context. Examining the factors that may influence disparities in perceptions of

police use of force is an important starting point for understanding why women are

underrepresented in conversations of biased policing. When the public does not demand

justice for Black women and their unborn children, police officers are unlikely to be held

accountable and policies are unlikely to change.

This study utilizes a 2 (racial identity: Black, White) x 2 (pregnancy status:

pregnant; not pregnant) experimental design to test how the intersection of racial identity

and pregnancy status influences differential outcomes related to non-fatal use of force by police officers against women. More specifically, perceptions of the appropriateness of police use of force (i.e., endorsement of force, EF), disciplinary sanctions for the police officer (i.e., endorsement of discipline, ED), and victim blaming (VB), as explained by perceptions of physical pain (PP), are assessed. Social dominance orientation and sexist attitudes, measured as ambivalent sexism, are tested as moderators of these results.

Hypotheses

There are four main hypotheses for the current study, focusing on the effect of race and pregnancy status on perceptions of police use force against women:

Hypothesis 1. There will be significant interactions between race and pregnancy on perceptions of police use of force.

Hypothesis 1. Both a main effect of race and pregnancy are hypothesized, such that perceptions are more "positive" when women are either White or pregnant (when compared to Black or not pregnant). Of central importance to the current study, these effects are hypothesized to be qualified by a significant interaction between race and pregnancy status. Specifically, it is expected that pregnancy will result in less endorsement of force (EF), greater endorsement of officer discipline (OD), and the victim blamed less for the amount of force used (VB) than when the woman is not pregnant, and these results are expected to be stronger when the woman is White. This more "positive" pattern of results is operationalized as greater "protection" of pregnant White women compared to pregnant Black women. Said another way, Black women will not be "protected" to the same extent as White women, even when they are pregnant.

Hypothesis 2. **Participants' endorsement of BS and SDO will moderate the interaction between pregnancy and race.**

Hypothesis 2a. The interactions between race and pregnancy will be strengthened by BS, such that individuals who score higher (compared to lower) in BS will report less endorsement of force (EF), be more likely to endorse officer discipline (OD), and be less likely to endorse victim blame (VB) when the woman is pregnant and White. More specifically, participants' greater (compared to lesser) endorsement of benevolently sexist beliefs, when controlling for HS, will result in more positive outcomes for pregnant women, but more so when the woman is White. Therefore, the positive outcomes resulting from benevolent sexist attitudes will not be applied as strongly towards Black women, including when they are pregnant.

Hypotheses 2b. Individuals who score higher in SDO will report greater endorsement of force (EF), endorse less officer discipline (OD), and endorse greater victim blame (VB) when the woman is Black, particularly when she is pregnant. Said another way, the expected interactions between both race and pregnancy will be stronger, such that outcomes will be relatively more negative towards pregnant Black women when participants are higher in SDO.

Hypothesis 3: The effects of race and pregnancy on EF, OD, and VB will be mediated by perceptions of physical pain (PP).

Hypothesis 3. The effects of race and pregnancy (and the interaction between the two) on endorsement of force (EF), endorsement of officer discipline (OD), and victim blaming (VB) will be partially explained by perceptions of physical pain (PP). More

specifically, if participants perceive White women as having experienced greater physical pain as a result of interactions with police officers, then they may be less willing to endorse use of force (EF), may be more likely to agree with disciplinary sanctions for an officer (OD), and may be less likely to engage in victim blaming (VB). Although pregnancy may increase perceptions of physical pain (PP) through greater perceived vulnerability to physical harm (Sutton et al., 2011), racial disparities in perceptions of pain (e.g., Black persons feeling less pain than White; Trawalter et al., 2012) may be responsible for the greater endorsement of force, fewer disciplinary sanctions for officers, and greater victim blame towards pregnant Black women, but not pregnant White women.

    Hypothesis 4. The mediation of PP between race and pregnancy on EF, OD, and VB will be moderated by SDO and BS.

    Hypothesis 4a. Benevolent sexism is predicted to moderate the relationship between race and PP, particularly in the pregnancy conditions. That is, the expected partial mediation described above will be moderated by BS, resulting in a moderated mediation. More specifically, participants' greater (compared to lesser) endorsement of benevolently sexist beliefs, when controlling for HS, will results in greater perceived pain (PP) through BS beliefs in the inherent fragility of pregnant women (Sutton et al., 2011) and women in general (Glick & Fiske, 1996). These increased perceptions of PP are predicted to result in more positive outcomes for pregnant women, but more so when the woman is White, given that BS is more likely applied towards White than Black women (McMahon & Kahn, 2016). Therefore, the positive outcomes resulting from benevolent

sexist attitudes will not be applied as strongly towards Black women, including when they are pregnant, partially due to racially biased perceptions in pain that may be exacerbated by BS.

Hypothesis 4b. The indirect effects of race and pregnancy (and the interaction between the two) on the endorsement of force (EF), endorsement of officer discipline (OD), and victim blaming (VB), as partially mediated by perceptions of physical pain (PP), are predicted to be moderated by SDO. While the connection between SDO and perceptions of pain is less clear in the literature, it is possible that the relationship between SDO and empathy (i.e., greater SDO predicts less empathy for others; Pratto et al., 1994) may be related to lower perceptions of others' pain (PP), given that perceptions of pain and empathy are related outcomes of dehumanization (Forgiarini et al., 2011; Trawalter et al., 2011). Similarly, participants who are higher in SDO may actively suppress perceptions of pain as a justification for hierarchy-enhancing outcomes (e.g., greater use of police force). Therefore, participants' levels of SDO may moderate the relationship between race and PP, where participants higher in SDO may perceive less PP when the woman is Black, but not White. These lowered PP may then predict more negative outcomes (e.g., higher EF, lower OD, and greater VB) for pregnant Black women.

Method

Participants

To estimate the required sample size for detecting an effect, a priori power analyses were conducted with G*Power. A conservative estimate of a small-to-medium

effect size was expected for the current study. To test the first hypotheses, which was

analyzed using factorial MANOVAs, to obtain a power level of .80 with a small-to-

medium effect size (.10), 208 participants were required. To test the second hypotheses,

which were analyzed using multiple linear regressions, to obtain a power level of .80 with

a small-to-medium effect size (.04), 199 participants were required. To test the third and

fourth hypotheses, analyzed using Hayes' PROCESS macro models 3 and 8 (Hayes,

2013), a sample size of 300 was expected to be sufficient based on sample sizes in

previous moderated mediational studies (e.g., Lewis, Williams, Peppers, & Gadson,

2017, Moss-Racusin, Sanzari, Caluori, & Rabasco, 2018). In general, power is an

unlikely issue in mediation and conditional mediational models due to the use of

bootstrapping methods, which compensates for small sample sizes and violations to

normality assumptions (Preacher, Rucker, & Hayes, 2007).

In total, 463 responses were collected via Amazon's Mechanical Turk (MTurk).

To qualify, participants had to be 18 years of age or older and reside in the United States.

Precautionary steps were taken to ensure that robotic accounts were unable to access the

study (e.g., through the use of CAPTCHAs) and that geographic locations were within

the United States. Participants who had previously completed any study piloting were

also restricted from accessing the survey. Before analyses were conducted, data were

reduced through the removal of participants who failed an attention check (N = 6), either

the race (N = 20) or pregnancy (N = 7) manipulation checks, or had missing data on these

items (N = 38).[1] In total, 73 participants were removed (15.7% of all data) resulting in a final sample size of 392. It is important to note that due to a change made in the item scaling that occurred early during data collection,[2] responses to the perceived pain item totaled 342 after data reduction. After final data reduction, sample sizes on all variables exceeded those estimated above via power analyses to detect small-to-medium effect sizes for each test.

Participants ranged in age from 18 to 71 ($M = 34.03$; $SD = 10.71$). The majority of the participants identified as women (56% women, 42% men, 2% Non-binary) as well as cisgender (96%; 3% transgender, 1% declined to state). The most common racial identity reported was White (73%), with 8% of participants identifying as Black, 7% as Latin, 5% as Asian, 3% as Multiracial, 2% as "Other", 1% as Native American, and 1 participant indicated Middle Eastern. Most participants reported their highest level of education as a Bachelor's degree (38%) or some college (32%), with 18% indicating an advanced degree, 11% indicating a high school diploma, and 1% indicating "other" or less than a high school diploma. The political ideology of the sample was mostly liberal

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[1]Data reduction relied on the assumption that failure of an attention or manipulation check undermines confidence that participants are responding to the manipulation variables, rather than something unknown. Analyses were also conducted using the full sample and are discussed as compared to the reduced sample, as described above. Findings indicated similar patterns of results for hypothesis 1, with the exception that the main effect of race on VB was not significant. For hypothesis 2a, the patterns of results were inconsistent, where two-way interactions between race and BS (on EF and, marginally, VB) and pregnancy and BS (on ED) arose. Further, the two-way interaction between race and BS on criminal charges was not present with the full sample. In regards to hypothesis 2b, SDO did not interact with race, pregnancy, or race x pregnancy on any dependent variables, although there was a significant two-way interaction between race and SDO on criminal charges in the reduced sample. Finally, there were also no mediation effects for hypothesis 3 when using both the reduced sample, and thus, hypothesis 4 was not tested.

[2]Perceptions of physical pain were measured using a 1-5 Likert scale when the first 50 responses were collected. A discussion regarding the distinction between the last two original scale anchors (4 – *a lot,* 5 – *an extreme amount*) resulted in a decision that a 1-4 scale was more appropriate. For the remainder of data collection, the 1-4 scale was used and rather than pooling participant responses from the different scaling options, data were analyzed from participants who completed the survey using the 1-4 scaling only.

(51%), with 30% reporting conservative political views, 19% identified as neither liberal

or conservative, and 1% stated "other" (e.g., libertarian). Finally, 47% of participants

reported having children ($M = 1.0$, $SD = 1.24$).

Procedure

Participant rights were first described and informed consent was obtained. Survey

administration occurred online via Qualtrics starting with demographic items, followed

by the surveys of social attitudes, the experimental manipulation, and, the post-

manipulation questionnaire (see Appendices A and B for full survey materials). The

experimental manipulation consisted of a single-page news article and the post-

manipulation questionnaire assessed participants' responses to the three outcome

variables and mediator (i.e., endorsement of force, endorsement of officer discipline,

victim blaming, and perceptions of physical pain). The survey took approximately 18

minutes to complete, after which participants were debriefed and given a summary of the

purpose of the study, theoretical implications, and hypothesized results. Participants were

also informed that while the article which they read was fictional, it was based upon

actual events of police using force against pregnant women.

Demographics. First, demographic information was obtained for each participant.

This included their racial identity, gender identity, age, number of children (if they had

any), political ideology, and education level.

Social Attitudes. Participants completed two scales to assess their social attitudes

(i.e., sexist beliefs and endorsement of social dominance), consisting of a total of 30

items.

Social Dominance Orientation. To measure participants' beliefs in social

inequality, the shortened Social Dominance Orientation Scale (SDO$_{7(s)}$; Ho et al., 2015)

was used. This is an eight-item scale reduction of the original 14 item scale (Pratto et al.,

1994), validated for both old-fashioned forms of (blatant) racism and the endorsement of

aggression and violence towards low-status groups (Ho et al., 2015). Items were

measured on a 7-point Likert scale, with higher numbers indicating greater favoring of

the ideas proposed in each item (1 – *strongly oppose, 7 – strongly favor*). Sample items

include "Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups" and "We should do

we can to equalize conditions for different groups" (reverse-coded). Items were averaged

to create a mean score of SDO, where higher scores indicate greater beliefs in social

inequality. A Cronbach's alpha of .89 was found for the data in the current study.

Ambivalent Sexism Inventory. To determine participants' endorsement of sexist

beliefs, the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI; Glick & Fiske, 1996) was used. This is a

22-item scale known to have good reliability (Cronbach's alpha of .92 for the data in the

current study) and consists of two subscales each measuring hostile and benevolent

sexism subscale. The benevolent sexism subscale consists of three further factors:

protective paternalism (i.e., men protect and provide for women), complementary gender

differentiation (i.e., men and women possess complementary traits - men are providers,

women are homemakers), and heterosexual intimacy (i.e., men "need" women to make

them "better men"). Sample items from the ASI include: "Women seek to gain power by

getting control over men" (HS), "Women should be cherished and protected by men" (BS

– protective paternalism), "Many women have a quality of purity that few men possess"

(BS – complementary gender differentiation), and "No matter how accomplished he is, a

man is not truly complete as a person unless he has the love of a woman" (BS –

heterosexual intimacy). Items were scored on a 7-point Likert scale (1 – *strongly*

disagree, 5 – *strongly agree*) and were averaged to create an overall score; the HS (α =

.92) and BS[3] (α = .86) subscales received separate means. Higher scores indicate greater

endorsement of sexist beliefs.

Police use of force news articles. Next, participants were randomly assigned to

read one fictitious news article designed to imitate an electronic news story from a local

media source (i.e., in the Springfield Register, which was created for this study). The

article detailed force used by a police officer against a woman at a traffic stop. The article

was modeled after real incidents of police use of force published from online media

sources (e.g., Liptak, 2012; Rocha, 2015). The racial identity and pregnancy status of the

woman were manipulated to create four conditions (racial identity: Black or White;

pregnancy status: pregnant; not pregnant; see Appendix A for article).

The article stated that a "32-year old [Black/White] woman" named either

Tameisha (or Latisha; in the Black race condition) or Katie (or Amanda; in the White

race condition) Wallace had been pulled over and arrested several months prior. Two

names were used per race condition to ensure that any effects were not a function of the

woman's name. Her racial identity was explicitly stated as Black or White twice within

the article. The names chosen for each racial identity have been previously tested as

associated with White (Katie, Amanda) and Black (Tameisha, Latisha) females

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[3] Mean scores were also created for the protective paternalism subscale (α = .73) for exploratory analysis.

(Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz, 1998). In the pregnancy condition, she was stated to have been twelve weeks pregnant at the time of the incident and had notified the officer of her pregnancy during the interaction. In the not pregnant condition, there was no mention of pregnancy.

The article described the woman having been "pulled over by an officer for allegedly running a red light" who "did not give the officer her driver's license when requested". She "believed the officer pulled her over under false pretenses". Upon her refusal to comply when the officer twice asked for her license and then ordered her to step out of the vehicle, the officer opened her car door and "began to pull [her] out of the driver's seat", at which she "became upset, yelled at the officer not to touch her, and pushed him away from her". Subsequently, the officer "pulled out a taser, tasering [her] first in the thigh and then again on her side", resulting in her falling out of the vehicle and onto the pavement before being handcuffed and taken to the officer's vehicle. She had cuts and bruises from the incident and was ultimately charged for being noncompliant. Finally, the article stated that she had filed a lawsuit against the (unnamed, White) officer and the Springfield Police Department for excessive use of force.

To avoid ceiling or floor effects on the outcome variables, pilot testing was conducted with the news article described above. Pregnancy status was manipulated for the pilot test, but her racial identity was not. The amount of force detailed in the article as well as the woman's behavioral response to the officer were varied using two versions of the article. The first version excluded the woman physically pushing the officer (but still refusing to leave the car and becoming verbally upset), and the officer only used a taser

once (rather than twice). The second version piloted was identical to that described

above. After reading the piloted article, participants responded to four items regarding the

appropriateness of and their support for the amount of force used by the officer, whether

the woman deserved the amount of force used on her, and whether the officer was

responsible for any injuries obtained by the woman. Neither ceiling nor floor effects were

suggested for each article, but the second version was chosen for its comparability to the

real articles (e.g., Liptak, 2012; Rocha, 2015) that served as the inspiration for this study.

   Manipulation checks. Following the news article, participants recalled several

details from the article. Participants indicated: the reason the woman was pulled over

(i.e., failing to signal a lane change, or running a red light); her racial identity (Black,

White, Asian, Latina, or "I don't know"); and if she was pregnant (true, false, or "I don't

know").

   Dependent Variables. Participants then responded to four measures (EF, VB,

OD, and PP) for a total of 14 items (See Appendix B for survey items).

   Endorsement of force (EF) scale. Participants reported their perceptions of the

officer's use of force as detailed in the article, adapted from Kahn, Thompson, and

McMahon, 2016. The scale included four items (e.g., "The officer was justified in the

amount of force used in this incident"; "I support the officer's actions in this incident")

that were measured on a 7-point Likert scale (1 – *strongly disagree,* 7 – *strongly agree*).

Item scores were averaged for an overall score, with higher scores indicating greater

endorsement of the level of force (EF) used by the police officer ($\alpha = .93$).

Officer Discipline (OD). Participants' endorsement of disciplinary sanctions for the officer was next recorded. Using a 7-point Likert scale, participants were asked to, "Please think about the **police officer** in the article which you read and indicate the extent to which you agree with the following statements", where higher scores indicate greater agreement (1 – *completely disagree;* 7 – *completely agree*). The three items included: "The officer should receive disciplinary sanctions as a result of this incident", "The officer should be held responsible for his actions" and "There should not be any consequences for the officer" (reverse coded). The first item has been used in previous studies (e.g., Kahn, Thompson, & McMahon, 2016), where the last two items were created for the current study. Items were aggregated to create a mean score of endorsement of officer discipline and a reliability index was obtained (a = .87).

As an additional concrete measure of endorsement of discipline, participants indicated the extent to which they believed "The officer should be criminally charged for the use of excessive force". Participants may endorse discipline in general, but be hesitant to criminally charge an officer. This item was also measured on a 7-point Likert scale with higher scores meaning greater agreement with criminally charging the officer (1 – *not at all appropriate,* 7 – *completely appropriate*).

Victim Blame (VB). Participants rated their perceptions of the woman's culpability for the outcomes of the incident with items adapted from previous studies looking at victim blame in incidents of IPV (Eigenberg & Palicastro, 2016; Esqueda & Harrison, 2005). This scale consisted of five items measured on a 7-point Likert scale (1-*strongly disagree,* 7 – *strongly agree*) with a Cronbach's alpha of .84. Example items

include, "The woman is to blame for any harm to herself," and "The woman deserved the

amount of force that was used on her". Items were averaged for an overall score of victim

blame (VB).

Perceived pain (PP). Finally, participant perceptions of the woman's physical

pain as a result of the incident were rated, using a single item on a 4-point Likert scale

(Bruneau, Pluta, & Saxe, 2012; Trawalter, Hoffman, & Waytz, 2012). Specifically,

participants responded to, "How much physical pain do you think the woman

experienced during this situation?" (1 = *none at all;* 4 = *a lot).*

Results

Preliminary Analyses

After data reduction (detailed above), scales were constructed with item responses

averaged to represent overall scores for each participant, and outliers were then assessed.

As many as three outliers were marked through the use of Mahalanobis Distances and

box plots but did not significantly alter any statistical results and were thus retained.

Pearson's correlations were conducted to assess inter-scale relationships and serve as a

preliminary source of understanding patterns in the data (see Table 1 for correlations

between all relevant variables). Previous research has indicated significant relationships

between the HS and BS subscales of the ASI (Glick & Fiske, 1996) as well as between

SDO and sexism (Ho et al., 2015). As predicted, there were significant positive, moderate

correlations between both HS and BS, $r(392) = .54$, $p < .01$, 95% CI [.47, .61], as well as

SDO and the ASI, $r(392) = .53$, $p < .01$, 95% CI [.45, .60].

Independent sample t-tests were also conducted to assess significant mean differences in attitudes between both men and women, as well as between White and racial minority participants. Results indicated that men ($M = 3.67$, $SD = 1.13$) were significantly higher than women ($M = 2.98$, $SD = 1.30$) in HS, $t(372) = 5.31$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.57$, consistent with previous findings (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Men ($M = 3.73$, $SD = 0.97$) were also significantly higher than women ($M = 3.38$, $SD = 1.12$) in BS, $t(372) = 3.16$, $p = .002$, $d = 0.33$, where previous research has shown that men and women do not differ in their endorsement of BS (Glick & Fiske, 1996). For SDO, men ($M = 3.38$, $SD = 0.97$) were significantly higher than women ($M = 2.98$, $SD = 1.12$), $t(372) = 4.22$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.38$, supported by theory that men hold more socially dominant beliefs as a higher-status gender group (Ho et al., 2015). The prediction that White participants ($M = 3.19$, $SD = 0.94$) would be significantly higher in SDO than racial minority participants ($M = 3.06$, $SD = 0.90$), however, was not supported, $t(386) = 1.29$, $p = .20$, $d = 0.14$.

Name effect. Before testing the hypotheses, independent samples t-tests were conducted to ensure that any effects found were not influenced by the names of the women, comparing the names within the White (Katie and Amanda) and Black (Tameisha and Latisha) race conditions. No significant differences by name were revealed in either race condition and the name conditions were collapsed (within each race) for all subsequent analyses.

Hypothesis Testing

Hypothesis 1. For the first hypothesis, significant main effects of race and pregnancy, qualified by a significant interaction, were predicted. More specifically, more

positive outcomes were predicted towards the White (compared to Black; i.e., the main

effect of race), pregnant (compared to not pregnant; i.e., the main effect of pregnancy),

and pregnant White woman (compared pregnant Black woman; i.e., the interaction

effect). To test this prediction, 2 (Race: Black; White) x 2 (Pregnancy: pregnant; not

pregnant) factorial ANOVAs[4] were conducted separately for all dependent variables:

endorsement of force (EF), officer discipline (OD), and victim blame (VB) (see Tables 2

and 3 for full results). Officer discipline was tested as two separate outcomes - the three-

item scale on endorsement of general discipline, and the single-item outcome looking at

endorsement of criminal charges (see Table 2 for tests of the interactions). These effects

are discussed for each dependent variable, separately.

   Endorsement of force (EF). A univariate ANOVA revealed a significant main

effect of race, where endorsement of force was greater in the White ($M = 3.63$, $SD = $

1.73) compared to the Black ($M = 3.10$, $SD = 1.63$) race condition, $F(1, 385) = 9.75$, $p = $

.002, partial $\eta^2 = .02$ (see Figure 1). Therefore, contrary to expectations, participants

were more supportive of police use of force when the woman was White compared to

when she was Black. Next, a univariate ANOVA revealed that the main effect of

pregnancy was also significant, $F(1, 385) = 9.75$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .02$, such that

support for force was less when the woman was pregnant ($M = 3.08$, $SD = 1.67$) than

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[4]A MANOVA was originally proposed to test hypothesis 1, but upon examination of the data which indicated all four outcomes were platykurtic, with endorsement of discipline being lowly negatively skewed, and endorsement of force and criminal charges being lowly positively skewed. Although the divergence from normality was not large enough to require transformations of the data, multivariate tests are not robust to nonnormality (e.g., skewness and kurtosis), increasing the risk of type I errors via underestimated p-values (J. Newsom, personal communication, November, 21, 2019). Therefore, conclusions cannot be confidently drawn from a multivariate test for this data and reliance for interpretation would be on univariate tests. Conducting four separate univariate tests was an appropriate alternate strategy for testing the hypothesized effects for this study's design, yielding identical interpretation.

when was she was not pregnant ($M = 3.72$, $SD = 1.68$). This finding is consistent with the

hypothesis, demonstrating that participants' recognition that endorsement of force is less

appropriate when used against a woman who is pregnant. For the interaction effect, a

two-way ANOVA indicated that there was no significant interaction between pregnancy

and race on endorsement of force, $F(1, 385) = 0.05$, $p = .82$, partial $\eta^2 = .00$. Therefore,

participants did not differ in their endorsement of police use of force regardless of the

combination of the woman's racial identity and pregnancy status, and this hypothesis was

not supported.

   Endorsement of Officer Discipline (OD). A univariate ANOVA indicated that

the main effect of race on endorsement of discipline was significant, $F(1, 385) = 5.01$, p

$= .03$, partial $\eta^2 = .03$ (see Figure 2), but this effect was contrary to the hypothesis. That

is, endorsement of officer discipline was significantly less when the woman was White

($M = 4.25$, $SD = 1.67$) compared to when she was Black ($M = 4.89$, $SD = 1.60$).

Consistent with the predicted main effect of pregnancy, a univariate ANOVA indicated

that this effect was significant, $F(1, 385) = 12.72$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .03$, where

endorsement of force was greater when the woman was pregnant ($M = 4.95$, $SD = 1.61$)

compared to not pregnant ($M = 4.36$, $SD = 1.64$). Said another way, participants are more

likely to agree with disciplinary sanctions against an officer who used force against a

pregnant woman. A two-way ANOVA revealed that the predicted interaction effect

between race and pregnancy on endorsement of discipline was not significant, $F(1, 385)$

$= 0.58$, $p = .45$, partial $\eta^2 = .002$. That is, participants did not endorse disciplinary

sanctions against the officer significantly differently depending on the combination of the

woman's race and pregnancy status.

Endorsement of criminal charges. Similar to above, a univariate ANOVA

indicated a significant race effect on endorsement of criminal charges, $F(1, 385) = 4.51$, p

$= .03$, partial $\eta^2 = .01$(see Figure 3). The pattern of effects was, again, contrary to

expectations. Participants endorsed a criminal charge of excessive use of force against the

officer more when the woman was Black ($M = 3.76$, $SD = 1.93$) compared to when she

was White ($M = 3.34$, $SD = 1.97$). The hypothesized main effect of pregnancy, on the

other hand, was supported, where participant's endorsement of criminal charges of

excessive use of force was significantly greater when the woman was pregnant ($M = 3.74$,

$SD = 1.97$) compared to when she was not pregnant ($M = 3.31$, $SD = 1.92$), $F(1, 385) =$

4.30, $p = .04$, partial $\eta^2 = .01$. Finally, a two-way ANOVA revealed no significant

interaction between race and pregnancy on endorsement of criminal charges, $F(1, 385) =$

0.55, $p = .55$, partial $\eta^2 = .001$. Therefore, endorsement of criminal charges of excessive

force against an officer did not differ depending on the combined race and pregnancy

status of the woman.

Victim Blame (VB). The predicted significant main effect of race on victim blame

was partially supported. A univariate ANOVA revealed that this effect was significant,

$F(1, 385) = 6.46$, $p = .01$, partial $\eta^2 = .03$, but the direction of effects was in opposition to

the expectation (see Figure 4). Participants engaged in victim blaming significantly more

when the woman was White ($M = 3.87$, $SD = 1.49$) compared to when she was Black (M

$= 3.49$, $SD = 1.35$). Said another way, participants perceived that the Black woman was

less responsible than the White woman for the officer using force against her during the

interaction. The main effect of pregnancy also significant, $F(1, 385) = 7.94$, $p = .005$,

partial $\eta^2 = .02$, and consistent with the hypothesis. That is, participants assigned less

victim blame to the woman when she was pregnant ($M = 3.50$, $SD = 1.45$) compared to

when she was not pregnant ($M = 3.94$, $SD = 1.40$). Importantly, there was no significant

interaction effect between race and pregnancy, $F(1, 385) = 0.82$, $p = .37$, partial $\eta^2 = $

.002. Overall, these tests indicated that victim blame did not vary significantly depending

on the combination of the woman's racial identity and pregnancy status.

Hypothesis 2. It was expected that participants' endorsement of social inequality

(i.e., SDO) and benevolently sexist attitudes would moderate the influence of race and

pregnancy. To test these predictions, eight hierarchical regressions were conducted to test

these attitudes separately, as described below. Hierarchical regressions were chosen for

their ability to test moderation with multiple predictors, as well as to indicate significant

changes in R-square and ensure that any three-way interactions were not qualified by

two-way interactions or main effects. Most importantly, these tests maintain SDO and BS

as continuous variables. Both SDO and BS were centered at the sample means (Aiken &

West, 1991), race was dummy coded (where White = 0 and Black = 1) for ease of

interpretation, and HS was controlled in all tests regarding BS.

Hypothesis 2a. To test benevolent sexism as a moderator[5] of the relationship

between race and pregnancy, hostile sexism (HS) was entered into the first step of the

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[5] Because the protective paternalism sub-facet of BS is specifically involved in eliciting physical protection
of women (Glick & Fiske, 1996), further tests using the protective paternalism subscale of BS are in
Appendix C.

model as the control variable. Next, the race condition (R), pregnancy condition (P), and

centered benevolent sexism (BS) were entered into the second step of the regression

model. In the third step of the regression model, the two-way interactions between the

race and pregnancy conditions (RxP), the race condition and centered BS (RxBS), and the

pregnancy condition and BS (PxBS) were entered. Finally, the three-way interaction

between the race condition, the pregnancy condition, and BS (RxPxBS) were entered into

the fourth step. Endorsement of force (EF), officer discipline (OD), endorsement of

criminal charges, and victim blame (VB) were then entered into separate regressions as

the dependent variables. If the three-way interaction term in the third step was significant,

two-way interactions and the simple slopes were tested. Because a significant three-way

interaction will not indicate specific patterns of results, two-way interactions and simple

slopes were tested using Interaction software where appropriate (Soper, 2006).

The following regression equation was tested for each of the four outcome

variables, where $Y = $ EF, OD, criminal charges, or VB.

$$Y = b_0 + b_1 X_{1,R} + b_2 X_{2,P} + b_3 X_{3,BS} + b_4 X_{4,HS} + b_5 X_{5,RP} + b_6 X_{6,PBS} + b_7 X_{7,RBS} +$$

$$b_8 X_{8,RPBS} + e$$

Where

$$X_{5,RP} = X_{1,R} \times X_{2,P};$$

$$X_{6,BS} = X_{2,P} \times X_{3,BS};$$

$$X_{7,RBS} = X_{1,R} \times X_{3,BS};$$

$$X_{8,RPBS} = X_{1,R} \times X_{2,P} \times X_{3,BS}$$

A significant three-way interaction between race (R), pregnancy (P), and benevolent sexism (BS) was predicted for all dependent variables. A significant three-way interaction would indicate that participants' responses were influenced by their levels of BS. More specifically, it was predicted that outcomes would be positive towards pregnant women when participants were higher in BS than when they were lower in BS, but more so when the target was White compared to Black. The results of the hierarchical regressions are discussed separately for each dependent variable.

Endorsement of force (EF). Contrary to expectations, the BS x Race x Pregnancy interaction on endorsement of force was not significant, $B = 0.23$, $SE = 29$, $t(377) = 0.82$, $p = .42$, adjusted R-square $= .19$ (see Table 4). The two-way interactions between BS and both race and pregnancy were next examined. The two-way interaction between BS and race was not significant, $B = 0.19$, $SE = .14$, $t(378) = 1.32$, $p = .19$. Similarly, the two-way interaction between BS and pregnancy was not significant, $B = 0.14$, $SE = .14$, $t(378) = 0.96$, $p = .34$. There was also no main effect of BS, $B = -0.09$, $SE = .08$, $t((381) = 1.03$, $p = .30$. Overall, these findings do not support the hypothesis and suggest that benevolent sexism did not influence participants' endorsement of the police officer's use of force against the woman, in general or in regards to her race or pregnancy status.

Endorsement of officer discipline (OD). For endorsement of discipline, the hierarchical regression revealed that the three-way interaction trended towards significance, $B = 0.49$, $SE = .28$, $t(377) = 1.72$, $p = .09$, adjusted R-square $= .15$ (see Table 5). Although this effect was not significant at the $p < .05$ level, because the interaction approached significance it was probed to evaluate whether the patterns of the

effect supported the hypothesis. To examine these patterns, the interactions between race

and BS were examined using Interaction software (Soper, 2006), within each pregnancy

condition. In the pregnancy condition, the interaction between BS and race was not

significant, $B = 0.10$, $SE = .20$, $t(201) = 0.52$, $p = .60$. Therefore, BS did not influence

participants' endorsement of officer discipline when the woman was pregnant, and this

did not depend on her racial identity.

In the not pregnant condition, however, there was a marginally significant

interaction between BS and race, $B = -0.41$, $SE = .11$, $t(175) = 1.94$, $p = .054$ (See Figure

5). Simple slopes were subsequently examined to evaluate this interaction, focusing on

the influence of high (one standard deviation above the mean) and low (one standard

deviation below the mean) levels of benevolent sexism between race conditions. Simple

slopes indicated that in the White race condition, those who were higher in BS were

significantly more likely to endorse disciplinary sanctions for the police officer than those

who were lower in BS, $B = 0.35$, $SE = .14$, $t(175) = 2.50$, $p = .007$. In the Black race

condition, however, the simple slope was not significant, $B = -0.05$, $SE = .18$, $t(175) =$

0.30, $p = .76$.

Alternatively, this effect can be viewed within levels of benevolent sexism,

focusing on individuals at one standard deviation above and below the mean, looking

between racial condition (see Figure 6). Results showed that, when women are not

pregnant, individuals one standard deviation below the mean in BS endorse discipline

significantly greater in the Black race condition than in the White race condition, $B =$

0.67, $SE = .26$, $t(175) = 2.59$, $p = .005$. Those who are higher in benevolent sexism,

however, endorse discipline at similar levels in both the White and Black race condition, $B = -0.26$, $SE = .27$, $t(175) = 0.97$, $p = .33$.

These findings must be interpreted with caution given the marginal significance of the two-way interaction between BS and race. Taken as a whole, the patterns of these findings suggest that BS has an effect when women are White, but not Black, and they are not pregnant. This is consistent with previous research indicating that BS is more likely applied towards White than Black women (McMahon & Kahn, 2016). Furthermore, differences by race in endorsement of discipline arise only for those who are lower in BS, and not for those who report strong beliefs in BS. Of note, the main effect of benevolent sexism on endorsement of discipline was not significant when controlling for the effect of hostile sexism, $B = .08$, $SE = .08$, $t(381) = 1.50$, $p = .14$.

Endorsement of criminal charges. The hypothesis that there would be a three-way interaction between benevolent sexism, race, and pregnancy on endorsement of criminal charges was not supported, $B = 0.48$, $SE = .35$, $t(377) = 1.38$, $p = .17$, adjusted R-square $= .09$ (see Table 6), so the two-way interactions between BS and both race and pregnancy were next examined. The two-way interaction between BS and pregnancy was not significant, $B = -.05$, $SE = .17$, $t(378) = 0.28$, $p = .78$, but the two-way interaction between BS and race was significant, $B = -0.36$, $SE = .18$, $t(378) = 2.04$, $p = .04$. Tests of simple slopes using Interaction software (Soper, 2006) focused on the influence of higher and lower levels (one standard deviation above and below the mean, respectively) of reported of benevolent sexism within each race condition (see Figure 7). In the White race condition, individuals who were higher in BS endorsed criminal

charges of excessive force significantly more than individuals who were low in BS, $B =$ 0.56, $SE = .13$, $t(380) = 4.46$, $p < .001$. In the Black race condition, however, there were no differences in endorsement of criminal charges between those who were high or low in BS, $B = 0.21$, $SE = .14$, $t(380) = 1.44$, $p = .15$. Similar to the previous test, these findings indicate that BS affected the White race condition only.

These two-way interactions were also assessed another way, looking between race condition and within levels of BS (at one standard deviation above and below the mean; see Figure 8). Simple slopes showed that those low in BS endorsed criminal charges significantly more when the woman was Black compared to when she was White, $B =$ 0.76, $SE = .29$, $t(380) = 2.66$, $p = .008$. At high levels of benevolent sexism, there was no significant difference in endorsement of criminal charges between the race conditions, $B = -0.03$, $SE = .28$, $t(1380) = .11$, $p = .91$. Therefore, only those lower in BS differentially endorsed criminal charges of excessive force against an officer based on the woman's racial identity.

Victim blame (VB). Examining the three-way interaction between BS, race, and pregnancy on victim blame, the hierarchical regression revealed that this effect was not significant, $B = -0.09$, $SE = .23$, $t(377) = 0.36$, $p = .72$, adjusted R-square $= .26$ (see Table 7). The two-way interactions between both BS and race, $B = 0.09$, $SE = .12$, $t(378) =$ 0.77, $p = .44$, and BS and pregnancy, $B = 0.3$, $SE = .12$, $t(378) = 0.25$, $p = .81$, were also not significant. When controlling for hostile sexism, there was also no significant main effect of benevolent sexism on victim blame, $B = -0.06$, $SE = .09$, $t(381) = 0.93$, $p = .35$.

Therefore, participants' levels of benevolent sexism did not influence their perceptions of victim blame in this study.

   Exploring the role of Hostile Sexism. As a complement to the above tests, hostile sexism was tested as a moderator of the relationship between race and pregnancy. These tests were exploratory and not part of the main hypotheses. Two-and-three-way interaction terms were computed and tested using the same approach as tests of BS as a moderator, described above, with BS as a control variable in this case. For participants higher in HS, it was predicted that outcomes would be relatively more negative towards Black compared to White women. Hostile sexism was expected to interact with racial identity to increase negative outcomes towards Black women. As discussed above, this effect may occur due to negative stereotypes which portray Black women as lacking traditionally feminine qualities (e.g., being loud, aggressive, and hypersexual; Collins, 2000) and thus, stepping outside of gendered expectations of (White) femininity (Sibley & Wilson, 2004). The traditional prejudicial function of hostile sexism may then drive more negative outcomes towards Black women. There were no specific hypotheses regarding HS's relationship with pregnancy. Although pregnancy signals gender conformity for women, a lack of pregnancy may not necessarily signal a level of gender nonconformity that would elicit hostile sexism.

   Overall, findings indicated no significant three-way interactions, but there was a marginally ($p = .051$) significant interaction between race and HS on endorsement of criminal charges (See Appendix D for full results). Specifically, patterns of effects suggested that HS had a greater effect in the Black (compared to White) race condition.

Further, individuals one SD lower (but not one SD higher) in HS endorsed criminal

charges greater when in the Black (compared to White) race condition, but those higher

in HS did not endorse charges differently by race (although they did endorse criminal

charges *less*, in general). HS did not interact with race, pregnancy, or both of these

variables simultaneously on EF, OD, or VB.

  Hypothesis 2b. To test SDO as a moderator of the relationship between race and

pregnancy (see Figure 5 for conceptual model), the analytic strategy for testing BS as a

moderator (described above, minus HS as a control variable) was followed, with SDO

substituted for BS. It was specifically predicted that outcomes would be relatively more

negative towards Black women for participants higher SDO compared to those low in

SDO, even in the pregnancy condition. Effects are discussed for each DV (OD, EF,

endorsement of criminal charges, and VB) below. Significant three-way interactions were

predicted for each dependent variable, such that participants who were higher in SDO

would report less protective attitudes towards women, especially in the Black race

condition, and when pregnant.

  Endorsement of force (EF). A hierarchical linear regression indicated that the

hypothesis was not supported for endorsement of force; the three-way interaction

between SDO, race, and pregnancy was not significant, $B = -0.46$, $SE = .34$, $t(378) =$

1.35, $p = .18$, adjusted $R^2 = .17$ (see Table 8). The two-way interactions between SDO

and race and SDO and pregnancy were next examined. Findings indicate that the

interaction between race and SDO was not significant, $B = 0.06$, $SE = .17$, $t(379) = 0.31$,

$p = .75$. The two-way interaction between SDO and pregnancy was also not significant, B

= 0.06, *SE* = .17, *t*(379) = 0.34, *p* = .74. There was, however, a significant main effect of

SDO, *B* = 0.65, *SE* = .09, *t*(382) = 7.56, *p* < .001, such that greater endorsement of

socially dominant beliefs predicts greater endorsement of police use of force against a

woman. The influence of SDO is not dependent upon the woman's racial identity or

pregnancy status.

     Endorsement of officer discipline (OD). When assessing the interaction between

SDO, race, and pregnancy on endorsement of discipline, results of the hierarchical linear

regression reveal that no significant three-way interaction, *B* = 0.31, *SE* = .34, *t*(378) =

0.91, *p* = .36, adjusted *R*² = .13, and this hypothesis was not supported (see Table 9).

Furthermore, SDO did not significantly interact with either race, *B* = -0.06, *SE* = .17,

t(378) = 0.35, *p* = .73, or pregnancy, *B* = -0.03, *SE* = .16, *t*(378) = 0.15, *p* = .88,

independent of the other independent variable. The main effect of SDO on endorsement

of discipline was significant, however, *B* = -0.55, *SE* = .08, *t*(381) = 6.55, *p* < .001, such

that greater levels of SDO predicted less endorsement of discipline.

     Endorsement of criminal charges. The expectation that SDO would reduce

participant's endorsement of criminally charging the police officer with excessive use of

force, especially when the woman was Black and pregnant, was not supported, with the

three-way interaction between SDO, race, and pregnancy not significant, *B* = 0.47, *SE* =

.43, *t*(378) = 0.1.12, *p* = .27, adjusted *R*² = .04 (see Table 10). The two-way interactions

revealed that SDO did not significantly interact with pregnancy, *B* = -0.10, *SE* = .21,

t(379) = 0.49, *p* = .63, but there was a marginally significant two-way interaction

between SDO and race, *B* = -0.38, *SE* = .21, *t*(379) = 1.80, *p* = .07.

Although the interaction between race and SDO was not significant at the $p < .05$ level, the simple slopes were examined to better understand the pattern of effect. When looking between race conditions, and within levels of SDO (high and low SDO; one standard deviation above and below the mean, respectively; see Figure 9) those low in SDO were significantly more likely to endorse criminal charges in the Black race condition compared to the White race condition, $B = 0.75$, $SE = .27$, $t(381) = 2.78$, $p = .006$. Alternatively, those high (one standard above the mean) in SDO did not endorse criminal charges significantly more or less depending on the race condition, $B = 0.07$, $SE = .27$, $t(381) = 0.28$, $p = .39$.

When viewing this interaction another way, within each race condition and between high and low levels of SDO (see Figure 10), SDO did not have a significant effect on endorsement of criminal charges in the White race condition, $B = -0.14$, $SE = .14$, $t(381) = 0.97$, $p = .33$. On the other hand, in the Black race condition, those higher in SDO were significantly less likely to endorse a criminal charge against the officer than those lower in SDO, $B = -0.50$, $SE = .16$, $t(381) = 3.14$, $p < .001$. Taken together, and although marginally significant, these patterns of results suggest partial support of the hypothesis, where SDO was expected to have an influence when women were Black, but not White. This is consistent with previous findings showing that SDO is reserved for marginalized group members (e.g., Black people; Sidanius et al., 1992).

Victim blame (VB). The hypothesized three-way interaction between SDO, race, and pregnancy on victim blame was not supported, $B = -0.37$, $SE = .29$, $t(378) = 1.30$, $p = .20$, adjusted $R^2 = .20$ (see Table 11). SDO also did not significantly interact with race, B

= -0.10, *SE* = .14, *t*(379) = 0.71, *p* = .48, or with pregnancy, *B* = 0.04, *SE* = .14, *t*(379) =

0.31, *p* = .76. There was a significant main effect of SDO, *B* = 0.64, *SE* = .07, *t*(382) =

9.09, *p* < .001, indicating that although those greater SDO predicted greater victim

blame, in general, this effect was not influenced by a woman's racial identity or

pregnancy status.

      Hypothesis 3. It was predicted that the relationship between race and the four

dependent variables (EF, OD, endorsement of criminal charges, and VB) would be

partially mediated by perceptions of physical pain. These predictions were tested using

Hayes' PROCESS model 8 with 5,000 bootstrap resamples (Hayes, 2013). Model 8 was

chosen for its ability to assess all direct and indirect effects simultaneously. Testing

indirect effects with Hayes' PROCESS macro has become best practice because it can

test all possible pathways in the model simultaneously, unlike other methods (e.g., Baron

& Kenny, 1986). Importantly, bootstrapping creates a robust test that is not highly

sensitive to violations of normality (Ng & Lin, 2016). Furthermore, model 8 can test the

interaction between race and pregnancy as a predictor in a mediation model, as well as

race and pregnancy separately, without reduced sample sizes through sample restriction

while also controlling for the effects of the other independent variables.

      It was predicted that the proportion of variance in the dependent variables

accounted for by racial identity would be mediated by perceptions of physical pain (PP).

Therefore, racial identity was entered as the independent variable, pregnancy was entered

as the moderator variable (also creating the interaction term between race and

pregnancy), PP was entered as the mediator variable, and the four dependent variables

(EF, OD, endorsement of criminal charges, and VB) were entered separately into Hayes'

PROCESS model 8.

A significant direct effect of race on each outcome variable was predicted such

that when the woman was Black (compared to White), EF and VB would be greater and

OD and endorsement of criminal charges would be lower. This effect was predicted to be

explained by PP, indicated by a significant indirect effect, where when the woman was

Black (compared to White), she would be perceived to feel less physical pain during

incidents of police use of force, which would then drive greater EF and VB and less OD

and endorsement of criminal charges. Central to this hypothesis was the expectation that

these racial disparities in perceived pain, and therefore disparities in the outcomes, would

persist or perhaps even be exacerbated when the woman was pregnant. Given the lack of

significant interaction effects found when testing hypothesis 1, however, a significant

mediation of an interaction between race and pregnancy was unlikely, but tested for

thoroughness. The results of the tests for mediation are discussed separately for each

dependent variable.

Endorsement of force (EF). Contrary to expectations the mediation effect was not

present, where neither the race x pregnancy interaction term (B = -0.16, SE = .15, t(378)

= 1.03, p = .31), nor race (B = -0.007, SE = .11, t(378) = 0.06, p = .95) or pregnancy (B =

-0.31, SE = .10, t(378) = 0.30, p = .76) predicted pain (see Figure 11). Therefore, the

indirect effects of pain through race on endorsement of force were not significant, in both

the pregnant (B = -0.14, SE = .10, 95% CI = -0.33, 0.05) and not pregnant (B = -0.01, SE

= .11, 95% CI = -0.20, 0.21) conditions.

Endorsement of officer discipline (OD). When assessing the mediation effect of

pain on endorsement of discipline (see Figure 12), the hypothesis was not supported. The

model indicated that pregnancy (B = -0.31, SE = .10, t(378) = 0.30, p = .76), race (B = -

0.01 SE = .11, t(378) = 0.06, p = .95), and the interaction between race and pregnancy (B

= 0.16, SE = .15, t(378) = 1.03, p = .31) all did not predict perceived pain. Similar to

above, the indirect effects of pain through race on endorsement of discipline were thus

not significant in the pregnant (B = 0.15, SE = .10, 95% CI = -0.05, 0.36) and not

pregnant (B = -0.01, SE = .11, 95% CI = -0.20, 0.21) conditions.

Endorsement of criminal charges. Next, pain was tested as a mediator between

the relationships between race and pregnancy and endorsement of criminal charges (see

Figure 13). Findings revealed that the hypothesis was not supported as well, as neither

race (B = -0.01, SE = .12, t(378) = 0.06, p = .95), pregnancy (B = -0.03, SE = .10, t(378)

= 0.76, p = .76), nor the interaction between race and pregnancy (B = 0.16, SE = .15,

t(378) = 1.03, p = .31) predicted pain. The indirect effects were not significant in the

pregnant (B = 0.01, SE = .11, 95% CI = -0.21, 0.21) and not pregnant (B = 0.14, SE = .10,

95% CI = -0.04, 0.34) conditions.

Victim blame (VB). Finally, a mediation effect of pain on victim blame was tested

(see Figure 14). Consistent with the above findings, the hypothesis was not supported

with this outcome. Race (B = 0.01, SE = .11, t(341) = 0.05, p = .96), pregnancy (B = -

0.03, SE = .10, t(341) = 0.25, p = .81) and the interaction between race and pregnancy (B

= 0.14, SE = .15, t(341) = 0.95, p = .34) all did not predict pain. The indirect coefficients

were not significant in the pregnant (B = -0.13, SE = .09, 95% CI = -0.31, 0.04) and not

pregnant (B = -0.005, SE = .10, 95% CI = -0.19, 0.18) conditions.

Hypothesis 4. Following the above predictions, a moderated mediation was

hypothesized. It was predicted that a mediation effect would be exacerbated by social

attitudes (e.g., SDO and BS), where SDO and BS would moderate the relationship

between the independent (racial identity) and mediating (perceived pain) variables.

Specifically, it was hypothesized that BS would increase PP toward pregnant White

women, but not pregnant Black women (hypothesis 4a; see Figures 15 and 16 for the

proposed model). This disparity in perceived pain was expected to result in more positive

outcomes (e.g., less EF and VB and greater OD and endorsement of criminal charges) for

pregnant White women, but not pregnant Black women. Similarly, social dominance

orientation was predicted to moderate the relationship between racial identity and pain,

resulting in disparate outcomes for Black and White pregnant women (see Figures 17 and

18 for the proposed model). Specifically, when participants are higher in SDO, it was

predicted that PP would be less when pregnant women are Black, resulting in more

negative outcomes (e.g., greater EF and VB and less OD) for pregnant Black women.

However, because the mediation effect was not present in the above tests, these

moderated mediations were not tested. Without a mediation effect, a moderated

mediation effect cannot occur.

Discussion

This study tested the relationship between race and pregnancy on public

perceptions of police use of force. It was expected that a "protective factor" (e.g., less

endorsement of force, greater endorsement of officer discipline and filing of criminal

charges against the officer, and less victim blame) would be greater for pregnant women

when compared to women that are not pregnant, but more so when they are also White

(compared to Black). Perceptions of physical pain, as a downward process of

dehumanization, were hypothesized to be a mechanism for racially disparate outcomes,

and benevolent sexism and social dominance orientation were hypothesized to exacerbate

all of these effects. That is, "traditional" (i.e., positively stereotyped, pregnant, and

White) women were expected to be perceived to experience greater physical pain

(compared to pregnant Black women) as a result of police use of force, especially by

those higher in BS, resulting in more positive, protective outcomes. On the other hand,

more negative outcomes were predicted towards pregnant Black women (compared to

pregnant White women) by those who are higher in SDO, partially due to lower

perceptions of physical pain.

These hypotheses were largely unsupported. As predicted, pregnant women did

receive more protective responses than women who were not pregnant, but the main

effect of race was contrary to expectations. Participants indicated less endorsement of

police use of force, greater endorsement of disciplinary sanctions and criminal charges

against the officer, and less victim blame when the woman they read about was Black

compared to White. Most importantly, the first hypothesis focused on the interaction

between race and pregnancy, predicting that each outcome would be influenced by the

combined racial identity and pregnancy status of the woman. The results, however,

showed no significant interaction effects on any of the four dependent variables (EF, OD, endorsement of criminal charges, or victim blame).

The main effect of pregnancy was consistent across measures and suggests participants generally recognized that using physical force against a pregnant woman is less appropriate. This perception did not vary by racial identity. This main effect is in line with previous work indicating that pregnant women are perceived as more vulnerable to physical harm (Sutton et al., 2011) due to the inherent risk to a fetus and that women are weakened by pregnancy (Greenberg, 1998). Women in the pregnancy condition may have also been perceived to be more traditional than the women in the not pregnant conditions. Traditional women are typically perceived to be warmer, but less competent, and are therefore paternalized and pitied (Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2008). Furthermore, pregnant women are more likely to be patronized (Hebl et al., 2007) and viewed as more childlike, signaling the need for physical help (Walton et al., 1998). The categorization of "pregnant" has also been suggested to dominate over other categorizations (Fuegen, Biernat, Haines, & Deaux, 2004), which may have been more salient in the context of the police interaction. Given the physical nature of police use of force, responses in the current study may have been one way for participants to "help" these women who they view as more physically vulnerable to the force used against them.

The lack of interactions based on race and pregnancy status was unexpected in light of intersectional theories (Collins, 1989; Crenshaw, 1989). Theories of intersectionality would predict that outcomes for White women, when intersected with pregnancy status, would not be similar to those for pregnant Black women because

stereotypes and perceptions at the intersection of various identities differ from those at

the intersections of other identities (Goff et al., 2008; Kang & Bodenhausen, 2015; Lewis

& Grzanka, 2016; Lewis et al., 2016). Specifically, stereotypes of White women have

portrayed them to be disabled and weakened by pregnancy, contrary to perceptions that

Black women are more resilient in pregnancy (Greenberg, 1998). Images of single,

uneducated, welfare-dependent mothers are negative stereotypes of Black women

(Collins, 2000; Rosenthal & Lobel, 2016) and are not consistent with stereotypes of

traditional, warm (and assumedly White) mothers and homemakers (Fiske et al., 2002).

Stereotyping directly related to motherhood and pregnancy was not tested in the current

analyses, but future studies may include measures to assess whether participants

stereotyped the women differently by race. Stereotypes may play a potential moderating

or mediating role in perceptions.

While it was contrary to the hypotheses, there was a consistently found main

effect of race, indicating more positive responses were directed towards women in the

Black, rather than White, race condition. The main effect of race is important to consider

in light of the discussion presented in the #SayHerName social movement stating that

Black women's experiences are not taken as seriously due to their racial identity

(Crenshaw & Ritchie, 2015; Ritchie, 2017), as well as findings that Black women are

more likely to experience and report excessive use of force by police (BJS, 2018). These

activists commonly argue that if the Black women being harmed by police were White,

their stories would be taken more seriously. These findings also diverge from previous

studies focusing on men, which found greater support for police use of force against

Black men than White (Goff et al., 2014; Holmes & Smith, 2012; Johnson & Kuhns,

2009). The current findings are supportive of the idea that Black men's experiences are

not an appropriate proxy for those of Black women (Crenshaw, 1989; Goff & Kahn,

2013). This is because the stereotypes which surround these two groups are not entirely

the same, resulting in different perceptions and experiences for each group (Goff et al.,

2008). These results suggest that Black men and women may not be perceived similarly

in policing contexts, but may also be explained in several different ways.

        One explanation for why Black women may be "protected" more than White

women in the context of this study is the suppression of prejudice. Research has shown

that explicit prejudicial attitudes have declined (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986) and

individuals are gaining greater awareness of racial inequality (Pew Research Center,

2015). This does not mean, however, that participants do not still hold prejudicial

attitudes. Individuals may be motivated to simply not be seen as prejudiced, a motivation

that does not reflect actual nonprejudicial attitudes and behaviors (Plant & Devine, 1998).

Crandall and Eshlemann attempted to address the divergence between motivations and

actual attitudes through the justification-suppression model (2003). This model states that

individuals are motivated through cultural norms and personal beliefs (e.g., religion or

political views) to suppress their prejudice. These individuals will, however, express

prejudice when they can properly justify it. According to the model, prejudicial

expressions can be justified through processes such as belief in a just world, social

dominance beliefs, and the use of stereotypes.

In the current study, participants may have been motivated to suppress prejudice by guessing that prejudicial attitudes were of interest to the researchers. The use of the ASI (Glick & Fiske, 1996) and SDO (Ho et al., 2015) as measures before the experimental manipulation may have been a tip-off for participants. Concern for appearing prejudiced to others or even to themselves may have then motivated their suppression of prejudice (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2004). Participant comments such as "I better not be racist" in an open response item lend credence to this idea. In conjunction, the woman's behaviors in the fictitious article - noncompliance with the officer's request for identification and physically pushing the officer - were created to present the opportunity for participants to engage in stereotyping her behavior as aggressive or elicit the belief that she "got was she deserved". If these behaviors were not sufficient to justify the expression of prejudice through negative responses towards her (e.g., engaging in victim blaming), then participants may have continued to suppress their prejudice instead.

Suppression of prejudice has also been shown to result in *over*compensation in participants' behaviors (DeVault & Miller, 2019). Here, aversive racism may play a role. Aversive racists are those who deny their prejudicial attitudes to appear egalitarian, but still hold negative attitudes and beliefs about Black people (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2004). To seem unbiased, these individuals may respond more positively towards Black people to overcompensate for any negative beliefs, especially when race is made salient (Sommers, 2006; Sommers & Ellsworth, 2001). This is often due to motivation by external factors (e.g., knowledge of social norms or the presence of another individual,

such as an experimenter) to avoid perceptions of being prejudiced (Plant & Devine,

1998), and therefore engaging in outward behaviors that belie any true prejudicial beliefs.

If their genuine attitudes were biased, where protection of Black women was significantly

less than that of White women, any overcompensation brought about by aversive racism,

external motivations to avoid prejudicial appearance, and prejudice suppression may have

resulted in the protection of Black women surpassing that given to White women. This

effect may have then occurred regardless of any underlying beliefs that protection should

have been less for Black women than White women.

Without a measure of aversive racism or social desirability bias for the data in the

current study, this explanation is unable to be tested directly. Future studies may utilize

measures of internal and external motivation to respond without prejudice (Plant &

Devine, 1998) to see how these divergent motivations influence protective responses as

well as behavioral outcomes. For instance, individuals who are more motivated to avoid

prejudicial responses by external factors (as opposed to internal factors such as

egalitarian beliefs), may be more likely to respond protectively toward Black women

without behaving in a way which reflects those responses (e.g., sharing women's stories

on social media or in person, petitioning for legislation change on behalf of these women,

supporting protests, contributing to funds for their legal or healthcare needs).

Whereas suppression of prejudice may be considered a mechanism which biased

participants' responses in favor of Black women (by eliciting greater protection

compared to White women, to compensate for actual, prejudicial beliefs), we may also

consider how responses may have been biased against White women, resulting in more

negative outcomes for these women compared to Black women. It is certainly possible

that both processes may have been at work simultaneously. Thus, as an additional

explanation for the findings in the current study, shifting standards theory may provide a

useful framework.

The theory of shifting standards states that judgments of individuals on a

dimension are based upon expectations and stereotypes of the group to which each

individual belongs (Biernat, 2003). This results in a "shift" in the standard set for each

individual against which to make judgments, due to different referent groups being

utilized. As a result, the same objective behavior (e.g., yelling and pushing) performed by

a positively stereotyped individual and a negatively stereotyped individual may result in

different subjective judgments (e.g., not aggressive or aggressive). What is simply

meeting expectations for one group may be failing or exceeding expectations for another.

Importantly, behaviors can be framed in terms of whether they are stereotype-consistent

or stereotype-inconsistent, which is determined by the relevant stereotypes for the

individual performing that behavior. Tests of shifting standards theory have found that

when a behavior is perceived to be stereotype-inconsistent, the individual may be judged

comparatively less favorably/more unfavorably than when that same behavior is

perceived to be stereotype-consistent (Biernat, 2003). For instance, when a positively

stereotyped group member engages in negative, stereotype-inconsistent behavior, they

are judged more negatively than a negatively stereotyped group member who is perceived

to have behaved in a stereotype-consistent manner.

In the context of the current study, the woman's behaviors within the police interaction may have been judged utilizing different standards dictated by racial stereotypes. Specifically, a Black woman's behaviors may have been judged relative to stereotypes about Black women (e.g., that they are loud and aggressive; Collins, 2000), where the behaviors of a White woman may have been judged relative to stereotypes about White femininity (e.g., that they are quiet and submissive, Bem, 1974), although both of these women engaged in the same behavior within the same context. For a Black woman, refusal to comply with an officer and the act of physically pushing the officer may have been considered stereotype-consistent behavior, whereas for a White woman, these same behaviors may have been considered stereotype-inconsistent. Importantly, because endorsement of force, victim blame, and endorsement of disciplinary sanctions and criminal charges are all subjective responses, the White woman may have been judged more negatively for engaging in a stereotype-inconsistent behavior than a Black woman engaging in a stereotype-consistent manner. This may have resulted in less "protection" afforded to the White woman compared to the Black woman, biasing responses against the women in the White race condition.

Although the current study did not test for perceptions of the woman's behavior as stereotype-consistent-or-inconsistent, future studies should consider doing so. One avenue for such an assessment may be to consider the stereotype content model (Fiske et al., 2002). If the White woman is perceived to be less warm and less competent than the Black woman, whereas stereotypes about Black femininity may suggest the opposite (i.e., White women being warmer and more competent, Black women being colder and less

competent), this may allude to the effect of a shifting standard. Similarly, explicit

endorsement of stereotypes, either through self-report items or Implicit Association Tests

(Greenwald et al., 1998), may also be used. If participants endorse different stereotypes

for White and Black women, in general, these stereotypes would provide evidence for

differing relevant standards by which participants may then judge these women's

behaviors.

As a final possible explanation of the main effect of race, the social climate in

which this study was conducted must be considered. In recent years, the hashtag

"#BlackLivesMatter" has increased substantially in usage, with it being used

approximately 30 times per day by the second half of 2013 (the year the hashtag was

born) to being used an average of 17,000 times per day by 2018 (Pew Research Center,

2016; 2018). The increased discussion of police brutality on social media may reflect an

overall increase in awareness of racially disparate policing, which may then have

influenced this study's results. That is, participants in the current study may have been

aware of racially biased targeting of Black people in policing efforts, a bias which has

been demonstrated by previous research (BJS, 2018; Eberhardt et al., 2006; Hester &

Gray, 2018; NAACP, 2019; Ridgeway, 2006). Sensitivity to this social climate may have

then influenced participants' responses to the outcome measures.

Specifically, the perception that greater systematic targeting of Black people

exists in policing may have motivated participants to respond more positively towards a

Black woman because they may have believed that she needed greater "protection" than

the White woman; White people are not typically thought to be targeted unfairly by

police. Consistent with the recognition of racially biased policing tactics, the woman's

behaviors (not complying, pushing) may have been seen as defensive, rather than

aggressive, if she was perceived to truly have been pulled over under false pretenses, as

the woman stated in the fictitious article. Claims of false pretenses by a Black woman

may have been seen as more legitimate given awareness of racially biased policing,

where a similar claim by a White woman may be seen as less legitimate.

In general, participants may have also presumed the White woman to have more

control over the interaction with the police officer, where there may have been fewer

alternative explanations for the outcome of the situation, such as those that may have

existed for the Black woman (e.g., systemic racism). As an example, participants may

have believed that the White woman's actions were directly responsible for her being

pulled over by the police officer, as well as for the officer's use of physical force and a

taser. On the other hand, the Black woman may not have been seen as directly

responsible for the officers' actions, but rather participants may have believed that her

skin tone and some level of bias on the part of the officer, both of which she cannot

control, contributed to the outcomes of the interaction with the officer.

Although the analyses above discuss victim blame as a dependent variable,

finding that victim blame was higher when the woman was White compared to Black,

victim blame may act as a mediator. The greater attribution of culpability to the White

woman may have been a driving force for greater endorsement of use of force by the

police officer and less endorsement of disciplinary sanctions and criminal charges against

the officer. Participants may have believed the White woman was more deserving of the

level of force used because she was responsible for prompting it, and that the officer did

not need to be punished for something that he was not responsible for. Supplemental

analyses testing this model did indeed find victim blame to be a significant moderator of

EF, OD, and endorsement of criminal charges (see Appendix E for analyses) suggesting

that future studies should not only consider models with victim blame as a mediator but

should assess awareness and agreement with the Black Lives Matter movement as a

potential control variable to account for the influence of the social climate on

participants' responses.

To next address the moderation by social attitudes, the second hypothesis received

mixed support with consistent patterns when testing all three social attitudes (BS, HS,

and SDO). No significant two-or-three-way interactions were found between these social

attitudes and the conditions of race and pregnancy status when looking at endorsement of

force and victim blame. Marginally significant interaction effects were limited to

disciplinary items, especially participants' endorsement of criminal charges, with one

statistically significant and four marginally significant interactions found. Thus,

conclusions should be drawn cautiously from these findings, but these patterns of effects

may aid our understanding of the observed main effect of race.

For instance, a marginally significant three-way interaction appeared for

endorsement of officer discipline, indicating that individuals who were higher in BS

endorsed disciplinary sanctions more than individuals who were lower in BS, but only in

the not pregnant, White race condition. Said another way, BS did not affect endorsement

of officer discipline in the pregnancy conditions (regardless of racial identity), or in the

Black, not pregnant condition. Similarly, a significant interaction between race and BS was found when looking at endorsement of criminal charges, such that individuals who were higher in BS endorsed criminal charges significantly more than individuals who were lower in BS, but only in the White race condition. These findings are consistent with previous research demonstrating that BS is more applied towards White than Black women (McMahon & Kahn, 2016) and indicate that BS may be relevant for whether participants endorse accountability of an officer in a use of force incident. Further tests of moderation by social attitudes suggested that HS had a larger effect when the woman was Black compared to White. This is consistent with previous findings where hostile sexism is applied more towards nontraditional women (Glick & Fiske, 1996), and the idea that Black women are perceived as less prototypical "women" (Goff et al., 2008). Interestingly, those who were higher in BS and HS did not endorse criminal charges differently depending on race; only those who reported average or low levels of BS and HS did so. This is similar to the pattern of effects found for SDO, where SDO (marginally significantly) affected endorsement of criminal charges when women were Black, but not White, and differences in endorsement by race were only found among reporting low or mean levels of SDO.

        The similar pattern of effects found for HS and SDO are not surprising, given that they are both traditional forms of prejudice (Glick & Fiske, 1996; Sidanius et al., 1992) which aim to denigrate marginalized group members (e.g., women and Black people). What is interesting, however, is that the gaps in endorsement of criminal charges by race seem to disappear among individuals who are high in these negative social attitudes,

including among those who are higher in BS. These findings may relate to the argument

presented above – that participants are responding to the social climate surrounding

police brutality. Given these attitudes' ties to racism (McMahon & Kahn, 2018), those

who are lower in SDO, BS, and HS may be those who are more willing to believe that

police officers unfairly target Black people and use de-escalation tactics in a racially

discriminant manner. Therefore, when individuals are more willing to believe that

racially biased policing is a problem, they may also be more likely to want to hold

officers accountable who may be mistreating Black women. They may view an officers'

actions against a Black person as more unjust, and therefore requiring justice. Effectively,

these beliefs, more likely held by those low in these social attitudes, may create a gap in

endorsement of criminal charges between Black and White women which favors Black

women, reflecting the recognition that these women are at greater risk of harm in police

interactions.

Alternatively, those who are higher in these negative social attitudes may be less

willing to accept explanations of racial bias on the part of the police officer. In turn, these

individuals close the gap in endorsement of criminal charges by *not* favoring Black

women, due to their prejudicial attitudes. Future studies could better assess this

explanation by testing the relationships between these social attitudes and support for the

Black Lives Matter movement or beliefs systemic racism within policing. Most

importantly, future studies should reassess the role of these social attitudes in perceptions

of police use of force against women, given that the majority of moderations merely

trended towards significance. Perhaps future studies may find statistically significant

results or may replicate non-significant findings, indicating that other social attitudes may

be relevant in the context of public responses to police use of force against women.

The general lack of moderation by social attitudes on other items was surprising

given the well-established links between benevolent sexism and the provision of physical

protection for women (Glick & Fiske, 1996; Glick & Fiske, 2001; Viki, Abrams, &

Hutchinson, 2003), as well as between racial discrimination, support for police officers,

and social dominance orientation (Pratto et al., 1994; Sidanius & Liu, 1992; Sidanius et

al., 1992). Differential endorsement of police use of force against these women is one

possible manifestation of how protection (or lack of protection) could have been provided

in the current study through these attitudes. Furthermore, the presence of pregnancy was

predicted to elicit more benevolent sexism, given that pregnancy is a biological

fulfillment of a female's social role (Eagly, 1984) and more traditional women elicit

greater benevolent sexism and paternalistic, pitied responses (Fiske et al., 2002; Cuddy et

al., 2008). Similarly, more negative stereotypes of Black women may also be triggered

through pregnancy, given the images of Black women as overly sexual, and more likely

single mothers (Collins, 2000). Although main effects of SDO were found, where greater

SDO predicted greater EF and VB, and less ED and endorsement of criminal charges,

there were no main effects of benevolent sexism on these four dependent variables.

Exploratory analyses also found main effects of hostile sexism, such that greater HS

predicted greater EF and VB, and less ED and endorsement of criminal charges. These

findings suggest that HS and SDO may be relevant for responses towards women in

policing contexts, in general, but may not provide robust explanations for race-or-pregnancy-related discrimination depending on the outcome of interest.

An explanation for these findings may again be because pregnant women are perceived to be more vulnerable to physical harm (Sutton et al., 2011). Therefore, the context of a police interaction may have elicited greater protection by all participants, regardless of their social attitudes. That is, although the force used by the officer may have triggered greater benevolent sexism for those who hold benevolently sexist beliefs, BS may not have been necessary to increase protective responses (e.g., less endorsement of force and victim blame) towards pregnant (compared to not pregnant) women. It is also possible that another social attitude or motivation (e.g., motivation to respond without prejudice) was more influential than benevolent sexism or social dominance orientation, resulting in nonsignificant interactions between race and BS or SDO on EF, OD, and VB.

Finally, the hypothesized mediation of perceived pain between the relationship between race and pregnancy, and EF, ED, endorsement of criminal charges, and VB was not supported. In general, perceptions of pain tended to be high in this sample ($M = 3.27$, $SD = 0.70$) with the majority of participants perceiving the woman to have experienced "a moderate amount" or "a lot" of pain. There may not have been enough variance in this dependent variable to find a statistical effect. Notably, the lack of racial differences in perceived pain demonstrated is not consistent with previous findings that Black people are thought to feel less physical pain than White people (Trawalter et al., 2012). A lack of pregnancy-related differences in perceived pain was also unexpected, given perceptions

that pregnancy weakens women (Greenberg, 1998) and makes them more susceptible to physical harm (Sutton et al., 2011).

Ambiguity has been suggested to influence pain assessments, where varied ambiguity in how much pain is expected to be experienced by a target can influence treatment decisions (Hirsch, Hollingshead, Ashburn-Nardo, & Kroenke, 2015). Perhaps there was little ambiguity around how much pain should or could have been felt by the women in the fictitious article given the twice use of a taser by the officer. Because tasers discharge controlled levels of voltage, participants may have perceived consistent experiences in pain by these women, regardless of their pregnancy status or racial identity. Moreover, beliefs in biological differences by race have also been shown to play an important role. Individuals who subscribe to racially biased beliefs, beliefs such as Black people having thicker skin, are more likely than those who do not subscribe to these same beliefs to assess pain in a racially biased manner (Hoffman et al., 2016). This study did not assess beliefs in biological differences by race, but perhaps participants did not hold these racially biased beliefs about biology. Future studies may consider integrating biology-based items into measures of racial stereotype endorsement.

Due to the general pattern of nonsignificant effects throughout these findings, it is important to note that a lack of power for conducting these tests was considered. A priori power analyses, as discussed above, indicated that sample sizes ranging from 199 to 208 were adequate to detect small-to-medium effect sizes (e.g., .10 for a univariate test, or .04 for hierarchical regression, and power an unlikely issue for mediation using bootstrap resampling). The obtained sample size far exceeded these recommendations. Granted, the

observed effect sizes in this study were largely small (e.g., partial η^2s ranged from .01 to .03, and adjusted R^2s ranging from .04 to .26). After-the-fact tests of power have been demonstrated as unnecessary, with tests of observed power for nonsignificant tests being low by nature (O'Keefe, 2007; Sun, Pan, & Wang, 2011) and true power often being biased (Yuan & Maxwell, 2005). Therefore, the a priori estimates for sample size are relied upon for the current study, and effect sizes were reported for all tests, an approach that is considered best practice (O'Keefe, 2007).

Limitations and Future Directions

Several limitations must be addressed for the current design. A first limitation applies to the scales chosen for this study. As with all self-report measures, reported levels of both SDO and BS may be subject to social desirability biases. While I was unable to find information about the relationship between SDO and social desirability, both the HS and BS subscales of the ASI are positively but lowly correlated with impression management (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Impression management motivations were attempted to be mitigated by encouraging honest responses while stressing the anonymity of the data. The scales measuring victim blame and endorsement of force have also not been previously validated, as the items for these scales were taken from previous studies (Eigenberg & Palicastro, 2016; Esqueda & Harrison, 2005; Kahn, Thompson, & McMahon, 2016). To address this limitation, reliability tests using inter-item correlations and Cronbach's Alpha demonstrated reliability levels of both the victim blame and endorsement of force scales above standard cutoffs. Researchers should consider the

value in testing these items in larger projects aimed at scale construction and validation to

standardize measures of support for police behaviors and general victim blame.

A second limitation of this study relates to the sampling method. Workers (i.e.,

participants) on Amazon's Mechanical Turk may have been more concerned with

payment than the quality of their responses, leading to rushed responses (Johnson &

Borden, 2012). Timers were added to the news article manipulation page on Qualtrics as

an attempt to ensure that participants were thoroughly reading the material, but this does

not guarantee that they did. Participants completed the survey in a place of their choosing

and monitoring of response quality is not easy. Manipulation checks, attention checks,

and worker qualification restrictions were utilized to lessen the influence of this

limitation, which studies have shown vastly improve the quality of data from Mturk

samples (Chmielewski & Kucker, 2019). The sample from Mturk is also mostly White,

limiting the generalizability of the findings from the obtained data. Generally, samples

obtained from Mturk are more diverse and more representative than college samples

(Burhmeister et al., 2011; Kees, Berry, Burton, & Sheehan, 2017) but still draw smaller

proportions of Non-White respondents than White. Future studies may utilize pre-surveys

to invite a greater number of racial minority respondents and increase representativeness.

In regards to social attitudes, future studies should address how SDO and BS may

influence a sample of police officers, because officers may directly enact biased

behaviors towards women in the field. Though SDO and BS did not consistently interact

with the independent variables in the current study, these findings cannot be generalized

to a sample of police officers. In addition to looking at public perceptions, assessing

officers' attitudes as predictors of the actual use of force provides a complementary view. That is, which social attitudes predict different police behaviors towards women, and also predict different public responses to such behaviors? By understanding which attitudes influence both police officers and public perceptions, avenues for targeted interventions may be illuminated which can address disparities both in the field and in media and policy representation.

The findings provided above also do not test participant demographics as a potential source of disparate results. Previous research has indicated that responses to police use of force may be influenced by participant race, where White people are typically more support of police force, but not against ingroup members (Goff et al., 2008; Johnson & Kuhns, 2009; Tyler, 2005). Furthermore, when assessing demographic differences in social attitudes, men scored higher than women in both hostile and benevolent sexism, as well as SDO. Typically, men score higher than women on hostile, but not benevolent sexism (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Contrary to expectations and previous findings (Ho et al., 2015), White people did not score higher than racial minority individuals in SDO. Although the tests of moderations by social attitudes were not significant, these findings suggest that men and women, specifically, may differ on important dimensions. To address this possibility, exploratory analyses did not reveal any

significant moderations by participant gender (when restricted to cisgender men and women) or racial identity[6].

Next, the intersectional framework used for this study is a strength, but more identities can be addressed in future research. What we know about racial bias in perceptions of policing men as well as how sexism interacts with gendered roles (i.e., pregnancy) cannot be assumed to be directly applied to pregnant or nonpregnant Black women. Social psychological research that uses Black men as prototypes for studying racial bias and White women for study gendered bias leaves Black women invisible in research, policy, and public conversations (Goff & Kahn, 2013). However, this study only assesses perceptions of Black and White women. Any significant findings may not be applied towards women of other racial identities because the gendered racial stereotypes will shift for each group (Crenshaw, 1989; Goff, Thomas, & Jackson, 2008). For example, stereotypes of Latina women as "sexy" and "feisty" differ from stereotypes of Black women as aggressive and dominant, Middle Eastern women as quiet and oppressed, and Asian women as family-oriented and over-achievers (Ghavami & Peplau, 2012).

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[6] Participant demographics were explored as possible moderators of the relationships between race, pregnancy, and the interaction between race and pregnancy on EF, ED, endorsement of criminal charges, and VB. Participants' gender (0 = man, 1 = woman) and racial (0 = White; 1 = racial minority) identities were dummy coded. Participants who did not identify as cisgender were excluded from the gender analyses (N = 10), because ambivalent sexism ideologies are typically held by individuals with more traditional conceptions of gender, rooted in the gender binary (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Individuals who identified as various racial minority identities were also collapsed into a single category (N = 89) to compare against White participants (N = 377) given the overall lack of sample diversity which prevents the use of more discrete racial categories. Tests of moderation were conducted separately for gender and race on each dependent variable using Hayes' PROCESS macro model 3 with 5000 bootstrap resamples (Hayes', 2013). Overall, results suggested that neither gender nor racial identity moderated the effect of race, pregnancy, or the interaction between race and pregnancy on any of the outcome variables.

Furthermore, this study does not address other intersecting identities and statuses such as SES, religion, gender role adherence, or age, to name a few of the possibilities. The greater number of intersecting identities and statuses, the greater the required sample. This is a noted barrier in conducting intersectional research (Goff & Kahn, 2013) but is important for understanding the nuanced experiences of various subgroups. Future studies may include additional intersections to the design of the current study (e.g., marital status) or may expand the current design by including other racial identities (e.g., Indigenous women). It is important to note, however, that other intersections are also important when considering disparities in policing. Occupation, geography, sexual orientation, and gender identity are a few of the other intersections which may have important implications for the treatment of pregnant women. Any intersecting identities which are stigmatized (e.g., low SES, gender nonconforming, sex workers), non-traditional (e.g., lesbian mothers), or non-prototypical are likely to receive more negative outcomes. Individuals may be more supportive of police use of force, may endorse fewer disciplinary sanctions for officers, and may engage in greater victim blaming when victims are not seen as "ideal": weak, pure, and "worthy" of protection (Ammons, 1995).

Importantly, the current study does not address the actual behavioral intentions of the participants. Perceptions of instances of police use force may provide a foundation for understanding how victims of harmful policing tactics are differentially given media attention and assigned culpability. However, the endorsement of discipline or support for either victims or officers does not necessarily translate to behavior. Future studies could address behavioral intentions by using designs which ask participants to click to share a

story to their social media, click a link to sign a petition for pressing charges against an

officer, to make a monetary donation to a fund for supportive services for a victim, or to

provide their email addresses for volunteer organizations to contact them. These

outcomes would be able to test how participants may or may not follow through on

various supportive behaviors.

Supportive behaviors could make a difference for victims harmed during police

interactions. Studying behavioral intentions is important in regards to which types of

support may be offered (e.g., emotional support, informational support, or tangible

support). More specifically, emotional support refers to validation and expressions of

care given to victims, instrumental support is tangible assistance (e.g., financial

resources) from others, and informational support is advice and information (Cohen &

Willis, 1985; Ullman, 2000). All three of these types of support can be strengthened

through internet activism, which is a form of engagement within the BLM movement

(Lake, Alston, & Kahn, 2018). This activism is often in the form of shared stories via

Twitter or Facebook which can link to donate funds for survivors of traumatic

experiences, express sympathy and positive social reactions, and promote social

connectedness between survivors (Mundt, Ross, & Burnett, 2018). Support via financial

funding is important as it may be used by those harmed during police interactions for

legal and healthcare fees. Broadly, social support can function to buffer stress or provide

a coping mechanism for dealing with stressful events and mitigate negative health

outcomes (Cohen & Willis, 1985).

Similar to the point above, this study assesses perceptions of individuals who consume media reports about instances of police brutality rather than police perceptions or actual police behaviors. Future studies could analyze use of force files from police departments which involve interactions with women. Ideally, such a study could also code for motherhood (e.g., the presence of children during these interactions) as a predictor of force. Looking at motherhood as a predictor of differential use of force, especially when intersected with racial identity, would valuably contribute to understanding how gendered racial stereotypes may heighten policing and surveillance of Black motherhood (Ritchie, 2017).

Future studies should also look at how the presence of children may influence police behaviors. Stories as that of Charleena Lyles who was shot dead in front of three of her young children (Seattle, WA, 2016), as well as Philando Castille who was shot to death in the front seat of a car with his four-year-old daughter in the backseat (Falcon Heights, MN, 2016), ask the question: Do police officers respond to suspects differently if children are near, and may responses depend on the child's racial identity? Using high levels (or fatal) force in proximity to children puts them at greater risk for traumatic psychological effects as witnesses. These children are also more likely to be shot and killed themselves due to proximity. Aiyana Jones, for example, a seven-year-old Black girl who was sleeping on the couch in her home, was killed during a police raid in 2010 (Detroit, Michigan). Future studies could utilize shooter bias paradigms where children of varied races are superimposed into the backgrounds with adult suspects of varied races.

These studies could assess how reaction time and error rates are affected by the presence

of children when compared to contexts where no children are present.

An important next step for the current design is to consider how marital status

plays a role in perceptual and support outcomes for women. Marital status is closely

related to heterosexist norms about the appropriateness of pregnancy and its ties with

gendered expressions and women's humanity. Single pregnant women may be labeled as

promiscuous and less worthy of protection where deviation from gendered norms of

childbearing (e.g., norms of being with a married partner, a husband) may result in

greater hostile sexism, which is related to greater victim blaming in studies of IPV

(Esqueda & Harrison, 2015). On the other hand, single women may be seen as needing

greater resources by not having a significant other to provide needed support. Marital

status could also intersect with gendered racial stereotypes, where single and married

pregnant White women may not be perceived similarly to single and married pregnant

Black women. Given stereotypes about Black mothers being matriarchs, promiscuous,

and more likely to be single or have multiple sexual partners at a time (Collins, 2000), the

intersection of marital status, pregnancy, and race could have further implications for

victim blame and officer culpability.

Pregnant women who are married, however, may be responded to more positively

than women who are single or whose marital status is not stated. Women in traditional

roles (e.g., homemakers) elicit more favorable feelings and are worthier of being "put on

a pedestal" than women in non-traditional roles (e.g., career women; Glick, et al., 1997).

This may translate to women in traditional roles (e.g., married mothers) being worthier of

protective paternalistic responses. Explicit behaviors of protective paternalism by male partners or husbands of women in police interactions may also influence responses. Performance of protective behaviors (e.g., physically intervening on force) by those in heterosexual relationships is consistent with the traditional, heterosexist beliefs that underlie benevolent sexism (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Individuals who believe more strongly in the necessity of male's protection of "weak" women may respond more negatively towards police officers who threaten these women's physical safety.

Consideration of miscarriage as a potential outcome of police use of force against pregnant women will also be important to look at. The interaction between race, racial bias, pregnancy, and sexism in contexts of policing certainly has important implications for women's health. If some women (but not others) receive physically protective benefits, a lack of protection and biased policing may result in greater physical and psychological risks for pregnant women. The little extant research regarding pregnancy, social psychology, and health shows evidence of race-based health disparities. Black women are at higher risk of birthing underweight children and of having preterm, low weight births than White women (Almeida, Becares, Erbetta, Bettegowda, & Ahluwalia, 2018; National Center for Health Statistics, 2018) and these disparities are predictable by interpersonal instances of racial discrimination (Collins, David, Handler, Wall, & Andes, 2004; Dole et al., 2003). Negative interactions with police officers may be one source of discrimination that can adversely impact women's health during pregnancy.

Furthermore, when police officers either discount women's claims of pregnancy or lack care towards their physical state, they may increase women's risks of premature

labor, miscarriage, or harm during labor. Increased stress levels (Petersen et al., 1997), as well as physical violence (Cokkinides, Coker, Sanderson, Addy, & Bethea, 1999), predict premature labor and trauma and a direct physical blow to a pregnant abdomen can harm an unborn baby, causing fetal death (miscarriage) or preterm labor (Petersen et al., 1997). This may also occur when dealing with the medical aftermath of physical trauma, with a lack of concern potentially reflected in the miscarriage that Kwamesha Sharp experienced in 2011 after an officer forcefully held his knee into her pregnant abdomen (Chicago, IL). All of these risks bolster the need for understanding the underlying processes which may contribute to racially biased policing of pregnant women.

Another next step for the current study is to look at the role of both phenotypic racial stereotypicality and gender expression stereotypicality. Phenotypic racial stereotypicality is the degree to which an individual is perceived to physically represent their racial identity (e.g., darker skin, wider nose, fuller lips for Black phenotypicality; Maddox, 2004) and is often overlooked in research concerning racial bias. Gender presentation stereotypes, the degree to which an individual physically presents in gender-conforming ways (e.g., clothing, makeup, hair, general perceptions of "femininity") is another important but often overlooked aspect. Previous research has indicated that physical appearance plays a role in how stereotypes and schemas are activated as an additional method of categorization (Fiske, Neuberg, Beattie, & Milberg, 1987). Thus, phenotypic racial stereotypicality may influence impressions through differential activation of racial stereotypes, and gender presentation stereotypes may differentially activate gender stereotypes (Blair, Judd, Sadler, & Jenkins, 2002; Eberhardt et al., 2004).

These levels of stereotypicality may also interact to create variations of unique gendered

racial stereotypes (Goff, Thomas, & Jackson, 2008).

For instance, greater White phenotypicality in men predicts greater protection in

incidents of police use of force (Kahn, Goff, et al., 2016). On the other hand, greater

Black phenotypicality increases implicit racial bias in shooter bias paradigms (Kahn &

Davies, 2010). Therefore, women who are more phenotypically White may be more

protected through perceptions and blame attributions, while women who are more

phenotypically Black will be less protected. Racial disparities may only arise at the

extreme ends of phenotypicality but would contribute to a more nuanced understanding

of *which* women are at greater risk for negative outcomes. The inclusion of racial

phenotypic stereotypicality would expand the current study's focus on looking between

race to also assess outcomes within race.

Similarly, by looking at gender expression stereotypes, a future study may further

assess within-gender differences other than those dictated by racial differences. Research

has historically ignored the influence of gender expression, making this inclusion a novel

contribution to the social psychological literature in policing contexts. Gender expression

may act as either a cue for gendered stereotypes of femininity (e.g., weakness, purity;

Bem, 1974) or may interact with racial identity to be either consistent or inconsistent with

gendered racial stereotypes (Collins, 2000). In this context, it is important to consider the

role of gender expression with the actual adoption of femininity by both Black and White

women, given that femininity is typically defined under White patriarchal ideals (i.e.,

hegemonic femininity; Collins, 2004; Davis, Levant, & Pryor, 2018). While Black and

White women may endorse some of the same factors of femininity (such as caretaking and emotionality), their conception and development of gender roles are rooted in different sociohistorical systems (Davis et al., 2018; Ritchie, 2017). If we can better understand how women are perceived in relation to sexist ideals, gender roles, and stereotypes, we may be able to apply to that knowledge to how we present media depictions of women as victims. We may then begin to breakdown stereotypes and avoid language that may contribute to victim blaming and intergroup biases.

Relatedly, media content analyses will be an important avenue for future work. Individuals who read stories in which police brutality is being documented are considering many aspects of the encounter beyond the identities and statuses of the suspect. How these stories are depicted may influence perceptions through the use of victim blaming language (i.e., the use of active or passive voice; Henley, Miller, & Beazley, 1995), attribution biases, linguistic indicators of bias (i.e., abstract vs concrete language; Maas, Salvia, Arcuri, & Semin, 1989; von Hippel, Sekaquaptewa, & Vargas, 1997), and dehumanizing descriptions (Goff et al., 2008). Perceptions by the public may be negatively skewed when women are described as playing an active role in their victimization, are painted as having negative inherent characteristics, and are described in ways that compare them directly to animals or deny them human emotions.

Assessing language use has been a validated measure of implicit bias (Franco & Maas, 1996), which may be a superior method to the use of explicit measures (e.g., SDO) for assessing racial biases of writers within this context. A future study could gather a sample of media articles that depict women of varied racial identities who are pregnant

and not, as well as mothers or not, and code the articles for indicators of these biases. If

Black women are depicted in a more negative light than White women, these factors may

not only reflect privately held biases against these women on the part of the writer but

also contribute to the lack of representation of Black women in both media and social

justice rallies (Jacobs, 2017; Crenshaw & Ritchie, 2015). Relatedly, a future study

utilizing an experimental paradigm similar to that used in the current study could present

participants with several unknowingly fictitious articles (perhaps two neutral, filler

articles, and one describing a police use of force incident) and ask participants to

summarize the articles in their own words. The response to the article on police use of

force could then be coded victim blaming language, dehumanizing language, and

attribution and intergroup biases.

Conclusion

The current study is a response to a call for increased representation of women of

color in conversations surrounding police brutality (Ritchie, 2017; Crenshaw & Ritchie,

2015). Racial disparities at multiple points of contact with police officers have been

demonstrated through social psychological research (e.g., Eberhardt et al., 2006; Hester

& Gray, 2018; Ridgeway, 2006), which has mostly excluded gender as a variable (see

Plant et al., 2011, Navarrete et al., 2009, and Thiem et al., 2019 for exceptions).

Furthermore, race is largely excluded in research on gender bias (Goff & Kahn, 2013).

This study contributes to the extant body of literature on perceptions of police use of

force (e.g., Goff et al., 2014; Johnson & Kuhns, 2009; Kahn, Thompson, & McMahon,

2016) by addressing the gaps which fail to represent women and motherhood in the

policing empirical literature. Broadly, this study sought to understand how Black and White women who are harmed by the use of force in interactions with police officers are perceived in terms of culpability (i.e., victim blaming) without assuming that the experiences and stereotypes which disparage Black men are the same which disparage Black women (Crenshaw, 1989; Goff & Kahn, 2013). Most importantly, this study is the first, to my knowledge, to address parenthood, specifically motherhood (e.g., pregnancy), in social psychological research of perceptions of police use of force. Overall, this study demonstrated that participants respond more protectively towards Black (compared to White) and pregnant (compared to not pregnant) after reading about use of force incidents, with no interactions between race and pregnancy found. When assessing police accountability disparities by race, social attitudes such as benevolent sexism and social dominance may play a particularly important role, but more work is needed here. This study may serve as the foundation for a host of future work to address the intersection of race, gender, and parenthood, an intersection which is mostly unattended to in social psychological research on policing.

Tables

Table 1

Correlations Between Study Variables

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. SDO	-									
2. ASI	.53**	-								
3. BS	.35**	.85**	-							
4. HS	.56**	.90**	.54**	-						
5. PrPa	.29**	.76**	.87**	.50**	-					
6. EF	.37**	.33**	.17**	.40**	.17**	-				
7. OD	-.33**	-.27**	-.12*	-.34**	-.16**	-.88**	-			
8. Charges	-.15**	-.07	.07	-.18**	.03	-.66**	.73**	-		
9. VB	.43**	.43**	.29**	.50**	.24**	.85**	-.77**	-.61**	-	
10. PP	-.20**	-.21**	-.09	-.26**	-.10	-.39**	.43**	.33**	-.42**	-

Note. SDO = social dominance orientation; ASI = ambivalent sexism inventory; BS =

benevolent sexism; HS = hostile sexism; PrPa = protective paternalism; EF =

endorsement of force; OD = officer discipline; Charges = endorsement of criminal

charges; VB = victim blame; PP = perceived physical pain.

*p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001

Table 2

Main Effects of Race and Pregnancy on the Dependent Variables

Variable	Condition	*Mean* (*SD*)	*F* ratio	*p*	η^2
EF	Black	3.10 (1.63)	9.47	.002	.02
	White	3.63 (1.73)			
	Pregnant	3.08 (1.67)	13.58	<.001	.03
	Not pregnant	3.72 (1.68)			
OD	Black	4.88 (1.60)	5.01	.03	.01
	White	4.25 (1.67)			
	Pregnant	4.95 (1.61)	12.72	<.001	.03
	Not pregnant	4.36 (1.64)			
Charges	Black	3.76 (1.93)	4.51	.03	.01
	White	3.34 (1.97)			
	Pregnant	3.74 (1.97)	4.30	.04	.01
	Not pregnant	3.31 (1.92)			
VB	Black	3.49 (1.35)	6.46	.01	.02
	White	3.87 (1.49)			
	Pregnant	3.50 (1.45)	7.94	.01	.02
	Not pregnant	3.91 (1.40)			

Note. EF = endorsement of force; OD = officer discipline; Charges = endorsement of

criminal charges; VB = victim blame.

Table 3

Interaction of Race and Pregnancy on the Dependent Variables

Variable	Pregnant		Not pregnant		F ratio	p	η^2
	Black	White	Black	White			
EF	2.83 (1.62)	3.31 (1.70)	3.42 (1.59)	3.98 (1.72)	0.50	.823	.000
OD	5.21 (1.53)	4.72 (1.66)	4.50 (1.61)	4.25 (1.67)	0.58	.448	.002
Charges	3.90 (1.92)	3.59 (2.01)	3.60 (1.94)	3.06 (1.89)	0.35	.553	.001
VB	3.24 (1.35)	3.74 (1.50)	3.78 (1.30)	4.02 (1.47)	0.82	.366	.002

Note. Means are presented with standard deviations in parentheses. EF = endorsement of force; OD = officer discipline; Charges = endorsement of criminal charges; VB = victim blame.

Table 4

Hierarchical Regression Estimates of the Moderating Effect of Benevolent Sexism on Endorsement of Force (EF; Hypothesis 2a)

Variable	B	SE B	β	p	R^2	ΔR^2
Step 1					.16	.16***
Constant	3.38	0.08		<.001		
HS	0.53	0.06	.40	<.001		
Step 2					.20	.04***
Constant	3.87	0.14		<.001		
HS	0.54	0.07	.41	<.001		
BS	-0.09	0.08	-.06	.30		
Race	-0.45	0.16	-.13	.004		
Pregnancy	-0.52	0.16	-.15	.001		
Step 3					.21	.01
Constant	3.90	0.16		<.001		
HS	0.53	0.07	.40	.06		
BS	-0.23	0.12	-.15	.03		
Race	-0.51	0.23	-.15	.01		
Pregnancy	-0.58	0.21	-.17	.72		
Race x Pregnancy	0.11	0.31	.03	.19		
Race x BS	0.19	0.14	.08	.34		
Pregnancy x BS	0.14	0.14	.06	<.001		
Step 4					.21	.00
Constant	3.90	0.16		<.001		
HS	0.53	0.07	.39	<.001		
BS	-0.28	0.13	-.18	.04		
Race	-0.51	0.24	-.15	.02		
Pregnancy	-0.58	0.22	-.17	.01		
Race x Pregnancy	0.11	0.31	.03	.72		
Race x BS	0.31	0.20	.14	.13		
Pregnancy x BS	0.25	0.20	.11	.21		
Race x BS x Pregnancy	-0.23	0.29	-.08	.42		

Note. HS = hostile sexism; BS = benevolent sexism.

***$p < .001$

Table 5

Hierarchical Regression Estimates of the Moderating Effect of Benevolent Sexism on Endorsement of Discipline (ED)

Variable	B	SE B	β	p	R^2	ΔR^2
Step 1					.12	.12***
Constant	4.68	0.08		<.001		
HS	-0.44	0.06	-.34	<.001		
Step 2					.16	.04**
Constant	4.27	0.14		<.001		
HS	-0.48	0.07	-.37	<.001		
BS	0.13	0.08	.08	.14		
Race	0.32	0.16	.10	.04		
Pregnancy	0.49	0.16	.15	.002		
Step 3					.16	.01
Constant	4.32	0.16		<.001		
HS	-0.47	0.07	-.36	<.001		
BS	0.27	0.12	.18	.02		
Race	0.20	0.23	.06	.38		
Pregnancy	0.39	0.21	.12	.07		
Race x Pregnancy	0.22	0.31	.06	.49		
Race x BS	-0.14	0.14	-.07	.32		
Pregnancy x BS	-0.18	0.14	-.09	.20		
Step 4					.17	.01
Constant	4.31	0.16		<.001		
HS	-0.46	0.07	-.35	<.001		
BS	0.37	0.13	.25	.01		
Race	0.21	0.23	.06	.36		
Pregnancy	0.39	0.21	.12	.07		
Race x Pregnancy	0.22	0.31	.06	.48		
Race x BS	-0.39	0.20	-.18	.06		
Pregnancy x BS	-0.41	0.19	-.19	.04		
Race x BS x Pregnancy	0.49	0.28	.17	.09		

Note. HS = hostile sexism; BS = benevolent sexism.

**p < .01; ***p < .001

Table 6

Hierarchical Regression Estimates of the Moderating Effect of Benevolent Sexism on Endorsement of Criminal Charges

Variable	B	SE B	β	p	R^2	ΔR^2
Step 1					.03	.03***
Constant	3.54	0.10		<.001		
HS	-0.28	0.08	-.18	<.001		
Step 2					.09	.06***
Constant	3.18	0.17		<.001		
HS	-0.45	0.09	-.29	<.001		
BS	0.41	0.10	.23	<.001		
Race	0.36	0.19	.09	.06		
Pregnancy	0.34	0.19	.09	.08		
Step 3					.10	.01
Constant	3.11	0.19		<.001		
HS	-0.43	0.09	-.28	<.001		
BS	0.59	0.15	.33	<.001		
Race	0.51	0.28	.13	.07		
Pregnancy	0.48	0.26	.12	.07		
Race x Pregnancy	-0.28	0.38	-.06	.47		
Race x BS	-0.36	0.18	-.14	.04		
Pregnancy x BS	-0.05	0.17	-.02	.78		
Step 4					.11	.01
Constant	3.11	0.19		<.001		
HS	-0.42	0.09	-.27	<.001		
BS	0.68	0.16	.39	<.001		
Race	0.52	0.28	.13	.07		
Pregnancy	0.48	0.26	.12	.07		
Race x Pregnancy	-0.27	0.38	-.06	.48		
Race x BS	-0.60	0.25	-.23	.02		
Pregnancy x BS	-0.27	0.24	-.11	.25		
Race x BS x Pregnancy	0.48	0.35	.14	.17		

Note. HS = hostile sexism; BS = benevolent sexism.

***$p < .001$

Table 7

Hierarchical Regression Estimates of the Moderating Effect of Benevolent Sexism on Victim Blame (VB)

Variable	B	SE B	β	p	R^2	ΔR^2
Step 1					.25	.25***
Constant	3.69	0.06		<.001		
HS	0.56	0.05	.50	<.001		
Step 2					.27	.02**
Constant	3.98	0.11		<.001		
HS	0.58	0.06	.51	<.001		
BS	-0.06	0.07	-.05	.35		
Race	-0.30	0.13	-.10	.02		
Pregnancy	-0.28	0.13	-.10	.03		
Step 3					.28	.01
Constant	3.90	0.13		<.001		
HS	0.57	0.06	.51	<.001		
BS	-0.12	0.10	-.09	.24		
Race	-0.13	0.18	-.05	.48		
Pregnancy	-0.13	0.17	-.05	.45		
Race x Pregnancy	-0.31	0.25	-.09	.22		
Race x BS	0.09	0.12	.05	.44		
Pregnancy x BS	0.03	0.12	.02	.81		
Step 4					.28	.00
Constant	3.90	0.13		<.001		
HS	0.57	0.06	.51	<.001		
BS	-0.13	0.11	-.10	.23		
Race	-0.13	0.18	-.05	.48		
Pregnancy	-0.13	0.17	-.05	.45		
Race x Pregnancy	-0.31	0.25	-.09	.22		
Race x BS	0.13	0.17	.07	.43		
Pregnancy x BS	0.07	0.16	.03	.67		
Race x BS x Pregnancy	-0.09	0.23	-.03	.72		

Note. HS = hostile sexism; BS = benevolent sexism.

**p < .01; ***p < .001

Table 8

Hierarchical Regression Estimates of the Moderating Effect of Social Dominance Orientation on Endorsement of Police Use of Force (EF)

Variable	B	SE B	β	p	R^2	ΔR^2
Step 1					.18	.18***
Constant	3.87	0.14		<.001		
SDO	0.64	0.09	.35	<.001		
Race	-0.51	0.16	-.15	.001		
Pregnancy	-0.49	0.16	-.14	.002		
Step 2					.18	.00
Constant	3.90	0.16		<.001		
SDO	0.59	0.14	.33	<.001		
Race	-0.56	0.23	-.16	.02		
Pregnancy	-0.53	0.22	-.16	.02		
Race x Pregnancy	0.09	0.32	.02	.78		
Race x SDO	0.05	0.17	.02	.76		
Pregnancy x SDO	0.06	0.17	.02	.74		
Step 3					.19	.01
Constant	3.91	0.16		<.001		
SDO	0.49	0.16	.27	.002		
Race	-0.59	0.23	-.17	.01		
Pregnancy	-0.53	0.22	-.16	.02		
Race x Pregnancy	0.09	0.32	.02	.78		
Race x SDO	0.28	0.24	.10	.24		
Pregnancy x SDO	0.26	0.23	.10	.26		
Race x SDO x Pregnancy	-0.46	0.34	-.12	.18		

Note. SDO = social dominance orientation.

***p < .001

Table 9

Hierarchical Regression Estimates of the Moderating Effect of Social Dominance Orientation on Endorsement of Discipline (ED)

Variable	B	SE B	β	p	R^2	ΔR^2
Step 1					.14	.14***
Constant	4.26	0.14		<.001		
SDO	-0.55	0.08	-.31	<.001		
Race	0.37	0.16	.11	.02		
Pregnancy	0.46	0.16	.14	.004		
Step 2					.14	.00
Constant	4.32	0.16		<.001		
SDO	-0.52	0.14	-.29	<.001		
Race	0.25	0.23	.07	.29		
Pregnancy	0.35	0.22	.11	.11		
Race x Pregnancy	0.23	0.32	.06	.46		
Race x SDO	-0.06	0.17	-.02	.73		
Pregnancy x SDO	-0.03	0.17	-.01	.88		
Step 3					.15	.01
Constant	4.31	0.16		<.001		
SDO	-0.45	0.16	-.26	.004		
Race	0.27	0.23	.08	.26		
Pregnancy	0.35	0.22	.11	.11		
Race x Pregnancy	0.23	0.32	.06	.47		
Race x SDO	-0.21	0.24	-.08	.38		
Pregnancy x SDO	-0.16	0.23	-.06	.48		
Race x SDO x Pregnancy	0.31	0.34	.08	.36		

Note. SDO = social dominance orientation.

****p* < .001

Table 10

Hierarchical Regression Estimates of the Moderating Effect of Social Dominance Orientation on Endorsement of Criminal Charges

Variable	B	SE B	β	p	R^2	ΔR^2
Step 1					.04	.04**
Constant	3.16	0.17		<.001		
SDO	-0.29	0.11	-.14	.01		
Race	0.41	0.20	.11	.04		
Pregnancy	0.35	0.20	.09	.08		
Step 2					.05	.01
Constant	3.07	0.20		<.001		
SDO	-0.08	0.17	-.04	.66		
Race	0.59	0.29	.15	.04		
Pregnancy	0.50	0.27	.13	.06		
Race x Pregnancy	-0.32	0.40	-.07	.42		
Race x SDO	-0.38	0.21	-.12	.07		
Pregnancy x SDO	-0.10	0.21	-.03	.63		
Step 3					.05	.00
Constant	3.06	0.20		<.001		
SDO	0.02	0.20	.01	.90		
Race	0.62	0.29	.18	.03		
Pregnancy	0.50	0.27	.13	.06		
Race x Pregnancy	-0.32	0.40	-.07	.42		
Race x SDO	-0.62	0.30	-.19	.04		
Pregnancy x SDO	-0.30	0.28	-.10	.27		
Race x SDO x Pregnancy	0.47	0.43	.11	.27		

Note. SDO = social dominance orientation.

**p* < .01

Table 11

Hierarchical Regression Estimates of the Moderating Effect of Social Dominance Orientation on Endorsement of Victim Blame (VB)

| Variable	B	SE B	β	p	R^2	ΔR^2
Step 1					.20	.21***
Constant	4.00	0.11		<.001		
SDO	0.64	0.07	.42	<.001		
Race	-0.35	0.13	-.12	.01		
Pregnancy	-0.27	0.13	-.09	.04		
Step 2					.21	.01
Constant	3.91	0.13		<.001		
SDO	0.67	0.12	.43	<.001		
Race	-0.14	0.19	-.05	.47		
Pregnancy	-0.08	0.18	-.03	.64		
Race x Pregnancy	-0.40	0.27	-.12	.14		
Race x SDO	-0.10	0.14	-.04	.48		
Pregnancy x SDO	0.04	0.14	.02	.76		
Step 3					.21	.00
Constant	3.92	0.13		<.001		
SDO	0.59	0.13	.38	<.001		
Race	-0.16	0.19	-.06	.41		
Pregnancy	-0.08	0.18	-.03	.65		
Race x Pregnancy	-0.40	0.27	-.12	.14		
Race x SDO	0.08	0.20	.03	.69		
Pregnancy x SDO	0.21	0.19	.09	.29		
Race x SDO x Pregnancy	-0.37	0.29	-.11	.20		

Note. SDO = social dominance orientation.
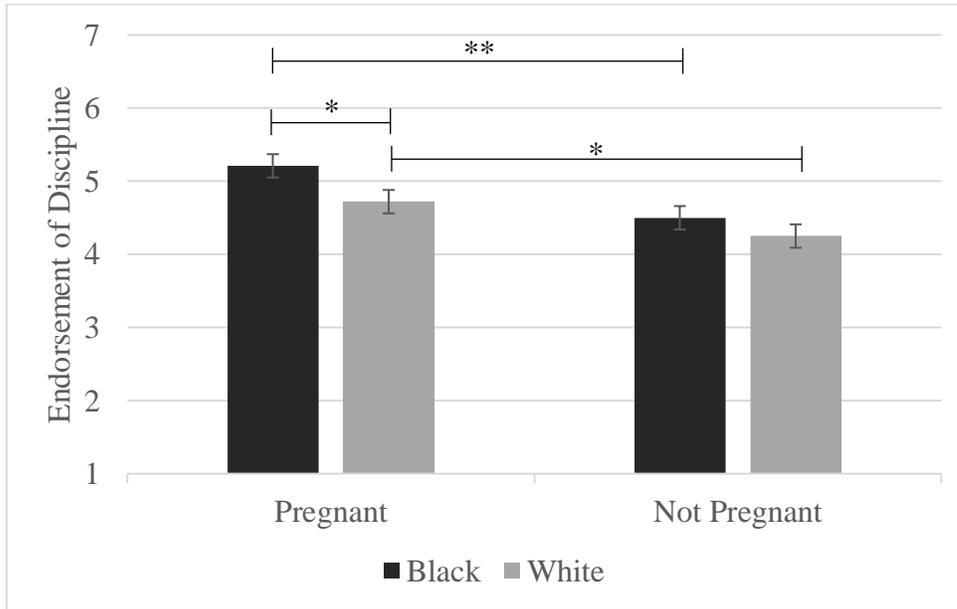
***$p < .001$

Figures

Figure 1

Pairwise Comparisons for Endorsement of Police Use of Force (EF)
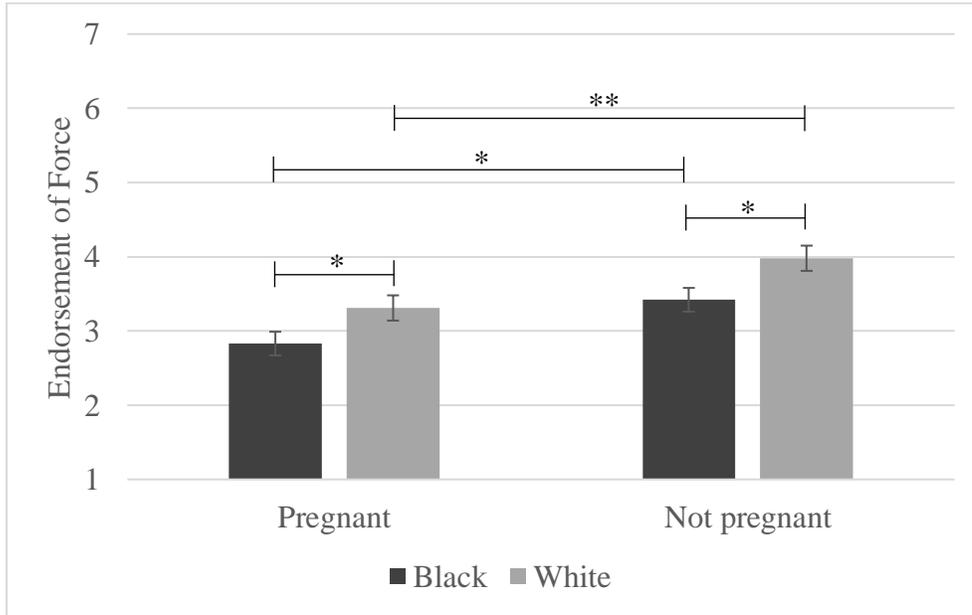
*p < .05, **p < .01

Figure 2

Pairwise Comparisons for Endorsement of Disciplinary Sanctions (OD)

*p < .05, **p < .01

Figure 3

Pairwise Comparisons for Endorsement of Criminal Charges
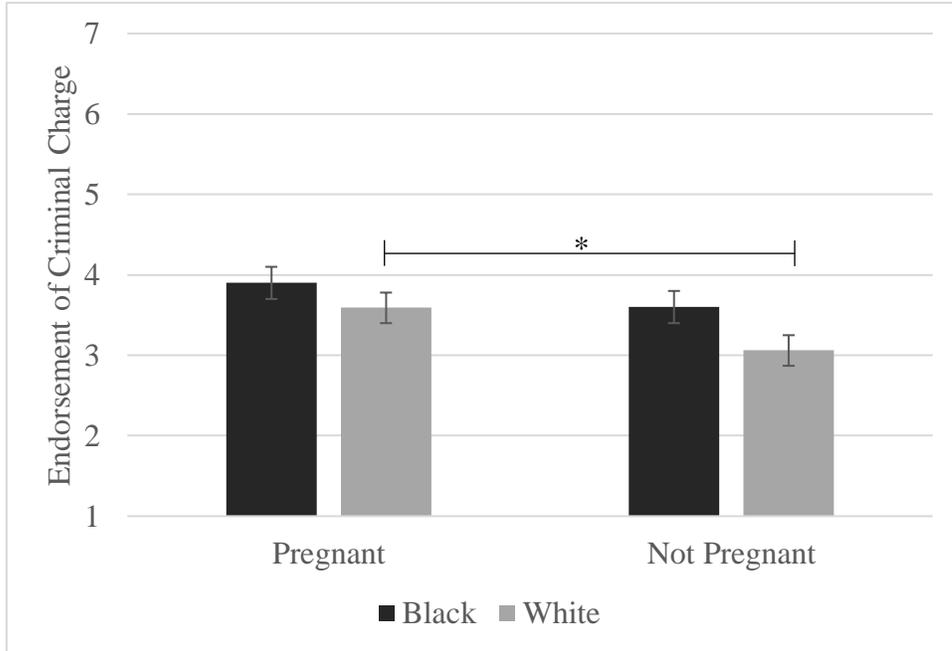
*p < .05

Figure 4

Pairwise Comparisons for Perceptions of Victim Blame (VB)
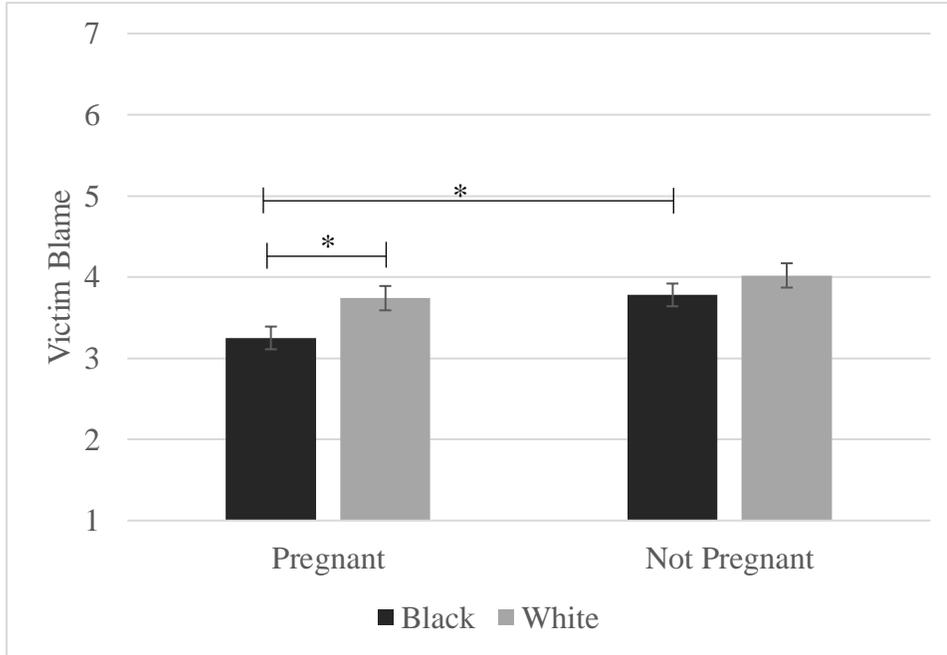
*p < .05

Figure 5

Graph 1 of the Race x Benevolent Sexism Interaction on ED, Within the Not Pregnant Condition
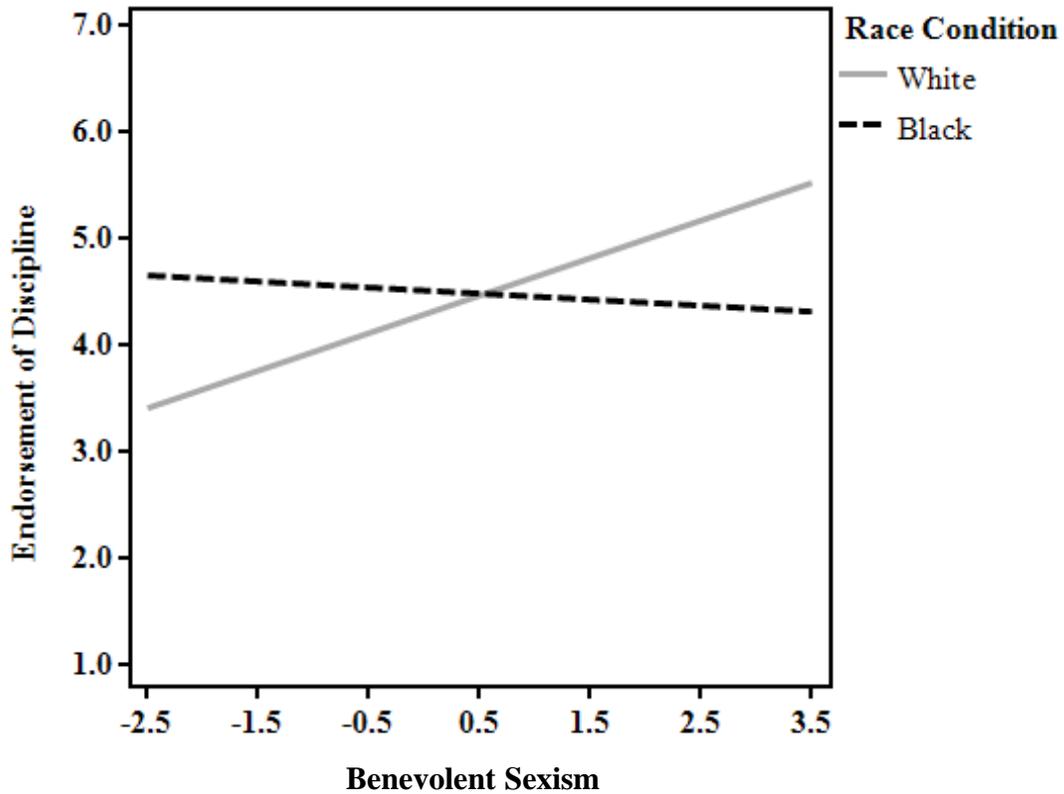
Note. The simple slope within the White race condition was significant, $B = 0.35$, $SE = .14$, $t(175) = 2.50$, $p = .007$. There were no significant differences in the Black race condition by benevolent sexism, $B = -0.05$, $SE = .18$, $t(175) = 0.30$, $p = .76$.

Figure 6

Graph 2 of the Race x Benevolent Sexism Interaction on ED, Within the Not Pregnant Condition
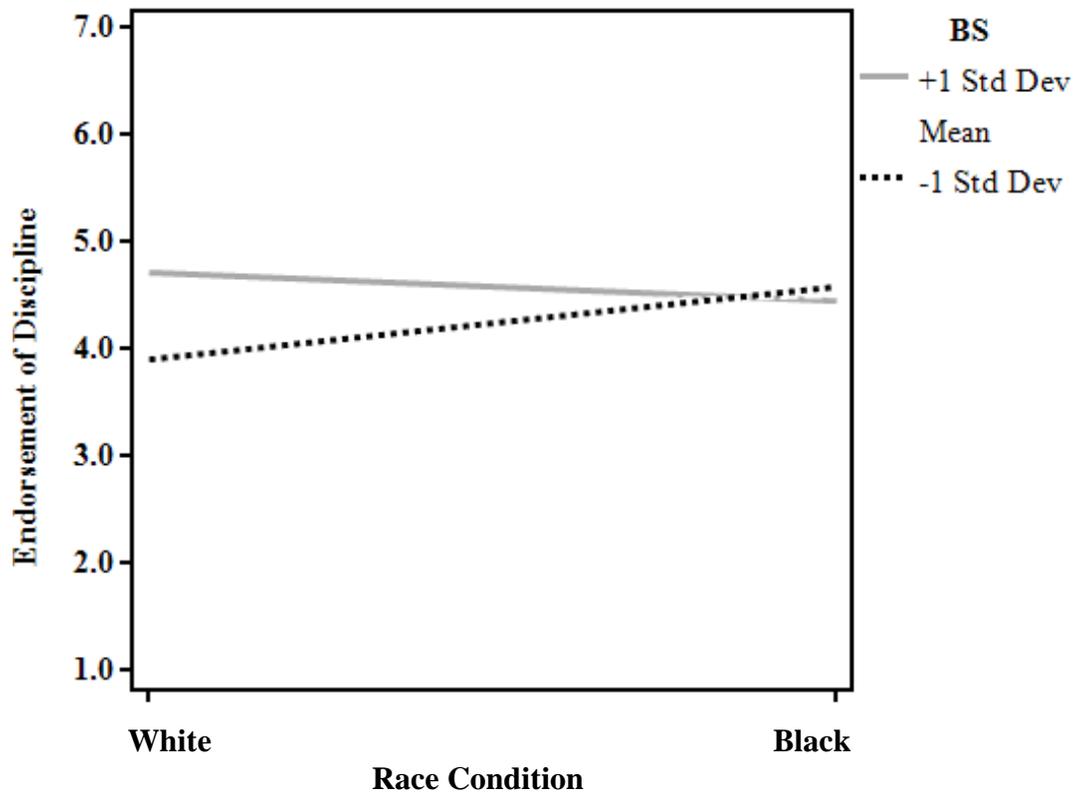
Note. Only the simple slope for individuals who are lower in benevolent sexism was

significant, $B = 0.67$, $SE = .26$, $t(175) = 2.59$, $p = .005$. There were no significant

differences by target race for individuals who were higher in benevolent sexism, $B = -0.26$, $SE = .27$, $t(175) = 0.97$, $p = .33$.

Figure 7

Graph 1 of the Race x Benevolent Sexism Interaction on Endorsement of Criminal Charges
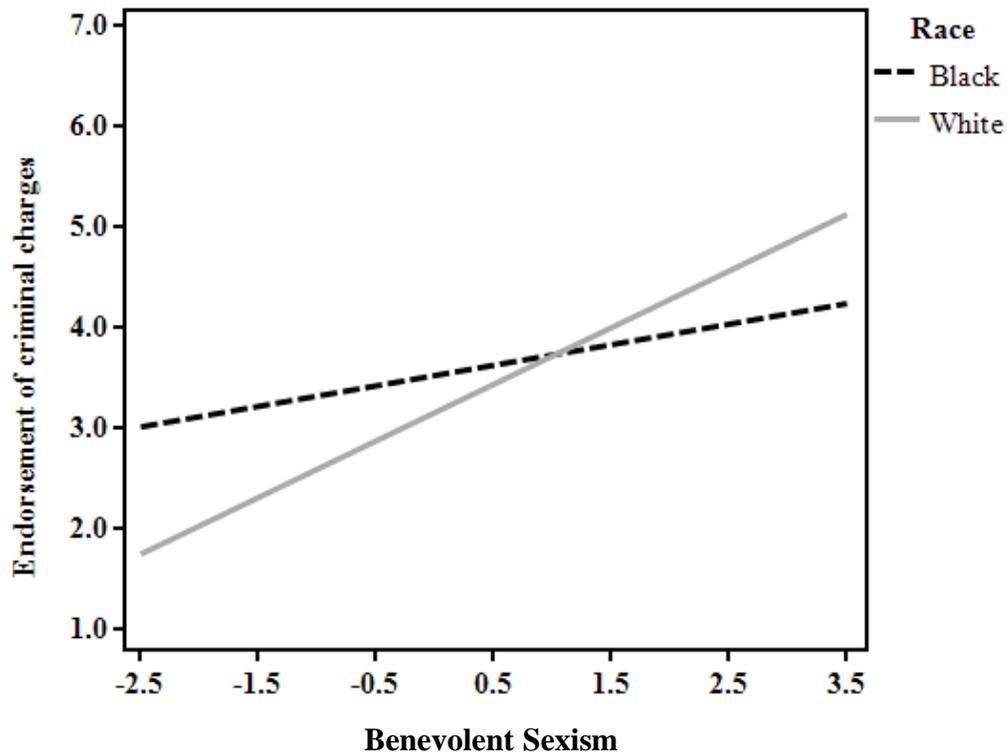
Note. Benevolent sexism significantly predicted greater endorsement of criminal charges only in the White race condition, $B = 0.56$, $SE = .13$, $t(380) = 4.46$, $p < .001$. Benevolent sexism was not a significant predictor of criminal charges in the Black race condition, BS, $B = 0.21$, $SE = .14$, $t(380) = 1.44$, $p = .15$.

Figure 8

Graph 2 of the Race x Benevolent Sexism Interaction on Endorsement of Criminal Charges
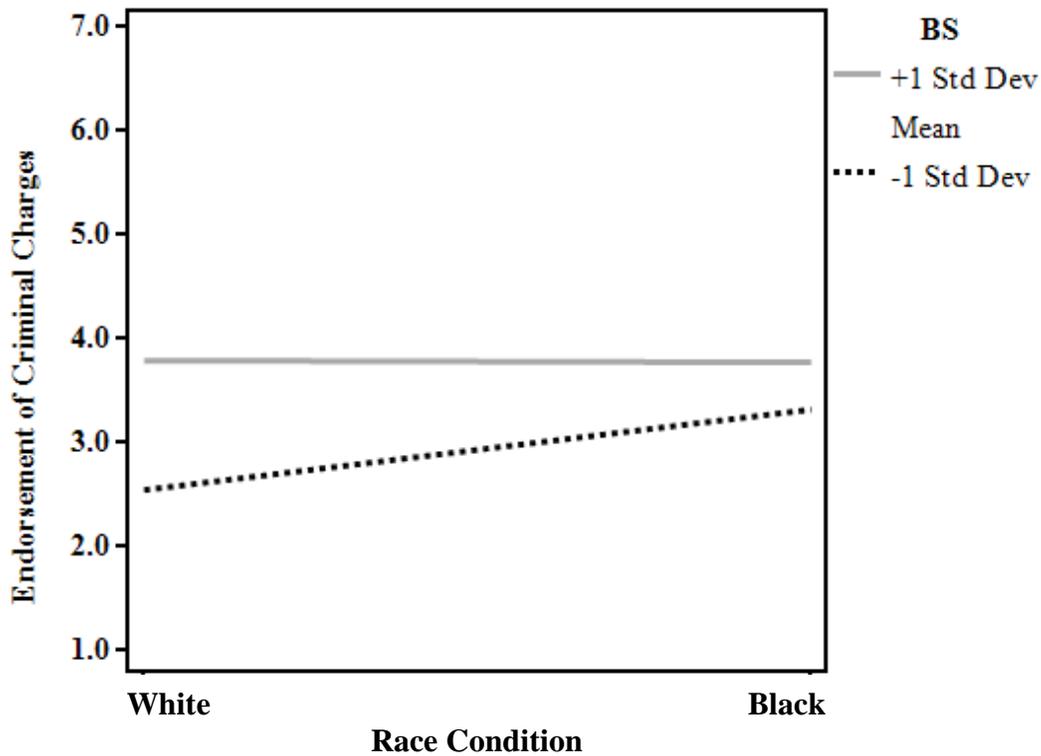
Note. Disparities in endorsement of criminal charges, favoring the Black target, were only significant for those who were lower in benevolent sexism, $B = 0.76$, $SE = .29$, $t(380) = 2.66$, $p = .008$. There were no differences by race on criminal charges for those who were high in benevolent sexism, $B = -0.03$, $SE = .28$, $t(1380) = .11$, $p = .91$.

Figure 9

Graph 1 of the Race x SDO Interaction on Endorsement of Criminal Charges
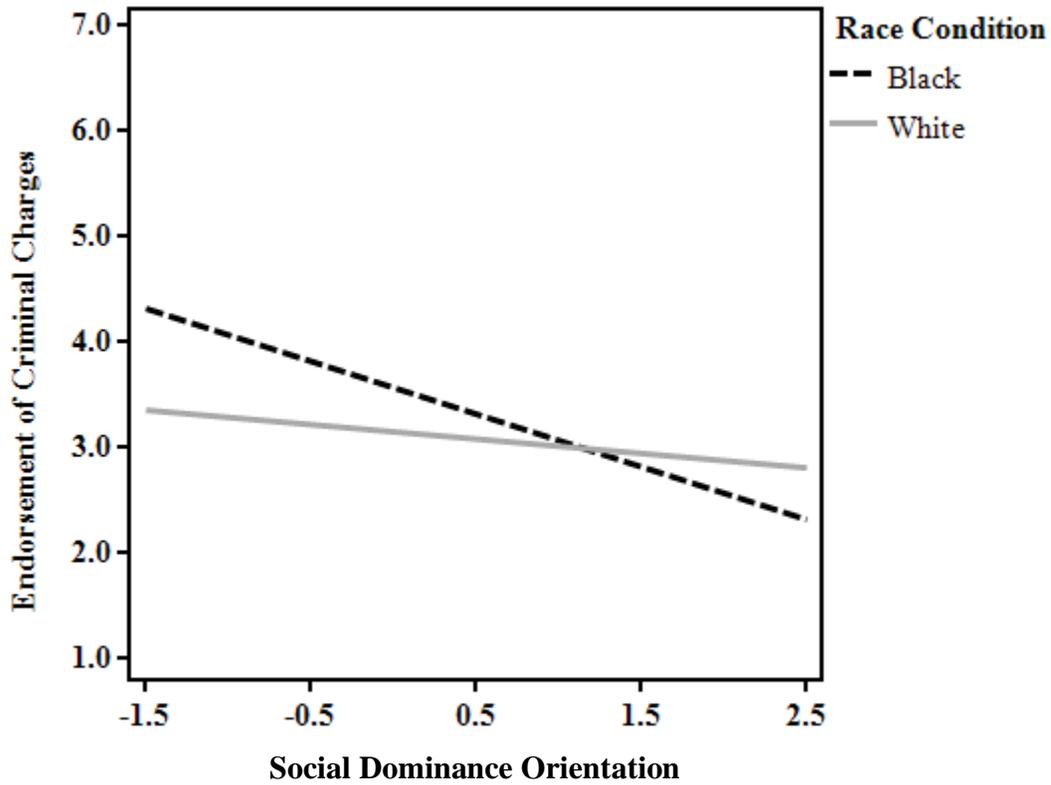
Note. Social dominance orientation (SDO) significantly predicted greater endorsement of criminal charges in the Black race condition, $B = -0.50$, $SE = .16$, $t(381) = 3.14$, $p < .001$, but not the White race condition, $B = -0.14$, $SE = .14$, $t(381) = 0.97$, $p = .33$.

Figure 10

Graph 2 of the Race x SDO Interaction on Endorsement of Criminal Charges
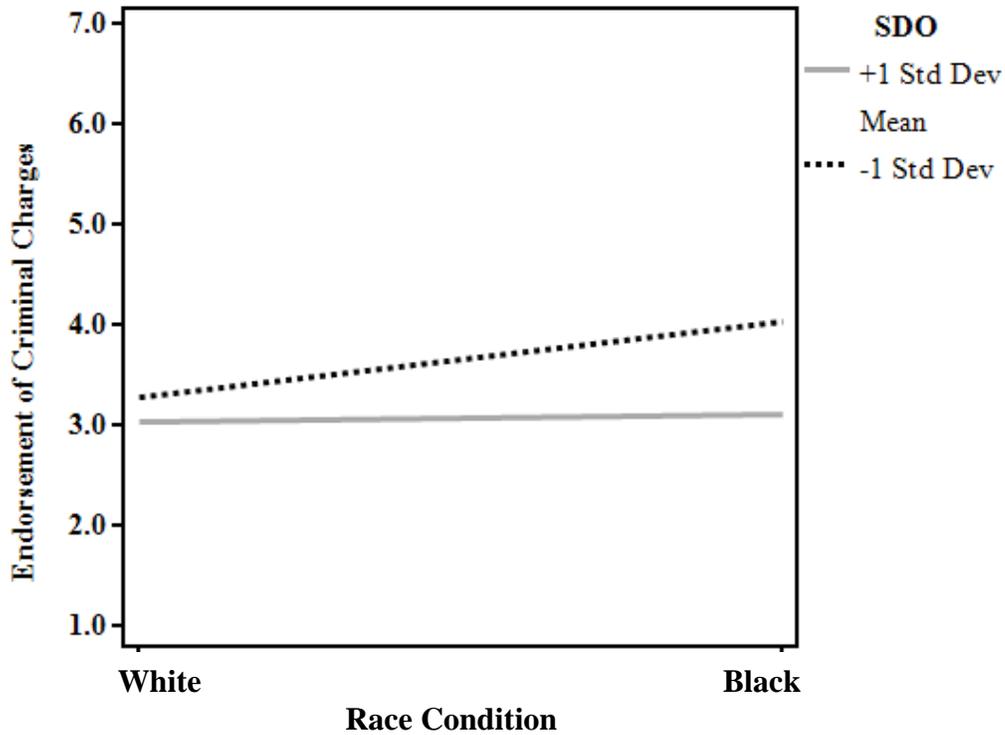
Note. Differences by race in endorsement of criminal charges only arose for this who were lower in socially dominant beliefs (SDO), $B = 0.75$, $SE = .27$, $t(381) = 2.78$, $p = .006$. There were no significant differences in criminal charges by race for individuals who were higher in SDO, $B = 0.07$, $SE = .27$, $t(381) = 0.28$, $p = .39$.

Figure 11

Mediational Effect on Endorsement of Police Use of Force
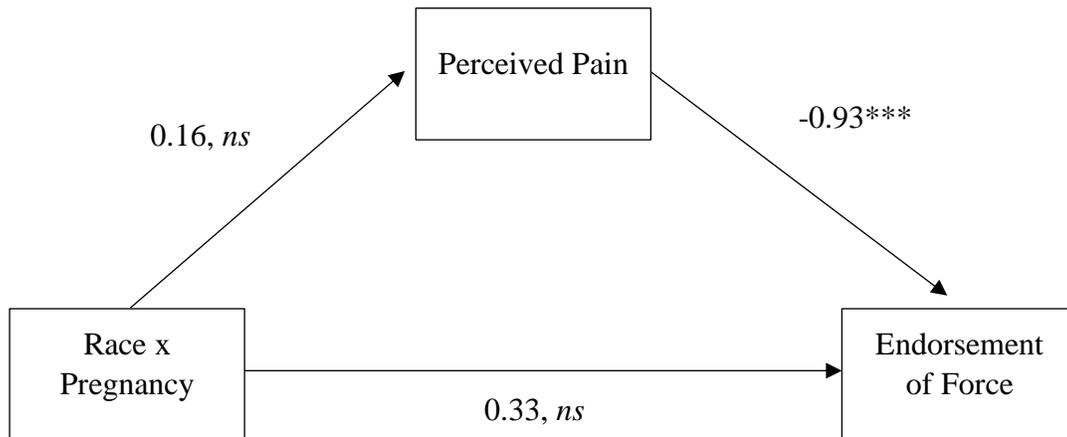
Note. The indirect effects of pain through race on endorsement of force were not significant, in both the pregnant (B = -0.14, SE = .10, 95% CI = -0.33, 0.05) and not pregnant (B = -0.01, SE = .11, 95% CI = -0.20, 0.21) conditions.

***p < .001

Figure 12

Mediational Effect on Endorsement of Endorsement of Discipline
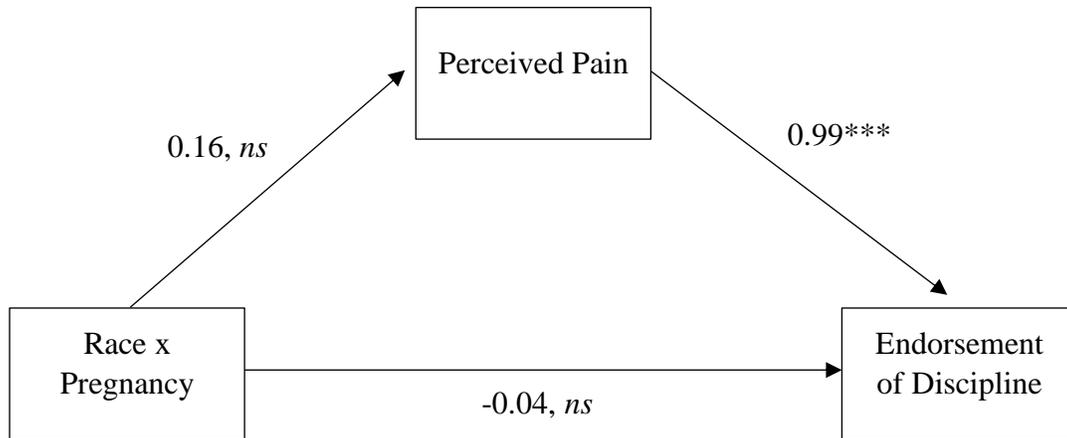
Note. the indirect effects of pain through race on endorsement of discipline were thus not significant in the pregnant (B = 0.15, SE = .10, 95% CI = -0.05, 0.36) and not pregnant (B = -0.01, SE = .11, 95% CI = -0.20, 0.21) conditions.

***$p < .001$

Figure 13

Mediational Effect on Endorsement of Endorsement of Criminal Charges
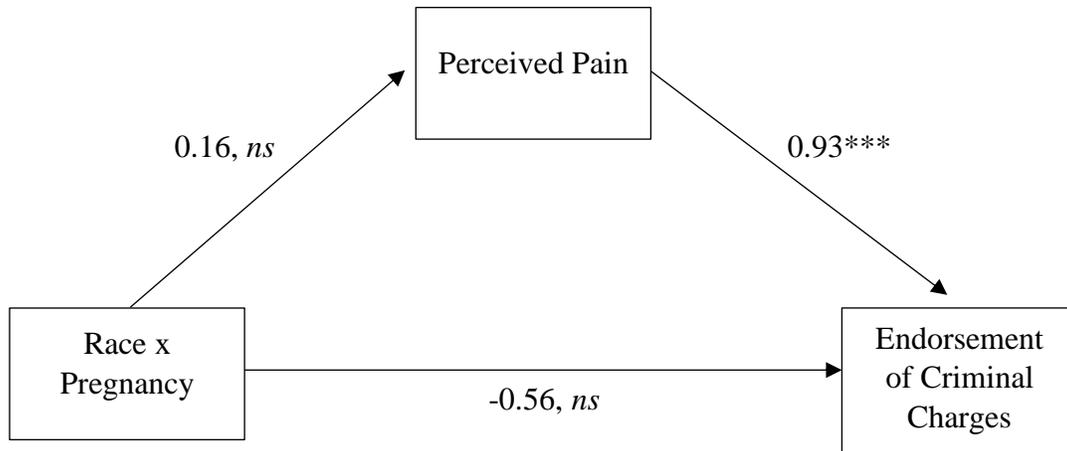
Note. The indirect effects were also not significant in the pregnant ($B = 0.01$, $SE = .11$, 95% CI = -0.21, 0.21) and not pregnant ($B = 0.14$, $SE = .10$, 95% CI = -0.04, 0.34) conditions.

***p < .001

Figure 14

Mediational Effect on Victim Blame
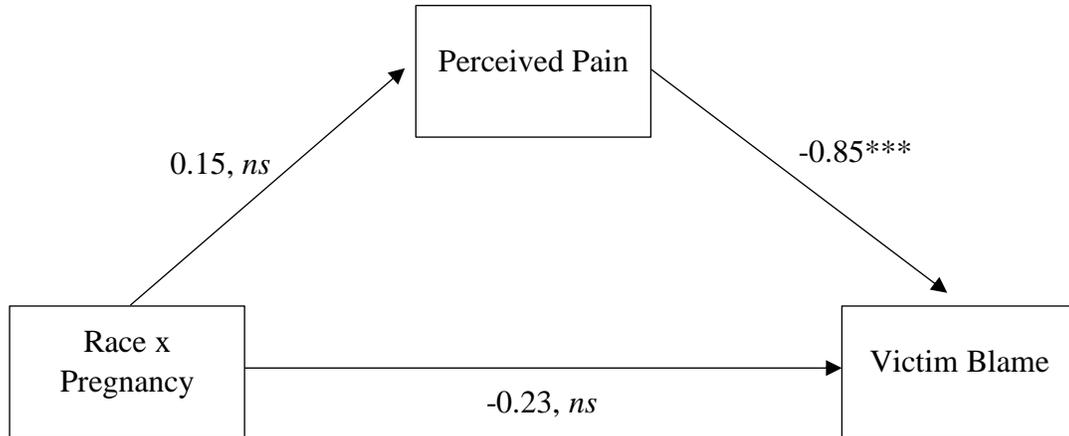
Note. The indirect coefficients were not significant in the pregnant ($B = -0.13$, $SE = .09$, 95% CI = -0.31, 0.04) and not pregnant ($B = -0.005$, $SE = .10$, 95% CI = -0.19, 0.18) conditions.

***$p < .001$

Figure 15

Proposed Moderated Mediation on Endorsement of Force and Victim Blame
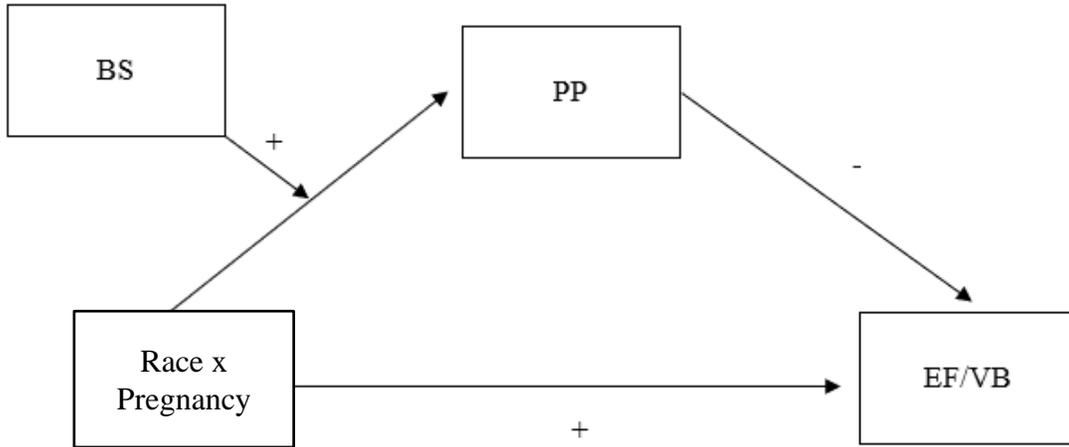
Figure 16

Proposed Moderated Mediation on Endorsement of Officer Discipline)
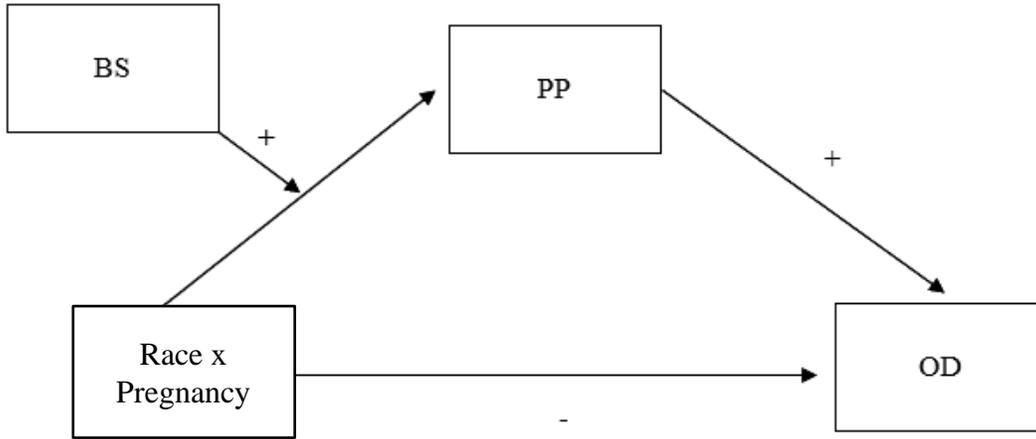
Figure 17

Proposed Moderated Mediation on Endorsement of Force and Victim Blame
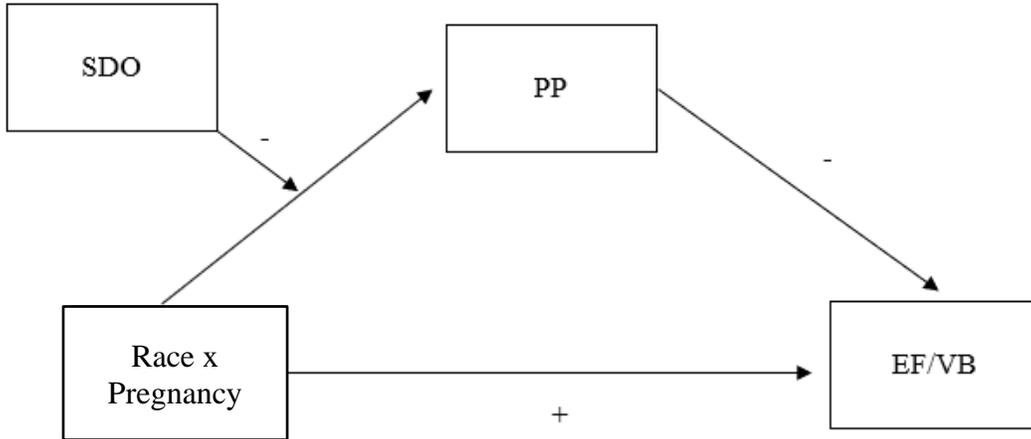
Figure 18

Proposed Moderated Mediation on Endorsement of Officer Discipline
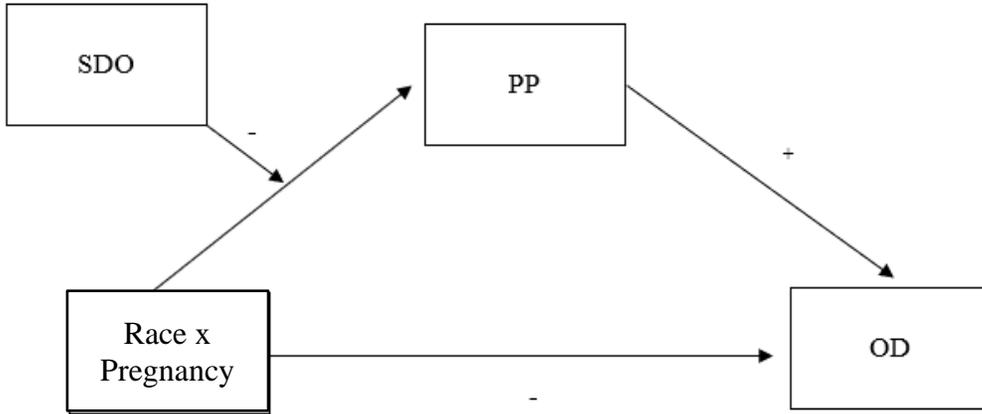
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Appendix A

Article Manipulation

LOCAL

[Pregnant] Woman Tasered and Arrested During Traffic Stop Files Lawsuit

By **Taylor O'Neil**
NOVEMBER 7, 2018

A **pregnant** woman who was tasered and arrested during a traffic stop filed a lawsuit on Thursday against the Springfield Police Department and the officer involved. The lawsuit claims she was the victim of excessive use of force by a male officer whose name has not yet been released.

In the early morning of September 23ᵈ, a 32-year old **White/Black** woman named **Katie/Tameisha** Wallace, **who was 12 weeks pregnant at the time,** was pulled over by the officer after she allegedly ran a red light at a downtown intersection.

During the stop, **Katie/Tameisha** told the officer she had not run any red lights and was going to be late for work. She also did not give the officer her driver's license when requested.

Katie/Tameisha believed the officer pulled her over under false pretenses.

After asking for her license twice, the officer told **Katie/Tameisha** to step out of the car but she refused. The officer opened her car door but **Katie/Tameisha** stated that she wanted to remain seated.

According to the lawsuit, the officer allegedly began to pull **Katie/Tameisha** out of the driver's seat. She became upset, yelled at the officer not to touch her and pushed him away from her. **She claims she told the officer that she was pregnant.**

The lawsuit also states the officer pulled out a taser, tasering **Katie/Tameisha** first in the thigh and then again on her side. **Katie/Tameisha** fell sideways out of her vehicle and onto the pavement. The officer proceeded to handcuff her with his knee to her back.

Records show **Katie/Tameisha** was arrested for being noncompliant. She had cuts and bruises on her arms and legs as a result of the incident.

Katie's/Tameisha's injuries were checked at a hospital where she was released the same day. In an interview she stated, "As a **[pregnant] White/Black** woman, it makes me afraid for what a police officer can do to you." The Springfield PD has stated they will not comment on pending litigations.

Note. Manipulations of the racial identity and pregnancy status are shown in bold print and brackets.

Appendix B

Survey Items

Demographics

Instructions: For the first part of the survey, we would like to know about you. Please answer the following demographic questions about yourself.

What is your age? _____

What is your highest level of education?

_____ Less than a high school diploma

_____ High school diploma or equivalent

_____ Some college

_____ Bachelor's Degree

_____ Advances or Professional Degree (Masters, JD, PhD, etc.)

_____ Other

Which of the following best represents your political views?

_____Very liberal

_____Liberal

_____Slightly liberal

_____Neither liberal nor conservative

_____Slightly conservative

_____Conservative

_____Very conservative

_____Other (please specify)

Do you have any children? _____Yes _____No

If you answered yes to the question above, how many children do you have? (open response)

With which gender do you identify?

_____ Man

_____ Woman

_____ Gender non-binary

_____ Other (please specify)

_____ Decline to state

Do you identify as transgender?

_____Yes

_____No

_____Decline to state

With which racial/ethnic group do you identify?

_____ White

_____ Black or African American

_____ Native American or Alaska Native

_____ Latino/a/x

_____ Middle Eastern/Arab

_____ Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander

_____Multiracial (please specify)

_____ Other (please specify)

Social Attitudes

Social Dominance Orientation (SDO)

Instructions: Next, we are interested in your perceptions of your community and other people. Please read and answer the following questions. You can work quickly; your first feeling is generally best.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Oppose	Oppose	Somewhat Oppose	Neutral	Somewhat Favor	Favor	Strongly Favor

_____An ideal society requires some groups to be on top and others to be on the bottom.

_____Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups.

_____No one group should dominate in society.

____Groups at the bottom are just as deserving as groups at the top.

____Group equality should not be our primary goal.

____It is unjust to try to make groups equal.

____We should do what we can to equalize conditions for different groups.

____We should work to give all groups an equal chance to succeed

Ambivalent Sexism Inventory

Continued: We would like to know more about your perceptions of groups of people. Please use the scale to answer the following questions. You can work quickly; your first feeling is generally best.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree

____ No matter how accomplished he is, a man is not truly complete as a person unless he has the love of a woman.

____ Many women are actually seeking special favors, such as hiring policies that favor them over men, under the guise of asking for "equality."

____ In a disaster, women ought not necessarily to be rescued before men.

____ Most women interpret innocent remarks or acts as being sexist.

____ Women are too easily offended.

____ People are often truly happy in life without being romantically involved with a member of the other sex.

____ Feminists are not seeking for women to have more power than men.

____ Many women have a quality of purity that few men possess.

____ Women should be cherished and protected by men.

____ Most women fail to appreciate fully all that men do for them.

____ Women seek to gain power by getting control over men.

____ Every man ought to have a woman whom he adores.

____ Men are complete without women.

_____ Women exaggerate problems they have at work.

_____ Once a woman gets a man to commit to her, she usually tries to put him on a tight leash.

_____ When women lose to men in a fair competition, they typically complain about being discriminated against.

_____ A good woman should be set on a pedestal by her man.

_____ There are actually very few women who get a kick out of teasing men by seeming sexually available and then refusing male advances.

_____ Women, compared to men, tend to have a superior moral sensibility.

_____ Men should be willing to sacrifice their own well-being in order to provide financially for the women in their lives.

_____ Feminists are making entirely reasonable demands of men.

_____ Women, as compared to men, tend to have a more refined sense of culture and good taste.

Manipulation Check

Instructions: We would like to know how much you remember from the article which you read. Please answer the following questions to the best of your memory

What was the race/ethnicity of the woman in the article?

        _____White

        _____ Latina

        _____ Black

        _____ Asian

        _____ I don't remember

Why was she pulled over by the officer?

        _____ she ran a red light

        _____ she failed to signal before changing lanes

        _____ she was speeding

        _____ I don't remember

Was she pregnant?

        _____ Yes

_____ No

_____ I don't remember

Dependent Variables

Instructions: We are interested in your thoughts and opinions about the article which you just read. Please think about the **police officer** in the article and indicate the extent to which you agree with the following statements:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neutral	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree

[Endorsement of Force]

_____ I support the officer's actions in this incident.

_____ The officer was justified in the amount of force used in this incident.

_____ The amount of force that was used by the police officer was appropriate.

_____ The officer is responsible for any injuries that Tameisha/Katie obtained.

[Officer Discipline]

_____ The officer should receive disciplinary sanctions as a result of this incident.

_____ The officer should be held responsible for his actions.

_____ There should **not** be any consequences for the officer (r).

[Endorsement of Criminal Charges]

_____ The officer should be criminally charged for the use of excessive force.

Instructions: Please think about **the woman** in the article which you just read and indicate the extent to which you agree with the following statements:

[Victim Blame]

_____ The woman deserved the amount of force used on her. (VB)

_____ The woman is to blame for the amount of force that was used on her. (VB)

_____ The woman is to blame for any harm to herself. (VB)

_____ The woman had no control over how much force was used on her. (VB, r)

_____ It's likely that the woman has been in a situation like this before. (VB)

[Perceptions of Physical Pain]

Please use the following scale to indicate how much physical pain you think **the woman** experienced during this situation:

1	2	3	4
None at all	A little	A moderate amount	A lot

Appendix C

The Role of Protective Paternalism

Protective paternalism, a sub-facet of benevolent sexism, is specifically involved

in the physical protection of women (Glick & Fiske, 1996). This makes protective

paternalism relevant in regards to perceptions of police use of physical force towards

women. The subscale of protective paternalism was thus explored as a more precise test

of the influence of benevolent sexism, separate from the impact of the other two

benevolent sexism sub-facets (i.e., complimentary gender differentiation and

heterosexual intimacy). To test this, protective paternalism was substituted for BS in the

hierarchical regression models described above, for all four outcome variables (see

Tables C1-4).

Overall, protective paternalism was not a significant moderator for EF or VB.

There was, however, a significant three-way interaction between race, pregnancy, and

protective paternalism on OD. When this effect was probed, there was no significant

interaction between race and protective paternalism in the pregnancy condition, $B = 0.10$,

$SE = .17$, $t(206) = 0.17$, $p = .53$, but this two-way interaction was significant in the not

pregnant condition, $B = -0.43$, $SE = .18$, $t(180) = 2.35$, $p = .02$. Simple slopes revealed

that protective paternalism predicted less endorsement of discipline in the Black ($B =$

0.47, $SE = .43$, $t(378) = 0.1.12$, $p = .27$) but not White ($B = 0.47$, $SE = .43$, $t(378) =$

$0.1.12$, $p = .27$), race condition (see figure C1). This is somewhat contrary to the

(marginally significant) three-way interaction found with BS, race, and pregnancy, where

BS predicted greater endorsement of force for White, but not Black, women who were

not pregnant. It is possible that individuals who endorse protective paternalism more may

see Black women as less "worthy" of this protection, particularly if they do not perceive

Black women as feminine (Goff et al., 2008)

Finally, a marginally significant three-way interaction between race, pregnancy,

and protective paternalism was found for endorsement of criminal charges. Similar to

above, the two-way interaction between race and protective paternalism was significant

in the not pregnant condition, $B =- 0.58$, $SE = .21$, $t(180) = 2.75$, $p = .01$, but not the

pregnant condition, $B = 0.03$, $SE = .21$, $t(206) = 0.13$, $p = .90$. Simple slopes indicated

that protective paternalism predicted greater endorsement of criminal charges in the

White race condition, $B = 0.33$, $SE = .15$, $t(180) = 2.21$, $p = .03$, and less endorsement of

criminal charges in the Black condition, $B = -0.25$, $SE = .15$, $t(180) = 1.67$, $p < .05$ (see

Figure C2). These results lend further support to the idea noted above, that protective

paternalism may benefit more prototypical women while harming less prototypical

women (i.e., White and Black, respectively; Goff et al., 2008).

Table C1

Moderating Role of Protective Paternalism (PP) on Endorsement of Force (EF)

Variable	B	SE B	β	*p*	R^2	ΔR^2
Step 1					.16	.16***
Constant	3.38	0.08		<.001		
HS	0.53	0.06	.40	<.001		
Step 2					.20	.04***
Constant	3.87	0.14		<.001		
HS	0.52	0.07	.39	<.001		
PrPa	-0.03	0.07	-.02	.62		
Race	-0.45	0.16	-.13	.004		
Pregnancy	-0.52	0.16	-.15	.001		
Step 3					.20	.00
Constant	3.90	0.16		<.001		
HS	0.52	0.07	.39	<.001		
PrPa	-0.13	0.11	-.10	.23		
Race	-0.50	0.23	-.15	.03		
Pregnancy	-0.57	0.22	-.17	.01		
Race x Pregnancy	0.09	0.31	.02	.77		
Race x PrPa	0.16	0.12	.09	.20		
Pregnancy x PrPa	0.04	0.12	.02	.73		
Step 4					.21	.01
Constant	3.90	0.16		<.001		
HS	0.52	0.07	.39	<.001		
PrPa	-0.22	0.13	-.17	.08		
Race	-0.50	0.23	-.15	.03		
Pregnancy	-0.57	0.22	-.17	.01		
Race x Pregnancy	0.09	0.31	.02	.77		
Race x PrPa	0.33	0.17	.18	.06		
Pregnancy x PrPa	0.22	0.17	.12	.21		
Race x PrPa x Pregnancy	-0.34	0.24	-.14	.15		

Note. HS = hostile sexism; PrPa = Protective paternalism.

****p* < .001

Table C2

The Moderating Role of Protective Paternalism (PP) on Endorsement of Discipline (ED)

Variable	B	SE B	β	p	R^2	ΔR^2
Step 1					.12	.12***
Constant	4.67	0.08		<.001		
HS	-0.44	0.02	-.34	<.001		
Step 2					.14	.02**
Constant	4.26	0.14		<.001		
HS	-0.42	0.07	-.32	<.001		
PrPa	0.01	0.07	.01	.889		
Race	0.32	0.16	.10	.04		
Pregnancy	0.50	0.16	.15	.002		
Step 3					.14	.00
Constant	4.32	0.16		<.001		
HS	-0.42	0.07	-.33	<.001		
PrPa	0.12	0.11	.10	.28		
Race	0.20	0.23	.06	.389		
Pregnancy	0.39	0.22	.12	.07		
Race x Pregnancy	0.23	0.31	.06	.46		
Race x PrPa	-0.12	0.12	-.07	.29		
Pregnancy x PrPa	-0.09	0.12	-.05	.44		
Step 4					.15	.01*
Constant	4.32	0.16		<.001		
HS	-0.42	0.07	-.32	<.001		
PrPa	0.26	0.13	.20	.04		
Race	0.19	0.23	.06	.41		
Pregnancy	0.39	0.21	.12	.067		
Race x Pregnancy	0.23	0.31	.06	.45		
Race x PrPa	-0.40	0.17	-.22	.02		
Pregnancy x PrPa	-0.40	0.17	-.20	.034		
Race x PrPa x Pregnancy	0.52	0.24	.21	.03		

Note. HS = hostile sexism; PrPa = Protective paternalism.

*p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001

Table C3

The Moderating Role of Protective Paternalism (PP) on Endorsement of Criminal Charges

Variable	B	SE B	β	*p*	R^2	ΔR^2
Step 1					.03	.03***
Constant	3.54	0.10		<.001		
HS	-0.27	0.08	-.18	<.001		
Step 2					.07	.04**
Constant	3.19	0.17		<.001		
HS	-0.37	0.09	-.24	<.001		
PrPa	0.22	0.09	.15	.01		
Race	0.38	0.19	.10	.05		
Pregnancy	0.32	0.20	.08	.10		
Step 3					.08	.01
Constant	3.12	0.19		<.001		
HS	-0.37	0.09	-.24	<.001		
PrPa	0.35	0.14	.23	.01		
Race	0.51	0.28	.13	.08		
Pregnancy	0.44	0.27	.11	.10		
Race x Pregnancy	-0.25	0.39	-.05	.53		
Race x PrPa	-0.28	0.15	-.13	.07		
Pregnancy x PrPa	0.02	0.15	.01	.88		
Step 4					.09	.01
Constant	3.12	0.19		<.001		
HS	-0.37	0.09	-.24	<.001		
PrPa	0.49	0.16	.33	.002		
Race	0.50	0.28	.13	.08		
Pregnancy	0.45	0.27	.11	.09		
Race x Pregnancy	-0.24	0.39	-.05	.54		
Race x PrPa	-0.56	0.21	-.27	.01		
Pregnancy x PrPa	-0.25	0.21	-.12	.23		
Race x PrPa x Pregnancy	0.54	0.30	.19	.07		

Note. HS = hostile sexism; PrPa = Protective paternalism.

**p < .01; ****p* < .001

Table C4

The Moderating Role of Protective Paternalism (PP) on Victim Blame (VB)

Variable	B	SE B	β	p	R²	ΔR²
Step 1					.25	.25***
Constant	3.69	0.06		<.001		
HS	0.56	0.05	.50	<.001		
Step 2					.28	.03**
Constant	3.98	0.11		<.001		
HS	0.55	0.06	.49	<.001		
PrPa	-0.001	0.06	-.001	.99		
Race	-0.23	0.13	-.10	.02		
Pregnancy	-0.28	0.13	-.10	.03		
Step 3					.28	.00
Constant	3.90	0.13		<.001		
HS	0.55	0.06	.49	<.001		
PrPa	-0.03	0.09	-.02	.77		
Race	-0.12	0.18	-.04	.50		
Pregnancy	-0.13	0.17	-.05	.46		
Race x Pregnancy	-0.33	0.25	-.10	.20		
Race x PrPa	0.08	0.10	.05	.44		
Pregnancy x PrPa	-0.02	0.10	-.01	.82		
Step 4					.28	.00
Constant	3.90	0.13		<.001		
HS	0.55	0.06	.49	<.001		
PrPa	-0.08	0.10	-.067	.46		
Race	-0.12	0.18	-.04	.52		
Pregnancy	-0.13	0.17	-.05	.45		
Race x Pregnancy	-0.33	0.25	-.10	.20		
Race x PrPa	0.18	0.14	.11	.21		
Pregnancy x PrPa	0.08	0.14	.05	.58		
Race x PrPa x Pregnancy	-0.19	0.20	-.09	.32		

Note. HS = hostile sexism; PrPa = Protective paternalism.

**p < .01; ***p < .001

Figure C1

Simple Slopes of the Interaction Between Protective Paternalism and Race, When Not
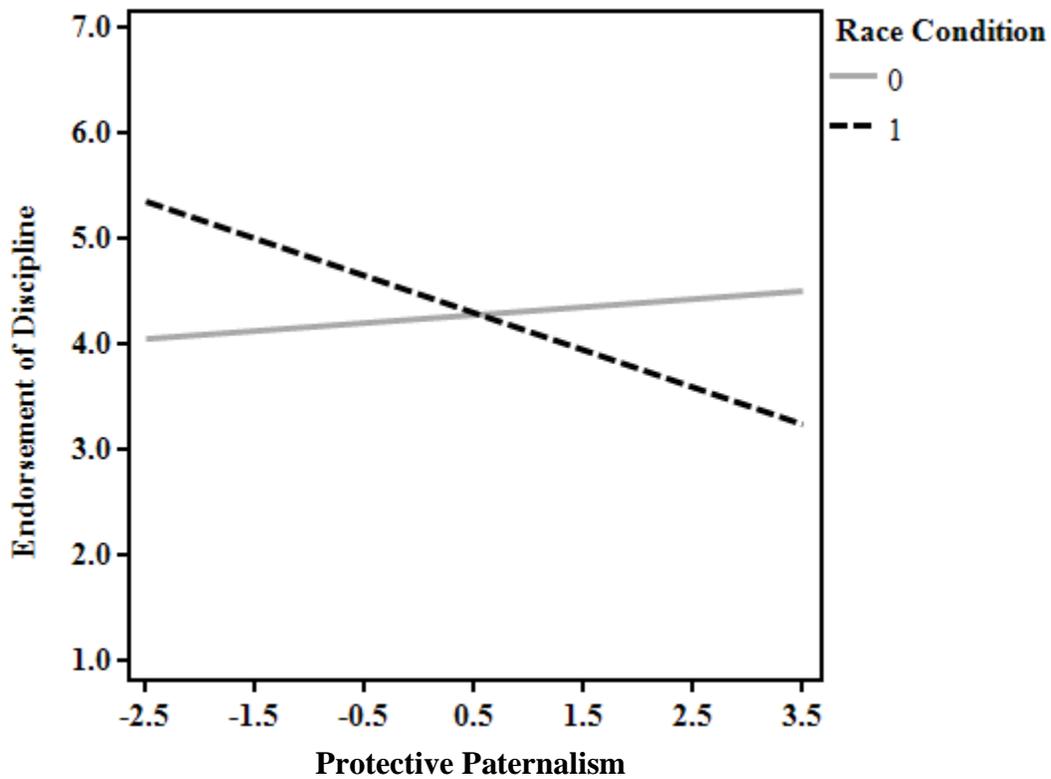
Pregnant

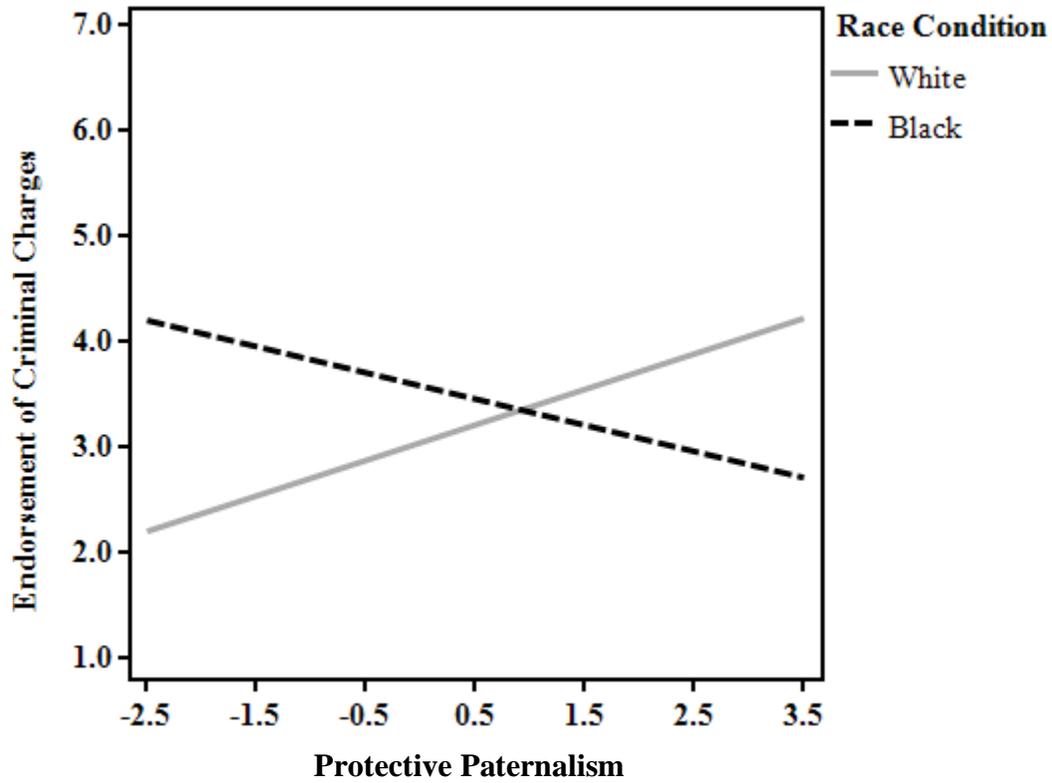*Note.* Only the simple slope in the Black race condition was significant.

Figure C2

Simple Slopes of the Interaction Between Protective Paternalism and Race, When Not Pregnant

Note. The simple slopes in both the Black and White race conditions were significant.

Appendix D

The Role of Hostile Sexism

Hostile sexism was explored as a moderator of the relationship between race, pregnancy, and the interaction between the two as a complementary test to that of BS. To test this, hierarchical regressions were conducted with each independent variable (as discussed above in hypothesis testing, with BS as a control variable; see tables D1-4). In general, there were main effects of hostile sexism on all outcomes, such that hostile sexism significantly predicted greater support for force and victim blame, and less endorsement of discipline and criminal charges. Importantly, there were no significant two-or-three-way interactions revealed for EF, OD, or VB. There was, however, a marginally significant two-way interaction between HS and race on endorsement of criminal charges, $B = -0.30$, $SE = .15$, $t(378) = 1.96$, $p = .051$.

Simple slopes were subsequently examined to further understand this pattern of results. Findings demonstrated that HS predicted greater endorsement of criminal charges in both the Black, $B = -0.61$, $SE = .13$, $t(380) = 4.86$, $p < .001$, and White, $B = -0.33$, $SE = .11$, $t(380) = 3.07$, $p = .002$, race conditions (see Figure D1). Although the simple slopes were both significant in the White and Black race condition, the effect of HS was greater in the Black race condition.

Viewing this relationship in another way, those who are higher in HS, while generally endorsing less endorsement of criminal charges, do not do so differentially depending on the woman's racial identity, $B = 0.01$, $SE = .23$, $t(380) = 0.03$, $p = .98$ (see Figure D2). That is, those high in hostile sexism endorse criminal charges equally in the White and Black race conditions. Those who report mean, $B = 0.36$, $SE = .19$, $t(380) = 0.16$, $p = .06$,

and low, $B = 0.71$, $SE = .19$, $t(380) = 3.01$, $p < .001$, levels of HS, however, endorse

criminal charges significantly more when the woman is Black compared to White (this

effect is marginally significant at mean levels of HS). Although the two-way interaction

between race and HS trended towards significant, these patterns of findings indicate that

only individuals who are lower in hostile sexism may differentially endorse criminal

charges against an officer, where those high in hostile sexism agree little with criminal

charges, regardless of the woman's race.

Table D1

The Moderating Role of Hostile Sexism on Endorsement of Force (EF)

Variable	B	SE B	β	p	R^2	ΔR^2
Step 1					.03	.03**
Constant	3.38	0.09		<.001		
BS	0.26	0.08	.17	.001		
Step 2					.20	.17***
Constant	3.87	0.14		<.001		
BS	-0.09	0.08	-.06	.30		
HS	0.54	0.07	.41	<.001		
Race	-0.45	0.16	-.13	.004		
Pregnancy	-0.52	0.16	-.15	.001		
Step 3					.21	.01
Constant	3.91	0.16		<.001		
HS	-0.09	0.09	-.06	.29		
HS	0.45	0.11	.34	<.001		
Race	-0.52	0.23	-.15	.03		
Pregnancy	-0.58	0.22	-.17	.01		
Race x Pregnancy	0.13	0.32	.03	.68		
Race x HS	0.05	0.13	.02	.71		
Pregnancy x HS	0.14	0.12	.08	.27		
Step 4					.20	.00
Constant	3.91	0.16		<.001		
HS	-0.09	0.09	-.056	.29		
HS	0.43	0.13	.32	.001		
Race	-0.52	0.23	-.15	.03		
Pregnancy	-0.58	0.22	-.17	.01		
Race x Pregnancy	0.13	0.32	.03	.69		
Race x HS	0.09	0.18	.05	.62		
Pregnancy x HS	0.18	0.17	.10	.30		
Race x HS x Pregnancy	-0.09	0.25	-.03	.73		

Note. BS = benevolent sexism; HS = hostile sexism.

***p < .01; ***p < .001

Table D2

The Moderating Role of Hostile Sexism on Endorsement of Discipline (ED)

Variable	B	SE B	β	p	R^2	ΔR^2
Step 1					.02	.02*
Constant	4.68	0.08		<.001		
BS	-0.18	0.08	-.12	.02		
Step 2					.16	.15***
Constant	4.27	0.14		<.001		
BS	0.13	0.08	.08	.14		
HS	-0.48	0.07	-.37	<.001		
Race	0.32	0.16	.20	.04		
Pregnancy	0.49	0.16	.15	.002		
Step 3					.16	.00
Constant	4.31	0.16		<.001		
HS	0.13	0.09	.09	.13		
HS	-0.38	0.11	-.30	.001		
Race	0.21	0.23	.06	.36		
Pregnancy	0.40	0.22	.12	.06		
Race x Pregnancy	0.19	0.32	.05	.54		
Race x HS	-0.07	0.12	-.04	.57		
Pregnancy x HS	-0.13	0.12	-.07	.31		
Step 4					.16	.00
Constant	4.30	0.16		<.001		
HS	0.13	0.09	.09	.13		
HS	-0.36	0.13	-.28	.01		
Race	0.22	0.23	.07	.35		
Pregnancy	0.40	0.22	.12	.06		
Race x Pregnancy	0.19	0.32	.05	.54		
Race x HS	-0.11	0.18	-.06	.53		
Pregnancy x HS	-0.16	0.17	-.09	.34		
Race x HS x Pregnancy	0.08	0.25	.02	.75		

Note. BS = benevolent sexism; HS = hostile sexism.

*p < .05; ***p < .001

Table D3

The Moderating Role of Hostile Sexism on Endorsement of Criminal Charges

Variable	B	SE B	β	p	R^2	ΔR^2
Step 1					.01	.01
Constant	3.54	0.10		<.001		
BS	0.13	0.09	.07	.16		
Step 2					.09	.08***
Constant	3.18	0.17		<.001		
BS	0.41	0.10	.23	<.001		
HS	-0.45	0.09	-.29	<.001		
Race	0.36	0.19	.09	.06		
Pregnancy	0.34	0.19	.09	.078		
Step 3					.10	.01
Constant	3.09	0.19		<.001		
HS	0.44	0.10	.25	<.001		
HS	-0.25	0.14	-.16	.07		
Race	0.54	0.28	.14	.06		
Pregnancy	0.50	0.26	.13	.06		
Race x Pregnancy	-0.34	0.39	-.08	.37		
Race x HS	-0.30	0.15	-.13	.05		
Pregnancy x HS	-0.14	0.15	-.07	.35		
Step 4					.10	.00
Constant	3.07	0.19		<.001		
HS	0.43	0.10	.25	<.001		
HS	-0.17	0.16	-.11	.28		
Race	0.55	0.28	.14	.05		
Pregnancy	0.51	0.26	.13	.05		
Race x Pregnancy	-0.34	0.39	-.08	.38		
Race x HS	-0.45	0.22	-.20	.04		
Pregnancy x HS	-0.28	0.21	-.13	.18		
Race x HS x Pregnancy	0.29	0.30	.09	.33		

Note. BS = benevolent sexism; HS = hostile sexism.

****p* < .001

Table D4

*The Moderating Role of Hostile Sexism on Victim Blame (VB)*

Variable	B	SE B	β	p	R^2	ΔR^2
Step 1					.05	.05***
Constant	3.70	0.07		<.001		
BS	0.30	0.07	.23	<.001		
Step 2					.26	.21***
Constant	3.98	0.11		<.001		
BS	-0.06	0.07	-.05	.35		
HS	0.58	0.06	.51	<.001		
Race	-0.30	0.13	-.10	.02		
Pregnancy	-0.28	0.13	-.10	.03		
Step 3					.26	.00
Constant	3.89	0.13		<.001		
HS	-0.05	0.07	-.04	.45		
HS	0.63	0.09	.56	<.001		
Race	-0.11	0.18	-.04	.55		
Pregnancy	-0.12	0.17	-.04	.50		
Race x Pregnancy	-0.35	0.25	-.11	.17		
Race x HS	-0.13	0.10	-.08	.21		
Pregnancy x HS	0.002	0.10	.001	.99		
Step 4					.26	.00
Constant	3.89	0.13		<.001		
HS	-0.05	0.07	-.04	.46		
HS	0.60	0.11	.53	<.001		
Race	-0.12	0.19	-.04	.53		
Pregnancy	-0.12	0.17	-.04	.49		
Race x Pregnancy	-0.35	0.25	-.11	.17		
Race x HS	-0.07	0.14	-.04	.61		
Pregnancy x HS	0.05	0.14	.03	.72		
Race x HS x Pregnancy	-0.10	0.20	-.04	.61		

Note. BS = benevolent sexism; HS = hostile sexism.

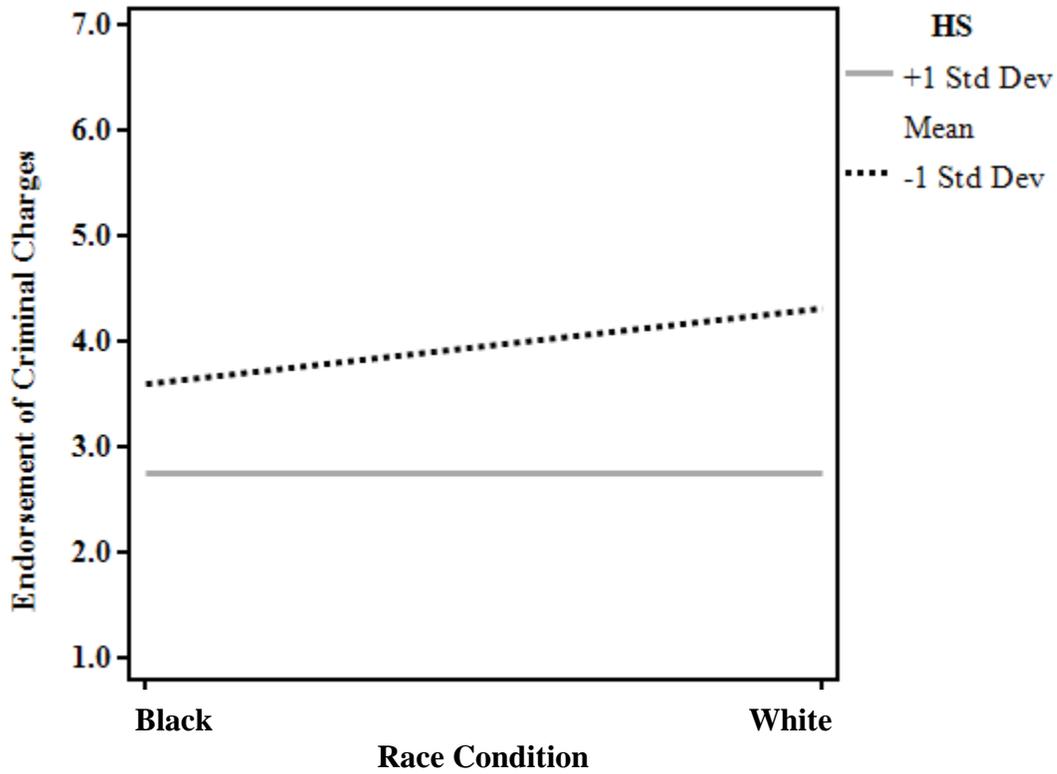***p < .001

Figure D1

Graph 1 of the Race by Hostile Sexism Interaction on Endorsement of Criminal Charges
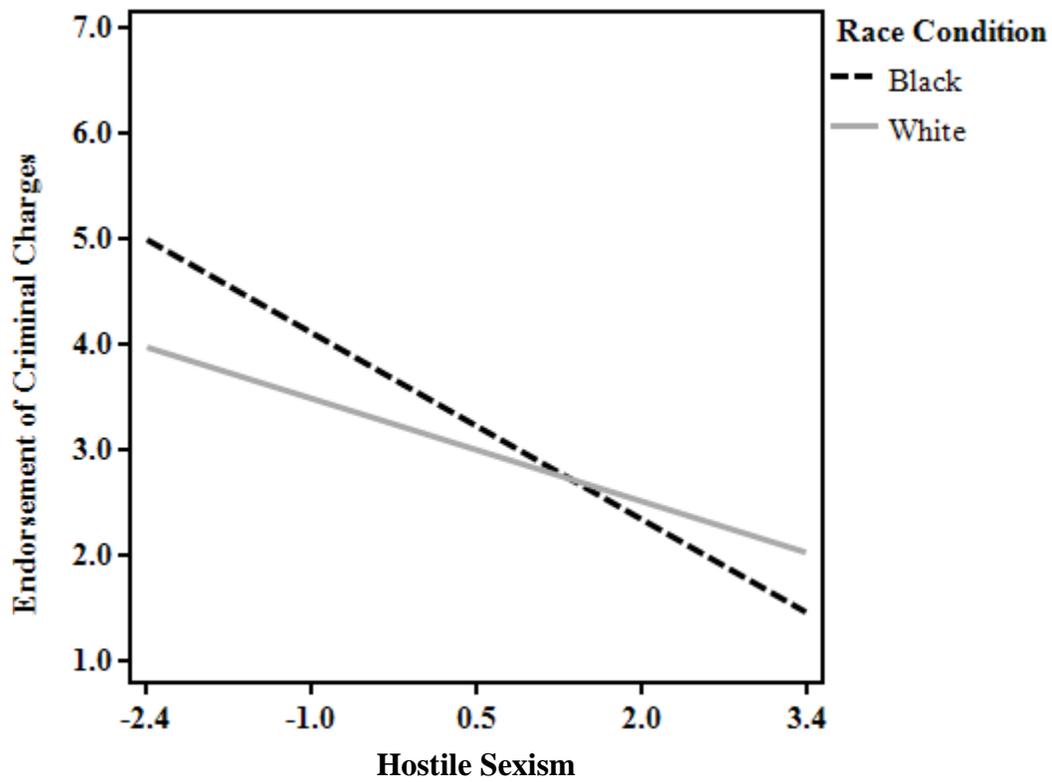
Note. Both of the simple slopes are significant, but the effect of HS on endorsement of

criminal charges is greater in the Black race condition.

Figure D2

Graph 2 of the Race x Hostile Sexism Interaction on Endorsement of Criminal Charges

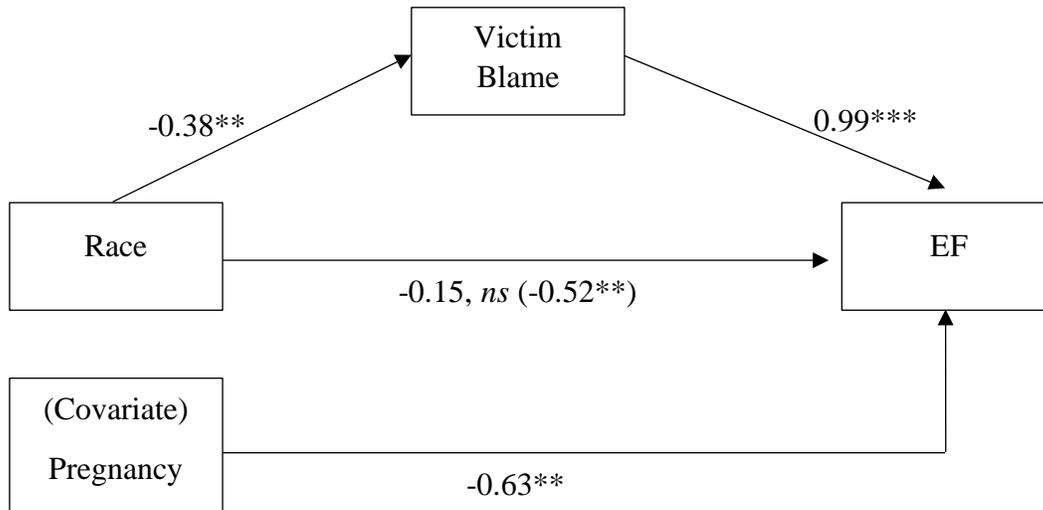*Note.* Only the simple slope for those low in HS is significant.

Appendix E

Victim Blame as a Mediator

An alternate model was tested to explore the idea that White women may receive less protection specifically due to perceptions that they are responsible for the force used against them. When force is used against Black a woman, participants may recognize that factors outside of her control (e.g., racial bias) may be responsible for the officer's behaviors, which is not the case for White women. To test this, victim blame was entered as mediator using Hayes' PROCESS macro model 4, with pregnancy entered as a covariate. This model was tested separately for EF, OD, and endorsement of criminal charges (see Figures E1-3). Across all outcomes, victim blame was found to be a significant mediator, such that White women were victim blamed more than Black women, which predicted greater endorsement of force and less endorsement of discipline and criminal charges.

Figure E1

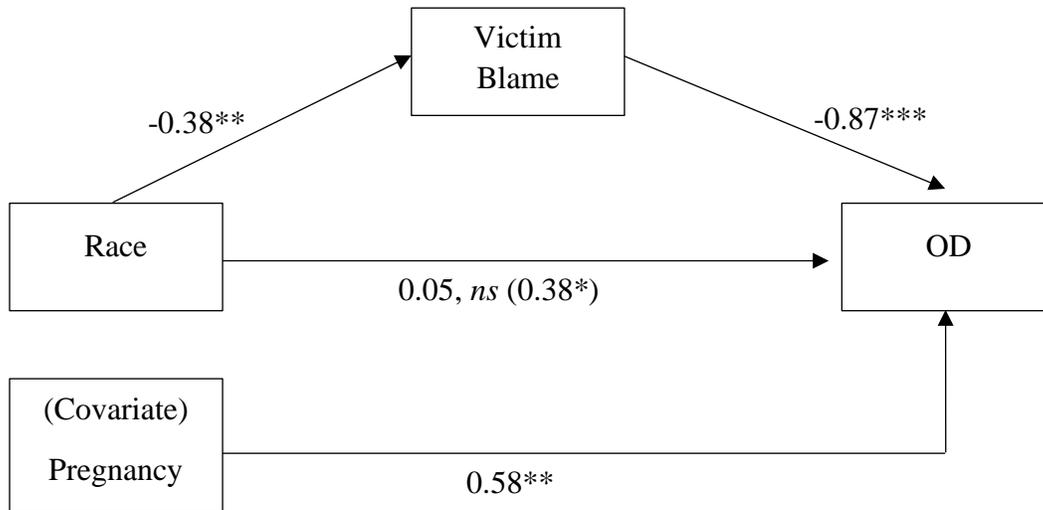*The Mediating Role of Victim Blame on Racial Disparities in Endorsement of Force*

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                          ┌──────────┐
                          │  Victim  │
                          │  Blame   │
                          └──────────┘
              -0.38**                    0.99***

   ┌──────────┐                              ┌──────────┐
   │   Race   │─────────────────────────────▶│    EF    │
   └──────────┘    -0.15, ns (-0.52**)       └──────────┘

   ┌──────────┐
   │(Covariate)│
   │ Pregnancy │──────────────────────────────────────┘
   └──────────┘          -0.63**
```

Note. The indirect effect of race on endorsement of force, through victim blame, was

significant, *B* = -0.37, *SE* = .14, 95% CI = -0.65, -0.10.

**p < .01, ***p < .001

Figure E2

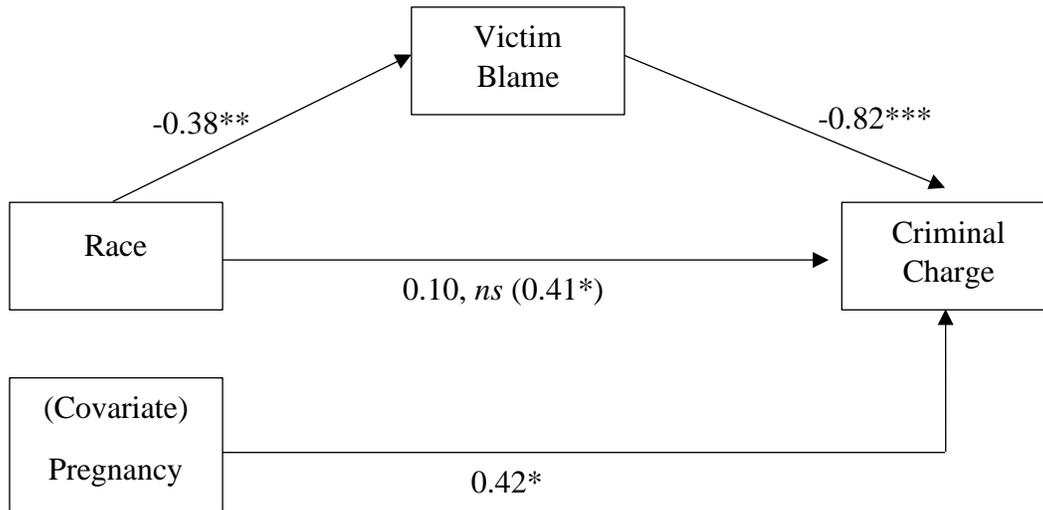*The Mediating Role of Victim Blame on Racial Disparities in Endorsement of Discipline*

Note. The indirect effect was significant, $B = -0.33$, $SE = .13$, 95% CI = 0.09, 0.58.

$*p < . 05$, $**p < .01$, $***p < .001$

Figure E3

The Mediating Role of Victim Blame on Racial Disparities in Endorsement of Criminal

Charges

Note. The indirect effect was significant, *B* = -0.33, *SE* = .13, 95% CI = 0.09, 0.58.

p < . 05, **p* < .01, ***p* < .001