

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA  
SANTA CRUZ

**SEXIST ATTITUDE DEVELOPMENT: THE ROLES OF SOCIALIZATION,  
PERCEPTIONS OF CULTURAL SEXISM, AND ETHNIC IDENTITY  
PROCESSES AMONG MEXICAN-HERITAGE COLLEGE YOUTH**

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction  
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY in  
PSYCHOLOGY

By

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June 2023

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## Abstract

# SEXIST ATTITUDE DEVELOPMENT: THE ROLES OF SOCIALIZATION, PERCEPTIONS OF CULTURAL SEXISM, AND ETHNIC IDENTITY PROCESSES AMONG MEXICAN-HERITAGE COLLEGE YOUTH

Brenda C. Gutierrez

**Background:** Sexism is a pervasive problem that manifests differently across cultures; however, much sexism research has not applied a cultural perspective. My dissertation bridges this gap by applying a cultural framework to examine sexism development among Mexican-heritage youth living in the United States by considering (a) culturally relevant socialization sources, (b) perceptions of sexism norms in US-American and Mexican culture, and (c) dimensions of ethnic identity.

**Method:** I surveyed 699 Mexican-heritage college students from three universities (75.5% women, 19.2% men, 4.7% nonbinary genders;  $M = 19.93$  years old).

Participants responded to close-ended measures of (a) restrictive gender messaging from older relatives, familial peers (e.g., cousins, siblings), and non-familial peers, (b) ethnic identity centrality and ethnic typicality importance, (c) hostile and benevolent sexism, and to (d) an open-ended prompt about cultural sexism perceptions between US-American and Mexican cultures. The open-ended responses were then coded to determine perceptions of either (a) Similar Cultural Sexism, (b) More US-American Cultural Sexism, or (c) More Mexican Cultural Sexism. **Results:** Restrictive gender messages (RGM) were most frequently attributed to older relatives than peers and

least frequently attributed to familial peers. The youth primarily perceived either Similar Cultural Sexism (39%) or More Mexican Cultural Sexism (34%). Those who were further along in their college years were most likely to perceive Similar Cultural Sexism. Additional analyses revealed current sexism endorsement was: (1) positively related to familial peers' RGM above and beyond RGM from older relatives and non-familial peers; (2) positively related to ethnic typicality importance and (3) negatively related to ethnic centrality. Non-familial peers' RGM was only positively linked to benevolent sexism and older relatives' RGM was not linked to either current sexism.

**Conclusion:** My research highlighted the importance of considering cultural and developmental processes in tandem to identify socialization sources (i.e., familial peers). Notably, the findings indicated many Mexican-heritage college youths were critical of sexism, and they were negotiating narratives of cultural sexism. Finally, the current study underscored positive ethnic identity as a buffer against embracing sexism and the need to uplift narratives of Mexican cultural diversity.

## **Dedication**

*To my family, this accomplishment is ours*

## Acknowledgements

I would like to express my deep gratitude to the great mentors that I have been so fortunate to learn from. I thank my advisor, Dr. Campbell Leaper, for his support and guidance throughout graduate school. I am so appreciative of having gotten to learn from such a great scholar. I thank my undergraduate advisor and committee member, Dr. May Ling Halim, for her early belief in me and her continued support over so many years. I had no idea that walking in to her office as an undergraduate student would change the trajectory of my life. I'd also like to thank her for her help in data collection for my dissertation. I also thank my committee members, Dr. Margarita Azmitia and Dr. Rebecca Covarrubias, for their guidance and encouragement throughout so many milestones. The thoughtful questions and advice they shared has immensely shaped my research program. I'd also like to share my gratitude to Dr. Antoinette Wilson for her support in data collection for my dissertation. Finally, I am grateful to the faculty at UC Santa Cruz that helped me grow in their classes and labs.

I also express my endless gratitude to the Real Grad Students of Santa Cruz for all the support over the years. I am so fortunate to have learned and laughed (and cried) with them and could not imagine this experience without these great friends. Some special acknowledgements to: Sam, my best friend; Tess, my twin; Abby, my lab sister-aunt; Azucena, Paulette, and Michelle, amazing friends and strong women of color; Andrew, Nick, and Sylvane, great friends and cohort mates.



I also express endless gratitude to my longtime friends: Lauren, Maria, and Steph. Thank you for always being there despite the distance. Your friendship is invaluable.

I would also like to share my gratitude to the participants that have made my research possible. I so deeply appreciate all the insights and personal experiences they have entrusted me with and I hope my research can do them justice.

Finally, words cannot express the gratitude I have for the endless support of my family. This accomplishment would not be possible without my family and I share this with them. They have always pushed me to be what I wanted to be and cared for me when I needed support. To my mom, Sito, Danny, and my dad: thank you forever and always. (And thanks to Bandit and Nala for being the best writing support!) And a thanks to me, I am stronger than I thought!

## **Introduction**

Little research on sexism has applied a cultural perspective that centers attention on developmental processes in their sociocultural contexts (Schroeder & Bámaca-Colbert, 2019). Without a cultural perspective, we may overlook culturally relevant sources of information and cultural norms that guide how youth navigate their socialization experiences. Thus, my dissertation seeks to apply a cultural framework to examine the development of sexist attitudes among Mexican-heritage college youth living in the United States. Mexican-heritage youth in the US must navigate their Mexican-heritage culture and broader US-American culture. Examining how Mexican-heritage individuals navigate these contexts while developing their gender attitudes can be particularly illuminating to the way cultural processes impact development.

In my dissertation, I examined the associations of recalled messages about gender from family and peers to Mexican-heritage college youths' sexist attitudes. I applied a cultural perspective to sexism development by considering culturally relevant socialization sources, perceived norms about sexism in Mexican and US-American culture, and ethnic identity. To provide background for the study, I will describe ambivalent sexism and its relevance during emerging adulthood. Next, I will review relevant familial and peer socialization sources. Finally, I will consider the potential roles of cultural sexism norms and ethnic identity in these processes.

### **Ambivalent Sexism**

According to ambivalent sexism theory, sexism is expressed as hostile and

benevolent attitudes that reinforce gender inequality (Connor et al., 2016; Glick & Fiske, 2001). Hostile sexism reflects beliefs that men deserve greater power than women because only men have the traits required for power (Connor et al., 2016; Glick & Fiske, 2001). Further, hostile sexism emphasizes beliefs that men's power must be protected from women who will attempt to take their power, such as career women or sexually agentic women (Connor et al., 2016; Glick & Fiske, 2001). Thus, hostile sexism explicitly maintains male dominance.

In contrast, benevolent sexism is comprised of patronizing beliefs that may appear positive but reinforce women's subordination (Connor et al., 2016; Glick & Fiske, 2001). It encompasses beliefs that women should be in seemingly positive, albeit, low status roles where they can be protected by men. Women are viewed as holding positive traits such as nurturance that are not well-suited for power but complement the areas in which men lack (Connor et al., 2016; Glick & Fiske, 2001). Thus, benevolent sexism subtly maintains male dominance.

Although hostile and benevolent sexism may appear conflicting, they have been consistently associated in the maintenance of gender inequality (e.g., Glick et al., 2004). Hostile sexism justifies men's dominance and is antagonistic towards women that violate traditional roles. Benevolent sexism allows men's greater power to be expressed in seemingly benevolent ways (e.g., control expressed as care) while encouraging women to adhere to traditional roles in exchange for protection from hostility (Connor et al., 2016; Glick & Fiske, 2001).

Ambivalent sexism may increasingly affect youth during emerging adulthood (Hammond et al., 2018; Leaper & Gutierrez, 2023). Heterosexual emerging adults begin navigating more serious relationships that spur opportunities for traditional roles such as during courtship (e.g., man pays for the date) or regarding the division of labor while cohabitating (Arnett, 2015; Paynter & Leaper, 2016). College youth may also be determining future career paths and some may encounter sexist messages depending on their fields (Kuchynka et al., 2018; Leaper & Starr, 2019). Indeed, a longitudinal study of adults spanning emerging to late adulthood revealed that ambivalent sexism was highest during emerging adulthood (Hammond et al., 2018). Notably, however, college youth may also be learning more progressive ideals regarding gender (Azmitia et al., 2008). Thus, emerging adulthood may be a key period to address the socialization of sexist attitudes. Moreover, a cultural approach can help advance our understanding.

### **The Socialization of Sexist Attitudes**

Direct messages of traditional gender roles (*gender messages*) shape youths' gender-stereotypical attitudes (e.g., Epstein & Ward, 2011; Manago et al., 2015; Martinez et al., 2021), including sexist attitudes (e.g., Gutierrez et al., 2022). Several sources may convey gender messages. In the present study, I focus on family and peers.

Prior work has highlighted the role of the family, most often parents, as a socialization source of sexism (i.e., Garaigordobil & Aliri, 2012; Gutierrez et al., 2022; Montañés et al., 2012). In prior reviews, parents' and their offspring's gender-

stereotypical attitudes have been somewhat correlated, which suggests socialization effects (see Kågesten et al., 2016; Tenenbaum & Leaper, 2002). Parents' gender attitudes have also been more consistently linked to young women's than men's attitudes (Gutierrez et al., 2022), even by early adolescence (Kågesten et al., 2016). This pattern may be explained by two reasons. Firstly, parents may convey more gender messages to daughters than sons given that more restrictions are placed on women's autonomy compared to men. For instance, women have reported more monitoring of their gender by parents than men reported (Gallegos-Castillo, 2006; Hurtado, 2003; Hurtado & Sinha, 2016). Secondly, regardless of frequency, messages may just be more salient to women as they have been more likely than men to notice gender bias (Becker & Swim, 2011). Thus, familial socialization, particularly by parental figures, may be especially influential for young women.

In addition to family, peers also play an important role in youth's developing gender-stereotypical attitudes (Kågesten et al., 2016; Leaper & Farkas, 2015). For example, young men have often encouraged the establishment of masculinity through sexual conquest to their peers (Flood, 2008; Kimmel, 2008). In contrast, young women have often stressed the importance of beauty among peers (Leavy et al., 2009). Notably, these patterns of emphasized gender norms within peer groups appeared consistent even in peers comprised of early adolescents (see Kågesten et al., 2016). However, female peers have also been more likely than male peers to discuss challenging the gender status quo (Lewis et al., 2018). Thus, peers may convey traditional gender messages; however, they may be less frequent among women.

Family and peers have often been considered separate microsystems (e.g., Smetana et al., 2015). Further, research on gender socialization in the family has mostly focused on parents (e.g., Brown & Tam, 2019). Bridging and expanding these systems by differentiating between familial and non-familial peers may be especially important for many Mexican-heritage youth. Little research has considered their independent contributions to emerging adults' development of sexist attitudes.

Mexican-heritage families are often comprised of many familial relations (e.g., extended relatives, god-relatives) to which youth have strong ties (Parke & Buriel, 2006; Willroth et al., 2021). For instance, Mexican-heritage youth often spent much time with their families, even as youth attended college (Covarrubias et al., 2019; Hardway & Fuligni, 2006; Rodriguez et al., 2021). Although these family patterns are not unique to Mexican-heritage youth, they have appeared more prevalent than for many US youth from other cultural backgrounds (Parke & Buriel, 2006).

In addition to the continued importance of family, same-aged peers also become an increasingly influential source of information about gender (Harris, 1995; Leaper, 2022). As described earlier, peers can share information about what are appropriate gender roles (Kågesten et al., 2016; Leaper & Farkas, 2015). Further, same-ethnic peers can also shape the perceived boundaries of ethnic culture (e.g., importance of speaking Spanish to be perceived as Mexican; Jiménez, 2004). Despite peers being potential sources of information about their culture, children of immigrant families often perceive that their parents reflect more traditional components of their culture than their same-ethnic peers do (Schroeder & Bámaca-Colbert, 2019). For

instance, Latiné emerging adults have reported hearing more progressive messages about sex from peers than parents (Manago et al., 2015). Thus, youth must navigate competing orientations from their older relatives and non-related peers (Schroeder & Bámaca-Colbert, 2019).

A larger family network for Mexican-heritage youth presents the opportunity for engagement with relatives of various ages, including same-aged relatives that may also be viewed as peers (e.g., same-aged siblings or cousins). For Mexican-heritage youth that place value on the continuing influence of their families, these relationships that reflect both familial and peer domains may be perceived as the most relevant sources of information. Same-aged relatives may be more relatable in that they share familial histories (that non-related peers may not share) while reflecting one's own generational/cultural orientation (that older relatives may not share; Demo et al., 2000). Indeed, prior qualitative research suggests same-aged cousins and siblings have been important in shaping Mexican-heritage youths' views on gender (Hurtado, 2003; Hurtado & Sinha, 2016). Familial peers have even been reported to have been more relevant sources of information than school or parents in interviews (Hurtado, 2003). Thus, same-aged familial peers may be a particularly relatable source of information about gender for Mexican-heritage youth. In this sense, a cultural perspective indicates considering familial peers as a microsystem bridging family and peers. Thus, my first set of hypotheses are:

1a. Youth will report more frequent gender messages from older relatives compared to familial and non-familial peers.

1b. Young women will be more likely than young men to report gender messages from older relatives.

1c. Young men will be more likely than young women to report gender messages from familial and non-familial peers.

As reviewed next, my study also considered cultural processes that may moderate socialization experiences.

### **Culturally Relevant Processes: Perceptions of Cultural Sexism and Ethnic Identity**

Mexican-heritage youth navigate gender messages from various sources (Hurtado, 2003). However, these messages exist in a cultural context that can shape how they are experienced.

#### ***The Role of Perceptions of Cultural Sexism***

At the macrolevel, culturally shared scripts, or *master narratives*, exist that can impact youths' views (McLean & Syed, 2016). These ubiquitous master narratives provide a basis for one to understand society. Further, master narratives derive authority in describing societal expectations by remaining rigid and compulsory. McLean and Syed (2016) identified master narratives that describe typical scripts for particular ethnic groups in US-American culture. For example, in the United States, McLean and Syed (2016) noted scripts exist that Black and Latiné youth are not academically successful. Master narratives are widespread but are often invisible given their ubiquity. They usually become noticeable when individuals deviate and follow *alternative narratives* (or narratives that do not align with the



master narrative). For instance, scripts for school success become more noticeable when Black and Latiné youth violate this expectation, often through accusations of acting White because of their academic success (Carter, 2006; McLean & Syed, 2016). Master narratives point towards the potentially relevant process of narratives about cultural sexism norms.

National relations between the United States and Mexico are prominent in US media and politics (Cowan, 2017; Fleuriet & Castellano, 2020). From these salient cultural comparisons, some scholars have noted a cultural narrative that posits Mexican culture as highly patriarchal, especially in comparison to US-American culture (Cowan, 2017; Roschelle, 1999). Earlier media representations and even older scholarly works perpetuated a belief that traditional Latiné gender relations are rooted in pathology and sexism despite work that has followed to challenge this claim (Cowan, 2017; Roschelle, 1999). This narrative may correspond to a perception that Mexican culture is inherently more sexist relative to US-American culture.

Perceptions about whether sexism is a norm in one's culture, which I refer to as *perceptions of cultural sexism*, may be particularly relevant for those who are navigating dual cultures. Indeed, Hurtado and Sinha (2016) described how characterizations of Mexican culture as inherently patriarchal are usually described in comparison to US-American culture. Many Mexican-heritage people in the US have expressed beliefs that US-American culture encompasses less sexism than Mexican culture (Baez, 2008; Espin, 1997). Mexican-heritage women's resistance to sexism in the United States has at times resulted in accusations of cultural abandonment in

favor of White-American principles (see Anzaldúa, 1987; Hurtado, 2003). Together, this work indicates an acceptance of the narrative that Mexican culture encompasses greater cultural sexism than US-American culture.

Emerging adults may be contending with this perception of cultural sexism based on their cultural experiences. In emerging adulthood, youth often engage in reflections on the meaning of their ethnic identity in relation to the social world (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). College students whose prior explorations into their ethnic culture had been limited to their immediate communities may begin exploring new communities (Azmitia et al., 2008). Further, they may encounter alternative cultural narratives through critical feminist or critical race courses and find that there are diverse ways to engage with their culture while rejecting sexism (e.g., Azmitia et al., 2008; Hurtado, 2003; Hurtado & Sinha, 2016). Consequently, students may engage in critical reflection on gender systems in the United States that are similarly rooted in patriarchy (Brandt, 2011; McLean et al., 2017). Thus, some emerging adults may be more or less impacted by cultural sexism narratives depending on their cultural experiences.

In my dissertation, I compared groups based on the degrees that they viewed sexism as either greater in Mexican culture, greater in US-American culture, or similarly prevalent in both cultures. I expected some Mexican-heritage college youth would perceive that sexism is a greater cultural norm in Mexican than US-American culture due to the ubiquity of master narratives. At the same time, I anticipated other Mexican-heritage college youth would perceive that sexism is a similar cultural norm

in both cultures, reflecting an alternative narrative that recognizes sexist roots in patriarchal societies. Furthermore, given that college may be a context for learning an alternative narrative about one's culture, my second hypothesis is:

2. Youth who are further advanced in college will be more likely to perceive similar sexism in US-American and Mexican cultures.

Latiné gender relations may indeed encompass sexism as all cultures are rooted in patriarchy (Brandt, 2011). However, a homogeneous view overshadows the ways that gender egalitarianism is prominent in Mexican culture and lacks nuances afforded to dominant cultures (e.g., Hurtado, 2003; Hurtado & Sinha, 2016). Thus, Mexican-heritage youth may be navigating gender messages in a context that emphasizes cultural sexism norms. These norms may be strengthened when those viewed as cultural models, such as parents, convey gender messages (Schroeder & Bámaca-Colbert, 2019). Thus, in my third set of hypotheses, I predict:

3a. Recalled gender messages from family will predict a greater perception of Mexican culture as more sexist than US-American culture.

3b. Recalled gender messages from family and non-familial peers will predict greater sexism.

As explained next, the impact of these norms on sexism development may depend on how central adhering to these cultural norms is for youth.

### ***The Moderating Role of Ethnic Identity***

Mexican-heritage emerging adults must navigate the maintenance of their ethnic identities in the context of the larger US culture (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014).

Ethnic identity broadly refers to the multidimensional components of one's identity as an ethnic-group member (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). Two such components are ethnic centrality and ethnic typicality (Wilson & Leaper, 2016). For Mexican-heritage youth in the United States, *ethnic centrality* reflects the extent to which being "Mexican" or "Mexican American" is central to one's broader identity (Wilson & Leaper, 2016). *Ethnic typicality* refers to perceptions of being typical of other Mexican-heritage people (Wilson & Leaper, 2016). These aspects of ethnic identity may moderate how gender messages and perceptions of cultural norms inform sexism.

Mexican-heritage youth may consider being Mexican-heritage as very important to them (high centrality) and consider it very important to be like other Mexican-heritage people (high typicality importance). Some youth may perceive greater cultural sexism in Mexican versus US-American culture that were reinforced by their family; as a result, they may be more inclined to adopt sexist beliefs. In contrast, other Mexican-heritage youth either may not have this perception of Mexican culture or they may not consider it important to be typical of their group; if so, they may be less impacted by cultural sexism perceptions. For instance, youth that believe there are diverse ways to engage with their culture may not be concerned with being typical while still reporting high ethnic centrality. Maintenance of their ethnic identity would not seem incompatible with egalitarian attitudes. Identifying ways that Mexican-heritage youth navigate these cultural contexts could be key to promoting

both positive gender attitudes and ethnic identity. Thus, completing my third set of hypotheses, I predict that:

3c. Perceptions of greater Mexican cultural sexism will predict greater sexism endorsement when participants report high ethnic centrality and high typicality importance.

### **The Current Dissertation Study**

My dissertation research uses a cultural framework to build on some of my recent studies. One prior work observed links between recalled familial messages of gender-stereotypical traits and benevolent sexism endorsement among Latiné, Asian American, and European American college students (Gutierrez et al., 2022). A second study revealed different profiles of cultural engagement among Mexican-heritage women when considering cultural practices, traditional gender values, and ethnic identity (Gutierrez & Leaper, 2022). These findings suggested that many Mexican-heritage women find diverse ways to engage with their culture despite potentially contending with narratives about cultural sexism (Gutierrez & Leaper, 2022). The current research builds on these works by considering (1) both socialization and cultural processes, (2) cultural sexism perceptions, (3) familiar and non-familial peers as a socializing agent, and (4) and experiences with older and same-aged family separately. My research questions and hypotheses are summarized in Table 1.

## Method

### Participants

Mexican-heritage college students were recruited from three public universities in: Northern California, Southern California, and Texas. In both California and Texas, Latiné individuals — which are most often of Mexican-heritage--comprise the numerical majority (US Census Bureau, 2018). The initial sample included 841 Mexican-heritage college students. However, 142 responses were excluded due to incorrect responses on attention awareness questions (e.g., “If you are reading this, please select ‘strongly agree’”).

The final sample included 699 Mexican-heritage college students. The majority of participants identified as women or female (75.5%,  $n = 528$ ), while 19.2% ( $n = 134$ ) identified as men or male, and 4.7% ( $n = 33$ ) identified with genders beyond the gender binary (which I refer to as *nonbinary genders*; e.g., nonbinary, queer, agender). An additional 0.6% ( $n = 4$ ) did not report their gender identity. The majority of the sample was recruited from the university in Northern California (51.2%,  $n = 358$ ), followed by Southern California (28.5%,  $n = 199$ ) and Texas (20.3%,  $n = 142$ ). The participants ranged in age from 18 to 51, although the sample primarily consisted of emerging adults (96.4% were 27 years old or younger) and had an average age of 19.93 years old ( $SD = 3.63$ ). Participants were primarily 2<sup>nd</sup> generation in the US (76.1%,  $n = 532$ ), followed by participants that were 3<sup>rd</sup> generation in the US (14.6%,  $n = 102$ ), 1<sup>st</sup> generation immigrants (5.6%,  $n = 39$ ), and 4<sup>th</sup> generation or more in the US (3.3%,  $n = 23$ ). Three participants (0.4%) did not

report their generational status. Additional sample demographics are included in Table 2, as well as comparisons of sample demographics by campus.

### **Procedures**

College students were recruited using the respective Psychology Participation Pools at each university. Participants were pre-screened for identification as Mexican heritage and additionally confirmed self-identification as Mexican heritage after being directed to the survey hosted on Qualtrics. After providing consent, participants then completed the 45-minutes to 1-hour long survey. The survey included additional measures interspersed between the key measures described below. The order of the measures in the survey (including measures not used in the current study) are listed in Table 3. Participants then read a debrief page that described information about the study and were granted participation credit. Procedures were approved by the university institutional review boards at each recruitment site.

### **Measures**

Descriptive statistics and zero-order correlations for quantitative measures are presented in Table 4. See Appendix A for all items and directions for each of the following measures.

#### ***Demographic Characteristics***

**Gender Identity.** As described earlier, I distinguished among those identifying as either women, men, or nonbinary.

**Campus Recruitment.** Also as described earlier, participants were recruited from three universities specifically in Northern California, Southern California, and Texas.

**Generational Status in the United States.** Participants responded to an item of generational status from the Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican Americans-II (Cuéllar et al., 1995) that provided six options ranging from “you were born in a country outside of the USA” to “you and your parents were born in the USA, and all grandparents were born in the USA.” Responses were coded so that participants born outside of the US were categorized as being 1<sup>st</sup> generation immigrants, participants born in the US with one or both parents born outside of the US were categorized as 2<sup>nd</sup> generation, participants with both parents born in the US and one or both grandparents born outside of the US were categorized as 3<sup>rd</sup> generation, and participants with parents and grandparents born in the US was categorized as 4<sup>th</sup> generation or more.

**Year in College.** Participants responded to an open-ended item asking to report “your year in college (e.g., 1<sup>st</sup> year or frosh, 2<sup>nd</sup> year or sophomore, 3<sup>rd</sup> year transfer student, etc).” Responses were then assigned to their numerical year, which ranged from 1<sup>st</sup> year to 5<sup>th</sup> year.

### ***Restrictive Gender Messages***

To assess recalled socialization, I adapted a format from prior studies of retrospective direct socialization messages (i.e., Epstein & Ward, 2011; Gutierrez et al., 2022). Participants were asked to indicate the extent to which they recalled



hearing a series of messages from different sources (i.e., older relatives, same-age familial peers, non-familial peers). Participants were instructed to consider messages that were directly said or messages they just knew existed without having to ask (i.e., Epstein & Ward, 2011). For each socialization source, a definition of who to consider was provided (e.g., “Older relatives can include any relatives you view as family and consider to be in any age group older than your own age group”). Each socialization source was separately asked in blocks with other measures in between the blocks to reduce repetition.

The initial gender messages scale for each source included 15 statements that represented different attitudes about gender. These items were based on a review of prior research (e.g., Arciniega et al., 2008; Castillo et al., 2010; Hurtado, 2003; Mirandé, 1997; Glick & Fiske, 2001) and a factor analysis of Mexican-heritage college students (Gutierrez & Leaper, 2022). Sample items included “Men should be the protectors in relationships with women” and “Women try to use relationships to start controlling men.” Responses were rated on a scale of 1 = *not at all* to 5 = *a lot or extremely often*. Higher scores indicated more frequent recalled messages.

To confirm the items as a measure of recalled gender messages, three exploratory factor analyses that included the 15 statements were separately conducted for each socialization source. The three factor analyses resulted in generally consistent identified factors (see Table 5). Specifically, one generally consistent factor emerged that consisted of 11 of the items and one to two factors that consisted of the remaining 4 items. The first factor included items that generally captured more

restrictive gender beliefs, such as those that were negative towards women (e.g., “Women try to use relationships to start controlling men”) and maintained men’s dominance (e.g., “Men should prove to women and other men that they are manly.”) The second and third factor generally included items that could be regarded by participants as potentially positive (e.g., “Men need to be chivalrous gentlemen to women”; “Women are naturally more emotionally mature than men.”) The 4 items from the second and third factor did not indicate adequate reliability and were not included in analyses: Messages from Older Relatives  $\alpha = .41$ , Messages from Familial Peers  $\alpha = .61$ , Messages from Non-Familial Peers  $\alpha = .62$ . However, the 11 items from the first factor were used to develop a measure of restrictive gender messages from the three socialization sources and indicated good reliability: *Restrictive Gender Messages (RGM) from Older Relatives*  $\alpha = .92$ , *RGM from Familial Peers*  $\alpha = .91$ , *RGM from Non-Familial Peers*  $\alpha = .93$ . The items for each scale appear in Table 5.

### ***Ethnic Identity Centrality and Typicality Importance***

Participants completed subscales from the Multidimensional Model of Ethnic/Racial Identity (MMERI; Wilson & Leaper, 2016). Specifically, scales assessed *ethnic identity centrality* (4 items; e.g., “In general, being Mexican or Mexican-American is an important part of my self-image”) and *ethnic typicality importance*. The felt ethnic typicality items from the MMERI (e.g., “I feel like I’m just like all the other Mexicans or Mexican Americans”) were modified to reflect ethnic typicality importance (6 items; e.g., “It is important to me to be just like all the other Mexicans or Mexican-Americans.”) Responses were rated on a scale of 1 = *not*

at all to 5 = a lot or extremely often. Items were averaged into aggregated measures of ethnic centrality and typicality importance and both demonstrated good scale reliability (both  $\alpha = .87$ ).

### ***Perception of Cultural Sexism***

Participants were prompted to “think about the gender roles that exist in US-American and Mexican culture,” and gender roles was defined to participants as roles that women and men are expected to fulfill in society. They were then asked to indicate whether they perceived more similarities or differences in gender roles between US-American and Mexican culture. Depending on their selection, participants were then prompted to describe an important personal memory that highlighted either the similarities or differences between US-American and Mexican culture they have noticed or experienced. This prompt was adapted from the master narrative prompt for gender identity described in McLean et al. (2017).

Using a deductive content coding approach, responses for participants’ perceptions of cultural sexism norms between Mexican and US-American cultures were coded. The author and a research assistant (the research assistant was blind to the study hypotheses; both the author and research assistant were blind to the participants’ year in college) coded 15% ( $n = 105$ ) of the responses as a reliability set and indicated good reliability ( $\kappa = .85$ ). Disagreements in this reliability set were resolved through discussion. The remaining responses were then separately coded. Three possible codes were possible: Similar Cultural Sexism, More US Cultural Sexism, More Mexican Cultural Sexism. Each of these codes are described below

with an abridged excerpt from participants' responses; full versions of the responses appear in Table 6.

**Similar Cultural Sexism.** If responses indicated that they thought sexism or restrictive gender roles were similarly or equally prevalent (at either low to high levels), they were coded as perceiving *Similar Cultural Sexism* (e.g., “[...] Being born into US American culture or Mexican culture absolutely does not mean that it is innate to harm women[...] But sexism and violence against women are absolutely prevalent in both.”; “[...] Toxic masculinity is highly prevalent in both cultures.”)

**More US Cultural Sexism.** If responses indicated that they thought sexism or restrictive gender roles was more prevalent in US-American culture compared to Mexican culture, they were assigned as perceiving *More US Cultural Sexism* (e.g., “[...] Women in mexican [sic] culture...are more valued and respected as the matriarchal figure in home teaches you to respect the women outside of home. In american [sic] culture the patriarch rules the home and[...] leave the home feeling that they hold more power to the women[...].”; “[...] throughout Mexican culture, males treat females with far more respect opposed to the US-American culture.”)

**More Mexican Cultural Sexism.** If responses indicated that they thought sexism or restrictive gender roles was more prevalent in Mexican culture compared to US-American culture, they were assigned as perceiving *More Mexican Cultural Sexism* (e.g., “US-American cultures seem less sexist/machismo than the Mexican culture[...].”; “I think that American culture is less sexist than Mexican culture. [...]

In Mexican culture the woman is more submissive and does anything to please her man and women in America are more outspoken and wouldn't take that.”)

**Missing Values.** Blank responses were coded as *missing*; responses that were not about gender role similarities or differences were coded as *nonapplicable* (e.g., “the way we celebrate holidays, they are more meaningful and religious for mexicans then it is for americans” [sic]); and responses that described a view about gender but were unclear in reflecting a view about the prevalence similarities or differences were coded as *undeterminable* (e.g., “A big difference is how women and men are supposed to treat each other and the roles they have to play in their families”). These codes were then treated as missing data rather than treated as a separate group.

### ***Sexism Endorsement***

Participants completed the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (Glick & Fiske, 2001). This scale assesses both hostile sexism (11 items; e.g., “When women lose to men in a fair competition, they typically complain about being discriminated against”) and benevolent sexism (11 items; e.g., “Women should be cherished and protected by men.”) The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory has been validated with Mexican emerging adults (León-Ramírez & Ferrando, 2013). Responses were rated on a scale of 1 = *strongly disagree* to 6 = *strongly agree*. Items for each subscale were averaged for an aggregated measure of hostile sexism endorsement and benevolent sexism endorsement. Both scales demonstrated good item reliability (both  $\alpha = .87$ ).

## Results

### Preliminary Analyses

#### *Comparing Campuses*

To determine whether the three recruitment sites differed in key measures, I conducted two tests comparing by campus. First, I conducted a MANOVA that included the 7 continuous key variables (i.e., restrictive gender messages [RGM] from older relatives, familial peers, and non-familial peers, ethnic identity centrality and typicality importance, hostile and benevolent sexism) with the campus site groupings (i.e., Northern California [NCA], Southern California [SCA], or Texas [TX]) as the indicator variable. I then conducted a chi-square test for the categorical cultural sexism perception variable cross-tabulating the campus groups.

In the first analyses, a significant omnibus effect of campus on the key continuous variables was indicated,  $F(14, 1372) = 6.62, p < .001, \eta^2 = .06$ . Univariate comparisons indicated that based on campus, participants differed on their reported familial peers' RGM ( $F[2, 692] = 8.02, p < .001, \eta^2 = .02$ ), non-familial peers' RGM ( $F[2, 692] = 3.64, p = .027, \eta^2 = .01$ ), ethnic identity centrality [ $F(2, 692) = 4.69, p = .009, \eta^2 = .01$ ], hostile sexism ( $F[2, 692] = 35.37, p < .001, \eta^2 = .09$ ), and benevolent sexism ( $F[2, 692] = 25.92, p < .001, \eta^2 = .07$ ). Univariate comparisons were not significant regarding older relatives' RGM ( $F[2, 692] = 0.39, p = .681, \eta^2 = .00$ ) or ethnic typicality importance ( $F[2, 692] = 1.06, p = .346, \eta^2 = .00$ ). The second analysis also did not indicate significant differences based on campus recruitment in

cultural sexism perception group ( $\chi^2[4, N = 517] = 5.35, p = .254, \phi = .10$ ). See Table 7 for means and standard deviations by campus on each key variable.

Pairwise comparisons indicated that participants from the TX university reported more restrictive gender messages from both familial peers and non-familial peers than did participants from the universities in SCA ( $p = .017$ ) and NCA ( $p < .001$ ). The latter two did not significantly differ ( $p = .130$ ). Additional differences indicated that the SCA participants reported lower ethnic identity centrality than did NCA participants ( $p = .022$ ) but did not differ from TX participants ( $p = .101$ ). The latter also did not differ ( $p = .364$ ). Finally, the NCA university participants reported lower hostile sexism and benevolent sexism endorsement than did the SCA,  $ps < .001$ , and TX participants,  $ps < .001$ . The latter groups did not differ on either form of sexism,  $ps > .05$ .

### ***Comparing Generational Status***

To identify whether key measures differed based on generational status in the United States, I conducted two analyses mirroring the first set of preliminary analyses. First, I conducted a MANOVA that included the 7 continuous variables (i.e., RGM from older relatives, familial peers, and non-familial peers, ethnic centrality, ethnic typicality importance, hostile sexism, and benevolent sexism) with generational status (i.e., 1<sup>st</sup> generation immigrants, 2<sup>nd</sup> generation, 3<sup>rd</sup> generation, 4<sup>th</sup> generation or more) as the indicator variable. I then conducted a chi-square test for the categorical cultural sexism perception variable cross-tabulating generational status.

In the MANOVA, a significant omnibus effect of generational status was indicated,  $F(21, 1959) = 2.44, p < .001, \eta^2 = .02$ . Univariate comparisons indicated that based on generational status, participants only differed on their ethnic identity centrality ( $F[3, 688] = 5.58, p < .001, \eta^2 = .02$ ) and typicality importance ( $F[3, 688] = 3.76, p = .011, \eta^2 = .02$ ). Comparisons were not significant for older relatives' RGM ( $F[3, 688] = 1.22, p = .302, \eta^2 = .00$ ), familial peers' RGM ( $F[3, 688] = 1.23, p = .297, \eta^2 = .00$ ), non-familial peers' RGM ( $F[3, 688] = 1.03, p = .377, \eta^2 = .00$ ), hostile sexism ( $F[3, 688] = 0.60, p = .614, \eta^2 = .00$ ), and benevolent sexism ( $F[3, 688] = 1.12, p = .340, \eta^2 = .00$ ). The chi-square analysis also did not indicate significant differences based on generational status in cultural sexism perception group ( $\chi^2[6, N = 517] = 5.51, p = .480, \phi = .10$ ). See Table 8 for means and standard deviations by campus on each key variable.

Pairwise comparisons for the ethnic identity dimensions indicated that 1<sup>st</sup> generation immigrants reported greater ethnic identity centrality than all other generational groups,  $ps < .05$ . In contrast, participants that were 4<sup>th</sup> generation or more reported lower ethnic identity centrality than all other generational groups,  $ps < .05$ , and lower ethnic typicality importance than 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> generation participants,  $ps < .05$ . However, 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> generation participants did not significantly differ in either ethnic identity dimension,  $ps > .05$ . Also, 1<sup>st</sup> generation immigrants did not differ from other generational groups on ethnic typicality importance.



## **Restrictive Gender Messages**

### ***Recalled Frequency by Socialization Source***

I first determined differences in the average restrictive gender messages of each socialization source. In Hypothesis 1a, I predicted that Mexican-heritage college youth would report more gender messages from older relatives than from familial and non-familial peers. To test this hypothesis, I conducted three paired-sample *t*-tests comparing the three sources: older relatives, familial peers, and non-familial peers. Campus was not controlled for because these comparisons were within-groups.

Confirming Hypothesis 1a, Mexican-heritage college youth recalled more restrictive gender messages from older relatives ( $M = 2.82$ ,  $SD = 1.06$ ) than from familial peers ( $M = 1.99$ ,  $SD = 0.86$ ;  $t[697] = 19.25$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $d = 1.13$ ) and non-familial peers ( $M = 2.21$ ,  $SD = 0.93$ ;  $t[696] = 13.30$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $d = 1.20$ ). In addition, Mexican-heritage college youth also recalled more restrictive gender messages from non-familial peers than from familial peers ( $t[695] = -6.05$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $d = 0.95$ ). See Figure 1.

### ***Recalled Frequency by Gender***

I additionally tested whether participants differed in recalled restrictive gender messages based on self-reported gender. In Hypothesis 1b, I predicted that young women would report more frequent gender messages from older relatives than young men would report. Conversely, in Hypothesis 1c, I predicted that young men would report more frequent gender messages from familial and non-familial peers than young women would report. Thus, I conducted a MANCOVA with gender (i.e.,

women, men, nonbinary) as the indicator variables, campus groups as a covariate (dummy coded with the TX university as the reference group because this site indicated preliminary differences in RGM frequency from the other universities), and restrictive gender messages from the three sources as the outcome variables.

A significant omnibus effect of gender was indicated ( $F[6, 1370] = 4.19, p < .001, \eta^2 = .02$ ) as well as for the covariate comparison between the TX and NCA universities ( $F[3, 685] = 5.76, p < .001, \eta^2 = .03$ ). The covariate comparison between the TX and SCA universities was not significant ( $F[3, 685] = 2.11, p = .097, \eta^2 = .03$ ).

Univariate comparisons indicated that based on gender, participants differed on restrictive gender messages from older relatives' ( $F[2, 687] = 5.84, p = .003, \eta^2 = .02$ ) and familial peers ( $F[2, 687] = 3.25, p = .003, \eta^2 = .01$ ). Comparisons were not significant for non-familial peers' restrictive gender messages ( $F[2, 687] = 0.89, p = .410, \eta^2 = .00$ ). Also, covariate comparisons between the TX and NCA universities were specifically significant for restrictive gender messages from familial peers ( $F[1, 687] = 14.81, p < .001, \eta^2 = .02$ ) and non-familial peers ( $F[1, 687] = 6.17, p = .003, \eta^2 = .02$ ), but not for older relatives' restrictive gender messages ( $F[1, 687] = 0.15, p = .695, \eta^2 = .00$ ). See Table 9 and Figure 2.

Confirming Hypothesis 1b, pairwise comparisons covarying campus indicated that young women recalled more restrictive gender messages from older relatives than young men recalled ( $p < .001$ ). Comparisons were not significant between nonbinary participants and young women or men ( $ps > .05$ ).

Contrary to Hypothesis 1c, comparisons covarying campus did not indicate a difference between women and men in the recalled restrictive gender messages from either familial or non-familial peers ( $p > .05$ ). Instead, comparisons indicated that nonbinary participants recalled the least restrictive gender messages from familial peers than did women ( $p = .016$ ) or men ( $p = .013$ ).

### **Cultural Sexism Perception**

Next, I estimated how participants perceived cultural discrepancies and similarities. I took an exploratory approach to determining the proportion of youth within the different cultural sexism perception groups. In Hypothesis 2, I proposed that youth who were more advanced in their college years would be more likely to be in the Similar Cultural Sexism group. I similarly took an exploratory approach to potential gender differences. To explore these, I first conducted a nonparametric chi-square analysis to compare the proportion of participants in each of the three categories of cultural sexism perceptions: Similar Cultural Sexism, More US Cultural Sexism, and More Mexican Cultural Sexism. This analysis tests the null hypothesis that proportions are equally distributed throughout the categories. I then conducted a multinomial logistic regression with year in college as the predictor variable and the perception group as the outcome. Finally, I conducted a chi-square analysis cross-tabulating gender by the cultural-sexism perception groups. The results from these analyses are presented in Table 10.

The nonparametric chi-square analysis indicated a significant difference in the proportion distribution of cultural sexism perception groups,  $\chi^2(2, N = 517) = 247.07$ ,

$p < .001$ . Results indicated that there were significantly fewer participants in the More US Cultural Sexism group than the other two cultural sexism groups,  $ps < .001$ .

Proportions did not significantly differ between the More Mexican Cultural Sexism and Similar Cultural Sexism groups,  $p = .133$ .

In line with Hypothesis 2, the model predicting perception group membership by year in college was significant,  $\chi^2(2, N = 515) = 7.44$ , Nagelkerke  $R^2 = .02$ ,  $p = .024$ . Estimates indicated that being further along in one's college studies significantly predicted a greater likelihood of perceiving Similar Cultural Sexism compared to More Mexican Cultural Sexism,  $\beta = 1.20$ ,  $p = .037$ . Year in college did not significantly predict membership in the More US Cultural Sexism group compared to the More Mexican Cultural Sexism group,  $\beta = 0.34$ ,  $p = .239$ .

The second chi-square analysis cross-tabulating gender did not indicate significantly different proportions of genders by cultural sexism perception,  $\chi^2(4, N = 517) = 2.79$ ,  $p = .594$ .

### **Predicting Cultural Sexism Perceptions and Sexism Endorsement**

Finally, I tested predictors of perceived cultural sexism, hostile sexism, and benevolent sexism.

#### ***Predicting Perception Group Membership by Restrictive Gender Messages***

In Hypothesis 3a, I predicted that greater familial gender messages would predict greater perceptions of more Mexican cultural sexism. To test this hypothesis, I conducted a multinomial logistic regression with the three socialization message sources as predictors and perception group as the outcome.

The multinomial logistic regression did not indicate significant model fit of the data,  $\chi^2(6, N = 515) = 10.60$ , Nagelkerke  $R^2 = .03$ ,  $p = .101$ . Follow-up inspection of the individual likelihood ratio tests indicated that, contrary to Hypothesis 3a, inclusion of restrictive gender messages from non-familial peers significantly fit the data,  $p = .011$ , whereas the restrictive gender messages from either familial source did not,  $ps > .05$ . Estimates indicated that a greater frequency of restrictive gender messages from non-familial peers significantly predicted greater likelihood of membership in the More US Cultural Sexism group compared to the More Mexican Cultural Sexism group,  $\beta = 4.20$ ,  $p = .004$ . Messages from non-familial peers did not significantly predict membership in the Similar Cultural Sexism group compared to the More Mexican Cultural Sexism group,  $\beta = 1.07$ ,  $p = .546$ .

### ***Predicting Ambivalent Sexism***

In Hypothesis 3b, I predicted that greater gender messages from each source (i.e., older relatives, familial peers, non-familial peer) would predict greater endorsements of hostile sexism and benevolent sexism. In Hypothesis 3c, I expected a significant 3-way interaction that, specifically for those with greater perceptions of More Mexican Cultural Sexism, greater hostile or benevolent sexism would be endorsed when participants reported high ethnic centrality and typicality importance.

To test these hypotheses, I conducted hierarchical regressions separately with hostile sexism and benevolent sexism as outcomes. In the models, the 1<sup>st</sup> step included gender, generational status, and campus as dummy-coded variables. Gender included three categories (men, women, nonbinary), and I used men as the reference

group given men's privileged status within patriarchal systems (Barreto & Doyle, 2022). Generational status included 4 ordinal groups (1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup>, and 4<sup>th</sup> or greater), and I used 2<sup>nd</sup> generation as the reference group because it was the largest.

Preliminary analyses did not indicate differences in sexism based on generational status. The campus factor included the three campuses (NCA, SCA, and TX), and I used the NCA university as the reference group due to preliminary analyses indicating lower average sexism at this campus than the other campuses.

The rest of the regression model included a 2<sup>nd</sup> step with the three restrictive gender messages variables (mean-centered), a 3<sup>rd</sup> step with the dummy coded cultural sexism perception variables (Similar Cultural Sexism as the reference group), a 4<sup>th</sup> step with ethnic identity centrality and typicality importance (mean-centered), and 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> steps that included the two-way and three-way interactions between ethnic identity and cultural perception groups.

**Predicting Hostile Sexism.** The 4<sup>th</sup> step of the model significantly contributed to the predicted variance in hostile sexism ( $R^2 = 28.1\%$ ,  $R^2\Delta = 5.3\%$ ,  $F\Delta = 18.25$ ,  $p < .001$ ), whereas the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> steps did not add significant variance prediction (Step 5:  $R^2 = 29.2\%$ ,  $R^2\Delta = 1.1\%$ ,  $F\Delta = 1.59$ ,  $p = .161$ ; Step 6:  $R^2 = 29.3\%$ ,  $R^2\Delta = 0.0\%$ ,  $F\Delta = 0.70$ ,  $p = .933$ ). Thus, I will report from the 4<sup>th</sup> step of the model. See Table 11 for model statistics from this step.

I found partial support for Hypothesis 3b. Specifically, greater restrictive gender messages from familial peers predicted greater hostile sexism endorsement ( $p$

< .001); however, restrictive gender messages from older relatives and non-familial peers were not significant predictors of hostile sexism endorsement ( $ps > .05$ ).

Contrary to Hypothesis 3b, the step including the three-way interaction terms was not significant. Rather, across the sample, greater ethnic identity centrality predicted less hostile sexism endorsement ( $p < .001$ ) and greater ethnic typicality importance predicted greater hostile sexism endorsement ( $p = .018$ ). No effects of cultural perception group were indicated ( $ps > .05$ ).

Effects of the control variables also emerged. Specifically, men reported greater hostile sexism endorsement than women and nonbinary participants,  $ps < .001$ . Also, 4<sup>th</sup> generation or greater participants reported lower hostile sexism endorsement than 2<sup>nd</sup> generation participants,  $p = .049$ . Finally, participants from the NCA university also reported lower hostile sexism endorsement than participants from the SCA and TX universities,  $ps < .001$ .

**Predicting Benevolent Sexism.** Similar to the hostile sexism model, the 4<sup>th</sup> step of the model significantly contributed to the predicted variance in benevolent sexism ( $R^2 = 15.9\%$ ,  $R^2\Delta = 1.3\%$ ,  $F\Delta = 3.87$ ,  $p = .021$ ). Again, the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> steps did not add significant variance prediction (Step 5:  $R^2 = 14.2\%$ ,  $R^2\Delta = 1.5\%$ ,  $F\Delta = 1.74$ ,  $p = .123$ ; Step 6:  $R^2 = 13.9\%$ ,  $R^2\Delta = 0.0\%$ ,  $F\Delta = 0.14$ ,  $p = .863$ ). Thus, I will report from the 4<sup>th</sup> step of the model. See Table 12 for model statistics from this step.

Again, partial support for Hypothesis 3b was indicated. Specifically, greater restrictive gender messages from familial peers and non-familial peers predicted

greater benevolent sexism ( $ps < .05$ ); however, restrictive gender messages from older relatives was not significant ( $p = .436$ ).

Similar to hostile sexism, the step including the three-way interaction terms was not significant and, thus, Hypothesis 3c was not supported. Instead, across the sample, greater ethnic identity centrality predicted less benevolent sexism endorsement,  $p = .048$ , and greater ethnic typicality importance predicted greater benevolent sexism endorsement,  $p = .010$ . No effects of cultural perception group were indicated,  $ps > .05$ .

Effects of the control variables were also observed. Specifically, 1<sup>st</sup> generation participants reported lower benevolent sexism endorsement than 2<sup>nd</sup> generation participants,  $p = .013$ . Additionally, participants from the NCA university also reported lower benevolent sexism endorsement than those from the SCA and TX universities,  $ps < .001$ .

## **Discussion**

My dissertation research sought to apply a cultural framework to Mexican-heritage college youth's sexist attitude development. My analyses revealed several insights regarding (1) how socialization systems informed by cultural context can be uniquely considered, (2) how Mexican-heritage youth perceive cultural sexism norms, and (3) how these factors and ethnic identity can inform the endorsement and rejection of sexist attitudes.



## **Frequency of Restrictive Gender Messages and Gender Differences**

I investigated the extent to which different sources conveyed restrictive messages about gender. On average, Mexican-heritage college youth recalled low levels of restrictive gender messages. When they did occur, these messages were most frequently attributed to their older relatives compared to familial and non-familial peers. This is consistent with prior work that suggests emerging adults attributed more traditional messages about gender to older relatives than non-familial peers (Manago et al., 2015; Martinez et al., 2021). Additionally, as expected, messages from older relatives were more frequent among women than men. This may reflect more monitoring of girls' adherence to traditional gender roles (e.g., Gallegos-Castillo, 2006; Hurtado, 2003; Hurtado & Sinha, 2016). Minoritized individuals are expected to understand not only the expectations of their group but also the expectations of the dominant group within traditional systems of power (Anderson, 2021). Thus, older relatives may convey more restrictive gender messages to girls than boys to ensure girls are aware of what is expected of both women and men within a patriarchal system. These restrictive messages may also be more salient to women, given that they serve to maintain their subordination (Becker & Swim, 2011).

Unexpectedly, I did not find support for my hypothesis that young men would be more likely than women to report restrictive gender messaging from their peers. In general, women's peer groups have been more likely to challenge patriarchy (Anderson, 2021; Lewis et al., 2018; Pratto & Stewart, 2014). Nonetheless, researchers have noted how some men's peer groups have sought to resist the gender

status quo (e.g., Harris & Harper, 2014; Hurtado & Sinha, 2016; Rogers et al., 2020), which may partly result from less restrictive gender messaging.

Interestingly, Mexican-heritage college students with nonbinary gender identities reported the least frequent gender messaging from their familial peers. Perhaps nonbinary youths select peer systems that are more encouraging of flexibility in gender (e.g., Hailey et al., 2020).

### **Culture and Development Intersect: Familial Peers**

Families and peers are generally considered distinct microsystems (e.g., Smetana et al., 2015). However, I sought to bridge familial and peer systems by separately considering familial and non-familial peers. Mexican-heritage families often encompass a broad network of relatives due to strong familial cultural values and experiences with migration and structural inequality (Baca Zinn & Wells, 2000; Bermúdez & Mancini, 2013; Parke & Buriel, 2006; Van Hook & Glick, 2007). These networks present youth with the opportunity for a wider range of familial socialization sources beyond only parents. Broad family networks can be considered based on their developmental groups, specifically of older relatives and relatives within one's peer group (e.g., cousins, siblings).

The current study revealed that non-familial peers were described as conveying more restrictive gender messages than familial peers. This is contrary to prior work that indicated youth from immigrant families tended to perceive their relatives as more traditionally oriented than their peers (Schroeder & Bámaca-Colbert, 2019). This points to a greater need to understand how diverse youth

perceive the different systems within families. The lower frequency of restrictive gender messages attributed to familial peers may also be explained by the time youth spent with familial peers. It may be that these Mexican-heritage youth spent more time with parents or older caregivers at home and non-familial peers at school compared to their familial peers. Greater time spent with these sources may have provided greater opportunities for more frequent gender messaging. Importantly, however, despite the lower frequency of messaging, the gender messaging from familial peers appeared to be the most impactful.

Familial peers emerged as a consistent predictor of current sexism above older relatives and non-familial peers. Specifically, more frequent restrictive gender messages from familial peers were linked to greater hostile and benevolent sexism. In contrast, restrictive messages from older relatives (although more frequently reported) did not predict sexism. More frequent messages from non-familial peers predicted greater benevolent sexism but not hostile sexism (despite also being more frequently reported). In socialization literature, older parents and caretakers (e.g., grandparents) often represent familial socialization (Smetana et al., 2015). While older relatives are indeed important sources of information, the findings revealed that older relatives were not experienced as impactful to these Mexican-heritage college youth's sexist attitudes. Similarly, non-familial peers reflect another influential system that is proposed to become more impactful as youth get older (Smetana et al., 2015). However, the results revealed that non-familial peers were not as consistently linked to Mexican-heritage youth's current sexist beliefs as were familial peers.

Many Mexican-heritage youth may be particularly influenced by familial peers because these relationships consist of a shared familial history and a shared generational orientation (Demo et al., 2000). Although both systems are influential, older relatives and non-familial peers may be less relatable than are familial peers. Older relatives may be perceived as less generationally similar, whereas non-familial peers may clash with familial cultures (Nieri & Bermudez-Parsai, 2014; Schroeder & Bámaca-Colbert, 2019; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2009). This latter premise is supported by the finding that indicated greater restrictive gender messages from non-familial peers were linked to a greater likelihood of perceiving More US Cultural Sexism. It appeared that non-familial peers acted as representatives of US culture rather than Mexican culture. When Mexican-heritage youth heard traditional messages from peers outside of their families, it may have illustrated that US-American culture encompasses sexism. Thus, familial peers may be most relatable for many Mexican-heritage youth that value family but that are also navigating generational and social changes. Qualitative work has indeed noted the importance of familial peers in youths' learning about gender (Hurtado, 2003; Hurtado & Sinha, 2016).

### **Perceptions of Cultural Sexism**

Considering macrosystem processes at the microlevel is important to illuminating a holistic portrait of development (Rogers et al., 2021). At the macrolevel, societies convey widespread narratives that can create expectations for cultural groups (McLean & Syed, 2016). Scholarly work has highlighted a narrative

that Mexican culture is characterized by restrictive gender values, especially respective to US-American culture (Cowan, 2017; Roschelle, 1999). I investigated this macrolevel process at the microlevel by exploring how Mexican heritage youth perceive cultural sexism norms. Findings revealed that many Mexican-heritage youth generally perceived either Similar Cultural Sexism or More Mexican Cultural Sexism.

The Similar Cultural Sexism group suggests that many Mexican-heritage college youths adopt alternative narratives about the shared patriarchal roots between cultures. For instance, the following young women explicitly made mention of historical foundations:

Both countries have a history of degrading and mistreating women[...]

Women are always historically oppressed and that is the main similarity I see be perpetuated[...]

*-- 25-year-old young woman at a NCA university; 2<sup>nd</sup> generation; 4<sup>th</sup> college year*

They both expect women to sacrifice everything for the well being of a man.

Mexican sexism is literally european [sic] sexism [because] of colonialism.

*-- 20-year-old young woman at a NCA university; 2<sup>nd</sup> generation; 2<sup>nd</sup> college year*

Interestingly, among all responses coded as Similar Cultural Sexism, none described restrictive gender roles as nonexistent in both cultures; instead, they all acknowledged sexism existed. Also, as expected, those that were further in their college studies were

more likely to perceive similar cultural sexism. For instance, one 5<sup>th</sup> year student recognized different cultural narratives:

I think it is funny that the US is thought to be such an advanced country. We all know the standards woman are held to in Mexico. And it is just the same here, only people actually have a voice to speak out even if not much change happens[...] no matter what country [you're] in or what your culture is these gender roles play a similar role in so many people.

*-- 23-year-old young woman at a SCA university; 2<sup>nd</sup> generation, 5<sup>th</sup> college year*

This finding suggests that college can indeed be a space for learning more about gender and cultural diversity (Azmitia et al., 2008; Bowen & Pérez, 2002; Nuñez, 2011). These experiences can then support more critical evaluation of master narratives.

The More Mexican Cultural Sexism group suggests that many Mexican-heritage college youths' views may align with the master narrative. Contrary to the Similar Cultural Sexism group, these responses varied in whether they viewed sexism as existent in the United States (albeit less prevalent relative to Mexican culture) or nearly nonexistent in the United States. These variations can be seen, respectively, in the following responses:

[...] Mexican culture is more traditional, and US-American culture does have a lot of traditional gender role components as well, but I see it more in

Mexican culture rather than US-American. (Traditional meaning woman not working, just providing, being more religious, etc.) [sic]

-- *20-year-old young man at a TX university; 2<sup>nd</sup> generation; 3<sup>rd</sup> college year*

The only thing that I have noticed about the differences in roles between US-American culture and Mexican culture is that American culture is just the right way to do things. There is a lot more equality and freedom for both genders

-- *19-year-old young woman at a SCA university; 2<sup>nd</sup> generation; 1<sup>st</sup> college year*

Importantly, many of the Mexican-heritage college youth in this study also described personal experiences within their heritage culture that contributed to their perspectives. These responses suggest that perceptions may develop not only from macrolevel messaging but from meaningful, personal experiences, as is illustrated in this young woman's observations:

I've seen that in US American culture that their roles are not so based on a macho man[...]I see the wives look worry free and they get to do what they like to do[...] In a Mexican household, the man should be in charge of everything[...] Personally, I have never seen my dad clean after himself. The only chore I have seen him do is cut the yard. Everything else was done by my mom, me, and my sisters. Unfortunately, to this day (although I have moved out), I still come home to chores, building my mom's furniture, and helping her run errands to make her life a little bit easier.

*-- 27-year-old young woman at a TX university; 2<sup>nd</sup> generation, 4<sup>th</sup> college year*

Notably, the presence of master narratives may shape the impact of these personal experiences. When a dominant culture is afforded more nuance in its' characteristics, then experiences with sexism may be afforded more flexibility in the extent to which they represent the broader culture. Minoritized cultures characterized by static narratives may not be afforded this flexibility.

Only five participants were coded in to the More US Cultural Sexism group, and nearly all of their responses described respect for women as less common in US-American culture. These views may tap into marianismo and caballerismo values that reflect women as a source of familial strength (Castillo et al., 2010) and men as chivalrous (Arciniega et al., 2008). For instance, a young woman wrote:

[...] Women in mexican [sic] culture I feel are more valued and respected as the matriarchal figure in home [which] teaches you to respect the women outside of home. In american [sic] culture the patriarch rules the home and therefore [can] leave the home feeling that they hold more power to the women they interact with.

*-- 19-year-old young woman at a NCA university; 2<sup>nd</sup> generation; 2<sup>nd</sup> college year*

To these participants, these values appear to be evidence of positive rather than restrictive gender expectations. This aligns with prior studies that suggest some components of caballerismo and marianismo may be seen as sources of strength



among Mexican-heritage youth (Gutierrez & Leaper, 2022; Piña-Watson et al., 2016). More research should investigate if and how these values function as sources of strength and whether they reproduce complementary gender roles (see Chrisler et al., 2014; Piña-Watson et al., 2016; Hendy et al., 2022).

### **Interlinking Socialization, Cultural Perceptions, Ethnic Identity, and Current Sexism**

The current dissertation sought to test the links between restrictive messages, cultural sexism perceptions, and dimensions of ethnic identity toward understanding sexism endorsement. I focused on dimensions of ethnic identity that reflected the centrality of one's Mexican identity to their sense of self and how personally important it was to be typical of one's group (Wilson & Leaper, 2016). Contrary to hypotheses, Mexican-heritage college youths' current sexist attitudes were not dependent on the interlinking of these factors; instead, they were independently linked to sexist attitudes across the sample. Also, greater familial gender messaging did not predict a greater likelihood of More Mexican Cultural Sexism perceptions.

However, these patterns may be a result of the underlying similarity in cultural sexism perceptions. As reviewed earlier, the two largest types of perceptions were either of Similar Cultural Sexism or More Mexican Cultural Sexism. Across both of these groups, participants agreed that sexism was pervasive in Mexican culture and only differed in whether they thought this was at similar or greater levels compared to US-American culture. Thus, it may be that the link between perceptions and ethnic identity emerged consistently across participants because the sample was

overall consistent in their perceptions of sexism as a component of Mexican culture. This premise may also explain why greater messages from relatives, who could act as representatives of their culture, were not more strongly linked to either perception group.

In this sense, the link between perceptions and typicality was generally supported. A greater valuing of Mexican typicality was linked to greater endorsement of both hostile and benevolent sexism. This finding underscores the importance of perceptions about cultural norms. If Mexican-heritage youth believe that sexism is an important component of Mexican culture, they may come to believe that aligning with these beliefs is expected as a cultural member. Sexism is indeed a component of patriarchal societies. However, the patriarchy within minoritized cultures has been used to portray relative US-American gender egalitarianism and to paint a static portrait of minoritized cultures (Cowan, 2017; Hurtado & Sinha, 2016). For instance, Hurtado and Sinha (2016) recounted how, in the United States, early scholarship and popular culture pathologized Mexican masculinity through the label of machismo while a similar hegemonic masculinity of White men went unlabeled (until the recent advent of the term “toxic masculinity”). This process appeared in the following response:

I think that American culture is less sexist than Mexican culture. The word machismo which means aggressive man pride, does not even exist in English which says enough[...]

*-- 19-year-old young woman at a SCA university; 2<sup>nd</sup> generation; 1<sup>st</sup> college year*

Thus, many Mexican-heritage youths are contending with narratives of Mexican culture that hides the sexism within US-American culture and limits the diversity of Mexican culture.

Notably, a lack of cultural diversity appeared in regard to feminist activism. Some participants used the presence of feminist activism as an indicator of social progress; however, these were solely referenced to explain greater equality in US-American culture. For instance, two young men shared:

[...] The man provides and the woman cares. This is what Mexican [sic] culture presents to children. The term machista is also a word used to describe men who play a big part in what "role" society has given people. Contrary to American culture [where] there are so many more movements that want to end social injustices[...] American society has always been a big advocate for equal rights.

*-- 19-year-old young man at a TX university; 2<sup>nd</sup> generation; 1<sup>st</sup> college year*

[...] US-American culture has had a lot more successful feminist movements[...] Mexican cultures still have the machismo ideals unlike US-American which has faded[...] with the rise of feminist movements.

*-- 19-year-old young man at a NCA university; 2<sup>nd</sup> generation; 1<sup>st</sup> college year*

Feminist movements are an important part of Mexican cultural history both in Mexico and the United States (Anzaldúa, 1987; Aceves, 2013; Lamas et al., 1995);

however, this history is not represented in master narratives. From this absence may come a belief that feminism is incompatible with Mexican culture. Thus, sharing the history of feminism in Mexican culture can disentangle these perceived incompatibilities and provide more diversity of what it means to be typical of Mexican culture.

Interestingly, for these Mexican-heritage college youth, holding their Mexican identity central to their sense of self was protective against embracing sexism. Generally, these Mexican-heritage college youth rejected sexism (indicated by the perception responses and low sexism average). Thus, those that reported a high centrality of their Mexican identity may be motivated to disentangle aspects of their culture that reflect patriarchy from other positive aspects. Indeed, many Mexican-heritage youth have found ways to reject restrictive gender values without compromising their cultural immersion (Gutierrez & Leaper, 2022; Hurtado, 2003).

### **Demographic Characteristics and Sexism Endorsement**

Consistent with prior work, Mexican-heritage college women were less likely than men to endorse hostile sexism (e.g., Chrisler et al., 2014; Glick et al., 2004). Mexican-heritage college youth with nonbinary gender identities were also less likely than men to endorse hostile sexism. These patterns can be attributed to the antagonism towards non-masculine gender expressions underlying hostile sexism (Barreto & Doyle, 2023). Notably, the current study is the first to consider gender differences in sexism with a sample of Mexican-heritage nonbinary individuals.

No gender differences emerged regarding benevolent sexism, which is consistent with some prior work (e.g., Bermúdez et al., 2015). Benevolent sexism is oftentimes not recognized as a form of sexism (Connor et al., 2016; Kilianski & Rudman, 1998). Aspects of benevolent sexism may also be perceived as reflecting positive tenants of caballerismo, marianismo, and familismo (Chrisler et al., 2014; Piña-Watson et al., 2016; Hendy et al., 2022). Thus, Mexican-heritage women and nonbinary individuals may be less likely to strongly reject these values.

Finally, some prior work has contended that a strong Mexican cultural orientation is linked to greater traditional gender values (e.g., Su et al., 2010). However, the current study did not find consistent or systematic generational differences to support this premise.

### **Limitations and Future Directions**

The present dissertation provided several new insights toward understanding the development of sexist attitudes from a cultural perspective and pointed to directions for future research. Firstly, I focused on the experiences of Mexican-heritage youth in college, given that college contexts may introduce critical social views (e.g., Azmitia, 2008) and that emerging adults often engage in deep identify reflection (Arnett, 2015). This setting may have contributed towards less variation in cultural sexism perceptions. Thus, future research can explore these processes among non-college samples and diverse age groups to address three aims to identify: (1) a wider range of cultural sexism perceptions, (2) whether these processes are similar in non-college and non-emerging adult samples and (3) different sites besides college

that encourage critical reflection on identity and culture, such as social media (e.g., Manago et al., 2022).

An important contribution of the current study is the gender-diverse sample that was represented; however, it is important to note that the sample of nonbinary gendered youths was relatively small and collapsed across a variety of identities (e.g., nonbinary, agender, fluid). Thus, future research can engage in more targeted recruitment of gender-diverse participants. This direction could identify unique processes of sexism development or rejection among youths whose identities challenge the inherent binary assumptions of sexism (Barreto & Doyle, 2023).

Also, I tested gender messages that youth recalled while growing up. Because the data was based on recollections, it is unclear to what extent these memories reflected actual experiences. Research has indicated our memory of experiences, regardless of the actual experience, is impactful to our sense of self (Conway, 2005; Furman & Collibee, 2018). Nonetheless, future research can use observational or daily diary methods for a portrait of gender messaging as it occurs. This future work can also account for other factors not tested in the current study, such as considering the time youth spend with different sources. In a future study, I plan to explore additional qualitative data collected that asked youth to describe experiences in resisting gender messages to better understand how Mexican-heritage youth navigate socialization experiences.

Finally, the current dissertation focused on the perception of the level of sexism within cultures. In a future extension of the current dissertation, I plan to

conduct further qualitative analyses into the themes Mexican-heritage youth convey when describing their perceptions about cultural sexism (e.g., describing personal experiences, referencing cultural history).

## **Conclusion**

My dissertation applied a cultural framework to understand Mexican-heritage college youth's negotiation of sexist attitudes and identified several advancements. Firstly, the current study suggests the importance of considering cultural and developmental processes in tandem to identify relevant socialization sources, such as familial peers. Secondly, I considered macrolevel processes at the microlevel (e.g., Rogers et al., 2020) and observed that many Mexican-heritage college youths are critical of sexism and negotiate both master and alternative narratives of cultural sexism. Finally, the present research revealed the role of ethnic identity in the acceptance and rejection of sexism. Importantly, Mexican-heritage youths' beliefs about what is typical of their culture can shape their acceptance or rejection of sexism – highlighting a need to address master narratives that overshadow the diversity of Mexican culture (Aceves, 2013; Lamas et al., 1995; Hurtado & Sinha, 2016). Further, my findings indicated that embracing one's Mexican culture can even be protective against embracing sexism. In sum, my dissertation contributes new insights into how Mexican-heritage youth come to reject or embrace sexism when considering various developmental processes. From these findings, we can work to promote gender-egalitarian beliefs and positive ethnic identities in ways that tap into youths'

passionate perspectives and desires for change, as illustrated by the following young woman:

I remember after having learned about gender norms in US-American culture, I thought about gender norms in Mexican culture and I realized they were similar. This idea that women had to be confined to the kitchen, had to be the ones taking care of the children, and essentially not having their own lives infuriated me. I wasn't really surprised that these gender norms were universal given that coloniality has played a huge role in creating hegemonic systems throughout the Americas and has also enforced the gender norms that we have today, but I was still angry. It's important to me because I realize how much work has to be done to dismantle these norms and change the perceptions of many.

*-- 18-year-old young woman at a NCA university; 2<sup>nd</sup> generation; 1<sup>st</sup> college year*



## Appendix

### Dissertation Survey Measures

#### Perception of Sexism in Mexican and US-American Cultures

Prompt adapted from McLean et al. (2017)

Think about the gender roles that exist in US-American and Mexican culture. Gender roles refers to the roles that women and men should fulfill in society.

Do you perceive more similarities or more differences regarding gender roles between US-American and Mexican culture?

- a. More similarities
- b. More differences

If similarities...

1. Please think of an important personal memory that highlights the similarities in gender roles between US-American culture and Mexican culture that you've noticed/experienced.

Please take your time, and describe your memory of the event, including where you were, whom you were with, what happened, your reaction, the reaction of anyone else involved in the event, and why it is important to you.

If differences...

1. Please think of an important personal memory that highlights the differences in gender roles between US-American culture and Mexican culture that you've noticed/experienced.

Please take your time, and describe your memory of the event, including where you were, whom you were with, what happened, your reaction, the reaction of anyone else involved in the event, and why it is important to you.

#### Gender Messages Socialization

Format adapted from Epstein & Ward (2011) and Gutierrez et al. (2019).

Items informed by existing gender values and sexism scales and literature, primarily: Arciniega et al., 2008; Castillo et al., 2010; Hurtado, 2003; Mirandé, 1996; Glick & Fiske, 1996

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all	Very little or not very often	Moderately	Much or very often	A lot or extremely often

*Older Relatives:*

Please indicate the extent to which you have received the following messages from **older relatives** currently or while growing up.

**Older relatives** can include any relatives you view as family and consider to be in any age group older than your own age group.

Please consider messages that were directly said to you or messages that you just knew existed without having to ask.

1. Men should be the protectors in relationships with women
2. Women are more emotionally mature than men.
3. Women and men need each other in their lives romantically to be fulfilled.
4. Women try to use relationships to start controlling men.
5. Men should have more power and control than women.
6. Men are just naturally better leaders than women.
7. Men should prove to women and other men that they are manly.
8. Men need to be chivalrous gentlemen to women.
9. Men need to be gentlemen to everyone, not just women.
10. Women, instead of men, should be the source of strength for their family.
11. It is especially important that women are virginal and pure, but this is not as important for men.
12. Women should put men's or their family's needs before their own, but this is not as important for men.

13. Women should try to keep the peace by not speaking against men or their family, but this is not as important for men.
14. Women, instead of men, should be the ones that make sure the rest of their family is religious.
15. Women need to be controlled by men because women can't be trusted.

*Familial Peers:*

Please indicate the extent to which you have received the following messages from **similar-aged relatives** currently or while growing up.

**Similar-aged relatives** can include any relatives you view as family and consider to be in your same age group.

Please consider messages that were directly said to you or messages that you just knew existed without having to ask.

1. Men should be the protectors in relationships with women
2. Women are more emotionally mature than men.
3. Women and men need each other in their lives romantically to be fulfilled.
4. Women try to use relationships to start controlling men.
5. Men should have more power and control than women.
6. Men are just naturally better leaders than women.
7. Men should prove to women and other men that they are manly.
8. Men need to be chivalrous gentlemen to women.

9. Men need to be gentlemen to everyone, not just women.
10. Women, instead of men, should be the source of strength for their family.
11. It is especially important that women are virginal and pure, but this is not as important for men.
12. Women should put men's or their family' needs before their own, but this is not as important for men.
13. Women should try to keep the peace by not speaking against men or their family, but this is not as important for men.
14. Women, instead of men, should be the ones that make sure the rest of their family is religious.
15. Women need to be controlled by men because women can't be trusted.

*Non-Familial Peers:*

Please indicate the extent to which you have received the following messages from **non-familial peers** currently or while growing up.

**Non-familial peers** can include any peers (e.g., friends, classmates, coworkers) in your same age group that you do not consider to be a part of your family.

Please consider messages that were directly said to you or messages that you just knew existed without having to ask.

1. Men should be the protectors in relationships with women
2. Women are more emotionally mature than men.

3. Women and men need each other in their lives romantically to be fulfilled.
4. Women try to use relationships to start controlling men.
5. Men should have more power and control than women.
6. Men are just naturally better leaders than women.
7. Men should prove to women and other men that they are manly.
8. Men need to be chivalrous gentlemen to women.
9. Men need to be gentlemen to everyone, not just women.
10. Women, instead of men, should be the source of strength for their family.
11. It is especially important that women are virginal and pure, but this is not as important for men.
12. Women should put men's or their family' needs before their own, but this is not as important for men.
13. Women should try to keep the peace by not speaking against men or their family, but this is not as important for men.
14. Women, instead of men, should be the ones that make sure the rest of their family is religious.
15. Women need to be controlled by men because women can't be trusted.
16. How would you describe the ethnic demographics of the non-familial peers you had in mind when responding to the above questions?
  - a. Not very diverse, mostly one ethnic group (list which one: \_\_\_\_\_)
  - b. Slightly diverse, mostly two ethnic groups (list which two: \_\_\_\_\_)

c. Somewhat diverse, mostly three ethnic groups (list which three:

\_\_\_\_\_)

d. Very diverse, several ethnic groups (list which ethnic groups:

\_\_\_\_\_)

### Ethnic Identity

Multidimensional Measure of Ethnic Identity (Wilson & Leaper, 2016)

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all	Very little or not very often	Moderately	Much or very often	A lot or extremely often

#### *Centrality:*

The following series of questions are about your ethnicity or your ethnic group (e.g., Mexican, Mexican-American) and how you feel about it or react to it.

For the following statements, select the rating that is most true for you.

1. I often think about the fact that I am Mexican or Mexican American
2. Overall, being Mexican or Mexican American has a lot to do with how I feel about myself
3. In general, being Mexican or Mexican American is an important part of my self-image
4. The fact that I am Mexican or Mexican American often enters my mind

*Typicality Importance:*

For the following statements, select the rating that is most true for you.

1. I feel like I'm just like all the other Mexicans or Mexican Americans
2. I have a lot in common with other Mexicans or Mexican Americans
3. I think that I am a good example of what it means to be a Mexican or Mexican American
4. I feel that the things I like to do in my spare time are similar to what most Mexicans or Mexican Americans are good at
5. I feel that the kinds of things I'm good at are similar to what most Mexicans or Mexican Americans are good at
6. I feel that my personality is similar to most Mexicans or Mexican Americans personalities

Ambivalent Sexism

Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (Glick & Fiske, 2001)

1	2	3	4	5	6
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree

*Benevolent Sexism:*

Below are a series of statements concerning women and men and their relationships in contemporary society.



For statements that refer to what men should do, interpret these statements as more important to be done for men in comparison to women.

For statements that refer to what women should do, interpret these statements as more important to be done for women in comparison to men.

Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with each of the following statements.

1. No matter how accomplished he is, a man is not truly complete as a person unless he has the love of a woman.
2. In a disaster, women should be rescued before men.
3. People are not truly happy in life without being romantically involved with a member of the other sex.
4. Many women have a quality of purity that few men possess.
5. Women should be cherished and protected by men.
6. Every man should have a woman whom he adores.
7. Men are incomplete without women.
8. A good woman should be set on a pedestal by her man.
9. Women, compared to men, tend to have a superior moral sensibility.
10. Men should be willing to sacrifice their own well-being in order to provide financially for the women in their lives.
11. Women, as compared to men, tend to have a more refined sense of culture and good taste.

*Hostile Sexism:*

Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with each of the following statements.

For statements that refer to what men should do, interpret these statements as more important to be done for men in comparison to women.

For statements that refer to what women should do, interpret these statements as more important to be done for women in comparison to men.

1. Many women are actually seeking special favors, such as hiring policies that favor them over men, under the guise of asking for “equality.”
2. Most women interpret innocent remarks or acts as being sexist.
3. Women are too easily offended.
4. Feminists are seeking for women to have more power than men.
5. Most women fail to appreciate fully all that men do for them.
6. Women seek to gain power by getting control over men.
7. Women exaggerate problems they have at work.
8. Once a woman gets a man to commit to her, she usually tried to put him on a tight leash.
9. When women lose to men in a fair competition, they typically complain about being discriminated against.

10. Many women get a kick out of teasing men by seeming sexually available and then refusing male advances.

11. Feminists are making unreasonable demands of men.

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**Table 1**

*Proposed Research Questions and Corresponding Hypotheses*

Research Questions	Corresponding Hypotheses
1. Are there differences in the recalled frequency of gender messages across socialization sources and does this pattern vary by gender?	1a. Youth will report more gender messages from older relatives than from familial and non-familial peers. 1b. Young women will report more gender messages from older relatives than young men will report. 1c. Young men will report more gender messages from familial and non-familial peers than young women will report.
2. How do youth perceive cultural sexism in Mexican and US-American cultures?	2. Youth that are further along in their college studies will be most likely to perceive Similar Cultural Sexism in US-American culture and Mexican culture.
3. What is the relationship between gender messages, perception of cultural sexism, and ethnic identity centrality and typicality importance on sexism endorsement?	3a. Greater familial gender messages will predict a greater perception of Mexican culture as more sexist. 3b. Greater gender messages from older relatives, familial peers, non-familial peers will predict greater sexism endorsement. 3c. Greater perception of more Mexican cultural sexism will predict greater sexism when participants report high ethnic centrality and typicality importance.

**Table 2**

*Sample Demographics Overall and by Campus*

	Total										Southern CA University		Northern CA University		Central TX University	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
<b>Self-Reported Age</b>	19.3	3.6	19.1 <sub>a</sub>	2.1	19.5 <sub>a</sub>	1.9	22.2 <sub>a</sub>	6.6	<i>F</i> (2, 691) = 38.92, <i>p</i> < .001, <i>r</i> <sup>2</sup> = 0.10							
<b>Self-Reported Gender</b>	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	<i>χ</i> <sup>2</sup> (4, <i>N</i> = 695) = 7.83, <i>p</i> = .098, <i>φ</i> = .11			
Women	528	75.5%	145 <sub>a</sub>	72.9%	275 <sub>a</sub>	76.8%	108 <sub>a</sub>	76.1%								
Men	134	19.2%	48 <sub>a</sub>	24.1%	59 <sub>a</sub>	16.5%	27 <sub>a</sub>	19.1%								
Nonbinary gender identities	33	4.7%	5 <sub>a</sub>	2.5%	22 <sub>a</sub>	6.1%	6 <sub>a</sub>	4.3%								
Did not report	4	0.6%	1 <sub>a</sub>	0.5%	2 <sub>a</sub>	0.6%	1 <sub>a</sub>	0.7%								
<b>Year in College</b>	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	<i>χ</i> <sup>2</sup> (8, <i>N</i> = 694) = 49.43, <i>p</i> < .001, <i>φ</i> = .27							
1 <sup>st</sup> year	350	50.1%	141 <sub>a</sub>	70.9%	151 <sub>a</sub>	42.2%	58 <sub>b</sub>	40.8%								
2 <sup>nd</sup> year	163	23.3%	27 <sub>a</sub>	13.6%	102 <sub>a</sub>	28.5%	34 <sub>a</sub>	23.9%								
3 <sup>rd</sup> year	114	16.3%	20 <sub>a</sub>	10.1%	62 <sub>a</sub>	17.3%	32 <sub>a</sub>	22.5%								
4 <sup>th</sup> year	63	9.0%	10 <sub>a</sub>	5.0%	38 <sub>a</sub>	10.6%	15 <sub>a</sub>	10.6%								
5 <sup>th</sup> year	4	0.6%	1 <sub>a</sub>	0.5%	2 <sub>a</sub>	0.6%	1 <sub>a</sub>	0.7%								
Did not report/unclear	5	0.7%	0 <sub>a</sub>	0.0%	3 <sub>a</sub>	0.8%	2 <sub>a</sub>	1.4%								
<b>Generational Status</b>	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	<i>χ</i> <sup>2</sup> (6, <i>N</i> = 694) = 15.65, <i>p</i> = .016, <i>φ</i> = .15							
1 <sup>st</sup> generation immigrant	39	5.6%	3 <sub>a</sub>	1.5%	24 <sub>a</sub>	6.7%	12 <sub>c</sub>	8.5%								
2 <sup>nd</sup> generation	532	76.1%	169 <sub>a</sub>	84.9%	258 <sub>a</sub>	72.1%	105 <sub>c</sub>	73.9%								
3 <sup>rd</sup> generation	102	14.6%	23 <sub>a</sub>	11.6%	60 <sub>a</sub>	16.8%	19 <sub>a</sub>	13.4%								
4 <sup>th</sup> generation or more	23	3.3%	4 <sub>a</sub>	2.0%	14 <sub>a</sub>	3.9%	5 <sub>a</sub>	3.5%								
Did not report	3	0.4%	0 <sub>a</sub>	0.0%	2 <sub>a</sub>	0.6%	1 <sub>a</sub>	0.7%								
<b>Primary Caregiver Highest Level of Education</b>	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	<i>χ</i> <sup>2</sup> (12, <i>N</i> = 691) = 18.83, <i>p</i> = .093, <i>φ</i> = .17							
Elementary school	176	25.2%	57 <sub>a</sub>	28.6%	79 <sub>a</sub>	22.1%	40 <sub>a</sub>	28.2%								
Some high school	132	18.9%	39 <sub>a</sub>	19.6%	57 <sub>a</sub>	15.9%	36 <sub>a</sub>	25.4%								
High school graduate/GED	133	19.0%	35 <sub>a</sub>	17.6%	73 <sub>a</sub>	20.4%	25 <sub>a</sub>	17.6%								
Some college	136	19.5%	37 <sub>a</sub>	18.6%	73 <sub>a</sub>	20.4%	26 <sub>a</sub>	18.3%								
Bachelor's degree	78	11.2%	21 <sub>a</sub>	10.6%	48 <sub>a</sub>	13.4%	9 <sub>a</sub>	6.3%								
Some graduate school	6	0.9%	0 <sub>a</sub>	0.0%	5 <sub>a</sub>	1.4%	1 <sub>a</sub>	0.7%								
Graduate degree	30	4.3%	8 <sub>a</sub>	4.0%	19 <sub>a</sub>	5.3%	3 <sub>a</sub>	2.1%								
Did not report	8	1.1%	2 <sub>a</sub>	1.0%	4 <sub>a</sub>	1.1%	2 <sub>a</sub>	1.4%								

**Table 3***All Measures in Survey Presentation Order*

	Construct	In Dissertation?	# Items
1	Adapted Modern Sexism: US-American or Mexican (counterbalanced)	No	7
2	Adapted Modern Sexism: US-American or Mexican (counterbalanced)	No	7
3	Gender Messages: Older Relatives	Yes	16 2 (OE)
4	Preparation for Sexism	No	5
5	Gender Messages: Same-Aged Relatives (Familial Peers)	Yes	16 2 (OE)
6	Ethnic Identity: Centrality	Yes	4
7	Ethnic Identity: Typicality Importance	Yes	6
8	Ethnic Identity: Felt Typicality	No	6
9	Ethnic Identity: Exploration & Achievement	No	6
10	American Identity: Achievement	No	3
11	Cultural Engagement: Language Use	No	6
12	Cultural Engagement: Behaviors	No	4
13	Cultural Engagement: Same-Ethnic Peer Affiliations	No	3
14	White American Marginality	No	4
15	Mexican Marginality	No	4
16	Mexican American Marginality	No	4
17	Gender Messages: Non-Familial Peers	Yes	17 1 (OE)
18	Gender Centrality	No	4
19	Ambivalent Sexism	Yes	22
20	Marianismo	No	19
21	Machismo	No	15
22	Sexism Experiences	No	10
23	Social Inequality Importance	No	4
24	Demographics	Yes	14
25	Primary Caregiver Demographics	No	6
26	OE Culture and Gender Experiences	No	2
27	OE Similarities/Differences Culture Perceptions	Yes	1
28	Violence-Against-Women-Supportive Attitudes	No	4

*Note.* OE = Open-ended

Table 4

*Zero-Order Correlations and Descriptive Statistics of Quantitative Measures*

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Older Relatives' Restrictive Gender Messages	--						
2. Familial Peers' Restrictive Gender Messages	.33 <sup>****</sup>	--					
3. Non-Familial Peers' Restrictive Gender Messages	.28 <sup>****</sup>	.44 <sup>****</sup>	--				
4. Ethnic Identity Centrality	.14 <sup>****</sup>	.05	.05	--			
5. Ethnic Typicality Importance	.13 <sup>****</sup>	.13 <sup>****</sup>	.10 <sup>*</sup>	.45 <sup>****</sup>	--		
6. Hostile Sexism	-.03	.24 <sup>****</sup>	.14 <sup>****</sup>	-.23 <sup>****</sup>	.02	--	
7. Benevolent Sexism	.03	.24 <sup>****</sup>	.17 <sup>****</sup>	-0.06	.14 <sup>****</sup>	.52 <sup>****</sup>	--
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>
	2.82	1.06	1.99	0.86	2.21	0.93	3.64
							<i>SD</i>
							0.97
							2.4
							0.86
							2.1
							1.03
							2.81
							1.00

\*  $p < .05$ ; \*\*\*\*  $p < .001$

**Table 5**

*Gender Messages Exploratory Factor Analyses Coefficients*

	#	Older Relatives			#	Familial Peers		#	Non-Familial Peers		
		1	2	3		1	2		1	2	3
<b>Restrictive Gender Messages</b>											
Men should have more power and control than women.	5	<b>.88</b>	.00	-.08	5	<b>.86</b>	-.18	5	<b>.88</b>	-.10	-.02
Women should try to keep the peace by not speaking against men or their family, but this is not as important for men.	13	<b>.84</b>	-.14	.05	13	<b>.77</b>	.03	13	<b>.71</b>	-.07	.27
Men are just naturally better leaders than women.	6	<b>.81</b>	.01	-.08	6	<b>.83</b>	-.13	6	<b>.87</b>	.01	-.11
Women should put men's or their family' needs before their own, but this is not as important for men.	12	<b>.81</b>	-.12	.11	12	<b>.79</b>	.03	12	<b>.76</b>	-.06	.20
Men should prove to women and other men that they are manly.	7	<b>.80</b>	.12	-.04	7	<b>.75</b>	.01	7	<b>.80</b>	.18	-.13
It is especially important that women are virginal and pure, but this is not as important for men.	11	<b>.80</b>	.01	.00	11	<b>.76</b>	.01	11	<b>.80</b>	-.05	.02
Women need to be controlled by men because women can't be trusted.	16	<b>.78</b>	-.04	-.02	16	<b>.84</b>	-.22	16	<b>.77</b>	-.14	.18
Men should be the protectors in relationships with women	1	<b>.65</b>	.43	-.08	1	<b>.57</b>	.34	1	<b>.63</b>	.47	-.11
Women try to use relationships to start controlling men.	4	<b>.57</b>	.01	.15	4	<b>.64</b>	.02	4	<b>.74</b>	-.06	.06
Women and men need each other in their lives romantically to be fulfilled.	3	<b>.53</b>	<b>.40</b>	-.07	3	<b>.56</b>	.27	3	<b>.54</b>	.27	.09
Women, instead of men, should be the ones that make sure the rest of their family is religious.	15	<b>.58</b>	-.05	.30	15	<b>.64</b>	.09	15	<b>.37</b>	-.07	<b>.67</b>
<b>Other Items</b>											
Women, instead of men, should be the source of strength for their family.	10	-.06	-.05	<b>.91</b>	10	.31	<b>.41</b>	10	.05	<b>.27</b>	<b>.75</b>
Women are naturally more emotionally mature than men.	2	.31	.20	<b>.44</b>	2	.34	<b>.46</b>	2	.34	<b>.51</b>	-.10
Men need to be respectful men to everyone, not just women.	9	-. <b>58</b>	<b>.53</b>	.21	9	-.26	<b>.83</b>	9	.04	<b>.80</b>	.04
Men need to be chivalrous gentlemen to women	8	.00	<b>.86</b>	.03	8	.03	<b>.77</b>	8	-.28	<b>.75</b>	.22

Note. Coefficients at or above .40 are indicated in boldface.

**Table 6**

*Sample Responses of Coded Perceptions of Cultural Sexism*

<b>More US Cultural Sexism</b>	<b>Similar Cultural Sexism</b>	<b>More Mexican Cultural Sexism</b>
<p>"I think the views of gender roles in men and women are similar in the home life. For example women in both american and mexican households are caregivers and homemakers- however the differences are outside of the home. Women in mexican culture I feel are more valued and respected as the matriarchal figure in home teaches you to respect the women outside of home. In american culture the patriarch rules the home and therefore ken leave the home feeling that they hold more power to the women they interact with."</p>	<p>"I cannot recall a memory, but collectively, women are exploited in both cultures. The exploitation of women and girls, as well as domestic violence, are perpetuated by dangerous molds in both cultures. Being born into US American culture or Mexican culture absolutely does not mean that it is innate to harm women, as that is not what any culture stands for. But sexism and violence against women are absolutely prevalent in both."</p>	<p>"US-American cultures seem less sexist/machismo than the Mexican culture. In the Mexican culture, it is common for the wife to stay home with the kids and is expected to cook the husband lunch and dinner everyday. It is rare for them to work because they stay home to take care of the kids. In the American culture, I don't see this, usually both parents work."</p>
<p>19-year-old woman, NCA, 2nd college year, 2nd generation in US</p>	<p>19-year-old woman, SCA, 1st college year, 2nd generation in US</p>	<p>20-year-old woman, TX, 2nd college year, 2nd generation in US</p>
<p>"I have noticed that throughout Mexican culture, males treat females with far more respect opposed to the US-American culture."</p>	<p>"In both cultures women are expected to start a family and become a stay at home mother. Toxic masculinity is highly prevalent in both cultures."</p>	<p>"I think that American culture is less sexist than Mexican culture. The word machismo which means aggressive man pride, does not even exist in English which says enough. In Mexican culture the woman is more submissive and does anything to please her man and women in America are more outspoken and wouldn't take that."</p>
<p>18-year-old woman, SCA, 1st college year, 2nd generation in US</p>	<p>18-year-old woman, SCA, 1st college year, 2nd generation in US</p>	<p>19-year-old woman, SCA, 1<sup>st</sup> college year, 2nd generation in US</p>

*Note:* All quotes are verbatim to the participants written responses. SCA = southern California university student. NCA = northern California university student. TX = Texas university student.

Table 7

*Descriptive Statistics and Preliminary Analyses of Campus Recruitment on Key Measures*

	Southern California University		Northern California University		Central Texas University		$\chi^2(4, N = 517) = 5.35, p = .254, \phi = .10$
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	
Older Relatives' Restrictive Messages	2.94 <sub>a</sub>	0.85	2.99 <sub>a</sub>	0.81	3.01 <sub>a</sub>	0.80	$F(2, 692) = 0.39, p = .681, \eta^2 = .00$
Familial Peers' Restrictive Messages	2.29 <sub>a</sub>	0.74	2.19 <sub>a</sub>	0.71	2.49 <sub>b</sub>	0.81	$F(2, 692) = 8.02, p < .001, \eta^2 = .02$
Non-Familial Peers' Restrictive Messages	2.49 <sub>a</sub>	0.77	2.39 <sub>a</sub>	0.78	2.60 <sub>b</sub>	0.87	$F(2, 692) = 3.64, p = .027, \eta^2 = .01$
Ethnic Identity Centrality	3.47 <sub>a</sub>	0.98	3.73 <sub>b</sub>	0.95	3.65 <sub>a, b</sub>	0.98	$F(2, 692) = 4.69, p = .009, \eta^2 = .01$
Ethnic Typicality Importance	2.38 <sub>a</sub>	0.90	2.37 <sub>a</sub>	0.81	2.49 <sub>a</sub>	0.87	$F(2, 692) = 1.06, p = .346, \eta^2 = .00$
Hostile Sexism	2.34 <sub>a</sub>	1.06	1.81 <sub>b</sub>	0.89	2.54 <sub>a</sub>	1.09	$F(2, 692) = 35.37, p < .001, \eta^2 = .09$
Benevolent Sexism	3.04 <sub>a</sub>	0.92	2.56 <sub>b</sub>	0.94	3.15 <sub>a</sub>	1.08	$F(2, 692) = 25.92, p < .001, \eta^2 = .07$
Perception of Cultural Sexism	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	
More US Cultural Sexism	3 <sub>a</sub>	2.1%	2 <sub>a</sub>	0.7%	0 <sub>a</sub>	0.0%	
Similar Cultural Sexism	74 <sub>a</sub>	51.4%	157 <sub>a</sub>	55.5%	42 <sub>a</sub>	46.7%	
More Mexican Cultural Sexism	67 <sub>a</sub>	46.5%	124 <sub>a</sub>	43.8%	48 <sub>a</sub>	53.3%	

*Note.* Different row subscripts indicate significant differences at  $p < .05$ .

Table 8

Descriptive Statistics and Preliminary Analyses of Generational Status on Key Measures

	1 <sup>st</sup> Generation Immigrant		2 <sup>nd</sup> Generation		3 <sup>rd</sup> Generation		4 <sup>th</sup> Generation or More		
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	
Older Relatives' Restrictive Gender Messages	2.74 <sub>a</sub>	0.7	3.00 <sub>a</sub>	0.82	2.98 <sub>a</sub>	0.82	2.93 <sub>a</sub>	0.92	$F(3, 688) = 1.22, p = .302, \eta^2 = .00$
Familial Peers' Restrictive Gender Messages	2.41 <sub>a</sub>	0.77	2.25 <sub>a</sub>	0.74	2.38 <sub>a</sub>	0.75	2.30 <sub>a</sub>	0.85	$F(3, 688) = 1.23, p = .297, \eta^2 = .00$
Non-Familial Peers' Restrictive Gender Messages	2.39 <sub>a</sub>	0.95	2.44 <sub>b</sub>	0.78	2.58 <sub>b</sub>	0.78	2.52 <sub>b</sub>	1.06	$F(3, 688) = 1.03, p = .377, \eta^2 = .00$
Ethnic Identity Centrality	4.00 <sub>i</sub>	0.84	3.66 <sub>b</sub>	0.96	3.57 <sub>b</sub>	0.95	2.99 <sub>c</sub>	1.11	$F(3, 688) = 5.58, p < .001, \eta^2 = .02$
Ethnic Typicity Importance	2.26 <sub>a,b</sub>	0.82	2.44 <sub>b</sub>	0.86	2.33 <sub>a</sub>	0.84	1.90 <sub>b</sub>	0.66	$F(3, 688) = 3.76, p = .011, \eta^2 = .02$
Hostile Sexism	2.11 <sub>a</sub>	1.10	2.11 <sub>a</sub>	1.02	2.16 <sub>a</sub>	1.06	1.84 <sub>a</sub>	1.00	$F(3, 688) = 0.60, p = .614, \eta^2 = .00$
Benevolent Sexism	2.56 <sub>a</sub>	1.14	2.82 <sub>a</sub>	0.99	2.90 <sub>a</sub>	0.98	2.77 <sub>a</sub>	0.85	$F(3, 688) = 1.12, p = .340, \eta^2 = .00$
Perception of Cultural Sexism		%	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	$\chi^2[6, N = 517] = 5.51, p = .480, \phi = .10$
More US Cultural Sexism	0 <sub>a</sub>	0.00%	5 <sub>a</sub>	1.2%	0 <sub>a</sub>	0.0%	0 <sub>a</sub>	0.0%	
Similar Cultural Sexism	17 <sub>a</sub>	56.7%	208 <sub>a</sub>	51.7%	35 <sub>a</sub>	51.5%	13 <sub>a</sub>	76.5%	
More Mexican Cultural Sexism	13 <sub>a</sub>	43.3%	189 <sub>a</sub>	47.0%	33 <sub>a</sub>	48.5%	4 <sub>a</sub>	23.5%	

Note: Different row subscripts indicate significant differences at  $p < .05$ .



**Table 9***Recalled Frequency of Restrictive Gender Messages by Gender*

	Women		Men		Nonbinary		
	M	SE	M	SE	M	SE	
Older Relatives' Restrictive Gender Messages	3.03 <sub>a</sub>	0.04	2.76 <sub>b</sub>	0.07	3.06 <sub>a, b</sub>	0.14	$F(2, 687) = 5.84, p = .003, \eta^2 = .02$
Familial Peers' Restrictive Gender Messages	2.29 <sub>a</sub>	0.03	2.33 <sub>a</sub>	0.06	1.97 <sub>b</sub>	0.13	$F(2, 687) = 3.25, p = .003, \eta^2 = .01$
Non-Familial Peers' Restrictive Gender Messages	2.47 <sub>a</sub>	0.04	2.49 <sub>a</sub>	0.07	2.29 <sub>a</sub>	0.14	$F(2, 687) = 0.89, p = .410, \eta^2 = .00$

*Note:* Mean and standard errors are estimated at Southern California University (vs Central Texas University) = .28 and Northern California University (vs Central Texas University) = .51. Different row subscripts indicate significant differences at  $p < .05$ .

**Table 10**

*Cultural Sexism Perception Groups and Chi-Square Comparisons*

	More US Cultural Sexism		Similar Cultural Sexism		More Mexican Cultural Sexism		Missing/Not Applicable/Under	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
<b>Overall</b>	5,	0.7%	273,	39.1%	239,	34.2%	182	26.0%
	$\chi^2(2, N = 517) = 247.07, p < .001$							
<b>Gender</b>	n	%	n	%	n	%	$\chi^2(4, N = 517) = 2.79, p = .594, \phi = .07$	
Women	203,	51.3%	5,	1.3%	188,	47.5%		
Men	52,	56.5%	0,	0.0%	40,	43.5%		
Nonbinary Genders	17,	80.7%	0,	0.0%	11,	39.3%		

Note: The Missing/Not Applicable/Under responses were not included in the chi-square comparisons. Different row subscripts indicate significant differences at  $p < .05$ .

**Table 11**

*Predicting Hostile Sexism Endorsement*

	Step 4				
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	$\beta$	<i>p</i>	Semipartial <i>r</i>
<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup> = 28.1%, <i>R</i> <sup>2</sup> $\Delta$ = 5.3%, <i>F</i> $\Delta$ = 18.25, <i>p</i> < .001					
<b>Women (vs Men)</b>	<b>-0.60</b>	<b>.10</b>	<b>-.26</b>	<b>&lt; .001</b>	<b>-.22</b>
<b>Nonbinary (vs Men)</b>	<b>-0.72</b>	<b>.19</b>	<b>-.17</b>	<b>&lt; .001</b>	<b>-.15</b>
1 <sup>st</sup> Generation (vs 2 <sup>nd</sup> Generation)	-0.02	.17	-.01	.888	-.01
3 <sup>rd</sup> Generation (vs 2 <sup>nd</sup> Generation)	0.01	.11	.00	.939	.00
<b>4<sup>th</sup> Generation + (vs 2<sup>nd</sup> Generation)</b>	<b>-0.42</b>	<b>.21</b>	<b>-.08</b>	<b>.049</b>	<b>-.08</b>
<b>SCA (vs NCA)</b>	<b>0.39</b>	<b>.09</b>	<b>.18</b>	<b>&lt; .001</b>	<b>.16</b>
<b>TX (vs NCA)</b>	<b>0.49</b>	<b>.11</b>	<b>.19</b>	<b>&lt; .001</b>	<b>.18</b>
Older Relatives' Restrictive Gender Messages	-0.04	.04	-.04	.317	-.04
<b>Familial Peers' Restrictive Gender Messages</b>	<b>0.24</b>	<b>.05</b>	<b>.20</b>	<b>&lt; .001</b>	<b>.18</b>
Non-Familial Peers' Restrictive Gender Messages	0.05	.04	.05	.230	.05
More Mexican Cultural Sexism (vs Similar Sexism)	0.12	.08	.06	.108	.06
More US Culture Sexism (vs Similar Sexism)	0.24	.39	.02	.536	.02
<b>Ethnic Identity Centrality</b>	<b>-0.28</b>	<b>.05</b>	<b>-.27</b>	<b>&lt; .001</b>	<b>-.23</b>
<b>Ethnic Typicality Importance</b>	<b>0.12</b>	<b>.05</b>	<b>.10</b>	<b>.018</b>	<b>.09</b>

*Note* . Significant predictors are indicated in boldface. SCA = southern California university student. NCA = northern California university student. TX = Texas university student.

**Table 12**

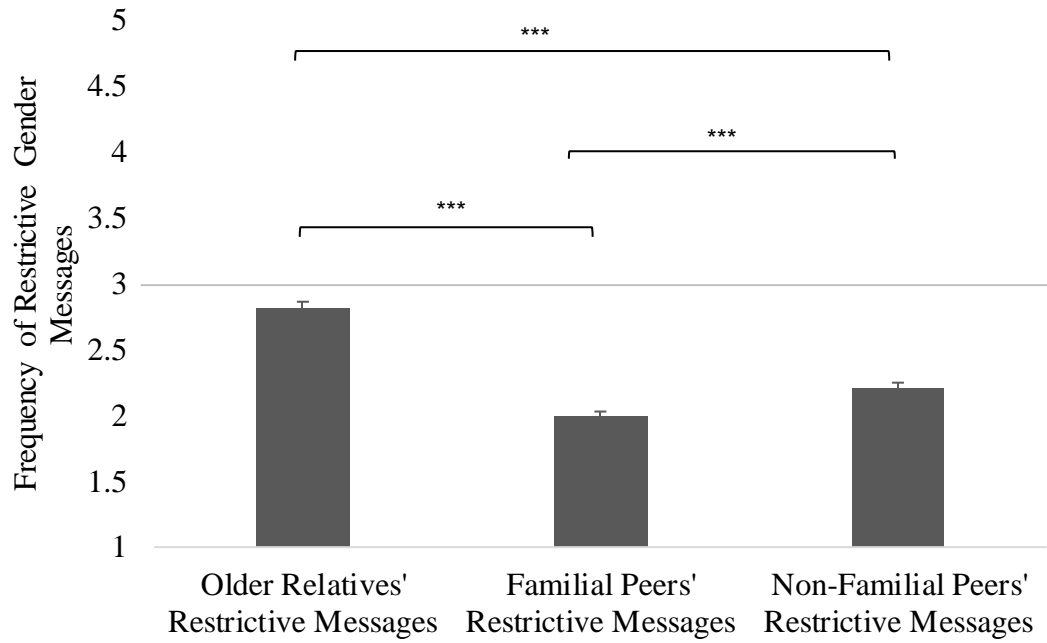
*Predicting Benevolent Sexism Endorsement*

	Step 4				
	<i>B</i>	SE	$\beta$	<i>p</i>	Semipartial <i>r</i>
Women (vs Men)	-0.15	.11	-.06	.181	-.06
Nonbinary Genders (vs Men)	-0.21	.21	-.05	.314	-.04
<b>1<sup>st</sup> Generation (vs 2<sup>nd</sup> Generation)</b>	<b>-0.44</b>	<b>.18</b>	<b>-.11</b>	<b>.013</b>	<b>-.10</b>
3 <sup>rd</sup> Generation (vs 2 <sup>nd</sup> Generation)	0.05	.12	.02	.712	.02
4 <sup>th</sup> Generation + (vs 2 <sup>nd</sup> Generation)	0.10	.23	.02	.672	.02
<b>SCA (vs NCA)</b>	<b>0.40</b>	<b>.10</b>	<b>.18</b>	<b>&lt; .001</b>	<b>.17</b>
<b>TX (vs NCA)</b>	<b>0.44</b>	<b>.11</b>	<b>.17</b>	<b>&lt; .001</b>	<b>.16</b>
Older Relatives' Restrictive Gender Messages	-0.03	.04	-.04	.436	-.03
<b>Familial Peers' Restrictive Gender Messages</b>	<b>0.20</b>	<b>.06</b>	<b>.17</b>	<b>&lt; .001</b>	<b>.15</b>
<b>Non-Familial Peers' Restrictive Gender Messages</b>	<b>0.11</b>	<b>.05</b>	<b>.11</b>	<b>.020</b>	<b>.10</b>
More Mexican Cultural Sexism (vs Similar Sexism)	0.13	.08	.07	.104	.07
More US Culture Sexism (vs Similar Sexism)	-0.39	.42	-.04	.355	-.04
<b>Ethnic Identity Centrality</b>	<b>-0.10</b>	<b>.05</b>	<b>-.09</b>	<b>.048</b>	<b>-.08</b>
<b>Ethnic Typicality Importance</b>	<b>0.14</b>	<b>.05</b>	<b>.12</b>	<b>.010</b>	<b>.11</b>

*Note.* Significant predictors are indicated in boldface. SCA = southern California university student. NCA = northern California university student. TX = Texas university student.

**Figure 1**

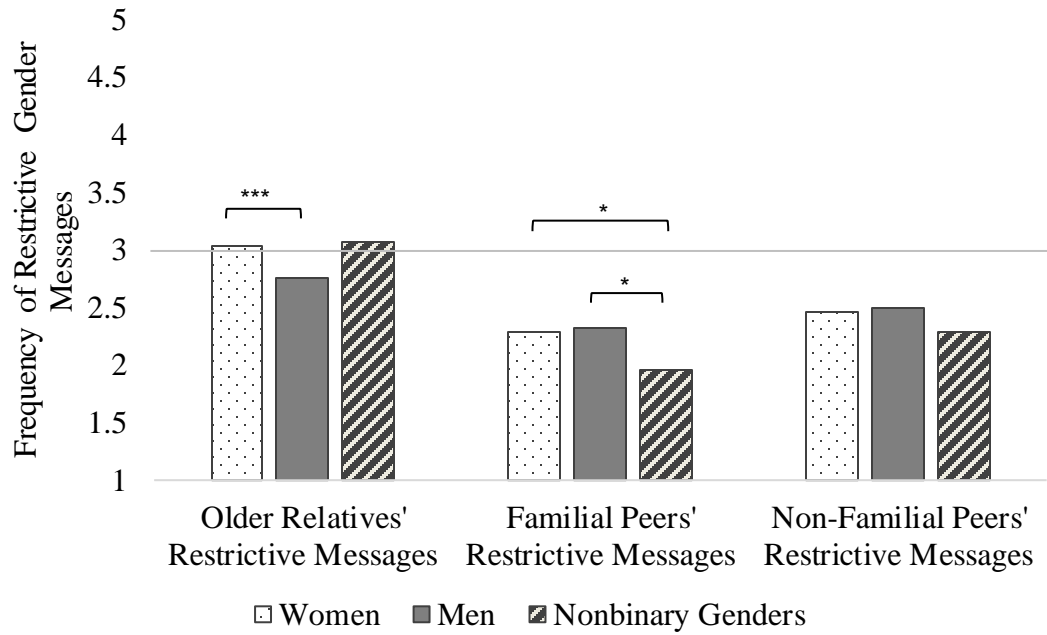
*Frequency of Restrictive Gender Messages by Socialization Source.*



\*\*\*  $p < .001$

**Figure 2**

*Frequency of Restrictive Gender Messages by Socialization Source and Gender Identity.*



\*\*\*  $p < .001$ ; \*  $p < .05$