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Sources of prejudice and how they interact

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Sources of prejudice and how they interact

by

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A dissertation submitted to the graduate faculty
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Major: Psychology (Counseling Psychology)

Program of Study Committee:
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2012

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ABSTRACT

This study aimed to examine different sources of prejudice and how these interact. Specifically, I examined feelings and impressions participants displayed in reaction to targets who varied by sex, sexual orientation, gender conformity, and socio-economic status. In addition to measuring participants' reactions to a described target, I gathered participant information including demographics, prejudice, social desirability, religiosity, masculinity, and femininity. Among the participants, higher levels of religiosity and prejudice were associated with less favorable ratings, whereas higher levels of reported femininity were associated with more favorable ratings. After controlling for level of parents' education and personal levels of prejudice, religiosity, social desirability, masculinity, and femininity, I found that participants showed preferences for individuals of higher SES over individuals of lower SES and for heterosexual individuals over gay and lesbian individuals. Levels of religiosity and prejudice moderated the effect of sexual orientation on ratings; heterosexual individuals were evaluated significantly more positively than gay or lesbian targets by highly-religious and highly-prejudiced participants. Additionally, I found an interaction between sex of the participant and sex of the described target in favorability ratings. Female targets rated by male participants received the most favorable ratings whereas male targets rated by male participants received the least favorable ratings. There was also an interaction between target sex and target gender conformity. Female targets who were gender conforming received the highest ratings, followed by male targets who were gender nonconforming and then by female targets who were gender nonconforming. Male targets who were gender conforming received the lowest ratings. However, the manipulation of gender conformity was problematic as participants appeared to have difficulty encoding

information that indicated gender nonconformity. When analyses were repeated using only the data from participants who correctly responded to this manipulation, results showed that participants exhibited more favorable reactions to gender conforming individuals than to gender nonconforming individuals. Implications of the findings and future directions for research are discussed.

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

Prejudice and discrimination exist in many forms and can occur in subtle or overt manners. What all forms have in common, though, is an intolerance of those who are in some way different from a majority or privileged group (Lott & Maluso, 1995). Maintaining prejudice allows injustice and inequality against a minoritized group (e.g., women, sexual minorities, members of lower socioeconomic status) to endure. Societal messages instill and perpetuate beliefs that the wealthy are better than those living in poverty, men are more capable than women, and heterosexuality is valued while gay, lesbian, or bisexual (GLB) orientations are devalued or even punished. Additionally, various types of oppression and intolerance are often interconnected (e.g., sexism, racism, sexual prejudice, classism; Aosved & Long, 2006). The purpose of the present study is to examine specific forms of prejudice and how they interact. Specifically, I will investigate college students' reactions to individuals who vary on the basis of class, sex, sexual orientation, and gender conformity.

Negative attitudes toward gender nonconformity (i.e., behaviors and mannerisms typically associated with the other sex) are a shared component among sexism, heterosexism, and homophobia. Individuals who display gender-nonconformity are often subject to all three of these forms of prejudice, simply because they do not comply with social norms regarding prescribed gender roles. Additionally, many U.S. adults maintain negative attitudes toward homosexual behavior (Herek & Capitano, 1996) and toward gay or lesbian individuals (Herek, 1994).

Research has shown that gay men and effeminacy are often viewed inseparably (Harris, 2007). Thus, if one imagines a gay male, images of effeminacy are often present; likewise, if one imagines an effeminate man, the implicit belief is that this man must be gay

as well. While there is some truth that gender-nonconforming behavior is more common among GLB individuals than heterosexuals, not all GLB individuals exhibit gender-nonconformity, and the extent of gender-nonconformity certainly varies among the GLB population. In one study of gay and bisexual adult males, only one fourth of the men classified themselves as being “effeminate” (Sandfort, Melendez, & Diaz, 2007).

Based on these findings, I aim to further examine variables that affect negative reactions to gay males and lesbians and to individuals who violate the social norms of gender role expectations. According to Herek (2000), many studies that have examined prejudice against gay and lesbian individuals have failed to differentiate between gay males and lesbians as targets of prejudice. Thus, I will examine differences in perceptions toward gay males and lesbians in the present study. Additionally, my review of the literature revealed few studies that examined perceptions of gender nonconformity when exhibited by heterosexuals. Therefore, I will also include heterosexual targets to differentiate between negative reactions to gender-nonconformity and to sexual orientation.

In addition to including components of sexism, heterosexism, and homophobia, I also will examine how discrimination based on class interacts with the aforementioned types of prejudice. Classism is discrimination based on social class and socioeconomic status. For example, someone who is gay and does not conform to gender-role expectations may be at increased risk of discrimination and negative outcomes if he/she is also a member of a lower social class. While the amount of research in this area has been increasing to some extent, there remains a dearth in the literature on the experiences of classism (Ostrove & Cole, 2003). As the gap between the lower and upper classes continues to grow in the United States (Denavas-Walt, Proctor, & Smith, 2012), it heightens the need for research on experiences of

classism. In particular, some researchers speculate that it is especially important to examine classism among college students because this an important developmental phase during which adolescents are transitioning into adulthood (Langhout, Rosselli, & Feinstein, 2007). Another reason to assess this population is that young adults represent future, and possibly changing, societal views.

CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Stereotypes, Prejudice, and Discrimination

This section will discuss stereotypes, prejudice, and discrimination, including patterns of how and when people display them. Allport (1954) defined prejudice as “an antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalization. It may be felt or expressed. It may be directed toward a group as a whole, or toward an individual because he is a member of that group" (p. 10). Prejudice is often based on stereotypes, which are specific traits that members of a group are believed to have based on group membership. Although stereotypes can be useful at times, they are problematic when they are overgeneralized, negative, or inaccurate (Fiske, 1989; Stangor, 1995). Regardless of how accurate a stereotype may seem, it will not describe every member of a group; thus, making judgments of individuals based on group membership is inappropriate.

Some research has shown that, rather than an attitude toward a specific group, prejudice often appears to encompass a general attitude towards anyone who is different from oneself. Research has shown that prejudice towards one group is often accompanied by prejudice towards other minorities (Adorno et al. 1950; Bierly, 1985; Crandall, 1994; Peterson, Doty, & Winter, 1993; Snyder & Ickes, 1985). Therefore, if people are prejudiced toward racial and ethnic minorities, it is likely that they will be prejudiced toward GLB individuals.

Prejudice and stereotypes can lead to discrimination (Dovidio, Brigham, Johnson, & Gaertner, 1996), which can be defined as differential treatment of a group or its members based on group membership. Types of discrimination include racism, ageism, sexism, and heterosexism, among others.

Over time, it has become less socially acceptable for people to disclose prejudice or stereotypes, which may reflect an actual change in beliefs (Devine & Elliot, 1995; Gaertner & McLaughlin, 1983). Another explanation, however, is that people maintain stereotypes and prejudice but fear that others may evaluate them negatively if they express them and have simply become better at concealing them. Acts of prejudice and discrimination appear to be more prevalent when they can be disguised by other motivating factors, and are thus, less likely to be identified as prejudice or discrimination (Pettigrew, 1998; Pedersen & Walker, 1997). For example, one study examined how participants would respond when given the choice to watch a movie with or without a person who appeared to have a disability (wearing a metal leg brace, with crutches nearby) present (Snyder, Kleck, Strenta, & Mentzer, 1979). When participants were given the opportunity to watch the same movie with either the individual with a disability or an individual with no visible disability, the majority chose to watch with the person with the physical disability. When participants were given the choice of two different movies, one with an individual with a disability or the other with an individual with no visible disability present, they chose to watch the movie with the individual with no visible disability. The design was counter-balanced to account for a simple preference in one movie over the other. Thus, the results demonstrated that participants preferred to watch a movie with a person with no visible disability rather than with an individual with a disability; however, when no other factors were present to obscure this preference, they chose to watch with the person who appeared to have a disability, probably to avoid the perception that they were discriminating against the person who had a disability. Other studies have shown similar results. Gaertner and Dovidio (1977) found that participants were more likely to help a Black person when no other bystanders were present.

When other bystanders were present, participants were less likely to help if the person who needed help was Black than if he/she was White. The presence of other possible helpers allowed the participants to have a motive for not helping aside from the person's race. When no one else was present, the participants could not use this as a reason not to help, and thus, helped the Black person at the same rate as they helped a White person. This type of prejudice is known as subtle or modern prejudice and often shows up in preferences for what is familiar or similar (Dovidio, Gaertner, Anastasio, & Sanitioso, 1992; Esses, Haddock, & Zanna, 1993a).

Sometimes people are not aware of or not willing to admit to prejudice. The dual attitude perspective asserts that people may have incongruent explicit (conscious) and implicit (automatic) attitudes toward the same stimulus (Wilson, Lindsay, & Schooler, 2000). For example, participants who exhibit no outward attitudes of prejudice often score in the prejudiced direction when given a test of implicit attitudes. In one classic experiment, participants who showed no outward attitudes of prejudice took longer to label positive words (e.g., peace, paradise) as "good" when shown with Black rather than White faces (Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz, 1998; Greenwald, Banaji, Rudman, Farnham, Nosek, & Rosier, 2000). The authors concluded that even when people believe that they do not hold prejudice, there are automatic processes that occur outside of consciousness which are difficult to identify and difficult to change.

Causes of prejudice

Prejudice has many causes, which may be social, emotional, or cognitive. Turning first to social causes, stereotypes and prejudice can be used to rationalize social inequality (Yzerbyt, Rocher, & Schadron, 1997). For example, when inequality of wealth exists, those

with wealth may be more likely to view the less wealthy as lazy. Doing so allows those with wealth to believe that they deserve their wealth rather than feeling guilty for being fortunate. Thus, social inequality often leads to prejudice, which serves to justify unequal social and economic statuses (Yzerbyt et al., 1997).

Social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) seeks to explain the existence of prejudice. This theory posits that human beings categorize people into groups, identify themselves with certain groups (which increases self-esteem), and contrast their groups with other groups. When comparisons are made between groups, people tend to favor their own group over other groups; this is called ingroup bias. Wilder (1981) reported that when given the chance to divide a reward (e.g., money), participants typically awarded more of it to their own group, with a smaller portion designated to the other group. This occurs with people regardless of sex, age, or nationality, although people from individualist cultures have a greater tendency to do so than people from collectivist cultures (Gudykunst, 1989). Ingroup bias increases when a group is small and lower in status than the outgroup (Ellemers, et al., 1997; Mullen, et al., 1992). In these circumstances, consciousness of group membership also increases. Ingroup bias even occurs when groups are formed based on trivial or random criteria (e.g., by the flip of a coin; Billig & Tajfel, 1973; Brewer & Silver, 1978; Locksley, et al., 1980). Favoring one's own group can lead to devaluing of other groups (Vivian & Berkowitz, 1993). This is especially the case if one perceives bias against his or her own group. In addition, people who identify more strongly with their group identity make a higher priority of accurately classifying others into their own group or an outgroup. For example, racially-prejudiced participants took longer than non-prejudiced participants to classify faces

of people as their own race or another race (Blascovich, Wyer, Swart, & Kibler, 1997), indicating that they were more concerned with accuracy.

In addition to social causes, there are emotional causes leading to prejudice. Personality dynamics provide one basis as an emotional cause of prejudice. For example, the need for status or feeling superior varies from person to person. Someone who has a higher need for status may be more likely to exhibit prejudice, as prejudice allows a feeling of superiority over others (Bethlehem, 1985). Researchers have found that levels of prejudice are typically greater among those who are low or declining in socioeconomic status or those who feel that their status is being threatened (Lemyre & Smith, 1985; Pettigrew, et al., 1998; Thompson & Crocker, 1985). People secure with their status or self-image seem to have less need to feel superior over others, and thus, may be less likely to display prejudice. Additionally, highly conventional people are more likely to be prejudiced (Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson, & Sandord, 1950; Altermeyer, 1981, 1988; Backstrom & Bjorkland, 2007), and in turn, may be more likely to be overly punitive and engage in victimization toward GLB and other stigmatized individuals. Those who were more likely to have prejudiced attitudes were more likely to demonstrate authoritarian characteristics, such as punitive attitudes and submissive respect for authorities within their own groups.

While there may be stable, internal characteristics that contribute to differences in prejudice, situational factors can also influence level of prejudice. Frustration is one emotional cause of prejudice. Often, frustration elicits feelings of hostility (Dollard, Doob, Miller, Mowrer, & Sears, 1939; Berkowitz, 1989). When this happens and the source of the frustration is unknown (e.g., difficult to pinpoint an exact cause), intangible (e.g., the economy), or intimidating (e.g., someone in a position of power, an organization, etc.), the

hostility may be redirected. This phenomenon is called displaced aggression and can feed into prejudice and discrimination. For example, displaced aggression has been proposed as a possible explanation of the fact that the number of lynchings of African Americans in the South increased in years when cotton prices were low and frustration from the economy was likely high (Hepworth & West, 1988; Hovland & Sears, 1940). Of college-age men working at a summer camp, those who were forced to stay in and take tests on their night off exhibited increased prejudice, as measured by their stated attitudes towards Japanese and Mexicans before and after the frustration manipulation (Miller & Bugelski, 1948). A control group, who did not experience this frustration, did not show increased prejudice. Other studies confirm that when people are provoked into negative moods, they are more likely to exhibit increased negativity toward outgroups (Esses & Zanna, 1995; Forgas & Fiedler, 1996).

Anxiety may also be related to increased prejudice. For example, terror management theory (TMT; Greenberg, Pyszczynski, & Solomon, 1986) suggests that human beings need strong cultural beliefs and self-esteem to establish a defense against anxiety about death. Specifically, within TMT, the mortality salience hypothesis proposes that when reminded of our own mortality, we are more likely to rigidly cling to our own world view. Thus, when we feel threatened or are reminded of our own mortality, we are more likely to exhibit prejudice against others whom we perceive as different from ourselves. In numerous studies, researchers have manipulated factors that increase participants' mortality awareness, such as asking participants to write excerpts on dying and the emotions elicited by thinking about death (Greenberg, et al., 1990; Greenberg, Pyszczynski, Solomon, Simon, & Breus, 1994; Harmon-Jones, Greenberg, Solomon, & Simon, 1996; Schimel, Simon, Greenberg, Pyszczynski, Solomon, & Waxmonsky, 1999; Solomon, Greenberg, & Pyszczynski, 2000).

As a result of these manipulations, participants demonstrated increased ingroup favoritism and greater outgroup prejudice.

Even without being reminded of our own mortality, vulnerability may also affect prejudice. Threats to participants' self-esteem have resulted in greater outgroup prejudice (Cialdini & Richardson, 1980; Meindl & Lerner, 1984). Glick et al. (2007) examined how a masculinity threat affected male undergraduates' ratings of emotions towards masculine and effeminate gay males. Participants, all undergraduate male volunteers, took a 30-item personality test via computer and were then provided false feedback about their results. The randomly-assigned feedback, which was the experimental manipulation, indicated that participants had either a typical masculine score or a typical feminine score, with the typical feminine score representing a masculinity threat. Participants then rated their reactions to two gay males, one described as effeminate and the other as masculine. The effect of the masculinity threat by itself was not significant; however, there was a significant interaction between the masculinity threat and the type of gay male. Negative affect was stronger towards effeminate gay males when participants experienced the masculinity threat compared to when there was no masculinity threat. Regardless of the presence or absence of the masculinity threat, there were no differences in affective reactions towards the masculine gay male. Thus, the masculinity threat increased the negative affect toward the effeminate gay male but not toward the masculine gay male.

Turning to cognitive sources of prejudice, people naturally categorize things, animals, and people into groups as a way to simplify the environment (Macrae & Bodenhausen, 2000). This allows people to gain information about the environment, and more specifically, about other people with minimal effort (Macrae, Stangor, & Milne, 1994). Despite being

problematic or inaccurate at times, stereotypes can also be useful. People are more likely to rely on stereotypes when they are pressed for time (Kaplan, Wanshula, & Zanna, 1993), tired (Bodenhausen, 1990), preoccupied (Gilbert & Hixon, 1991), or emotionally aroused (Esses, Haddock, & Zanna, 1993b; Stroessner & Mackie, 1993). Stereotypes do not always lead to prejudice, however, they do provide a foundation for it.

Although people may see those in their own groups as similar to them, they also are better able to recognize diversity in their own groups than in outside groups. For example, sorority sisters perceive fewer differences within other sororities than within their own (Park & Rothbart, 1982). Similarly, business majors and engineering majors both overestimate the homogeneity of those in the other group (Judd, Ryan, & Park, 1991). Stereotyping is more likely the less familiar people are with a given group (Brown & Wootton-Millward, 1993; Linville, Gischer, & Salovey, 1989). Additionally, people are less likely to attend to groups that are smaller and hold less power, which in turn, means they are more likely to be targets of stereotypes (Fiske, 1993; Mullen & Hu, 1989). Research showed that people of other races seem to look more similar to one another than people of our own race (Brigham & Williamson, 1979; Chance & Goldstein, 1981, 1996; Ellis, 1981). For example, White people were better able to identify White faces whereas Black people were better able to identify Black faces (Bothwell, Brigham, & Malpass, 1989). One explanation for this phenomenon is that race appears more salient than individual details when we view someone of another race (Levin, 2000). Another important dimension of stereotyping and prejudice is the role that distinctiveness plays in perceptions and judgments. For example, a Black individual in a group of White individuals will stand out, as will a man in group of women. In addition to a more prominent presence, others tend to exaggerate the positive and negative qualities of a

distinct individual and to believe this individual has a greater impact on the group than other individuals (Crocker & McGraw, 1984; Taylor, Crocker, Fiske, Sprinzen, & Winkler, 1979), going so far as to attribute group outcomes to this individual (Taylor & Fiske, 1978).

We also tend to define others by their most distinctive characteristics. For example, if we know someone who has a snake and a dog as pets, we tend to think of him or her as a snake owner rather than a dog owner (Nelson & Miller, 1995) because that is the more distinctive trait. Given this, identifying as GLB would likely lead to being seen for this trait above others that are less distinct. Additionally, those who violate expectations or social roles are more likely to be noticed (Bettencourt, Dill, Greathouse, Charlton, & Mulholland, 1997). Therefore, GLB or gender-nonconforming individuals are more likely to be noticed for violating the expectations of others in terms of sexual orientation and gender roles than for other characteristics.

When we have limited experience with particular groups, we often turn to salient examples and generalize from those (Sherman, 1996). For example, if someone were to encounter a feminine gay man and previously had limited contact with gay men, he or she is likely to assume all gay men are feminine. The greater our exposure to a given group, the less we are influenced by specific exemplars (Quattrone & Jones, 1980). Thus, one way to combat stereotypes, and possibly subsequent discrimination, is to increase contact with members of other groups.

Prejudice can occur as a result of the fundamental attribution error, which is the tendency to blame others' behavior on internal characteristics rather than on external, situational factors (Ross, 1977). For example, people believing that women are more nurturing than men and men are more career-driven than women may be a result of historical

social roles rather than actual inherent differences. Likewise, people may believe that being gay causes one to be maladjusted when in reality, the reactions of family, friends, or society to one being gay is likely the actual cause of mental health issues in GLB individuals.

Related to the fundamental attribution error is the just world theory, which is the belief that people get what they deserve and deserve what they get (Lerner & Miller, 1978; Lerner, 1980). Based on this theory, when people observe someone being victimized or encountering negative circumstances, they are prone to believe the victim did something to deserve her/his outcome. Holding such a belief allows us to believe that we have control over what happens to us; believing that if we are good, we will reap the rewards and can prevent bad things from happening to us. Regarding the gay community and the AIDS epidemic, many people who held the belief that being gay is wrong also believed that AIDS was punishment for being gay (Herek & Glunt, 1988). Challenging stereotypes and prejudice often requires one to consider that the world is not fair, which is difficult and uncomfortable for individuals to do.

Reactions to prejudice

Once established, it is very difficult to challenge existing stereotypes, prejudice, and discrimination, in part because any actions a victim takes can be interpreted in a way that reinforces them. Victims of prejudice and discrimination typically react by either blaming themselves or blaming external causes (Allport, 1958). Reactions that result in negative outcomes can further serve to justify the discrimination, creating a vicious cycle that is difficult to stop. For example, victims of prejudice or discrimination may withdraw or attack their own group, which may be viewed negatively by others and further damage the perception of the group that was originally targeted by discrimination. In other words, it could potentially reinforce the original negative perceptions or create new ones against the

group. Alternatively, if the victim becomes suspicious of the perpetrators of prejudice or tries to fight back against the prejudice, this may be viewed as paranoia or aggressiveness which may further alienate the individual and her or his group.

Recipients of discrimination may react in subtle ways that make them appear less qualified or competent than they are. In a set of experiments designed to understand its impact, researchers examined discrimination that occurred within an interview setting and then demonstrated how the discriminating behaviors themselves negatively impacted the recipients (Word, Zanna, & Cooper, 1974). In the first experiment, European American men from Princeton University interviewed African American and European American research assistants who were posing as job applicants. Results showed that interviewers sat further away, ended the interview sooner, and made more speech errors when interviewing an African American versus a European American applicant. In a subsequent experiment, trained interviewers behaved toward students in the manner in which either African American or European Americans were treated in the previous study; that is, interviewers varied in how they acted toward interviewees by intentionally sitting close or far, taking time with the interview or ending it quickly, and making few or many speech errors. Results showed that those treated in a discriminatory manner (e.g., the interviewer sat further away) were more likely to appear nervous and less effective than applicants treated in a nondiscriminatory way. Thus, the discriminating behaviors themselves (i.e., sitting further away, ending the interview early, or making speech errors) appear to have negatively affected the interviewees.

These findings demonstrate how difficult it may be to challenge established stereotypes and prejudice, and although overt discrimination has decreased, discrimination

continues to occur in more subtle forms. There are many sources of prejudice and discrimination. In the next few sections, I will discuss the following types: Classism, sexism, and heterosexism and homophobia.

Classism

One definition of *class* is “a relative social ranking based on income, wealth, education, status, and power” (Leondar-Wright & Yeskel, 2007, p. 314). Leondar-Wright and Yeskel define *classism* as “the institutional, cultural, and individual set of practices and beliefs that assign differential value to people according to their socioeconomic class; and an economic system that creates excessive inequality and causes basic human needs to go unmet” (p. 314). Lott (2002) stated that classism is a type of discrimination in which lower class individuals are excluded, devalued, or discounted based on their class. Various aspects of class privilege include economic capital (financial wealth), social capital (valuable personal connections and access to social resources, such as education, health care, legal services), and intellectual/cultural capital (accent and speech indicative of education, style and quality of clothing, neighborhood, etc.; Adams, 2010). Mantsios (2010) stated that individuals prefer to avoid talking about class, specifically about the extremes; however, it is common to refer to the “middle class”. One reason for this phenomenon is that discussing the “middle class” obscures class differences and overlooks social conflict or injustice. U.S. society has a longstanding and pervasive belief in meritocracy, which is the belief that anyone who works hard can and will succeed (see Adams, 2010). One implication of this is the belief that if a person does not succeed, it is because he or she does not work hard, and thus, does not deserve success. In part because of this belief, class inequality has been difficult to acknowledge despite obvious discrepancies in social and economic class.

Likewise, the continued denial of class existence in the U.S. perpetuates the “myth of meritocracy”. This belief system is internalized by both the privileged and the disadvantaged alike. Adams (2010) stated that all individuals experience privilege or suffer disadvantage based on their class position.

Because of significant class inequality, many Americans may experience classism. To highlight actual class disparities, Mantsios (2010) reported the statistics that the richest one percent of the U.S. population maintains one-third of the entire nation’s wealth and resources. Eighty-five percent of the wealth in the U.S. is held by the wealthiest 20 percent of the nation. At the other end of the spectrum, thirteen percent of Americans live below the federal poverty line, and approximately 3.5 million Americans are homeless in a given year. In addition, the gap between the rich and the poor continues to widen (Tavernise, 2012).

In order to combat negative attitudes that people hold toward lower class individuals, it may be important to address myths that people believe. Mantsios (2010) outlined common myths related to class in the U.S. In sum, these myths are that the U.S is a middle class nation, which equates to a classless society, in which everyone has equal opportunities for success and that the nation as a whole is growing in wealth. In reality, however, there is a stark contrast between the lower class and the wealthy in the U. S. Nearly one-third of the country’s population is living at one extreme or the other, with the gaps between socioeconomic classes continuously widening. In addition, lower-class citizens have fewer opportunities (e.g., education, employment) and less access to resources (e.g., health care; Mantsios, 2010). Lower-class standing is correlated with lower quality of health care, and life expectancy increases according to socioeconomic status (Mantsios, 2010). The higher class one is in, the longer he or she is expected to live.

Research among undergraduate students revealed differences based on class backgrounds. The findings illustrate that psychological struggles and other negative outcomes are more common among those of lower class status. Among undergraduate students, lower class status was associated with higher levels of anxiety (Barney, Fredericks, Fredericks, & Robinson, 1985) and stress (Saldaña, 1994) and with lower levels of a sense of belonging (Chatman, 2008). In addition, college students from lower SES backgrounds worked more, studied less, were less involved in extracurricular activities, and earned lower grades compared to their higher SES classmates (Walpole, 2003). Langhout, Drake, and Rosselli (2009) found that in a small, private university setting, students from a lower social class were less likely to participate in various activities or experiences at the university because they lacked the time or money. In addition, individuals' experiences of classism were associated with lower levels of school belonging and with negative psychosocial outcomes, such as distress, lower well-being, lower social adjustment, anxiety, and depression. Greater experiences of classism were linked with greater intentions of leaving school. Although these research findings were limited to those who had the privilege of attending a private college, the results showed that even in this population, effects of class are clearly apparent. While these results demonstrate negative outcomes of being of lower SES, the question remains of how people view those of lower SES. In the general population, there are many negative stereotypes about people of lower class status (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002). These stereotypes include the belief that lower-SES individuals are less intelligent, educated, motivated, and responsible than higher-SES individuals (Cozarelli, Wilkinson, & Tagler, 2001). There remains a dearth in the research, however, in attitudes and stereotypes toward people of low SES (Croizet & Millet, 2012; Lott, 2002). Classism,

however, does not exist in a vacuum. Researchers maintain that various demographics (i.e., SES background, race, ethnicity, gender, etc.) are experienced concomitantly (Cole & Omari, 2003; Weber, 1998; Wentworth & Peterson, 2001), and perceptions are affected by race, class, and gender (Bettie, 2003; Hurtado, 2003). Thus, the experience of classism is compounded by racism and sexism; the latter will be discussed in the next section.

Sexism

One definition of sexism is “a system of advantages that serves to privilege men, subordinate women, denigrate women-identified values and practices, enforce male dominance and control, and reinforce norms of masculinity that are dehumanizing and damaging to men” (Botkin, Jones, & Kachwaha, 2007, p.174). Swim and Hyers (2009) affirm that sexism affects both women and men and offer a broader view of sexism: “Individuals’ attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors, and organizational, institutional, and cultural practices that either reflect negative evaluations of individuals based on their gender or support unequal status of women and men” (p. 407).

Swim and Hyers (2009) identified three myths related to sexism:

1) *Sexism is rare.* Although longitudinal data indicate a decrease in the endorsement of traditional gender roles (e.g., Spence & Hahn, 1997; Twenge, 1997; Swim & Campbell, 2001), sexism is not rare. Instead, awareness of sexism is hindered by restrictive or outdated definitions or measures of sexist attitudes and behaviors, victims’ lack of recognition or reporting of experiences, and instigators’ lack of awareness or willingness to acknowledge their own sexist beliefs and acts. Rather than being eradicated, sexism is evolving into what has been labeled modern or neo-sexism, and as a result, is sometimes harder to detect. Specifically, modern sexist beliefs are not as likely to be identified as sexist as traditional

gender role beliefs (Barreto & Ellemers, 2005; Swim, Mallett, Russo-Devosa, & Stangor, 2005). To access hidden negative beliefs, recently-developed measures of sexism assess denial of the existence of discrimination, negative reactions to complaints about inequality, and lack of support for efforts aimed at reducing inequality. Endorsement of modern or neo-sexist beliefs has been associated with negative reactions to feminism and women's rights, hostility towards women, and antigay beliefs and behaviors (Campbell, Schellenberg, & Senn, 1997; Whitley, 2001).

Evidence of sexism is clear in the presence of a wage gap between men and women, the prevalence of violence against women, and the use of language that denigrates women and promotes men (Hackman, 2010). In the workforce, women are viewed as less dependable, less worthy of being promoted, and worth lower starting salaries when compared to men (Correll, Benard, & Paik, 2007); women who are mothers face these perceptions to a greater degree (Budig & England, 2001). After becoming a parent, both male and female workers are perceived as warmer than previously; however, perceptions of competence decrease for women becoming mothers, whereas no change occurs for perceptions of men who become fathers (Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2004). Domestically, women complete more of the household work than men, even when both are employed full-time (Craig, 2006; Gershuny, Bittman, & Brice, 2005), and assume greater responsibility than men for child care and spend more time with children (Craig, 2006). Men, however, maintain more control over finances than women (Kenney, 2006).

2) *Sexism is not that harmful.* In reality, sexism *is* harmful, causing direct and secondary effects (Allison, 1998; Stangor et al., 2003). Direct effects of sexism can include physical harm (e.g., sexual violence), economic harm (e.g., lower wages), and psychological

harm (e.g., self-doubt; depression). There may be secondary effects of sexism. For example, if women earn less than male counterparts, women will be more likely than men to live in, and experience negative effects of, poverty.

3) *Women enjoy lower status roles and choose to conform to gender-role expectations.* Although some people may believe that women prefer roles that are of lower status or that match sex-role expectations, there is evidence to show this is not an accurate perception. Instead, it has been suggested by Eagly's (1987) Social Role Theory (SRT) that women are simply attempting to live up to roles in which they are placed by society. As such, women may strive to develop and maintain typically feminine traits (e.g., nurturance, warmth; Eagly, Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002; Spence, 1993) because sex-role conformity is reinforced by society. Furthermore, when women attempt to defy gender-role prescriptions, they are often met with backlash. For instance, Faludi (1991) maintained that negative reactions to women increased as women gained equality; as women tried to enter nontraditional careers, they reported greater experiences with discrimination. Meta-analyses showed that women, compared to men, received greater negative evaluations in masculine domains (Bowen, Swim, & Jacobs, 2000; Eagly, Makhijani, & Klonsky, 1992; Swim, Borgida, Maruyama, & Myers, 1989). Negative evaluations may dissuade women from staying in or entering masculine professions. There may also be backlash when women occupy powerful positions, in which case men may feel their dominance is threatened (Beaton, Tougas, & Joly, 1996). Potential backlash is one explanation for why women may accept prescribed roles, which tend to be lower status, and conform to expectations, which in turn can strengthen such stereotypes.

Stereotypes of men and women can instigate or perpetuate differences through confirmatory biases (Deaux & Major, 1987) and also justify distribution of men and women into differing social roles. Although stereotypes affect both men and women, the range of acceptable behaviors may be different for men and women. There is some evidence that this range is broader for men than for women. For example, Carli (1990) found that male speakers are equally persuasive regardless of whether they use tentative or assertive speech; conversely, female speakers were more persuasive when they used tentative speech rather than assertive speech. In another study, women were more likable when they agreed rather than when they disagreed with an interaction partner; men were seen as equally likable whether they agreed or disagreed (Carli, 1998). In other cases, the range of acceptable behaviors appears broader for women than for men. For example, men may feel compelled to display exaggerated masculinity in order to quell fears of being perceived as homosexual (Kimmel, 2010), which in turn may promote sexist speech and behaviors. Sexism has been linked to sexual prejudice, the intolerance of gay, lesbian, or bisexual individuals, which will be described in the next section (Agnew, Thompson, Smith, Gramzow, & Currey, 1993; Campbell, Schellenberg, & Senn, 1997; Polimeni, Hardie, & Buzwell, 2000; Raja & Stokes, 1998; Stevenson & Medler, 1995).

Heterosexism and Homophobia

Many U.S. adults maintain negative attitudes toward homosexual behavior (Herek & Capitano, 1996) and toward gay or lesbian individuals (Herek, 1994). Discrimination and negative attitudes toward sexual minorities are not only sanctioned by society but possibly even viewed as a socially desirable trait. In one study, high scores on social desirability (i.e., presenting oneself in a favorable manner) were associated with reporting greater levels of

sexual prejudice (i.e., bias regarding sexual orientation) but lower levels of other types of prejudice (e.g., sexism, racism, classism; Aosved, Long, & Voller, 2009). People do not expect to be judged negatively when they express negative views of gay or lesbian individuals.

Heterosexism and homophobia are related concepts that involve intolerance toward and discrimination against sexual minorities. Homophobia is the “fear and hatred of those who love or are attracted emotionally and sexually to people of the same sex” (Blumenfeld, 2010, p. 372). Homophobia has many negative consequences, such as prejudice, discrimination, harassment, and acts of violence towards GLB individuals. Blumenfeld states that GLB individuals are one of the most loathed groups in our current society. Aside from the direct effects on GLB individuals themselves, homophobia hurts society as a whole, both directly and indirectly. Blumenfeld describes specific ways in which this occurs, including but not limited to the following:

- 1) Homophobia inhibits formation among heterosexuals of close friendships with those of the same sex.
- 2) Homophobia increases promotion of gender-based roles that are rigid and inhibit creativity and self-expression.
- 3) Homophobia pressures heterosexuals to denigrate GLB individuals and behaviors.
- 4) Homophobia limits relationships and discourse between portions of the population (e.g., one consequence is the loss of benefits that GLB individuals and communities could offer).
- 5) Homophobia undermines more constructive endeavors by energy spent on homophobia itself or reactions to it.

6) Homophobia undermines value and promotes intolerance of diversity.

As can be seen from these examples, homophobia has pervasive effects that extend beyond solely affecting GLB individuals. Related to homophobia is the concept of heterosexism, which is systematic oppression against sexual minorities, combined with privilege granted to heterosexuals. Blumenfeld (2010) defines heterosexism as “the overarching system of advantages bestowed on heterosexuals, based on the institutionalization of heterosexual norms or standards that privilege heterosexuals and heterosexuality, and exclude the needs, concerns, cultures, and life experiences of lesbians, gay males, and bisexuals” (p. 371). Blumenfeld describes “sex,” “gender,” and “sexuality” as social constructions that are heavily laden with prescriptive social roles, values, and expressions. For example, Butler (2004) expresses the belief that a primary objective in maintaining gender as a social construct is to delegate women as subordinates of men. Social constructions afford power and privilege to those who comply with such norms; however, those who violate them are subject to marginalization and disempowerment. This power structure is pervasive and occurs on various levels (societal, institutional, and individual). At the societal level, social norms legitimize oppression by encouraging displays of heterosexuality while promoting concealment of GLB relationships. The media is a societal force that primarily presents heterosexual relationships at the exclusion of same-sex relationships; if GLB individuals are portrayed, it is often in a negative light (Blumenfeld, 2010). At the institutional level, discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation often occurs in government, business, education, religion, and health care. For example, evidence of heterosexism is demonstrated legally (e.g., laws denying marriage and child custody to same-sex couples; Don’t Ask Don’t Tell military policy), religiously (e.g., religious passages used

to justify discrimination and persecution of GLB people), and even medically (e.g., pathologizing same-sex attraction and behaviors or gender-nonconformity). At the individual level, heterosexism transpires in personal beliefs about GLB people and in interpersonal relationships, from peers telling jokes about GLB individuals, to social rejection or withdrawal of support, and even further to harassment and intimidation.

Heterosexism is often overt, though subtle forms of heterosexism occur as well. One example of subtle heterosexist oppression is demonstrated by parents who expect their children to marry someone of the other sex. Martin (2009) found that among 600 mothers of 3- to 6-year-old children, most assume their children are heterosexual, describe romantic relationships as strictly heterosexual, and perpetuate the invisibility of gay males and lesbians to their children. Specifically, 62% of the mothers made no statements to their children about homosexuality, gay males, or lesbians. An additional 8% of mothers communicated to their children that homosexuality is wrong.

As could be expected, those who challenge heterosexist norms the most face the most extreme and overt forms of oppression. The primary victims of heterosexism, though not exclusively, are GLB individuals, who face the constant struggle of both invisibility and negative attitudes regarding homo- or bi-sexuality in our society (Blumenfeld, 2010). A particular struggle for this group is to develop a positive identity despite these barriers and internalized oppression. Internalized oppression occurs when GLB individuals internalize external attitudes and stereotypes that GLB sexual orientation and behaviors are inferior, inadequate, or shameful.

It is important to expand our understanding of both heterosexism and homophobia and their impact on both individuals and society as a whole. To do so, it will be beneficial to

examine factors that are related to heterosexism and homophobia, such as gender nonconformity, which will be discussed next.

Gender Nonconformity

The standards of gender conformity are determined by social and cultural norms (Bailey & Zucker, 1995). Gender nonconformity, also known as gender-atypicality, is the expression of characteristics, mannerisms, and behaviors that are typically affiliated with the other sex. For example, a male who speaks in a higher-pitched tone than most men, dresses in feminine clothing, is employed in a traditionally female occupation, or exhibits characteristics more commonly associated with females could be considered gender-nonconforming. Conversely, a female could be considered gender-nonconforming if she wears her hair short, never wears makeup, is interested in cars or something traditionally associated with male interests, or behaves in a tough or aggressive manner.

Gender nonconformity and sexual orientation

Because sexual orientation and gender nonconformity are connected strongly in people's minds, it is important to understand what empirical studies have shown on the actual strength of that connection. Often, gender nonconformity is believed by the general public to be linked to sexual minority status (see Harris, 2007). For instance, people often infer that someone who exhibits gender nonconformity is gay or lesbian or that all gay males are feminine and all lesbian individuals are masculine. Research has shown that this view is especially common regarding gay males. Specifically, gay males are typically considered to be more feminine and less masculine than heterosexual males (Kite & Deaux, 1987; Madon, 1997; McCreary, 1994; Simmons, 1965; Taylor, 1983; Wong, McCreary, Carpenter, Engle, & Korchynsky, 1999) or even the average adult (Page & Yee, 1985). Because of these

assumptions, individuals who exhibit gender nonconformity are assumed to be gay, lesbian, or bisexual (Bailey & Zucker, 1995).

There is some evidence to show that gender nonconformity occurs at a higher rate among GLB individuals, particularly in childhood. In a meta-analysis using available retrospective studies, Bailey and Zucker (1995) found a significant correlation between gender nonconformity and minority sexual orientation among both males and females; however, recollections of childhood gender nonconformity were better predictors of minority sexual orientation for males than for females. Compared to heterosexual individuals, higher rates of gender-nonconforming behavior in childhood were found among gay males (Zuger, 1988; Whitam, 1977; Saghir & Robins, 1973; Green, 1987; Rieger et al., 2008) and lesbian females (Saghir & Robins, 1973; Drummond, Bradley, Person-Badali, & Zucker, 2008; Rieger et al.).

Displays of gender nonconformity from childhood often persist into adulthood (Rieger et al., 2008). Some GLB individuals continue to show gender nonconformity in various aspects, including their self-concepts (Bailey & Zucker, 1995; Bailey et al., 2000), their interests (see review by Lippa, 2005), their movements (Ambady et al., 1999; Johnson et al., 2007), and their speech patterns (e.g., Gaudio, 1994).

However, there is evidence that gender-nonconforming behavior in childhood does not always precede a sexual minority status. In a longitudinal study, Green (1979) found that, among males who had expressed the desire to be girls when they were children, many later showed an inclination to heterosexual orientations, demonstrating that gender nonconformity does not equate to a gay or bisexual orientation. Similarly, Rieger et al. (2008) found that some gay and lesbian participants were rated as gender conforming whereas some

heterosexual participants were rated as gender nonconforming; thus, gender nonconformity did not equate to minoritized sexual orientation.

Reactions to gender nonconformity

GLB individuals often face discrimination and social rejection, in particular if they display gender-nonconformity. For example, Rieger et al. (2008) reported that participants with higher levels of gender nonconformity reported higher rates of parental and peer rejection, regardless of participant sex or sexual orientation. Stigmatization that may have appeared to be a reaction to a minoritized sexual orientation may have instead been a reaction to displays of gender nonconformity (e.g., mannerisms, behaviors, and/or interests that are more often associated with those of the other sex; Russell, 2003; Savin-Williams & Ream, 2003). In an experimental study, Rudman and Fairchild (2004) found that participants were more likely to sabotage a former competitor if their competitor had been successful at a gender-atypical knowledge test as opposed to a gender-typical knowledge test.

Multiple findings show that gender nonconformity is less socially acceptable for males than it is for females, and reactions to gender nonconforming boys and girls can differ dramatically (Martin, 1990; Zucker & Bradley, 1995; Zucker et al., 1995). In childhood, gender nonconformity is viewed more negatively when it occurs in boys' behavior than in girls' behavior by parents (Sandnabba & Ahlberg, 1999), teachers (Cahill & Adams, 1997), and peers (Fagot, 1977; Martin, 1990). For example, Preston and Stanley (1987) reported that many children and adults believe that being a "sissy" is the worst thing a boy could be. One possible reason for this belief could be adults' perceptions that boys fitting the "sissy" profile will be less well psychologically adjusted than their peers and are more likely to be gay in adulthood (Martin, 1990). Both parents and peers often accept gender nonconforming girls

(Carter & McCloskey, 1983-1984; O'Leary & Donoghue, 1978), who are often referred to as tomboys. Tomboys are not only more accepted than feminine boys, but they are even ascribed positive attributes, including being viewed as popular and showing leadership to peers (Hemmer & Kleiber, 1981). Other studies showed similar findings; girls who demonstrated gender nonconforming behaviors were viewed to be as popular as those who were not gender nonconforming (Berndt & Heller, 1986; Huston, 1983). In a study of fifth- and sixth-graders, children watched a video segment of a child either playing a gender typical game with same-sex peers or a gender atypical game with other-sex peers (Lobel, Bempechat, Gewirtz, Shoken-Topaz, & Bashe, 1993). The girl who was playing with boys was viewed as the most popular of the targets, while the boy who was playing with girls was seen as the least popular. Beyond being seen as unpopular, gender nonconforming boys are more quickly referred for clinical assessment and more often given a diagnosis of Gender Identity Disorder compared to gender nonconforming girls (Zucker, Bradley, & Sanikhani, 1997).

A possible reason for the acceptance, and even popularity, of gender non-conforming girls may be due to their expanded repertoire of interests, rather than engaging in mostly male or mostly female activities. Plumb and Cowan (1984) reported that self-categorized tomboys do not typically avoid traditionally feminine activities. Instead, tomboys are more likely to include both gender-traditional and nontraditional activities, rather than choosing gender-nontraditional activities at the expense of gender-traditional activities. For example, in comparison to gender conforming girls, tomboys did not differ in their preference for traditionally feminine activities (e.g., sewing) but showed greater interest in traditionally masculine activities (e.g., sports).

There may be a connection between the acceptance of gender nonconforming behaviors among females and the higher apparent rates of gender nonconformity among females. Research has shown that gender nonconformity has a higher correlation with same-sex attraction in males as opposed to females. When surveying women in a Midwest shopping mall, Hyde, Rosenberg, and Behrman (1977) found that half of the women considered themselves to have been tomboys during childhood. The same authors established that 68% of female middle school attendees of a church camp classified themselves as tomboys. In a meta-analysis, Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) found that intergroup contact reduced intergroup prejudice. Higher rates of gender nonconformity in females may be associated with greater acceptance of gender nonconformity in females compared to males simply because people may have encountered it more frequently and/or more intimately.

Among high school students, Horn (2007) investigated the level of acceptance toward gay/lesbian and heterosexual targets who were described in written scenarios and who displayed varying levels of gender nonconformity in terms of appearance and mannerisms or involvement in an activity. Across both genders, the highest acceptance ratings were given to gender-conforming individuals, followed by those who were gender-nonconforming in activity choice. Those who were described as gender-nonconforming due to appearance and mannerisms were least accepted, regardless of sexual orientation. Interestingly, individuals described as gay or lesbian and gender-conforming or gender-nonconforming based on activity choice were rated as more acceptable than straight individuals who deviated from gender norms based on appearance or mannerisms. Gay or lesbian individuals who deviated from gender norms based on appearance or mannerisms were least acceptable for both males and females.

Research examining gender nonconformity has shown that higher levels of gender nonconformity are associated with higher rates of parental and peer rejection (Rieger et al., 2008) and sabotage in a competitive setting (Rudman & Fairchild, 2004). Many studies demonstrated that gender nonconformity is more socially acceptable for females than it is for males (Martin, 1990; Zucker & Bradley, 1995; Zucker et al., 1995; Sandnabba & Ahlberg, 1999; Cahill & Adams, 1997; Fagot, 1977). Multiple questions remain about the reactions of people to gender nonconformity and what other factors may influence these reactions. Previous literature has established that prejudice exists against many different groups of people, such as lower class individuals, women, GLB individuals, and gender-nonconforming individuals. The research is lacking, however, on how various sources of prejudice compare to one another and to what extent inclusion in multiple stigmatized groups affects prejudiced feelings and beliefs.

Lehavot and Lambert (2007) hypothesized that expectancy violations, either based on sexual orientation or violation of traditional gender roles, may be responsible for prejudice against gay and lesbian individuals. Results revealed a tendency for high-prejudice participants to especially dislike those who violated both sexuality and gender roles. Unsurprisingly, the authors found that ratings of targets who varied on sex, sexual orientation, and gender conformity were strongly influenced by the level of prejudice that participants already held. Among those reporting high levels of prejudice, participants rated the feminine gay man and the masculine lesbian woman as more immoral than their gender-conforming counterparts. The current study will aim to expand on the findings of Lehavot and Lambert by adding SES as a variable in determining level of prejudice towards targets who belong to different minoritized groups.

CHAPTER 3. CURRENT STUDY

Hypotheses

The purpose of the present study was to examine specific sources of prejudice and how they interact in the prediction of thoughts and feelings toward individuals who vary on different stigmatized characteristics. Specifically, I investigated college students' feelings toward and impressions of individuals who varied on the basis of class, sex,¹ sexual orientation, and gender conformity. Based on previous findings in the literature, I predicted the following:

1) **Men will be rated more favorably than women.** In general, men are perceived as more competent and knowledgeable than women (Carli, 2001; Ridgeway, 2001).

2) **Heterosexuals will be rated more favorably than gay or lesbian individuals.**

There is a widespread stigma against individuals who identify their sexual orientation as anything other than heterosexual. For example, many U.S. adults maintain negative attitudes toward homosexual behavior (Herek & Capitano, 1996) and toward gay or lesbian individuals (Herek, 1994).

3) **Gender-conforming individuals will be rated more favorably than gender-nonconforming individuals.** Socially-constructed gender roles are prescribed from an early age, and individuals who violate gender roles are often the targets of discrimination. For example, Rieger et al. (2008) reported that participants with higher levels of gender nonconformity reported higher rates of parental and peer rejection. In a study of high school students, hypothetical peers described as gender-conforming earned the highest acceptance ratings compared with those who were described as gender-nonconforming (in either activity choice or appearance and

- mannerisms), regardless of their sexual orientation (Horn, 2007). Effeminate gay males elicited greater negative affect, as measured by three scales (Fear, Hostility, and Discomfort), from undergraduate men than masculine gay males (Glick, 2007). Additionally, Faludi (1991) found that as women tried to enter nontraditional careers, they reported greater experiences with discrimination.
- 4) **Individuals in high status jobs will be rated more favorably than those in low status jobs.** Society typically values those in higher social classes more than those in lower social classes, with many people holding negative stereotypes about lower class individuals (Cozarelli, Wilkinson, & Tagler, 2001). Lower class individuals are often devalued or discounted based on their class (Lott, 2002). Although there is some evidence to show attitudes of prejudice towards poor people, there remains a dearth in the research in this area (Croizet & Millet, 2012; Lott, 2002).
 - 5) **Lesbians will be rated more favorably than gay males.** Few studies have examined the difference in attitudes toward gay men compared to lesbians. There is some evidence, however, that gay men elicit greater negative attitudes than lesbians. For example, LaMar and Kite (1998) found that attitudes toward gay men were more negative than were attitudes toward lesbians on multiple dimensions, including condemnation of discrimination (e.g., “job discrimination against gay men/lesbians is wrong”), morality (e.g., “homosexual behavior between two men/women is just plain wrong), and contact (e.g., “it would be upsetting to find myself alone with a gay man/lesbian”).
 - 6) **Among gender-nonconforming individuals, females will be rated more favorably than males.** Multiple findings show that gender nonconformity is more socially

acceptable for females than it is for males (Martin, 1990; Zucker & Bradley, 1995; Zucker et al., 1995; Sandnabba & Ahlberg, 1999; Cahill & Adams, 1997; Fagot, 1977).

- 7) **Gender-conforming lesbians and gay males will be rated more favorably than gender-nonconforming heterosexual individuals.** Both minority sexual orientation and gender-nonconformity elicit disapproval in our current society, however, few studies have examined both of these dimensions to determine if either outweighs the other in terms of intolerance and prejudice. In one study, however, Horn (2007) found that individuals who were described as gender-nonconforming in appearance or mannerisms were least accepted by their peers, regardless of sexual orientation.
- 8) **Gender-conforming individuals in low status positions will be rated more favorably than gender-nonconforming individuals in high status positions.** Both lower class individuals and gender-nonconforming individuals face discrimination, but no research comparing these two sources of prejudice was found. Discrimination based on gender-nonconformity may be more acceptable in our society than that based on SES. Because many associate gender-nonconformity with a minoritized sexual orientation, I am basing this prediction on findings relating classism to sexual prejudice. Aosved et al. (2009) found that social desirability was positively associated with sexual prejudice but negatively associated with classism. This finding indicates that prejudice based on sexual orientation may be sanctioned by society; thus, it is possible that prejudice based on gender-nonconformity is also more accepted by society than prejudice based on SES.

CHAPTER 4. METHODS

Participants

Participants were 686 undergraduate students at Iowa State University, recruited through the Department of Psychology's research participation pool comprised of students enrolled in introductory psychology or communication studies courses. For involvement in this study, each participant received credit towards required research participation in her/his class. Students were able to withdraw from the study at any time with no penalty. This study was approved by the university's Institutional Review Board.

Vignettes

There were 16 vignettes (see Appendix C), each describing an individual, with variations on the following dimensions: 1) Sex (male or female); 2) Sexual orientation (gay or heterosexual); 3) Level of gender conformity (gender-conforming or gender-nonconforming); and 4) Class (high SES or low SES). For example, one vignette described a gay male doctor who was gender-conforming:

Jake is a doctor at the local hospital. He enjoys his job and is successful at it. Jake owns a 5-bedroom house and drives a 2010 BMW. He typically wears expensive, name-brand clothing. Jake is confident he can handle problems that come up. For example, even though he could easily afford to hire a plumber, Jake fixed his leaky kitchen faucet himself. He goes hiking 2-3 times a year and knows how to take care of himself if caught in the wilderness. Last year, he ignored his painful injury to complete his first marathon. This weekend, Jake has plans to have dinner and see a movie with his boyfriend, Tom. Jake has been dating Tom for two years and is happy with how the relationship is going. Jake and Tom have recently begun to discuss whether they would like to get married.

Each participant read only one randomly-assigned vignette and then responded to two measures (described below) regarding the individual in the vignette.

Measures

Demographic questionnaire. Participants were asked to complete several questions regarding demographic information. Questions requested information on participants' age, sex, college major, year in school, religiosity, political affiliation, parents' level of education, and parents' income.

Emotional Rating Scale. Participants were asked to rate emotions toward the targets presented in the vignettes using a Likert-type scale of 1 (not at all) to 7 (extremely). The emotional rating scale was modeled on one used in a previous study that examined negative affect towards gay men (see Glick, Gangl, Gibb, Klumpner, & Weinberg, 2007). The scale contained 17 emotions, including positive responses (e.g., comfort, admiration), negative responses related to fear (e.g., insecurity, fearful), and negative responses related to hostility (e.g., anger, disgust). The discomfort scale included seven positive emotions, which were then reverse-scored to create the scale to be congruent with the other two scales. Cronbach's alpha for these scales ranged from .72 to .87 in a previous study (Glick et al., 2007). In the present study, all items were combined to form one scale to gauge emotional reactions toward the target individuals. Cronbach's alpha for this combined scale was .86.

Interpersonal Judgment Scale. The Interpersonal Judgment Scale (IJS; Byrne, 1971) is a six-item measure to assess liking or attraction (general liking as opposed to romantic attraction) to an individual. Each item was scored from 1 to 7, with higher scores indicating more favorable impressions; the score for the measure was the average of the scores from the six items. Each item required participants to choose one statement, out of seven, that best

represented what they thought of the target person on each of the following dimensions: 1) Intelligence, 2) Knowledge of current events, 3) Morality, 4) Adjustment, 5) Personal feelings, and 6) Desire to work together in an experiment. Response options allowed participants to choose how they judged the target on each of the domains. For example, participants were able to rate the target individual as more or less intelligent than average (ranging from “very much above average” to “very much below average”) or participants rated to what extent they would enjoy working with the target individual (ranging from “very much enjoy” to “very much dislike”). Although there were six items, only two items comprised the original IJS, whereas the remaining four were included to mask the intent of the measure. In my study, however, I used all six items, as all items seemed pertinent to my research questions. Additionally, Cronbach’s alpha for the entire scale was .73; omitting items would have resulted in lower reliability.

Intolerant Schema Measure. The Intolerant Schema Measure (ISM) is a 54-item questionnaire designed to serve as an aggregate measure of multiple types of intolerance (Aosved, Long, & Voller, 2009). Six types of intolerance are included in this measure: sexism, racism, sexual prejudice, ageism, classism, and religious intolerance. Each item is a statement related to one of these forms of intolerance. Examples include “Marriages between two lesbians should be legal”, “People who stay on welfare have no desire to work”, and “Women should worry less about their rights and more about becoming good wives and mothers”. Participants were asked to rate how much each statement matched their beliefs on a Likert-type scale of 1 (Strongly disagree) to 5 (Strongly agree). In a factor analysis from an initial sample and a confirmatory factor analysis conducted with a second sample, the authors of this measure found that the items on the ISM loaded onto six distinct factors, each

corresponding to one of the types of intolerance targeted (Aosved et al., 2009). Thus, this measure provides an overall intolerance score in addition to subscale scores for each specific type of intolerance. Some items were reverse-coded, and the overall ISM score was computed by averaging the scores across all 54 items. Higher scores reflect greater levels of intolerance for both the subscales and the overall scale. For the overall scale including all items, Cronbach's alpha was .93 in previous research (Aosved, Long, & Voller, 2009). In another sample, these same researchers found test-retest reliability to be high by re-administering the ISM to a subset of the participants ($r = .90, p < .01$ for the overall scale). For the current study, Cronbach's alpha for the ISM was .95.

Balanced Inventory of Desirable Responses. The Balanced Inventory of Desirable Responding Version 6 – Form 40A (BIDR) was designed to measure the extent to which individuals attempt to present themselves in a favorable manner (Paulhus, 1994). This scale contains 40 items and measures two components of social desirability: Self-Deceptive Enhancement (SDE) and Impression Management (IM). SDE items were designed to measure one's tendency to self-enhance or deny undesirable qualities. Examples of SDE items include "I never regret my decisions" and "It would be hard for me to break any of my bad habits," with the latter reverse-scored. IM items were designed to measure one's tendency to convey positive, socially acceptable characteristics. Examples of IM items include "I sometimes tell lies if I have to" and "When I hear people talking privately, I avoid listening," with the former being reverse-coded. Participants were asked to rate how true each statement was for them on a Likert-type scale of 1 (Very true) to 7 (Not True). Paulhus (1994) offered two methods for scoring: continuous (all responses are included in total score) and dichotomous (only extreme answers are counted in total score). I utilized continuous

scoring in my analyses. After reverse-scoring designated items, scores were computed by summing responses across items. Higher scores indicated a greater tendency to present oneself in a favorable manner. Because Cronbach's alpha was highest when all 40 items were included in one scale ($\alpha = .79$ for total scale; $\alpha = .67$ for Self-Deception subscale; and $\alpha = .77$ for Impression Management subscale), a total score for Social Desirability, including all 40 items, was used in my analyses.²

Religious Emphasis Scale. The Religious Emphasis Scale (RES) is a 10-item scale designed to measure the extent to which one's parents emphasized religious involvement (Altemeyer, 1988). For this study, a modification of this scale (adapted by Johnson, 2006) was used to measure participants' religiosity. This modification involved slightly rewording some items in the scale to remove the emphasis of Christianity as the dominant perspective. For example, an original item asking how much one's parents emphasized "Going to church, attending religious services." was modified to "Attending religious services (e.g., synagogue, church, mosque)." Participants were asked to rate the degree to which specific behaviors of the family religion were emphasized by their parents on a Likert-type scale of 0 (No emphasis was placed on this behavior) to 5 (Very strong emphasis was placed on this behavior). Responses were averaged across all items to form the scale score, and a higher score indicated a greater emphasis on religious involvement in a participant's family. Internal consistency for this scale in the current sample was very high ($\alpha = .95$).

Personal Attributes Questionnaire. The Personal Attributes Questionnaire (PAQ; Spence & Helmreich, 1978) measures traits that are typically associated with masculinity and femininity. In the present study, I used the short form of the PAQ which contains 24 bipolar items. Each item describes a personal characteristic, on which the participant can rate

her/himself on a 5-point scale between two extremes. Examples include “not at all emotional . . . very emotional” and “not at all understanding of others . . . very understanding of others”. This short form is composed of three 8-item scales: 1) Masculinity (M); 2) Femininity (F); and 3) Masculinity-Femininity (M-F). The M scale measures traits more characteristic of men than women, such as independence and competitiveness, while the F scale measures those more characteristic of women than men, such as warmth and helpfulness. The M-F scale measures traits in which one extreme is representative of masculinity and the other extreme is representative of femininity. Items on both the M and F scales have been reported as socially desirable for both sexes, while items on the M-F scale differ in their social desirability between the sexes (i.e., some items may describe characteristics desirable for males but not for females whereas other items may describe characteristics desirable for females but not for males; Helmreich, Spence, & Wilhelm, 1981). Additionally, the items on the M scale tend to represent goal-oriented, instrumental traits, and items on the F scale represent interpersonally-oriented, expressive traits. The M-F scale contains a mix of the two, with 2 items reflecting instrumentality and 6 items describing emotional vulnerability. Each item is scored from 0 to 4; responses on items that are more typical of masculinity on the M and M-F scales are given higher scores, and responses on items that are more typical of femininity on the F scale are given higher scores. Total scores for each scale are obtained by adding the scores from each of the eight items that comprise the scale. Each scale has a possible range of scores of 0-32. Thus, if one were to score high on the M and the F scales, he/she would demonstrate socially desirable characteristics associated with both men and women. For the current sample, Cronbach’s alpha was .75 for the M scale, .78 for the F scale, and .56 for the M-F scale. Because Cronbach’s alpha for the

M-F scale was poor, it was not included in any analyses; only the M and F scales were utilized in further analyses.

Procedure

Participants accessed the study by signing up via the Psychology Department's online Experiment Management System. All participants were enrolled in an introductory psychology or communications studies course. For their participation in this study, they received credit toward their research participation requirement. After choosing to participate in this study, participants were immediately redirected to the current study and had the opportunity to complete the online survey. First, participants viewed and accepted or declined the informed consent. After reviewing and agreeing to the informed consent, participants completed questions regarding their demographic information. Each participant was then presented with a randomly assigned vignette. After reading the vignette, he or she completed the emotional rating scale, the IJS, the ISM, the PAQ, the BIDR, and the Religious Emphasis Scale. Finally, participants completed manipulation check items and then viewed a debriefing statement.

CHAPTER 5. RESULTS

Data were collected from 686 students. Three students were not included in the analyses because they reported their sex as “other.” Data from an additional 28 students were removed due to missing responses that prevented inclusion in the analyses. Thus, the final sample comprised 655 participants. Over half of the participants were female (67%) and between the ages of 18-21 years (64%). The majority of the sample identified themselves as heterosexual (96%). Many of the participants (63%) had at least one parent who had earned a four-year degree or higher. Demographic information for the sample can be found in Table 1 (see below).

Table 1
Demographic characteristics of the sample (N=655)

Variable	n	%
Sex		
Male	215	32.8
Female	440	67.2
Age		
18-19	372	36.9
20-21	179	27.3
22-23	30	4.6
24-29	13	.21
30-38	2	.4
Missing	59	9.0
Sexual orientation		
Heterosexual	626	95.6
Bisexual	19	2.9
Gay or lesbian	7	1.1
Other	3	.5
Parents' education (highest achieved)		
Elementary	5	.8
High school degree or equivalent	66	10.1
Some college, no degree	84	12.8
2 year degree	87	13.3
4 year degree	257	39.2
Graduate or professional degree	156	23.8

Scores on the manipulation check items were calculated to determine the success of the experimental manipulations. Overall, these were successful: 95% of the participants answered correctly regarding sex and sexual orientation of the target and 91% answered correctly regarding target's SES. Only 72%, however, answered correctly regarding gender conformity of the target. Analyses were conducted with everyone's data included and again a second time including only the data from those who answered the gender conformity question correctly. Means and standard deviations for the study variables are shown in Table 2. When compared with previous samples, my participants showed lower overall levels of prejudice and higher levels of religious emphasis. Two previous samples of university students reported mean levels of prejudice on the ISM of 2.43 and 2.59. The mean score on this measure in the current sample was 2.05. In a previous sample of college students, a mean Religious Emphasis score of 1.77 was reported (when the sum was averaged to compare to the mean from my sample; Altemeyer, 1988) compared to a mean score of 3.18 in the current sample. Overall, my sample showed slightly more favorable ratings on the dependent variables than previous samples. For example, in a previous sample of undergraduate males, mean negative emotion ratings ranged from 2.59 to 3.14, depending on the nature of the targets the men were asked to rate (Glick et al., 2007). In my sample, the mean negative emotion rating for males was 2.46, indicating that my sample tended to rate others slightly more positively than those in other comparable samples. My participants also reported more favorable ratings on the IJS when compared to a previous sample of women. The previous sample showed an average rating of 8.5 (computed by adding the original two IJS items; Nesler, Storr, & Tedeschi, 1993), compared to a mean rating of 11.0 for the

women in my sample for those same two items³ (higher scores indicated more positive ratings). Thus, for both males and females, participants in my sample tended to make somewhat more positive ratings than those in previous samples.

Table 2
Means and Standard Deviations of Covariates and Dependent Variables

	Female Participants (<i>n</i> = 440)		Male Participants (<i>n</i> = 215)		All Participants (<i>N</i> = 655)	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Parent Education	4.50	1.27	4.55	1.35	4.52	1.30
General Prejudice	1.92	.49	2.33	.58	2.05	.56
Social Desirability	3.99	.51	4.02	.54	4.00	.52
Religiosity	3.24	1.38	3.08	1.43	3.18	.52
Masculinity	2.39	.56	2.64	.62	2.47	.59
Femininity	3.04	.50	2.69	.53	2.93	.54
Negative Emotions ^a	2.16	.77	2.46	.85	2.26	.81
Positive Judgments ^a	5.20	.82	4.84	.83	5.08	.84
Positive Feelings and Impressions	0.26	1.71	-0.54	1.77	0.00	1.77

Note: ^aThese represent the two original dependent variables prior to being standardized and combined to form the composite dependent variable.

Correlations were computed among the study variables (see Table 3). Sex correlated positively with general prejudice ($r = .35, p < .01$) and masculinity ($r = .20, p < .01$), indicating that men reported higher levels of both prejudice and masculinity than women. Sex was correlated negatively with femininity ($r = -.31, p < .01$) and positive impressions of the target ($r = -.21, p < .01$), indicating that men reported lower levels of femininity and less positive impressions of the target than women. Parents' education was positively correlated with participants' religiosity ($r = .16, p < .01$). Participants whose parents were more highly educated reported higher levels of religious emphasis in their households. General prejudice

was positively correlated with religiosity ($r = .10, p < .05$) and masculinity ($r = .10, p < .05$). General prejudice was negatively correlated with femininity ($r = -.36, p < .01$) and positive impressions of the target ($r = -.51, p < .01$). Participants who reported higher levels of general prejudice tended to report higher levels of religiosity and masculinity and lower levels of femininity and positivity towards the target. Social desirability was positively correlated with religiosity ($r = .08, p < .05$), masculinity ($r = .29, p < .01$), and femininity ($r = .12, p < .01$). Participants who reported higher levels of social desirability were more likely to report higher levels of religiosity, masculinity, and femininity. Religiosity was positively correlated with masculinity ($r = .09, p < .05$) and femininity ($r = .15, p < .01$), and negatively correlated with positive impressions of the target ($r = -.14, p < .01$). Participants who reported higher levels of religiosity were more likely to report higher levels of masculinity and femininity. Participants who reported higher levels of religiosity were less likely to report positive impressions of the target. Femininity was positively correlated with positive impressions of the target ($r = .28, p < .01$). Thus, participants who reported higher levels of femininity were more likely to have positive impressions of the target. Although many of these correlations were statistically significant, many were of small magnitude (correlation values of .1 are considered small, .3 are considered medium, and .5 are considered large). There were some medium-size correlations and only one large correlation (i.e., prejudice and positive feelings and impressions toward the target).

Table 3
Correlations Among All Study Variables (N = 655)

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Sex	-	.02	.35**	.02	-.05	.20**	-.31**	-.21**
2. Parents' Education		-	-.03	-.03	.16**	.01	-.02	-.02
3. General Prejudice			-	-.04	.10*	.10*	-.36**	-.51**
4. Social Desirability				-	.08*	.29**	.12**	.05
5. Religiosity					-	.09*	.15**	-.14**
6. Masculinity						-	.02	-.01
7. Femininity							-	.28**
8. Positive Impressions								-

Note. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. Participant sex was coded -1 for female and 1 for male.

Originally I had intended to complete analyses separately for two dependent variables, negative emotions toward the target and positive impressions of the target. However, these two variables were highly correlated ($r = -.56, p < .01$). Therefore, I combined them to form one dependent variable, positive feelings and impressions toward the target.⁴ To do so, I reverse coded the items from the negative emotion scale to form a positive emotion scale. I standardized each of the two scale scores and then added the positive emotion scale with the positive impressions scale to form the new variable, positive feeling and impressions toward target. The reliability of the combined outcome measures was .87, using a formula for the reliability of a linear combination of scales (Nunnally, 1978).

To test my hypotheses, I conducted a 2 x 2 x 2 x 2 x 2 ANCOVA using SPSS 20 (see Table 4). The dependent variable was level of positive feelings and impressions toward the

target. Participant sex and four characteristics of the target (sex, sexual orientation, gender conformity, and socio-economic status) were entered as fixed factors. Covariates were the following characteristics of the participants: parents' level of education, general prejudice, social desirability, religiosity, masculinity, and femininity. I decided to control for these characteristics that might predict prejudice to determine what level of prejudice, if any, would remain. Additional analyses with no covariate and testing for moderation of these covariates were later completed and are reported below. For the current analyses, main effects for participant sex, target sexual orientation, target sex, target gender conformity, and target socioeconomic status were tested. Additionally, interactions among these factors were examined. An alpha level of .05 was the standard for statistical significance in all statistical tests. I conducted Levene's test of equality of variances, which yielded $p = .10$, indicating equal variances, an assumption that underlies the analysis of variance test. First, I will present the findings related to the covariates, followed by tests of my specific hypotheses.

Covariates

The effects of three covariates were significant in predicting evaluations of the target (see Table 4). Prejudice and religiosity were significantly negatively related to positive feelings and impressions of the target. Conversely, femininity was significantly positively related to positive feelings and impressions of the target. Level of parents' education, masculinity, and social desirability were not significantly related to the dependent variable. The main effect of participant sex also failed to attain significance, but was modified by significant interactions, which will be described below with their appropriate hypothesis tests.

Table 4
Analysis of Covariance for Positive Feelings and Impressions of Target (N = 655)

Source	df	MS	F	η^2	p
Covariates					
Parents' education	1	.51	.25	.000	.62
Prejudice	1	302.65	145.90	.191	.00**
Social Desirability	1	.18	.09	.000	.77
Religiosity	1	24.45	11.79	.019	.00**
Masculinity	1	6.38	3.07	.005	.08
Femininity	1	29.57	14.25	.023	.00**
Main Effects					
Participant sex	1	.74	.36	.001	.55
Target sexual orientation	1	15.92	7.68	.012	.01**
Target sex	1	7.35	3.54	.006	.06
Target conformity	1	.16	.08	.000	.78
Target SES	1	55.28	26.65	.041	.00**
Interactions					
Participant sex X Target orientation	1	6.32	3.05	.005	.08
Participant sex X Target sex	1	10.27	4.95	.008	.03*
Participant sex X Target conformity	1	.35	.17	.000	.68
Participant sex X Target SES	1	7.72	3.72	.006	.05
Target orientation X Target sex	1	.04	.02	.000	.89
Target orientation X Target conformity	1	5.62	2.71	.004	.10
Target orientation X Target SES	1	.40	.20	.000	.66
Target sex X Target conformity	1	38.61	18.61	.029	.00**
Target sex X Target SES	1	7.30	3.52	.006	.06
Target conformity X Target SES	1	5.17	2.49	.004	.12
Error	617	2.07			

Note. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. Homogeneity of regression and other possible three-way, four-way, and five-way interactions were not significant at the .05 level. Participant sex was coded -1 for female and 1 for male. Target sexual orientation was coded -1 for gay/lesbian and 1 for heterosexual. Target sex was coded -1 for female and 1 for male. Target gender conformity was coded -1 for gender nonconforming and 1 for gender conforming. Target SES was coded -1 for low SES and 1 for high SES.

Tests of Hypotheses

I predicted that men would be rated more favorably than women. This prediction was not supported by the results. The main effect for target sex was not significant, $F(1, 617) = 3.54, p = .06$. However, the interaction between participant sex and target sex was significant, $F(1,617) = 4.95, p = .03$ (see Table 5). Males evaluated females more positively ($M = .192, SD = 1.53$) than they evaluated males ($M = -.309, SD = 1.51$) and females evaluated males slightly more positively ($M = .044, SD = 1.47$) than they evaluated females ($M = .001, SD = 1.48$). Thus, female targets rated by males received the most favorable ratings followed by male targets rated by females, female targets rated by females, and finally, male targets rated by males (see Figure 1). I completed regression analyses to test whether the simple effects female versus male raters of female versus male targets were significant (see Table 6). Results showed that the simple effect of ratings by male participants of female versus male targets was significant and that the simple effects of ratings by female participants of female versus male targets was not significant.

Table 5
Means and Standard Deviations for Target Sex X Participant Sex Interaction

Variable	Female Targets		Male Targets	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Female participants	.001	1.48	.044	1.47
Male participants	.192	1.53	-.309	1.51

Note. Means and standard deviations on the dependent measure, positive feelings and impressions toward target. Both participant and target sex were coded -1 for female and 1 for male.

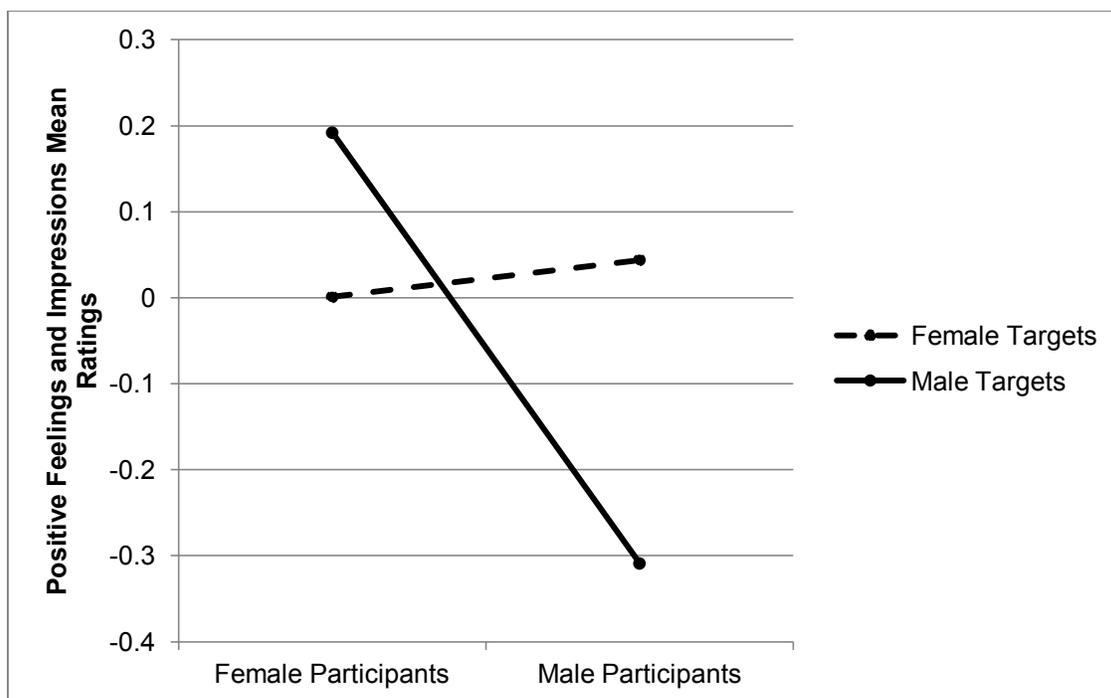


Figure 1. Interaction Effect for Participant Sex X Target Sex.

Table 6
Summary of Regression Analyses for Simple Effects of Target Sex X Participant Sex Interaction

Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>t</i>	β
Female raters of male vs. female targets	.022	.071	.306	.010
Male raters of male vs. female targets	-.292	.103	-2.841	-.095**

Note. ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$. Both participant and target sex were coded -1 for female and 1 for male.

Next, I predicted that heterosexual individuals would be rated more favorably than gay or lesbian individuals. Results supported this prediction as heterosexual targets were rated more favorably ($M = .151$, $SD = 1.58$) than gay or lesbian targets ($M = -.187$, $SD = 1.55$), $F(1, 617) = 7.68$, $p < .01$, $d = .21$ (see Table 7). I also predicted that lesbians would be rated more favorably than gay males. There was neither a significant main effect for target sex (see Table 3) nor a significant interaction between target sex and sexual orientation, $F(1,$

617) = .02, $p = .89$. Thus, there was no significant difference in the ratings of lesbian versus gay male targets.

Table 7
Means and Standard Deviations for Targets by Sexual Orientation

Variable	Mean	SD
Gay/lesbian targets	-.187	1.55
Heterosexual targets	.151	1.58

Note. Means and standard deviations on the dependent measure, positive feelings and impressions toward target. Target sexual orientation was coded -1 for gay/lesbian and 1 for heterosexual.

I predicted that gender-conforming individuals would be rated more favorably than gender-nonconforming individuals. I further predicted that gender-nonconforming males would be evaluated more negatively than gender-nonconforming females. Results showed no significant difference in the ratings of gender-conforming versus gender-nonconforming individuals, $F(1, 617) = .08, p = .78$. However, a significant interaction was found between gender nonconformity and target sex, $F(1,617) = 18.61, p < .01$ (see Table 8 and Figure 2). Gender conforming females were given the most favorable ratings ($M = .343, SD = 1.53$), followed by gender nonconforming males ($M = .148, SD = 1.61$), gender nonconforming females ($M = -.149, SD = 1.55$), and finally gender conforming males ($M = -.413, SD = 1.57$). The favorable ratings received by gender nonconforming males were unexpected and contrary to my prediction. To test whether the simple effects were significant, I completed additional regression analyses (see Table 9). The effect of target sex was significant for gender conforming targets but not for gender nonconforming targets. Within gender conforming targets, females were rated significantly more favorably than males. Conversely,

no significant difference was found in the ratings between gender nonconforming males versus gender nonconforming females.

Table 8

Means and Standard Deviations for Target Sex X Conformity Interaction

Variable	Female Targets		Male Targets	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Gender-conforming targets	.343	1.53	-.413	1.57
Gender-nonconforming targets	-.149	1.55	.148	1.61

Note. Means and standard deviations on the dependent measure, positive feelings and impressions toward target. Target gender conformity was coded -1 for nonconforming and 1 for conforming. Target sex was coded -1 for female and 1 for male.

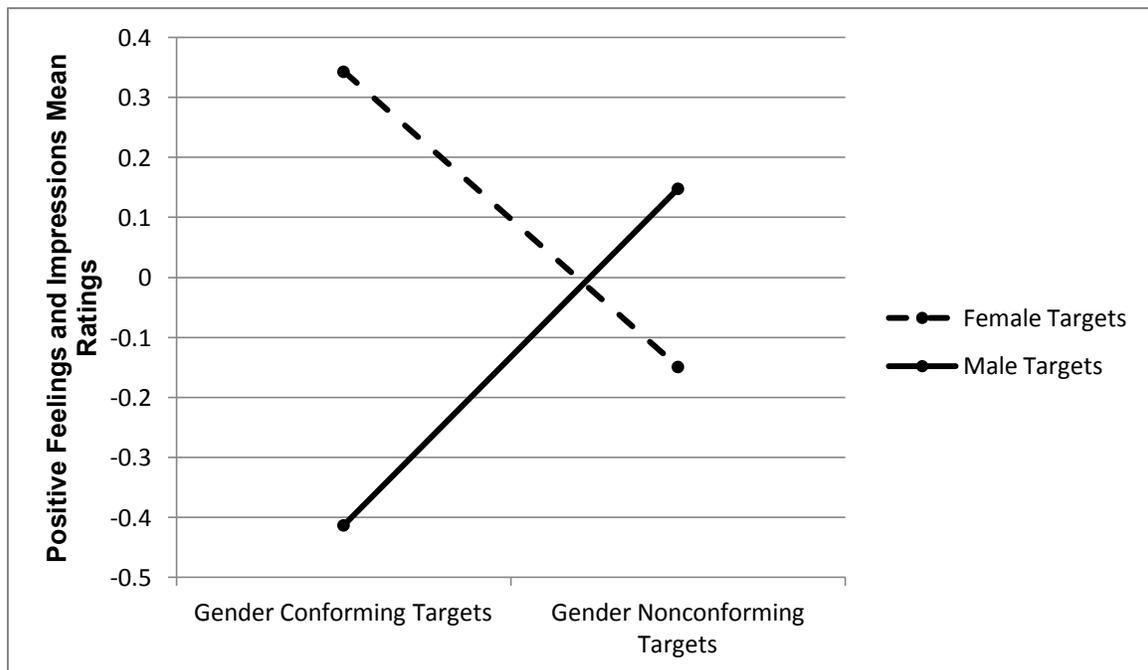


Figure 2. Interaction Effect for Target Gender Conformity by Target Sex.

Table 9

Summary of Regression Analyses for Simple Effects of Target Sex X Gender Conformity Interaction

Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>t</i>	β
Conforming targets by target sex	-.301	.082	-3.672	-.121**
Nonconforming targets by target sex	.148	.083	1.791	.059

Note. ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$. Target gender conformity was coded -1 for nonconforming and 1 for conforming. Target sex was coded -1 for female and 1 for male.

I completed an additional ANCOVA, using just the portion of the sample that read vignettes with gender-nonconforming individuals. The results indicated a marginally significant difference in ratings of gender-nonconforming individuals between the sexes, $F(1,303) = 2.69, p = .10$. Contrary to my prediction, gender-nonconforming males received higher ratings ($M = .107, SD = 1.56$) than gender-nonconforming females ($M = -.170, SD = 1.50$), $d = .18$.

I predicted that gender-conforming lesbians and gay males would be rated more favorably than gender-nonconforming heterosexual individuals. No significant interaction was found between conformity and orientation, $F(1,617) = 2.71, p = .10$. As noted previously, the main effect of sexual orientation, but not gender conformity, was significant. Thus, there was no significant difference in the ratings of gender-conforming gay individuals and gender-nonconforming heterosexual individuals.

I predicted that individuals in high-status jobs would be rated more favorably than those in low-status jobs. This hypothesis was supported (see Table 10). Those with higher status jobs ($M = .297, SD = 1.61$) were rated more favorably than those in low status jobs ($M = -.332, SD = 1.54$), $F(1, 617) = 26.65, p < .01, d = .40$.

Table 10

Means and Standard Deviations for Targets by SES

Variable	Mean	SD
Low SES targets	-.332	1.54
High SES targets	.297	1.61

Note. Means and standard deviations on the dependent measure, positive feelings and impressions toward target. Target SES was coded -1 for low SES and 1 for high SES.

Finally, I predicted that gender-conforming individuals in low status positions would be rated more favorably than gender-nonconforming individuals in high status positions. There was no significant interaction between gender conformity and SES, $F(1,617) = 2.49$, $p = .12$. Thus, there was no significant difference in the ratings of gender-conforming individuals in low status job positions and gender-nonconforming individuals in high status jobs.

No other two-way interactions were significant, and no three-way, four-way, or five-way interactions were significant.

Additional Analyses

In the ANCOVA conducted above, the covariates of prejudice, religiosity, and femininity were significantly related to the dependent variable and may have obscured true reactions to the targets. Thus, questions remain about the prejudice expressed towards the targets. Therefore, I decided to conduct additional analyses to determine whether the pattern of results would differ or remain the same if the covariates were removed. I therefore conducted an ANOVA using participant sex, target sex, target sexual orientation, target gender nonconformity, and target SES as independent variables with positive feelings and impressions toward the target as the dependent variable. Compared to the previous

ANCOVA, results of this analysis showed no differences regarding the tests of my hypotheses and a similar pattern of main effects and interactions. As in the ANCOVA reported above, participant ratings were more favorable toward heterosexual targets ($M = .074$, $SD = 1.84$) than gay or lesbian targets ($M = -.330$, $SD = 1.80$), $F(1,623) = 8.09$, $p < .01$, $d = .22$, and toward targets with higher SES ($M = .193$, $SD = 1.87$) than those with lower SES ($M = -.449$, $SD = 1.77$), $F(1,623) = 20.47$, $p < .01$, $d = .35$. Although overall results remained the same, there were two differences. In the ANOVA with no covariates the main effect of participant sex was now significant, $F(1,623) = 27.82$, $p < .01$. Female participants reported more favorable ratings of the targets ($M = .246$, $SD = 1.70$) than did male participants ($M = -.502$, $SD = 1.72$), $d = .41$. Additionally, the interaction between participant sex and target sex was no longer significant, $F(1,623) = 2.44$, $p = .12$.

To determine whether any of the covariates moderated the main effects, I completed additional regression analyses. After standardizing each of the covariates, I computed interaction terms between each covariate and each independent variable. Results showed that religiosity moderated the effect of target sexual orientation on the evaluation of the target ($\beta = .078$, $p < .05$; see Figure 3). As shown in Table 11, simple effects analyses indicated that heterosexual targets were evaluated significantly more positively than gay or lesbian targets by highly religious participants whereas the difference in the evaluation of heterosexual versus gay or lesbian targets was non-significant for participants who were low in religiosity. Religiosity was also found to moderate the effect of target sex on the evaluations ($\beta = .103$, $p < .01$; see Figure 4). As shown in Table 12, simple effects analyses indicated that female targets were evaluated significantly more positively than male targets by less religious

participants whereas the difference in the evaluation of female versus male participants was non-significant for participants who were high in religiosity.

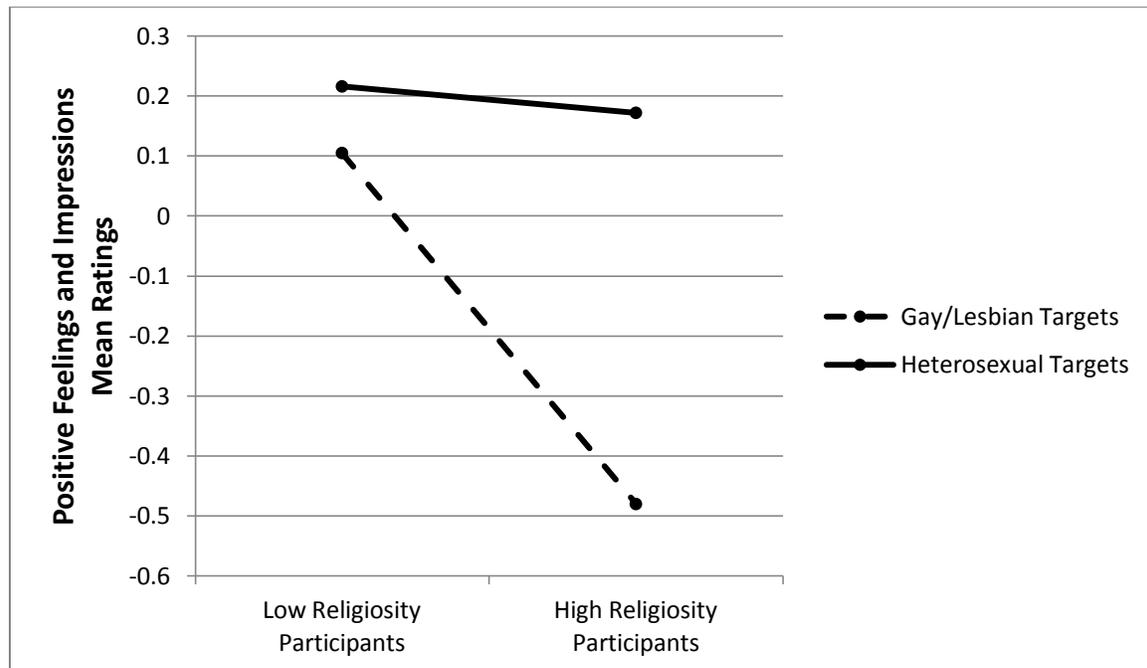


Figure 3. Interaction Effect for Participant Religiosity and Target Sexual Orientation.

Table 11

Summary of Regression Analyses for Simple Effects of Participant Religiosity X Target Sexual Orientation

Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>t</i>	β
Target sexual orientation by low religiosity participants	-.004	.166	-.027	-.001
Target sexual orientation by high religiosity participants	.647	.165	3.911	.158**

Note. ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$. Target sexual orientation was coded -1 for gay/lesbian and 1 for heterosexual. Participant religiosity was coded -1 for low religiosity and 1 for high religiosity.

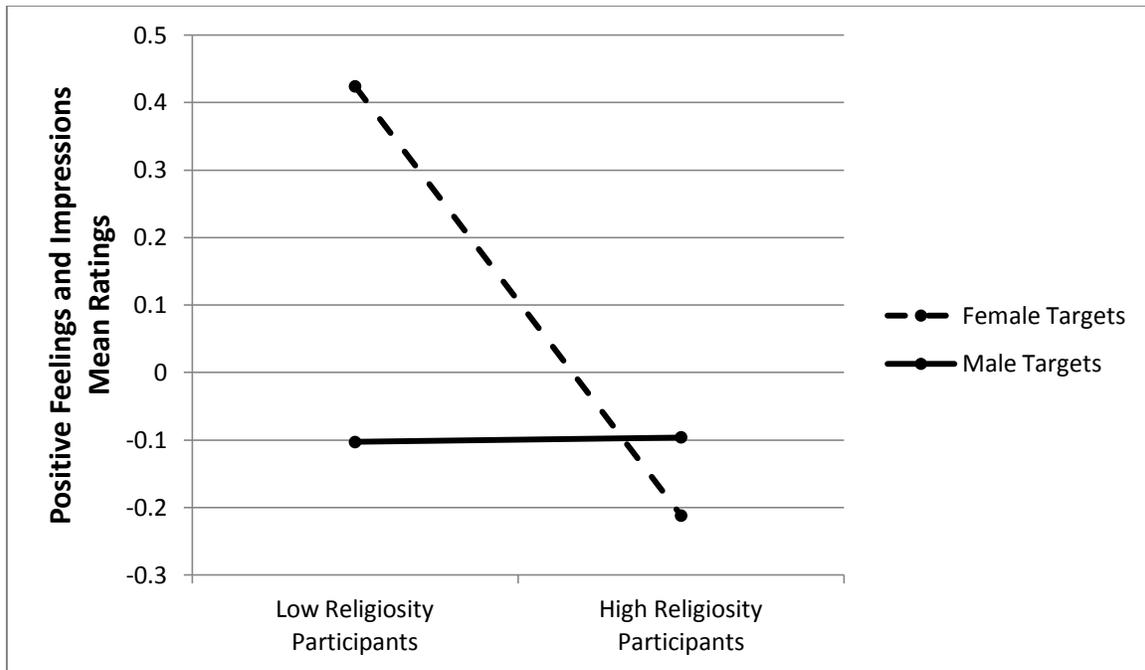


Figure 4. Interaction effect for Participant Religiosity and Target Sex.

Table 12

Summary of Regression Analyses for Simple Effects of Participant Religiosity X Target Sex

Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>t</i>	β
Target sex by low religiosity participants	-.264	.083	-3.178	-.106**
Target sex by high religiosity participants	.095	.083	1.142	.038

Note. ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$. Target sex was coded -1 for female and 1 for male. Participant religiosity was coded -1 for low religiosity and 1 for high religiosity.

Participant prejudice was found to moderate the effect of for target sexual orientation on the evaluations ($\beta = .162, p < .01$; see Figure 5). As shown in Table 13, simple effects analyses indicated that heterosexual targets were evaluated significantly more positively than gay or lesbian targets by highly prejudiced participants whereas the difference in the evaluation of heterosexual versus gay or lesbian targets was non-significant for participants who were low in prejudice.

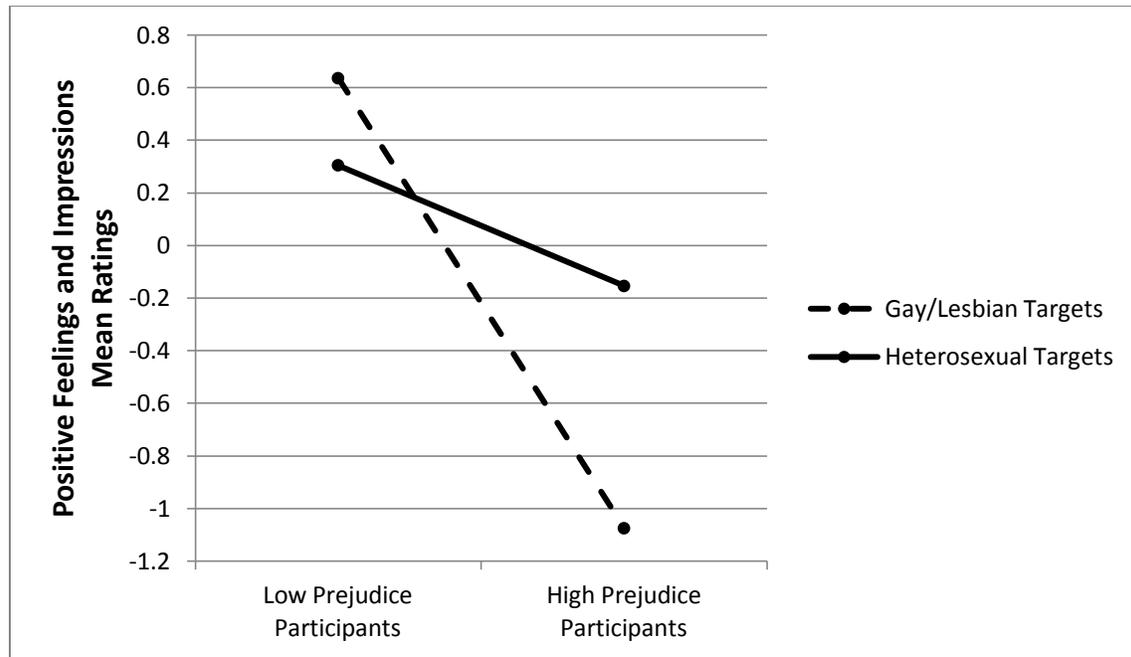


Figure 5. Interaction Effect for Participant Prejudice and Target Sexual Orientation.

Table 13

Summary of Regression Analyses for Simple Effects of Participant Prejudice X Target Sexual Orientation

Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>t</i>	β
Target sexual orientation by low prejudice participants	-.308	.172	-1.796	-.076
Target sexual orientation by high prejudice participants	.917	.171	5.350	.223**

Note. ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$. Target sexual orientation was coded -1 for gay/lesbian and 1 for heterosexual. Participant prejudice was coded -1 for low prejudice and 1 for high prejudice.

Next, femininity of the participant was found to moderate the effects of target SES on the evaluations ($\beta = .084, p < .05$; see Figure 6). As shown in Table 14, simple effects analyses indicated that high SES targets were evaluated significantly more positively than low SES targets by participants both high and low in femininity; however the difference was greater between low and high SES targets when rated by participants high in femininity.

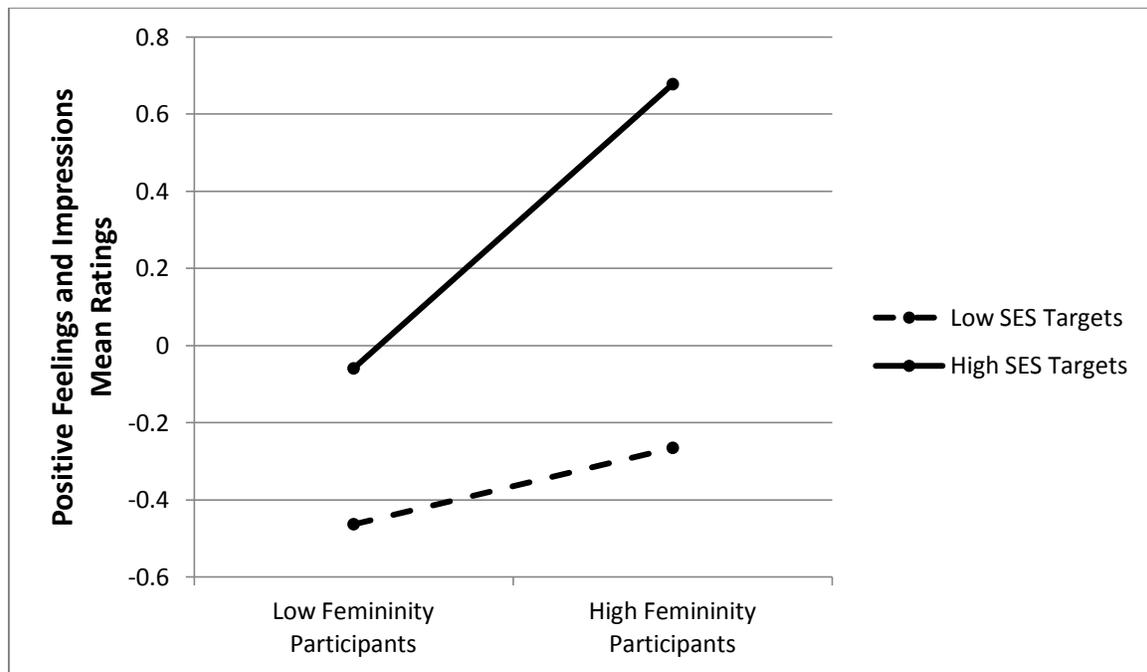


Figure 6. Interaction Effect for Participant Femininity and Target SES.

Table 14

Summary of Regression Analyses for Simple Effects of Participant Femininity X Target SES

Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>t</i>	β
Target SES by low femininity participants	.214	.081	2.647	.087**
Target SES by high femininity participants	.339	.083	4.075	.134**

Note. ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$. Target SES was coded -1 for low SES and 1 for high SES. Participant femininity was coded -1 for low femininity and 1 for high femininity.

Finally, two three-way interactions involving covariates were found to be significant (Femininity X Target gender conformity X Participant sex; Social desirability X Target sexual orientation X Participant sex). However, these were not viewed as relevant to my predictions so they will not be discussed further.

Because only 72% of the sample answered correctly regarding intended gender conformity, the success of the gender conformity manipulation was uncertain. Table 15 shows the pattern of errors in the manipulation by participant sex, target sex, and target

gender conformity. These results indicate that participants were not encoding information indicating gender nonconformity, in particular for female targets.

Table 15
Percentage of Correct Responses to Gender Conformity Manipulation

	Female Targets	Male Targets
Female Participants		
Gender nonconforming targets	37%	63%
Gender conforming targets	97%	96%
Male Participants		
Gender nonconforming targets	38%	55%
Gender conforming targets	86%	89%

Note. ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$. Target gender conformity was coded -1 for nonconforming and 1 for conforming. Both participant and target sex were coded -1 for female and 1 for male.

To evaluate whether or not this affected the results for the gender conformity variable I repeated the above analyses using only the portion of the sample that answered the gender conformity question correctly ($n = 468$). This reduced sample was comprised of 323 females and 145 males. First, I repeated the ANCOVA entering characteristics of the participants as covariates (parents' education, prejudice, social desirability, religiosity, masculinity, and femininity), five independent variables (participant sex, target sex, target sexual orientation, target gender-conformity, and target SES), and positive feelings and impressions toward the target as the dependent variable. Results showed a similar pattern to the ANCOVA with the whole sample. That is, prejudice, religiosity, and femininity remained as significant covariates, while the main effects of target orientation, $F(1,430) = 4.93, p < .05$, and target SES, $F(1,430) = 12.09, p < .01$, were significant. The interaction between participant sex and

target SES became significant in this analysis, $F(1,430) = 3.97, p < .05$ (see Figure 7 and Table 16).

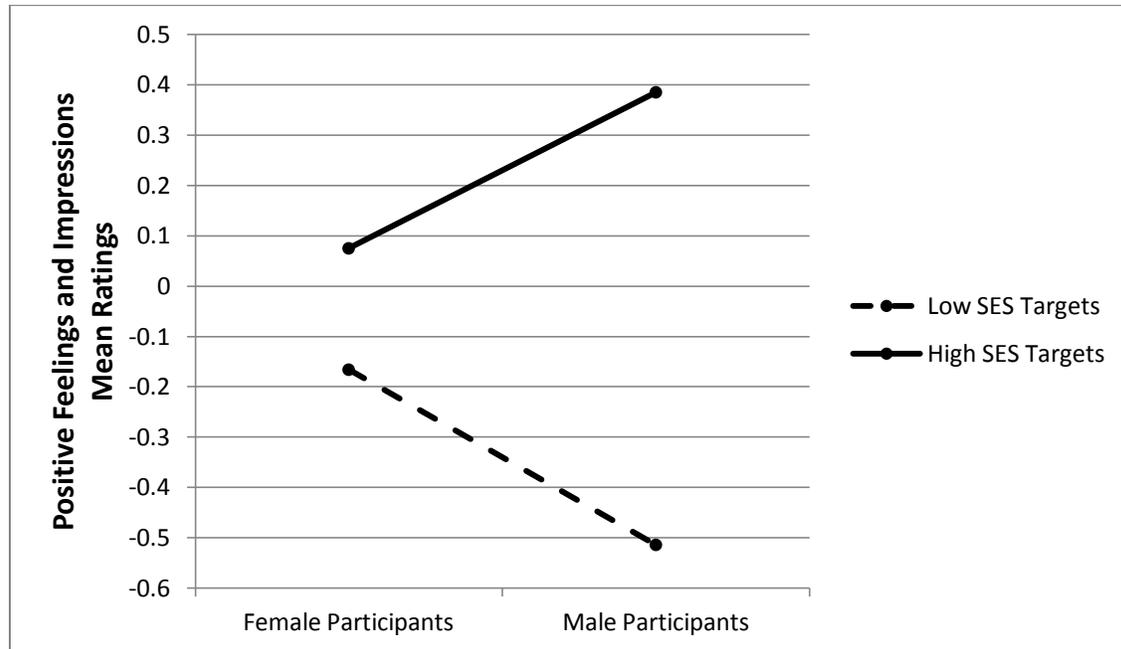


Figure 7. Interaction effect for Participant Sex and Target SES ($n=468$).

Table 16

Summary of Regression Analyses for Simple Effects of Participant Sex X Target SES Interaction

Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>t</i>	β
Target SES by Female Participants	.200	.071	2.812	.092**
Target SES by Male Participants	.400	.102	3.914	.129**

Note. ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$. Target SES was coded -1 for low SES and 1 for high SES. Participant sex was coded -1 for female and 1 for male.

Next, again using the sample of participants who answered the gender conformity manipulation correctly, I removed the covariates and completed an ANOVA. In addition to the main effects of target sex and target SES being significant as they were in the ANCOVA, the main effects of participant sex and target gender conformity were also significant in this analysis using the reduced sample with the covariates removed. Female participants gave

more favorable ratings ($M = .098$, $SD = 1.82$) than did male participants ($M = -.462$, $SD = 1.88$), $F(1,436) = 9.08$, $p < .01$, $d = .28$. Participants gave significantly higher ratings to individuals who were gender-conforming ($M = .062$, $SD = 1.80$) than to individuals who were gender-nonconforming ($M = -.426$, $SD = 1.95$), $F(1,436) = 6.90$, $p < .01$, $d = .24$. This main effect of target gender conformity supported my hypothesis that participants would view gender-conforming targets more favorably than gender-nonconforming targets. The interaction between target sex and target gender conformity was again significant, $F(1,436) = 4.01$, $p < .05$ (see Figure 8 and Table 17). However, the interaction between participant sex and target SES was no longer significant, $F(1,436) = 2.32$, $p = .13$.

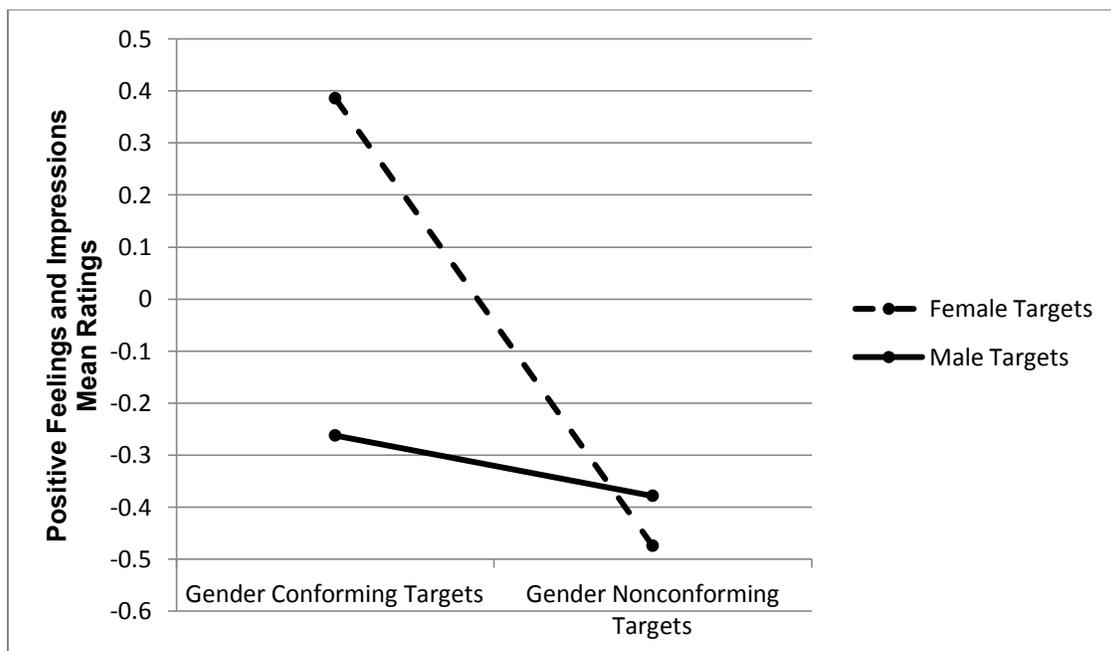


Figure 8. Interaction Effect for Target Gender Conformity by Target Sex ($n = 468$).

Table 17

Summary of Regression Analyses for Simple Effects of Target Sex X Gender Conformity Interaction (n = 468)

Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>t</i>	β
Conforming targets by target sex	-.277	.085	-3.258	-.130**
Nonconforming targets by target sex	.142	.123	1.159	.047

Note. ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$. Target gender conformity was coded -1 for nonconformity and 1 for conformity. Target sex was coded -1 for female and 1 for male.

CHAPTER 6. DISCUSSION

Prejudice originates from many sources and has many negative consequences. For example, individuals from stigmatized groups may internalize and accept negative beliefs associated with their groups (Jost, Banaji, & Nosek, 2004; Jost & Hunyady, 2005). Those affected by discrimination are more likely to report psychological distress, depression, and lower levels of life satisfaction and happiness (Anderson & Armstead, 1995; Corning, 2002; Glauser, 1999; Kessler, Mickelson, & Williams, 1999; Klonoff, Landrine, & Ullman, 1999; Landrine & Klonoff, 1996; Schultz et al., 2000; Swim, Hyers, Cohen, & Ferguson, 2001; Williams, Spencer, & Jackson, 1999; Williams & Williams-Morris, 2000). These negative consequences, combined with the trend toward more subtle forms of prejudice and discrimination (Dovidio, Gaertner, Anastasio, & Sanitioso, 1992; Esses, Haddock, & Zanna, 1993a) that are more difficult to identify and challenge, highlight the need for continued research on this topic.

The purpose of the present study was to examine sources of prejudice, their relative strength, and how they interact. Specifically, I wanted to determine whether some sources of prejudice outweigh others in reactions toward stigmatized individuals. For example, I wanted to explore whether prejudice based on gender nonconformity would be more powerful than, and perhaps underlie, prejudice based on sexual orientation. I also wanted to examine the impact of being a member of multiple stigmatized groups. To explore sources of prejudice and possible interactions among stigmatized characteristics, I examined reactions to individuals who varied on four dimensions (sex, class, sexual orientation, and gender conformity).

Research has shown that sexism continues into the 21st century, with less positive evaluations of women and more frequent discrimination aimed at women than men (Swim & Campbell, 2001; Barreto & Ellemers, 2005; Swim, Mallett, Russo-Devosa, & Stangor, 2005; Whitley, 2001; Hackman, 2010; Correll, Benard, & Paik, 2007; Budig & England, 2001; Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2004; Craig, 2006; Gershuny, Bittman, & Brice, 2005; Kenney, 2006). Although I predicted that participants would report more favorable views of men than women, there was no significant difference in the overall ratings of male targets versus female targets. An interaction between participant sex and target sex, however, revealed that men reported more favorable ratings of female targets compared to male targets. The trend was the reverse, and less extreme, for female participants, who reported more favorable ratings of male targets compared to female targets. There was also an interesting interaction that indicated participants' religiosity moderated the effect of target sex on the outcome measure. Among participants of low religiosity, ratings for females were significantly higher than for males whereas among participants of high religiosity, there was no significant difference in the ratings of males and females. These results are in contrast to other research that shows continued negative views and discrimination towards women (Swim & Hyers, 2009; Campbell, Schellenberg, & Senn, 1997; Whitley, 2001). There are several possible explanations for the lack of prejudiced attitudes toward women. First, the participants in this study were all college students, mostly between the ages of 18 and 22 years. Younger generations are less likely to exhibit prejudice and discrimination than older generations (von Hippel, Silver, & Lynch, 2000). Another explanation is that the majority of the participants were themselves women. Additionally, those who are more highly educated may be less likely to exhibit prejudice than those with lesser education, a possibility evidenced by

research showing that more highly educated people display lower levels of prejudice (Wagner & Zick, 2006). It is also important to note that all of the participants were enrolled in an introductory psychology course. Students interested in taking a psychology course may be less likely to exhibit prejudice than other students. It may be that additional factors influence when and to what extent sexism occurs. For example, if participants had been given information about the targets and told they were competing against them for a job or other reward, an increase in negative reactions likely would have emerged, quite possibly revealing sexism. It is possible, of course, that participants were evaluating the targets as potential friends or dating partners. If this were the case, the preference showed by both men and women for the opposite sex would be understandable among heterosexual participants. However, when the analysis was repeated without the covariates, this interaction became non-significant, and the effect of participant sex became significant. Overall, female participants gave more favorable ratings than male participants, which could likely be the result of gender role socialization.

Next, as predicted, heterosexual individuals were rated more favorably than gay or lesbian individuals. Additional analyses showed that among highly religious participants, but not among less religious participants, ratings for heterosexual individuals were significantly higher than for gay and lesbian individuals, a finding consistent with previous literature. Religion is the reason given most frequently for biased views against homosexuality, and higher levels of religiosity have been connected to higher levels of prejudice towards GLB individuals (Rowatt, Tsang, Kelly, LaMartina, McCullers, & McKinley, 2006; Finlay & Walther, 2003; Herek & Capitanio, 1996; Fisher et al., 1994; Herek 1987; McFarland 1989; Wilkinson 2004). Level of participant prejudice was also a moderator of the effect of sexual

orientation; among highly-prejudiced participants, ratings for heterosexual individuals were significantly higher than for gay and lesbian individuals. However, current findings show evidence that religiosity and general prejudice by themselves cannot explain negative reactions to gay and lesbian individuals; even after controlling for religiosity and prejudice, participants reported more positive impressions and emotions toward heterosexual individuals than gay or lesbian individuals. Because this was a study conducted with college students who are often more progressive in their thinking and acceptance of minoritized sexual orientations, these findings are especially disappointing. Unfortunately, gay and lesbian individuals continue to face prejudice, even in circumstances in which feelings of prejudice may be less likely (e.g., when no competition or threat is present; Glick et al., 2007; Lemyre & Smith, 1985; Pettigrew et al., 1998; Thompson & Crocker, 1985). Although anti-gay prejudice is less pervasive among young adults, my results show that it is still present, even among some educated young people.

Participants did not differ significantly in their favorability ratings of gay men versus lesbians. I had predicted that lesbian individuals would be rated more favorably than gay males, based on previous research that found that attitudes toward gay men were more negative than those toward lesbians (LaMar & Kite, 1998). Herek (2000) noted that much of the research examining sexual prejudice does not differentiate between the experiences of gay and lesbian individuals. Although no significant difference in favorability ratings of gay men versus lesbians was found in this study, it may be an important component of further research in this area. The contexts in which gay men and lesbians are evaluated may make a difference in the way they are evaluated by others. For example, there may be relationship contexts in which such a difference may emerge (“Who would you like to have as a close

friend?”). Different societal roles may also be viewed as more acceptable for lesbians versus gay men (“Who would you prefer to be your child’s fourth grade teacher?”).

Turning next to gender conformity, I predicted that individuals who were described as gender-conforming would be viewed more favorably than those who were described as gender-nonconforming. In the initial analysis, no difference was found in participant favorability ratings of these two groups although there was a significant interaction between gender nonconformity and sex of the target. Participants liked gender-conforming females the most, followed by gender-nonconforming males, gender-nonconforming females, and lastly, gender-conforming males. Some research supports the finding that people prefer women to be gender-conforming (e.g., tentative and agreeable; Carli, 1990, 1998). However, there was strong evidence that the gender conformity manipulation in my study was problematic, with participants not responding to information indicating gender nonconformity. Using only the sample who correctly detected this manipulation and removing all covariates, results showed that participants significantly favored gender-conforming individuals over gender-nonconforming individuals. This finding is consistent with past research. A number of researchers have found that gender nonconformity is viewed negatively (Horn, 2007; Lehavot & Lambert, 2007), and more so in males than in females (Sandnabba & Ahlberg, 1999; Cahill & Adams, 1997; Fagot, 1977; Martin, 1990; Preston & Stanley, 1987; Carter & McCloskey, 1983-1984; O’Leary & Donoghue, 1978; Hemmer & Kleiber, 1981). Thus, in the current study, the method used to manipulate gender conformity was not sufficient to convey gender nonconformity. It is also possible that social role information affected the manipulation of gender conformity. For example, being a doctor, earning a high salary, and driving a BMW may seem more masculine than feminine and may

have confounded the intended manipulation. To portray the individuals as gender-conforming or gender-nonconforming, I described activities (i.e., hiking versus attending a play), interests (i.e., cleaning versus fixing things), and emotionality (i.e., crying versus suppressing emotion in response to pain). It likely would have been better to manipulate characteristics such as vocal qualities, mannerisms, and appearance. It would have been difficult to manipulate this with vignettes alone. It may be that a videotape of gender-conforming and gender-nonconforming targets would have been more effective because it would have allowed manipulation of more “offensive” behavioral qualities. In a study of high school students, those who were described as gender-nonconforming due to appearance and mannerisms were less-well accepted than those described as merely engaging in gender-nonconforming activities, regardless of sexual orientation (Horn, 2007). Thus, it is likely that gender-nonconforming appearance and mannerisms provide more salient information than gender-nonconforming activities.

Many of the studies on gender nonconformity are now dated and it is possible that perspectives have since shifted on what is considered gender nonconforming. For example, in the last decade, the idea of a new type of masculinity known as “metrosexual” has arisen. A metrosexual is a man who is preoccupied by his appearance, grooming, and fashion, and is often associated with femininity (Coad, 2008). Alrich (2004) described a metrosexual as a heterosexual male in touch with his feminine side. Coad wrote, “The metrosexual future is one in which men demonstrate more human and humane values” (p. 198). The emergence of metrosexual men shows an increased acceptance for males to exhibit what has been traditionally viewed as femininity.

Among gender-nonconforming individuals, I predicted that females would be rated more favorably than males. No difference in positive-evaluation level was found for scenarios depicting gender-nonconforming males versus females, even when the analysis was repeated for only the sample who correctly detected the gender conformity manipulation. Previous research found that gender nonconformity was viewed more negatively in males than in females (Sandnabba & Ahlberg, 1999; Cahill & Adams, 1997; Fagot, 1977; Martin, 1990; Preston and Stanley, 1987; Carter & McCloskey, 1983-1984; O’Leary & Donoghue, 1978; Hemmer & Kleibar, 1981). One possible explanation for lack of difference in ratings of gender-conforming individuals as a function of sex include the possibility that attitudes have changed somewhat in recent years (e.g., the metrosexual movement), as noted above.

My prediction that gender-conforming gay and lesbian individuals would be rated more favorably than gender-nonconforming heterosexual individuals was also not supported by the data. Horn (2007) found that participants gave more favorable ratings to gender-conforming gay or lesbian targets than to heterosexual targets who were gender-nonconforming with regards to their appearance and mannerisms. In my study, lack of support for this prediction might be explained by an unsuccessful manipulation of gender conformity or by actual changes in attitudes, allowing people more latitude in their activity preferences and behaviors.

Moving on to SES, as predicted, individuals of higher SES were rated more favorably than those of lower SES. This presents an especially troubling dilemma as the gap between the lower and upper classes continues to grow in the United States (Denavas-Walt, Proctor, & Smith, 2012). It is already exceedingly difficult for those of lower SES to make upward movement; prejudice, and resultant discrimination, adds to the many barriers already faced.

Society typically values those in higher social classes more than those in lower social classes, with many people holding negative stereotypes about lower class individuals (Cozarelli, Wilkinson, & Tagler, 2001). Lower class individuals are often devalued or discounted based on their class (Lott, 2002) and experience higher rates of psychological struggles and other negative outcomes (Langhout, Drake, and Rosselli, 2009; Barney, Fredericks, Fredericks, & Robinson, 1985; Saldaña, 1994; Chatman, 2008; Walpole, 2003). College students from lower SES backgrounds earned lower grades compared to their higher SES classmates (Walpole, 2003) and were more likely to consider leaving school (Langhout et al., 2009), probably because of the extra stress burden they carry, but perhaps in part because of their experiences of rejection by others.

Finally, I predicted that gender-conforming individuals with low SES would be rated more favorably than gender-nonconforming individuals with high SES; there was no significant difference in the favorability ratings for these two groups. Research has shown that both lower class individuals and gender-nonconforming individuals face discrimination, but no research directly comparing these two sources of prejudice was found. In making this prediction, I believed that prejudice against gender-nonconformity would be viewed as more socially acceptable than prejudice based on social class. Aosved et al. (2009) found that social desirability was positively associated with prejudice based on sexual orientation but negatively associated with classism. As this prediction involved gender conformity, it is uncertain whether lack of supporting evidence is a result of a faulty manipulation, lack of actual differences, or some other unknown explanation.

Characteristics of the participants affected their responses to the target. Participants who reported higher levels of religiosity and prejudice were harsher in their ratings, while

those who reported higher levels of femininity were kinder. The positive correlation between religiosity and negative ratings of targets is consistent with research, which has demonstrated that higher levels of religiosity are associated with more negative attitudes toward gay and lesbian individuals (Rowatt et al., 2006; Finlay & Walther, 2003; Herek & Capitanio, 1996; Fisher et al., 1994; Herek 1987; McFarland 1989; Wilkinson 2004). In the current study, the scale used to measure religiosity asked participants to rate to what extent their parents emphasized religion and religion-based activities in their home. Parents who emphasized religious involvement may have been more judgmental, and this may have resulted in children who were less likely to exhibit tolerance and acceptance towards others. The connection between religiosity and anti-gay prejudice is especially important in today's current political climate when certain religious groups have lobbied heavily to influence social policies, such as same-sex marriage.

In the current study, social desirability did not significantly affect participants' ratings. As noted previously, one study found that participants' levels of social desirability were positively associated with sexual prejudice but negatively associated with classism (Aosved et al., 2009). Thus, I had expected to find similar results. It may be the case that the anonymity of taking the survey privately online with no human contact contributed to this lack of connection. Alternatively, it may be the case that even those high on social desirability believe, consciously or not, that negative thoughts and feelings toward people who are gay or of lower SES are socially acceptable.

Limitations

The primary limitation of my study was the limited success of the gender nonconformity manipulation. It appears that the gender nonconformity manipulation was not

completely successful, as evidenced by the fact that only 72% of the participants accurately reported the intended masculinity or femininity of the targets. Furthermore, the errors that occurred regarding this manipulation were concentrated in the sample that received vignettes that described gender-nonconforming targets. Thus, limited confidence can be placed in the findings that involved gender conformity.

In addition to gender conformity, other manipulations may have been problematic as well. All of the targets in the present study who were described as having high SES were doctors and all of those with low SES were cashiers. In addition to providing information about their SES, this assigned designation may have provided information that may have confounded the manipulation. Participants may have viewed the targets who were doctors more favorably than those who were cashiers due to their presumed caring nature rather than their SES. Additionally, participants may have presumed that doctors have high levels of intelligence. As such, targets portrayed as doctors may have been viewed more favorably due to perceived intelligence rather than SES. It would have been preferable to sample more widely from occupations viewed as upper class and lower class, so the characteristics of a single occupation did not define each class level.

A second limitation of this study is that the results may not generalize beyond college students in the Midwest. All participants were undergraduate students enrolled in an introductory psychology or communication studies course at a large Midwestern university. The majority of the participants were between 18 and 22 years old. College students may be less likely to demonstrate prejudiced attitudes than the general population, people with less education, or people of older generations. For example, there is a trend toward increased acceptance and support for gay individuals; in Gallup polls, 68% of Americans were opposed

to same-sex marriage in 1996 compared to 48% in 2012 (Stark, 2012). There is a generation gap in attitudes toward homosexuality and same-sex marriage, with younger generations being more accepting than older generations. Specifically, in 2010, 26% of individuals under the age of 30 responded that homosexual behavior was “always wrong” compared to 63% of those 70 years or older (Smith, 2011). Fifty percent of those under the age of 30 believed that homosexual behavior was “not wrong at all” while only 18% of those 70 or older believed this. Regarding same-sex marriage, 64% of those under 30 supported it compared to only 27% of those 70 and older.

Another limitation of this study was how the information was presented to participants. Participants read a description of one person and rated their impressions of and feelings toward this person. A more interactive approach might elicit stronger reactions and provide richer information about sources of prejudice. For example, creating a video of a person or indicating to the participants that they would be interacting with the person they read about may have been more personally involving and may have elicited stronger emotions. Introducing a competition or psychological threat (e.g., a masculinity threat as used by Glick, 2007) might also reveal higher levels of prejudice.

Future Research

Future research should continue to examine societal prejudice and discrimination. A meta-analysis showed that perceived discrimination negatively affects both physical and mental health (Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009). For example, perceived discrimination is associated with higher involvement in unhealthy behaviors (e.g., smoking, alcohol consumption) and lower involvement in healthy behaviors (e.g., exercise). It is important to understand when and how prejudice presents itself. In the current political climate in the

United States, there is a strong need for greater understanding about prejudice towards those of minoritized sexual orientations and low socioeconomic status. Further research will be very important to continue gauging the extent of these prejudices, to inform social policy, and to explore ways to combat such prejudice and possible discrimination. As of October, 2012, same-sex marriages were not allowed in 39 states (Stark, 2012). Six states and the District of Columbia allowed same-sex marriage, while an additional five recognized civil unions, but not marriage, between same-sex couples. Worldwide, there were only 11 countries that recognize same-sex marriage. Trends are showing increased support for same-sex marriage, however, nearly half (48% according to a Gallup poll) of all Americans continue to oppose it.

Sex discrimination remains an area that is important to study. Sex discrimination in the workplace continues, with women suffering as a result (Morris, Bonamici, Kaufman, & Neering, 2005; Greenhouse, 2004). Jobs that involve stereotypically feminine characteristics, such as nurturance, are not valued as much as jobs involving more masculine traits, such as assertiveness (Cancian & Olicker, 2000; Cejka & Eagly, 1999; England, Budig, & Folbre, 2002; Folbre & Nelson, 2000; Glick, 1991; Glick, Wilk, & Perreault, 1995). One study found that the status of a job decreases as a result of an increase in female workers in the field (Reskin & Roos, 1990). In the present study, positive characteristics were utilized to manipulate both masculinity and femininity. Examining sexism when traits that are both feminine and less-desired are presented may elicit feelings of prejudice that were not apparent in this study. It will also be important to further examine the dynamics that occur in the workplace that lead to and allow for sex discrimination to occur.

In addition to exploring sexism and homophobia, continued research to understand the roles of gender-prescribed roles and prejudice against gender nonconformity is important. Research examining gender nonconformity has shown that higher levels of gender nonconformity are associated with higher rates of parental and peer rejection (Rieger et al., 2008) and sabotage in a competitive setting (Rudman & Fairchild, 2004). Defying traditional gender roles is frequently met with opposition. Gender identity disorder remains in the current Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, however, it is reported that it will be removed from the next revision. Everyone is affected by gender roles prescribed by society, however, those who are gender-nonconforming, or transgendered, face intense prejudice.

It is essential to continue to explore prejudice based on SES. As stated by Adams (2010), everyone is affected by their class position, whether this is in the form of privilege or disadvantage. The gap between the rich and the poor continues to widen in terms of wealth, (Mantsios, 2010); however, there is also a tremendous gap in the understanding of class differences. For example, recent Presidential candidate Mitt Romney encouraged students at one university to get an education or start a business and to “borrow money if you have to from your parents” (Medina, 2012). This lack of understanding by a political leader is at best unfortunate and highlights the need for greater research and understanding of the dynamics present between differences in SES. Although there is evidence of prejudice toward people of low SES, research is lacking in this area (Croizet & Millet, 2012; Lott, 2002).

It will also be important to further incorporate how social role information interacts with prejudice and whether this differs from one population to another. All of the targets in my study were described as being in long-term relationships; results may have differed if the

targets had been single or divorced. Further exploration of how information about one's social role influences prejudice might be important. For example, discovering when and how social role information affects perceptions toward stigmatized groups and individuals would be helpful in future work aimed at mitigating prejudice.

As noted previously, it is possible that the lack of prejudice in response to target sex reflects actual changes in the attitudes of young adults in the U.S. It will be important to explore the extent to which prejudice is changing over time and to determine whether prejudice is actually decreasing, becoming more subtle, or aimed at different groups than it has been in the past. Areas to focus on include determining which types of prejudice, if any, are more socially acceptable, what affects this, and what methods are successful at combating prejudice and resultant discrimination. Intergroup contact theory (Pettigrew, 1998) shows that increased contact with members of an outgroup leads to decreased prejudice towards that outgroup. Heinze and Horn (2009) found that greater levels of contact with gay or lesbian individuals were related to lower levels of sexual prejudice. Thus, increased visibility and interaction with those from stigmatized groups will be important in efforts to decrease prejudice and discrimination. Interventions in both K-12 schools and colleges and universities that increase intergroup contact should be implemented and evaluated. It seems that when people interact with those from other groups, and when they begin to recognize that similarities outweigh differences between themselves and members of other groups, it becomes difficult to maintain hurtful and destructive attitudes.

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APPENDIX A: INFORMED CONSENT

Informed Consent

Title of Study: Attitudes Toward Working Adults

Investigators: Michelle L. Cushman, M.S.
Carolyn Cutrona, Ph.D.

This is a research study. Please take your time in deciding if you would like to participate. If you have questions or would like further information about the study, please contact the Principal Investigator, Michelle Cushman, at mleigh@iastate.edu. You may also contact the supervising faculty member, Dr. Carolyn Cutrona, at ccutrona@iastate.edu or (515) 294-0282.

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to better understand the factors that may affect people's attitudes and reactions towards different types of working adults. You are invited to participate in this study because you are a student enrolled in a course in the Psychology Department at Iowa State University. You should not participate if you are under 18 years of age.

DESCRIPTION OF PROCEDURES

This is an online study designed to better understand attitudes toward different types of working adults. You will be responding to a set of survey measures. These surveys ask questions about your demographic information, personal characteristics, and reactions to an individual who is described to you in a simple paragraph. This should take 50 minutes or less and is worth one research credit. If you feel uncomfortable answering any questions, you may skip these questions and still receive credit. You may choose to discontinue participation in this study at any time.

RISKS

We do not anticipate that these procedures will cause you any harm, but if you experience discomfort you may talk to the investigators about your concerns. You are free to skip any question that you do not wish to answer or that makes you feel uncomfortable. You are also free at any time to choose to end your participation. There will be no negative effects if you choose to skip a question or discontinue your participation in the study.

BENEFITS

If you decide to participate in this study there will be no direct benefit to you other than learning about psychological research from a participant's perspective. Your participation in this project may help the researchers develop a better understanding of factors related to attitudes toward different types of working adults.

COSTS AND COMPENSATION

You will not have any costs from participating in this study. In addition, there is no monetary compensation for your participation. Rather, you will be compensated by receiving research credit in your undergraduate psychology course for participating in this study. If you agree to participate in this study, you will earn 1 research credit for completing the study. If you choose not to participate, you may contact the Course Information Office (515-294-8065) for alternative research options in order to earn research credit for your class.

PARTICIPANT RIGHTS

Your participation in this study is completely voluntary and you may refuse to participate or end your participation in the study at any time. If you decide to not participate in the study or terminate your participation in the study early, it will not result in any penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. You may skip any questions that you do not wish to answer.

CONFIDENTIALITY

Records identifying participants will be kept confidential to the extent permitted by applicable laws and regulations and will not be made publicly available. Only the researchers on this study will have access to the data, however, auditing departments of Iowa State University and the Institutional Review Board (a committee that reviews and approves human subject research studies) may inspect and/or copy your records for quality assurance and data analysis. These records may contain private information.

To ensure confidentiality to the extent permitted by law, the following measures will be taken to protect your privacy including: (a) assigning you a unique code number that will be used instead of your name; (b) combining your data with the data collected from other participants so that no individual information will be identifiable (c) all data will be stored in a locked filing cabinet and/or password protected computer and destroyed 5 years after results are published (d) the online survey site (SurveyMonkey.com) employs multiple layers of security to protect all data before it is transmitted to the researcher. If the results are published, your identity will remain confidential.

QUESTIONS OR PROBLEMS

You are encouraged to ask questions at any time during this study. For further information about the study, you can contact the Principal Investigator, Michelle Cushman, at mleigh@iastate.edu. You may also contact the supervising faculty member, Dr. Carolyn Cutrona, at ccutrona@iastate.edu or (515)294-1743.

If you have any questions about the rights of research subjects or research-related injury, please contact the IRB Administrator, (515) 294-4566, IRB@iastate.edu, or Director, (515) 294-3115, Office for Responsible Research, Iowa State University, Ames, Iowa 50011.

PARTICIPANT SIGNATURE

By clicking “yes” below, you are indicating that you voluntarily agree to participate in this study, that the study has been explained to you, that you have been given the time to read the document and that your questions have been satisfactorily answered. You may wish to print a copy of this informed consent document for your files since this is an online study.

Do you agree to participate in this study? If you click “yes”, you will continue to the survey questions. If you select “No,” you will exit the survey.

- a) Yes
- b) No

APPENDIX B: DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

Demographic Questionnaire

- 1) What is your age? _____
- 2) What is your sex?
 - a. Female
 - b. Male
 - c. Other
- 3) What is your sexual orientation?
 - a. Bisexual
 - b. Gay or Lesbian
 - c. Heterosexual
 - d. Other _____
- 4) What is your classification in school?
 - a. Freshman
 - b. Sophomore
 - c. Junior
 - d. Senior
 - e. Graduate student
 - f. Other
- 5) What is your religion? _____
- 6) What is your political preference?
 - a. Conservative
 - b. Liberal
 - c. Moderate
 - d. Other _____
- 7) What is your parents' annual income before taxes?
 - a. Under \$25,000
 - b. \$25,000 - \$50,000
 - c. \$50,000 - \$75,000
 - d. \$75,000 - \$100,000
 - e. Over \$100,000

- 8) What is the highest level of education achieved by one or more of your parents?
- a. Elementary education
 - b. High school degree or equivalent
 - c. Some college/trade school education, but no degree
 - d. 2-year community college or trade school degree (e.g., Associate of Arts, Associate of Science)
 - e. 4-year college degree (e.g., Bachelor of Science, Bachelor of Arts)
 - f. Graduate or professional degree (e.g., Masters of Science, Doctor of Philosophy, Doctor of Medicine)

APPENDIX C: VIGNETTES

- 1) Jake is a doctor at the local hospital. He enjoys his job and is successful at it. Jake owns a 5-bedroom house and drives a 2010 BMW. He typically wears expensive, name-brand clothing. Jake is confident he can handle problems that come up. For example, even though he could easily afford to hire a plumber, Jake fixed his leaky kitchen faucet himself. He goes hiking 2-3 times a year and knows how to take care of himself if caught in the wilderness. Last year, he ignored his painful injury to complete his first marathon. This weekend, Jake has plans to have dinner and see a movie with his boyfriend, Tom. Jake has been dating Tom for two years and is happy with how the relationship is going. Jake and Tom have recently begun to discuss whether they would like to get married.
- 2) Jake is a cashier at the local grocery store. He enjoys his job and is successful at it. Jake rents a 1-bedroom apartment and drives a 1995 Ford Taurus. He typically wears clothing purchased at Wal-Mart or Target. Jake is modest and doesn't feel superior to others, even if he beats them at something. Jake can't afford to hire a cleaning service, but he enjoys keeping his apartment clean, dusting and vacuuming often. He likes see plays 2-3 times a year and often tears up at emotional scenes. He decorated the entire apartment himself. This weekend, Jake has plans to have dinner and see a movie with his boyfriend, Tom. Jake has been dating Tom for two years and is happy with how the relationship is going. Jake and Tom have recently begun to discuss whether they would like to get married.
- 3) Jake is a doctor at the local hospital. He enjoys his job and is successful at it. Jake owns a 5-bedroom house and drives a 2010 BMW. He typically wears expensive, name-brand clothing. Jake is confident he can handle problems that come up. For example, even though he could easily afford to hire a plumber, Jake fixed his leaky kitchen faucet himself. He goes hiking 2-3 times a year and knows how to take care of himself if caught in the wilderness. Last year, he ignored his painful injury to complete his first marathon. This weekend, Jake has plans to have dinner and see a movie with his girlfriend, Emily. Jake has been dating Emily for two years and is happy with how the relationship is going. Jake and Emily have recently begun to discuss whether they would like to get married.
- 4) Jake is a cashier at the local grocery store. He enjoys his job and is successful at it. Jake rents a 1-bedroom apartment and drives a 1995 Ford Taurus. He typically wears clothing purchased at Wal-Mart or Target. Jake is modest and doesn't feel superior to others, even if he beats them at something. Jake can't afford to hire a cleaning

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- 5) Jake is a doctor at the local hospital. He enjoys his job and is successful at it. Jake owns a 5-bedroom house and drives a 2010 BMW. He typically wears expensive, name-brand clothing. Jake is modest and doesn't feel superior to others, even if he beats them at something. Even though he could easily afford to hire a cleaning service, Jake enjoys keeping his house clean himself, dusting and vacuuming often. He likes see plays 2-3 times a year and often tears up at emotional scenes. He decorated the entire house himself. This weekend, Jake has plans to have dinner and see a movie with his boyfriend, Tom. Jake has been dating Tom for two years and is happy with how the relationship is going. Jake and Tom have recently begun to discuss whether they would like to get married.
- 6) Jake is a cashier at the local grocery store. He enjoys his job and is successful at it. Jake rents a 1-bedroom apartment and drives a 1995 Ford Taurus. He typically wears clothing purchased at Wal-Mart or Target. Jake is confident he can handle problems that come up. For example, Jake couldn't afford to hire a plumber, so he fixed his leaky kitchen faucet himself. He goes hiking 2-3 times a year and knows how to take care of himself if caught in the wilderness. Last year, he ignored his painful injury to complete his first marathon. This weekend, Jake has plans to have dinner and see a movie with his boyfriend, Tom. Jake has been dating Tom for two years and is happy with how the relationship is going. Jake and Tom have recently begun to discuss whether they would like to get married.
- 7) Jake is a doctor at the local hospital. He enjoys his job and is successful at it. Jake owns a 5-bedroom house and drives a 2010 BMW. He typically wears expensive, name-brand clothing. Jake is modest and doesn't feel superior to others, even if he beats them at something. Even though he could easily afford to hire a cleaning service, Jake enjoys keeping his house clean himself, dusting and vacuuming often. He likes see plays 2-3 times a year and often tears up at emotional scenes. He decorated the entire house himself. This weekend, Jake has plans to have dinner and see a movie with his girlfriend, Emily. Jake has been dating Emily for two years and is happy with how the relationship is going. Jake and Emily have recently begun to discuss whether they would like to get married.

- 8) Jake is a cashier at the local grocery store. He enjoys his job and is successful at it. Jake rents a 1-bedroom apartment and drives a 1995 Ford Taurus. He typically wears clothing purchased at Wal-Mart or Target. Jake is confident he can handle problems that come up. For example, Jake couldn't afford to hire a plumber, so he fixed his leaky kitchen faucet himself. He goes hiking 2-3 times a year and knows how to take care of himself if caught in the wilderness. Last year, he ignored his painful injury to complete his first marathon. This weekend, Jake has plans to have dinner and see a movie with his girlfriend, Emily. Jake has been dating Emily for two years and is happy with how the relationship is going. Jake and Emily have recently begun to discuss whether they would like to get married.
- 9) Kate is a doctor at the local hospital. She enjoys her job and is successful at it. Kate owns a 5-bedroom house and drives a 2010 BMW. She typically wears expensive, name-brand clothing. Kate is confident she can handle problems that come up. For example, even though she could easily afford to hire a plumber, Kate fixed her leaky kitchen faucet herself. She goes hiking 2-3 times a year and knows how to take care of herself if caught in the wilderness. Last year, she ignored her painful injury to complete her first marathon. This weekend, Kate has plans to have dinner and see a movie with her boyfriend, Tom. Kate has been dating Tom for 2 years and is happy with how the relationship is going. Kate and Tom have recently begun to discuss whether they would like to get married.
- 10) Kate is a cashier at the local grocery store. She enjoys her job and is successful at it. Kate rents a 1-bedroom apartment and drives a 1995 Ford Taurus. She typically wears clothing purchased at Wal-Mart or Target. Kate is modest and doesn't feel superior to others, even if she beats them at something. Kate can't afford to hire a cleaning service, but she enjoys keeping her apartment clean, dusting and vacuuming often. She likes see plays 2-3 times a year and often tears up at emotional scenes. She decorated the entire apartment herself. This weekend, Kate has plans to have dinner and see a movie with her boyfriend, Tom. Kate has been dating Tom for 2 years and is happy with how the relationship is going. Kate and Tom have recently begun to discuss making a lifelong commitment to one another.
- 11) Kate is a doctor at the local hospital. She enjoys her job and is successful at it. Kate owns a 5-bedroom house and drives a 2010 BMW. She typically wears expensive, name-brand clothing. Kate is confident she can handle problems that come up. For example, even though she could easily afford to hire a plumber, Kate fixed her leaky kitchen faucet herself. She goes hiking 2-3 times a year and knows how to take care

- of herself if caught in the wilderness. Last year, she ignored her painful injury to complete her first marathon. This weekend, Kate has plans to have dinner and see a movie with her girlfriend, Emily. Kate has been dating Emily for two years and is happy with how the relationship is going. Kate and Emily have recently begun to discuss whether they would like to get married.
- 12) Kate is a cashier at the local grocery store. She enjoys her job and is successful at it. Kate rents a 1-bedroom apartment and drives a 1995 Ford Taurus. She typically wears clothing purchased at Wal-Mart or Target. Kate is modest and doesn't feel superior to others, even if she beats them at something. Kate can't afford to hire a cleaning service, but she enjoys keeping her apartment clean, dusting and vacuuming often. She likes see plays 2-3 times a year and often tears up at emotional scenes. She decorated the entire apartment herself. This weekend, Kate has plans to have dinner and see a movie with her girlfriend, Emily. Kate has been dating Emily for two years and is happy with how the relationship is going. Kate and Emily have recently begun to discuss whether they would like to get married.
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- 14) Kate is a cashier at the local grocery store. She enjoys her job and is successful at it. Kate rents a 1-bedroom apartment and drives a 1995 Ford Taurus. She typically wears clothing purchased at Wal-Mart or Target. Kate is confident she can handle problems that come up. For example, Kate couldn't afford to hire a plumber, so she fixed her leaky kitchen faucet herself. She goes hiking 2-3 times a year and knows how to take care of herself if caught in the wilderness. Last year, she ignored her painful injury to complete her first marathon. This weekend, Kate has plans to have dinner and see a movie with her boyfriend, Tom. Kate has been dating Tom for 2 years and is happy with how the relationship is going. Kate and Tom have recently begun to discuss making a lifelong commitment to one another.

- 15) Kate is a doctor at the local hospital. She enjoys her job and is successful at it. Kate owns a 5-bedroom house and drives a 2010 BMW. She typically wears expensive, name-brand clothing. Kate is modest and doesn't feel superior to others, even if she beats them at something. Even though she could easily afford to hire a cleaning service, Kate enjoys keeping her house clean herself, dusting and vacuuming often. She likes see plays 2-3 times a year and often tears up at emotional scenes. She decorated the entire house herself. This weekend, Kate has plans to have dinner and see a movie with her boyfriend, Tom. Kate has been dating Tom for two years and is happy with how the relationship is going. Kate and Tom have recently begun to discuss whether they would like to get married.
- 16) Kate is a cashier at the local grocery store. She enjoys her job and is successful at it. Kate rents a 1-bedroom apartment and drives a 1995 Ford Taurus. She typically wears clothing purchased at Wal-Mart or Target. Kate is confident she can handle problems that come up. For example, Kate couldn't afford to hire a plumber, so she fixed her leaky kitchen faucet herself. She goes hiking 2-3 times a year and knows how to take care of herself if caught in the wilderness. Last year, she ignored her painful injury to complete her first marathon. This weekend, Kate has plans to have dinner and see a movie with her girlfriend, Emily. Kate has been dating Emily for two years and is happy with how the relationship is going. Kate and Emily have recently begun to discuss whether they would like to get married.

APPENDIX E: INTERPERSONAL JUDGMENT SCALE

Interpersonal Judgment Scale

1) Intelligence

___ I believe that this person is very much above average in intelligence

___ I believe that this person is above average in intelligence

___ I believe that this person is slightly above average in intelligence

___ I believe that this person is average in intelligence

___ I believe that this person is slightly below average in intelligence

___ I believe that this person is below average in intelligence

___ I believe that this person is very much below average in intelligence

2) Knowledge of Current Events

___ I believe that this person is very much below average in his/her knowledge of current events

___ I believe that this person is below average in his/her knowledge of current events

___ I believe that this person is slightly below average in his/her knowledge of current events

___ I believe that this person is average in his/her knowledge of current events

___ I believe that this person is slightly above average in his/her knowledge of current events

___ I believe that this person is above average in his/her knowledge of current events

___ I believe that this person is very much above average in his/her knowledge of current events

3) Morality

___ This person impresses me as being extremely moral.

___ This person impresses me as being moral.

___ This person impresses me as being moral to a slight degree.

___ This person impresses me as being neither particularly moral nor particularly immoral.

___ This person impresses me as being immoral to a slight degree.

___ This person impresses me as being immoral.

___ This person impresses me as being extremely immoral.

4) Adjustment

- I believe that this person is extremely maladjusted.
- I believe that this person is maladjusted.
- I believe that this person is slightly maladjusted.
- I believe that this person is neither particularly maladjusted nor particularly well adjusted.
- I believe that this person is well adjusted to a slight degree.
- I believe that this person is well adjusted.
- I believe that this person is extremely well adjusted.

5) Personal Feelings

- I feel that I would probably like this person very much.
- I feel that I would probably like this person.
- I feel that I would probably like this person to a slight degree.
- I feel that I would neither particularly like nor particularly dislike this person.
- I feel that I would probably dislike this person to a slight degree.
- I feel that I would probably dislike this person.
- I feel that I would probably dislike this person very much.

6) Working Together in an Experiment

- I believe that I would very much dislike working with this person in an experiment.
- I believe that I would dislike working with this person in an experiment.
- I believe that I would dislike working with this person in an experiment to a slight degree.
- I believe that I would neither particularly dislike nor particularly enjoy working with this person in an experiment.
- I believe that I would enjoy working with this person in an experiment to a slight degree.
- I believe that I would enjoy working with this person in an experiment.
- I believe that I would very much enjoy working with this person in an experiment.

APPENDIX F: INTOLERANT SCHEMA MEASURE

Intolerant Schema Measure (ISM)

Please indicate how descriptive each statement is of your beliefs by circling the number that corresponds to your response. (1 = *strongly disagree* to 5 = *strongly agree*).

- | | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Marriages between two lesbians should be legal. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 2. Christians are intolerant of people with other religious beliefs. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 3. People who stay on welfare have no desire to work. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 4. I favor laws that permit racial minority persons to rent or purchase houses, even when the person offering the property for sale or rent does not wish to sell or rent to minorities. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 5. Women should worry less about their rights and more about becoming good wives and mothers. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 6. Complex and interesting conversation cannot be expected from most old people. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 7. I don't mind companies using openly lesbian celebrities to advertise their products. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 8. Catholics have a "holier than thou" attitude. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 9. Welfare keeps the nation in debt. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 10. Racial minorities have more influence on school desegregation plans than they ought to have. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 11. It is ridiculous for a woman to run a locomotive and for a man to darn socks. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 12. Most old people would be considered to have poor personal hygiene. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 13. I don't think it would negatively affect our relationship if I learned that one of my close relatives was a lesbian. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 14. Jewish people are deceitful and money-hungry. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 15. People who don't make much money are generally unmotivated. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 16. Racial minorities are getting too demanding in their push for equal rights. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 17. The intellectual leadership of a community should be largely in the hands of men. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

- | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 18. Most old people can be irritating because they tell the same stories over and over again. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 19. Lesbians should undergo therapy to change their sexual orientation. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 20. Atheists and agnostics are more self-centered than people from other religious groups. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 21. Homeless people should get their acts together and become productive members of society. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 22. It is a bad idea for racial minorities and Whites to marry one another. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 23. In general, the father should have greater authority than the mother in bringing up the children. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 24. Old people don't really need to use our community sports facilities. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 25. I welcome new friends who are gay. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 26. Muslims are more treacherous than other groups of religious people. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 27. Too many of my tax dollars are spent to take care of those who are unwilling to take care of themselves. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 28. Racial minorities should not push themselves where they are not wanted. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 29. There are many jobs in which men should be given preference over women in being hired or promoted. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 30. It is best that old people live where they won't bother anyone. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 31. I would be sure to invite the same-sex partner of my gay male friend to my party. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 32. Wiccan and pagan people practice thinly veiled evil. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 33. If every individual would carry his/her own weight, there would be no poverty. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 34. If a racial minority family with about the same income and education as I have moved in next door, I would mind a great deal. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 35. Women shouldn't push themselves where they are not wanted. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 36. The company of most old people is quite enjoyable. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 37. It's all right with me if I see two men holding hands. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

38. Many of the social problems in the U.S. today are due to non-Christian religious groups. 1 2 3 4 5
39. There are more poor people than wealthy people in prisons because poor people commit more crimes. 1 2 3 4 5
40. It was wrong for the United States Supreme Court to outlaw segregation in its 1954 decision. 1 2 3 4 5
41. Women's requests in terms of equality between the sexes are simply exaggerated. 1 2 3 4 5
42. I sometimes avoid eye contact with old people when I see them. 1 2 3 4 5
43. Movies that approve of male homosexuality bother me. 1 2 3 4 5
44. The Hindu beliefs about reincarnation results in people not taking responsibility for their actions in this life since there is always the next life. 1 2 3 4 5
45. Poor people are lazy. 1 2 3 4 5
46. Over the past few years, racial minorities have gotten more economically than they deserve. 1 2 3 4 5
47. Over the past few years, women have gotten more from government than they deserve. 1 2 3 4 5
48. I don't like it when old people try to make conversation with me. 1 2 3 4 5
49. Gay men want too many rights. 1 2 3 4 5
50. Despite what Buddhist people may say, Buddhism isn't really a religion, but more of a philosophy. 1 2 3 4 5
51. Most poor people are in debt because they can't manage their money. 1 2 3 4 5
52. Over the past few years, the government and news media have shown more respect to racial minorities than they deserve. 1 2 3 4 5
53. Universities are wrong to admit women in costly programs such as medicine, when in fact, a large number will leave their jobs after a few years to raise their children. 1 2 3 4 5
54. I personally would not want to spend much time with an old person. 1 2 3 4 5

APPENDIX G: PERSONAL ATTRIBUTES SCALE

Personal Attributes Questionnaire (PAQ)

The items below inquire about what kind of a person you are. Each item consists of a pair of characteristics, with the letters A-E in between. For example:

Not at all Artistic A....B....C....D....E Very Artistic

Each pair describes contradictory characteristics – that is, you cannot be both at the same time, such as very artistic and not at all artistic.

The letters form a scale between the two extremes. You are to choose a letter which describes where *you* fall on the scale. For example, if you think you have no artistic ability, you would choose A. If you think you are pretty good, you might choose D. If you are only medium, you might choose C, and so forth.

Scale*

M-F	1. Not at all aggressive	A....B....C....D....E	<i>Very aggressive**</i>
M	2. Not at all independent	A....B....C....D....E	<i>Very independent</i>
F	3. Not at all emotional	A....B....C....D....E	<i>Very emotional</i>
M-F	4. Very submissive	A....B....C....D....E	<i>Very dominant</i>
M-F	5. <i>Not at all excitable in a major crisis</i>	A....B....C....D....E	Very excitable in a major crisis
M	6. Very passive	A....B....C....D....E	<i>Very active</i>
F	7. Not at all able to devote self completely to others	A....B....C....D....E	<i>Able to devote self completely to others</i>
F	8. Very rough	A....B....C....D....E	<i>Very gentle</i>
F	9. Not at all helpful to others	A....B....C....D....E	<i>Very helpful to others</i>
M	10. Not at all competitive	A....B....C....D....E	<i>Very competitive</i>
M-F	11. Very home oriented	A....B....C....D....E	<i>Very worldly</i>
F	12. Not at all kind	A....B....C....D....E	<i>Very kind</i>
M-F	13. <i>Indifferent to others' approval</i>	A....B....C....D....E	Highly needful of others' approval
M-F	14. <i>Feelings not easily hurt</i>	A....B....C....D....E	Feelings easily hurt
F	15. Not at all aware of feelings of others	A....B....C....D....E	<i>Very aware of feelings of others</i>
M	16. <i>Can make decisions easily</i>	A....B....C....D....E	Has difficulty making decisions

M	17. Gives up very easily	A....B....C....D....E	<i>Never gives up easily</i>
M-F	18. <i>Never cries</i>	A....B....C....D....E	Cries very easily
M	19. Not at all self-confident	A....B....C....D....E	<i>Very self-confident</i>
M	20. Feels very inferior	A....B....C....D....E	<i>Feels very superior</i>
F	21. Not at all understanding of others	A....B....C....D....E	<i>Very understanding of others</i>
F	22. Very cold in relations with others	A....B....C....D....E	<i>Very warm in relations with others</i>
M-F	23. <i>Very little need for security</i>	A....B....C....D....E	Very strong need for security
M	24. Goes to pieces under pressure	A....B....C....D....E	<i>Stands up well under pressure</i>

*The scale to which each item is assigned is indicated below by M (Masculinity), F (Femininity), and M-F (Masculinity-Femininity).

** Italics indicate the extreme masculine responses for the M and M-F scales and the extreme feminine response for the F scale. Each extreme masculine response on the M and M-F scales and extreme feminine response on the F scale are scored 4, the next most extreme score

APPENDIX H: BALANCED INVENTORY OF DESIRABLE RESPONDING

Balanced Inventory of Desirable Responding Version 6 – Form 40A (BIDR)

Using the scale below as a guide, write a number beside each statement to indicate how true it is.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not true			Somewhat true			Very true

- ___ 1. My first impressions of people usually turn out to be right.
- ___ 2. It would be hard for me to break any of my bad habits.
- ___ 3. I don't care to know what other people really think of me.
- ___ 4. I have not always been honest with myself.
- ___ 5. I always know why I like things.
- ___ 6. When my emotions are aroused, it biases my thinking.
- ___ 7. Once I've made up my mind, other people can seldom change my opinion.
- ___ 8. I am not a safe driver when I exceed the speed limit.
- ___ 9. I am fully in control of my own fate.
- ___ 10. It's hard for me to shut off a disturbing thought.
- ___ 11. I never regret my decisions.
- ___ 12. I sometimes lose out on things because I can't make up my mind soon enough.
- ___ 13. The reason I vote is because my vote can make a difference.
- ___ 14. My parents were not always fair when they punished me.
- ___ 15. I am a completely rational person.
- ___ 16. I rarely appreciate criticism.
- ___ 17. I am very confident of my judgments

- ___ 18. I have sometimes doubted my ability as a lover.
- ___ 19. It's all right with me if some people happen to dislike me.
- ___ 20. I don't always know the reasons why I do the things I do.
- ___ 21. I sometimes tell lies if I have to.
- ___ 22. I never cover up my mistakes.
- ___ 23. There have been occasions when I have taken advantage of someone.
- ___ 24. I never swear.
- ___ 25. I sometimes try to get even rather than forgive and forget.
- ___ 26. I always obey laws, even if I'm unlikely to get caught.
- ___ 27. I have said something bad about a friend behind his/her back.
- ___ 28. When I hear people talking privately, I avoid listening.
- ___ 29. I have received too much change from a salesperson without telling him or her.
- ___ 30. I always declare everything at customs.
- ___ 31. When I was young I sometimes stole things.
- ___ 32. I have never dropped litter on the street.
- ___ 33. I sometimes drive faster than the speed limit.
- ___ 34. I never read sexy books or magazines.
- ___ 35. I have done things that I don't tell other people about.
- ___ 36. I never take things that don't belong to me.
- ___ 37. I have taken sick-leave from work or school even though I wasn't really sick.
- ___ 38. I have never damaged a library book or store merchandise without reporting it.
- ___ 39. I have some pretty awful habits.
- ___ 40. I don't gossip about other people's business.

APPENDIX I: RELIGIOUS EMPHASIS SCALE

Religious Emphasis Scale

In the space below, please list the religious denomination that your family practiced and/or identified with while you were growing up. If your family did not practice or identify with a particular religion denomination, please indicate “none”.

Using the scale below, please indicate how much your parent(s) emphasized practicing the family religion for each of the behaviors listed.

NO EMPHASIS was placed on this behavior	SLIGHT emphasis was placed on this behavior	MILD emphasis was placed on this behavior	MODERATE emphasis was placed on this behavior	STRONG emphasis was placed on this behavior	VERY STRONG emphasis was placed on this behavior
0	1	2	3	4	5

- | | | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Attending religious services (e.g., synagogue, church, mosque). | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 2. Getting systematic religious instruction regularly (e.g., Sunday school). | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 3. Reviewing the teachings of the religion at home. | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 4. Praying before meals. | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 5. Reading scripture or other religious material. | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 6. Praying before bedtime. | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 7. Discussing moral “Dos and Don’ts” in religious terms. | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 8. Observing religious holidays; celebrating events like Christmas/Hanukkah in a religious way. | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 9. Being a good representative of the faith; acting the way a devout member of your religion would be expected to act. | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 10. Taking part in religious youth groups. | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

APPENDIX J: MANIPULATION CHECK**Manipulation Check**

Please answer the following questions regarding the individual about whom you read.

Was the individual female or male?

- 1) Female
- 2) Male

What was the individual's occupation?

- 1) Lawyer
- 2) Doctor
- 3) Cashier
- 4) Librarian

What was the individual's sexual orientation?

- 1) Heterosexual
- 2) Gay
- 3) Lesbian

Which of these activities or interests did the individual pursue?

- 1) Hiking
- 2) Attending plays
- 3) Painting
- 4) Playing basketball

Did the individual appear feminine or masculine to you?

- 1) Feminine
- 2) Masculine

APPENDIX K: DEBRIEFING STATEMENT

Debriefing Statement

Thank you for your participation. The study you just participated in was designed to better understand attitudes towards different types of individuals and factors that may affect such attitudes. Increased understanding of attitudes toward stigmatized individuals may lead to interventions designed to decrease stigmatization and increase supportive resources available to persons who face discriminatory attitudes. As mentioned before, all responses will be kept confidential and identifying information (i.e., names) will be removed at the end of your participation today. Your data will also be combined with the data of other participants to further ensure anonymity. These data will be kept in a secure password-protected computer file.

If participation in this study caused any emotional distress and you are interested in speaking with someone about it, please visit one of the community resources listed below.

If you have any questions or concerns about this study, you may contact the Principal Investigator, Michelle Cushman, at mleigh@iastate.edu. The supervising faculty, Dr. Carolyn Cutrona, can be contacted at ccutrona@iastate.edu or 294-0282.

If you have any questions about the rights of research subjects or research-related injury, please contact the IRB Administrator, (515) 294-4566, IRB@iastate.edu, or Director, Office for Responsible Research, (515) 294-3115, 1138 Pearson Hall, Ames, IA 50011.

Community Resources

Student Counseling Service. 3rd Floor Student Services Bldg. Ames, IA 294-5056
Thielen Student Health Center. Sheldon Ave. Ames, IA, 294-5801
Couples and Family Therapy Clinic. 4380 Palmer HDFS Bldg, Ames, IA 294-0534
The Richmond Center. 1619 South High Ave, Ames, IA (515) 232-5811

FOOTNOTES

1. I chose to use the term “sex” rather than “gender” when referring to men versus women because I wanted to convey that I was assigning targets as biologically male or female and portraying gender roles through gender conformity or nonconformity.

2. Because the composite social desirability scale was not significant as a covariate in my analyses, I reran the analyses with each social desirability subscale (i.e., Self-Deceptive Enhancement and Impression Management). No differences were found in the results of these additional analyses.

3. I computed the mean ratings for the sum of the last two items of the Interpersonal Judgment Scale solely for the purposes of comparing the ratings of my sample to a previous sample; thus, these means were not reported elsewhere or used by themselves in any analyses. For my analyses, I averaged the score of all six items from the IJS.

4. To ensure that there were no significant findings lost by combining the dependent variables, I repeated the analyses reported for each of the original two dependent variables. All of the significant findings regarding my predictions were captured by the analyses with the composite dependent variable; however, there was one two-way interaction (target sex X target SES) that reached significance for the original positive impressions measure that did not attain significance when using the composite outcome measure.