

A TRIPARTITE EXAMINATION OF HETEROSEXUAL CANADIANS' ATTITUDES  
TOWARD SUBGROUPS OF GAY MEN AND LESBIAN WOMEN

A Thesis Submitted to the  
College of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies  
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements  
For the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy  
In the Department of Psychology  
University of Saskatchewan  
Saskatoon

By

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## **Abstract**

Recent trends in nation-wide opinion polls and academic research indicate that evaluations of gay men and lesbian women have become decidedly more favourable over the last 30 years. However, discrimination against gay men and lesbian women remains widespread. A possible explanation for this paradox is that there exist different subgroups of gay men and lesbian women with different attitudes directed toward them. Subgroups that are perceived comparatively more positively may be masking the negativity directed at other subgroups. Therefore, the primary goals of this dissertation were to identify subgroups of gay men and lesbian women and to assess attitudes towards them. This dissertation outlines four studies, laid out in three separate chapters. Chapter 2 delineates the process that was used to identify subgroups of gay men and lesbian women and reports on which subgroups emerged as most salient to Canadian undergraduate students and the Canadian population more widely. Chapter 3 describes the examination of explicit attitudes toward the subgroups identified in Chapter 2 using the tripartite model of attitudes that includes cognition, affect, and behaviour. Complementing the study of explicit attitudes, Chapter 4 describes the use of a computerised reaction-time measure to assess implicit attitudes toward the subgroups. Overall, the results of this dissertation support the existence of subgroups of gay men and lesbian women and document what attitudes are associated with them. The methodological and theoretical implications of the findings on our understanding of attitudes toward the overarching categories of gay men and lesbian women are explored and a discussion of how future research needs to change to accommodate the fragmentation of the superordinate groups are included.

## **Acknowledgements**

First of all, I would like to thank my supervisor, Dr. Melanie Morrison, for her support and guidance not only throughout this dissertation but during my entire graduate career. She always let me pursue my own interests while providing me with the support I needed to succeed. Her flexible, caring, and enthusiastic supervisory style kept me on track and encouraged my self-confidence. I would also like to thank my committee members, Prof. Don Cochrane, Dr. Lisa, Jewell, and Dr. Todd Morrison, as well as my external examiner, Dr. Meredith Worthen. Your insightful feedback helped ensure my research was well-founded and rigorous. You prompted me to think about issues from new perspectives and stimulated my interest in various facets of attitudes towards gay men and lesbian women. I would like to particularly thank Dr. Todd Morrison for going above and beyond as my committee member by providing me with invaluable opportunities throughout my graduate degrees, enabling me to become an excellent researcher and academic. I would also like to thank the University of Saskatchewan and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) for their generous financial support during my degree.

I would like to thank my family for their tireless support. In particular, I could not have achieved all I have without the support of my mother, Donna McCutcheon. I lost count of the number of drafts she read, the repetitive formatting tasks she completed, and the complaints she endured. I would like to thank my partner, Dr. Wendie Marks, for going through the whole process first so she could empathise with me every step of the way and for being so supportive on the home front, so everything was just that much easier. And, lastly, to my daughter Danica – you definitely didn't make things easier, but you made it sweeter. Thank you.

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## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

### 1. General Introduction

Researchers have found that attitudes toward sexual minorities have been steadily improving over time (Baunach, 2012; Hicks & Lee, 2006); yet, studies (e.g., Gates & Mitchell, 2013; Jewell, McCutcheon, Harriman, & Morrison, 2011; Munro et al., 2013) exploring the discrimination experienced by gay men and lesbian women contradict these findings and suggest that the comparatively positive results of attitudinal studies may be misleading. Clausell and Fiske (2005) argue that the relatively neutral attitudes toward gay men documented in their research may indeed mask a more complex reality. They posit that within the overarching superordinate category “gay men,” there may exist distinct subgroups, some of which may engender extreme negativity. If researchers ignore the potential existence of subgroups and simply rely on attitudinal assessments that use the superordinate category “gay men” (e.g., “Many gay men use their sexual orientation so that they can obtain special privileges”), any attitudinal nuances that may be directed toward certain “types” of gay men are elided. Further, if some of the potential subgroups of gay men are perceived more positively, while others are being perceived more negatively, then it is possible that these contrasting attitudes could be cancelling each other out and producing an overall neutral evaluation. Other researchers (i.e., Brambilla, Carnaghi, & Ravenna, 2011; Geiger, Harwood, & Hummert, 2006) have made similar arguments in regards to attitudes toward lesbian women.

Despite these postulations, little research has been conducted to: 1) establish the potential subgroups of gay men and lesbian women; 2) examine attitudes toward these subgroups and their relation to discrete measures of antigay/lesbian cognitions, affective reactions, and behaviours; and 3) investigate implicit attitudes toward the subgroups. This dissertation will address these gaps in our understanding and, in so doing, provide insight about various subgroups of gay men and lesbian women, and the respective explicit and implicit attitudes directed toward subgroups of sexual minority persons. The next section provides a brief overview of the literature on attitudes toward sexual minorities and the discrepancy that exists between the attitudinal research and the discrimination reported by sexual minority persons. The extant literature examining

attitudes toward subgroups of sexual minority persons will then be reviewed, with specific attention paid to the way in which beliefs about the gender roles of gay and lesbian persons factor into the prevailing theories on subgroups of sexual minorities. Then a brief outline of attitude structure and formation, with a focus on the Stereotype Content Model (SCM; Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002), the Behaviors from Intergroup Affects and Stereotypes Map (BIAS Map; Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2007), and implicit attitudes will be provided. Lastly, the purpose, incremental advances, and hypotheses intrinsic to this dissertation will be presented.

## **2. Attitudes toward Sexual Minorities**

Over the last twenty years, gay and lesbian civil rights organisations have achieved significant advancements in the rights accorded to sexual minority persons. For instance, within Canada, as of 1992, sexual minorities were allowed to legally serve in the Canadian Forces and, in 2005, same-sex marriage was legalised at the federal level. In the United States, where much of the research investigating public attitudes toward sexual minority persons occurs, the civil rights granted to sexual minorities have increased significantly in recent years, with same-sex marriage being legalised by the Supreme Court in 2015. Baunach (2012), in her analysis of data from the Canadian General Social Survey, found that attitudes toward same-sex marriage have liberalised over time, changing from 71% opposition in 1988 to 52% in 2006. The researcher notes that two-thirds of this change was due to shifting attitudes, with the other third due to a cohort succession effect. Similarly, using American public opinion polls (i.e., Gallup 1977-2011 and the 2000 National Election Study) inquiring about adoption by same-sex couples, job discrimination against sexual minorities, and sexual minorities serving in the military, Hicks and Lee (2006) found that the American public is becoming more accepting of homosexuality over time.

The improvement (i.e., liberalisation) over time in attitudes toward “homosexuality” and “gay men” and “lesbian women” that is evidenced in national social surveys has also been echoed in myriad academic studies. Of those examining global acceptance of sexual minorities using validated scales, considerable change can be noted. For instance, Altemeyer (2001) assessed Canadian university students’ attitudes toward sexual minorities in 1984 and again in 1998 using the Attitudes toward Homosexuals Scale (ATHS; Altemeyer, 1988). A sample item from the ATHS is, “I won’t associate with known homosexuals if I can help it.” Altemeyer (2001) found that scores in 1984 hovered around the midpoint of the scale, while in 1998 they

had decreased substantially (lower scores on the ATHS represent more positive attitudes toward sexual minorities). Likewise, recent studies (e.g., Hirai, Winkel, & Popan, 2014; Stotzer, 2009) employing the Attitudes toward Lesbians and Gay Men Scale (ATLG; Herek, 1988) have shown that participants' scores fall well below the midpoint, suggesting relatively favourable attitudes toward gay men and lesbian women, and a vast improvement from the prejudice documented by Herek, the author of the ATLG scale, in 1988.

Despite the apparent improvement in attitudes toward sexual minorities, as measured by national survey data and academic studies using attitudinal scales, research investigating the discrimination experienced by sexual minorities suggest that these trends may be deceiving. Jewell et al. (2011) found that lesbian, gay, and bisexual individuals perceive discrimination in multiple areas of their lives, including their workplace, health care settings, and family relationships. An analysis of data from the General Social Survey revealed that 42% of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) individuals have experienced employment discrimination (Sears & Mallory, 2011). In surveys of both Canadian (Morrison, Jewell, McCutcheon, & Cochrane, 2014; Saewyc et al., 2007; Taylor & Peter, 2011) and American (Kosciw, Greytak, Bartkiewicz, Boesen, & Palmer, 2012) high school students, over half the sexual minority students had heard homonegative comments (e.g., "that's so gay," "faggot," and "dyke") and been verbally harassed, with approximately 10-20% of their samples reporting harassment of a physical nature (e.g., sexual assault, physical abuse, and being threatened with a weapon). Research also suggests that the discrimination experienced by sexual minority persons occurs regularly. Swim, Pearson, and Johnston (2007) had 69 sexual minority participants keep a diary of the homonegative "everyday hassles" they experienced for one week. The participants' entries revealed that, on average, the lesbian and gay students experienced two homonegative hassles per week that consisted of verbal comments (e.g., antigay jokes), homonegative behaviours (e.g., exclusion, rude gestures), and fear of being outed.

A possible explanation for the discrepancy between scores on attitudinal measures of homonegativity and the personal accounts of sexual minority individuals is that the two sources are actually referring to different forms of homonegativity. Morrison and Morrison (2003) proposed that, over time, the most common homonegative attitudes have shifted from an old-fashioned form to a comparatively more modern version. Old-fashioned homonegativity reflects traditional or moral/religious objections to sexual minorities. For example, the belief that



homosexuals should not be allowed to work with or parent children is a form of old-fashioned homonegativity based on the misconception that homosexuality is related to paedophilia. The “gold standard” measure assessing old-fashioned homonegativity is the Attitudes Toward Lesbians and Gay Men Scale (ATLG; Herek, 1988). Example items from the ATLG include “Female homosexuality is an inferior form of sexuality” and “Male homosexuality is a perversion.”

Modern homonegativity encompasses contemporary concerns about gay men and lesbian women such as: 1) gay men and lesbian women are making illegitimate demands for change in the status quo; 2) discrimination against gay men and lesbian women is a thing of the past; and 3) gay men and lesbian women exaggerate the importance of their sexual orientation which prevents them from assimilating into mainstream culture (Morrison & Morrison, 2003). An example of a modern homonegative belief would be that gay and lesbian individuals no longer encounter discrimination due to their sexual orientation. Morrison and Morrison (2003) developed the Modern Homonegativity Scale (MHS) to assess this more covert form of attitudinal homonegativity. A sample item from the MHS is “Many gay men use their sexual orientation so they can obtain special privileges.”

Scales such as the commonly used ATLG (Herek, 1988) and the Attitudes toward Homosexuals Scale (ATHS; Altemeyer, 1988) assess the old-fashioned form of homonegativity; therefore, it is not surprising that scores on these measures have decreased over time. However, a review of recent studies using the MHS (Morrison & Morrison, 2003) reveal that scores on that scale have also decreased since it was first developed. In their initial study, Morrison and Morrison (2003) found that, on average, Canadian students’ scores on the MHS fell slightly above the midpoint (scores fell between 37 and 43 depending on scale version and participant gender, where possible scores on the MHS could range from 12 to 60); while studies (e.g., McDermott & Blair, 2012; Morrison & Morrison, 2011) conducted almost a decade later situate Canadian participants’ scores below the scale’s midpoint (scores fell between 20 and 34). Although *t*-test analyses show that these differences are not statistically significant, they suggest that there may be a trend toward lower scores on attitudinal scales assessing modern homonegativity as well as its old-fashioned counterpart. However, based on recent studies (e.g., Jewell et al., 2011; Swim et al., 2007; Taylor & Peter, 2011) documenting the behavioural manifestations of modern or subtle forms of homonegativity (e.g., exclusion and derogatory

comments such as “that’s so gay”) experienced by sexual minorities, modern homonegativity remains an important social issue despite lower scores on attitudinal scales.

When taken together – the improvement of the civil liberties afforded gay men and lesbian women, the ostensible liberalisation of attitudes toward sexual minorities as measured by attitudinal scales, and the continuation of quotidian discrimination against them – the conflicting research findings and realities of sexual minorities suggest that additional complexities need to be considered when examining individuals’ perceptions and attitudes toward sexual minority persons. Clausell and Fiske (2005) proposed that our understanding of attitudes toward sexual minorities might be complicated by the existence of subgroups of sexual minority persons. Subgroups refer to a smaller subset of people with similar identifiers within a larger overarching group. Cognition research has found that “perceivers process group-related information at multiple levels, ranging from the broader (i.e., overall category) to more specific (i.e., subgroups) levels” (Brambilla et al., 2011, p. 101). Potentially, individuals could possess different attitudes toward different “types” of gay men or lesbian women. These differences could contribute to explaining the dissimilar findings in the literature examining attitudes toward, and discrimination experienced by, lesbian and gay individuals. If some subgroups evoke primarily positive attitudes, while others are the targets of negative attitudes, and these groups are then subsumed in researchers’ use of a superordinate category (i.e., the generic terms “gay men” and “lesbian women”) for attitudinal measurement and analysis, our interpretation of the resulting attitudes may be inaccurate. For example, if researchers assess individuals’ attitudes toward the superordinate category “gay men,” participants’ negativity toward various “types” of gay men (e.g., “flamboyant,” “closeted”) may be suppressed.

Alternatively, to appear less prejudiced, individuals may respond to questions assessing their attitudes toward sexual minority persons by thinking about the subgroup they view most positively (e.g., a feminist). Geiger et al. (2006) argued that the existence of sexual minority subgroups that are viewed positively might complicate attempts to address homonegativity. They suggest that individuals may be reluctant to fully admit their prejudices because of those positively perceived subgroups. For instance, if an individual believes there exists a subgroup of lesbian women who are feminists and they view them positively, they may consider themselves to have an overall positive attitude toward lesbian women, even if they view all other “types” of lesbian women negatively. When these individuals encounter a gay man or lesbian woman whom

they perceive as a member of a subgroup they view negatively (e.g., butch lesbian women), they may, in turn, respond negatively. Their discriminatory behaviour would be inconsistent with their self-reported positive attitudes toward sexual minorities because they hold distinct attitudes toward different subgroups.

These examples remain speculative because researchers have not yet examined the type of person individuals are thinking about or picturing when asked about their attitudes toward the superordinate categories “gay men” and “lesbian women.” This omission is problematic because inferences are being made about attitudes toward sexual minorities without a comprehensive or broad-based understanding of who serves as the evaluative target. In reality, a sexual minority person could be any man or woman; however, based on cognitive models positing that people form categorisations to make sense of their social world (McGarty, 1999), it is likely that individuals are picturing a specific “type” of person when asked about their attitudes toward these groups. For instance, Black and Stevenson (1984) found that when processing the generic term “homosexual,” many people think about a gay man instead of a lesbian woman. They note that this has implications when assessing attitudes about homosexuals. They suggest that gay men are perceived more negatively; therefore, when you conduct a study collecting attitudes about “homosexuals” your results will be negatively skewed, as many people will be responding in accordance with their attitudes toward gay men. Also, more recently, Matsick and Conley (2016) found in their examinations of gay, lesbian, and bisexual individuals’ attitudes toward heterosexual men, women, and persons, that participants drew on their stereotypes of heterosexual men (as opposed to heterosexual women) to rate the generic “heterosexual people” category. The findings suggest that individuals may draw on their attitudes toward a specific subgroup when assessing an overarching group. Worth noting is that both studies relate only to the broad categories of “homosexual” and “heterosexual”; therefore, further information is needed about the possibility of additional subgroup layers within those categories, and how they are perceived. Currently, only three studies have had heterosexual individuals generate subgroups of gay men and lesbian women. This research will be explored in the next section.

### **3. Subgroups of Gay Men and Lesbian Women**

Clausell and Fiske (2005) began to consider the existence of subgroups (i.e., a subset of people with similar characteristics drawn from a larger overarching category) of gay men after observing their neutral position within a map of the Stereotype Content Model (SCM). SCM

enables the positioning of societal groups on a map based on their perceived warmth and competence. Fiske et al. (2002) found that gay men fall in the centre of the warmth X competence space, representing neutral perceptions toward gay men relative to other groups. Their positioning seemed at odds with the well-documented stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination that are reported by gay men. Therefore, to determine what subgroups of gay men may exist, Clausell and Fiske (2005) conducted a preliminary study with 44 Princeton University students. Participants were instructed to identify attributes of gay men and then to sort them into subgroups. In total, 73 separate terms for subgroups were recorded. The researchers maintained subgroups that had been generated by at least 10% of the sample, resulting in the retention of the following ten: in the closet, flamboyant, feminine, crossdresser, gay activist, hyper-masculine, body-conscious, artistic, leather/biker, straight acting. The researchers acknowledged that crossdressers are not usually gay; however, they noted, “the study addresses stereotypes, not their accuracy” (p. 173).

To further understand how individuals perceive these subgroups, Clausell and Fiske (2005) surveyed an additional 40 Princeton University students. Participants were asked about the warmth and competence of each subgroup using the Stereotype Content measure created by Fiske et al. (2002) so that they could situate the scores on a SCM map. The measure includes items asking about the extent to which a social group is associated with certain attributes that relate to warmth (e.g., friendly, trustworthy) and competence (e.g., confident, capable). Clausell and Fiske (2005) hypothesised that the 10 subgroups they had identified would fall into three distinct clusters within the warmth X competence space. They expected that many of the subgroups would be positioned in the high competence and low warmth (HC-LW) quadrant or in the low competence and high warmth (LC-HW) quadrant. However, they also anticipated that some of the subgroups would be situated in the low-competence and low warmth (LC-LW) area. Using hierarchical cluster analysis, Clausell and Fiske found that the 10 subgroups that had been generated in their initial study clustered into three distinct groups. As predicted, the majority of the groups fell within the HC-LW (i.e., body-conscious, straight acting, in the closet, artistic, hyper-masculine, and activist) and LC-HW (i.e., flamboyant, feminine) quadrants. Also confirming their hypotheses, the leather/biker and crossdresser subgroups fell within the most derogated LC-LW area.

Using a similar methodological approach to Clausell and Fiske (2005), Brambilla et al. (2011) examined distinct stereotypes within a superordinate group; however, they were interested in investigating perceived subgroups of lesbian women. Employing the SCM, 32 Italian undergraduate students completed a pilot study to establish subgroups of lesbian women. They listed subgroups and provided the most salient characteristics for each of the groups. Using a criterion that the subgroups must be mentioned by at least 15% of the sample, the pilot study resulted in the identification of four lesbian subgroups: butch, feminine, closeted, and outed. The main study assessed 70 students' ratings of either the four established subgroups or the superordinate category of "lesbian woman" on warmth and competence. The results revealed that the superordinate category of lesbian woman was situated in the middle of the warmth and competence space. In regards to the subgroups, feminine and outed lesbians fell in the HC-HW quadrant, butch lesbians were positioned in the HC-LW quadrant, and closeted lesbians were in the LC-LW area.

Geiger et al. (2006) also conducted a study to identify subgroups of lesbian women. In their case, however, they used a cognitive perspective as a theoretical framework in contrast to the SCM. The cognitive perspective contends that individuals may hold multiple stereotypes for a given group (Brewer, Dull, & Lui, 1981; Hummert, 1990). Geiger et al. (2006) expected to find that individuals possess both positive and negative subgroups of lesbian women. In the first stage of their two-stage study, Geiger et al. (2006) instructed 61 American students to generate traits that they associated with the superordinate category of "lesbian." After removing derogatory terms (e.g., "whorebag") and combining synonymous descriptors (e.g., "manly," "male-like"), 94 distinct traits had been generated. These traits were then used in the second stage, in which 63 students were instructed to sort the traits into groups that represented types of lesbians of which they were aware and to label the grouped traits.

A hierarchical cluster analysis revealed that participants' categorisations resulted in two high-level clusters: positive traits and negative traits. Four subgroups of lesbian women fell within the positive traits cluster: lipstick lesbian, career-oriented feminist, soft-but, and free-spirit. Likewise, four subgroups comprised the negative traits cluster: hypersexual, sexually confused, sexually deviant, and angry butch. In addition to the positive-negative dimension, the researchers also interpreted a strong-weak dimension in which the subgroups associated with sexuality were perceived as "weak," while the butch and feminist categories were positioned

closest to the “strong” pole. Although Geiger et al.’s (2006) study suggests that stereotypes of lesbian women could be arranged hierarchically, they did not directly assess participants’ personal feelings of positivity or negativity toward these groups. Rather, participants were instructed to sort 94 traits into groups that represented types of lesbians of which they were aware. They were instructed that they did not necessarily need to personally endorse the characterizations or believe them to be true or accurate. After sorting the traits, participants were asked to provide a label for the groups they created. The researchers then categorised subgroups based on their own interpretations of whether the traits assigned to a subgroup were positive or negative (and strong or weak), as opposed to an independent assessment of the valence of the generated traits.

A theme that is evident across the three existing subgroup generation studies is the tendency for participants to create subgroups relating to gender conformity or non-conformity. At least half (i.e., hyper-masculine, flamboyant, feminine, crossdresser, leather/biker) of the ten subgroups found by Clausell and Fiske (2005), two (i.e., feminine and butch) of the four groups generated in Brambilla et al.’s (2011) study, and three (i.e., lipstick lesbian, soft-but, and angry butch) of the eight groups from Geiger et al.’s (2006) study relate to gender conformity. Additionally, one could argue that “out” or “closeted” status could relate to enacted gender roles (with “closeted” being associated with gender role conformity, and “out” being associated with gender role non-conformity). Being gay or lesbian is associated with femininity and masculinity, respectively (Krane & Baber, 2003; McCutcheon & Bishop, 2015); therefore, if a gay man or lesbian woman is “out,” others may assume that he or she will not conform to the expected roles in relation to his or her gender and vice versa. For instance, a gay man who is closeted may be perceived as “straight-acting,” which is associated with masculinity (Clarkson, 2006).

Clausell and Fiske (2005) based one of their hypotheses on the tendency for individuals to rely on gender roles when stereotyping sexual minority persons. They hypothesised that gay male subgroups tied to gender roles would replicate heterosexual gender roles in their positioning in the SCM area. That is, they expected that subgroups that replicated feminine gender roles (i.e., feminine, flamboyant, crossdresser) would be rated similarly to the general category of “women” in the LC-HW quadrant and the subgroups that were consistent with masculine gender roles (i.e., hyper-masculine, straight-acting, leather/biker, in-the-closet) would fall within the HC-LW space as does the general category of “men.” The results of their study

largely supported this hypothesis. Although the relationships between gender roles and the stereotyping of gay men and lesbian women cannot account for all the subgroups that have been generated, it appears that gender roles play a significant role. The next section will discuss theories that have explored the linkage between gender roles and the stereotyping of sexual minorities.

#### **4. Gender Roles and Attitudes toward Gay Men and Lesbian Women**

Classic theorists of sexuality (e.g., Ellis, 1913; Freud, 1905/1953) proposed that sexual minority individuals may identify so strongly with their opposite sex parent that they begin to adopt their gender role characteristics. This assumption was referred to as the inversion theory or model. While more modern research (e.g., Storms, 1979, 1980) has found that the link between sexual orientation and masculinity and femininity is very weak, the belief that sexual minorities may exhibit gender role characteristics that are consistent with the opposite sex has persisted despite the lack of empirical support. Kite and Deaux (1987) pioneered the re-emergence of inversion theory as an attitudinal perspective by testing whether individuals subscribe to an implicit inversion theory wherein gay men are perceived as similar to female heterosexuals and lesbian women are considered similar to male heterosexuals. To test the implicit inversion theory (i.e., that individuals subscribe to the inversion model), 206 American university students were randomly assigned to one of four target conditions (i.e., heterosexual male, heterosexual female, homosexual male, homosexual female) and asked to generate qualities that they perceived as characteristic of the target group and to rate the group on masculine and feminine traits, role behaviours, physical characteristics, and occupations.

The results revealed that participants strongly associated gay men with feminine attributes, and, to a lesser degree, lesbian women with masculine characteristics (Kite & Deaux, 1987). When comparing across groups, the results support the implicit inversion model in that the attributes generated for male homosexuals and female heterosexuals were almost identical, as were the attributes generated for female homosexuals and male heterosexuals. Also in support of the model, the analysis of the masculinity and femininity ratings revealed that male homosexuals were rated higher on femininity and lower on masculinity than male heterosexuals, and female homosexuals were rated higher on masculinity and lower on femininity than female heterosexuals.

As a result of their research, Kite and Deaux (1987) proposed a gender belief system, which encompasses a set of ideas about men and women, masculinity and femininity, and the roles and characteristics associated with each category. Two major components underlie the gender belief system. Firstly, gender is polarised. Kite and Deaux (1987) note that their findings provide support for the bipolarity of masculinity and femininity. That is, there is a pervasive belief that masculinity and femininity are opposites and that they are mutually exclusive (i.e., whatever is masculine cannot be feminine and vice versa). Secondly, gender and biological sex are intertwined. This essentialist belief implies that women “should” adopt feminine gender roles and men “should” assume masculine gender roles. This belief system shapes individuals’ views of not only men and women who “fit” the normative model, but also those who are perceived as violating socially assigned gender stereotypes (Rees-Turyn, Doyle, Holland, & Root, 2008).

Starting at a young age, individuals adopt the worldview as espoused by the gender belief system (Lobel & Menashri, 1993). Continuing into adulthood, beliefs about gender roles are often interlinked with beliefs about homosexuality (Rees-Turyn et al., 2008). Nielsen, Walden, and Kunkel (2000) examined 640 American university students’ qualitative narratives of reactions to gender norm violations and found that, in many cases, gender atypical behaviour resulted in assumed homosexuality. Men, in particular, were assumed to be gay if they exhibited feminine gender role behaviours. This finding is in line with Kite and Deaux’s (1987) seminal article on the implicit inversion theory, which found that differences between heterosexual men and gay men were greater than differences between heterosexual women and lesbian women.

In addition to behavioural gender roles, visual cues also can be indicators of sexual orientation. Lyons, Lynch, Brewer, and Bruno (2014) surveyed two independent samples of women in the United Kingdom to determine if they could correctly identify an individual’s sexual orientation based on a photograph. The first group made judgements about the target’s sexual orientation, while the second group rated the photographs on masculinity and femininity. The results revealed better than chance judgements of sexual orientation and, participants rated heterosexual men as more masculine and less feminine than gay men and heterosexual women as more feminine and less masculine than lesbian women. The researchers suggest that individuals use perceived masculine and feminine appearance cues to make judgements about a person’s sexual orientation. Likewise, Freeman, Johnson, Ambady, and Rule (2010) found a similar pattern using both real photographed faces and computer-generated faces that were made to



appear more or less masculine or feminine. The American undergraduate participants judged the gender-inverted targets as more likely to be gay or lesbian.

While the literature strongly supports the notion that judgements of sexual orientation relate to perceived masculinity and femininity, how do gender roles affect attitudes towards these sexual minority individuals? To investigate this relationship, Blashill and Powlishta (2009) presented 177 American undergraduate students with one of six vignettes that portrayed a man who was heterosexual, gay, or with an undisclosed sexual orientation and was described using either masculine or feminine descriptors and behaviours. After reading the vignette, participants were then asked various questions about the target (e.g., likeability, intelligence). A multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) of the ratings revealed a significant main effect for both gender role and sexual orientation. Further analyses showed that feminine males were rated less favourably than masculine males, and gay men were rated significantly less favourably than heterosexual men and men with unspecified sexual orientations. The results suggest that sexual minority status and femininity result in more negative attitudes. Interestingly, there was no significant interaction between sexual orientation and gender roles, suggesting that the variables affect attitudes independently from one another.

Similar research has also examined the effect of perceived gender role violations on attitudes toward lesbian women. Lehavot and Lambert (2007) assessed 213 American undergraduate students' attitudes toward both gay men and lesbian women. Participants were instructed to read a biography of the target individual and were presented with a list of behaviours performed by the target. Three factors were manipulated: target sex (male or female), target behaviours (mostly masculine or mostly feminine), and sexual orientation (heterosexual or gay/lesbian). The participants then rated the target on his or her likeability, immorality, and masculinity and femininity. The participants also completed the ATLG (Herek, 1988) in order to categorise them as "high" or "low" prejudiced persons.

The results revealed that high-prejudiced individuals rated gay and lesbian individuals as less likeable and, independent of the effect of sexual orientation, also rated individuals who violated their socially assigned gender role as less likeable. "Double violators" were also viewed more negatively, particularly among masculine lesbians, who were as least likeable of all the groups. For immorality ratings, the high-prejudiced participants perceived the sexual minority gender-role violators as more immoral than the heterosexual and sexual minority gender-role

upholders. Low-prejudiced participants rated gay and lesbian targets as significantly less immoral than heterosexual targets and, surprisingly, this effect was more pronounced when the target was paired with masculine behaviours. Among low-prejudiced participants, feminine targets were rated similarly regardless of sexual orientation. The researchers suggest that the feminine behaviours may have neutralised the effect of sexual orientation because these behaviours are perceived as relatively benign; however, they caution that this interpretation is highly speculative. Overall, these results echo the findings of Blashill and Powlisha (2009) that being a sexual minority individual and a gender-role violator both elicit negative attitudes.

While Lehavot and Lambert (2007) found that masculine lesbian women were viewed particularly negatively, McCutcheon and Bishop (2015) found that feminine gay men are also targets of considerable prejudice. McCutcheon and Bishop (2015) interviewed 14 Canadian women about their attitudes toward gay male pornography. They found that feminine gay men were perceived considerably more negatively than gay men who were viewed as masculine. Using the term “femi-negativity” to describe the prejudicial attitudes directed at gay men who violate their socially assigned male gender role, the researchers noted that participants were explicit in their distaste toward this group of gay men by emphatically stating that they would *never* be attracted to a feminine gay man, while being aroused by masculine men performing acts that would categorise them as non-heterosexual. Instead of using the sexual activities as cues, the participants used feminine and masculine visual (e.g., skin tone, body hair) and behavioural (e.g., hand gestures) cues to make judgments about sexual orientation, tending to categorise masculine performers as either heterosexual or bisexual. To these women, femininity was commensurate with being gay.

As espoused by many researchers, femininity (in men) and homosexuality are so inextricably linked that gay men do not even need to display feminine characteristics or appear feminine to be perceived as such. Mitchell and Ellis (2011) presented 713 American undergraduate students with a videotape of two men playing a word game. The men were labelled as either gay or having been adopted. Participants rated the men on masculinity, femininity, and likeability. When the men were labelled as gay, they were rated as being significantly more feminine and less masculine than when they were not labelled as gay. Interestingly, the researchers found that sexual orientation did not affect likeability ratings. The researchers acknowledge that their finding is inconsistent with the existing literature (e.g.,

Blashill & Powlishta, 2009; Istvan, 1983), which shows typically that gay men are rated as less likeable than heterosexual men; however, they suggest that the use of actual men, as opposed to hypothetical men, may have resulted in more positive ratings. Robinson, Johnson, and Shields (1998) have found that gender role stereotypes are more likely to persist when rating hypothetical individuals as opposed to “real” people. The researchers suggest that individuals rely on gender role heuristics or stereotypes when there is not enough concrete situational experience off which to base their judgements.

Lick and Johnson (2014) also found an association between women’s appearance, their classification as heterosexual or lesbian, and individuals’ perceptions of them. In two separate studies, one with 42 American undergraduate students and one with 165 Internet users, participants were presented with faces via computer trials and were instructed to rate them on various dimensions (e.g., honesty, attractiveness) and to categorise them as either straight or lesbian/gay. In a third study, Lick and Johnson experimentally manipulated the sexual orientation of the target stimuli either by providing information about the sexual orientation of the target (i.e., straight, gay/lesbian) or offering no information. Across all three studies, targets who were categorised as gay or lesbian were evaluated more negatively than those categorised as straight. Men and women who were coded as gender atypical (i.e., feminine and masculine, respectively; by independent coders in Study 1 and 3 and by the participants in Study 2) were more likely to be categorised as sexual minorities. Also, gender-typicality predicted social evaluations for women, with those deemed as gender-atypical being evaluated negatively. However, men who were viewed as gender-atypical were not rated more negatively. The researchers suggest that a gender-atypical visual appearance may actually serve as a buffer for gay men against the prejudice they might have experienced because of their sexual orientation.

Research on attitudes towards transgender persons also provides insight into the negativity directed at gender role-violating individuals. Hill (2002) offers three theoretical constructs serving as the foundation for negative attitudes towards transgender persons: 1) transphobia (i.e., a revulsion to gender role-violating or non-cisgender individuals), 2) genderism (i.e., the belief in a dichotomised gender role system that dictates that men are masculine and women are feminine, and all other combinations are negatively evaluated), and 3) gender-bashing (i.e., assault and/or harassment of gender role-violating individuals). While undoubtedly assessing different types of prejudice (i.e., attitudes towards individuals based on their sexual

orientation and their gender identity, respectively; Worthen, 2013), attitudes towards sexual minority persons and transgender individuals have been found to be strongly correlated (Hill & Willoughby, 2005; Nagoshi, Adams, Terrell, Hill, Brzuzy, & Nagoshi, 2008). As such, stigma towards transgender individuals is an important aspect to consider when interpreting attitudes towards gender role-violating subgroups of gay men and lesbian women.

The research on subgroups of sexual minority persons, the effect of gender role adherence provide compelling support that further research is needed in this domain, but how should the study of attitudes toward identified subgroups be measured? The next section will address this question by outlining the structure of attitudes and identifying the component pieces that should be considered when measuring attitudes toward social groups.

### **5. Attitude Structure and Formation**

Although there is no consensually agreed-upon definition for an attitude (Haddock & Zanna, 1999; Olson & Zanna, 1993), most theorists concur that attitudes are derived from multiple components. Many researchers (e.g., Eagly & Chaiken, 1993; Rosenberg, 1960) advocate for a tripartite model of attitudes, which includes cognitive, affective, and behavioural components. The cognitive component relates to an individual's beliefs or thoughts, the affective component refers to feelings or emotions, and the behavioural component includes past behaviour or behavioural intentions (Haddock & Zanna, 1999). The multicomponent view of attitudes is now widely favoured over the unitary approach (Ajzen, 1991; Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975), which posits that attitudes are primarily affective responses.

Many researchers advocate for the inclusion of multiple attitudinal components in studies examining attitudes. Haddock and Zanna (1993, 1998) investigated affective and cognitive attitudinal components in their study of five social groups (i.e., "English," "French," "Native Canadians," "homosexuals," and "Pakistanis"). They found that individuals who are classified as "thinkers" (i.e., persons who respond to a scale in a "cognitive direction") tend to possess cognitive-consistent attitudes and to base their attitudes on cognitive information, while those deemed "feelers" (i.e., persons who respond in an "affective direction") are more likely to have affect-consistent attitudes and to form attitudes based on affective information. By choosing to measure only one of the attitudinal components, researchers may fail to capture the multidimensional nature of attitudes within their samples.

In many studies, behavioural components of attitudes also are investigated, usually being predicted by the affective or cognitive components. Although stereotypes (cognitive foundations of attitudes) have often been examined in studies aiming to predict behaviour or behavioural intentions (Schütz & Six, 1996), many theorists argue that affect can, more directly, predict discriminatory behaviour (Dovidio, Brigham, Johnson, & Gaertner, 1996; Talaska, Fiske, & Chaiken, 2008). Talaska et al. (2008) conducted a meta-analysis of 57 racial attitude-discrimination linkage studies and found that affective-laden reactions are more closely related to discrimination than stereotypes, and are related to both observed and self-reported discrimination, whereas stereotypes relate only to self-reported discrimination. These findings suggest that emotional prejudice can more strongly predict what individuals will *actually* do, as opposed to what they *say* they will do.

In an attempt to systematically link affect and cognition to behaviours, Cuddy et al. (2007) developed the Behaviors from Intergroup Affects and Stereotypes (BIAS) Map. The BIAS Map stems largely from Fiske et al.'s (2002) development of the Stereotype Content Model (SCM), which focuses on the cognitive component of attitudes. These frameworks will be explained in turn.

**5.1 Stereotype Content Model (SCM; Fiske et al., 2002).** The SCM proposes a potentially universal principle for understanding the stereotyping of social groups based on the two dimensions of warmth and competence (Fiske et al., 2002). Warmth and competence were proposed as universal dimensions because they address two critical issues an individual must consider when encountering someone: what the individual's intentions are toward them (i.e., warmth) and the individual's capability to realise her/his intentions (i.e., competence; Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2008). In developing the SCM, Fiske et al. (2002) proposed that the two dimensions of warmth and competence would differentiate outgroup stereotypes. Their second hypothesis proposed that many groups would be rated ambivalently (i.e., rated as high in one dimension and low in the other). For their final hypothesis, they anticipated that perceived status would predict competence and perceived competitiveness would predict (lack of) warmth.

To test their hypotheses, Fiske et al. (2002) conducted two studies with American samples. Participants were instructed to rate social groups on warmth and competence traits and on perceived status and competition. A factor analysis was conducted for each social group, with five factors (i.e., warmth, competence, competition, status, and cooperation) emerging

consistently for the groups. Cooperation was removed because the researchers were unable to create a reliable measure assessing this construct. The social groups were plotted on the two-dimensional warmth-competence space. Cluster analyses were then performed to examine the structure of the two-dimensional space. The results revealed that many of the groups could be differentiated into 4 or 5 stable clusters (five clusters emerged when ingroups were included – they scored positively on both competence and warmth). The distribution of the groups across the warmth and competence space provided support for their first hypothesis that outgroups could be differentiated by warmth and competence stereotypes. Several groups fell within the neutral middle space of the SCM map, with approximately half of the social groups being rated ambivalently insofar as being evaluated as higher on one dimension and lower on the other. When examined at an individual level, the majority of the groups had significantly higher warmth ratings than competence ratings, or vice versa. This finding provides support for their second hypothesis, that many social groups would be rated ambivalently. A correlation analysis between scores on perceived status and perceived competence and between perceived competition and perceived warmth partially supported their third hypothesis. The results of the analysis were significant between status and competition and between competition and warmth at the group level, but only in Study 2 (not Study 1) at the individual level. A third identical study was conducted with only six social groups being assessed and with more geographically dispersed samples. The researchers' first two hypotheses were fully supported; however, their third hypothesis was, again, only partially supported with the correlation between perceived competition and perceived warmth being non-significant at the group level.

Lastly, Fiske et al. (2002) conducted a fourth study, which examined the emotional responses to social groups. The researchers theorised that threats to an individual's ingroup (from an outgroup) would elicit an emotional reaction. Based on a social group's perceived competence and warmth, Fiske et al. (2002) argued that four possible emotional reactions would result: admiration, contempt, envy, and pity. They proposed that groups who are rated higher on warmth and competence (i.e., ingroups; HC-HW) are admired, those rated higher in competence and lower in warmth (HC-LW) are envied, those rated lower in competence and higher in warmth (LC-HW) evoke pity, and groups perceived as being lower on both dimensions (LC-LW) are targets of contempt. To test their hypotheses, 148 University of Massachusetts undergraduate students were asked to rate 24 social groups in terms of how they made them feel. A list of 24

emotions was provided and participants responded on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = *not at all*, 5 = *extremely*). Factor analyses for each group resulted in five to eight factors, with four emerging consistently. The researchers categorised the factors as admiration, contempt, envy, and pity, and as such their hypothesis was supported. Upon an examination of the mean scores on each factor for the social groups, the results largely supported their hypotheses for the emotional reactions to each group. However, the HC-LW group was rated higher on both admiration and pity, with admiration having a slightly higher, albeit non-significant, mean. This was not surprising as competence was expected to relate to admiration. The neutral group was rated similarly on all of the emotions.

**5.2 Behaviors from Intergroup Affects and Stereotypes (BIAS) Map.** Extending the SCM, the BIAS Map incorporates behaviour into existing theory on the role of affect and cognition in attitudes. The BIAS Map consists of four categories of discriminatory behaviours that can be mapped onto two dimensions (i.e., active-passive and facilitative-harmful). The active-passive dimension relates to the intensity of behaviours and the facilitative-harmful dimension corresponds to the valence. Cuddy et al. (2007) indicates that, “behaviors tend to be enacted with relatively more or less effort, directness, engagement, intent, and intensity” (p. 633). The researchers cite harassment and neglect as examples of active and passive behaviours, respectively, where harassment requires more effort and intent, and neglect requires little effort on the part of the perpetrator. It is important to note that, while requiring less effort, passive behaviours still have consequences for the target group. The definition of the active-passive dimension encompasses both positive and negative behaviours; a perpetrator can behave in such a way as to help or hinder the effort of a target group. Therefore, the valence of the behaviour, as represented by the facilitative-harmful dimension of the BIAS Map, is determined by the intended effect of the behaviour on the target. Cuddy et al. (2007) states that “facilitation leads to ostensibly favorable outcomes or gains for groups; harm leads to detrimental outcomes or losses for groups” (p. 633).

Cuddy et al. (2007) proposed three hypotheses to test the relationship between the behavioural dimensions of the BIAS Map and the cognitive and affective components of the SCM. Firstly, the researchers hypothesised that warmth would predict active behaviours and competence would predict passive behaviours. This hypothesis is based on research that suggests that perceivers are more concerned with whether a social group is warm than whether they are

competent (Wojciszke, Brycz, & Borkenau, 1993). The appraisal of warmth relates to the intended goals of a social group (Cuddy et al., 2008), and this information is needed to determine if the social group is dangerous. As such, there is a greater urgency to act as a result of perceived warmth. In contrast, knowledge about a social group's competence, which relates to their ability to achieve their intentions (Cuddy et al., 2008), is less urgent (Wojciszke et al., 1993) because it relates more to the outgroup's status and does not necessarily require an immediate response from the ingroup (Cuddy et al., 2007). Therefore, Cuddy et al. (2007) predicted that groups perceived as higher in warmth will prompt active facilitation (AF) and those perceived as lower in warmth will engender active harm (AH). Social groups perceived as higher in competence will evoke passive facilitation (PF) and those considered lower in competence will elicit passive harm (PH).

Secondly, Cuddy et al. (2007) predicted that the affective components for social groups in each SCM quadrant would predict two behavioural responses. The hypotheses were as follows: 1) Admiration (for social groups in the HC-HW quadrant) would predict both types of facilitation (i.e., active and passive) as this emotion is primarily reserved for in-groups; 2) Contempt (LC-LW) would predict both types of harm (i.e., active and passive) as these are the most negatively perceived and denigrated outgroups. Individuals would try to actively distance themselves or exclude them; 3) Envy (HC-LW) would predict PF because in-groups will try to benefit from the competence of the outgroup by cooperating with them. It will also predict AH because these out-groups are perceived as having both the intent and the ability to cause harm; and 4) Pity (LC-HW) will predict AF because it evokes an attempt to help the low-status outgroup, but it also will predict PH because of an avoidance of sadness or the tendency to dismiss a group unworthy of respect (Cuddy et al., 2007; Green & Sedikides, 1999; Weiner, 2005). The third and final hypothesis related to the BIAS map, based on past research (e.g., Dovidio et al., 1996; Talaska et al., 2008), predicted that affective components (i.e., emotions) would be more strongly related to the behavioural tendencies than the cognitive components (i.e., stereotypes) and the emotions would mediate the relationship between stereotypes and behaviour.

Before they tested their hypotheses, Cuddy et al. (2007) conducted a preliminary study with 100 Princeton undergraduate students to develop a scale measuring behavioural tendencies. They selected 31 behavioural items (e.g., help, avoid) that would fall along the dimensions of



active-passive and facilitation-harm. Participants rated on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = *not at all*, 5 = *extremely*) as to whether most Americans would exhibit the 31 behaviours toward 11 or 12 (of 23) social groups. Factor analyses were conducted for each social group, with the four factors of active facilitation, active harm, passive facilitation, and passive harm emerging consistently across the groups. Four items loaded on PH (demean, exclude, hinder, and derogate), three items on PF (cooperate with, unite with, and associate with), three items on AH (fight, attack, sabotage), and three items on AF (assist, help, and protect).

Following their preliminary study, to test their three BIAS map hypotheses, Cuddy et al. (2007) conducted a nationally representative telephone survey of 571 Americans. Participants rated 4 of 20 possible social groups on social structure (measuring status and competition), traits (measuring warmth and competence), emotions (admiration, contempt, envy, and pity), and behaviours (i.e., active harm, passive harm, active facilitation, passive facilitation). A correlation analysis of the responses supported the first hypothesis. Competence was positively correlated with PF and negatively with PH, and warmth was positively correlated with AF and negatively with AH. Warmth also correlated positively with PF. These results provide support for Cuddy et al.'s (2007) first hypothesis that the stereotypes of warmth and competence would be related to behavioural tendencies.

Their second hypothesis, that certain emotions would predict certain behaviours, also was largely supported. As anticipated, admiration elicited both active and passive facilitation and contempt elicited both active and passive harm. Also in support of their hypothesis, envy resulted in higher PF; however, envy only elicited AH in the participant-level analysis (which was determined by calculating correlations separately for each participant and converting them using Fisher's  $r$  to  $z$ , averaging them, and converting them back to  $r$ s), but not the group-level analysis (which was determined by averaging ratings across participants for all the social groups and then, using the group mean, correlation coefficients were calculated). Lastly, as predicted, pity elicited higher AF and PH.

To test the third hypothesis, the researchers (Cuddy et al., 2007) examined whether the variances were improved if: a) emotions were to mediate the relationship between the stereotype and the behavioural tendency, or: b) the stereotype were to mediate the relationship between the emotions and the behavioural tendency. For each behaviour, they found that the addition of emotions to the models significantly improved the variances, while the addition of the stereotype

did not. Therefore, a series of regression analyses were conducted in which the behavioural tendencies were the criteria, the stereotypes were the predictors, and the emotions were the mediators. In each analysis, the effect of one stereotype (e.g., competence) on one behavioural tendency (e.g., passive harm) was examined, while considering the mediation of two emotions (e.g., contempt and pity). As a control, the non-predictor stereotype (e.g., warmth) was included as an independent variable in the analyses. The results revealed that both predictor emotions (i.e., admiration and pity) mediated the effect of warmth on AF, contempt fully mediated the effect of warmth on AH, admiration partially mediated the effect of competence on PF, and pity fully mediated the effect of competence on PH. These findings suggest that there is a link between stereotypes and behavioural tendencies, which is mediated by certain emotions.

A weakness of Cuddy et al.'s (2007) telephone survey was that, using a correlational design, they could not make any inferences about causation. To address this limitation, Cuddy et al. (2007) conducted two experimental studies in which they provided Princeton University students with vignettes describing a fictitious ethnic group. In one study, they manipulated the perceived warmth and competence of the group, and, in the other study, they manipulated the type of emotion that was elicited by the ethnic group (e.g., "Members of this group are generally admired by others in their society."). The findings related to warmth and competence revealed a significant Warmth X Active Behaviours interaction in which higher warmth groups elicited more AF and lower warmth groups elicited more AH. Also, there was a significant Competence X Passive Behaviours interaction, revealing that lower competence groups elicited more PH and higher competence groups elicited more PF, and a significant Warmth X Passive Behaviours interaction in which higher warmth groups elicited more PF and lower warmth groups elicited more PH. The results from Cuddy et al.'s (2007) study assessing the causal relationship between emotions and behaviours revealed a significant interaction between emotion and behaviour. Planned contrasts further revealed that, as hypothesised, admiration and pity resulted in greater AF, contempt and envy elicited greater AH, admiration and envy predicted greater PF, and contempt and pity elicited greater PH. Figure 1-1 depicts the appropriate quadrants using the SCM for the elicited emotions and behaviours as predicted by Cuddy et al. (2007).

**5.3 Explicit and Implicit Attitudes.** In addition to the cognitive, affective, and behavioural components of attitudes, many theorists (e.g., Dovidio, Kawakami, & Gaertner, 2002; Gawronski & Bodenhausen, 2006) propose that attitudes can be differentiated into the two

categories of explicit or implicit. Explicit attitudes are those that are within an individual's conscious awareness (Rydell & McConnell, 2006), while implicit attitudes are automatically activated perceptions that are beyond an individual's conscious control (Son Hing, Chung-Yan, Hamilton, & Zanna, 2008). Researchers have found that explicit and implicit attitudes are only weakly correlated with one another (Hofmann, Gawronski, Gschwendner, Le, & Schmitt, 2005), and likely represent independent forms of prejudice (Son Hing et al., 2008; Fazio, 1990; Wilson, Lindsey, & Schooler, 2000). As such, these researchers theorise that implicit and explicit attitudes can differentially predict behaviour. Studies (Dovidio et al., 2002; Dovidio, Kawakami, Johnson, Johnson, & Howard, 1997; Ziegert & Hanges, 2005) have found that implicit attitudes tend to predict non-verbal behaviour (which may not be known or intentional), while both implicit and explicit attitudes can predict verbal behaviour (which is intentional behaviour committed by the perpetrator).

Data on explicit attitudes can be collected through self-report measures and are, therefore, often the type of attitudes that are assessed in empirical research. Implicit attitudes are more challenging to measure because they are not readily accessible from memory; however, within the last few decades, measures have been developed to tap into implicitly held attitudes. For instance, the Implicit Association Test (IAT; Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz, 1998) is a commonly used test that uses response time to assess the associations between target words or images (e.g., Black/White faces, fat/thin images) with positive (e.g., fabulous, exciting) and negative (e.g., hatred, evil) words. The IAT is based on the premise that responses will be faster when the pairings between the target category and the positive or negative word categories are consistent with one's implicit attitudes (e.g., if a respondent holds racist attitudes, that individual will categorise target words or images faster when the category "Black" is paired with "Negative"). Other implicit measures, in addition to the IAT, have been developed, many of which also are response-latency tasks (Son Hing et al., 2008).

It is beneficial to use an implicit measure along with an explicit measure when assessing attitudes towards stigmatised groups, as participants may attempt to respond to the latter in a socially desirable fashion. When participants are asked directly about their attitudes, it is easy to provide a misleading response so as to appear more just and unprejudiced. Greenwald et al. (1998) argue that implicit measures may be resistant to self-presentational forces that can obscure responses to measures that rely exclusively on participants' self-report. Several implicit

measures are designed so that participants are not even aware that their attitudes toward a particular attitude object are being assessed (Fazio & Olson, 2003). The Motivation and Opportunity as Determinants (MODE; Fazio, 1990) model posits that attitudes can lead to either spontaneous or deliberative reactions. Spontaneous reactions are usually fairly immediate after an individual encounters a target stimulus, whereas a deliberative reaction often involves an effortful cost-benefit analysis of whether a particular behaviour or judgement should occur based on one's attitude (Fazio, 1993; Fazio & Olson, 2003). If the opportunity to perform a deliberate analysis and the motivation to subsequently alter their reaction are present, individuals can overcome their initial spontaneous reaction (Fazio & Olson, 2003). Therefore, an implicit measure can assess an individual's attitudes before they reach the point in which they can engage in modification of their attitudes.

Implicit measures have been extensively used to evaluate racial attitudes (e.g., Oswald, Mitchell, Blanton, Jaccard, & Tetlock, 2013; Ziegert & Hanges, 2005), but more recently, they have been employed to assess attitudes toward sexual minority persons. Banse, Seise, and Zerbes (2001) conducted two experiments to examine the psychometric properties of the IAT in assessing attitudes toward sexual minorities and to determine whether the IAT can be subject to socially desirable responding. To test the IAT validity, in their first experiment they used a known groups approach, and presented both heterosexual and sexual minority participants with an IAT assessing associations between "homosexuality" and the evaluative indices of "good" and "bad." In line with their hypotheses, they found that heterosexual participants made greater negative associations with sexual minorities than did participants who identified as non-heterosexual. In their second experiment, they assigned participants to different conditions for their explicit and implicit measures, one of which asked participants to try to "fake" the results and respond more positively. Participants in the manipulation condition responded significantly more positively than other participants to the explicit self-report measure but did not differ significantly on their IAT scores, suggesting that they were unable to successfully "fake" their responses to the implicit measure. This study lends support to the incorporation of implicit measures into studies assessing attitudes toward sexual minorities.

Employing the tripartite approach to assess attitudes and considering both explicit and implicit forms of attitudes, the next section will outline the purpose, incremental advances, and hypotheses of this dissertation.

## **6. Purpose of the Present Dissertation**

This dissertation will: 1) establish subgroups that exist for the superordinate categories of gay men and lesbian women and relate these subgroups to photographic representations, 2) assess explicit attitudes toward the subgroups by examining stereotypes, emotions, and behaviours, and 3) measure implicit attitudes toward the subgroups. To achieve these objectives, four separate studies will be conducted. Studies 1 and 2 (Chapter 2) will address the first objective of establishing the subgroups and linking them to representative photographs. Study 3 (Chapter 3) will achieve the second objective by having participants respond to explicit questionnaires assessing the stereotypes about subgroups and the emotions and behaviours that are evoked in response to the subgroups. Additionally, while not direct goals of the dissertation, Study 3 will also assess the validity of the SCM Scales and the BIAS Map Scale in relation to subgroups of gay men and lesbian women, and by including conditions with and without photographs, methodological evidence as to whether using photographs in attitudinal studies on sexual minorities yields disparate findings will be provided. Although Mitchell and Ellis (2011) speculate, based on their study finding relatively positive likeability ratings toward gay men in a video clip, that “real” gay men may be viewed more positively than hypothetical gay men, it is currently unknown whether photographs may affect ratings of sexual minority men and women. Lastly, in Study 4 (Chapter 4), implicit attitudes toward the subgroups will be measured using the Go/No-Go Association Task (GNAT; Nosek & Banaji, 2001) and their relationship with explicit attitudes will be assessed.

### **6.1 Incremental advances.**

**6.1.1 Studies 1 and 2 (subgroup generation).** Studies 1 and 2 offer incremental advances over the three extant subgroup generation studies (i.e., Brambilla et al., 2011; Clausell & Fiske, 2005; Geiger et al., 2006). Specifically, Study 1 will be the first to date to instruct participants to generate subgroups with the assistance of photographs. Most studies (e.g., Glick, Gangl, Gibb, Klumpner, & Weinberg, 2007; Salvati, Ioverno, Giacomantonio, & Baiocco, 2016) examining attitudes toward sexual minorities have used descriptive information (i.e., preferred leisure activities, occupations) to manipulate how the target is perceived. However, Mason (1993) noted that it is most often strangers who display aggression toward sexual minority persons, and strangers would only have a person’s appearance or limited behavioural cues by which to classify them. Indeed, Lyons et al. (2014) noted that individuals use masculine and feminine

appearance cues to make judgements about individuals' sexual orientation. Some of the previously generated subgroups (e.g., activist, closeted, outed) provide no physical or visual details by which to categorise them and, in some cases (e.g., in the closet vs. straight acting), it is difficult to envision how the subgroups would differ in appearance. By using photographs to help generate subgroups in Study 1 and by relating photographs to the generated subgroups in Study 2, this will ensure that participants have a salient understanding of the subgroups' visual characteristics and that it is possible that an individual could evoke that subgroup when classifying a stranger whom he or she perceives as gay or lesbian.

Another advantage of the proposed method for generating subgroups is the use of a master list to select the final subgroups. Not unlike best practices in scale development, a list of many possible subgroups (i.e., akin to many possible items for a scale) from which participants can select is ideal. The master list will include all of the subgroups spontaneously generated by participants in Study 1 (both prior to and after the presentations of photographs) as well as any additional subgroups that are generated by experts in the field of homonegativity. In other subgroup generation studies (i.e., Brambilla et al., 2011; Clausell & Fiske, 2005; Geiger et al., 2006), participants either generated subgroups or traits of gay men and lesbian women. The results would be contingent on the memory retrieval abilities of the participants at that given moment. It is possible that participants may endorse a subgroup if they are presented with it, but are unable to think of it themselves "on the spot." It is important that subgroups not be omitted simply because participants may be unable to generate them on their own at the time of the experiment.

The subgroup generation studies also will be the first ones to use a Canadian sample to identify subgroups of gay men and lesbian women. Though it may be possible that a Canadian sample will generate similar subgroups to an American sample since both populations are exposed to similar cultural stimuli (e.g., media, languages, religions), Canadian laws (Rayside, 2008) and public opinion surveys (Andersen & Fetner, 2008) indicate that Canadians have comparatively more liberal attitudes toward sexual minorities. Adam (1995) outlines five factors that highlight the differences between Americans and Canadians in relation to their attitudes toward sexual minority persons. Fewer Canadians identify as evangelical Protestants, more Canadian are unionised, Canada is multicultural, has a stronger history of social democracy, and a weaker militaristic tradition. Adam (1995) suggests that these factors are associated with

improved attitudes toward gay men and lesbian women and have likely influenced governmental and legal decisions in regards to sexual minority persons. Given these differences between the United States and Canada, the present studies may result in the generation of different subgroups than those found in past studies with American samples (i.e., Brambilla et al., 2011; Clausell & Fiske, 2005; Geiger et al., 2006), specifically subgroups that are believed to exist within a more liberal Canadian context.

**6.1.2 Study 3 (explicit attitudes).** Study 3 also offers several notable advances over existing studies on subgroups of gay men and lesbian women. All of the studies assessing subgroups of gay men and lesbian women (i.e., Brambilla et al., 2011; Clausell & Fiske, 2005; Geiger et al., 2006), and admittedly many studies examining attitudes toward the superordinate groups, have only considered the cognitive component of attitudes, and have neglected to measure the affective or behavioural components. It is important to measure all three attitudinal components, in order to capture the multidimensionality of individuals' attitudes. As such, Study 3 will measure all three attitudinal components to address this omission in the existing literature. Also, much of the subgroup literature uses the SCM developed by Fiske et al. (2002) to assess attitudes toward the social group categories. While numerous studies have employed the SCM Scale (e.g., Brambilla et al., 2011; Fiske et al., 2002) and it has been used to assess a wide range of social groups, the scale has some shortcomings in regards to its psychometric properties. Specifically, the selection of adjectives used to measure warmth, competence, and the affective categories are not always consistent (e.g., Cuddy & Fiske, 2004; Cuddy, Norton, & Fiske, 2005; Harris & Fiske, 2006), thereby making it difficult to compare its reliability and validity across studies. Further, a review of studies based on the SCM reveals that there may be some issues with its generalizability across social groups and the applicability of all its components. For instance, Gazzola and Morrison (2014) found that the SCM could not accurately capture the stereotypes of transgender individuals and Clausell and Fiske (2005) were unable to replicate the finding that perceived competition predicts warmth for gay men. Brambilla et al. (2011) suggests that competition may not be a valuable predictor when assessing social groups who are primarily defined by their sexual orientation.

Similarly, the BIAS Map scale, used to assess the behaviour (i.e., active and passive facilitation and active and passive harm) evoked by social groups, has received little attention in terms of rigorous assessment of its psychometrics properties. While the scale was originally

created with three to four factors per behaviour, as with the SCM Scale, it seems to be employed using a “pick and choose” approach in terms of which items are included. In some cases, only two-items per behaviour are used (Cuddy et al., 2007). Various researchers (e.g., Eisinga, Grotenhuis, & Pelzer, 2012; Emons, Sijtsma, & Meijer, 2007; Marsh, Hau, Balla, & Grayson, 1998) have cautioned against two-item scales because of their decreased reliability and validity. In their development of the BIAS map, Cuddy et al. (2007) found reliabilities for their scales ranging from .59 to .92. For the scales with lower reliabilities, the inclusion of additional items may have been beneficial. Despite the low alphas, the researchers deemed all the reliability coefficients to be at an acceptable level. In the case of the SCM scales, many studies show reliabilities in the acceptable-to-good range ( $\alpha > .70$ ); however, there are studies (e.g., Durante et al., 2013) that have found reliabilities at lower levels ( $\alpha = .26-.59$ ), which raises some concern about the scales.

Another possible limitation of the scales assessing the three attitudinal components is that the items were developed based on the SCM theory (Fiske, Xu, Cuddy, & Glick, 1999; Fiske et al., 2002), as to how an individual would think and feel about, and act toward, a social group, without any empirical basis. It was theorized that warmth and competence are the two dimensions on which individuals judge social groups. Depending on how they were perceived, it was theorized that individuals may feel admiration, envy, pity, or contempt. Following the affective reactions, it was hypothesized that the social groups may evoke active or passive facilitation or active or passive harm behaviours. The items to measure these stereotypes, affects, and behaviors were selected with the intention of measuring only these components. While an a priori theory to guide the selection of items is an advantage (Clark & Watson, 1995); it is possible that other stereotypes, affect, and behaviors are relevant to attitudes toward social groups but were never assessed.

Given the potential limitations associated with use of the SCM and its imposition of warmth and competence and the four emotions of admiration, envy, pity, and contempt, as well as the behaviours outlined in the BIAS Map, the present study endeavours to allow participants the freedom to generate their own parameters for cognitive, affective, and behavioural reactions toward subgroups of gay and lesbian persons. That is, participants will indicate what adjectives, emotions, and behaviours describe society’s perceptions of, and responses toward, the subgroups as opposed to being provided only with those terms believed to be associated with the constructs



outlined by the SCM and BIAS Map. It is believed that by providing participants with the freedom to supply their own responses as opposed to focussing only on the dimensions of the SCM and BIAS Map, a more comprehensive understanding of attitudes toward gay and lesbian subgroups can be captured. Also, by including the additional components allowing participants the option to select from a large group of choices for their cognitive, affective, and behavioural responses as well as generating their own, initial steps can potentially be made in validating the SCM and BIAS Map in relation to subgroups of gay men and lesbian women.

The use of photographs in Study 3 also provides methodological advances. Mitchell and Ellis (2011) found that using a videotape of gay men playing a word game may have served to humanize the targets and result in more positive evaluations than if participants had simply evaluated a hypothetical gay man. It is possible that a photograph of an individual may accomplish a similar humanizing effect to that of a video clip. To the author's knowledge, no study has been conducted to date that has experimentally compared attitudes toward sexual minorities when a photograph is used to represent the target being evaluated and when no photograph is used. This component of the study could expand our understanding of how prejudice toward sexual minorities is enacted by determining if viewing the target affects individuals' attitudes toward him/her. Robinson et al. (1998) suggest that individuals must rely on a heuristic or stereotypes for making judgments about others when thinking hypothetically. As more information about a person becomes available, less reliance on stereotypes is necessary. Would visual appearance cues (such as in a photograph) offer enough additional information to alter judgements?

**6.1.3 Study 4 (*implicit attitudes*).** Study 4 will be the first study to date to measure implicit attitudes toward subgroups of gay men and lesbian women. Greenwald et al. (1998) emphasize the importance of incorporating an implicit measure into attitudinal studies to mitigate against socially desirable responding. The implicit measure of attitudes can serve to refute or substantiate the findings of Study 3 in regards to how subgroups are perceived relative to one another. Study 4 also will offer some evidence for the reliability and validity of the GNAT (Nosek & Banaji, 2001). While being a powerful implicit measure, the GNAT has been widely under-utilised among implicit measures (Williams & Kaufmann, 2012), largely due to concerns about calculating reliability. To address these concerns, the present study will employ the recent recommendations for improving GNAT reliability proposed by Williams and Kaufmann (2012).

**6.2 Hypotheses.** Hypotheses were developed through a review of the literature. Based on past studies (Brambilla et al., 2011; Clausell & Fiske, 2005; Geiger et al., 2006), which involved the generation of subgroups of gay and lesbian persons, it is hypothesised that, at minimum, subgroups involving perceived gender roles will emerge. That is, a subgroup involving feminine traits and a subgroup involving masculine traits will be generated for both the gay and lesbian conditions. The literature also suggests that subgroups will emerge based on the openness of one's sexual orientation. Therefore, it also is expected that an "out" and a "closeted" subgroup will be generated. Specific hypotheses for further studies will be discussed within their corresponding chapters, once the subgroups have been established.

## CHAPTER 2: STUDIES 1 AND 2 (SUBGROUP GENERATION)

### Abstract

Nation-wide opinion polls and social scientific studies indicate that evaluations of gay men and lesbian women have become increasingly favourable over the last 30 years. These positive trends stand in stark contrast to the widespread discrimination experiences being reported. To deconstruct these paradoxical findings, the existence of “types” of gay and lesbian persons that may be targeted with greater prejudice and discrimination is explored. Two Canadian studies ( $N_s = 67$  and  $206$ ) were conducted to establish the presence of gay and lesbian subgroups. Results indicated that in both samples, for gay men, the subgroups *Drag Queen* and *Flamboyant* emerged, as did *Butch* for lesbian women. Amongst the student sub-sample, *Closeted* and *Feminine* also emerged for gay men, as well as *Feminist* and *Tomboy* for lesbian women. These findings address a critical gap in the literature and have implications for contemporary research on gay- and lesbian-related attitudes and the methodology used to ascertain them.

## 1. Introduction

Despite the liberalization of attitudes about gay and lesbian persons, discrimination toward these particular sexual minority individuals is rampant within most westernized societies (Hicks & Lee, 2006; Meyer, 2015). Indeed, discrimination against gay and lesbian persons is reported frequently within health care settings, family relationships (Jewell et al., 2011), and governmental service-providing sectors (Mattocks et al., 2015), and instances of victimization and abuse are prevalent not only within adult sexual minority populations but are evidenced when sampling sexual minority youth as well.

In surveys of both Canadian (Morrison et al., 2014; Saewyc et al., 2007; Taylor & Peter, 2011) and American (Kosciw et al., 2012) high school students, over half of the sexual orientation minority students surveyed reported hearing the homonegative comments “that’s so gay,” “faggot,” and “dyke,” and being verbally harassed by other means. Approximately 10-20% of the students also reported being targets of physical and sexual violence (e.g., evidenced by reports of gay and lesbian students being physically abused, threatened with a weapon, and sexually assaulted). Swim, Pearson, and Johnston (2007) emphasize that the discrimination experienced by sexual minority children occurs regularly. Of the 69 sexual minority youth who were asked to keep a diary of their discrimination experiences during a one-week period, results indicated that, on average, lesbian and gay students experienced two homonegative incidents in the form of homonegative verbal comments (e.g., hearing antigay jokes) and homonegative behaviours (e.g., exclusion, rude gestures, and/or fear of being outed).

Critically, the discrimination experiences reported by lesbian and gay adults and children are at odds with survey data that denotes a decidedly more “liberalized” attitudinal trend toward these evaluative targets, a trend that manifests in the form of greater prevalence of lesbian and gay acceptance, and stronger support for pro-lesbian and pro-gay policies amongst the heterosexual majority. Data from the General Social Survey (GSS) in Canada revealed that, from 1988-2006, opposition to same-sex marriage decreased by 19 percentage points (Baunach, 2012). American polling data (i.e., Gallup 1977-2011; and the 2000 National Election Study) showed decreases of a similar magnitude in the following domains: support for adoption by same-sex couples, policies tackling job discrimination against sexual minorities, and service by sexual minority persons in the military (Hicks & Lee, 2006).

The trend toward greater “liberalization” has been echoed in myriad academic studies, particularly amongst those using valid indicators (i.e., psychometrically sound scales) of global acceptance of sexual minority persons. For instance, Altemeyer (2001) assessed Canadian university students’ attitudes toward sexual minority individuals in 1984 and then repeated the assessment in 1998. As noted, scores on the *Attitudes toward Homosexuals Scale* (ATHS; Altemeyer, 1988) hovered around the ATHS midpoint in 1984; yet, decreased substantially fourteen years later. Recent studies (e.g., Hirai et al., 2014; Stotzer, 2009) that have employed the *Attitudes toward Lesbians and Gay Men Scale* (ATLG; Herek, 1988), a gold standard measure in the field of attitudinal homonegativity, have shown vast improvement from the degree of prejudice documented 20 years earlier. Finally, studies assessing contemporary forms of bias toward gay and lesbian individuals using “modern” measures of homonegativity (where attitudes are not a function of moralistic or religious objections to homosexuality) evidence similar decrements. Since Morrison and Morrison (2003) first published their seminal research on the development and validation of the *Modern Homonegativity Scale* (MHS), wherein Canadian students’ scores on the MHS fell above the midpoint signifying their endorsement of a “subtler” form of homonegativity, studies published almost a decade later (e.g., McDermott & Blair, 2012; Morrison & Morrison, 2011) now situate Canadian participants’ scores below the MHS midpoint. In sum, the two bodies of literature – that documenting the discrimination experienced by gay men and lesbian women and that documenting the dominant groups’ (i.e., heterosexuals’) attitudes toward them – provide deeply conflicting accounts. Further, the paradoxical nature of the relationship suggests that there are additional complexities that warrant investigation by researchers, particularly in an effort to better advance understanding of the consequential impact this paradox might have on the lives of lesbian and gay adults and children.

Research on cognition (e.g., Brewer et al., 1981; Eckes, 1994; Park, Ryan, & Judd, 1992; Richards & Hewstone, 2001) indicates that “perceivers process group-related information at multiple levels, ranging from the broader (i.e., overall category) to more specific (i.e., subgroup) levels” (Brambilla et al., 2011, p. 101). It is logical to intuit, therefore, that individuals may possess unique attitudes toward different “types” of gay men or lesbian women, wherein some subgroups might evoke primarily positive attitudes, and others might evoke negative ones. Importantly, if these distinct groups become obscured when researchers use superordinate categories (e.g., the generic terms “gay men” and/or “lesbian women,” terms found within

almost every antigay/lesbian measure), interpretations of study results may be skewed at best, or flawed at worst. Indeed, superordinate categories of sexual minorities (e.g., “effeminate” gay men or “butch” lesbian women) may be suppressed.

On the basis of a comprehensive review of the literature, we could locate only three studies that have had individuals generate subgroups of sexual minorities, with one of the three focusing on gay men, and the other two focusing on lesbian women. In their study on gay male subgroups, American researchers Clausell and Fiske (2005) contend that attitudes toward sexual minorities might be complicated by the existence of *subgroups* (i.e., a smaller subset of people with similar identifiers within a larger overarching group), which the authors first hypothesized to exist after observing gay men’s neutral position within a map of the Stereotype Content Model (SCM).<sup>1</sup> In order to determine what subgroups of gay men might exist, Clausell and Fiske (2005) conducted a preliminary study with 44 American undergraduate students from Princeton University. Participants were instructed to identify attributes of gay men and then to sort them into subgroups, a process that resulted in 73 separate subgroup terms being recorded. The researchers retained subgroups that were generated by at least 10% of the sample, which were (in descending order): “in the closet,” “flamboyant,” “feminine,” “crossdresser,” “gay activist,” “hyper-masculine,” “body-conscious,” “artistic,” “leather/biker,” and “straight-acting.” To understand the perceptions associated with each subgroup, Clausell and Fiske (2005) then surveyed an additional 40 undergraduate students from Princeton University. Specifically, participants were asked about the warmth and competence of each subgroup using a measure derived from the SCM, and constructed originally by Fiske et al. in 2002.<sup>2</sup> Using hierarchical cluster analysis, Clausell and Fiske found that the 10 subgroups that had been generated in their initial study were clustered into three distinct groups. Results indicated that, the majority of the groups fell within the high competence-low warmth (HC-LW; i.e., “body-conscious,” “straight acting,” “in the closet,” “artistic,” “hyper-masculine,” and “activist”) and low competence-high warmth (LC-HW; i.e., “flamboyant” and “feminine”) quadrants. In accordance with the authors’ hypotheses, the “leather/biker” and “crossdresser” subgroups fell within the most derogated low competence-low warmth (LC-LW) quadrant area.

One year later, in 2006, Geiger et al. conducted a study to identify subgroups of lesbian women. Unlike research by Clausell and Fiske (2005) in which the SCM was used, the authors took a cognitive perspective to theoretically frame their study and asserted that individuals may

hold multiple stereotypes about a given group (e.g., Brewer et al., 1981; Hummert, 1990). As such, Geiger et al. (2006) expected to find that individuals possess both positive and negative subgroups of lesbian women. In the first stage of their two-phase study, Geiger et al. (2006) instructed 61 students from a mid-western American university (i.e., the University of Missouri) to generate traits that they associated with the superordinate category “lesbian.” After removing derogatory terms (e.g., “whorebag”) and combining synonymous descriptors (e.g., “manly” with “male-like”), 94 distinct traits were generated. In the second phase, 63 different undergraduate students were instructed to sort the traits generated by participants in Phase 1 into groups that represented “types” of lesbians, and were instructed to generate names for each lesbian subgroup based on the traits ascribed. A hierarchical cluster analysis revealed that participants’ categorisations resulted in two higher-level clusters; namely, positive traits and negative traits. Four subgroups of lesbian women fell within the positive cluster: “lipstick lesbian,” “career-oriented feminist,” “soft-butch,” and “free-spirit.” Likewise, four subgroups comprised the negative traits cluster, which were “hypersexual,” “sexually confused,” “sexually deviant,” and “angry butch.” In addition, Geiger et al. (2006) interpreted a strong-weak dimension in which the subgroups associated with sexuality were perceived as “weak,” and the “butch” and “feminist” categories were positioned closest to the “strong” pole.

Complementing the earlier studies of 2005 and 2006 by Clausell and Fiske and Geiger et al., respectively, Italian researchers Brambilla et al. (2011) conducted the first study examining the presence of lesbian subgroups outside the American states of Missouri and New Jersey. Using the SCM as a theoretical and methodological framework, the researchers instructed 32 Italian undergraduate students to list subgroups of lesbian women and provide the most salient characteristics for each subgroup they listed. Adopting a criterion that the subgroups must be mentioned by at least 15% of the sample (a slightly more stringent percentage than that employed by Clausell and Fiske in 2005), the study resulted in the identification of four lesbian subgroups; namely, “butch,” “feminine,” “closeted,” and “outed.” Following the subgroup generation process, Brambilla et al. (2011) assessed 70 Italian students’ ratings of either the four established subgroups or the superordinate category “lesbian woman” on indicators of warmth and competence. Of the subgroups generated, “feminine” and “outed” lesbians fell in the HC-HW quadrant, “butch” lesbians were positioned in the HC-LW quadrant, and “closeted” lesbians

were in the LC-LW area. Importantly, the results indicated that the superordinate category of “lesbian woman” was situated in the middle of the warmth and competence SCM space.

Evident across the only three subgroup-generation studies conducted so far, is the tendency for participants to construct subgroups that relate to gender conformity and gender non-conformity. For instance, of the ten subgroups documented by Clausell and Fiske (2005), at least half (i.e., “hyper-masculine,” “flamboyant,” “feminine,” “crossdresser,” and “leather/biker”) reflect perceptions related to gender roles. Of the four groups that clustered in Brambilla et al.’s study, two (i.e., “feminine” and “butch”) rely on gender role beliefs, as do three (i.e., “lipstick lesbian,” “soft-butch,” and “angry butch”) of the eight highlighted by Geiger et al. (2006). As hypothesized by Clausell and Fiske (2005), participants were expected to rely on gender roles when stereotyping sexual minority persons such that subgroups that replicated feminine gender roles (i.e., “feminine,” “flamboyant,” and “crossdresser”) were to be rated similarly to the ratings observed for the general social category “women.” This hypothesis was supported insofar as both the subgroups perceived as “feminine” and “women” were found in the LC-HW quadrant. The subgroups that were consistent with masculine gender roles (i.e., “hyper-masculine,” “straight-acting,” “leather/biker,” and “in-the-closet”) were expected to fall within the HC-LW space in a pattern similar to that found for the general social category “men.” The authors’ hypotheses were largely supported on this front as well. To conclude, although the relationships between gender roles and the stereotyping of gay men and lesbian women cannot account for all of the subgroups that have been generated, it appears that gender roles are a factor in, and potentially a driving force behind, heterosexual persons’ evaluations of and attitudes toward subgroups of gay men and lesbian women. Consequently, a key objective of the present study is determining the salience of perceived gender role characteristics for participants and any linkages with the gay and lesbian subgroups generated.

## **2. Present Study and Incremental Advances**

The current study will address the following four exploratory research questions: (1) What contemporary subgroups of gay men and lesbian women are identified by Canadians; (2) Will photographs lead to the identification of additional subgroups over and above what can be generated without prompts; (3) Are the identified subgroups related to gender role characteristics; (4) Are the identified subgroups related to individuals’ level of modern homonegativity? A cognitive perspective, as used by Geiger et al. (2006), was adopted for the



theoretical framework guiding the present study, resulting in the expectation that both positive and negative subgroups would be generated for the overarching categories of gay men and lesbian women.

The present study will supplement the small body of research on subgroups of gay men and lesbian women. To date, each of the three extant studies in the area (i.e., Brambilla et al., 2011; Clausell & Fiske, 2005; and Geiger et al., 2006) identified subgroups for one overarching group only; for instance, Clausell and Fiske (2005) examined subgroups of gay men, and Geiger et al. (2006) and Brambilla et al. (2011) focused on subgroups of lesbian women. In the present study, we identify the subgroups generated empirically for both gay men *and* lesbian women across two studies, and include this design feature in order to allow for their initial documentation, as well as comparison and contrast. Further, since all three of the studies conducted to date have examined the subgroups of gay men or lesbian women from the perspective of university students, researchers' ability to generalise beyond a student perspective is questionable. In the present study, we extend our investigation to include non-university participants (for Study 2); thus, documenting for the first time, the subgroups generated by those outside a post-secondary milieu.<sup>3</sup>

The current study also will be the first to use a Canadian sample to identify subgroups of gay men and lesbian women. Canadian laws (Rayside, 2008) and public opinion surveys (Andersen & Fetner, 2008) indicate that Canadians have comparatively more liberal attitudes toward sexual minorities than a country such as the United States. Indeed, Adam (1995) outlines five factors that differentiate Canadians from Americans in terms of their attitudes toward sexual minority persons. These are: 1) fewer Canadians identify as evangelical Protestants; 2) more Canadians are unionized; 3) Canada is multicultural (rather than a "melting pot"); 4) Canada has a stronger history of social democracy; and 5) Canada has a weaker militaristic tradition. Adam (1995) suggests that these factors are associated with improved attitudes toward gay men and lesbian women and have likely influenced governmental and legal decisions in regards to sexual minority persons. Given these cultural differences, it is possible that a set of subgroups for gay men and lesbian women that is distinct from the subgroups found earlier by Clausell and Fiske (gay men; 2005) and Geiger et al. (lesbian women; 2006) will be observed.

In terms of intra-study differences, Study 1 entails participants generating all possible subgroups of gay men or lesbian women they could think of, and then providing all possible

traits they believed strongly characterized each of the subgroups generated. Importantly, after initially generating all possible subgroups, participants were then shown photographs of men or women to elicit any additional subgroups that they may have been unable to think of at the time without a prompt. Based on the results of Study 1, a master list of subgroups was created for use in Study 2. The current study, therefore, uses a two-step approach, which offers the most rigorous methodological approach to generating subgroups of gay men and lesbian women to date because it reduces the reliance on memory retrieval. For instance, the subgroups generated in other studies (i.e., Brambilla et al., 2011; Clausell & Fiske, 2005; Geiger et al., 2006) were contingent on participants' memory retrieval abilities at a particular moment within the course of a study. It is possible that participants may be unable to think of subgroups with which they are familiar "on the spot" and consequently provide suboptimal responses. To counteract retrieval biases, we utilize photographs in Study 1 in order to produce the most exhaustive pool of possible subgroups for use in Study 2. According to Deocampo and Hudson (2010), using photographs to prompt responses is a valid method for increasing participant recall. It should also be mentioned that it is most often strangers who display aggression toward sexual minority persons (Mason, 1993). Since strangers have only a person's appearance or limited behavioural cues to rely on when classifying a person as a sexual minority or member of a particular sexual minority subgroup, incorporating a photograph of a presumed sexual minority person was considered essential in order to provide participants with similar circumstances for subgroup classification.

### **3. Study 1**

The purpose of Study 1 was to create a master list of potential subgroups of gay men and lesbian women that can assist in the identification of subgroups that are salient to heterosexual Canadians.

**3.1 Participants.** In total, 67 undergraduate students were recruited from the University of Saskatchewan psychology participant pool and received bonus course credit for their participation. Participants were 47 (70.1%) women and 20 (29.9%) men. It should be noted that in all studies, participants were asked for their gender and provided the options of "male," "female," "transgender FTM," "transgender MTF," and "other." Gender identity was not an exclusionary criterion in any of the studies. They ranged in age from 18 to 42 ( $M = 21.04$ ;  $SD = 4.53$ ) and the majority self-identified as Caucasian ( $n = 50$ ; 74.6%) and heterosexual ( $n = 59$ ;

88.1%). Participants were randomly assigned to complete the study about either gay men ( $n = 33$ ) or lesbian women ( $n = 34$ ).

### **3.2 Materials**

**3.2.1 Subgroup generation.** The authors created a Subgroup Generation Form with two identical versions (i.e., one for gay men [Appendix A] and one for lesbian women [Appendix B]), and the form was used to establish the subgroups of gay men and lesbian women. The Subgroup Generation Form instructed participants to generate any and all subgroups of gay men or lesbian women that they think exist in society<sup>4</sup> and to list five adjectives they felt were most associated with each of the subgroups generated. Participants filled out one Subgroup Generation Form per subgroup that they listed. The form was presented in paper-and-pencil format.

**3.2.2 Photographs.** The researchers selected 50 photographs of men and 50 photographs of women (Appendix C) using Google Image Search.<sup>5</sup> It was believed that the presentation of photographs might trigger participants to think of additional subgroups that they were unable to without assistance. The presentation of visual stimuli would be similar to participants encountering a stranger they believe to be a sexual minority person. In these situations, they would classify the stranger using visual appearance cues. Past research (i.e., Brambilla et al., 2011; Clausell & Fiske, 2005; Geiger et al., 2006) on subgroups of gay men and lesbian women were used to guide the selection of photographs. That is, the subgroup labels (e.g., “flamboyant” and “butch”) were entered into the search engine, as well as the general search terms “gay,” “lesbian,” and “homosexual.” Colour photographs showing men and women from the waist, groin, or knee-up and facing forward were selected.<sup>6</sup> Photographs depicting celebrities, fashion models, or those containing multiple people or people who were in a state of undress were disqualified. The photographs were cropped so that only the area above the waist, groin, or knee was visible and the backgrounds were edited to be uniformly white. Some search terms (e.g., “leather/biker”) generated many qualifying photographs and, in those cases, the photographs that were considered to best fit the criteria (i.e., facing forward, depicting only the waist, groin or knee-up area) and that required the least additional editing (i.e., cropping, changing the background colour to white) were selected.

For each condition (i.e., gay men or lesbian women), 50 photographs were presented. Photographs were presented on a computer screen, with one photograph displayed per page. Participants were asked to assign the photographs to one of their pre-listed subgroups or to fill

out another Subgroup Generation Form if none of their generated subgroups were considered appropriate. Participants were given the opportunity to refer back to the subgroups they generated when responding.

**3.3 Procedure.** This study was conducted on the University of Saskatchewan campus. Students signed up to participate via the psychology participant pool website and received bonus course credit. On their arrival to the researcher's laboratory, participants were given an informed consent sheet (Appendix D) to read and sign. It was explained to students that their participation was voluntary and that the purpose of the study was to establish perceived subgroups of gay men and lesbian women. In Phase I, participants were presented with paper-and-pencil Subgroup Generation Forms, which instructed them to generate all subgroups of gay men or lesbian women that they think exist. Participants were randomly assigned using a random number generator to complete the study for either gay men or lesbian women. Participants were told that their responses do not necessarily need to reflect their own opinions about what subgroups exist, but can (and should) reflect societal classifications with which they are familiar.

After completing the Subgroup Generation Forms, participants moved to a computer terminal for Phase II. At the computer terminal, participants were presented with 50 photographs of men (if they generated subgroups of gay men) or 50 photographs of women (if they generated subgroups of lesbian women) and were asked to categorise them on the basis of the subgroups they had generated by typing the subgroup name into an open-ended text box under the photographs. Participants were provided with their Subgroup Generation Forms to refer back to when completing the computerised task. Participants were given the opportunity to propose additional subgroups in Phase II if the photographs prompted them to think of others that were not generated in Phase I. If additional subgroups were proposed, participants completed another Subgroup Generation Form for each of the new subgroups. As the final task, participants responded to four demographic questions (i.e., age, gender, ethnicity, and sexual orientation) on the computer terminal. Participants were then debriefed by being provided information about the study's purpose (i.e., establishing possible subgroups of gay men and lesbian women; Appendix E). The study took approximately 30 minutes to complete.

### 3.4 Analysis

To ascertain the subgroups of gay men and lesbian women, two coders independently classified the generated subgroups into categories. The coders were provided with the following instructions to guide their coding:

- Step 1: Group identically named subgroups together (e.g., butch, butch) – while ensuring that associated adjectives do not imply distinct subgroups (e.g., Queen: elegant, royal, graceful, reserved, poised vs. Queen: sassy, flamboyant, effeminate, eccentric, loud).
- Step 2: Group synonymously named subgroups together (e.g., manly, masculine) – while ensuring that the associated adjectives do not imply distinct categories. Select the subgroup name, of the synonymous terms, that best exemplifies the category.
- Step 3: Examine associated adjectives for overlap between subgroups with different names (e.g., one subgroup might be called “Feminine”, while another group might be called “Lipstick” but may have “Feminine” as an associated adjective) – determine if these subgroups should be classified together and choose the subgroup name that best exemplifies the category.
- Step 4: Examine remaining subgroups for conceptual overlap. Use your discretion to determine if subgroups should be categorised together. Again, select the subgroup name that best exemplifies the composite category.
- Step 5: Ensure that subgroups provided by the same participant are not classified in the same category (i.e., one participant may have two gay subgroups that could be categorized as “Flamboyant” based on steps 1-4 – they should be categorized into distinct subgroups)
- Note: every subgroup should be classified into a category (either with other subgroups or by itself) – all categories should be given a name.

Following the independent coding, the coders compared their results. Any differences in opinion between the two coders were resolved through discussion. The inter-rater reliability for identically-labelled subgroups was 47.3%. In most cases, the subgroups were categorised similarly but were given different names (e.g., drag queen vs. crossdresser, hippie vs. free-spirited). When these similarly labeled names were considered as a match between coders, the inter-rater reliability increased to 82.1%. To resolve these conflicts, the subgroups were labelled with the word used most frequently by participants.

**3.5 Results and Discussion.** Participants who completed the study in relation to subgroups of gay men generated between 2 and 10 subgroups each. A total of 184 subgroups were generated across all participants. The mean number of subgroups generated was 5.58 ( $SD = 2.25$ ), with a mean of 3.88 ( $SD = 1.83$ ) subgroups generated prior to the presentation of photographs, and a mean of 1.70 ( $SD = 1.38$ ) subgroups generated afterward. The coding process revealed that 51 distinct subgroups were generated (Appendix F).

Participants who completed the lesbian version of the study generated between 2 and 9 subgroups, with 182 subgroups being generated in total. On average, participants generated 5.35 ( $SD = 1.94$ ) subgroups, with a mean of 3.71 ( $SD = 1.61$ ) subgroups being generated before the presentation of photographs, and a mean of 1.65 ( $SD = 1.41$ ) subgroups being generated after the photographs were presented. The independent coders determined that participants generated 38 distinct subgroups of lesbian women (Appendix G).

The results of Study 1 support the notion that individuals perceive subgroups of gay men and lesbian women beyond these overarching categories. On average, participants perceived approximately five to six subgroups for each sexual minority group. The inclusion of photographs, a tactic that had not been employed in existing sexual minority subgroup studies, to trigger the generation of other subgroups was helpful, with an average of 1.65 and 1.70 additional lesbian and gay subgroups, respectively, being cited after the presentation of photographs.

#### **4. Study 2**

The purpose of Study 2 was to identify subgroups of gay men and lesbian women that are salient to heterosexual Canadian undergraduate students and members of the general public.

**4.1 Participants.** Data from two groups of participants were collected and analyzed separately. Firstly, 106 students (80 women, 26 men) were recruited through the introductory psychology participant pool and a general university-wide student participant pool. They ranged in age from 17 to 50, with a mean age of 21.79 ( $SD = 6.13$ ). The majority self-identified as White (81.1%,  $n = 86$ ), with 4.7% ( $n = 5$ ) identifying as Aboriginal and East Asian, 3.8% ( $n = 4$ ) as South Asian, 2.8% ( $n = 3$ ) as mixed origin and .9% ( $n = 1$ ) as Black and Southeast Asian.

A general Canadian population sample also was recruited to verify the generalizability of the subgroups identified by the student sample. In total, 100 heterosexual, Canadian adults (52 women, 48 men) were recruited from the sample vendor, Ekos<sup>7</sup>. The general population sample

ranged in age from 24 to 79, with a mean age of 31.64 ( $SD = 15.04$ ). Again, the majority self-identified as White (87.0%,  $n = 87$ ), with 5.0% ( $n = 5$ ) identifying as Aboriginal, 3.0% ( $n = 3$ ) as East Asian and mixed origin, and 1.0% ( $n = 1$ ) as Black and other. Half of the participants responded from Ontario (50.0%;  $n = 50$ ), 16.0% ( $n = 16$ ) from British Columbia, 10.0% ( $n = 10$ ) from Alberta, 8.0% ( $n = 8$ ) from Saskatchewan, 4.0% ( $n = 4$ ) from Manitoba, 3.0% ( $n = 3$ ) each from New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, and 2.0% ( $n = 2$ ) from Quebec and Newfoundland.

Participants were randomly assigned to complete the study about gay men ( $n = 55$  students;  $n = 49$  general population) or lesbian women ( $n = 51$  students;  $n = 51$  general population). Participants recruited through the psychology participant pool were awarded course credit; those recruited through the general university pool received five dollars; and Ekos panel members voluntarily participate in research with no enumeration. Only participants identifying as heterosexual were included in the analysis. While individuals of any sexual orientation could participate in Study 1, the goal of Study 2 was to establish subgroups that were salient for heterosexual individuals; thus, it was the perspective of heterosexually-identifying persons that were documented and analyzed. It also should be mentioned that only Canadian-born participants were included in the analysis as it was critical that the subgroups be salient in a Canadian context.

## **4.2 Materials**

**4.2.1 Master list of subgroups (Appendix H).** To create a large and comprehensive list of possible subgroups, the master list combined the subgroups generated in Study 1 as well as subgroups generated by the first author and five experts in the field of gender and sexuality who were invited to contribute. Similarly to the instructions from Study 1, these individuals were directed to generate any and all subgroups of gay men and lesbian women that they perceived by members of society to exist. They were informed that the subgroups do not need to reflect their own opinions, but rather should reflect subgroups with which they are familiar. For the gay men master list, 51 subgroups were taken from Study 1 and 46 additional subgroups were generated by the first author and the content experts, to yield a total of 97 subgroups. For the lesbian master list, 31 additional subgroups were generated to add to the 38 subgroups from Study 1, for a total of 69 subgroups. The subgroups were listed alphabetically.

**4.2.2 Homonegativity.** The Modern Homonegativity Scale (MHS; Morrison & Morrison, 2003; Appendix I) was used to assess participants' homonegativity. The MHS is a 12-item scale

that measures modern or covert negative attitudes toward gay men and lesbian women (e.g., “Many lesbians [gay men] use their sexual orientation so that they can obtain special privileges”). Two parallel versions exist, with one measuring attitudes toward gay men (MHS-G) and the other measuring attitudes toward lesbian women (MHS-L). Participants completed the version that corresponded to their assigned condition (i.e., if they were selecting subgroups of gay men they completed the MHS-G, and if they were selecting subgroups of lesbian women they completed the MHS-L). A 5-point Likert scale was used ( $1 = \textit{strongly disagree}$ ;  $5 = \textit{strongly agree}$ ) and total scores could range from 12 to 60. Higher scores represent greater endorsement of modern homonegative attitudes. The MHS has been identified as a psychometrically sound measure (Morrison, Kenny, & Harrington, 2005; Morrison & Morrison, 2003; Morrison, Morrison, & Franklin, 2009). In the present study, Cronbach’s alpha for the MHS-L was .85 (95%  $CI = .78-.91$ ) and .95 (95%  $CI = .92-.97$ ) for the student and general population samples, respectively. Cronbach’s alpha was .83 (95%  $CI = .76-.89$ ) and .94 (95%  $CI = .91-.96$ ) for the MHS-G for the student and general population sample, respectively.

**4.3 Procedure.** Data collection with students was conducted in-person, while the general population sample completed the study entirely online. In-person participants were directed to a computer station to complete the study. All participants were presented with an informed consent sheet (Appendix J), which explained their rights as participants and indicated that the purpose of the study was to understand perceived subgroups of gay men and lesbian women. After providing their consent, participants were presented with the gay men or lesbian women version of the master list. Participants completed only one version to ensure that the selection of subgroups of one sexual orientation group would not influence the other. Participants were instructed to check off any subgroup which they believed represented subgroups perceived within society. These instructions were provided to reduce socially desirable responding (i.e., participants not selecting certain subgroups because they do not want to appear to personally endorse them). The intention was to identify subgroups that are perceived to exist within their social world. After selecting the subgroups, they were then prompted to provide a definition of the subgroups they selected. This component was incorporated into the methodology as a check to ensure that people truly understood the subgroups they were selecting. Finally, participants responded to the MHS-G or MHS-L (corresponding to the condition they were in for the master



list) and six demographic questions (i.e., age, gender, ethnicity, sexual orientation, country of birth, native tongue).

**4.4 Results.** In the gay men condition, student participants selected between 3 and 68 subgroups, with a mean number of 14.11 ( $SD = 12.74$ ) subgroups selected. The general population participants selected between 1 and 31 subgroups ( $M = 7.67$ ;  $SD = 7.66$ ) for the gay men condition. In the lesbian condition, the student sample selected between 2 and 32 subgroups, with a mean selection of 10.59 ( $SD = 7.85$ ) subgroups, while the general population sample chose between 1 and 24 subgroups ( $M = 5.88$ ;  $SD = 4.45$ ). *T*-tests revealed that the student sample selected significantly more gay,  $t(102) = 3.08$ ,  $p = .003$ ,  $d = 0.612$ , and lesbian subgroups,  $t(80) = 3.78$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $d = 0.748$ , than the general population sample.

Participants' definitions were reviewed for accuracy by three independent coders. The coders discussed and agreed upon the definitions for the subgroups, based on participants responses in Study 1 and through discussions with the content experts, prior to their independent analysis (see Appendices K and L for the agreed-upon definitions for gay men and lesbian women, respectively).<sup>8</sup> Upon an examination of participants' definitions, the coders determined that in the gay men condition, *Club Kid* and *Partier* should be collapsed into one category, as well as *Drama Queen*, *Queen*, and *Flamboyant*; *Feminine* and *Femme*; and *Masculine* and *Macho*. Participants' definitions for these categories were nearly identical, while still being perceived as correctly defining the constructs. In the lesbian women condition, the coders recommended that *Activist* and *Feminist* be merged into a single category; as well as *Alpha* and *Dominant*; the three categories of *Bulldyke*, *Dyke* and *Butch*; and finally, *Feminine*, *Femme*, and *Lipstick*. These categories were merged for all subsequent analyses and the label that was selected most commonly by participants was used. The coders categorized the definitions as either correct or incorrect. An interrater reliability analysis using the Fleiss' Kappa statistic (i.e., used to assess inter-rater reliability between three or more raters; Fleiss, Nee, & Landis, 1979) was performed. The analysis revealed a Fleiss' Kappa of .61 for the coding of the gay men subgroup definitions and .67 for the coding of the lesbian women subgroups definitions provided by the student sample, and .74 and .70 for the general population sample, respectively. These scores denote substantial agreement among the three coders (Landis & Koch, 1977).

The review revealed that approximately 78.1% of definitions in the gay condition were correct, and 78.9% in the lesbian condition were correct for the student sample. In the general

population sample, 69.1% of definitions in the gay condition and 68.2% in the lesbian condition were deemed accurate, respectively. When considering the number of correct definitions by participant, the student sample achieved an average of 78.7% definitions correct for the gay condition and 78.6% correct for the lesbian condition. The general population group achieved 76.2% and 74.7% correct, respectively. Independent t-test analyses revealed that number of correctly defined subgroups did not significantly differ between the two groups for either the gay condition,  $t(78) = 0.531, p = .597$ , or the lesbian condition,  $t(89) = 0.957, p = .341$ .

A criterion of at least 50% was chosen *a priori* as the threshold by which the sample was required to select and accurately define a subgroup in order for it to be considered salient. Brambilla et al. (2011) and Fiske et al. (2002) retained subgroups generated by at least 15% and 10%, respectively, of the sample; however, this study uses a recognition approach (i.e., selecting subgroups from a pre-existing list), as opposed to subgroup generation (i.e., generating the subgroups spontaneously on one's own). As such, the more stringent 50% cut-off used in the present study was deemed appropriate because it would ensure that the subgroups are salient to many people. Among the student sample, for the gay men group, four subgroups exceeded the 50% criterion; specifically, *Flamboyant* (i.e., someone who is over the top/showy; identified as a subgroup and accurately defined by 65.5% [ $n = 36$ ] of participants), *Drag Queen* (i.e., men who dress up as women; 56.4%;  $n = 31$ ), *Feminine* (i.e., someone who embraces femininity, has feminine qualities; 56.4%;  $n = 31$ ), and *Closeted* (i.e., someone who has not told people he is gay; 50.9%;  $n = 28$ ). Among the general population sample, *Drag Queen* (55.1%;  $n = 27$ ) and *Flamboyant* (51.0%;  $n = 25$ ) surpassed the 50% cut-off. While not attaining the 50% criterion, *Feminine* (28.6%;  $n = 14$ ) and *Closeted* (24.5%;  $n = 12$ ) were the next highest recognized and accurately defined subgroups among the general population sample, along with the *Bear* subgroup (24.5%;  $n = 12$ ).

For the lesbian women group, three subgroups exceeded the criterion among the student sample; specifically, *Feminist* (i.e., someone who fights for women's rights and equality of the sexes; 72.5%;  $n = 37$ ), *Butch* (i.e., someone who is manly in appearance; 68.6%;  $n = 35$ ), and *Tomboy* (i.e., someone who is boyish in appearance; 56.9%;  $n = 29$ ). Among the general population sample, only *Butch* (52.9%;  $n = 27$ ) qualified as a salient subgroup; the next highest rated subgroups from the general population, however, mapped onto the student responses of *Feminist* (31.4%;  $n = 16$ ) and *Tomboy* (27.5%;  $n = 14$ ). The *Closeted* subgroup (25.5%;  $n = 13$ )

also was rated highly among the general population sample as compared to other lesbian women subgroups. Aside from the subgroups that were identified as meeting the criterion (i.e., 50% or more), all other selected subgroups fell below 33% endorsement, suggesting that the final subgroups were particularly salient for respondents. See Tables 2-1 and 2-2 for a list of the number of respondents who selected and correctly defined each of the subgroups.

Student participants in the gay male subgroup condition had a mean MHS-G score of 24.3 ( $SD = 7.09$ ) and a range of 13 to 43, while the student participants in the lesbian women subgroup condition had a mean MHS-L score of 26.4 ( $SD = 7.52$ ) and a range of 13 to 44. Among the general population sample, participants' scores on the MHS-G ranged from 13 to 60 and had a mean of 31.9 ( $SD = 12.80$ ). On the MHS-L, scores ranged from 12 to 59 and had a mean of 31.7 ( $SD = 12.71$ ). To determine if scores on the MHS differed by sample or sexual orientation condition, a 2 (sample: student or general population) x 2 (orientation: gay or lesbian) ANOVA was conducted.

Prior to conducting the analysis, normality was assessed using the Kolmogorov-Smirnov and Shapiro-Wilk tests. These tests were found to be significant ( $p < .001$ ). Upon visual inspection, it was evident that the data were positively skewed. Additionally, to assess the assumption of homogeneity of variance, Levene's test was examined and found to be significant ( $p < .001$ ). To address these violations, the data were subjected to an inverse transformation. Following the transformation, Kolmogorov-Smirnov and Shapiro-Wilk tests were still significant ( $p < .001$ ); however, Levene's test was no longer significant ( $p = .393$ ). Given that it has been argued that ANOVA is robust to violations of normality when the sample size is large (Maxwell & Delaney, 2004), the analysis was conducted using the transformed data despite significant tests of normality. The analysis revealed a significant main effect for Sample,  $F(1, 202) = 8.14$ ,  $p = .005$ ,  $\eta^2 = .04$ , with the general population respondents ( $M = 31.80$ ,  $SD = 12.69$ ) having significantly higher MHS scores than the student sample ( $M = 25.28$ ,  $SD = 7.34$ ).

Finally, seven  $t$ -tests were conducted for the student sample and three for the general population sample to determine if the selection of subgroups was contingent on level of modern homonegativity. Yes/no scores (0 = no; 1 = yes) as to whether the term was considered a subgroup was the independent variable and scores on the MHS was the dependent variable in the analyses. The results were non-significant ( $p > .05$ ) for all analyses, suggesting that participants

recognised the existence of these highly selected subgroups regardless of their level of homonegativity.

**4.5 Discussion.** The present study offers evidence for the existence of perceived subgroups within the overarching social categories of “gay men” and “lesbian women.” Based on the subgroup generation task in Study 1, in which participants generated an average of 3.88 and 3.71 subgroups without any prompting, and an additional 1.70 and 1.65 subgroups after photographs of men or women were presented, it can be inferred that Canadian heterosexual students acknowledge the perceived existence of gay and lesbian subgroups within society. Using the subgroups created in Study 1, Study 2 participants, which included an undergraduate student sample and a national general population sample identified those that they believe exist at the societal level. The use of both a “spontaneous generation” task and a “recognition” task to identify salient subgroups was an important departure from the existing subgroup generation studies (i.e., Brambilla et al., 2011; Clausell & Fiske, 2005; Geiger et al., 2006). These studies required participants to generate their own subgroups using recall. Cognitive theorists (e.g., Craik & McDowd, 1987; Yonelinas & Jacoby, 1994) suggest that generation tasks are more difficult than recognition tasks because the former requires the initial recall of information. With the recognition task, participants were able to select from a list of numerous potential subgroups. As such, the subgroups that emerged as most salient were not limited by participants’ recall ability. Additionally, given the large number of subgroups presented in each category, we believe that presenting the list would not have primed participants to select certain subgroups.

Another departure from past studies was the selection of a more stringent cut-off criterion for the identification of “salient” subgroups. This cut-off criterion refers to the percentage of participants needed to select the subgroup for it to qualify as a viable one. Clausell and Fiske (2005) used a 10% criterion and Brambilla et al. (2011) employed a 15% cut-off. A much larger criterion of 50% was employed in the present study to ensure that the subgroups would be salient enough to individuals to be generalizable beyond the present study. The sizeable gap (upwards of 18 percentage points) between the subgroups exceeding the 50% cut-off and those that fell below supports the selection criterion that was chosen and reinforces the likelihood that the selected subgroups are salient to Canadians.

For the gay men condition, the student sample generated four subgroups and the non-student sample generated two. In descending order, the subgroups exceeding the 50% criterion

were: *Flamboyant*, *Feminine*, *Drag Queen*, and *Closeted* for the students, and *Drag Queen* and *Flamboyant* for the non-students. In the lesbian women condition, student participants generated three subgroups that met the criterion and the non-student sample generated one. In descending order, the subgroups for the student sample were *Feminist*, *Butch*, and *Tomboy*. Only *Butch* was selected by the non-student sample. All four of the gay men subgroups were among the 10 that emerged in Clausell and Fiske's (2005) study. When comparing the emergent lesbian subgroups to those reported by Geiger et al. (2006), they were captured if you consider *Tomboy* to be similar to their "Soft Butch" category and *Butch* as equivalent to their "Angry Butch" subgroup. Had a lower criterion been used in the present study, all the subgroups generated from previous research would have emerged, with the exception of the sexuality-focused subgroups (i.e., *hypersexual*, *sexually confused*, and *sexually deviant*), which appeared not to be salient subgroups of lesbian women for either sample.<sup>9</sup>

It is worth noting that had a criterion lower than 50% been selected for the general population sample, the subgroups would have mapped identically on to those generated by the student sample. That is, the top four gay men subgroups and the top three lesbian subgroups were identical for the two samples. This provides strong support for the saliency of these subgroups. It is possible that a student sample may have a more varied understanding of sexual minorities and that explains why additional subgroups emerged as salient among this sample. Researchers (e.g., Herek & Capitano, 1996; Herek & Glunt, 1993) have found that younger and more educated individuals are more likely to report greater contact with sexual minorities. As such, they may have been exposed to a greater diversity of gay and lesbian persons. Future research, however, is needed to determine *why* the subgroups that were identified as perceived subgroups emerged over others. In particular, a qualitative inquiry is needed that explores how people perceive subgroups of sexual minorities, how these perceptions are developed, and what judgments are used to categorise sexual minorities.

There are a number of inferences that can be made as a result of the subgroups that did emerge. Perceived gender role characteristics appear to be an important determinant of gay and lesbian subgroups. Three of the gay subgroups (i.e., *Drag Queen*, *Feminine*, and *Flamboyant*) and two of the lesbian subgroups (i.e., *Butch* and *Tomboy*) relate directly to violations of socially assigned gender roles. That is, drag queens, feminine, and flamboyant gay men are ascribed feminine characteristics; butch and tomboy lesbian women are considered to have masculine

traits. It is only the *Feminist* lesbian woman subgroup and the *Closeted* gay man subgroup that were not ascribed gender role traits or appearance indicators. Arguably though, the behavioral attributes (e.g., strong, independent, self-sufficient, aggressive) that were used to describe *Feminist* could be categorized as masculine traits (Bem, 1974). Also, Clausell and Fiske (2005) noted that their “in the closet” subgroup was rated similarly to the other masculine/agentive subgroups and, like the general category of “men,” fell within the HC-LW quadrant of the SCM.

Interestingly, a subgroup that would be considered “feminine” did not emerge among lesbian women. Few researchers have addressed the invisibility of feminine lesbian women. An exception is Walker (1993), who provides an in-depth commentary on the invisibility of “femme” lesbian women. She notes that butch lesbian women are often represented as “the authentic lesbian” (p. 881), while femme lesbian women are able to “pass” as heterosexual and are, therefore, perceived as not experiencing the same extent of marginalisation and even not truly desiring other women. Ciasullo (2001) approaches the topic of (in)visibility from a different perspective by arguing that it is actually butch lesbian women who are invisible, particularly within mainstream media, but that feminine lesbian women are represented as not *true* lesbians. Ciasullo notes that “the mainstream lesbian body is... made into an object of desire for straight audiences through her heterosexualization, a process achieved by representing the lesbian as embodying a hegemonic femininity” (p. 578). She also argues that lesbian women are rarely portrayed in sexual acts with women and as such are also “de-homosexualized.” While adopting a different approach, Ciasullo’s (2001) and Walker’s (1993) perspectives are complementary and support the failure of a feminine subgroup to emerge in the present study. It is possible that heterosexual individuals, while inundated with depictions of feminine lesbian women in mainstream media, may dismiss feminine lesbian women as “real” lesbians or as a group that would not be populous enough to warrant a subgroup designation.

Of the subgroups that did emerge as salient for the participants, none were related to their scores on the Modern Homonegativity Scale (Morrison & Morrison, 2003). Regardless of participants’ own negativity (or positivity) towards gay men and lesbian women, they recognize the same subgroups as being perceived to exist by society. This finding may suggest that certain stereotypes about gay men and lesbian women are pervasive and widely known despite participants not personally endorsing them or believing they exist. Future research should determine if there are other factors that may relate to whether individuals believe that the

identified subgroups are perceived to exist by society. Given that no subgroup was unanimously selected, it is possible that there are variables that may be associated with participants' recognition of certain gay and lesbian subgroups. The identification of these factors could help in developing interventions to dispel stereotypes and misconceptions about sexual minority persons.

As another important step in understanding the subgroups that emerged as salient in the present study, researchers should assess the content and valence of the attitudes that people have towards the subgroups. While the current study used rigorous methods to identify subgroups, it did not assess how they are perceived. Research from Clausell and Fiske (2005), Brambilla et al. (2011), and Geiger et al. (2006) suggest that all of the subgroups that emerged in the present study could be ranked along a hierarchy from positive to negative. For instance, in Clausell and Fiske's study of gay men, "in the closet" gay men were rated most positively, while "crossdressers" were rated most negatively. In Geiger et al.'s study of lesbian women subgroups, "career oriented feminists" were rated positively, while "angry butch" was rated negatively. Based on the evidence from these preliminary subgroup studies, it would be expected that the subgroups that are perceived as "gender role violators" would be relegated to the lowest tier of the subgroup hierarchy.

What is important, too, is for researchers to evaluate how the subgroups are rated in comparison to the overarching social categories of "gay man" and "lesbian woman," to determine their degree of difference or alignment. Given that these are the categories that are primarily assessed in research examining attitudes towards sexual minority persons, it would be valuable to determine if some of the subgroups map onto attitudes toward the overarching category. This would assist researchers to determine if individuals are more likely to think of one subgroup over another when asked to evaluate the superordinate group. An existing framework, such as the SCM (Fiske et al., 2002), could be used to guide such an investigation, both to identify the relative attitudes toward each group and to assess if such a theoretical and methodological approach would be valid for the generated subgroups. Past research using the SCM (i.e., Brambilla et al., 2011; Clausell & Fiske, 2005) suggests that perceptions of gay and lesbian subgroups result in their positioning across the SCM quadrants; however, the framework's validity assessing attitudes towards gay and lesbian subgroups within a Canadian context and with a general population sample has yet to be evaluated. Alternative theories and

frameworks could potentially spawn from an increased understanding of attitudes towards the subgroups of gay men and lesbian women, particularly when considering the different results that emerged across the two samples (i.e., students vs. general population).

As can be seen from conducting the same study with two separate populations, an identical number of subgroups are not necessarily going to emerge across difference samples. Although the seven subgroups that emerged for the student sample were all recognized by many of the participants in the general population sample, only three of the seven reached the 50% threshold. Moving forward, researchers should examine variables such as familiarity or contact with sexual minorities, education levels, geographic area, and age to determine if these differences may result in the recognition of additional gay and lesbian subgroups. For instance, urban centers such as Toronto or Vancouver, where there is greater social diversity, may potentially yield additional subgroups from a student sample than the present study, which was conducted in a medium-sized urban centre. Despite these potential limitations in generalizability, the advance of the sexual minority subgroup generation research into a non-student sample is an important step in understanding how gay men and lesbian women are perceived. The present study is indeed the first to identify subgroups of gay men and lesbian women from a random-probability national sample. The findings from the two samples largely supported one another as well as many of the subgroups in the extant literature.

**4.6 Conclusion.** As the first Canadian study to identify subgroups of gay men and lesbian women that are salient among both a student sample and a general population sample, the present study provides a good launching point to begin Canadian research that goes beyond the superordinate categories of gay men and lesbian women. These overarching categories are possibly masking a different reality about the attitudes that exist toward sexual minority persons. If attitudes differ based on the perceived subgroup that a sexual minority person is classified into then it is important that these attitudes are being accurately assessed, with the ultimate goal to develop interventions that could reduce prejudice and discrimination toward gay men and lesbian women. Moving forward, researchers should consider using the subgroups that have been identified in the present study to assess attitudes toward sexual minority persons and should conduct research that would lead to a deeper understanding as to how these subgroups are



developed and the role they play in the prejudice and discrimination that is directed at gay men and lesbian women.

## Notes

1. The SCM is a model that enables one to position social groups on a map according to the dimensions of perceived “warmth” and “competence.” In 2002, Fiske et al. found that gay men fell in the centre of the warmth X competence space, which signified neutral perceptions toward gay men relative to other social groups. The position of gay men seemed at odds with the well-documented stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination reported by this social group.
2. To date, there have been no rigorous examinations of the psychometric properties of the measure associated with the SCM that assesses a particular social group’s or subgroup’s warmth and competence.
3. Henrich, Heine, and Norenzayan (2010) pointed out the gross reliance on Western, Educated, Industrialized, Rich, and Democratic (WEIRD) samples in psychological research. Through a comparative review of studies on key psychological and behavioral variables (e.g., reasoning styles, fairness, categorization and inferential induction) they determined that WEIRD samples are not particularly representative of the overall human population. The researchers note that American undergraduate students, in particular, constitute the bulk of the WEIRD samples employed in research. It is anticipated that our general population sample will be demographically more variable than an undergraduate student population, and therefore, more representative of the wider population.
4. Participants are asked to generate subgroups that they think exist from a society’s perspective to reduce social desirable responding (Fiske et al., 2002). This tactic is also used in other subgroup generation studies (Clausell & Fiske, 2005; Geiger et al., 2006).
5. The results of Google Image Searches vary by several factors, each of which may affect the reproducibility of the photographs used in the present study. McEvoy (2015) has noted seven factors that can affect search results that will be generated by Google Image Search. They include: 1) device (e.g., desktop, tablet) used when searching, 2) personal search history, 3) being logged in to a Google account, 4) geographic location, 5) browser type, 6) Google-generated ads on the page, 7) the type of search (i.e., minor keyword can drastically alter results). Undoubtedly, image results will also change over time.
6. Only photographs that depicted men and women who appeared to be young adults or middle-aged were selected, as well as only photographs of Caucasian individuals. Variations in these demographic features could potentially produce attitudinal effects independent of, or in interaction with, sexual orientation (Woody, 2013); therefore, efforts were made to keep age and race similar across photographs.
7. Ekos is a Canadian research vendor who provides access to representative samples of online survey respondents. Ekos recruits participants to their panel through random digit dialing of Canadian telephone numbers. Participants are informed of available surveys through an email issued by Ekos and they are not remunerated for their participation.
8. It is acknowledged that subgroup definitions may not be completely accurate as they were

based on participants' responses in Study 1. However, in these cases, the substantial agreement among participants warranted the use of their self-generated definitions. For example, the "Drag Queen" subgroup was defined by participants as "men who dress up as women." It should be noted that theorists argue that drag queens' self-identities are complex and cross the boundaries of a traditional two-binary gender belief system (Hennen, 2004; Taylor & Rupp, 2004).

9. Notably, subgroups related to sexual acts and behaviours were not salient for participants in the present study. For example, "bottom" and "top" were selected by 16% or less of participants in the gay men condition and by only 2% of participants in the lesbian women condition. Likewise, subgroups related to HIV/AIDS, which has been argued as being conflated with a "gay lifestyle" (Worthen, 2013), was selected by a very small proportion of participants (i.e., 4% of the general population sample selected "diseased," 2% of the general population sample selected "gift giver," and none of the student participants selected either subgroup).

### **CHAPTER 3: STUDY 3 (EXPLICIT ATTITUDES)**

#### **Abstract**

Despite positive trends in academic assessments and opinion polls of attitudes towards gay and lesbian persons, discrimination against gay men and lesbian women remains widespread. A possible explanation for this paradox is that there exist different subgroups of gay men and lesbian women with different attitudes directed toward them. To assess this possibility, the current study examines the cultural and personally-endorsed stereotypes of gay (i.e., Closeted, Drag Queen, Feminine, and Flamboyant) and lesbian (i.e., Butch, Feminist, and Tomboy) subgroups, and the relationships amongst these stereotypes. The SCM, BIAS Map, and adjective, emotion, and behavioural checklists were employed in order to gather a tripartite understanding of attitudes towards the subgroups, and to test the mediation effect of emotions on the relationship between stereotypes and behaviours. The findings reveal that, depending on assessment method, Drag Queen or Closeted gay men are perceived most negatively. Among lesbian women subgroups, the subgroups were, for the most part, appraised similarly. However, the Feminist subgroup is associated with the most negative adjectives. The effect of photograph presentation on attitudes was also assessed, with a positive shift in ratings on some attitudinal measures when photographs of the subgroups were presented. The methodological implications for future studies examining attitudes toward gay men and lesbian women are discussed.

## 1. Introduction

Studies investigating attitudes toward sexual minorities (i.e., lesbian women, gay men, bisexual women, bisexual men, pansexual persons, and queer individuals) indicate that heterosexuals' evaluations of sexual minoritized persons have become increasingly more positive over the last two decades (Baunach, 2012; Hicks & Lee, 2006). In contrast to these attitudinal surveys, however, is the large body of research (e.g., Gates & Mitchell, 2013; Jewell et al., 2011; Munro et al., 2013) that documents the discrimination experiences of sexual minority persons, most notably gay men and lesbian women. Indeed, there appears to be a pronounced disjunction between the comparatively positive attitudes of heterosexuals toward sexual minority persons when compared to the lived realities of gay and lesbian individuals.

Some researchers have argued that the positive attitudes toward gay and lesbian persons are an artefact of measurement, which serves to mislead the public and, ultimately, undermine the safety of gay and lesbian persons. For instance, Clausell and Fiske (2005) emphasize that the relatively "neutral" attitudes they documented toward gay men may indeed mask a much more complex reality. They posited that, there might be distinct subgroups of gay men that are not well understood and, are certainly not captured when researchers rely on attitudinal scales that utilize the superordinate category "gay men." Clausell and Fiske (2005) also cautioned that, if researchers ignore the potential existence of subgroups and simply rely on attitudinal scales comprised of superordinate categories, attitudinal nuances directed toward certain "types" of sexual minorities are rendered invisible. Further, if certain subgroups of sexual minority categories are perceived positively, whilst others are perceived negatively, then the highly discrepant attitudes undoubtedly cancel each other out and produce a "neutral" evaluation overall of the sexual minority group in question. A small number of researchers (i.e., Brambilla et al., 2011; Geiger et al., 2006) have made similar arguments for the existence of subgroups of lesbian women. Despite these assertions, however, little research has been conducted to examine whether attitudes toward distinct subgroups of gay men and lesbian women exist. Importantly, only two studies to date has explored whether subgroups of gay men actually exist (i.e., Clausell & Fiske, 2005; McCutcheon & Morrison, 2018a) and only three (Brambilla et al., 2011; Geiger et al., 2006; McCutcheon & Morrison, 2018a) have been published that identify subgroups of lesbian women. Therefore, the purpose of the current study was to address this gap in the

empirical literature and, in so doing, examine the attitudes held by heterosexuals toward subgroups of gay and lesbian persons.

## **2. Subgroups of Gay Men and Lesbian Women**

Currently, only four studies have empirically identified subgroups of gay men and lesbian women or directly investigate heterosexuals' attitudes toward subgroups of gay men and lesbian women. The impetus for the first study (i.e., Clausell & Fiske, 2005) was the observation of gay men's neutral position within a map of the Stereotype Content Model (SCM; Fiske et al., 2002). The SCM allows social groups to be positioned on a two-dimensional quadrant based on their perceived warmth and competence. The positioning of gay men in the centre of the warmth X competence space raised questions given the well-documented stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination that are reported by gay men. Therefore, to determine what subgroups of gay men may exist, Clausell and Fiske (2005) conducted a preliminary study with 44 Princeton University students. Participants were instructed to identify attributes of gay men and then to sort them into subgroups. In total, 73 separate terms for subgroups were recorded. The researchers maintained subgroups that had been generated by at least 10% of the sample, resulting in the retention of the following ten: "in the closet," "flamboyant," "feminine," "crossdresser," "gay activist," "hyper-masculine," "body-conscious," "artistic," "leather/biker," and "straight acting."

To further understand how individuals perceive these subgroups, Clausell and Fiske (2005) surveyed an additional 40 Princeton University students. Participants were asked about the warmth and competence of each subgroup using the Stereotype Content measure created by Fiske et al. (2002) so that they could situate the scores on a SCM map. The measure includes items asking about the extent to which a certain social group is associated with certain attributes that relate to warmth (e.g., friendly, trustworthy) and competence (e.g., confident, capable). Clausell and Fiske (2005) hypothesised that the 10 subgroups they had identified would fall into three distinct clusters within the warmth X competence space. They expected that many of the subgroups would be positioned in the high competence and low warmth (HC-LW) quadrant or in the low competence and high warmth (LC-HW) quadrant. However, they also anticipated that some of the subgroups would be situated in the low-competence and low warmth (LC-LW) area. Using hierarchical cluster analysis, Clausell and Fiske (2005) found that the 10 subgroups that had been generated in their initial study clustered into three distinct groups. As predicted, the majority of the groups fell within the HC-LW (i.e., body-conscious, straight acting, in the closet,

artistic, hyper-masculine, and activist) and LC-HW (i.e., flamboyant, feminine) quadrants. Also supporting their hypotheses, the leather/biker and crossdresser subgroups fell within the most derogated LC-LW area.

Using a similar methodological approach to Clausell and Fiske (2005), Brambilla et al. (2011) examined distinct stereotypes within a superordinate group; however, they were interested in investigating perceived subgroups of lesbian women. Employing the SCM, 32 Italian undergraduate students completed a pilot study to establish subgroups of lesbian women. They listed subgroups and provided the most salient characteristics for each of the groups. Using a criterion that the subgroups must be mentioned by at least 15% of the sample, the pilot study resulted in the identification of four lesbian subgroups: “butch,” “feminine,” “closeted,” and “outed.” The main study assessed 70 students’ ratings of either the four established subgroups or the superordinate category of “lesbian woman” on warmth and competence. The results revealed that the superordinate category of lesbian woman was situated in the middle of the warmth and competence space. Regarding the subgroups, feminine and outed lesbians fell in the HC-HW quadrant, butch lesbians were positioned in the HC-LW quadrant, and closeted lesbians were in the LC-LW area.

Geiger et al. (2006) also conducted a study to identify subgroups of lesbian women. In their case, however, they used a cognitive perspective as a theoretical framework as opposed to the SCM. The cognitive perspective contends that individuals may hold multiple stereotypes for a given group (Brewer et al., 1981; Hummert, 1990). Geiger et al. (2006) expected to find that individuals possess both positive and negative subgroups of lesbian women. In the first stage of their two-stage study, Geiger et al. (2006) instructed 61 American students to generate traits that they associated with the superordinate category of “lesbian.” After removing derogatory terms (e.g., “whorebag”) and combining synonymous descriptors (e.g., “manly,” “male-like”), 94 distinct traits had been generated. These traits were then used in the second stage, in which 63 students were instructed to sort the traits into groups that represented types of lesbians of which they were aware and to label the grouped traits.

A hierarchical cluster analysis revealed that participants’ categorisations resulted in two high-level clusters: positive traits and negative traits. Four subgroups of lesbian women fell within the positive traits cluster: lipstick lesbian, career-oriented feminist, soft-but, and free-spirit. Likewise, four subgroups comprised the negative traits cluster: hypersexual, sexually

confused, sexually deviant, and angry butch. In addition to the positive-negative dimension, the researchers also interpreted a strong-weak dimension in which the subgroups associated with sexuality were perceived as “weak,” while the butch and feminist categories were positioned closest to the “strong” pole. Although Geiger et al.’s (2006) study suggests that stereotypes of lesbian women could be arranged hierarchically, they did not directly assess participants’ personal feelings of positivity or negativity toward these groups. Rather, participants were instructed to sort 94 traits into groups that represented types of lesbians of which they were aware. They were instructed that they did not necessarily need to personally endorse the characterizations or believe them to be true or accurate. After sorting the traits, participants were asked to provide a label for the groups they created. The researchers then categorised subgroups based on their own interpretations of whether the traits assigned to a subgroup were positive or negative (and strong or weak), as opposed to an independent assessment of the valence of the generated traits.

More recently, McCutcheon and Morrison (2018a) identified subgroups of both gay men and lesbian women within a Canadian context. In an initial pilot study, they instructed 67 university students to generate as many subgroups of gay men and lesbian women as they could, resulting in a list of 51 and 38 subgroups, respectively. They then had content experts add potential subgroups to those lists, yielding a total of 97 gay men subgroups and 69 lesbian women subgroups. These lists were then used in a subsequent study with 106 university students and 100 members of the general public from across Canada. Participants were asked to select any subgroups from the master lists that they believe exist from a societal perspective (i.e., they did not need to personally believe the subgroup exists). To ensure respondents understood the subgroups they were selecting, they were also asked to provide a brief definition. Using a criterion that at least 50% of the sample had to have selected a subgroup, the researchers identified four subgroups of gay men (i.e., “Flamboyant,” “Drag Queen,” “Feminine,” and “Closeted”) and three subgroups of lesbian women (i.e., “Feminist,” “Butch,” and “Tomboy”) among the student sample. Only “Flamboyant,” “Drag Queen,” and “Butch” exceeded the 50% threshold among the general population sample. McCutcheon and Morrison (2018a) neglected to assess attitudes towards the subgroups that were generated; however, their use of a community sample suggests that the number of salient subgroups may differ depending on the population



(i.e., seven subgroups emerged for the university sample, while only three subgroups were selected by the general population sample).

### **3. SCM and BIAS Map Scales**

The SCM, developed by Fiske et al. (2002), has been used to assess attitudes towards gay men and lesbian women across numerous studies. Recently, Vaughn, Teeters, Sadler, and Cronan (2017) used the SCM and BIAS Map scales to assess attitudes towards lesbians, gay men, and bisexual men and women. Increasingly, researchers are advocating for the importance of considering attitudes towards these groups separately (Worthen, 2013). Vaughn et al. (2017) acknowledge that additional subgroups of lesbian women, gay men, and bisexual men and women may also exist and should be considered. Two of the three extant studies *specifically* examining attitudes towards *subgroups* of gay men and lesbian women employ the SCM as the attitudinal measure. The SCM posits potentially universal principles for understanding the stereotyping of social groups based on the two dimensions of warmth and competence (Fiske et al., 2002). Fiske et al. (2002) also theorised that threats to an individual's ingroup (from an outgroup) would elicit an emotional reaction, arguing for four possible emotional reactions (i.e., admiration, contempt, envy, and pity) based on perceived warmth and competence. Specifically, they proposed that groups who are rated as high on warmth and competence (i.e., ingroups) are admired, those rated HC-LW are envied, LC-HW evoke pity, and groups perceived as low on both dimensions are targets of contempt.

Expanding on the SCM theory, Cuddy et al. (2007) developed the BIAS Map, in which behaviours are incorporated into the model. The BIAS Map consists of four categories of behaviours that can be mapped onto two dimensions (i.e., active-passive and facilitative-harmful). The active-passive dimension relates to the intensity of behaviours (i.e., the effort that is expended on committing the behaviour) and the facilitative-harmful dimension corresponds to the valence (i.e., whether the behaviour is positive or negative). Cuddy et al. (2007) predicted that the affective components for each social group in each SCM quadrant would predict two behavioural responses. The hypotheses were as follows: 1) Admiration (for social groups in the HC-HW quadrant) would predict both types of facilitation (i.e., active and passive) as this emotion is primarily reserved for ingroups; 2) Contempt (LC-LW) would predict both types of harm (i.e., active and passive) as these are the most negatively perceived and denigrated outgroups, wherein ingroup members would try to actively distance themselves or exclude them;

3) Envy (HC-LW) would predict PF because ingroups will try to benefit from the competence of the outgroup by cooperating with them, and will also predict AH because these outgroups are perceived as having both the intent and the ability to cause harm; and 4) Pity (LC-HW) will predict AF because it evokes an attempt to help the low-status outgroup, and also will predict PH because of an avoidance of sadness or the tendency to dismiss a group unworthy of respect. Cuddy et al. (2007) also theorised that affective components (i.e., emotions) would be more strongly related to the behavioural tendencies than the cognitive components (i.e., stereotypes) and the emotions would mediate the relationship between stereotypes and behaviour.

It should be mentioned that, although the SCM has been used to assess a wide range of social groups, the scale used to measure the SCM possesses some shortcomings in regards to the evaluation of its psychometric properties. Specifically, the selection of adjectives used to measure warmth, competence, and the affective categories are not always consistently employed (e.g., Cuddy & Fiske, 2004; Cuddy et al., 2005; Harris & Fiske, 2006), thereby making it difficult to compare the reliability and validity of the SCM measure across studies. Further, a review of studies based on the SCM reveals that there may be some issues with its generalizability across social groups and the applicability of its components. For instance, Morrison, Boehm, Parker, McCutcheon, and Morrison (2018) and Gazzola and Morrison (2014) found that the SCM could not accurately capture the stereotypes of career women and transgender individuals, respectively, and Clausell and Fiske (2005) were unable to replicate the finding that perceived competition predicts warmth for gay men. Brambilla et al. (2011) suggests that competition may not be a valuable predictor when assessing social groups who are primarily defined by their sexual orientation.

Similarly, the BIAS Map scale, used to assess the behaviour (i.e., active and passive facilitation and active and passive harm) evoked by social groups, has received little attention in terms of rigorous assessment of its psychometrics properties. While the scale was originally created with three to four factors per behaviour, as with the SCM Scale, it seems to be employed using a “pick and choose” approach in terms of which items are included. Indeed, in some cases, only two-items per behaviour are used (Cuddy et al., 2007). Various researchers (e.g., Eisinga et al., 2012; Emons et al., 2007) have cautioned against two-item scales because of the implications for their reliability and validity. Fewer items reduce the likelihood that the adequate construct is being measured (i.e., lower construct validity) and increases the risk of measurement error. In

their development of the BIAS map, Cuddy et al. (2007) found reliabilities for their scales ranging from .59 to .92. For the scales with lower reliabilities, the inclusion of additional items may have improved their reliabilities. Despite the low alphas, the researchers continued in the development of their scale without questioning or acknowledging the low reliability coefficients. The researchers conducted a principal components factor analysis to determine whether the behaviours or emotions were redundant; however, no information was provided about the factor loadings, only that the items loaded best on the factors they had anticipated. Importantly, in the case of the SCM scales, many studies show reliabilities in the acceptable-to-good range ( $\alpha > .70$ ); however, there are studies (e.g., Durante et al., 2013) that have found reliabilities at far lower levels ( $\alpha = .26-.59$ ), which raises some concern about the scales.

Another possible limitation of the scales assessing the three attitudinal components is that the items were developed based on the SCM theory (Fiske et al., 1999; 2002), thereby limiting perceptions to warmth and competence; emotions to admiration, envy, pity, or contempt; and behaviours to active or passive facilitation or active or passive harm. It is possible that other stereotypes, affect, and behaviors are relevant to attitudes toward social groups but were never assessed. Given the potential limitations associated with use of the SCM and its imposition of warmth and competence and the four emotions of admiration, envy, pity, and contempt, as well as the behaviours outlined in the BIAS Map, the present study endeavours to allow participants the freedom to generate their own parameters for cognitive, affective, and behavioural reactions toward subgroups of gay and lesbian persons. That is, participants will indicate what adjectives, emotions, and behaviours describe society's perceptions of, and responses toward, the subgroups. It is believed that by providing participants with the freedom to supply their own responses as opposed to focussing only on the dimensions of the SCM and BIAS Map, a more comprehensive understanding of attitudes toward gay and lesbian subgroups can be captured. Also, by including the additional components allowing participants the option to select from a large group of choices for their cognitive, affective, and behavioural responses as well as generating their own, initial steps can be taken toward preliminarily validating the SCM and BIAS Map in relation to subgroups of gay men and lesbian women.

#### **4. The Present Study**

The primary purpose of the present study is to assess explicit attitudes toward subgroups of gay men and lesbian women by examining stereotypes, emotions, and behaviours. Past studies

(e.g., Baiocco, Nardelli, Pezzuti, & Lingiardi, 2013; Hicks & Lee, 2006; Steffans, 2005) examining attitudes towards subgroups of sexual minority persons and many studies examining attitudes toward the superordinate groups “gay men” and “lesbian women,” have only considered the cognitive component of attitudes, and have neglected to measure the affective or behavioural components. It is important to measure all three attitudinal components in order to capture the multidimensionality of individuals’ attitudes. The SCM scales and the BIAS Map scale will be used as one tool for measuring these attitudes. However, given the criticisms outlined regarding the SCM Scales and the BIAS Map Scale, a secondary purpose of this study is to preliminarily validate these scales with subgroups of sexual minorities. In regards to the subgroups that will be assessed, those that were identified in McCutcheon and Morrison’s (2018a) study will be used. Their iterative approach to identifying the subgroups is the most rigorous subgroup generation study to date. Moreover, their use of a Canadian sample to establish the subgroups is most applicable to the Canadian-based context of the present study.

Lastly, this study also will assess whether the presentation of photographs when evaluating attitudes toward subgroups of gay men and lesbian women will alter responses. Approximately half the sample will evaluate a gay or lesbian subgroup while being presented with a photograph representing that subgroup and the other half will not be presented with a photograph. This manipulation will serve to offer methodological evidence as to whether using photographs in attitudinal studies on sexual minorities yields disparate findings. Mitchell and Ellis (2011) found that using a videotape of gay men playing a word game may have served to humanize the targets and resulted in more positive evaluations than if participants had simply evaluated a hypothetical gay man, as had been done in many previous studies (e.g., Blashill & Powlishta, 2009; Fingerhut & Peplau, 2006; Lehavot & Lambert, 2007) employing vignettes. It is possible that a photograph of an individual may accomplish a similar humanizing effect to that of a video clip. Russell and Diaz (2011) used photographs in a grounded theory study of lesbian women in order to humanize their findings for readers. They argue that, “Humanness and affectivity can be visually conveyed in research findings through the use of image, such as photography” (p. 451). While the use of photographs in the current dissertation will not be used to complement the research findings, but rather as experimental stimuli, the humanizing effect may apply. To the authors’ knowledge, no study has been conducted to date that has experimentally compared attitudes toward sexual minorities when a photograph is used to

represent the target being evaluated and when no photograph is used. This component of the study could expand our understanding of how prejudice toward sexual minorities is enacted by determining if viewing the target affects individuals' attitudes toward him or her.

**4.1 Hypotheses.** In the gay men condition, using ratings on the SCM, it is anticipated that three of the four subgroups will be rated ambivalently (i.e., either believed to be more warm than competent, or vice versa), and one will be rated more negatively than the other subgroups. Specifically, it is expected that “Feminine” and “Flamboyant” men will be rated similarly to heterosexual women (i.e., LC-HW; Fiske et al., 2002), “Closeted” men will be rated similarly to heterosexual men (i.e., HC-LW; Fiske et al., 2002), and “Drag Queen” men will be rated low on both competence and warmth (i.e., LC-LW). These predictions are based on the findings of Clausell and Fiske (2005) who had similar subgroups among the ten gay men categories they included in their study. It is also expected that the subgroups' affective and behavioural scores will correspond to their warmth and competence scores (hypothesis 1). Similarly, on the adjective, emotion, and behaviour checklists, it is expected that the Drag Queen gay men will be rated most negatively (hypothesis 2)

In the lesbian women condition, it is anticipated that all three subgroups will be rated higher on competence than warmth and their affective and behavioural scores will correspond (hypothesis 3). Due to their associations with masculinity, “Butch” and “Tomboy” will likely be rated similarly to men on the SCM (i.e., HC-LW; Fiske et al., 2002). Brambilla et al. (2011) also found that Butch fell in the HC-LW quadrant. Based on past SCM studies (i.e., Fiske et al., 2002) that also included the category “Feminist,” it is expected that the “Feminist” subgroup in the present study also will be rated higher on competence than warmth. It is expected that their scores on the BIAS Map will be consistent with their positions within the SCM quadrants (see Cuddy et al., 2007). As “Butch” women are perceived as the most gender-violating it is expected that this subgroup will be rated the most negative on the adjective, emotion, and behaviour checklists (hypothesis 4).

Regarding the presentation of photographs, it is hypothesised that participants who view photographs of individuals who are representative of the subgroups will have more positive ratings than those who are not presented with photographs (hypothesis 5). Though there is little research investigating whether photographs can improve the ratings of social groups, Mitchell and Ellis (2011) posit that a videotape of gay men playing a game may have served to improve

ratings of the gay men in their study compared to other studies examining attitudes toward sexual minority men. Lastly, based on previous research (e.g., Cuddy et al., 2007; Dovidio et al., 1996; Talaska et al., 2008), it is hypothesised that participants' emotional response to the subgroups will mediate the relationship between their stereotypes toward them and the behaviours they would exhibit (Hypothesis 6).

## **5. Pilot Study – Photograph Selection**

A pilot study was used to identify photographs that were perceived as exemplars of the seven subgroups identified by McCutcheon and Morrison (2018a). Fifty psychology students (41 women, 9 men), recruited through an introductory psychology participant pool, were presented a consent form (Appendix M), and completed the study online. Employing the 100 photographs used previously by McCutcheon and Morrison (2018a) during their initial subgroup generation process (see Chapter 2), participants classified the photographs into the subgroups they deemed most representative of the men and women in the photographs. The photographs of men were classified into “Closeted,” “Drag Queen,” “Feminine,” or “Flamboyant” subgroups and the photographs of women were classified into “Butch,” “Feminist,” or “Tomboy” subgroups. After classifying a photograph into one of the subgroups, participants were asked to indicate how representative the photograph is of their selected subgroup. Participants rated them on a scale from 1 (not at all representative) to 10 (very representative).

To be selected as the most representative photograph for use in the main study, a photograph must have been categorised into the specific subgroup more than any other subgroup. Following this qualifying criterion, the photograph with the highest mean representativeness rating was selected. See Table 3-1 for details on the percentage of participants who classified the selected photographs into the subgroups and their mean representativeness ratings. See Appendix C for all the photographs that were rated, with those selected as most representative of the seven subgroups highlighted.

## **6. Main Study**

**6.1 Participants.** In total, 446 (331 females, 112 males, 3 other) university students participated in the present study. To participate in the study, students were required to be Canadian-born and heterosexual. Notably, this was the only study that included participants who were not cisgender, a limitation that results insofar as conclusions only being drawn about the attitudes of heterosexual, cisgender individuals. Participants ranged in age from 18 to 62 years

( $M = 22.57$ ;  $SD = 6.13$ ). Overall, 83.4% ( $n = 372$ ) of participants identified as Caucasian, 5.4% ( $n = 24$ ) as Aboriginal, 2.2% ( $n = 10$ ) as East Asian, 2.0% ( $n = 9$ ) as mixed origin, 1.8% ( $n = 8$ ) each as South Asian and Southeast Asian, 1.6% ( $n = 7$ ) as West Asian, 1.1% ( $n = 5$ ) as Black, and .2 ( $n = 1$ ) each as Latin American and “ethno-cultural background being other than the options provided.” Participants were recruited from an introductory psychology participant pool, a general university participant pool, and a campus online bulletin system. The study was completed entirely online. Participants were randomly assigned to complete the study about one of the seven gay and lesbian subgroups and either with or without photographs. As such, there were 14 conditions in total (7 subgroups x 2 photograph presentation). In total, 60 participants responded to the survey about Closeted gay men (28 with a photograph, 32 with no photograph), 64 about Drag Queen gay men (33 photograph, 31 no photograph), 64 about Feminine gay men (26 photograph, 38 no photograph), 61 about Flamboyant gay men (36 photograph, 25 no photograph), 65 about Butch lesbian women (36 photograph, 29 no photograph), 64 about Feminist lesbian women (28 photograph, 36 no photograph), and 68 about Tomboy lesbian women (39 photograph, 29 no photograph). Participants received bonus course credit if they were recruited through the psychology participant pool or entered in a draw to win 50 dollars if they were recruited through the general pool or university online bulletin.

## **6.2 Measures**

**6.2.1 SCM Scale (cognitive component; Fiske et al., 2002; Appendix N).** The SCM Scale (cognitive component) was used to assess how participants perceive the subgroups on warmth, competence, status, and competition. The 18-item scale overall consists of six items assessing competence (e.g., “As viewed by society, how capable are members of this group?”), six items assessing warmth (e.g., “As viewed by society, how trustworthy are members of this group?”), three items assessing perceived status (e.g., “How well educated are members of this group?”), and three items assessing perceived competition (e.g., “The more power that members of this group have, the less power people like me are likely to have.”) with a particular social group. Participants responded using a 5-point scale (1 = *not at all*; 5 = *extremely*). Possible subscale scores could range from 6 to 30 for the competence subscale, 6 to 30 for the warmth subscale, and 3 to 15 for the status and competition subscales. Higher scores reflect greater endorsement of the measured constructs for the social group. In addition to societal perspectives, to gauge participants’ personal perspectives, we also asked them to respond to the Competence

and Warmth subscales in regards to their personal beliefs (e.g., “In your view, how capable are members of this group?”). All subscales were found to have good or excellent scale score reliability. Cronbach’s alphas were  $\alpha = .84$  (95% CI = .82-.86) and  $\alpha = .88$  (95% CI = .87-.90) for the societal and personal Competence subscales, respectively;  $\alpha = .87$  (95% CI = .85-.88) and  $\alpha = .92$  (95% CI = .91-.93) for the societal and personal Warmth subscales, respectively; and  $\alpha = .82$  (95% CI = .79-.85) and  $\alpha = .86$  (95% CI = .83-.88) for the Status and Competition subscales, respectively.

**6.2.2 SCM Scale (affective component; Fiske et al., 2002 ; Appendix O).** The SCM Scale (affective component) measures the respondents’ opinions about the feelings people (e.g., “Americans”) have toward a particular social group. The scale consists of eight items in total, with two items measuring each of the following four emotions: contempt (e.g., “To what extent do people tend to feel disgust toward members of this group?”), admiration (e.g., “To what extent do people tend to feel pride toward members of this group?”), pity, (e.g., “To what extent do people tend to feel sympathy toward members of this group?”) and envy (e.g., “To what extent do people tend to feel jealousy toward members of this group?”). Participants responded from a societal and personal perspective using a 5-point Likert scale (1 = *not at all*; 5 = *extremely*). Each possible scale score ranges from 2 to 10, with higher scores reflecting a stronger belief that people respond to the social group with that emotion. As each subscale consisted of only two items, Spearman-Brown coefficients were calculated to assess the subscale reliabilities (Eisinga et al., 2013). The societal and personal Contempt subscale was found to have poor reliability,  $\rho = .61$  (95% CI = .53-.68) and  $\rho = .40$  (95% CI = .25-.48), respectively. The societal and personal Admiration subscale had acceptable reliability,  $\rho = .75$  (95% CI = .70-.80) and  $\rho = .84$  (95% CI = .81-.87), respectively. The societal and personal Pity subscale was found to have questionable reliability,  $\rho = .66$  (95% CI = .58-.71) and  $\rho = .64$  (95% CI = .55-.69), respectively. Finally, the societal and personal Envy subscale was found to have acceptable reliability,  $\rho = .81$  (95% CI = .77-.84) and  $\rho = .79$  (95% CI = .73-.82), respectively.

**6.2.3 BIAS Map Scale (Cuddy et al., 2007; Appendix P).** The BIAS Map assesses the way people generally behave toward social groups. The scale includes eight items, with three or four items assessing each of the following behaviours: active facilitation (3 items; e.g., “Do people tend to help this group?”), passive facilitation (3 items; e.g., “Do people tend to cooperate with this group?”), active harm (3 items; e.g., “Do people tend to fight this group?”), and passive



harm (4 items; e.g., “Do people tend to exclude this group?”). Participants respond to the BIAS Map items using a 5-point Likert scale (1 = *not at all*; 5 = *extremely*). Possible total scores can range from 3 to 15 for the active and passive facilitation and active harm scales, and from 4 to 20 for the passive harm scale, with higher scores reflecting a stronger belief that people respond to the social group with that behaviour. All subscales showed very good reliability. The AF subscales yielded the following alphas:  $\alpha_{\text{societal}} = .88$  (95% CI = .86-.90) and  $\alpha_{\text{personal}} = .91$  (95% CI = .90-.92). The PF subscales received the following alphas:  $\alpha_{\text{societal}} = .79$  (95% CI = .75-.82) and  $\alpha_{\text{personal}} = .81$  (95% CI = .78-.84). The AH subscales showed identical alphas for both societal and personal subscales:  $\alpha_{\text{societal}} = .84$  (95% CI = .82-.87) and  $\alpha_{\text{personal}} = .84$  (95% CI = .81-.86). Lastly, the PH subscales evidenced very good reliability:  $\alpha_{\text{societal}} = .83$  (95% CI = .80-.86) and  $\alpha_{\text{personal}} = .81$  (95% CI = .78-.84).

**6.2.4 Adjective, emotion, and behaviour checklists.** An Adjective Checklist (Appendix Q), Emotion Checklist (Appendix R), and Behaviour Checklist (Appendix S) also were used to assess attitudes toward the gay men and lesbian women subgroups. The checklists assessed how participants consider the subgroups to be perceived by society, what emotions are evoked by contact with the subgroups, and how people behave toward the subgroups. Participants completed each checklist for the same subgroup based on the subgroup condition to which they were assigned. Participants were then asked to select five adjectives, emotions, and behaviours that are most characteristic of their own view of the particular subgroup from the words selected from the societal list.

The Adjective Checklist includes a list of 100 adjectives that participants read and selected if they believe society attributes those adjectives to the subgroup. The adjectives were primarily chosen from studies assessing prejudice toward marginalised social groups (i.e., Katz & Braly, 1933; Devine & Elliot, 1995; Madon, 1997; Madon et al., 2001; Morrison, Morrison, Harriman, & Jewell, 2008). Fourteen adjectives that relate to stereotypes about gay men and lesbian women were generated by the researcher and included as well. An open-ended response box soliciting any additional adjectives was included immediately after the list.

The Emotion Checklist and Behaviour Checklist are identically formatted to the Adjective Checklist. The Emotion Checklist has 60 terms, many of which were taken from Ekman (1992, 1993), Fiske et al. (2002), and 14 that were generated by the researcher. The Behaviour Checklist comprises 60 behaviours including those used by Cuddy et al. (2007), in

their development of the BIAS Map Scale, and 30 behaviours that were generated by the researcher. Each of the checklists included an even number of items that were believed to be positively or negatively valenced so as not to bias respondents in either direction. Three independent coders rated the words as either positive or negative. Overall, the valence of 86.8% of the terms were agreed upon by the coders. Disagreements were resolved by selecting the valence that was chosen by the majority of coders. While this is not an optimal solution, as this method was only used to create the initial bank of words, it was deemed acceptable. When encountering both the Emotion and Behaviour checklists, participants were instructed to read through them, and to indicate which terms represented an emotion or behaviour, respectively, that would be evoked from contact with one of the subgroups.

**6.3 Procedure.** This study was conducted entirely online. Students signed up to participate via the University's psychology participant pool website, a campus-wide research unit participant pool website, or were provided a link through an online campus bulletin. Participants were randomly assigned to one of the seven subgroups. Half the participants were randomly assigned to complete the forms in response to the subgroup paired with a photograph and the other half were presented only the subgroup name without a corresponding photograph. After being presented the consent form (Appendix T) and receiving the subgroup to which they were assigned, they were presented with the SCM Scale and the BIAS Map Scale. The first presentation instructed participants to respond from a societal perspective. The SCM Scale and the BIAS Map Scale were then presented a second time, instructing participants to respond from a personal perspective.

Participants were then given the Adjective, Emotion, and Behaviour Checklists. For participants in the photograph condition, to increase saliency, the photograph appeared at the beginning of each page. Participants responded to six demographic questions (i.e., age, gender, ethnicity, sexual orientation, country of birth, native tongue), and were then given the debriefing form (Appendix U). The study took approximately 30 minutes to complete.

## **7. Results**

The data were initially screened for missing values. Schafer and Graham (2002) argue missing data should not be ignored as it can bias analyses. Therefore, Little's missing completely at random (MCAR) test was conducted and was found to be statistically non-significant ( $\chi^2$  [412] = 387.61,  $p = .801$ ) suggesting the data were missing completely at random. The missing data

constituted 1.3% of the overall dataset. The expectation maximization (EM) algorithm for imputing missing data, which is recommended as the best method for imputing missing data (Gold & Bentler, 2000), was used to replace the missing values. The competition (personal), envy (personal and societal), contempt (personal), active harm (personal) and passive harm (personal) subscales demonstrated strong positive skewness; however, transformations were unable to achieve normality among these subscales and so it was decided that the analyses would proceed with all data untransformed. It should be noted that, transformed data were used and analysed in Chapter 2. In the present study, however, transformed data did not reduce the non-normal distributions, thus, using untransformed data was considered most appropriate. Wilson (2007) argues that transformations are problematic as they introduce additional biases; however, when data are non-normal, significance tests should be interpreted cautiously. Two outliers, who were above three standard deviations from the mean on most personal scales, were removed from the analyses (Osborne & Overbay, 2004). Overall results, including mean scores and correlations are summarised first, followed by a separate analysis examining subgroup differences for those who completed the study about one of the gay men subgroups ( $n = 248$ ) and those who completed it about a lesbian woman subgroup ( $n = 196$ ).

**7.1 Descriptives and Correlations.** Descriptive statistics were performed on the societal perspective and personal perspective SCM and BIAS Map subscale scores and are presented in Tables 3-2 to 3-5. Relative positionings of the subgroups on a SCM map, based on their warmth and competence ratings, can be found in Figure 3-1. Warmth and competence scores fell above or around the subscale's midpoint, suggesting neutral-to-positive attitudes towards the gay men and lesbian women subgroups. Scores on the status subscale also fell above the midpoint, while envy scores fell below the midpoint for all groups. Most subscale scores, including competition, admiration, pity, and passive and active facilitation, fell around the midpoint of possible scores. Contempt subscale scores exceed the midpoint for societal ratings but fell below for personal ratings. Likewise, ratings on both active and passive harm subscales fell below the midpoint from a personal perspective, but exceeded the midpoint based on perceived societal behaviours.

Given the seemingly disparate findings between societal and personal subscale scores, paired-samples *t*-tests were conducted to determine if there were significant differences between the two types of scores. The analysis revealed that all societal subscale scores, with the exception of scores on the facilitation subscales, were significantly more negative than their personal

perspective counterpart scores ( $p < .001$ ). This finding suggests that participants perceive societal attitudes towards the subgroups of gay men and lesbian women as being more negative than their own; however, they believe that both society and themselves engage in similar levels of helping behaviours towards the subgroups.

Intercorrelations between the scales were also calculated for each subgroup and are presented in Tables 3-6 to 3-19. Many of the scales were significantly correlated at a medium-to-high level (Cohen, 1988). Generally, warmth and competence were highly, positively correlated with one another. As expected, perceived status was correlated with perceived competence; however, competition often failed to correlate with warmth. Admiration tended to correlate positively with warmth and competence, as well as the helping behaviours, while contempt tended to be negatively correlated with warmth and competence but be positively correlated with the harm behaviours. Generally, pity and envy failed to correlate with warmth and competence; however, for many of the personal perspective intercorrelations, pity was found to correlate positively with competence, implying that as participants perceived the subgroups as more competent, they were also viewed with greater pity. The facilitation behaviours were often found to correlate with warmth and competence; however, the harm behaviours often failed to reach significance in their relationship with warmth and competence.

**7.2 Gay Men Subgroups.** For a summary of results for the analyses of gay men subgroups, please see Table 3-20.

**7.2.1 SCM Scale (cognitive).** Within each subgroup, paired-samples *t*-tests were conducted to determine if warmth and competence scores differed and to estimate their positioning in the warmth and competence two-dimensional space. The Closeted, Feminine, and Flamboyant gay men subgroups were perceived as significantly more warm than competent ( $p < .05$ ), while no differences ( $p > .05$ ) were found between warmth and competence for the Drag Queen subgroup. The findings provide support for Hypothesis 1 for all subgroups except the Closeted subgroup who, instead of being rated high in competence and low in warmth, was rated similarly to the more feminine-oriented gay subgroups.

While SCM scores are traditionally subjected to cluster analysis (Fiske et al., 2002), this statistical test was deemed inappropriate in the present study due to the small number of groups. Therefore, a 4 (subgroup type) x 2 (presence or absence of photographs) MANOVA was conducted to assess whether evaluations of competence and warmth differed by subgroup and

whether the presentation of photographs altered these evaluations. The multivariate analysis using the responses based on perceived societal perspectives revealed a statistically significant effect of subgroup based on the Wilks' lambda statistic,  $F(6, 478) = 6.95, p < .001, \eta^2 = .08$ . The univariate analysis showed a significant main effect of subgroup for both competence,  $F(3, 240) = 4.52, p = .004, \eta^2 = .05$ , and warmth,  $F(3, 240) = 12.57, p < .001, \eta^2 = .14$ . A Tukey post hoc test was conducted to identify differences across subgroups. The post hoc comparisons revealed that Drag Queen gay men were as rated as significantly less competent than Closeted gay men,  $p = .002$ . Drag Queen gay men also were rated as less warm than all the other gay men subgroups,  $p < .001$ . The MANOVA analysing the personal responses was also statistically significant based on the Wilks' lambda statistic,  $F(6, 478) = 2.44, p = .024, \eta^2 = .03$ . The univariate analysis showed a significant main effect of subgroup for warmth,  $F(3, 240) = 3.29, p = .022, \eta^2 = .04$ . Tukey post hoc analyses revealed that Drag Queen gay men were perceived as significantly less warm as compared to Closeted gay men ( $p = .046$ ) and Flamboyant gay men ( $p = .036$ ).

Additionally, two 4 (subgroup) x 2 (presence or absence of photograph) ANOVAs were conducted to assess differences in status and competition subscale scores. The ANOVA showed a significant effect of subgroup for status scores,  $F(3, 240) = 16.99, p < .001, \eta^2 = .18$ . Tukey post hoc tests revealed that Drag Queen gay men were rated as having lower status than Closeted ( $p < .001$ ), Feminine ( $p < .001$ ), and Flamboyant ( $p = .013$ ) gay men. Flamboyant gay men were also perceived as having lower status than Closeted gay men ( $p = .001$ ), who were rated highest in status. There were no significant differences in scores on the competition subscale.

**7.2.2 SCM Scale (affective).** Due to the low correlations between scores on the separate SCM Scale (affective) subscales, 4 (subgroup) x 2 (presence of absence of photograph) ANOVAs were conducted separately for each subscale. For the societal analyses, no significant differences were found on admiration or envy; however, the ANOVA for pity showed a significant main effect of subgroup,  $F(3, 240) = 7.85, p < .001, \eta^2 = .09$ . Tukey post hoc comparisons indicated that Closeted gay men are believed to be significantly more pitied by society than Drag Queen ( $p < .001$ ), Feminine ( $p < .001$ ), and Flamboyant ( $p = .001$ ) gay men. The societal perspective ANOVA also revealed a significant main effect of subgroup for contempt scores,  $F(3, 240) = 3.16, p = .026, \eta^2 = .04$ . The Tukey post hoc analysis indicated that Drag Queen gay men are thought to be viewed by society with significantly more contempt than Closeted ( $p = .040$ ) and Feminine ( $p = .041$ ) gay men.

The personal ANOVAs revealed no significant differences by subgroup or presence/absence of photograph for the admiration or envy subscales. The ANOVA on pity subscale scores showed a significant effect of subgroup,  $F(3, 240) = 3.95, p = .009, \eta^2 = .05$ , with Tukey post hoc comparisons revealing that Closeted ( $p = .011$ ) and Flamboyant ( $p = .022$ ) gay men were pitied significantly more than Drag Queen gay men. The ANOVA of contempt scores showed a significant interaction of subgroup and photograph,  $F(3, 240) = 3.62, p = .014, \eta^2 = .04$ . The main effects of subgroup and photograph were not significant. To further explore the interaction effect, one-way ANOVAs were performed separately for each subgroup. The analyses revealed that personal contempt scores were different for the Flamboyant gay man subgroup depending on whether a photograph was shown or not,  $F(1, 54) = 6.29, p = .015, \eta^2 = .09$ . Contempt was significantly higher for the Flamboyant gay man subgroup when a photograph was shown ( $M = 3.14; SD = 1.44$ ) than when a photograph was not shown ( $M = 2.44; SD = .712$ ). Also, Closeted gay men were rated with significantly less contempt when a photograph was presented ( $M = 2.52; SD = .935$ ) compared to when a photograph was not presented ( $M = 3.22; SD = 1.52$ ),  $F(1, 52) = 4.70, p = .035, \eta^2 = .07$ . Hypothesis 5, which predicted that photographs would improve ratings, was supported, in this case, for Closeted gay men, but went in the reverse direction for Flamboyant gay men. These results should be interpreted cautiously due to the non-normal distribution of personal contempt scores.

Overall, hypothesis 1, which predicted that the affective reactions would map on to the cognitive component SCM scores was partially supported. The hypothesis predicted that Closeted gay men would be envied; however, as it was found that they were actually perceived to be higher in warmth than competence, the finding that they received high pity scores is expected. As expected based on their low warmth and low competence scores, Drag Queen gay men were rated as most likely to be viewed with contempt.

**7.2.3 BIAS Map Scale.** Upon examining the correlations between the BIAS Map subscales, separate analyses were conducted for the harm and facilitation subscales as there were no significant correlations between those subscales. Separate analyses were also conducted for the societal and personal responses. The facilitation MANOVA for the societal scores yielded a significant Box's M statistic, so Pillai's Trace was interpreted and found to be significant for subgroup,  $F(6, 480) = 3.95, p = .001, \eta^2 = .05$ . The univariate tests showed significant main effects of subgroup for both active,  $F(3, 240) = 4.61, p = .004, \eta^2 = .05$ , and passive facilitation,

$F(3, 240) = 7.12, p < .001, \eta^2 = .08$ . Tukey post hoc comparisons revealed that Drag Queen gay men were thought to be targets of less AF than Closeted ( $p = .004$ ), Feminine ( $p = .021$ ), and Flamboyant ( $p = .042$ ) gay men, and less PF than those groups as well, ( $ps = .004, < .001, .014$ , respectively). The harm MANOVA based on societal scores was also found to be significant for subgroup based on the Wilks' lambda statistic,  $F(6, 478) = 2.34, p = .031, \eta^2 = .03$ . The univariate analysis showed a main effect of subgroup for PH only,  $F(3, 240) = 3.98, p = .009, \eta^2 = .05$ . The Tukey post hoc tests showed that members of the Drag Queen subgroup are believed to be the recipients of more PH from society than the Closeted ( $p = .025$ ) and Feminine ( $p = .024$ ) gay men subgroups.

The MANOVA of the personal perspective scores was not significant for the harm subscales. However, the MANOVA for the facilitation subscales was found to be statistically significant for subgroup based on the Wilks' lambda statistic,  $F(6, 478) = 5.55, p < .001, \eta^2 = .07$ . univariate analyses were significant for both active,  $F(3, 240) = 7.40, p < .001, \eta^2 = .09$ , and passive facilitation,  $F(3, 240) = 10.94, p < .001, \eta^2 = .12$ . Tukey post hoc comparisons revealed that participants are significantly less likely to provide AF or PF to Drag Queen gay men as compared to Feminine ( $p = .019$  and  $p < .001$ , respectively), Closeted ( $p = .001$  and  $p < .001$ , respectively), and Flamboyant ( $p < .001$  for active and passive facilitation) subgroups.

Again, hypothesis 1 was largely supported in that the Drag Queen gay subgroup was most likely to be targets of PH behaviours and less likely to receive any type of facilitation. This corresponds to their positioning in the most denigrated, low competence and low warmth quadrant of an SCM map. Notably, the SCM theory would also predict that those who are rated low in competence and high in warmth, as the other gay men subgroups were, would also be targets of PH. However, they received lower PH ratings than did the Drag Queen gay man subgroup. Also not in line with hypothesis 1, Drag Queen gay men were not found to be targets of significantly more AH than the other subgroups.

**7.2.4 Mediation analyses.** To assess the hypothesised relationship between the participants' cognitions, emotions, and behaviours evoked by the gay men subgroups, mediation analyses were conducted. See Figure 3-2 for a depiction of the mediation analysis model between warmth and AF. All other mediation models follow the same pattern, with different cognitive, emotional, and behavioural components (refer to Tables 3-21 to 3-36 for the SCM emotions that correspond to each BIAS Map behaviour). A separate analysis for each BIAS Map

behaviour was conducted for each subgroup. Separate analyses were also conducted for the societal and personal ratings. To mitigate the effects of data normality violations, the analyses were conducted using bootstrapping (Preacher & Hayes, 2004), which has been found to be more robust to violations of distributional assumptions (Yuan & MacKinnon, 2014). Using the bootstrapping method, the confidence intervals are examined. If zero is not in the interval then the indirect effect is different from zero, and mediation has occurred (Preachers & Hayes, 2004).

The AF mediation analyses for the gay men subgroups (see Tables 3-21 to 3-24) revealed that admiration mediated the competence-AF and warmth-AF relationships from a societal perspective for all subgroups, with the exception of the competence-AF relationship for Drag Queen gay men. Participants believed that when society views gay men as highly competent and warm, they are admired, and admiration is associated with active helping behaviours. These relationships were also significant from the personal perspective for the Drag Queen and Flamboyant subgroups. Pity emerged as a significant mediator only for the competence-AF and warmth-AF relationships from a personal perspective for Flamboyant gay men. That is, as Flamboyant gay men are perceived as more competent and warm, they evoke greater pity responses, and are more actively helped. For PF (see Tables 3-25 to 3-28), admiration mediated the competence-PF and warmth-PF relationships from both a personal and societal perspective for the all subgroups, except Feminine gay men, for whom admiration did not mediate the warmth-PF relationship from a societal perspective.

The analyses for PH (see Tables 3-29 to 3-32) showed that contempt mediated the competence-PH relationship from a personal and societal perspective for the Feminine gay men subgroup and from a societal perspective for the Drag Queen subgroup. Contempt also mediated the warmth-PH relationship for the Drag Queen subgroup from a societal perspective and for the Feminine subgroup from participants' personal perspective. That is, as these subgroups are viewed as less competent or warm, they are viewed with more contempt, and are victims of more PH behaviours. Pity was found to mediate the competence-PH and warmth-PH relationships from a personal perspective for Drag Queen gay men. As participants perceived Drag Queen gay men as more competent and warm, they were more likely to pity them, and were more likely to engage in PH behaviours. The AH analyses show that contempt mediated the competence-AH relationship for the Drag Queen and Feminine subgroups from a societal perspective, and for the Feminine subgroup from the personal perspective as well. Contempt mediated the warmth-AH



relationship from a societal perspective for Drag Queen gay men and from a personal perspective for Feminine gay men (more details of these analyses can be found in Tables 3-33 to 3-36). Overall, support for hypothesis 6 is mixed, with some emotions mediating some stereotype-behavioural relationships for some subgroups. Notably, envy did not mediate any of the cognitive-behavioural relationships, pity mediated relationships from a personal perspective for the Flamboyant and Drag Queen subgroups, and contempt acted as a mediator for only the Drag Queen and Feminine subgroups.

**7.2.5 Adjective, emotion, and behaviour checklists.** The frequency of selection of adjectives, emotions, and behaviours from the checklists are summarised in Tables 3-37 to 3-42. Only items that were selected by at least five participants are included in the tables. A summary table of the top five adjectives for each subgroup is presented in Table 3-43. An examination of the frequencies revealed that descriptors such as “abnormal,” “different,” “fashionable,” and “friendly” were commonly ascribed to all subgroups when participants’ considered how society would perceive the subgroups. Some overlap existed from a personal perspective as well, with “fashionable” and “friendly” emerging as highly selected adjectives. However, the frequencies of selected emotion and behaviour words showed differences between words chosen for the societal and personal perspectives. Emotional reactions such as “confusion,” “discomfort,” and “disgust” and behavioural reactions including “avoid,” “criticize,” “ignore,” and “judge” were highly selected from a societal perspective, while emotion words such as “acceptance,” “respect,” and “friendliness” and behaviour words such as “accept,” “advocate for,” and “tolerate” were commonly selected from a personal perspective.

To prepare the data for the comparative analyses, the adjective, emotion, and behaviour words were categorised as positive, negative, or neutral by 98 students in a second-year undergraduate psychology course. During class time, students were provided with a package that included a consent form and instructions requesting that they rate the attached list of 100 adjectives, 60 emotions, and 60 behaviours on a scale from -4 (negative) to +4 (positive). Each participant was instructed to rate the words in relation to one of the gay or lesbian subgroups, and half the participants were presented with the photograph representing the subgroup. The ratings were averaged for each subgroup and photograph combination and the words were then coded as

positive if the average rating was +1 or higher, negative if the average rating was -1 or lower, or neutral if the ratings were between +1 and -1.

Mean ratings were then calculated for each participant in the main study based on the pilot participants' valences. A sum based on the valence scores of the words they selected was calculated and then, to create an average, the sum was divided by the total number of words they endorsed for the subgroup. See Table 3-44 for average valence ratings across the adjectives, emotions, and behaviours for each subgroup. With the exception of the Closeted subgroup, all means for the description words exceeded 0, suggesting positive views of the gay men subgroups. Similarly, the means for the emotional and behavioural reaction selections from the personal perspective were also all positive. However, the emotional and behavioural reactions from a societal perspective were below zero, suggesting that participants expect gay men subgroups to evoke negative feelings and to elicit negative behaviours from society. Paired samples *t*-tests showed that, for adjectives [ $t(244) = -12.76, p < .001, \eta^2 = .07$ ], emotions [ $t(233) = -12.47, p < .001, \eta^2 = .09$ ], and behaviours [ $t(228) = -14.87, p < .001, \eta^2 = .10$ ], societal perspective ratings were more negative than personal perspective ratings.

Six 4 (subgroup) X 2 (presence of absence of photograph) ANOVAs were conducted for the adjective, emotion, and behaviour selections to determine if the gay men subgroups are perceived differently from one another. Analyses were conducted separately for the selections made based on perceived societal ratings and personal ratings. The ANOVA for the adjectives from a societal perspective revealed a significant main effect of both subgroup,  $F(3, 238) = 14.12, p < .001, \eta^2 = .15$ , and the presence or absence of photographs,  $F(1, 238) = 5.32, p = .023, \eta^2 = .02$ . Tukey post hoc tests show that Closeted gay men ( $M = -.090; SD = .470$ ) were believed to be perceived significantly more negatively (based on the selected adjectives) by society than Drag Queen ( $M = .282; SD = .344$ ), Feminine ( $M = .287; SD = .340$ ), and Flamboyant gay men ( $M = .211; SD = .284$ ),  $p < .001$ . Subgroups that were paired with photographs ( $M = .233; SD = .395$ ) were rated significantly more positively than those without photographs ( $M = .123; SD = .386$ ).

The average adjective ratings from a personal perspective were negatively skewed. Transformations were applied but did not reduce the skewness, and so the analyses proceeded with the data untransformed. It should be noted that, due to using untransformed data, the results should be interpreted cautiously. The ANOVA revealed a main effect of subgroup,  $F(3, 237) =$

12.11,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .13$ . Tukey post hoc tests showed similar findings as the analysis with societal ratings. Closeted gay men ( $M = .186$ ;  $SD = .685$ ) were believed to be perceived significantly more negatively (based on the selected adjectives) by society than Drag Queen ( $M = .617$ ;  $SD = .448$ ), Feminine ( $M = .672$ ;  $SD = .445$ ), and Flamboyant gay men ( $M = .605$ ;  $SD = .422$ ),  $p < .001$ . No significant differences emerged between subgroups based on the presence of photographs for the ratings of emotions and behaviours, from either a societal or personal perspective. The adjective analyses do not support hypothesis 2, which predicted that Drag Queen gay men would be rated most negatively on the checklists. However, the societal adjective analysis provides support for hypothesis 5, which predicted that the presentation of photographs would result in more positive ratings.

**7.3 Lesbian Women Subgroups.** For a summary of results for the analyses of lesbian subgroups, please see Table 3-45.

**7.3.1 SCM Scale (cognitive).** Within each subgroup, paired-samples  $t$ -tests were conducted to determine if warmth and competence scores differed and to determine the subgroups' positioning in the warmth and competence two-dimensional space. In support of hypothesis 3, all three lesbian subgroups were perceived as significantly more competent than warm ( $p < .05$ ). To explore differences in warmth and competence scores across subgroups and to determine whether the presentation of photographs altered these evaluations, 3 (subgroup type)  $\times$  2 (presence or absence of photographs) MANOVAs were conducted. Both the societal and personal perspective analyses yielded non-significant multivariate scores for condition and photograph. Likewise, the ANOVA for the status subscale scores were not significant; however, the ANOVA for competition scores showed a significant interaction effect,  $F(1, 190) = 4.53$ ,  $p = .012$ ,  $\eta^2 = .05$ . One-way ANOVAs were performed for each subgroup, revealing that Butch lesbian women were rated as significantly more competitive when no photograph was presented ( $M = 6.41$ ;  $SD = 3.29$ ), as compared to when a photograph was shown ( $M = 4.47$ ;  $SD = 2.24$ ),  $F(1, 47) = 7.36$ ,  $p = .009$ ,  $\eta^2 = .13$ . These results should be interpreted cautiously because the competitive subscale was substantially skewed.

**7.3.2 SCM Scale (affective).** To assess differences on the SCM (affective) subscale scores, 3 (subgroup)  $\times$  2 (presence or absence of photograph) ANOVAs were conducted. For both the societal or personal analyses, no significant differences based on subgroup or photograph presentation were found for any of the subscales. As no differences between the

groups on these scores would be expected based on hypothesis 3 (i.e., that all lesbian subgroups would be high in competence and low in warmth), the hypothesis was evaluated by examining the mean subscale scores. Based on the SCM theory, those who are rated high in competence and low in warmth should be envied. However, all envy scores fell well below the midpoint, which would suggest this hypothesis is not supported.

**7.3.3 Bias Map Scale.** Separate 3 (subgroup) x 2 (presence or absence of photograph) MANOVAs were conducted for the harm and facilitation subscales and for the societal and personal responses. All the analyses revealed non-significant multivariate scores for subgroup and photograph. Again, as no differences between the groups on the BIAS Map scores would be expected based on hypothesis 3, the mean subscale scores were examined. Social groups who are rated high in competence and low in warmth should be targets of PF and AH. Across the lesbian subgroups, PF and AH scores fell below the midpoint, providing no support for the behavioural component of hypothesis 3.

**7.3.4 Mediation analyses.** Separate mediation analyses were conducted for each BIAS Map subscale across the three lesbian subgroups to assess the hypothesised relationship between the participants' cognitions, emotions, and behaviours. Separate analyses also were conducted for the societal and personal ratings. The analyses for AF (see Tables 3-46 to 3-48) revealed that admiration mediated the competence-AF and warmth-AF relationships for the Tomboy and Butch subgroups from a societal perspective, as well as for the Butch subgroup from a personal perspective. The warmth-AF relationship was also mediated from a social perspective for the Feminist subgroup. Pity was only found to mediate the competence-AF relationship from a personal perspective for the Tomboy subgroup. As Tomboy lesbian women were perceived as more competent, they evoked more pity, and received more active helping behaviours. The PF analyses (see Tables 3-49 to 3-51) showed that admiration mediated the competence-PF and warmth-PF relationships for all three lesbian subgroups from the societal perspective, and from the personal perspective for the Butch and Tomboy subgroups. Admiration also mediated the competence-PF relationship from the personal perspective for the Feminist subgroup. Additionally, envy was found to mediate the societal competence-PF and warmth-PF for the Feminist subgroup. As Feminist lesbian women were perceived to be more warm and competent by society, they were perceived as evoking more envy, and would receive fewer passive helping behaviours. For all significant AF and PF relationships mediated by admiration, the more warm

and competent the subgroups were perceived, the more they were admired, which was associated with more helping behaviours. In the active (see Tables 3-52 to 3-54) and passive harm (see Tables 3-55 to 3-57) analyses, contempt mediated the cognitive-behavioural relationships from a societal perspective for Butch lesbian women. Contempt also mediated the warmth-AH and warmth-PH relationships from the societal perspective for Tomboy lesbian women. Participants believed that as these subgroups were perceived as less warm (and competent in the case of Butch lesbian women), they were viewed with more contempt, and would then be subjected to more harm behaviours from society. Envy was found to mediate the warmth-AH relationship from a societal perspective for Butch lesbian women. As Butch lesbian women are thought to be viewed by society as more warm, they are believed to evoke greater envy responses, and would elicit more AH behaviours. Support for hypothesis 6 for the lesbian subgroups was mixed. Pity and envy failed to mediate many of the stereotype-behavioural relationship and none of the hypothesised relationships for harm behaviours or any of the behaviours from a personal perspective emerged for Feminist lesbian women.

**7.3.5 Adjective, emotion, and behaviour checklists.** The frequency of selection of adjectives, emotions, and behaviours from the checklists for the lesbian subgroups are summarised in Tables 3-58 to 3-63, and a summary of the top five adjectives for each lesbian subgroup is presented in Table 3-64. Similar adjectives, emotions, and behaviours emerged from the societal perspective for lesbian women as for gay men, with adjectives such as “aggressive,” “different,” and “opinionated,” emotions such as “confusion,” “discomfort,” and “disgust,” and behaviours such as “avoid,” “criticize,” “discriminate against,” and “judge” emerging as commonly selected words. As with the gay men subgroups, there was some overlap in the adjectives selected from the personal perspective, with “independent,” “different,” and “opinionated” emerging as commonly selected adjectives across the subgroups. However, contrary to the common personal perspective emotions and behaviours selected for gay men, which were almost all positive, several of the most endorsed words for the lesbian subgroups from the personal perspective were negative. For instance, “discomfort” and “unease” were commonly selected emotion words and “avoid” and “ignore” received comparatively high endorsement rates for behaviour words.

The analysis of the adjective, emotion, and behaviours checklists for the lesbian subgroups was identical to the process for the gay men subgroups. Using the valence ratings

from the 98 undergraduate student ratings, overall positive/negative scores were calculated. See Table 3-65 for mean scores across the adjectives, emotions, and behaviours for the lesbian subgroups. The adjective ratings from a societal perspective hovered around 0, while the personal perspective ratings fell within the positive range. From the societal perspective, the emotional and behavioural ratings were negative, while the personal perspective scores hovered around the neutral midpoint. As with the gay men subgroups, paired samples *t*-tests showed that for adjectives [ $t(191) = -12.04, p < .001, \eta^2 = .08$ ], emotions [ $t(184) = -6.58, p < .001, \eta^2 = .09$ ], and behaviours [ $t(181) = -9.95, p < .001, \eta^2 = .09$ ], societal perspective ratings were more negative than personal perspective ratings for the lesbian subgroups.

The ANOVA of the selection of adjectives from a societal perspective showed a significant main effect of subgroup,  $F(2, 189) = 3.63, p = .028, \eta^2 = .04$ . Tukey post hoc tests showed that Feminist lesbian women ( $M = -.069; SD = .388$ ) were believed to be characterised by society significantly more negatively than Tomboy lesbian women ( $M = .140; SD = .420$ ),  $p = .011$ . No significant differences were found by subgroup or presence of a photograph for the selection of personal adjectives. The analysis of societal emotion selections revealed a main effect of photograph,  $F(1, 189) = 4.86, p = .029, \eta^2 = .03$ , such that subgroups that were paired with photographs ( $M = -.213; SD = .491$ ) were perceived to evoke significantly more positive emotions amongst society than those without photographs ( $M = -.384; SD = .532$ ). No significant differences emerged in the analysis of personal emotion selections, nor for either analysis of the behavioural reactions toward lesbian subgroups. Hypothesis 4, which predicted that Butch lesbian would be rated most negatively, was not supported. The Feminist lesbian subgroup was rated most negatively on the societal adjective checklist. The analysis of the societal emotion checklist provided some support for hypothesis 5, which predicted that the presentation of photographs would improve attitudes.

## **8. Discussion**

The current study examined attitudes towards four subgroups of gay men and three subgroups of lesbian women. A tripartite approach to attitudinal assessment was employed in which cognitive beliefs, affective reactions, and behavioural responses were considered. Six broad hypotheses were proposed in relation to the study. Hypothesis 1 predicted gay men's scores on the SCM and BIAS Map. Specifically, it predicted that the Closeted subgroup would be rated higher in competence than warmth, the Feminine and Flamboyant subgroups would be

rated higher in warmth than competence, and the Drag Queen subgroup would be rated lower in both warmth and competence. It was anticipated that their affective and behavioural component scores would align with their warmth and competence scores based on SCM theory (Cuddy et al., 2007). For the SCM (cognitive component), the hypothesis was supported for the Feminine, Flamboyant, and Drag Queen subgroups. However, the Closeted subgroup was rated similarly to the Feminine and Flamboyant subgroups (i.e., higher in warmth than competence). Closeted gay men were also rated significantly higher on the pity subscale, which is consistent with their LC-HW ratings, and were evaluated the most negatively when considering selections of adjectives from the adjective checklist.

Very little is currently known about attitudes towards closeted gay men. While numerous studies exist exploring the experiences and mental health of closeted gay men, no studies to date examine perceptions towards this subgroup. “In the closet” was a subgroup examined by Clausell and Fiske (2005) who found, contrary to the present study, that they were evaluated as high in competence and low in warmth. However, perceptions toward closeted gay men was not a focus of their study and no additional perceptions related to this subgroup were explored. An examination of the adjectives that were either very highly endorsed or received low endorsement relative to the other gay men subgroups provide some initial insight into the content of attitudes toward closeted gay men. Closeted gay men appeared to be disproportionately rated as “ashamed,” “insecure,” “lonely,” “reserved,” and “sad,” and were rated lower on valued adjectives such as “happy,” “honest,” “independent,” and “individualistic.” Based on these characterisations, it is not surprising that Closeted gay men were viewed with more pity and received the lowest adjective ratings. However, future research should explore attitudes towards closeted gay men. A follow-up qualitative study, paired with an initial adjective checklist, may provide a good launching point to understanding the complexity of heterosexual individuals’ attitudes towards closeted gay men. Participants could explain the justification for their ratings and provide in-depth insight as to how they identify perceived closeted gay men, how their attitudes towards them developed, and more details around the content of their attitudes. Alternatively, an experimental vignette study may assist in determining if there are certain factors (e.g., reason for being closeted, characteristics that would make people suspect the target is a closeted gay man) that relate to differences in attitudes towards closeted gay men.

While Closeted gay men received the most negative adjective ratings, it was the Drag Queen subgroup that was rated lowest on warmth and competence, perceived as having the lowest status, elicited the most contempt, was most likely to be targets of PH, and least likely to receive helping behaviours. These findings are consistent with hypotheses predicting that the subgroup that was most gender-atypical in their characteristics would be rated least favourably. A number of studies (e.g., Cohen, Hall, & Tuttle, 2009; Glick et al., 2007) have found that feminine gay men are perceived more negatively than masculine gay men. At the extreme, Germann (2016) notes that drag queens, as the embodiment of gender-violation, incite violence and hate. They challenge gender binaries that many people hold as integral to their world view (Germann, 2016).

Hypothesis 3, which predicted that the lesbian subgroups would be rated higher on competence than warmth, was supported. In line with SCM and BIAS map theories (Cuddy et al., 2007; Fiske et al., 2002), these groups should elicit envy, and be targets of PF and AH. However, scores on these subscales were below the midpoint for all three subgroups. This finding suggests that their scores on the cognitive component of the SCM do not necessarily correspond to their affective or behavioural component scores. In fact, in the mediation models, envy mediated only three of the stereotype-behaviour relationships across all the lesbian subgroups. These results imply that the relationship between the cognitive beliefs about the subgroups (i.e., how warm or competent they are) and the subsequent behaviours that are exhibited (i.e., passive and active facilitation and harm) are not often influenced by the emotional responses, which individuals may feel towards members of the lesbian subgroups.

Hypothesis 4, which predicted that Butch lesbian women would be rated most negatively on the checklists, was not supported. No differences were found between any of the subgroups on the emotion and behaviour checklists or the personal adjective checklists. No differences were found across any of the SCM or BIAS Map scales either. McCutcheon and Morrison (2018a) acknowledged the conceptual similarities across the three lesbian subgroups that were generated in their study and highlighted the issue with no feminine-oriented lesbian woman being identified. They note that lesbian women who display more feminine appearance characteristics are often invisible or are perceived to not be “true” lesbians. As such, it is not surprising that the three lesbian subgroups that were evaluated in the present study were largely perceived similarly.



Notably, Feminist lesbian women were rated most negatively on the societal adjective checklist as compared to Tomboy lesbian women. Upon an examination of the adjectives that were selected for each subgroup, Feminist lesbian women were rated higher on negatively-perceived traits such as “attention-seeking,” “egotistical,” “weak,” and “whiny.” The results suggest that negative attitudes towards feminist women exceed those towards women who violate their socially assigned gender roles. Jenen, Winquist, Arkkelin, and Schuster (2009) investigated attitudes towards feminism among 68 American participants using an Implicit Association Test. They found that feminism was more strongly associated with negative words than positive words. The adjective checklist selections in the present study echo these findings explicitly.

Hypothesis 5, which predicted that the presentation of photographs would result in more positive ratings, was only marginally supported. In several cases, the presentation of a photograph did not affect ratings in either the positive or negative direction. However, personal contempt scores were found to be impacted by the presentation of photographs for Flamboyant and Closeted gay men. Personal contempt increased for Flamboyant gay men when a photograph was shown but decreased when a photograph was presented for Closeted gay men. Possibly the gender role violations of Flamboyant gay men became more salient when the photograph was presented, while the image of a masculine-appearing gay man for Closeted gay men elicited less contempt because he was perceived as adhering to socially assigned gender role expectations. Unfortunately, Mitchell and Ellis (2011), who theorised that their video stimulus of gay men playing a word game may have resulted in more positive evaluations than if participants had evaluated a hypothetical gay man, provided no information about the gender role appearance characteristics of the gay men in their video. Another unclear finding related to the presentation of photographs is that Butch lesbian women were rated as less competitive when a photograph was shown. Future research will need to identify the appearance variables that are related to perceived competitiveness.

In line with Hypothesis 5, subgroups that were paired with a photograph were rated more positively on the societal adjective checklist for the gay men subgroups and the societal emotion checklist for the lesbian women subgroups. Again, given the inconsistency of this effect, it is suggested that future research continue to explore the effect of photographs. In future studies, researchers should consider having couples that are representative of the subgroups to ensure that

the sexual orientation of the individuals is salient. It is possible that, by having photographs of men or woman by themselves, participants were thinking about them as heterosexual by default. However, if photographs of couples are used, researchers will have to be mindful of the potential interaction effect based on the perceived subgroup of each partner. Researchers could also consider employing Mitchell and Ellis' (2011) strategy of using video clips when assessing attitudes towards the subgroups. In future studies using visual stimuli when assessing subgroup attitudes, researchers should add a question verifying the effectiveness of their stimuli. It is possible that some participants in the present study would not have categorised the selected photographs into the subgroups they were assigned based on the pilot study.

The final hypothesis related to the theoretical relationships between the SCM stereotypes, affect, and the BIAS Map behaviours. Cuddy et al. (2007) theorised that emotions would be more strongly related to the behaviours than stereotypes and that the emotions would mediate the relationship between the stereotypes and behaviour components. In most cases, this hypothesis was not supported. Emotional or affective reactions such as envy and pity were often not correlated with warmth or competence. Further, the affective components often failed to mediate the relationship between stereotypes and behaviours. For instance, envy was never found to be a significant mediator for any of the gay men subgroups, and pity was only a significant mediator in a few cases from the personal perspective. Moreover, there were some contrary findings. For instance, from the personal perspective, in many cases (i.e., all subgroups except Closeted gay men), greater competence was associated with increased pity. The proposed SCM/BIAS Map relationship (Cuddy et al., 2007) would predict that *low* competence should result in pity. Researchers will need to explore this relationship among competence and pity in future studies to fully understand why increased competence results in *more* pity for several sexual minority subgroups.

Contempt was found to act as a mediator for some of the subgroups, particularly the Feminine and Drag Queen gay men subgroups and the Tomboy and Butch lesbian subgroups. For these relationships, as the subgroups are viewed as less competent or warm, they are viewed with more contempt, and are subjected to more harm behaviours. Admiration was the most effective of the four affect mediator variables. It was found to mediate the relationship between societal cognitive-AF for all gay and lesbian subgroups (except the competence-AF relationship for the Drag Queen and Feminist subgroups). From the personal perspective, admiration

mediated the cognitive-AF relationships for the Drag Queen, Flamboyant, and Butch subgroups. It also mediated almost all of the cognitive-PF relationships from both the personal and societal perspective (except the societal warmth-PF relationship for Feminine gay men and the personal warmth-PF relationship for Feminist lesbian women). These findings suggest that as people believe some of the gay men and lesbian women subgroups are more warm and/or competent, they are more likely to admire them, and are then more likely to perform helping behaviours. Future research should further explore these relationships across the subgroups as it is not clear why the relationship would exist for some subgroups and not others. In particular, researchers should consider why the hypothesised relationships were not often significant for Closeted and Feminist subgroups, and why envy and pity were generally not good mediating variables.

These findings raise some concerns about the theoretical model upon which the SCM and the BIAS Map are predicated, as well as their effectiveness for evaluating attitudes towards sexual minority groups. The associations between the stereotypes, affect, and behaviours were rarely found to be significant and competition was not found to relate to warmth as is proposed in the SCM theory. The latter finding is consistent with past studies (e.g., Clausell & Fiske, 2005; Brambilla et al., 2011). Brambilla et al. (2011) suggest that competition may not be a valuable predictor for social groups who are primarily defined by their sexual orientation as competition is typically evaluated based on economic success. Additionally, some of the subscales, such as contempt and pity were found to have questionable reliability coefficients.

Another important finding regarding the SCM is that the adjective checklists did not correspond to the results of the SCM's warmth and competence subscales. The adjective checklist included 100 adjectives that were coded by almost 100 students as being positive, negative, or neutral. While Drag Queen gay men were rated most negatively on warmth and competence, it was Closeted gay men who were evaluated most negatively based on the adjective selections. Further, Feminist lesbian women were perceived as more negative than Tomboy lesbian women based on their adjective selections even though no subgroup differences emerged on the warmth and competence subscales. One should be cautious when making inferences from the results of the adjective checklists, however. For instance, even though Closeted gay men were perceived most negatively, many of the associated adjectives (e.g., sad, ashamed, insecure) were related to traits that likely result in pity instead of hatred. Indeed, Closeted gay men did receive higher pity ratings than the other gay men subgroups. This issue

underlines the importance of considering what stereotypes are most important when assessing attitudes towards marginalised social groups. While some researchers (e.g., Cuddy et al., 2007; Fiske et al., 2002) advocate for the importance of warmth and competence as being the basis of attitudes towards all social groups, the mediation analyses in the present study found that these two dimensions did not often predict harm behaviours. Ideally, attitudinal dimensions that directly relate to discriminatory behaviours exhibited towards sexual minority persons should be identified. Moving forward, researchers should attempt to discover the stereotypical beliefs or affective responses that predict harmful behaviours so that strides can be made in countering discrimination towards sexual minority groups.

As another means of validating the SCM and BIAS Map, the present study duplicated the scales so that they could be asked from a societal perspective, as is traditionally done, and from a personal perspective. It was found that for all subscales, except for active and passive facilitation, societal perspective scores were significantly more negative than personal scores. This pattern has been found in past studies. For example, Cretser, Lombardo, Lombardo, and Mathias (1982) found that undergraduate student participants were significantly more accepting of a man crying than they perceived society would be of this behaviour. Similarly, Brown and Messman-Moore (2010) found, when they collected personal and perceived peer attitudes on sexual aggression, that participants believed their peers to be more supportive of sexual aggression than themselves.

It is certainly possible that the differences in the results of past studies examining societal versus personal attitudes, as well as the results in the current study, reflect socially desirable responding. Indeed, that is the reason the SCM and BIAS Map were created to assess attitudes from a societal perspective. However, Brown and Messman-Moore (2010) argued that their findings demonstrated the presence of pluralistic ignorance, a phenomenon whereby people believe that their personal beliefs and attitudes are different from those held by others (Brown & Messman-Moore, 2010). Importantly, the researchers found that only perceived peer attitudes predicted participants' willingness to intervene in a sexual aggression incident. As examining the relationship between perceived societal attitudes and personal behaviours was not an objective of the present study, researchers should explore this relationship in future studies as it may have implications for interventions to reduce negative attitudes towards sexual minority groups.

Indeed, Brown and Messman-Moore (2010) suggest, based on their own findings, that it may be more important to target perceived societal norms than personal norms.

Overall, the findings provide support for examining attitudes towards gay men and lesbian women by considering possible subgroups that are perceived to exist within the population of interest. However, despite finding differences on some measures across the gay and lesbian subgroups, the neutral positioning of gay men and lesbian women in attitudinal studies is not fully explained, particularly in the case of lesbian women. It is possible that the negative attitudes towards Drag Queen gay men may be offsetting the comparatively more positive attitudes towards the other three subgroups (i.e., Closeted, Feminine, and Flamboyant). Researchers should investigate what subtypes of gay men are being considered when completing attitudinal scales and what subgroups are most likely to be targets of discriminatory actions. Together, this can help researchers gain an increased understanding of the driving force behind the conflicting findings between the two bodies of literature.

Conversely, for lesbian women, all three subgroups (i.e., Butch, Feminist, and Tomboy) were rated similarly on many of the scales, which explains very little about the contradictory findings for lesbian women. Researchers should delve further into the possible existence of an “invisible” feminine lesbian subgroup. If a manipulation could be created so that individuals acknowledge the existence of a traditionally feminine lesbian woman then attitudes towards that subgroup could be measured. If attitudes towards the feminine lesbian subgroup is different from those towards the three subgroups examined in the present study, the neutral rating of the superordinate lesbian category (Brambilla et al., 2011) may be explained. However, as evidenced by the lack of a feminine lesbian subgroup emerging in McCutcheon and Morrison’s (2018a) subgroup generation study, it is unlikely that this type of lesbian woman is being thought about when evaluating the overarching “lesbian woman” category. Additional research is needed to confirm the positioning of the generic “lesbian woman” category within a Canadian context and to explore how individuals’ are thinking about that label in attitudinal studies.

The next chapter examines attitudes towards the identified subgroups of gay men and lesbian women using the Go/No-go Association Task (GNAT; Nosek & Banaji, 2001), an implicit measure of the association between an attitudes object (e.g., subgroup of gay man or lesbian woman) and an evaluative pole (e.g., good or bad). Due to potential biases related to socially desirable responding, examining implicit attitudes, in conjunction with explicit attitudes

is recommended (Greenwald et al., 1998). Additionally, the relationship between implicit attitudes and explicit attitudes towards the subgroups will be explored, to either provide support or refute the findings from Chapter 3.

## CHAPTER 4: STUDY 4 (IMPLICIT ATTITUDES)

### Abstract

To increase understanding of attitudes towards a social group, both implicit and explicit attitudes should be examined. In the current study, both types of attitudes are assessed in relation to subgroups of gay men and lesbian women. Researchers have found that distinct subgroups are perceived to exist under the superordinate categories of “gay men” and “lesbian women”. Specifically, four subgroups of gay men (i.e., Closeted, Drag Queen, Feminine, and Flamboyant) and three subgroups of lesbian women (i.e., Butch, Feminist, and Tomboy) have been identified by a Canadian university sample. The current study examines attitudes towards these subgroups implicitly using the Go/No-go Association Task (GNAT) and explicitly using the Stereotype Content Model and BIAS Map. The results reveal that the Drag Queen subgroup is perceived most negatively among the gay men subgroups, and, among the lesbian subgroups, Feminist lesbian women were rated most negatively. Results on the GNAT did not show differences between the subgroups, nor did GNAT scores correlate with explicit attitudinal scores. Potential issues with the study design are discussed and avenues for future research addressing these issues are proposed.

## 1. Introduction

Researchers now recognise that two different types of attitudes exist (i.e., explicit and implicit; Greenwald & Banaji, 1995). Explicit attitudes reflect deliberate values and beliefs about the world. They are attitudes that are consciously known to an individual and, therefore, can be assessed through self-report measures. Conversely, individuals are not consciously aware of their implicit attitudes, which refer to traces of past experiences that mediate “feeling, thought, or action toward a social object” (Greenwald & Banaji, 1995, p. 8). Indirect attitudes are not consciously accessible and, as such, cannot be measured using conventional self-report measures. Therefore, to fully explore the attitudes toward any given social group, both implicit and explicit association measures should be employed. The purpose of the present study is to assess implicit associations toward subgroups of gay men and lesbian women to advance our understanding of how subgroups of sexual minorities are perceived.

The existence of sexual minority subgroups was posited by Clausell and Fiske (2005) to account for gay men’s neutral positioning on a map of the Stereotype Content Model (SCM; an attitudinal measure situating social groups on a two-dimensional grid based on perceived warmth and competence) scores. The researchers theorised that individuals may consider multiple “types” of gay men, some of which are perceived more positively and some of which are perceived more negatively. Different people may respond to questions or scales pertaining to the general category of “gay men” with different “types” in mind, resulting in the overall neutral positioning of gay men on the SCM. By assessing attitudes towards the superordinate category of “gay man,” the attitudes towards the distinct subgroups may be masked. Clausell and Fiske (2005) argue that it is critical to examine subgroups and to independently assess attitudes towards them.

Across two studies with American undergraduate students, Clausell and Fiske (2005) established 10 subgroups of gay men (i.e., in the closet, flamboyant, feminine, crossdresser, gay activist, hyper-masculine, body-conscious, artistic, leather/biker, straight acting) and positioned them on a SCM map. They found that most of the subgroups (i.e., body-conscious, straight acting, in the closet, artistic, hyper-masculine, and activist) were rated higher on competence but lower on warmth. Conversely, two of the subgroups (i.e., flamboyant, feminine) were rated lower on competence but higher on warmth, and two subgroups (i.e., leather/biker and crossdresser) were rated low on competence and warmth. Clausell and Fiske (2005) note that the



ratings of the 10 subgroups would average out and be reflected as an overall neutral position on the SCM map. Their findings provide support for theorising on distinct subgroups perceived to fall under the superordinate category of “gay men”.

Around the same time, Geiger et al. (2006) investigated the subtyping of lesbian women among an American undergraduate sample. Instead of using the SCM as a guiding framework and methodological approach, Geiger et al. (2006) adopted a cognitive perspective that contends individuals hold multiple stereotypes for a given social group (Brewer, Dull, & Lui, 1981; Hummert, 1990). Geiger et al. (2006) hypothesised that individuals possess both positive and negative subcategories of lesbian women. Across two studies, participants generated traits associated with lesbian women and then organised them into specific subgroups. As predicted by Geiger et al. (2006), the subgroups could be categorised into a positive cluster (i.e., lipstick lesbian, career-oriented feminist, soft-butch, and free-spirit) and negative cluster (i.e., hypersexual, sexually confused, sexually deviant, and angry butch).

Brambilla et al. (2011) also established subgroups of lesbian women and explored attitudes towards them. As with Clausell and Fiske (2005), the researchers used the SCM as a method of assessing attitudes. A sample of Italian undergraduate students generated four subgroups: out, closeted, butch, and feminine. Students were assigned to rate one of the four subgroups or the overarching category “lesbian woman”. As with the category “gay man”, the generic superordinate group (i.e., “lesbian woman”) fell within the neutral position found in the centre of an SCM map with the subgroups dispersed throughout the SCM space. The feminine and out lesbians fell in the most positive quadrant (high competence and high warmth), butch lesbians in the high competence-low warmth quadrant, and closeted lesbian women typifying low competence and low warmth.

More recently, McCutcheon and Morrison (2018a) conducted a subgroup generation study with Canadian university students. After an initial list of possible subgroups (i.e., 97 gay men and 69 lesbian women subgroups) was created, participants selected those they recognised as subgroups perceived to exist by society. Using a criterion that at least half the sample selected the subgroups, four subgroups of gay men (i.e., Closeted, Drag Queen, Feminine, and Flamboyant) and three subgroups of lesbian women (i.e., Butch, Feminist, and Tomboy) emerged. McCutcheon and Morrison (2018a) also presented the possible list of subgroups to a national sample of 100 members of the general population. They found the same seven

subgroups were recognised most commonly by participants, but only Drag Queen and Flamboyant (for gay men) and Butch (for lesbian women) reached the 50% criterion threshold.

In a separate study, McCutcheon and Morrison (2018b) assessed attitudes towards the seven gay and lesbian subgroups. To advance the use of the SCM in sexual minority subgroup studies, the researchers also employed the affective component of the SCM and the BIAS Map (Cuddy et al., 2007). The latter measures behavioural reactions toward social groups. Using the SCM, the researchers found that Drag Queen gay men were perceived significantly less warmly and as having lower status as compared to the other gay men subgroups, and were perceived as less competent than Closeted gay men. Drag Queen gay men also were considered to evoke greater contempt and PH behaviours than the Feminine and Closeted gay men subgroups, and were targets of less active and passive facilitation than all the subgroups. Closeted gay men were perceived to be most pitied. Interestingly, when the researchers used an adjective checklist as a measure of attitudes, the Closeted gay man subgroup was rated more negatively than Drag Queen, Feminine, and Flamboyant groups. SCM and BIAS Map scores did not differ across the lesbian categories. However, based on selections on an adjective checklist, Feminist lesbian women were rated significantly more negatively than Tomboy lesbian women.

Implicit attitudes towards the seven subgroups established by McCutcheon and Morrison (2018a) will be explored in the current study. These subgroups were generated within a Canadian context and, arguably, they employed the most rigorous methods for subgroup generation published to date. For instance, they used recognition instead of recall as a method for the selection of subgroups. This ensured their subgroups would not be limited by participants' recall ability at the time of the study. Further, they used a general population sample to support the findings from their undergraduate sample. While McCutcheon and Morrison (2018b) assessed explicit attitudes towards the subgroups, no study has yet to examine implicit attitudes towards the subgroups perceived to comprise the superordinate categories "gay men" and "lesbian women." It is beneficial to use an implicit measure to assess attitudes in case participants respond to an explicit measure in a socially desirably fashion. This is a particularly concerning issue when assessing attitudes towards social groups. Greenwald et al. (1998) argue that implicit measures may be resistant to the self-presentational forces that can obscure responses to socially undesirable associations.

A number of tests have been developed in an attempt to accurately assess implicit attitudes. A common implicit measure is the Implicit Association Test (IAT; Greenwald et al., 1998). An IAT requires that participants rapidly categorise items into given classifications. Greenwald et al. (1998) argue that when highly associated categorisations (e.g., flower and good) share the same response key on a computer keyboard, performance will be faster than when less associated pairings (e.g., insect and good) share the same response key. The IAT has been used to measure implicit attitudes towards many different social groups (e.g., racial groups, gender categories; Greenwald, Poehlman, Uhlmann, & Banaji, 2009). However, a limitation of the IAT is that it requires two contrasting attitude objects (e.g., women vs. men) to compare against one another. This is problematic when assessing attitudes towards groups with no opposing category, such as with subgroups of gay men and lesbian women.

As with the IAT, the Go/No-go Association Task (GNAT; Nosek & Banaji, 2001) infers implicit attitudes by examining the strength of associations between an attitude object and two evaluative poles (e.g., good-bad). However, the GNAT has a single-attribute condition in which no contrasting attitude object is required (Nosek & Banaji, 2001). For instance, the GNAT can measure the associations between a social object such as the racial category “Black” and evaluative dimensions like “Good” and “Bad” without a contrasting racial category such as “White.” In a traditional IAT, the results provide information about whether an object is more or less associated with an evaluative dimension than another object (e.g., is “Black” more strongly associated with “Bad” than “White”?). Using the GNAT, the association between the racial category of “Black” and “Good” (and “Bad”) is assessed independently from “White’s” association with these dimensions.

The purpose of the GNAT, therefore, is to examine the degree to which target items can be discriminated from distractor items when categorising them into categories (e.g., “Flamboyant”) and attributes (e.g., good). The single-attribute GNAT is comprised of two conditions, one in which the target category is paired with an attribute at one end of the pole (e.g., good) and one in which the target category is paired with the attribute at the opposite end of the pole (e.g., bad). The GNAT is based on the premise that discriminating target items from distractor items should be easier when the attitude object and the attribute are more closely associated. The accuracy (or sensitivity –  $d'$ ) of correct categorisations is the measure of the automatic association (Nosek & Banaji, 2001).

Another reason for selecting the GNAT for the current study was its relative simplicity compared to other implicit attitudinal measures. The same keystroke (i.e., spacebar) is required for the correct categorisation of items belonging to the attitude object (e.g., “Flamboyant”) or the evaluative attribute (e.g., “good”). These are the “Go” scenarios. A “No-go” scenario (e.g., an item belonging to the opposite evaluative attribute pole that is not presented – “bad”) would require no response. Hauser and Schwarz (2016) found that participants from a university participant pool may be less attentive to instructions than other groups such as Amazon’s Mechanical Turk (MTurk). In all three online comparative studies, MTurk participants responded more successfully to an instructional manipulation check than did university participant pool members. Based on these findings, the complexity of instructions was an important consideration when selecting an implicit computerised task. The GNAT was deemed to be a relatively simple implicit measure. Further, in the present study, task instructions were explained both verbally and in-text to ensure that participants fully understood the GNAT instructions.

**1.1 The Present Study.** The current study is the first to measure implicit attitudes toward subgroups of gay men and lesbian women. Implicit attitudes will be inferred by measuring associations between representative photographs of the subgroups and evaluative dimensions (i.e., good-bad). Nosek and Banaji (2001) note that an “association is taken to be a measure of automatic attitude” (p. 628). Greenwald et al. (1998) emphasize the importance of incorporating an implicit measure into attitudinal studies to mitigate against socially desirable responding. The study also will include explicit measures to allow the relationship between the two types of attitudes to be investigated, and to support or refute past explicit attitudinal findings. The present study will also assess the reliability and validity of the single-attribute GNAT (Nosek & Banaji, 2001). While being a powerful implicit measure, the GNAT has been widely under-utilised in the field due to a lack of adequate information about its reliability (Williams & Kaufmann, 2012).

Several hypotheses were developed for this study. In the gay men condition, it is anticipated that the “Drag Queen” subgroup have the strongest negative associations and the most negative ratings on the explicit scales (H1). Blashill and Powlishta (2009) found that gay men associated with feminine attributes were rated more negatively than those who were perceived as masculine. Similarly, Clausell and Fiske (2005) found that their “crossdresser” subgroup fell within the most derogated SCM quadrant. Likewise, due to gender role violations,

in the lesbian condition, it is anticipated that the “Butch” subgroup will be perceived more negatively than the “Feminist” and “Tomboy” subgroups, on the implicit and explicit measures (H2). While this hypothesis is inconsistent with the findings from Chapter 3, which largely found no differences across the three lesbian subgroups on the SCM and BIAS Map scales, the hypotheses are based on differences found in the existing literature. For instance, Lehavot and Lambert (2007) found that masculine lesbian women are perceived more negatively than feminine lesbian women. Further, Geiger et al. (2006) found that career-oriented feminist and soft-butch (likely similar to “Tomboy”) subgroups were rated more positively than their angry butch counterpart. Hypotheses 1 and 2 apply to both the implicit and explicit attitudinal measures. Lastly, it is hypothesised that implicit and explicit scores will be only weakly correlated (H3) based on postulations that implicit and explicit attitudes may represent independent forms of prejudice (Son Hing et al., 2008; Fazio, 1990; Wilson, Lindsey, & Schooler, 2000).

## **2. Pilot Study**

A pilot study, the same photograph identification study that was referenced in Chapter 3, was conducted to identify photographs that could be used as exemplars of the seven subgroups identified by McCutcheon and Morrison (2018a) for use in the GNAT. Fifty psychology students (41 women, 9 men), recruited through an introductory psychology participant pool, completed the pilot questionnaire online. The 100 photographs used by McCutcheon and Morrison (2018a) during their gay and lesbian subgroup generation study were presented to participants. They were asked to classify the photographs of men into Closeted, Drag Queen, Feminine, or Flamboyant subgroups and the photographs of women into Butch, Feminist, or Tomboy subgroups. After selecting the subgroup, participants indicated on a scale from 1 (not at all representative) to 10 (very representative) how reflective the individual in the photograph was of the subgroup they selected.

The initial criterion to be considered for use in the GNAT was that the photograph must be categorised into a particular subgroup more than any other. Only four photographs met this criterion for the Drag Queen subgroup. As such, four photographs were selected for each subgroup. To reduce the initial qualifying photographs down to four for the remaining subgroups, those with the highest ratings of representativeness were selected. Table 4-1 provides

details regarding the percentage of respondents who categorised the selected photographs into a particular subgroup, as well as their mean representativeness rating.

### **3. Method**

**3.1 Participants.** Participants were recruited from an introductory psychology participant pool, a campus-wide participant pool, and an online university bulletin. Participants from the psychology pool received bonus course credit, while participants recruited from the campus-wide pool and the online bulletin received five dollars. As the purpose of the study is to understand implicit attitudes held by heterosexual Canadians, only participants who self-identified as heterosexual and Canadian-born were included. In total, 122 participants (33 males, 89 females) completed the study. Participants ranged in age from 17 to 63 ( $M = 22.24$ ;  $SD = 6.44$ ). The majority of the sample was Caucasian (77.0%;  $n = 94$ ), while the remainder of the sample was Asian (14.8%  $n = 18$ ), Aboriginal (5.7%;  $n = 7$ ), and of mixed origin (2.5%;  $n = 3$ ).

### **3.2 Measures**

**3.2.1 Implicit attitudes toward subgroups of gay men and lesbian women.** Implicit attitudes were assessed using the single-attribute GNAT (Nosek & Banaji, 2001). The GNAT is used to measure the association between a single target and attribute (Williams & Kaufmann, 2012). In the present study, the GNAT was used to measure the association between the subgroups of gay men and lesbian women identified by McCutcheon and Morrison (2018a) (i.e., the target category) and positive and negative words (i.e., the attributes) (see Appendix V for the list of GNAT words). Subgroups of gay men and lesbian women were represented using photographs identified as exemplars in the pilot study. Six positive and six negative words were selected based on those used by Nosek and Banaji (2001) when they developed the GNAT. Only attribute distractors were included (not category distractors; i.e., photographs that represent other subgroups besides the target subgroup). While the single-attribute context has yielded smaller effects than when category distractors are included, Nosek and Banaji (2001) found that it was a viable method for determining implicit associations using the GNAT, and would be most appropriate for assessing objects with no obvious comparison categories.

In the current study, the GNAT consisted of two test blocks – one in which the target (i.e., subgroup) is paired with an attribute (i.e., good) and one in which the target is paired with the opposing attribute (i.e., bad). Based on recommendations by Nosek and Banaji (2001), each block included 16 practice trials and 70 experimental trials. The target and attribute stimuli were

each presented at a 2/7 ratio, while the opposing attribute (i.e., the distractor) was presented at a 3/7 ratio. Participants were presented with instructions indicating that they should press the space bar as quickly as possible in response to any word or photograph that appears in the centre of the screen that corresponds to either of the labeled categories that were written in the top left and right corners. This represented a “go” scenario. If a word does not correspond to the labeled categories (i.e., the distractors), participants were instructed not to press the space bar. A trial ended when participants hit the space bar (correctly or incorrectly) or the response deadline elapsed. Participants were given a maximum of 600 ms to make a response. If participants responded correctly, they were presented with a green “O,” if they responded incorrectly they were presented with a red “X.” This feedback was presented for 350 ms. The next trial was presented 100 ms after the feedback disappeared. See Figure 4-1 for two example screenshots of GNAT trials. In the top example, the participant should correctly hit the spacebar because “beautiful” is a good word. If the participant associates Butch with “good,” then he or she should find these categorisations easier, and get more correct pairings, than when “bad” replaces “good” and is paired with Butch. In the bottom example, a photograph of a butch lesbian woman stimuli is presented. Similarly, the “correct” response is for the participant to hit spacebar because it is a photograph of a Butch lesbian woman and that is one of the categories that represent a “Go” situation. For the current study, the reliability for each GNAT was determined through a split-half analysis. The Spearman-Brown coefficients were .84 and .83 for the good and bad versions, respectively, suggesting the measures have good reliability.

**3.2.2 Stereotype Content Model (cognitive component; Fiske et al., 2002).** The SCM Scale (cognitive component) assesses how participants perceive the subgroups on warmth, competence, status, and competition. The 18-item scale consists of six items assessing a social group’s competence (e.g., “As viewed by society, how competent are members of this group?”), six items assessing warmth (e.g., “As viewed by society, how warm are members of this group?”), three items assessing perceived status (e.g., “As viewed by society, how economically successful have members of this group been?”), and three items assessing perceived competition (e.g., “Resources that go to members of this group are likely to take away the resources of people like me.”). Participants respond using a 5-point scale (1 = *not at all*; 5 = *extremely*). Possible subscale scores range from 6 to 30 for the competence subscale, 6 to 30 for the warmth subscale, and 3 to 15 for the status and competition subscales. Higher scores reflect greater endorsement of

the measured constructs for the social group. All subscales were found to have good or excellent reliability. Cronbach's alphas were  $\alpha = .83$  (95% CI = .80-86) for the Competence subscale,  $\alpha = .88$  (95% CI = .86-91) for the Warmth subscale,  $\alpha = .89$  (95% CI = .86-91) for the Status subscale, and  $\alpha = .90$  (95% CI = .87-92) for the Competition subscale.

**3.2.3 Stereotype Content Model (affective component; Fiske et al., 2002).** The SCM Scale (affective component) measures participants' opinions about the feelings people have toward a particular social group. The scale consists of eight items, with two items measuring each of the following four emotions: admiration (e.g., "To what extent do people tend to feel admiration toward members of this group?"), pity, (e.g., "To what extent do people tend to feel pity toward members of this group?"), envy (e.g., "To what extent do people tend to feel envy toward members of this group?"), and contempt (e.g., "To what extent do people tend to feel contempt toward members of this group?") Participants responded using a 5-point Likert scale (1 = *not at all*; 5 = *extremely*). Each possible scale score ranges from 2 to 10, with higher scores reflecting a stronger belief that people respond to the social group with that emotion. Spearman-Brown coefficients were calculated to assess reliability (Eisinga et al., 2013). Most of the subscales had good reliability, with a reliability of  $\rho = .82$  (95% CI = .77-.86) for the admiration subscale,  $\rho = .76$  (95% CI = .69-.82) for the Pity subscale, and  $\rho = .85$  (95% CI = .81-.89) for the Envy subscale. However, the Contempt subscale demonstrated a somewhat lower Spearman-Brown coefficient,  $\rho = .65$  (95% CI = .54-73).

**3.2.4 BIAS Map (Cuddy et al., 2007).** The BIAS Map assesses the way people behave toward a particular social group. The 13-item scale includes three items measuring active facilitation (e.g., "Do people tend to assist this group?"), three items assessing passive facilitation (e.g., "Do people tend to associate with this group?"), three items measuring active harm (e.g., "Do people tend to attack this group?"), and four items examining passive harm (e.g., "Do people tend to hinder this group?"). Participants respond to the BIAS Map scale using a 5-point Likert scale (1 = *not at all*; 5 = *extremely*). Possible total scores can range from 3 to 15 for the active and passive facilitation and active harm scales and from 4 to 20 for the passive harm scale, with higher scores reflecting a stronger belief that people respond to the social group with that behaviour. All subscales showed very good reliability. The facilitation subscales yielded alphas of .92 (CI = .90-.93) and .84 (CI = .80-.87) for the active and passive versions,



respectively. The active and passive harm subscales, respectively, achieved alphas of .91 (CI = .89-.93) and .94 (CI = .92-.95).

**3.3 Procedure.** Participants completed the GNAT in the researcher's laboratory on the University of Saskatchewan campus. Upon arrival, participants were brought to a computer terminal and presented with a consent form (Appendix W), outlining the purpose of the study and their rights as participants, to read and sign. They were verbally given the instructions for the GNAT by the researcher and asked to read them on their computer screen as well. Participants were assigned one randomly selected subgroup from the gay men category and one from the lesbian women category. The order of presentation was counterbalanced across participants. Following the GNATs, participants completed a brief computerised questionnaire including the SCM Scale (cognitive and affective components) and the BIAS Map. Participants indicated their personal views toward the subgroup using a semantic differential scale ranging from 1 (negative) to 10 (positive). They were also asked six demographic questions (i.e., vision ability, age, gender, ethnicity, sexual orientation, and country of birth). At the end of the study, participants were provided a debriefing sheet (Appendix U) with information about the study and the researcher answered any questions.

#### 4. Results

For a summary of results, please see Table 4-2.

**4.1 Implicit Attitudes.** Using the approach outlined by Green and Swets (1966; as cited by Nosek and Banaji, 2001),  $d'$ , a measure of sensitivity, was calculated by converting the proportion of hits (i.e., correct "go" responses) and false alarms (i.e., incorrect "go" reactions in response to distractors) to  $z$ -scores and calculating the difference between the scores. Scores of 0 and below indicate that the participant is unable to discriminate between the target and the distractors or is not following the instructions correctly. Nosek and Banaji (2001) recommend that these participants be removed from subsequent analyses. Data from five participants ( $d' < 0$ ) were removed, and two participants opted to only complete one version of the GNAT. After these removals, there was data for 40 participants in the Butch condition, 39 participants in the Feminist and Tomboy conditions, 30 participants in the Closeted, Feminine, and Flamboyant conditions, and 29 participants in the Drag Queen condition.

Sensitivity scores ( $d'$ ) and mean comparisons for each subgroup are presented in Table 4-3. Paired-samples  $t$ -tests were conducted on each subgroup's Good and Bad sensitivity scores

and are also presented in Table 4-3. None of the analyses were significant ( $p > .05$ ), suggesting that participants had equal associations between the subgroups and the concepts of “good” and “bad” (i.e., neutral attitudes). One-way ANOVAs were conducted to assess if Good and Bad GNAT sensitivity differed by subgroups. Separate analyses were conducted for gay men subgroups and lesbian women subgroups. None of the analyses showed significant differences for either the Good or Bad sensitivity scores ( $p > .05$ ). Hypotheses 1 and 2, that the Drag Queen and Butch subgroups would be significantly more likely to be associated with negative words than the other gay and lesbian subgroups, respectively, were not supported. The results suggest that implicit associations with “good” and “bad” are similar across the subgroups.

**4.2 Explicit Attitudes.** Scores on the SCM and BIAS Map subscales are presented in Table 4-4 for the gay men subgroups and Table 4-5 for the lesbian women subgroups. For all subgroups, warmth and competence scores fell above or around the subscale’s midpoint, suggesting slightly positive attitudes towards the gay men and lesbian women subgroups. Mean status subscale scores fell above or around the midpoint for most subgroups, except the Drag Queen gay man subgroup and the Butch and Tomboy lesbian subgroups, which had means falling below the midpoint. Most subscale scores, including competition, admiration, envy, pity, contempt, and the facilitation subscales, fell below or around the midpoint of possible scores. One exception was that the mean PF subscale score exceeded the midpoint for the Closeted subgroup. Mean harm subscale scores fell around the midpoint. These scores largely suggest that individuals hold neutral attitudes towards the sexual minority subgroups.

Tables 4-6 to 4-12 show the intercorrelations between and across the explicit measures and the implicit measures. Given the small sample size for each cell, practical significance should be considered, with correlations over .3 being considered moderate relationships (Cohen, 1988). While there were some differences in correlations depending on the subgroup, there were some notable patterns. Warmth, competence, and status scores were often highly positively correlated with one another, with the exception of the Feminine and Flamboyant subgroups. Admiration and PF also tended to be positively correlated at a medium level with each other and with warmth and competence. Competition and envy scores were found not to correlate with most of the other measures. For all subgroups except Closeted gay men, pity was positively correlated with scores on the Harm subscales. Contempt also showed a medium positive correlation with the Harm subscale scores. The Facilitation subscale scores showed strong

positive correlations with each another, as well as the Harm subscale scores with each other. Scores on the GNAT, for the most part, were found to not significantly correlate with any of the explicit measures, providing marginal support for Hypothesis 3.

Although cluster analyses are traditionally used to evaluate scores on the SCM, with only three and four groups and the lesbian and gay subgroups, respectively, it would not be appropriate to conduct a cluster analysis (Fiske et al., 2002). Therefore, one-way MANOVAs were conducted to assess whether evaluations of competence and warmth differed by subgroup for gay and lesbian subgroups. Box's M test was found to be significant, so Pillai's Trace was interpreted. The analysis for the gay men subgroups was significant for subgroup,  $F(6, 232) = 3.69, p = .002, \eta^2 = .09$ . The univariate analysis showed a significant main effect of subgroup for both competence,  $F(3, 116) = 4.91, p = .003, \eta^2 = .11$ , and warmth,  $F(3, 116) = 6.52, p < .001, \eta^2 = .14$ . A Tukey post hoc test was conducted to identify differences across subgroups. The post hoc comparisons revealed that the Drag Queen subgroup was rated as significantly less competent than the Feminine gay men subgroup,  $p = .001$ . Drag Queen gay men also were rated as less warm than Feminine ( $p < .001$ ) and Flamboyant ( $p = .017$ ) gay men. These findings provide support for the explicit portion of hypothesis 1, which predicted that Drag Queen gay men would be evaluated more negatively than the other gay subgroups. No significant differences between groups on warmth or competence were found for the lesbian women subgroups,  $F(4, 228) = 1.39, p = .238, \eta^2 = .02$ . This finding did not support hypothesis 2, which predicted that Butch lesbian women would be rated most negatively. Within subgroups, paired-samples *t*-tests were conducted to determine if warmth and competence scores differed and to estimate their positioning in the warmth and competence two-dimensional space. All the gay men subgroups were perceived as significantly more warm than competent ( $p < .05$ ), while all the lesbian subgroups were perceived as significantly more competent than warm ( $p < .01$ ).

Separate one-way ANOVAs were conducted to assess subgroup differences on status and competition. The analysis of the gay men subgroups revealed a significant effect for status,  $F(3, 115) = 10.51, p < .001, \eta^2 = .22$ , with Tukey post hoc tests indicating that Drag Queen gay men are perceived as having significantly lower status than Closeted ( $p < .001$ ), Feminine ( $p < .001$ ), and Flamboyant ( $p = .005$ ) gay men. This provided further support for hypothesis 1. The analysis for the lesbian subgroups was also significant for status,  $F(2, 115) = 4.73, p = .011, \eta^2 = .08$ . Tukey post hoc tests showed that Feminist women were perceived as having significantly higher

status than Butch ( $p = .014$ ) and Tomboy ( $p = .043$ ) lesbian women. This finding offered some support for hypothesis 2 (i.e., Butch lesbian women would be rated most negatively). No significant differences by subgroup emerged for perceived competition for any of the subgroups.

Due to the non-significant correlations between the four affective variables, separate one-way ANOVAs were conducted for each subscale of the affective component of the SCM Scale. For the gay men subgroups, only the envy analysis showed a significant effect. Levene's test assessing homogeneity of variance was significant so Welch's  $F$  test was interpreted,  $F(3, 62) = 3.34, p = .025, \eta^2 = .08$ , with Tukey post hoc tests indicating that Closeted gay men were envied significantly less than Feminine gay men ( $p = .020$ ). For lesbian women, the analysis of scores on the admiration subscale was significant,  $F(2, 115) = 3.39, p = .037, \eta^2 = .06$ . Tukey post hoc tests showed that Feminist lesbian women are admired significantly more than Butch lesbian women ( $p = .029$ ). The Tomboy subgroup did not differ significantly from the others. This provides some support for hypothesis 2.

To assess if differences in behavioural reactions towards the subgroups were present, MANOVAs were conducted separately for the harm and facilitation subscales. The multivariate analysis for the gay men was significant based on Wilks' lambda statistic,  $F(6, 230) = 4.26, p < .001, \eta^2 = .10$ . The univariate tests showed a significant effect of subgroup for both AF,  $F(3, 116) = 6.63, p < .001, \eta^2 = .15$ , and PF,  $F(3, 116) = 4.60, p = .004, \eta^2 = .11$ . In support of hypothesis 1, Tukey post hoc tests showed that Drag Queen gay men were significantly less likely to be recipients of AF as compared to Closeted gay men ( $p = .009$ ) and Feminine gay men ( $p = .001$ ). Flamboyant gay men were also significantly less likely to receive AF as compared to members of the Feminine subgroup ( $p = .030$ ). For PF, Drag Queen gay men were significantly less likely to receive passive helping behaviours as compared to Closeted gay men ( $p = .002$ ). These findings also support hypothesis 1. No significant differences were found on the harm subscales for the gay men subgroups,  $F(6, 230) = .599, p = .731, \eta^2 = .02$ .

The BIAS Map analysis for the lesbian subgroups was not significant for the facilitation subscales,  $F(4, 228) = .602, p = .662, \eta^2 = .01$ ; however, the multivariate analysis was significant for the harm subscales, based on the Wilks' lambda statistic,  $F(4, 228) = 2.54, p = .041, \eta^2 = .04$ . Univariate tests showed a significant effect for the AH subscale,  $F(2, 115) = 3.50, p = .033, \eta^2 = .06$ , with Tukey post hoc tests indicating that Feminist lesbian women were significantly more likely to be recipients of AH behaviours than Butch lesbian women ( $p = .035$ ). This is contrary to

hypothesis 2, which predicted that Butch lesbian women would receive the most negative ratings across the scales.

## **5. Discussion**

The current study evaluated implicit and explicit attitudes towards four subgroups of gay men and three subgroups of lesbian women. Implicit attitudes were measured using the GNAT (Nosek & Banaji, 2001) and explicit attitudes were assessed using SCM (Fiske et al., 2002) and BIAS Map (Cuddy et al., 2007) scales. Overall, none of the hypotheses pertaining to the implicit attitudes toward the subgroups were supported. The results revealed no significant differences in scores on the GNATs within the subgroups (across the “good” and “bad” dimensions) or between the subgroups. Scores on the GNAT also largely failed to correlate with the explicit measures, providing some support for hypothesis 3, which predicted that implicit and explicit attitudinal scores would be only weakly related. It should be noted that the explicit measures assessed attitudes from a societal perspective. Had personal attitudes been assessed, the relationship between the implicit and explicit results may have been stronger.

Among the gay men subgroups, Drag Queen gay men were rated significantly less competent (than Feminine gay men) and warm (than Feminine and Flamboyant gay men), as having a lower status (than all other gay subgroups), as being less likely (than Feminine and Closeted subgroups) to be recipients of active helping behaviours, and less likely (than Closeted gay men) to be targets of passive helping behaviours. The Closeted subgroup was perceived as being less envied than the Feminine subgroup. This result was not found in the previous study; however, given that adjectives such as “lonely” and “ashamed” were commonly endorsed when rating Closeted gay men in the previous study, it is not surprising they may receive lower envy scores. Further research is needed to clarify the conflicting results. The overall pattern of results suggest that the Drag Queen subgroup is perceived most negatively, while, on most explicit measures, the Feminine subgroup is perceived most positively. The Feminine subgroup may have received the most positive ratings as its members are not hiding their sexual orientation, as is the case for members of the Closeted subgroup, but also may be perceived as the least gender-violating of the out subgroups. These findings largely support hypothesis 1, which predicted that the Drag Queen subgroup would be rated most negatively. This finding is further supported by the extant literature. Clausell and Fiske’s (2005) subgroup study found that crossdressers (conceptually similar to drag queens), specifically, are viewed negatively. Along with their

“leather/biker” subgroup, crossdressers were positioned in the low-competence and low-warmth quadrant. One domain on which the Drag Queen subgroup was not rated most negatively was the affective reaction of envy. Closeted gay men received the lowest envy subscale score. It is possible that their low envy rating was not associated with participants’ ratings of warmth or competence (as the correlational analysis suggests), but may relate to the perception that being closeted may have negative psychological effects (McGarrity & Huebner, 2014), and the belief that healthy development as a gay men involves disclosing one’s sexual identity (Calzo, Antonucci, Mays, & Cochran, 2011; D’Augelli, 1994).

Among the lesbian women subgroups, the Butch and Tomboy subgroups were rated as having lower statuses than the Feminist lesbian subgroup, and the Butch subgroup was less envied than the Feminist subgroup. These findings provide some support for hypothesis 2, which predicted that Butch lesbian women would receive the most negative ratings. Both Geiger et al. (2006) and Lehavot and Lambert (2007) found that angry butch and masculine lesbian women, respectively, were rated negatively compared to other “types” of lesbian women. However, it is noteworthy that it was the Feminist lesbian subgroup that was perceived as being more likely to be targets of AH behaviours. As such, the findings point to feminist women as targets of envious stereotypes, a finding that has been found consistently in past SCM studies (e.g., Eckes, 2002; Fiske et al., 2002). Social groups who are targets of envious stereotypes also tend to be perceived as high in competence, status, and competition, and low in warmth (Fiske et al., 2002). However, it should be noted that, in the present study, all the lesbian subgroups were rated as more competent than warm, indicating that they are all likely subject to some degree of envious stereotypes. Additional research is needed to determine why feminist lesbian women are perceived as farther along the spectrum on some dimensions related to envious stereotypes than butch lesbian women.

Further research is also needed to delve into why findings on the explicit attitudinal measures were not supported by scores on the implicit GNAT. It is possible that the GNAT may not have been powerful enough to detect any differences in associations across the subgroups. Nosek and Banaji (2001) found that the single-attribute version of the GNAT has smaller attitude effects than when the task includes distractor attitude objects. It is possible that the smaller effect associated with the single-attribute GNAT, along with the small sample size in the current study, resulted in no significant differences in associations. This would likely be the case with other

single-attribute implicit tasks such as the Single Category-Implicit Association Tasks (SC-IAT), which has also been found to have smaller effects than the original IAT (Karpinski & Steinman, 2006). Nosek and Banaji (2001) used a sample size of 44 for their single-attribute GNAT; therefore a sample size equal to or exceeding 44 would be recommended in future studies.

The traditional IAT has been developed to assess attitudes towards gay men and lesbian women as compared to heterosexual people by finding words associated with each of the sexual orientation groups (Steffans, 2005). In the present study, it was thought that the use of photographs to represent the subgroups would better approximate reality (i.e., seeing a stranger and categorising them into a subgroup); however, the identification of words associated with the subgroups for use in a GNAT or an IAT could be attempted in a future study, and comparisons made with one another or the overarching heterosexual group. Interestingly, one of the first studies to adapt the IAT for use in assessing implicit attitudes towards sexual minorities used photographs as stimuli. A Homosexuality-IAT (Banse et al., 2001) was developed in which gay and lesbian couples are compared with heterosexual couples. The items include positive and negative words as well as photographs of same-sex couples or mixed-sex couples. Banse et al. (2001) found that the Homosexuality-IAT had good reliability and validity. The implicit and explicit attitudinal scores were correlated and participants were unable to “fake” responses on the task. Researchers endeavouring to assess implicit attitudes towards subgroups of gay men and lesbian women could employ a similar tactic where they use stimuli of couples that approximate the perceived physical appearance of the subgroups. By having couples, as opposed to an individual person as in the present study, the sexual orientation of the subgroup members may be more salient.

Even if photographs of single individuals are used as stimuli, those that are considered more representative of the subgroups could be identified for future studies. While over three-quarters of the sample selected the chosen photographs as representative of their subgroups in the majority (57.1%) of cases, endorsement rates went as low as 54%. Particularly, among the Feminine and Flamboyant subgroups, endorsement rates only fell between 54-74%. It is notable that these participants may have had a difficult time discriminating between the two subgroups, despite them emerging as distinct in McCutcheon and Morrison’s (2018a) subgroup generation study. Representative ratings were also found to be low for some of the subgroups, particularly the Closeted (5.98-6.00 out of a possible high of 10) and Feminist (5.98-6.61) subgroups.

Additional research is needed to elucidate how these subgroups are visually perceived and to select stimuli that are viewed as representative by a high percentage of people (>90%).

Manipulation checks after studies using stimuli should also be introduced to confirm they are being perceived as intended. Moreover, a manipulation check should be included to ensure that participants are perceiving the targets as gay or lesbian. Although they were described as such in the current study's instructions, awareness of this critical component should be confirmed.

Although Williams and Kaufman's (2012) concerns around the reliability and subsequent under-utilisation of the GNAT was not an issue in the present study, researchers could also consider using other types of implicit measures to assess attitudes towards subgroups of gay men and lesbian women besides computerised association tasks. There are several physiological correlates that can be used to infer attitudes towards social groups (Gawronski & Bodenhausen, 2007). For instance, scores on IATs have been associated with some types of increased brain activity, including amygdala activation (Phelps et al., 2000; Wheeler & Fiske, 2005) and dorsolateral prefrontal cortex activation (Chee, Sriram, Soon, & Lee, 2000; Richeson et al., 2003). Researchers could use functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI) to determine if brain areas that are known to be associated with deliberate inhibition and automatic negativity activate when individuals complete attitudinal tasks involving subgroups of gay men and lesbian women. Behavioural observational experiments could be another indirect way to assess attitudes. In a study measuring homonegativity, Morrison and Morrison (2003) had confederates wear t-shirts with a neutral slogan or a pro-gay or pro-lesbian slogan and then measured undergraduate students' decisions about whether or not to sit next to a gay or lesbian confederate. A similar experiment could be designed that incorporates subgroups of gay men and lesbian women.

Regardless of what implicit measures are used, future research should be conducted to identify why, in the present study, scores on the explicit scales measuring attitudes towards subgroups of gay men and lesbian women did not correspond to their scores on an implicit computerised association task. Possible methodological and study-specific issues that should be addressed in future studies include: 1) the single-attribute GNAT may not be powerful enough to detect differences in attitudes across subgroups; 2) the study's sample size ( $n = \sim 30-40$  per group) may have been too small to detect attitudinal differences on the GNAT; and 3) the GNAT stimuli may not have been adequately evoking the subgroups among participants. A measure that



taps into and identifies implicit attitudes towards the gay and lesbian subgroups can assist in validating or refuting inferences that are being made based on explicit attitudinal measures.

## CHAPTER 5: GENERAL DISCUSSION

### 1. Summary of Findings

The main objectives of this dissertation were to identify subgroups of gay men and lesbian women and to assess attitudes towards them. For the purpose of this dissertation, attitudes were defined as a tripartite concept consisting of cognitive beliefs, affective responses, and behavioural reactions (Eagly & Chaiken, 1998). To accomplish the objectives, six studies were conducted. The first four studies involved rigorously identifying subgroups of gay men and lesbian women and piloting materials that would be needed for the attitudinal assessment component. The final two studies evaluated the content of the attitudes towards the identified subgroups explicitly, via questionnaire, and implicitly, through Go/No-go Association Tasks (GNATs; Nosek & Banaji, 2001).

In **Chapter 2**, an initial study was conducted to create a master list of potential subgroups of gay men and lesbian women. Undergraduate students were asked to generate all possible subgroups of gay men and lesbian women for whom they could provide a definition. Photographs of men and women also were used to prompt the generation of the largest possible list of subgroups. Content experts were then asked to add to the master list, resulting in 97 unique gay men subgroups and 69 unique lesbian women subgroups. Using the master list of subgroups as options, 106 undergraduate students selected the subgroups that they believe might exist from a societal perspective. An *a priori* criterion, which required that 50% of the sample endorse a subgroup for it to be selected, resulted in four gay subgroups (i.e., Flamboyant, Drag Queen, Feminine, and Closeted) and three lesbian subgroups (i.e., Feminist, Butch, and Tomboy). To confirm the validity of the subgroups, 100 Canadian residents also selected subgroups from the master list. Using the same criterion, only Drag Queen, Flamboyant, and Butch emerged as subgroups. However, the seven gay and lesbian subgroups generated by the undergraduate sample emerged as the highest selected subgroups for the community sample as well. Closeted, Feminine, Feminist, and Tomboy were selected with a high frequency but not enough to reach the 50% threshold. Together, these studies provide support for the use of the seven subgroups in subsequent studies.

The creation of a master list of subgroups, the use of photographs to prompt additional subgroup generation, a strict 50% cut-off criterion for subgroup selection, and the inclusion of a community sample for validation were novel protocols implemented for this dissertation that were not employed in previous subgroup generation studies (i.e., Brambilla et al., 2011; Clausell & Fiske, 2005; Geiger et al., 2006). These methodological additions ensured that the final gay and lesbian subgroups that were selected were valid and would be salient for future respondents. As further support and an indication of generalisability across certain geographical areas, it should be noted that, subgroups similar to the seven generated in Chapter 2 had been found in the three existing subgroup generation studies (i.e., Brambilla et al., 2011; Clausell & Fiske, 2005; Geiger et al., 2006).

The objective of **Chapter 3** was to explicitly evaluate attitudes towards the gay and lesbian subgroups generated in Chapter 2 using a tripartite approach. As such, cognitive beliefs, emotional responses, and behavioural reactions towards the subgroups were examined. The chapter was also designed to examine the psychometric properties of the Stereotype Content Model and BIAS Map scales. The results revealed that three of the gay men subgroups (i.e., Closeted, Feminine, and Flamboyant) are perceived as high in warmth and low in competence, and the fourth gay man subgroup (i.e., Drag Queen) is perceived as low in both warmth and competence. In line with the hypothesis, Drag Queen gay men are viewed as less warm, less competent, as having lower status, are viewed with more contempt, and receive less facilitative behaviours, yet more PH behaviours. Closeted gay men, however, are more pitied than the other subgroups and received a lower rating on an adjective checklist because of strongly endorsed adjectives such as “lonely” and “ashamed” in their evaluations.

All three lesbian women subgroups (i.e., Butch, Feminist, and Tomboy) were rated high on competence and low on warmth. The subgroups were largely rated similarly across the measures. Contrary to the hypothesis that Butch lesbian women would be rated most negatively, the Feminist lesbian subgroup received more strongly endorsed, negatively-valenced items on the adjective checklist. Although it was anticipated that gender role violations, as most demonstrated by Butch lesbian women, would result in the most negative ratings, it appears that negativity towards feminists (Jenen et al., 2009) exceeds that directed towards gender violating women.

An additional objective of Chapter 3 was to determine if photographs would affect ratings towards the subgroups. Mitchell and Ellis (2011), who used video stimuli of gay men to assess attitudes, suggested that viewing an actual person when completing an attitudinal scale might improve ratings as compared to evaluating a hypothetical individual. To choose a photograph to represent each subgroup, 50 undergraduate students categorised 100 photographs of men and women into the seven subgroups and indicated how representative they were of the selected subgroup. Photographs chosen as most representative were presented to approximately half the sample in the attitude evaluation study. The other half were only presented the subgroup label. Few main effects of photograph presentation were found across the attitudinal measures. However, gay men subgroups that were paired with a photograph were evaluated more positively on a societal perspective adjective checklist, and more positive emotions were selected on a societal perspective checklist when lesbian subgroups were paired with a photograph. These findings suggest that there may be some support for Mitchell and Ellis' (2011) supposition; however, further research is needed to clarify these findings as the photographs also resulted in higher personal perspective contempt scores for Flamboyant gay men. It is possible photographs might have differential effects based on subgroup and the attitudinal component that is being measured.

**Chapter 4** implicitly examined attitudes towards the same seven subgroups using the GNAT (Nosek & Banaji, 2001). Positive and negative sensitivity scores on the GNAT were found not to differ within or across subgroups, nor were scores on the implicit attitudinal measure correlated with scores on the explicit measures. Scores on the explicit attitudinal measures largely supported the findings in Chapter 3. The Drag Queen subgroup was rated as less competent, less warm, as having lower status, and as less likely to receive active or passive helping behaviours. While not directly replicating the findings for the lesbian subgroups, findings from Chapter 4 revealed that Feminist lesbian women were perceived as having higher status and were more envied; however, they were also perceived as being targets of more AH behaviours. These findings echo past studies (e.g., Eckes, 2002; Fiske et al., 2002) that have found that feminist women are targets of envious stereotypes, and support Chapter 3's finding that the Feminist lesbian subgroup is viewed somewhat more negatively, in some respects, when compared to the other lesbian subgroups.

## 2. The Impact of Perceived Gender Roles on Attitudes toward the Subgroups

Many of the hypotheses related to attitudes towards the subgroups were formed based on the theory that people view individuals who violate socially assigned gender roles more negatively, when compared to those who behave in a manner that is consistent with gender-based expectations (Kite & Deaux, 1987; Rees-Turyn et al., 2008). Studies (e.g., Blashill & Powlishta 2009; Lehavot & Lambert, 2007; McCutcheon & Bishop, 2015) focussing specifically on sexual minority men and women have found that feminine gay men and masculine lesbian women are perceived more negatively than those who abide by their socially assigned gender roles. Specifically, Drag Queen gay men and Butch lesbian women (i.e., the subgroups perceived to be *most* gender-role violating) were hypothesised to be rated most negatively on the attitudinal measures.

Partially supporting the proposed hypotheses, the Drag Queen subgroup was rated most negatively across several of the attitudinal measures. Germann (2016) notes that drag queens represent the embodiment of gender role violations among men. They often incite violence and hate because they challenge a gender binary that is integral to people's worldview (Germann, 2016). Interestingly, Closeted gay men, as the most outwardly masculine-appraised subgroup, was not rated more favourably than the Feminine and Flamboyant subgroups. They were viewed with more pity, less envy, and were characterised with negative words such as lonely and ashamed. Understanding attitudes towards this sexual minority subgroup and how they interact with gender role expectations will require additional research. In particular, it may be important to consider how attitudes change towards an individual when he is suspected to be gay (i.e., closeted). If people are using feminine attributes to detect sexual orientation as the literature suggests (Freeman et al., 2010; Lyons et al., 2014), this may complicate our understanding of how attitudes towards closeted gay men are affected by gender role characteristics. Moreover, as Purdie-Vaughns and Eibach (2008) note, closeted gay men may be accused of suffering from "internalised homophobia" and be criticised for not living an "openly gay lifestyle." This type of attitude might perpetuate negative attitudes towards them and might not relate to gender role adherence or violation.

Among lesbian women subgroups, gender role violations did not explain differences in attitudes whatsoever. While the subgroups were largely rated similarly to one other, in the areas they were found to differ, it was Feminist lesbian women who were rated most negatively.

Negativity towards feminism is supported by the literature (e.g., Haddock & Zanna, 1994; Jenen et al., 2009), and based on the variables on which the Feminist subgroup was rated highly, it is likely that they are targets of envious stereotypes (Eckes, 2002; Fiske et al., 2002). That is, they received higher envy and status scores, but were also targets of more AH (i.e., fight, attack). Taken together, the findings from the gay and lesbian portions of the dissertation suggest that attitudes towards certain “types” of gay men and lesbian women are not solely dictated by adherence to socially assigned gender roles. There are additional complexities, possibly around authenticity, advocacy, or contempt toward women and femininity, that need to be considered.

It also is worth noting that, based on their scores on the SCM (i.e., high competence-low warmth; Eckes, 2002; Fiske et al., 2002), Feminist lesbian women may be perceived as displaying some masculine characteristics. While likely not to the extent of Butch lesbian women, all the lesbian subgroups in this dissertation were rated higher on competence than warmth, which is the pattern of SCM scores that are attributed to men. As such, drawing conclusions about attitudes towards lesbian subgroups and how those attitudes relate to gender role violations is severely limited given that the three subgroups included in the present studies may be perceived as somewhat masculine.

The subgroup generation study in Chapter 2 represents both a strength and a limitation of the dissertation, particularly when considering the findings using a gender role lens. The studies resulted in the rigorous generation of the most salient subgroups among a student sample and a community sample and revealed a notable phenomenon related to gender roles. In particular, three of the four gay men subgroups and, arguably, all the lesbian subgroups that were identified were found to violate socially assigned gender roles. As a limitation, however, the attitudes that could subsequently be collected were confined to only the seven subgroups that emerged. To take the obvious example of how this limited possible interpretations, among the generated lesbian women subgroups, no *traditionally* feminine subgroup emerged. Walker (1993) has noted that “femme” lesbian women are often not considered “authentic” lesbian women. Blair and Hoskin (2015) found, in interviews with 146 femme-identified individuals, that butch/masculine privilege among queer communities result in feelings of invisibility. Within the context of mainstream media, Ciasullo (2001) observes that, feminine lesbian women tend to be “de-homosexualized” and are intended as a target for the heterosexual male gaze. This

commentary provides some insight into possible reasons why participants in the current studies did not commonly select a feminine-oriented lesbian as a subgroup.

The exclusion or invisibility of sexual minority persons who *adhere* to their socially assigned gender roles becomes even more pronounced when considering the subgroups generated by the community sample in Chapter 2. The only subgroups to reach the 50% cut-off criterion among this sample were Butch (lesbian subgroup), Drag Queen (gay man subgroup), and Flamboyant (gay man subgroup). In fact, there were several participants who *only* believe there are Butch lesbian women and *only* believe there are Drag Queen and/or Flamboyant gay men. In other words, they believe that if you are a lesbian woman you must be a Butch lesbian, and if you are a gay man you must either be Flamboyant or a Drag Queen. Similarly, among the student sample, if someone is a masculine man, then it is implied that he must be “in the closet.” What are the implications of these findings for attitudes towards gay men and lesbian women? Purdie-Vaughns and Eibach (2008) highlight the importance of considering the invisibility of social groups by noting that, “for researchers investigating prejudice and discrimination, answering the question of “Which group is ignored?” may be as critical to understanding the nature of prejudice and discrimination as answering the question “Which group is the target?” While they made this comment in relation to intersectional invisibility specifically, I would argue that the same advice applies to non-gender-violating gay and lesbian subgroups.

### **3. Differences across Gay and Lesbian Subgroups**

While not an intended objective of the current dissertation, some obvious differences across the sexual orientation groups emerged, and are worthy of some discussion. When considering the seven salient subgroups that were identified in Chapter 2, the omission of a feminine lesbian subgroup is notable. Among the gay men, the Closeted gay man may have been considered more masculine than the other three subgroups and represents the “gender-role-adhering” subgroup. Unlike Brambilla et al. (2011), the subgroup generation study in this dissertation did not find strong endorsement for a closeted lesbian subgroup, nor any other gender-role-adhering subgroup. Only 22% of the student sample and 25% of the general population sample selected “Closeted” as a lesbian subgroup. As a Closeted subgroup among gay men appears to evoke some unique attitudes (e.g., more pity, less envy, more negativity in attributed adjectives), it may be important to consider why this subgroup is not salient when considering lesbian women. It might be possible that individuals are classifying closeted lesbian

women into other more salient categories and forming attitudes based on those categorisations. Alternatively, individuals may be more concerned about gay men's closeted/out status than lesbian women as indicated by Conley's (2011) study with parents of gay and lesbian children. She found that there was greater parental concern about male children coming out than female children. Since it is possible that increased concern may translate into heightened saliency of Closeted gay men as a subgroup, assessing attitudes towards Closeted lesbian women as a subgroup remains an important avenue of future research.

Perhaps the most striking difference between the two sexual orientation groups is the difference between their scores on the attitudinal checklists. Accounting for multiple comparisons, the checklists scores differed based on sexual orientation groups for the societal perspective adjective ratings, the personal perspective emotion ratings, and the personal perspective behaviour ratings,  $p < .001$ . In all cases, lesbian women were rated more negatively. When examining the words that were selected, these difference are apparent. Personal emotion and behavioural words such as "acceptance" and "advocate for" were selected in relation to gay men but words like "discomfort" and "avoid" were selected in response to the lesbian women subgroups. Much of the extant literature (e.g., Herek, 2000; Kite & Whitley, 1996; Peterson & Hyde, 2010) comparing attitudes towards gay men and lesbian women indicate that attitudes are more negative toward gay men, at least among heterosexual men; however, some recent literature (e.g., Bishop, 2017; McCutcheon & Morrison, 2015; Rye & Meany, 2010) points to a shift to greater negativity directed at lesbian women.

Little is offered in the way of explanation for these findings; however, work from Bishop (2017), Blair and Hoskin (2015), and McCutcheon and Morrison (2015) would suggest that it may relate to aversions to lesbian women perceived as feminine. The findings from the current studies, where attitudes towards a traditional feminine lesbian subgroup was not examined, would suggest that this is not the primary driving force underlying the differences between attitudes towards gay men and lesbian women. However, given the comparatively negative attitudes toward the Feminist lesbian subgroup in the current studies, the negativity experienced by femme-identifying women (Blair & Hoskin, 2015), and the distaste for feminine couples in McCutcheon and Morrison's (2015) and Bishop's (2017) studies, increased negative attitudes toward lesbian women may relate to a privileging of men and masculinity or a potential threat. Ongoing research is needed to clarify any sexual orientation group differences in attitudes, and



researchers should consider the possibility of masculinity threat as a relevant variable when investigating this topic.

#### **4. Attitudinal Measures**

This dissertation used three methods to assess attitudes towards subgroups of gay men and lesbian women. These included: 1) the SCM Scale (Fiske et al., 2002) and BIAS Map (Cuddy et al., 2007); 2) adjective, emotion, and behaviour checklists; and 3) the GNAT (Nosek & Banaji, 2001). The SCM scale, which measures cognitive beliefs and affect, and the BIAS Map scale, which measures behaviours, were selected in order to measure attitudes using a tripartite approach. However, despite widespread use, very little is known about the psychometric properties of these two scales. Several steps were taken to assess the reliability and validity of these scales. Cronbach's alphas or Spearman-Brown coefficients were calculated for all scales appearing in the dissertation. Some previous studies employing the SCM and BIAS Map scales have documented questionable scale score reliabilities ranging from .26 to .59 (e.g., Cuddy et al., 2007; Durante et al., 2013). The current studies found reliability coefficients ranging from .40 to .94, with the contempt and pity subscales evidencing problematic scale score reliability (i.e., as low as .40 and .64, respectively). Increasing the number of items in these subscales may potentially improve their reliability. Currently the subscales consist of only two items.

The proposed relationships between the variables also were examined to either support or cast doubt on the SCM and BIAS Map theories. That is, the cognitive beliefs, affective reactions, and behavioural responses are theorised to relate to one another in predictable ways. If they fail to do so, this would call into question the construct validity of the scales and would suggest that the concepts or scales should be revised for certain social groups or the theory should be re-examined. As with several other researchers (e.g., Brambilla et al., 2011; Clausell & Fiske, 2005), the expected relationship between competition and warmth did not emerge. Further, the proposed mediation relationships (i.e., where affect would mediate the relationship between cognitive beliefs and behaviours) often did not materialize. Admiration was the most effective mediating variable as it was often found to mediate most cognitive-behavioural facilitation relationships for the subgroups, indicating that increased warmth and competence often resulted in increased admiration which increased facilitation behaviours. Overall, contempt was also found to be a relatively effective mediator, indicating that as perceptions of warmth and

competence decreased, individuals were more likely to feel contempt and then more likely to exhibit harm behaviours. Pity and envy often failed to mediate the hypothesised cognitive-behavioural relationships as is predicted by SCM and BIAS Map theories (Cuddy et al., 2007; Fiske et al., 2002).

It is possible that Haddock and Zanna's (1993, 1998) postulation that there exists "thinkers" (i.e., individuals who base their attitudes on cognitive information) and "feelers" (i.e., individuals who base their attitudes on affective information) may, in part, account for the lack of emotions as effective mediators should "thinkers" have been over-represented in the sample. However, pity and envy were problematic variables throughout the current studies. The pity subscale had questionable reliability, while the envy subscale was right-skewed, demonstrating a strong floor effect. Using a similar argument to Brambilla et al. (2011) around the inappropriateness of competition as a useful variable for assessing attitudes towards social groups defined by their sexual orientation, envy also might not be a useful variable. Fiske et al. (2002) proposed that envy would be evoked by those high in competence and low in warmth, which translates into groups who are socioeconomically successful and pose a competitive threat. As sexual minority social groups are not primarily defined by their socioeconomic status, envy may not function in the same way. Pity also might be understood differently for sexual minority groups. Evoked by those higher in warmth and lower in competence, pity was believed to apply to groups like the elderly and those who are disabled. In the current study, there might be some insight to gain from examining the ratings of Closeted gay men since they received significantly higher pity scores than the other gay men subgroups. On the adjective checklist, Closeted gay men were rated as "lonely" and "ashamed," which might relate to their perceived inauthenticity regarding their "true selves" and evoke more pity. However, this "cause" for an emotional pity reaction is quite dissimilar to that proposed by Fiske et al. (2002) in their creation of the SCM. Notably, pity also was found to correlate positively with admiration across several of the subgroups. This unanticipated relationship leads to further questions about the validity of the pity subscale, or would suggest that further research is needed to understand the unique relationship between feelings of pity and admiration evoked by sexual minority subgroups.

There also were some issues in using the SCM in the present studies that related to the analysis of SCM scores. Traditionally, a cluster analysis should be conducted in order to evaluate SCM scores; however, cluster analysis is not appropriate for use with only three or four groups

(Fiske et al., 2002). Arguably, cluster analysis may not be an appropriate test for many of the studies employing the SCM. The method many SCM researchers use for selecting the number of clusters (i.e., the elbow method; Kodinariya & Makwana, 2013) is subjective and can artificially create differences between social groups where none exist. As an example, in Clausell and Fiske's (2005) subgroup generation study, they categorised the artistic and body-conscious subgroups into the HC-LW quadrant based on their cluster analysis. However, when comparing the mean warmth and competence scores for these subgroups, there were no differences. In fact, while not reaching significance, the mean warmth score for the artistic subgroup was actually *higher* than their competence score. Examining mean scores to determine if they are higher or lower and determining if there are significant differences between scores may be a more appropriate determination of the "authentic" quadrant in which social groups should be categorised.

The other issue that leads one to question the validity of the SCM and BIAS Map is that the conclusions that could be drawn from their scores did not correspond to those taken from the attitudinal checklists. While the checklists have measurement issues of their own, the opposition of the results, particularly for the gay men subgroups, is striking. Using the SCM and BIAS Map as indices of attitudes resulted in Drag Queen gay men being rated least favourably (i.e., evaluated lower in warmth and competence, as viewed with more contempt, and as recipients of less active and passive facilitation, and more passive harm), while the checklists showed Closeted gay men as being evaluated the most negatively. Researchers should more rigorously examine the construct validity of the SCM and BIAS Map, particularly regarding its measurement of attitudes towards sexual minority groups, particularly by comparing its scores to other validated attitudinal measures.

The checklists also were problematic, particularly related to transforming their scores into "positive" or "negative" items. Almost 100 undergraduate students provided valence ratings for the adjective, emotion, and behaviour words, which ensured that the valences were calculated in a rigorous and objective way. However, by breaking the words down into the uncompromising binary of positive and negative, the complexity in meaning behind each word may have been muted. For instance, when describing their construct of pity, Fiske et al. (2002) notes that "low-status, competitive groups...should elicit pity and sympathy" (p. 895). However, students rated pity as a negative evoked emotion, while rating sympathy as positive. The findings across the

SCM/BIAS Map and the checklists suggest that the way attitudes are conceptualised (e.g., Fiske et al. [2002] propose that warmth and competence are the foundation for understanding the stereotyping of all social groups) can dictate which social group is perceived more positively or negatively relative to one another. A measure should be developed, with sexual minority groups as the social groups of interest, which moves beyond the concepts of warmth and competence and their corresponding emotions and behaviours. This new measure should specifically include the attitudinal components that relate to enacted prejudice and discrimination against gay and lesbian persons. While researchers would need to conduct further studies to identify relevant attitudinal components, it is critical that they do not relate to economic prosperity, occupational position, or education attainment. Rather, researchers should consider variables related to attributes assigned based on perceived gender roles and out or closeted status, as well as the denigration of femininity and feminism.

The other type of attitudinal measure used in this dissertation was the GNAT (Nosek & Banaji, 2001), which is a measure of implicit associations. Despite finding some significant differences between subgroups on the explicit attitudinal measures, no differences were detected using the GNAT. As it was the single-attribute version of the GNAT that was employed, it is possible that the GNAT may not have been powerful enough to detect any differences. With only approximately 30 participants per group, it is possible that subgroup differences might have emerged with a larger sample. However, what might also be an issue is that the photographs used to represent the subgroups might not have been effective stimuli. While the photographs were pilot tested to ensure they were representative of the subgroups, only one of the 35 photographs that were selected resulted in *all* the pilot study participants categorising it into the same subgroup. A manipulation check as to which subgroup the GNAT participants would assign the photographs prior to the attitudinal measure would have been useful to determine if the photographs were representing the subgroups as intended. Moreover, additional questions related the extent to which the participants perceived the photograph as falling into the assigned subgroup, the perceived sexual orientation of the target, and any other impressions they have of the target individual would have been helpful. In future studies, researchers might consider employing stimuli of couples that approximate the perceived physical appearance of the subgroups to increase the saliency of the sexual orientation of the subgroup members. For instance, if a photograph of two butch women embracing was used as a stimulus, both the

subgroup (i.e., butch) and the sexual orientation (i.e., non-heterosexual) of the targets would be salient.

## **5. Limitations**

There were several limitations in the methodology used in the current dissertation that should be noted. As with the potential issues related to the photographs chosen in the GNAT, the photographs used for half the participants when responding to the explicit measures in Chapter 3 might also have been problematic. It is possible that the photographs selected to represent the subgroups might not have resonated as belonging to that group with all participants. As was suggested for the implicit tasks, explicit measures could likewise incorporate photographs of couples to ensure the targets' sexual orientation is salient. Another alternative to ensure that both the subgroup and any visual stimuli is salient and appropriate for participants, is to create an exercise prior to any attitudinal measures that would allow the participants to create their own visual stimuli. This could be accomplished by having them draw their own pictures or search online for a photograph that they deem representative. This approach would not only ensure that the subgroup was salient for the participant at that moment but would also provide valuable insight into how participants visually conceptualise the subgroup, without having a predetermined image forced on them that might not match their own preconceived notions.

The photographs provided certain limitations related to the perceptions of the participants towards the subgroups, but so too did the subgroups themselves. The studies outlined in Chapters 3 and 4 relied completely on the subgroups that were generated in Chapter 2. As such, our knowledge about attitudes towards gay and lesbian subgroups is limited to the seven that emerged. The substantial gap between the subgroups that were selected and the next most selected subgroup (i.e., 18 percentage points for the gay men and 26 percentage points for lesbian women), suggests that the subgroups were undoubtedly the most salient to a Saskatchewan student population. Moreover, the validity of these seven subgroups was reinforced by the selections of a general Canadian population sample. The question of generalisability of any subgroup generation study, however, is an important one. By examining the subgroups that emerged from two different samples, it became apparent that certain factors (e.g., age, exposure, education) likely correspond to the number of subgroups that will emerge. Researchers will need to consider these factors carefully when deciding what subgroups likely exist in their population of interest.

While there is a strong argument for the generalisability of the subgroups, the exclusive use of undergraduate students as participants in the attitudinal assessment portions of this dissertation limits the generalisability related to how the subgroups are perceived. Respondents are, on average, younger and more educated than the average Canadian. It is expected that their attitudes may be more positive toward sexual minority subgroups overall than a general population sample, or subpopulations that are older, less liberal-leaning, or less educated (Gerhards, 2010; Heinrich et al., 2010). While an overall trend toward more negative attitudes is likely, it is unknown whether the extent of the shift may differ depending on subgroup. Thusly, research is needed to assess whether the subgroups are viewed differently relative to one another in some populations compared to others.

The emergence of a Drag Queen subgroup also resulted in an unanticipated limitation around participants' possible conflation between drag queens and transgender persons. According to Taylor and Rupp (2004), drag queens dress and perform as women but do not want to *be* women or have women's bodies. In contrast, transgender individuals "display and embrace a gender identity at odds with their biological sex" (Taylor & Rupp, 2004; p.114). If participants were evaluating the Drag Queen subgroup by perceiving them as transgender, then the measures would have actually been capturing transnegativity instead of homonegativity. Norton and Herek (2013) found, in a national probability sample in the United States, that attitudes towards transgender persons are more negative than attitudes towards gay men and lesbian women. As such, it is possible that transnegativity might be partially responsible for the disparately negative attitudes towards the Drag Queen gay men subgroup that was found in the present dissertation. In future studies, researchers assessing attitudes towards the Drag Queen gay men subgroup should consider including an item examining the extent to which people consider the target group as being transgender. By including such an item, evaluations driven by homonegative attitudes towards Drag Queen gay men and those stemming from bias towards transgender individuals can be teased apart.

Perhaps the greatest limitation of this dissertation is that it relied solely on quantitative survey data and implicit sensitivity scores. This approach provides important data about what subgroups are perceived to exist in society and a preliminary understanding of how they are perceived. It represents an important initial step in the area of attitudes towards gay and lesbian subgroups. However, an in-depth qualitative exploration might possibly provide a better

understanding of *why* these subgroups exist, *how they manifest* in individuals' behaviours and cognitions, and *their relationship* to prejudice and discrimination toward sexual minorities. A qualitative study would complement the existing studies by filling in these gaps. Perhaps using a technique like grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), a qualitative approach could assist in the creation of a theoretical framework that can guide future survey development in this area.

## **6. Future Directions**

This research opens up numerous avenues for future research, which could be broadly classified into the two categories: one being methodological, and the other being theoretical. The most prominent issue that touches on both domains is a call for a new attitudinal measure that would apply well to measuring subgroups of gay men and lesbian women. As there are a number of validated measures to assess individual's level of homonegativity, such as the Modern Homonegativity Scale (MHS; Morrison & Morrison, 2003) and the Homonegativity as Discomfort Scale (HADS; Monto & Supinski, 2014), researchers should determine if these types of attitudinal scales might be effective in capturing attitudes towards subgroups of gay men and lesbian women. Particularly, the HADS, which presents participants with scenarios where they encounter sexual minority individuals, might lend itself to inserting a subgroup label into the items.

Alternatively, the identification of these subgroups might provide an ideal opportunity to include novel variables that have heretofore not been considered in the creation of a scale measuring attitudes towards gay men and lesbian women. The attitudes that resulted from an examination of the subgroups in the current studies have introduced a number of additional layers to our understanding. Without additional research to delve into these themes in greater depth, they cannot be discussed in detail; however, they can provide researchers with launching points. Three such variables emerged quite strongly based on the results of these studies. Firstly, and predictably, the impact of perceived gender roles should not be ignored when considering attitudes towards gay men and lesbian women. While its interaction with attitudes appear to be more complicated than was assumed by the hypotheses proposed, the comparatively negative attitudes directed at Drag Queen gay men suggest that perceived gender roles remain an important factor that should not be abandoned.

Secondly, and not unrelated to perceived gender roles, the animosity toward femininity and/or feminism and its relationship with attitudes towards gay men and lesbian women needs to

be understood and considered for incorporation into any novel scale or theory. That Flamboyant and Feminine gay men were not rated as poorly as the Drag Queen subgroup suggests the notion that a man may want to *be* a woman is more abhorrent than exhibiting feminine characteristics. Providing support to this supposition, in one of the only studies to examine the experiences of both male-to-female (MtF) and female-to-male (MtF) transgender individuals, findings suggest that MtF individuals might experience more frequent prejudicial treatment than FtM individuals (Grossman, D'Augelli, Salter, & Hubbard, 2005). Moreover, the relative negativity directed at Feminist lesbian women in the current study, which appeared to be more powerful than negativity at gender-role-violating lesbian women, offers further support for exploring how animosity toward femininity, feminism, and/or women is interacting with attitudes towards subgroups of gay men and lesbian women.

Thirdly, there may be something related to being one's "authentic self" that is tied to attitudes towards sexual minority persons. Closeted gay men received the most negative ratings on the adjective checklist as compared to the other gay men subgroups, suggesting that there might be something about them that evokes negativity. The adjectives that were highly endorsed compared to the other groups included items like "ashamed" and "insecure." As Purdie-Vaughns and Eibach (2008) observed, closeted gay men might be criticised for not being open about their sexuality. However, without a closeted lesbian subgroup to compare these findings, it is impossible to know with certainty whether the subgroup's "closeted" status was the cause of the negativity. Notably, Brambilla et al. (2011) found that their lesbian Closeted subgroup was rated more negatively than their other lesbian subgroups, falling in the low warmth-low competence quadrant of an SCM map. Researchers should explore more systematically how "out" and "closeted" statuses affect attitudes and whether other factors (e.g., out to certain people and not others, out in some environments and not others) interact with attitudes. A number of researchers (e.g., Eliason, DeJoseph, Dibble, Deevey, & Chinn, 2011; Griffith & Hebl, 2002) have documented the struggle sexual minority persons have with coming out at work; therefore, these circumstances might evoke different attitudes compared to, for example, not being out among friends.

If researchers choose to continue to utilise the SCM and BIAS Map to assess attitudes towards social groups who are primarily defined by their sexual orientation, they should, at minimum, investigate modifications to better tailor the measures to their target social group.



Researchers should consider the components of the SCM and BIAS Map scales that have been found to be problematic (e.g., envy, pity, competition) and remove or replace these constructs. Using attitudes towards Closeted gay men as a guide to adapting the pity subscale, items relating to outness, loneliness, or shame could be tested as relevant to that affective response. Additionally, with regard to envy, researchers should be reminded that Cuddy et al. (2007), the creators of the BIAS Map, were also largely unable to use envy as an effective mediator of the stereotype-behavioural relationship in the SCM framework. The authors did, however, find that anger fully mediated the relationship between envy and active harm. The use of this primary emotion variable should be examined for its effectiveness when assessing attitudes towards sexual minority groups and potentially introduced as a permanent facet of the SCM and BIAS Map framework. Also, given that numerous researchers (e.g., Clausell & Fiske, 2005; Brambilla et al., 2011) have been unable to replicate the relationship between warmth and competition when assessing attitudes towards sexual minority groups, this variable should likely be abandoned due to its focus on the economic status of the target group. Instead, researchers could consider other ways that gay men and lesbian women “threaten” outgroups. Worthen (2013) cites a number of factors that may relate to attitudes towards gay men and lesbian women that correspond to threat. The conflation of gay men with HIV/AIDS, fear of sexual advances, and a lack of adherence to the traditional heterosexual male/female societal power structure and gender role world view all constitute possible threats evoked by sexual minority persons. The element of threat may be so intertwined with attitudes towards gay men and lesbian women (Glick et al., 2007; Grant, 2000; Poulin, Gouliquer, & McCutcheon, 2018) that it may warrant its own dimension in a SCM-like framework.

Another methodological consideration for future research stems from the strikingly different ratings that participants provided when responding to the scales from a personal versus a societal perspective. In almost all cases, personal scores were significantly more positive than societal ratings. Understandably, scales like the SCM and BIAS Map ask respondents to complete the scale from the perspective of an “average” member of society as a means of preventing socially desirable responding (Cuddy et al., 2007; Fiske et al., 2002). In the current set of studies, where participants were mostly university students, it is not unreasonable that they would believe that their personal attitudes towards gay and lesbian persons might be more positive than the average society member. However, to what extent are the differences between

the personal and societal responses an artefact of socially desirable responding and how much is due to perceived differences between the two perspectives? Research exploring this topic would help inform scale designers as to the best way to ask their questions. If a personal perspective question is more accurately assessing individual's attitudes, then existing scales like the SCM and BIAS Map would need to consider adjusting their language. This investigation might be tested ideally using an experimental design that could relate survey responses to actual behaviour.

Implicit attitudinal tests also are measures that can be used to assess attitudes without introducing socially desirability biases. Researchers who opt to continue examining attitudes towards subgroups of gay men and lesbian women while using implicit tests that employ words lists, such as the GNAT or the IAT, should consider revising the terms they use. In the current dissertation, the original words used by Nosek and Banaji (2001) were employed with the intention of maintaining the parameters of the original design, along with amendments proposed by Williams and Kaufmann (2012) to improve reliability. Given existing concern about the underutilisation of the GNAT in its original form, it was deemed important to evaluate its reliability with the original and recommended parameters. However, the original words were not designed specifically for use with subgroups of gay men and lesbian women. Some of the words may have existing, and unintentional associations with the target group. For instance, for some participants, words like "fabulous" or "glee" may be associated with feminine-oriented gay men. The implications of these pre-existing associations are unknown. Instead, researchers could use the words that were most associated with the gay and lesbian subgroups based on the adjective checklists in the current study (see Table 3-43 and 3-64). It is possible that by using words that are optimized for use with sexual minority subgroups, instead of generic positive and negative words, the GNAT may replicate the explicit findings from this dissertation.

This dissertation research has also led to theoretical considerations. An important theoretical area to pursue is whether researchers should begin to measure attitudes towards gay men and lesbian women using subgroups, or whether the superordinate categories remain the most appropriate categorisations. Based on the findings in Chapter 2, it might depend on who is the population of interest. Certainly, among university students, the results would suggest that subgroups are perceived to exist and might evoke different attitudes. However, among a general population sample, when only one or two subgroups are perceived as salient, the overarching

category labels are likely the most meaningful. What is gained from the current study, however, is an understanding of whom the general population is thinking about when they hear or evaluate a “gay man” or “lesbian woman.” In the case of lesbian women, the majority of people are probably immediately thinking about a Butch lesbian woman. For gay men, respondents are likely thinking about either a Drag Queen or Flamboyant gay man. Moving forward, researchers should be cautious not to generalise their findings when evaluating the superordinate categories to encompass all sexual minority persons when the general public is undoubtedly thinking of a very specific “type.”

Perceived subgroups not only have implications for the type of conclusions that researchers can draw when doing attitudinal research but they also are important when developing interventions aimed at reducing homonegativity and discrimination targeting sexual minority persons. Researchers should consider whether increasing the perceived heterogeneity of gay men and lesbian women might reduce negativity towards them. The homogeneity outgroup hypothesis (Park & Rothbart, 1982) argues that in-groups are perceived as being more diverse, while out-groups are viewed as “all alike.” Brauer and Er-rafiy (2011) found, across four laboratory and field experiments, that perceived variability of out-groups decreased prejudice and discrimination. Researchers should determine if helping people to understand that sexual minority persons are diverse in many ways, and are not only Flamboyant gay men or Butch lesbian women, could improve attitudes. Researchers should also investigate ways that interventions could dispel negativity around some of the more denigrated subgroups, such as drag queen gay men.

Perceived subgroups also are likely fostered and perpetuated in society through media representations. According to GLAAD’s (2016) annual television report, on broadcast television, there were 43 lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) characters. This accounted for 4.8% of all characters featured in television broadcast media, with numbers being greater on cable television and streaming sites. Popular television shows such as *RuPaul’s Drag Race*, *Modern Family*, and *1 Girl 5 Gays* might have contributed to the gay man subgroups (i.e., Drag Queen and Flamboyant) that emerged among the community sample in the current dissertation. Moreover, media representations of lesbian women provide support for speculations as to why feminine lesbian women did not emerge as a subgroup based on Walker’s (1993) argument of their not being perceived as “authentic” lesbians. Diamond (2005) discusses the concept of

“heteroflexibility” to describe the modern positive portrayal of lesbian and bisexual women in American media. Heteroflexibility occurs when same-sex sexual activities are portrayed as something that a woman might engage in but the media usually makes apparent that the woman is truly heterosexual. Diamond (2005) asserts that these same-sex portrayals are intended for the heterosexual male consumer. Future research should conduct a thorough content analysis of current television shows and/or movies that include lesbian and gay characters to assess what type of subgroups are being portrayed and determine if this maps on to the subgroups that emerged in the present subgroup generation studies.

The results of the current studies must also be considered in relation to the original impetus for Clausell and Fiske (2005) to investigate the existence of gay men subgroups. That is, that subgroups could explain the neutral positioning of gay men on an SCM map. It is possible that the comparatively negative ratings of Drag Queen gay men might be pulling down the average of the more positive attitudes towards the other three gay men subgroups; however, further research is needed to assess which subgroup most people are thinking about when responding to attitudinal scales. In the case of lesbian women, the neutral ratings of the lesbian superordinate category found by Brambilla et al. (2011) could not be explained based on the attitudes towards the three subgroups in the present dissertation. More research is needed to understand if this neutral rating occurs within a Canadian context, and if it does, then how that is happening. The results of the current study also provide a launching point to consider what subgroups are perceived when individuals are committing discriminatory acts against gay and lesbian persons. Do behaviours differ depending on the perceived subgroup of the target or are perpetrators thinking about a specific subgroup regardless of the characteristics of the target? Vignette studies, experimental studies, or field research could help address these questions.

Lastly, researchers should conduct studies to assess the implications of attitudes towards perceived subgroups of gay men and lesbian women in real-world situations. For instance, researchers could investigate whether attitudes differ by subgroups in certain circumstances such as adoption or parenting, healthcare, or on social media platforms. McCutcheon and Morrison (2015) found that lesbian couples in which both partners exhibit feminine characteristics are perceived as less suitable for adopting as compared to other couple dyads. There might be situations or conditions that result in different attitudes across the subgroups that were not captured in the current studies, which assessed only generic overall attitudes. By furthering our

understanding of the implications of attitudes towards sexual minority subgroups, we can assess whether there are areas in which intervention efforts should be concentrated.

## **7. Conclusions**

The overall goal of the dissertation was to identify subgroups of gay men and lesbian women and understand the attitudes, encompassing cognitive beliefs, affective reactions, and behavioural responses, towards them. Four subgroups emerged for gay men, which included Closeted, Drag Queen, Feminine, and Flamboyant. Butch, Feminist, and Tomboy emerged as lesbian subgroups. As predicted, Drag Queen gay men were rated most negatively on many attitudinal indices as compared to the other three gay men subgroups. However, Closeted gay men also appeared to be perceived negatively when different measures were used. All three lesbian subgroups were rated similarly across most of the measures, although Feminist lesbian women were perceived more negatively in some cases. The findings highlight the importance of the measures we use when assessing attitudes towards sexual minority social groups. A valid and reliable measure tailored to groups primarily defined by their sexuality is needed.

Regardless of the measures employed, the findings from the current dissertation provide preliminary evidence for the existence of gay and lesbian subgroups and for differences in attitudes depending on which subgroup of gay men and lesbian women is being evaluated. Attitudinal researchers focussing on gay and lesbian groups should consider adjusting their approach to focus on specific subgroups of gay men or lesbian women or, minimally, acknowledge that one subgroup or another might be impacting their findings when the superordinate group is evaluated. Future research should seek to understand how subgroups of gay men and lesbian women manifest, how individuals are classified into subgroups, and how the perceptions of subgroups translate into actual behaviours. With these questions answered, researchers can be better equipped to combat the prejudice and discrimination experienced by gay and lesbian persons.

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Table 2-1. Frequency of recognized gay men subgroups that were accurately defined.

Student Sample ( <i>N</i> = 55)		General Population Sample ( <i>N</i> = 49)	
Subgroups	Frequency of subgroup being correctly defined <i>n</i> (%)	Subgroups	Frequency of subgroup being correctly defined <i>n</i> (%)
Flamboyant	36 (65%)	Drag Queen	27 (55%)
Drag Queen, Feminine	31 (56%)	Flamboyant	25 (51%)
Closeted	28 (51%)	Feminine	14 (29%)
Proud	18 (33%)	Closeted, Bear	12 (24%)
Bisexual, Different	17 (31%)	Bisexual	8 (16%)
Homo	14 (25%)	Straight acting, Twink	7 (14%)
Activist, Artistic	13 (24%)	Homo	6 (12%)
Funny	12 (22%)	Bottom, Club kid, Gym rat, Leatherman, Masculine	5 (10%)
Actor, Bitchy	11 (20%)	Activist, Actor, Artistic, Cruiser, Different, Theatric	4 (8%)
Attractive, Confident, Masculine	10 (18%)	Amateur porn producers/performers, Dominant, Friend, Normal, Outcast, Power bottom, Promiscuous, Proud, Rice queen, Stylish, Top	3 (6%)



Student Sample ( <i>N</i> = 55)		General Population Sample ( <i>N</i> = 49)	
Subgroups	Frequency of subgroup being correctly defined <i>n</i> (%)	Subgroups	Frequency of subgroup being correctly defined <i>n</i> (%)
Bottom, Club kid, Outcast	9 (16%)	Arts student, Bitchy, Chubby chaser, Daddy, Damaged, Diseased, Ethnic fetishizer, Gaymer, Neat freak, Pedophile	2 (4%)
Arts student, Bear, Friend, Preppy, Straight acting, Top	8 (15%)	Aboriginal, Attractive, Black, Bug chaser, Cub, Domestic, Excludes ethnic minorities, Funny, Gift giver, Homophobic, Jailbait, Nerdy, Otter, Preppy, Professional, Smoker, Submissive, Typical, White	1 (2%)
Happy, Queen, Theatric	7 (13%)		
148 Gym rat, Hipster, Jock, Latino, Leatherman, Promiscuous, Twink, Weak, White	6 (11%)		
Daddy, Helpful, Neat freak, Nerdy, Normal, Professional, Submissive	5 (9%)		
Amateur porn producers/performers, American, Asian, Black, Dominant, Teenage	4 (7%)		
Body modifier, Cub, Damaged, Father, Homewrecker, Pedophile, Polygamist, Power bottom, Typical	3 (5%)		
Aboriginal, Bro, Chubby chaser, Cruiser, Domestic, Gaymer, Goth, Homophobic, Jailbait, Masochist, Otter, Thug, Twunk	3 (4%)		

Table 2-2. Frequency of recognized lesbian subgroups that were accurately defined.

Student Sample ( <i>N</i> = 51)		General Population Sample ( <i>N</i> = 51)	
Subgroups	Frequency of subgroup being correctly defined <i>n</i> (%)	Subgroups	Frequency of subgroup being correctly defined <i>n</i> (%)
Feminist	37 (73%)	Butch	27 (53%)
Butch	35 (71%)	Feminist	16 (31%)
Tomboy	29 (57%)	Tomboy	14 (27%)
Queer	16 (31%)	Closeted	13 (25%)
Androgynous	14 (27%)	Open	10 (20%)
Free spirited, Transgender	13 (25%)	Free spirited	9 (18%)
Alpha	12 (24%)	Dyke	8 (16%)
Alternative, Closeted, Hipster	11 (22%)	Androgynous	7 (14%)
Arts student, Feminine	10 (20%)	Feminine, Queer	6 (12%)
Drag king, Drama queen, Flamboyant, Lezboi, Punk	9 (18%)	Baby dyke, Straight acting	5 (10%)
Athlete, Biker	8 (16%)	Athlete, Aboriginal	4 (8%)
Dominant, Goth	7 (14%)	Alpha, Alternative, Arab/Middle Eastern, Asian, Black, Drag king, Flamboyant, Professional, Pushy, Uncertain	3 (6%)

Student Sample ( $N = 51$ )		General Population Sample ( $N = 51$ )	
Subgroups	Frequency of subgroup being correctly defined $n$ (%)	Subgroups	Frequency of subgroup being correctly defined $n$ (%)
Ambiguous, Body modifier, Open, Uncertain	6 (12%)	Attention seeker, Dominant, Hidden, Lezboi, Mother, South Asian, White	2 (4%)
Attention seeker, Musician	5 (10%)	Biker, Body image, Latino, Model, Punk, Submissive, Transgender	1 (2%)
Intellectual, Promiscuous, Straight acting, White	4 (8%)		
Asian, Baby dyke, Black, Confidant, Mother, Pushy, Smoker, Troublemaker	3 (6%)		
Caregiver, Reserved, South Asian, Substance user	2 (4%)		
Aboriginal, Arab/Middle Eastern, Body image, Bottom, Chapstick, Fashion, Hidden, Jailbait, Masochist, Prisoner, Submissive, Top	1 (2%)		

Table 3-1. The highest endorsed photograph in each subgroup, the percentage of endorsement for that photograph in that particular subgroup, and its mean representativeness rating.

	% Endorsement of that Subgroups	Mean representativeness rating <i>M (SD)</i>
Gay Men		
Closeted	84	6.19 (3.32)
Drag Queen	100	9.42 (1.43)
Feminine	64	7.50 (2.36)
Flamboyant	74	8.46 (2.02)
Lesbian Women		
Butch	88	8.34 (2.09)
Feminist	94	6.62 (2.89)
Tomboy	70	7.69 (2.19)

Table 3-2. Means and standard deviations for scale scores from a societal perspective for gay men subgroups.

	<i>M (SD)</i>									
	Competence (6-30)	Warmth (6-30)	Admiration (2-10)	Envy (2-10)	Pity (2-10)	Contempt (2-10)	Active Facilitation (3-15)	Passive Facilitation (3-15)	Active Harm (3-15)	Passive Harm (4-20)
Closeted ( <i>n</i> = 59)	20.24 (4.24)	21.71 (4.26)	4.20 (1.85)	2.86 (1.46)	6.31 (1.67)	5.36 (1.57)	8.10 (2.55)	7.88 (2.25)	7.85 (2.70)	11.64 (3.05)
Drag Queen ( <i>n</i> = 64)	17.65 (4.26)	18.06 (4.06)	4.13 (1.68)	2.95 (1.29)	5.08 (1.62)	6.14 (1.68)	6.69 (1.98)	6.62 (1.91)	8.46 (2.58)	13.28 (3.23)
Feminine ( <i>n</i> = 64)	19.19 (3.65)	21.42 (3.63)	4.36 (1.40)	3.03 (1.49)	5.11 (1.48)	5.38 (1.70)	7.88 (2.37)	8.19 (1.81)	7.47 (2.58)	11.67 (3.47)
Flamboyant ( <i>n</i> = 61)	19.28 (3.84)	21.92 (4.45)	4.70 (1.90)	3.46 (1.60)	5.16 (1.71)	5.79 (1.55)	7.79 (2.32)	7.72 (2.21)	8.23 (3.06)	12.85 (2.93)

*Note.* Midpoint of Competence and Warmth subscales is 18, midpoint for all affective subscales is 6, midpoint for facilitation and active harm subscales is 9, and midpoint for the passive harm subscale 12.

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Table 3-3. Means and standard deviations for scale scores from a personal perspective for gay men subgroups.

	<i>M (SD)</i>											
	Competence (6-30)	Warmth (6-30)	Status (3-15)	Competition (3-15)	Admiration (2-10)	Envy (2-10)	Pity (2-10)	Contempt (2-10)	Active Facilitation (3-15)	Passive Facilitation (3-15)	Active Harm (3-15)	Passive Harm (4-20)
Closeted ( <i>n</i> = 59)	22.53 (4.14)	23.98 (4.16)	10.76 (1.77)	5.19 (2.38)	5.27 (2.29)	2.34 (.921)	4.63 (1.61)	2.90 (1.32)	7.80 (3.25)	7.93 (2.74)	3.29 (.948)	4.80 (1.57)
Drag Queen ( <i>n</i> = 64)	22.19 (3.67)	22.09 (4.09)	8.53 (1.75)	5.41 (2.71)	4.94 (2.25)	2.38 (.845)	3.80 (1.42)	2.77 (1.09)	5.72 (2.70)	5.83 (2.49)	3.14 (.889)	4.48 (1.45)
Feminine ( <i>n</i> = 64)	22.73 (3.50)	23.58 (3.75)	10.00 (1.65)	5.67 (2.69)	5.34 (2.06)	2.44 (.990)	4.28 (1.54)	2.61 (1.02)	7.25 (2.64)	7.98 (2.63)	3.31 (1.02)	4.78 (1.66)
Flamboyant ( <i>n</i> = 61)	22.97 (4.03)	24.03 (3.89)	9.51 (1.99)	5.30 (3.15)	5.98 (2.33)	2.54 (1.15)	4.56 (1.37)	2.85 (1.24)	7.93 (3.11)	8.21 (3.03)	3.25 (.925)	4.69 (1.69)

*Note.* Midpoint of Competence and Warmth subscales is 18, midpoint for all affective subscales is 6, midpoint for facilitation and active harm subscales is 9, and midpoint for the passive harm subscale 12.

Table 3-4. Means and standard deviations for scale scores from a societal perspective for lesbian women subgroups.

	<i>M (SD)</i>									
	Competence (6-30)	Warmth (6-30)	Admiration (2-10)	Envy (2-10)	Pity (2-10)	Contempt (2-10)	Active Facilitation (3-15)	Passive Facilitation (3-15)	Active Harm (3-15)	Passive Harm (4-20)
Butch ( <i>n</i> = 65)	19.34 (4.57)	16.85 (4.51)	3.71 (1.62)	2.98 (1.37)	4.43 (1.90)	5.46 (1.75)	6.47 (2.44)	6.62 (2.14)	7.79 (2.93)	11.97 (3.16)
Feminist ( <i>n</i> = 63)	19.94 (4.60)	18.10 (4.39)	4.32 (1.55)	3.17 (1.41)	4.43 (1.62)	5.73 (1.68)	7.25 (2.58)	7.59 (2.35)	8.17 (2.99)	12.06 (3.30)
Tomboy ( <i>n</i> = 68)	20.01 (4.06)	17.28 (3.87)	4.01 (1.63)	2.96 (1.52)	4.49 (1.41)	5.41 (1.72)	6.99 (2.31)	7.22 (1.84)	7.18 (2.68)	11.68 (3.14)

*Note.* Midpoint of Competence and Warmth subscales is 18, midpoint for all affective subscales is 6, midpoint for facilitation and active harm subscales is 9, and midpoint for the passive harm subscale 12.

Table 3-5. Means and standard deviations for scale scores from a personal perspective for lesbian women subgroups.

	<i>M (SD)</i>											
	Competence (6-30)	Warmth (6-30)	Status (3-15)	Competition (3-15)	Admiration (2-10)	Envy (2-10)	Pity (2-10)	Contempt (2-10)	Active Facilitation (3-15)	Passive Facilitation (3-15)	Active Harm (3-15)	Passive Harm (4-20)
Butch ( <i>n</i> = 65)	22.28 (4.16)	21.18 (4.68)	8.91 (2.18)	5.34 (2.90)	4.36 (2.02)	2.29 (.824)	3.54 (1.60)	2.63 (1.12)	6.25 (2.68)	6.91 (2.51)	3.35 (1.21)	4.86 (1.69)
Feminist ( <i>n</i> = 63)	22.29 (4.24)	21.11 (4.44)	9.35 (1.75)	6.06 (3.18)	5.05 (2.06)	2.38 (.869)	3.97 (1.39)	3.02 (1.44)	6.92 (3.10)	7.37 (3.22)	3.24 (.817)	4.60 (1.50)
Tomboy ( <i>n</i> = 68)	22.03 (3.95)	21.24 (4.26)	8.96 (1.77)	5.13 (2.81)	5.07 (2.40)	2.29 (.793)	4.15 (1.66)	2.93 (1.35)	7.29 (3.18)	7.59 (2.83)	3.07 (.434)	4.57 (1.04)

*Note.* Midpoint of Competence and Warmth subscales is 18, midpoint for all affective subscales is 6, midpoint for facilitation and active harm subscales is 9, and midpoint for the passive harm subscale 12.

Table 3-6. Intercorrelations between subscales for ratings of the Closeted gay man subgroup (societal).

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Competence	–									
2. Warmth	.714***	–								
3. Admiration	.368**	.287*	–							
4. Envy	.301*	.069	.279*	–						
5. Pity	-.197	-.232	.013	-.138	–					
6. Contempt	-.157	-.167	-.061	.021	.187	–				
7. Active Facilitation	.300*	.395**	.502***	.236	.081	-.074	–			
8. Passive Facilitation	.290*	.351**	.394**	.211	-.022	-.037	.596***	–		
9. Active Harm	.074	-.149	.027	.218	.056	.325*	.042	-.119	–	
10. Passive Harm	-.139	-.300*	-.164	.152	.133	.577***	-.184	-.265*	.757***	–

\* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$

Note. #1-2 are subscales of the SCM Scale (cognitive). #3-6 are subscales of the SCM Scale (affective). #7-10 are subscales of the BIAS Map Scale.

Table 3-7. Intercorrelations between subscales for ratings of the Closeted gay man subgroup (personal).

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. Competence	–											
2. Warmth	.830***	–										
3. Competition	.031	-.099	–									
4. Status	.520***	.390**	.072	–								
5. Admiration	.305*	.359**	-.126	.050	–							
6. Envy	-.070	-.075	.623***	.071	.062	–						
7. Pity	.053	.149	-.139	.065	.670***	.017	–					
8. Contempt	-.091	-.091	.411**	.041	.106	.567***	.315*	–				
9. Active Facilitation	.106	.186	-.095	.066	.367**	.058	.272*	.148	–			
10. Passive Facilitation	.183	.221	.040	.052	.482***	.102	.305*	.093	.688***	–		
11. Active Harm	.005	-.016	.297*	.082	-.140	.479***	.071	.258*	.143	.113	–	
12. Passive Harm	.030	-.014	.277*	.149	-.181	.358**	.017	.297*	.188	.099	.687***	–

\* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$

Note. #1-4 are subscales of the SCM Scale (cognitive). #5-8 are subscales of the SCM Scale (affective). #9-12 are subscales of the BIAS Map Scale.

Table 3-8. Intercorrelations between subscales for ratings of the Drag Queen gay man subgroup (societal).

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Competence	–									
2. Warmth	.773***	–								
3. Admiration	.485***	.446***	–							
4. Envy	.256*	.018	.311*	–						
5. Pity	-.045	-.001	.283*	.238	–					
6. Contempt	-.503***	-.542***	-.356**	.172	.300*	–				
7. Active Facilitation	.351**	.218	.440***	.335**	.132	-.313*	–			
8. Passive Facilitation	.445***	.383**	.494***	.343**	.150	-.335**	.778***	–		
9. Active Harm	-.160	-.191	.016	.145	.256*	.505***	-.183	-.036	–	
10. Passive Harm	-.161	-.113	-.060	.106	.302*	.562***	-.302*	-.216	.684***	–

\* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$

Note. #1-2 are subscales of the SCM Scale (cognitive). #3-6 are subscales of the SCM Scale (affective). #7-10 are subscales of the BIAS Map Scale.

Table 3-9. Intercorrelations between subscales for ratings of the Drag Queen gay man subgroup (personal).

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. Competence	–											
2. Warmth	.731***	–										
3. Competition	-.211	-.198	–									
4. Status	.406**	.247*	-.140	–								
5. Admiration	.587***	.430***	-.326**	.412**	–							
6. Envy	.007	-.042	.009	.132	.246	–						
7. Pity	.409**	.286*	-.214	.327**	.747***	.171	–					
8. Contempt	-.317	-.190	.440	-.374	-.424	-.041	-.236	–				
9. Active Facilitation	.436***	.367**	-.125	.308*	.652***	.249*	.554***	-.291*	–			
10. Passive Facilitation	.481***	.420**	-.183	.299*	.716***	.400**	.543***	-.318*	.812***	–		
11. Active Harm	-.140	-.104	.194	.033	.028	.521***	.200	.361**	.149	.147	–	
12. Passive Harm	-.439***	-.391**	.176	-.210	-.132	.342**	.142	.524***	-.026	-.069	.736	–

\* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$

Note. #1-4 are subscales of the SCM Scale (cognitive). #5-8 are subscales of the SCM Scale (affective). #9-12 are subscales of the BIAS Map Scale.



Table 3-10. Intercorrelations between subscales for ratings of the Feminine gay man subgroup (societal).

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Competence	–									
2. Warmth	.584***	–								
3. Admiration	.305*	.201	–							
4. Envy	-.062	.012	.422**	–						
5. Pity	-.218	-.168	.203	.387**	–					
6. Contempt	-.291*	-.147	.157	.171	.578***	–				
7. Active Facilitation	.376**	.062	.441***	.037	-.118	-.245	–			
8. Passive Facilitation	.539***	.169	.420**	.039	-.043	-.277*	.788***	–		
9. Active Harm	-.037	.035	.213	.224	.311*	.555***	.033	-.002	–	
10. Passive Harm	-.266*	-.034	.028	.208	.466***	.669***	-.218	-.200	.773***	–

\* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$

Note. #1-2 are subscales of the SCM Scale (cognitive). #3-6 are subscales of the SCM Scale (affective). #7-10 are subscales of the BIAS Map Scale.

Table 3-11. Intercorrelations between subscales for ratings of the Feminine gay man subgroup (personal).

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. Competence	–											
2. Warmth	.751***	–										
3. Competition	-.233	-.306*	–									
4. Status	.480***	.338**	-.064	–								
5. Admiration	.504***	.432***	-.364**	.360**	–							
6. Envy	-.145	-.180	.150	-.146	.315*	–						
7. Pity	.403**	.345**	-.162	.312*	.817***	.335**	–					
8. Contempt	-.328**	-.401**	.318*	.000	.012	.535***	.163	–				
9. Active Facilitation	.419**	.432***	-.223	.382**	.498***	.273*	.436***	.120	–			
10. Passive Facilitation	.569***	.530***	-.205	.377**	.518***	.094	.441***	-.079	.702***	–		
11. Active Harm	-.260*	-.263*	.257*	-.009	.031	.694***	.196	.654***	.135	-.028	–	
12. Passive Harm	-.331**	-.307*	.412**	-.040	-.084	.521	.093	.660***	-.023	-.168	.824***	–

\* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$

Note. #1-4 are subscales of the SCM Scale (cognitive). #5-8 are subscales of the SCM Scale (affective). #9-12 are subscales of the BIAS Map Scale.

Table 3-12. Intercorrelations between subscales for ratings of the Flamboyant gay man subgroup (societal).

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Competence	–									
2. Warmth	.516***	–								
3. Admiration	.468***	.462***	–							
4. Envy	.237	.277*	.474***	–						
5. Pity	.132	.231	.296*	.112	–					
6. Contempt	-.188	.089	-.095	-.014	.245	–				
7. Active Facilitation	.296*	.158	.563***	.274*	.222	-.165	–			
8. Passive Facilitation	.312*	.303*	.600***	.207	.365**	-.169	.797***	–		
9. Active Harm	-.014	.163	.281*	.169	.348**	.537***	.044	.039	–	
10. Passive Harm	-.048	.119	.136	.140	.267*	.390**	-.010	-.048	.763***	–

\* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$

Note. #1-2 are subscales of the SCM Scale (cognitive). #3-6 are subscales of the SCM Scale (affective). #7-10 are subscales of the BIAS Map Scale.

Table 3-13. Intercorrelations between subscales for ratings of the Flamboyant gay man subgroup (personal).

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. Competence	–											
2. Warmth	.709***	–										
3. Competition	-.195	-.085	–									
4. Status	.547***	.427**	-.019	–								
5. Admiration	.599***	.548***	-.027	.415**	–							
6. Envy	.090	-.101	.116	-.020	.289*	–						
7. Pity	.431**	.312*	.035	.255*	.757***	.281*	–					
8. Contempt	.669	.776	.064	.853	.074	.000	.001	–				
9. Active Facilitation	.583***	.479***	-.070	.415**	.728***	.136	.677***	.271	–			
10. Passive Facilitation	.556***	.442***	-.061	.462***	.641***	.100	.523***	.164	.820***	–		
11. Active Harm	-.056	-.183	.221	-.060	.149	.689***	.297*	.601***	.012	-.072	–	
12. Passive Harm	-.192	-.206	.347**	-.071	.012	.586***	.183	.493***	-.086	-.123	.744***	–

\* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$

Note. #1-4 are subscales of the SCM Scale (cognitive). #5-8 are subscales of the SCM Scale (affective). #9-12 are subscales of the BIAS Map Scale.

Table 3-14. Intercorrelations between subscales for ratings of the Butch lesbian subgroup (societal).

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Competence	–									
2. Warmth	.699***	–								
3. Admiration	.360**	.409**	–							
4. Envy	.147	.257*	.525***	–						
5. Pity	.033	.165	.485***	.350**	–					
6. Contempt	-.318**	-.345**	.010	.276*	.382**	–				
7. Active Facilitation	.305*	.493***	.670***	.326**	.443***	-.068	–			
8. Passive Facilitation	.445**	.489***	.670***	.337**	.398**	-.114	.747***	–		
9. Active Harm	-.118	-.245*	-.020	.350**	.343**	.527***	-.038	-.001	–	
10. Passive Harm	.008	-.245*	-.074	.265*	.218	.630***	-.216	-.172	.741***	–

\* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$

Note. #1-2 are subscales of the SCM Scale (cognitive). #3-6 are subscales of the SCM Scale (affective). #7-10 are subscales of the BIAS Map Scale.

Table 3-15. Intercorrelations between subscales for ratings of the Butch lesbian subgroup (personal).

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. Competence	–											
2. Warmth	.834***	–										
3. Competition	-.493***	-.337**	–									
4. Status	.556***	.679***	-.141	–								
5. Admiration	.468***	.531***	-.191	.413**	–							
6. Envy	.058	.120	.115	.233	.246*	–						
7. Pity	.319**	.344**	-.073	.158	.786***	.305*	–					
8. Contempt	-.250*	-.156	.337**	-.130	.084	.441**	.314*	–				
9. Active Facilitation	.435***	.467***	-.133	.471***	.623***	.271*	.462***	.053	–			
10. Passive Facilitation	.425***	.459***	-.170	.477***	.631***	.286*	.466***	.080	.822***	–		
11. Active Harm	-.139	-.109	.259*	.020	.036	.682***	.230	.679***	.126	.125	–	
12. Passive Harm	-.212	-.177	.353**	-.080	.093	.611***	.293*	.688***	.147	.152	.859***	–

\* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$

Note. #1-4 are subscales of the SCM Scale (cognitive). #5-8 are subscales of the SCM Scale (affective). #9-12 are subscales of the BIAS Map Scale.

Table 3-16. Intercorrelations between subscales for ratings of the Feminist lesbian subgroup (societal).

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Competence	–									
2. Warmth	.630	–								
3. Admiration	.513***	.535***	–							
4. Envy	.270	.279*	.453***	–						
5. Pity	.047	.372**	.143	.319*	–					
6. Contempt	-.253*	-.128	-.121	.102	.570***	–				
7. Active Facilitation	.370**	.245	.349**	-.119	.024	-.196	–			
8. Passive Facilitation	.462***	.499***	.581***	-.036	.047	-.336**	.637***	–		
9. Active Harm	-.059	.118	.016	.215	.160	.318*	-.250*	-.208	–	
10. Passive Harm	-.158	.004	-.092	.285*	.251*	.431***	-.329**	-.328**	.823***	–

\* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$

Note. #1-2 are subscales of the SCM Scale (cognitive). #3-6 are subscales of the SCM Scale (affective). #7-10 are subscales of the BIAS Map Scale.

Table 3-17. Intercorrelations between subscales for ratings of the Feminist lesbian subgroup (personal).

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. Competence	–											
2. Warmth	.682***	–										
3. Competition	-.226	-.128	–									
4. Status	.483***	.337**	-.412**	–								
5. Admiration	.593***	.633***	-.271*	.478***	–							
6. Envy	.114	.231	.219	.070	.314*	–						
7. Pity	.414**	.434***	.070	.269*	.766***	.410**	–					
8. Contempt	-.206	-.333**	.432***	-.283*	-.201	.137	.129	–				
9. Active Facilitation	.510***	.614***	-.111	.451***	.547***	.257*	.479***	-.267*	–			
10. Passive Facilitation	.536***	.611***	-.053	.505***	.554***	.289*	.456***	-.286*	.907***	–		
11. Active Harm	-.015	-.101	.137	.132	-.026	.052	.035	.216	-.018	-.052	–	
12. Passive Harm	-.347**	-.214	.367**	-.204	-.313*	-.043	-.176	.287*	-.254*	-.270*	.487***	–

\* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$

Note. #1-4 are subscales of the SCM Scale (cognitive). #5-8 are subscales of the SCM Scale (affective). #9-12 are subscales of the BIAS Map Scale.

Table 3-18. Intercorrelations between subscales for ratings of the Tomboy lesbian subgroup (societal).

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Competence	–									
2. Warmth	.734***	–								
3. Admiration	.332**	.455***	–							
4. Envy	.111	.157	.381**	–						
5. Pity	-.022	.040	.271*	.310*	–					
6. Contempt	-.144	-.311**	-.125	.178	.323**	–				
7. Active Facilitation	.305*	.370**	.489***	.068	.236	-.096	–			
8. Passive Facilitation	.438***	.540***	.479***	.217	.172	-.119	.695***	–		
9. Active Harm	-.251*	-.222	-.052	.211	.187	.431***	-.186	-.157	–	
10. Passive Harm	-.022	-.129	.036	.113	.286*	.453***	-.071	-.039	.593***	–

\* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$

Note. #1-2 are subscales of the SCM Scale (cognitive). #3-6 are subscales of the SCM Scale (affective). #7-10 are subscales of the BIAS Map Scale.

Table 3-19. Intercorrelations between subscales for ratings of the Tomboy lesbian subgroup (personal).

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. Competence	–											
2. Warmth	.849***	–										
3. Competition	-.605***	-.593***	–									
4. Status	.523**	.539***	-.342**	–								
5. Admiration	.511***	.599***	-.501***	.374**	–							
6. Envy	-.089	.001	-.071	-.001	.122	–						
7. Pity	.380**	.449***	-.420***	.257*	.817***	.114	–					
8. Contempt	-.016	-.088	.277*	-.151	.075	.090	.138	–				
9. Active Facilitation	.502***	.533***	-.417***	.324**	.623***	-.011	.598***	-.019	–			
10. Passive Facilitation	.486***	.557***	-.398**	.400**	.648***	.128	.598***	.027	.766***	–		
11. Active Harm	.068	.112	-.130	.082	.181	-.064	.316**	.111	.276*	.244*	–	
12. Passive Harm	-.295*	-.394**	.259*	-.230	-.196	-.117	-.032	.242*	-.047	-.192	.037	–

\* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$

Note. #1-4 are subscales of the SCM Scale (cognitive). #5-8 are subscales of the SCM Scale (affective). #9-12 are subscales of the BIAS Map Scale.

Table 3-20. Summary of findings for analyses of gay men subgroups.

Societal		Personal	
SCM (cognitive)			
Closeted: warm > competent		Closeted: warm > competent	
Drag Queen: warm = competent		Drag Queen: warm = competent	
Feminine: warm > competent		Feminine: warm > competent	
Flamboyant: warm > competent		Flamboyant: warm > competent	
Drag Queen < competent than Closeted		No differences in competence	
Drag Queen < warm than Closeted, Feminine, Flamboyant		Drag Queen < warm than Closeted, Flamboyant	
--		Drag Queen < status than Closeted, Feminine, Flamboyant	
--		Flamboyant < status than Closeted	
--		No differences in competition	
SCM (affective)			
Closeted > pitied than Drag Queen, Feminine, Flamboyant		Closeted, Flamboyant > pitied than Drag Queen	
Drag Queen > contempt than Closeted, Feminine		No differences in contempt	
No differences in admiration		No differences in admiration	
No differences in envy		No differences in envy	
		Flamboyant > contempt when a photograph was shown	
		Closeted < contempt when a photograph was shown	
BIAS Map			
Drag Queen < active facilitation than Closeted, Feminine, Flamboyant		Drag Queen < active facilitation than Closeted, Feminine, Flamboyant	
Drag Queen < passive facilitation than Closeted, Feminine, Flamboyant		Drag Queen < passive facilitation than Closeted, Feminine, Flamboyant	
Drag Queen > passive harm than Closeted, Feminine		No differences in passive harm	
No differences in active harm		No differences in active harm	
Mediation			
<u>Competence-Active Facilitation</u>		<u>Warmth-Active Facilitation</u>	
Admiration: Closeted		Admiration: Closeted	
Feminine		Drag Queen	
Flamboyant		Feminine	
		Flamboyant	
Pity:	not a sig. mediator	Pity:	not a sig. mediator
<u>Competence-Passive Facilitation</u>		<u>Warmth-Passive Facilitation</u>	
Admiration: Closeted		Admiration: Closeted	
Drag Queen		Drag Queen	
Feminine		Flamboyant	
Flamboyant			
Envy:	not a sig. mediator	Envy:	not a sig. mediator

Societal		Personal	
<u>Competence-Passive Harm</u>		<u>Warmth-Passive Harm</u>	
Contempt: Drag Queen Feminine	Contempt: Drag Queen	Contempt: Feminine	Contempt: Feminine
Pity: not a sig. mediator	Pity: not a sig. mediator	Pity: Drag Queen	Pity: Drag Queen
<u>Competence-Active Harm</u>		<u>Warmth-Active Harm</u>	
Contempt: Drag Queen Feminine	Contempt: Drag Queen	Contempt: Feminine	Contempt: Feminine
Envy: not a sig. mediator	Envy: not a sig. mediator	Envy: not a sig. mediator	Envy: not a sig. mediator
Checklists			
Closeted > negativity on adjective ratings than all other subgroups		Closeted > negativity on adjective ratings than all other subgroups	
No differences on emotion checklist		No differences on emotion checklist	
No differences on behaviour checklist		No differences on behaviour checklist	
Subgroups with photographs > positively than subgroups with no photographs on the societal adjective checklist			

Table 3-21. Mediation by admiration and pity on the relationship of warmth and competence with active facilitation for the Closeted gay man subgroup ( $n = 59$ ).

Active Facilitation	c		c'		a		b		95% CI
	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	
<b>Admiration (societal)</b>									
Competence	.181*	.076	.095	.076	.161**	.054	.608***	.170	[.195, .223]
Warmth	.237**	.073	.189*	.071	.125*	.055			[.008, .169]
<b>Pity (societal)</b>									
Competence	.181*	.076	.095	.076	-.078	.051	.163	.179	[-.074, .009]
Warmth	.237**	.073	.189*	.071	-.091	.051			[-.100, .006]
<b>Admiration (personal)</b>									
Competence	.125	.103	.050	.106	.169*	.070	.432	.257	[-.012, .258]
Warmth	.145	.102	.054	.106	.198**	.068			[-.012, .246]
<b>Pity (personal)</b>									
Competence	.125	.103	.050	.106	.021	.051	.132	.349	[-.030, .075]
Warmth	.145	.102	.054	.106	.058	.051			[-.031, .098]

\*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$

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Table 3-22. Mediation by admiration and pity on the relationship of warmth and competence with active facilitation for the Drag Queen gay man subgroup ( $n = 64$ ).

Active Facilitation	c		c'		a		b		95% CI
	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	B	SE	
<b>Admiration (societal)</b>									
Competence	.163*	.055	.089	.062	.191***	.044	.393*	.164	[-.005, .178]
Warmth	.106	.060	.014	.064	.184***	.047			[.017, .183]
<b>Pity (societal)</b>									
Competence	.163*	.055	.089	.062	-.017	.048	.056	.149	[-.018, .023]
Warmth	.106	.060	.014	.064	-.001	.051			[-.016, .028]
<b>Admiration (personal)</b>									
Competence	.321***	.084	.065	.088	.359***	.063	.579**	.197	[.062, .360]
Warmth	.242**	.078	.074	.070	.237***	.063			[.042, .257]
<b>Pity (personal)</b>									
Competence	.321***	.084	.065	.088	.158***	.045	.298	.277	[-.042, .146]
Warmth	.242**	.078	.074	.070	.099*	.042			[-.028, .105]

\*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$



Table 3-23. Mediation by admiration and pity on the relationship of warmth and competence with active facilitation for the Feminine gay man subgroup ( $n = 64$ ).

Active Facilitation	c		c'		a		b		95% CI
	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	
<b>Admiration (societal)</b>									
Competence	.244**	.076	.142	.078	.117*	.046	.688**	.204	[.019, .190]
Warmth	.040	.083	-.052	.077	.078	.048			[.001, .159]
<b>Pity (societal)</b>									
Competence	.244**	.076	.142	.078	-.089	.050	-.244	.188	[-.006, .093]
Warmth	.040	.083	-.052	.077	-.069	.051			[-.006, .103]
<b>Admiration (personal)</b>									
Competence	.316***	.087	.171	.095	.296***	.064	.397	.257	[-.048, .345]
Warmth	.304***	.081	.188*	.084	.237***	.063			[-.028, .267]
<b>Pity (personal)</b>									
Competence	.316***	.087	.171	.095	.177**	.051	.158	.325	[-.128, .147]
Warmth	.304***	.081	.188*	.084	.142**	.049			[-.099, .127]

\*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$

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Table 3-24. Mediation by admiration and pity on the relationship of warmth and competence with active facilitation for the Flamboyant gay man subgroup ( $n = 61$ ).

Active Facilitation	c		c'		a		b		95% CI
	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	
<b>Admiration (societal)</b>									
Competence	.179*	.075	.026	.075	.231***	.057	.642***	.157	[.064, .248]
Warmth	.082	.067	-.073	.064	.197***	.049			[.055, .268]
<b>Pity (societal)</b>									
Competence	.179*	.075	.026	.075	.059	.058	.083	.155	[-.008, .049]
Warmth	.082	.067	-.073	.064	.089	.049			[-.011, .051]
<b>Admiration (personal)</b>									
Competence	.450***	.082	.185*	.080	.347***	.060	.469*	.192	[.046, .320]
Warmth	.345***	.095	.133	.084	.329***	.065			[.044, .319]
<b>Pity (personal)</b>									
Competence	.450***	.082	.185*	.080	.147***	.040	.694*	.289	[.004, .211]
Warmth	.383***	.091	.131	.083	.110*	.044			[.001, .203]

\*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$

Table 3-25. Mediation by admiration and envy on the relationship of warmth and competence with passive facilitation for the Closeted gay man subgroup ( $n = 59$ ).

Passive Facilitation	c		c'		a		b		95% CI
	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	
<b>Admiration (societal)</b>									
Competence	.154*	.067	.080	.071	.161**	.054	.385**	.162	[.008, .175]
Warmth	.186**	.066	.138*	.066	.125*	.055			[.003, .119]
<b>Envy (societal)</b>									
Competence	.154*	.067	.080	.071	.103*	.043	.119	.201	[-.018, .097]
Warmth	.186**	.066	.138*	.066	.024	.045			[-.008, .053]
<b>Admiration (personal)</b>									
Competence	.118	.084	.030	.080	.169*	.070	.543***	.145	[.010, .238]
Warmth	.143	.083	.041	.082	.198**	.068			[.033, .225]
<b>Envy (personal)</b>									
Competence	.118	.084	.030	.080	-.016	.029	.224	.344	[-.041, .006]
Warmth	.143	.083	.041	.082	-.017	.029			[-.053, .011]

\*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$

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Table 3-26. Mediation by admiration and envy on the relationship of warmth and competence with passive facilitation for the Drag Queen gay man subgroup ( $n = 64$ ).

Passive Facilitation	c		c'		a		b		95% CI
	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	
<b>Admiration (societal)</b>									
Competence	.200***	.051	.109	.055	.191***	.044	.366*	.142	[.012, .166]
Warmth	.180**	.055	.113	.056	.184***	.047			[.014, .155]
<b>Envy (societal)</b>									
Competence	.200***	.051	.109	.055	.078*	.037	.268	.167	[-.003, .071]
Warmth	.180**	.055	.113	.056	.006	.040			[-.027, .039]
<b>Admiration (personal)</b>									
Competence	.326***	.076	.100	.071	.360***	.063	.626***	.120	[.110, .380]
Warmth	.256***	.070	.113*	.056	.237***	.063			[.071, .254]
<b>Envy (personal)</b>									
Competence	.326***	.076	.100	.071	.002	.029	.767**	.258	[-.044, .047]
Warmth	.256***	.070	.113*	.056	-.009	.026			[-.048, .028]

\*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$

Table 3-27. Mediation by admiration and envy on the relationship of warmth and competence with passive facilitation for the Feminine gay man subgroup ( $n = 64$ ).

Passive Facilitation	c		c'		a		b		95% CI
	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	
<b>Admiration (societal)</b>									
Competence	.267***	.053	.218***	.055	.117*	.046	.406*	.158	[.002, .138]
Warmth	.084	.062	.038	.059	.078	.048			[-.001, .131]
<b>Envy (societal)</b>									
Competence	.267***	.053	.218***	.055	-.026	.052	-.080	.141	[-.006, .031]
Warmth	.084	.062	.038	.059	.005	.052			[-.027, .019]
<b>Admiration (personal)</b>									
Competence	.427***	.078	.332***	.094	.296***	.064	.348*	.166	[.005, .232]
Warmth	.371***	.075	.282**	.084	.237***	.063			[.022, .207]
<b>Envy (personal)</b>									
Competence	.427***	.078	.332***	.094	-.041	.036	.192	.301	[-.052, .009]
Warmth	.371***	.075	.282**	.084	-.048	.033			[-.060, .012]

\*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$

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Table 3-28. Mediation by admiration and envy on the relationship of warmth and competence with passive facilitation for the Flamboyant gay man subgroup ( $n = 61$ ).

Passive Facilitation	c		c'		a		b		95% CI
	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	
<b>Admiration (societal)</b>									
Competence	.179*	.071	.024	.068	.231***	.057	.729***	.153	[.085, .275]
Warmth	.150*	.062	.020	.059	.197***	.049			[.062, .254]
<b>Envy (societal)</b>									
Competence	.179*	.071	.024	.068	.098	.053	-.138	.165	[-.085, .031]
Warmth	.150*	.062	.020	.059	.100*	.045			[-.106, .022]
<b>Admiration (personal)</b>									
Competence	.418***	.082	.195*	.092	.347***	.060	.657***	.165	[.106, .385]
Warmth	.345***	.091	.084	.099	.329***	.065			[.128, .435]
<b>Envy (personal)</b>									
Competence	.418***	.082	.195*	.092	.026	.037	-.183	.270	[-.037, .018]
Warmth	.345***	.091	.084	.099	-.030	.038			[-.012, .050]

\*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$

Table 3-29. Mediation by contempt and pity on the relationship of warmth and competence with passive harm for the Closeted gay man subgroup ( $n = 59$ ).

Passive Harm	c		c'		a		b		95% CI
	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	
<b>Contempt (societal)</b>									
Competence	-.100	.094	-.033	.081	-.058	.049	1.10***	.219	[-.179, .043]
Warmth	-.215*	.091	-.153	.079	-.062	.048			[-.195, .024]
<b>Pity (societal)</b>									
Competence	-.100	.094	-.033	.081	-.078	.051	.033	.207	[-.059, .029]
Warmth	-.215*	.091	-.153	.079	-.091	.051			[-.031, .058]
<b>Contempt (personal)</b>									
Competence	.011	.050	.025	.049	-.029	.042	.394*	.162	[-.055, .015]
Warmth	-.005	.050	.011	.050	-.029	.042			[-.058, .021]
<b>Pity (personal)</b>									
Competence	.011	.050	.025	.049	.021	.051	-.088	.162	[-.033, .008]
Warmth	-.005	.050	.011	.050	.058	.051			[-.044, .006]

\*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$

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Table 3-30. Mediation by contempt and pity on the relationship of warmth and competence with passive harm for the Drag Queen gay man subgroup ( $n = 64$ ).

Passive Harm	c		c'		a		b		95% CI
	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	
<b>Contempt (societal)</b>									
Competence	-.122	.095	.109	.092	-.199***	.043	1.14***	.245	[-.354, -.112]
Warmth	-.090	.100	.196	.099	-.224***	.044			[-.430, -.161]
<b>Pity (societal)</b>									
Competence	-.122	.095	.109	.092	-.017	.048	.259	.220	[-.048, .025]
Warmth	-.090	.100	.196	.099	.001	.051			[-.040, .028]
<b>Contempt (personal)</b>									
Competence	-.173***	.045	-.185***	.040	-.095*	.040	.635***	.126	[-.157, .009]
Warmth	-.139**	.041	-.141***	.034	-.051	.033			[-.123, .039]
<b>Pity (personal)</b>									
Competence	-.173***	.045	-.185***	.040	.158***	.045	.456***	.101	[.016, .119]
Warmth	-.139**	.041	-.141***	.034	.099*	.042			[.003, .083]

\*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$

Table 3-31. Mediation by contempt and pity on the relationship of warmth and competence with passive harm for the Feminine gay man subgroup ( $n = 64$ ).

Passive Harm	c		c'		a		b		95% CI
	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	
<b>Contempt (societal)</b>									
Competence	-.253*	.117	-.070	.095	-.136*	.057	1.23***	.244	[-.366, -.031]
Warmth	-.033	.121	.071	.092	-.069	.059			[-.271, .045]
<b>Pity (societal)</b>									
Competence	-.253*	.117	-.070	.095	-.089	.050	.195	.273	[-.091, .021]
Warmth	-.033	.121	.071	.092	-.069	.051			[-.098, .014]
<b>Contempt (personal)</b>									
Competence	-.158**	.057	-.076	.055	-.095**	.035	.980***	.176	[-.221, -.011]
Warmth	-.136*	.054	-.024	.053	-.109**	.032			[-.247, -.016]
<b>Pity (personal)</b>									
Competence	-.158**	.057	-.076	.055	.177**	.051	.064	.120	[-.026, .055]
Warmth	-.136*	.054	-.024	.053	.142**	.049			[-.032, .033]

\*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$

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Table 3-32. Mediation by contempt and pity on the relationship of warmth and competence with passive harm for the Flamboyant gay man subgroup ( $n = 61$ ).

Passive Harm	c		c'		a		b		95% CI
	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	
<b>Contempt (societal)</b>									
Competence	-.037	.099	-.006	.095	-.076	.052	.647**	.239	[-.211, .009]
Warmth	.079	.085	.032	.081	.031	.045			[-.032, .117]
<b>Pity (societal)</b>									
Competence	-.037	.099	-.006	.095	.059	.058	.314	.215	[-.011, .104]
Warmth	.079	.085	.032	.081	.089	.049			[-.006, .091]
<b>Contempt (personal)</b>									
Competence	-.075	.050	-.102*	.048	.017	.040	.588***	.156	[-.041, .058]
Warmth	-.083	.051	-.084	.049	-.035	.043			[-.076, .037]
<b>Pity (personal)</b>									
Competence	-.075	.050	-.102*	.048	.147***	.040	.120	.156	[-.022, .068]
Warmth	-.083	.051	-.084	.049	.086	.045			[-.024, .046]

\*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$

Table 3-33. Mediation by contempt and envy on the relationship of warmth and competence with active harm for the Closeted gay man subgroup ( $n = 59$ ).

Active Harm	c		c'		a		b		95% CI
	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	
<b>Contempt (societal)</b>									
Competence	.048	.084	.044	.084	-.058	.049	.570*	.216	[-.114, .015]
Warmth	-.095	.083	-.072	.080	-.062	.048			[-.117, .006]
<b>Envy (societal)</b>									
Competence	.048	.084	.044	.084	.103*	.043	.353	.242	[-.008, .140]
Warmth	-.095	.083	-.072	.080	.024	.045			[-.018, .091]
<b>Contempt (personal)</b>									
Competence	.001	.030	.009	.027	-.029	.042	-.012	.103	[-.007, .022]
Warmth	-.004	.030	.004	.027	-.029	.042			[-.009, .019]
<b>Envy (personal)</b>									
Competence	.001	.030	.009	.027	-.016	.029	.505**	.148	[-.053, .003]
Warmth	-.004	.030	.004	.027	-.017	.029			[-.071, .005]

\*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$

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Table 3-34. Mediation by contempt and envy on the relationship of warmth and competence with active harm for the Drag Queen gay man subgroup ( $n = 64$ ).

Active Harm	c		c'		a		b		95% CI
	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	
<b>Contempt (societal)</b>									
Competence	-.096	.075	.070	.084	-.199***	.043	.850***	.208	[-.287, -.087]
Warmth	-.120	.078	.069	.083	-.224***	.044			[-.329, -.095]
<b>Envy (societal)</b>									
Competence	-.096	.075	.070	.084	.078*	.037	.036	.242	[-.032, .046]
Warmth	-.120	.078	.069	.083	.006	.040			[-.013, .028]
<b>Contempt (personal)</b>									
Competence	-.034	.030	-.006	.025	-.095*	.036	.304***	.084	[-.086, .006]
Warmth	-.023	.027	-.002	.022	-.051	.033			[-.059, .020]
<b>Envy (personal)</b>									
Competence	-.034	.030	-.006	.025	.002	.029	.564***	.104	[-.053, .018]
Warmth	-.023	.027	-.002	.022	-.009	.026			[-.050, .010]

\*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$

Table 3-35. Mediation by contempt and envy on the relationship of warmth and competence with active harm for the Feminine gay man subgroup ( $n = 64$ ).

Active Harm	c		c'		a		b		95% CI
	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	
<b>Contempt (societal)</b>									
Competence	-.026	.090	.098	.077	-.136*	.057	.871***	.168	[-.247, -.033]
Warmth	.025	.090	.081	.075	-.069	.059			[-.162, .028]
<b>Envy (societal)</b>									
Competence	.267***	.053	.218***	.055	-.026	.052	.232	.184	[-.049, .013]
Warmth	.025	.090	.081	.075	.005	.052			[-.021, .030]
<b>Contempt (personal)</b>									
Competence	-.076*	.036	-.020	.025	-.095*	.035	.373***	.102	[-.087, -.004]
Warmth	-.072*	.033	-.006	.025	-.109**	.032			[-.098, -.005]
<b>Envy (personal)</b>									
Competence	-.076*	.036	-.020	.025	-.041	.036	.502***	.100	[-.078, .005]
Warmth	-.072*	.033	-.006	.025	-.048	.033			[-.090, .006]

\* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$

170 Table 3-36. Mediation by contempt and envy on the relationship of warmth and competence with active harm for the Flamboyant gay man subgroup ( $n = 61$ ).

Active Harm	c		c'		a		b		95% CI
	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	
<b>Contempt (societal)</b>									
Competence	-.011	.104	.040	.091	-.076	.052	1.08***	.220	[-.228, .068]
Warmth	.112	.088	.050	.078	.031	.045			[-.071, .141]
<b>Envy (societal)</b>									
Competence	-.011	.104	.040	.091	.098	.053	.315	.215	[-.005, .112]
Warmth	.112	.088	.050	.078	.100*	.045			[-.006, .127]
<b>Contempt (personal)</b>									
Competence	-.013	.030	-.028	.020	.018	.040	.264***	.073	[-.019, .025]
Warmth	-.044	.031	-.028	.021	-.012	.041			[-.035, .015]
<b>Envy (personal)</b>									
Competence	-.013	.030	-.028	.020	.026	.037	.427***	.079	[-.013, .045]
Warmth	-.044	.031	-.028	.021	-.030	.038			[-.055, .010]

\* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$

Table 3-37. Frequencies of endorsement of adjectives from a societal perspective for the gay men subgroups.

	% (n)							
	Abnormal	Active	Adventurous	Affectionate	Aggressive	Ambitious	Arrogant	Artistic
Closeted	67.8% (40)	11.9% (7)	16.9% (10)	33.9% (20)	8.5% (5)	10.2% (6)	11.9% (7)	33.9% (20)
Drag Queen	85.9% (55)	12.5% (8)	51.6% (33)	20.3% (13)	10.9% (7)	28.1% (18)	26.6% (17)	59.4% (38)
Feminine	76.6% (49)	23.4% (15)	31.3% (20)	53.1% (34)	12.5% (8)	31.3% (20)	29.7% (19)	65.6% (42)
Flamboyant	67.2% (41)	36.1% (22)	50.8% (31)	62.3% (38)	4.9% (3)	27.9% (17)	31.1% (19)	62.3% (38)
	Ashamed	Athletic	Attention seeking	Attractive	Bossy	Clean	Compassionate	Competent
Closeted	61.0% (36)	11.9% (7)	32.2% (19)	22.0% (13)	5.1% (3)	35.6% (21)	23.7% (14)	15.3% (9)
Drag Queen	15.6% (10)	3.1% (2)	85.9% (55)	17.2% (11)	18.8% (12)	10.9% (7)	12.5% (8)	7.8% (5)
Feminine	15.6% (10)	6.3% (4)	76.6% (49)	39.1% (25)	29.7% (19)	37.5% (24)	35.9% (23)	20.3% (13)
Flamboyant	11.5% (7)	11.5% (7)	75.4% (46)	36.1% (22)	19.7% (12)	34.4% (21)	26.2% (16)	8.2% (5)
	Competitive	Conceited	Cool	Cowardly	Cultural	Dainty	Deceitful	Deviant
Closeted	5.1% (3)	15.3% (9)	3.4% (2)	37.3% (22)	5.1% (3)	20.3% (12)	15.3% (9)	25.4% (15)
Drag Queen	17.2% (11)	28.1% (18)	12.5% (8)	9.4% (6)	7.8% (5)	14.1% (9)	14.1% (9)	40.6% (26)
Feminine	10.9% (7)	39.1% (25)	14.1% (9)	15.6% (10)	18.8% (12)	48.4% (31)	7.8% (5)	34.4% (22)
Flamboyant	4.9% (3)	32.8% (20)	18.0% (11)	11.5% (7)	14.8% (9)	47.5% (29)	4.9% (3)	18.0% (11)
	Different	Easy going	Effeminate	Egotistical	Emotional	Energetic	Enthusiastic	Faithful
Closeted	57.6% (34)	10.2% (6)	30.5% (18)	16.9% (10)	54.2% (32)	20.3% (12)	25.4% (15)	1.7% (1)
Drag Queen	59.4% (38)	9.4% (6)	39.1% (25)	29.7% (19)	31.3% (20)	54.7% (35)	46.9% (30)	–
Feminine	68.8% (44)	21.9% (14)	31.3% (20)	20.3% (13)	73.4% (47)	39.1% (25)	50.0% (32)	10.9% (7)
Flamboyant	62.3% (38)	13.1% (8)	31.1% (19)	31.1% (19)	67.2% (41)	60.7% (37)	67.2% (41)	3.3% (2)
	Fashionable	Flirtatious	Friendly	Generous	Gentle	Greedy	Happy	Honest
Closeted	45.8% (27)	35.6% (21)	45.8% (27)	13.6% (8)	22.0% (13)	1.7% (1)	23.7% (14)	3.4% (2)
Drag Queen	54.7% (35)	57.8% (37)	42.2% (27)	4.7% (3)	7.8% (5)	9.4% (6)	35.9% (23)	9.4% (6)
Feminine	71.9% (46)	59.4% (38)	68.8% (44)	10.9% (7)	31.3% (20)	3.1% (2)	59.4% (38)	29.7% (19)
Flamboyant	75.4% (46)	73.8% (45)	62.3% (38)	16.4% (10)	34.4% (21)	6.6% (4)	65.6% (40)	29.5% (18)
	Hostile	Humorous	Impulsive	Independent	Individualistic	Insecure	Intelligent	Kind
Closeted	11.9% (7)	18.6% (11)	8.5% (5)	13.6% (8)	10.2% (6)	55.9% (33)	11.9% (7)	22.0% (13)
Drag Queen	7.8% (5)	39.1% (25)	34.4% (22)	26.6% (17)	45.3% (29)	29.7% (19)	–	7.8% (5)
Feminine	6.3% (4)	42.2% (27)	37.5% (24)	31.3% (20)	40.6% (26)	32.8% (21)	18.8% (12)	39.1% (25)
Flamboyant	6.6% (4)	49.2% (30)	32.8% (20)	26.2% (16)	36.1% (22)	26.2% (16)	13.1% (8)	21.3% (13)
	Liberal	Lonely	Loud	Loyal	Materialistic	Mean	Melodramatic	Musical
Closeted	37.3% (22)	27.1% (16)	16.9% (10)	5.1% (3)	15.3% (9)	–	30.5% (18)	13.6% (8)
Drag Queen	43.8% (28)	9.4% (6)	50.0% (32)	1.6% (1)	28.1% (18)	4.7% (3)	51.6% (33)	34.4% (22)
Feminine	37.5% (24)	10.9% (7)	46.9% (30)	14.1% (9)	50.0% (32)	7.8% (5)	54.7% (35)	39.1% (25)
Flamboyant	39.3% (24)	4.9% (3)	59.0% (36)	11.5% (7)	49.2% (30)	14.8% (9)	45.9% (28)	39.3% (24)



	% (n)							
	Naïve	Neat	Noisy	Opinionated	Optimistic	Outgoing	Passionate	Physically dirty
Closeted	13.6% (8)	15.3% (9)	8.5% (5)	16.9% (10)	11.9% (7)	22.0% (13)	13.6% (8)	5.1% (3)
Drag Queen	12.5% (8)	3.1% (2)	29.7% (19)	40.6% (26)	6.3% (4)	62.5% (40)	37.5% (24)	10.9% (7)
Feminine	21.9% (14)	20.3% (13)	35.9% (23)	51.6% (33)	28.1% (18)	57.8% (37)	45.3% (29)	4.7% (3)
Flamboyant	11.5% (7)	21.3% (13)	37.7% (23)	54.1% (33)	36.1% (22)	67.2% (41)	54.1% (33)	4.9% (3)
	Pleasure loving	Politically active	Progressive	Promiscuous	Proud	Quiet	Radical	Rebellious
Closeted	18.6% (11)	13.6% (8)	11.9% (7)	25.4% (15)	11.9% (7)	20.3% (12)	6.9% (4)	10.2% (6)
Drag Queen	45.3% (29)	17.2% (11)	32.8% (21)	51.6% (33)	40.6% (26)	–	45.3% (29)	37.5% (24)
Feminine	45.3% (29)	25.0% (16)	26.6% (17)	53.1% (34)	46.9% (30)	6.3% (4)	15.6% (10)	21.9% (14)
Flamboyant	45.9% (28)	16.4% (10)	27.9% (17)	47.5% (29)	52.5% (32)	–	26.2% (16)	34.4% (21)
	Reserved	Rude	Sad	Selfish	Sensitive	Sexually perverse	Shrewd	Sociable
Closeted	22.0% (13)	8.5% (5)	23.7% (14)	16.9% (10)	44.1% (26)	27.1% (16)	6.8% (4)	23.7% (14)
Drag Queen	–	15.6% (10)	4.7% (3)	9.4% (6)	17.2% (11)	43.8% (28)	9.4% (6)	45.3% (29)
Feminine	6.3% (4)	14.1% (9)	3.1% (2)	21.9% (14)	53.1% (34)	35.9% (23)	9.4% (6)	53.1% (34)
Flamboyant	1.6% (1)	13.1% (8)	3.3% (2)	16.4% (10)	45.9% (28)	37.7% (23)	1.6% (1)	62.3% (38)
	Spiritual	Spoiled	Stupid	Strong	Superficial	Talkative	Touchy	Understanding
Closeted	–	5.1% (3)	15.3% (9)	8.5% (5)	18.6% (11)	33.9% (20)	32.2% (19)	13.6% (8)
Drag Queen	1.6% (1)	12.5% (8)	26.6% (17)	7.8% (5)	35.9% (23)	50.0% (32)	37.5% (24)	3.1% (2)
Feminine	6.3% (4)	12.5% (8)	7.8% (5)	10.9% (7)	35.9% (23)	62.5% (40)	42.2% (27)	17.2% (11)
Flamboyant	8.2% (5)	18.0% (11)	11.5% (7)	8.2% (5)	39.3% (24)	59.0% (36)	55.7% (34)	16.4% (10)
	Uneducated	Unreliable	Weak	Whiny				
Closeted	6.8% (4)	6.8% (4)	40.7% (24)	22.0% (13)				
Drag Queen	29.7% (19)	4.7% (3)	14.1% (9)	18.8% (12)				
Feminine	9.4% (6)	10.9% (7)	39.1% (25)	35.9% (23)				
Flamboyant	6.6% (4)	4.9% (3)	26.2% (16)	27.9% (17)				

Table 3-38. Frequencies of endorsement of adjectives from a personal perspective for the gay men subgroups.

	% (n)							
	Abnormal	Adventurous	Affectionate	Ambitious	Artistic	Ashamed	Attention seeking	Clean
Closeted	5.1% (3)	1.7% (1)	11.9% (7)	3.4% (2)	3.4% (2)	37.3% (22)	1.7% (1)	15.3% (9)
Drag Queen	10.9% (7)	14.1% (9)	1.6% (1)	9.4% (6)	31.3% (20)	–	23.4% (15)	3.1% (2)
Feminine	4.7% (3)	3.1% (2)	20.3% (13)	4.7% (3)	17.2% (11)	1.6% (1)	14.1% (9)	6.3% (4)
Flamboyant	3.3% (2)	1.6% (1)	13.1% (8)	3.3% (2)	13.1% (8)	–	16.4% (10)	4.9% (3)
	Compassionate	Different	Effeminate	Emotional	Energetic	Enthusiastic	Fashionable	Flirtatious
Closeted	8.5% (5)	13.6% (8)	3.4% (2)	13.6% (8)	5.1% (3)	6.8% (4)	18.6% (11)	6.8% (4)
Drag Queen	3.1% (2)	21.9% (14)	12.5% (8)	6.3% (4)	10.9% (7)	7.8% (5)	25.0% (16)	12.5% (8)
Feminine	12.5% (8)	9.4% (6)	9.4% (6)	17.2% (11)	7.8% (5)	14.1% (9)	25.0% (16)	4.7% (3)
Flamboyant	4.9% (3)	13.1% (8)	13.1% (8)	4.9% (3)	9.8% (6)	24.6% (15)	37.7% (23)	23.0% (14)
	Friendly	Happy	Independent	Individualistic	Insecure	Kind	Liberal	Lonely
Closeted	28.8% (17)	13.6% (8)	3.4% (2)	5.1% (3)	30.5% (18)	11.9% (7)	11.9% (7)	13.6% (8)
Drag Queen	15.6% (10)	7.8% (5)	7.8% (5)	15.6% (10)	3.1% (2)	1.6% (1)	12.5% (8)	1.6% (1)
Feminine	34.4% (22)	9.4% (6)	3.1% (2)	10.9% (7)	6.3% (4)	6.3% (4)	15.6% (10)	1.6% (1)
Flamboyant	26.2% (16)	16.4% (10)	4.9% (3)	9.8% (6)	1.6% (1)	1.6% (1)	14.8% (9)	1.6% (1)
	Loud	Melodramatic	Opinionated	Outgoing	Passionate	Progressive	Proud	Radical
Closeted	–	–	6.8% (4)	6.8% (4)	3.4% (2)	6.8% (4)	6.8% (4)	–
Drag Queen	9.4% (6)	4.7% (3)	1.6% (1)	29.7% (19)	12.5% (8)	7.8% (5)	23.4% (15)	9.4% (6)
Feminine	4.7% (3)	6.3% (4)	10.9% (7)	20.3% (13)	9.4% (6)	6.3% (4)	15.6% (10)	–
Flamboyant	6.6% (4)	8.2% (5)	11.5% (7)	31.1% (19)	19.7% (12)	9.8% (6)	19.7% (12)	1.6% (1)
	Reserved	Sad	Sensitive	Sociable	Talkative			
Closeted	13.6% (8)	8.5% (5)	11.9% (7)	8.5% (5)	11.9% (7)			
Drag Queen	–	–	3.1% (2)	18.8% (12)	7.8% (5)			
Feminine	–	–	9.4% (6)	20.3% (13)	15.6% (10)			
Flamboyant	–	–	3.3% (2)	19.7% (12)	6.6% (4)			

Table 3-39. Frequencies of endorsement of emotions from a societal perspective for the gay men subgroups.

		% (n)						
	Acceptance	Admiration	Affection	Amusement	Anger	Anticipation	Anxiety	Apprehension
Closeted	40.7% (24)	16.9% (10)	27.1% (16)	11.9% (7)	32.2% (19)	6.8% (4)	39.0% (23)	35.6% (21)
Drag Queen	31.3% (20)	21.9% (14)	35.9% (23)	42.2% (27)	25.0% (16)	3.1% (2)	35.9% (23)	37.5% (24)
Feminine	50.0% (32)	18.8% (12)	35.9% (23)	45.3% (29)	45.3% (29)	7.8% (5)	46.9% (30)	37.5% (24)
Flamboyant	29.5% (18)	16.4% (10)	37.7% (23)	41.0% (25)	41.0% (25)	4.9% (3)	49.2% (30)	39.3% (24)
	Ashamed	Awe	Comfortable	Compassion	Contempt	Confusion	Contentment	Delight
Closeted	16.9% (10)	6.8% (4)	13.6% (8)	16.9% (10)	16.9% (10)	44.1% (26)	5.1% (3)	5.1% (3)
Drag Queen	15.6% (10)	18.8% (12)	3.1% (2)	7.8% (5)	21.9% (14)	62.5% (40)	4.7% (3)	6.3% (4)
Feminine	32.8% (21)	14.1% (9)	26.6% (17)	26.6% (17)	26.6% (17)	56.3% (36)	9.4% (6)	9.4% (6)
Flamboyant	19.7% (12)	11.5% (7)	13.1% (8)	21.3% (13)	31.1% (19)	54.1% (33)	4.9% (3)	8.2% (5)
	Disappointment	Discomfort	Disgust	Distress	Dysphoria	Embarrassment	Envy	Excitement
Closeted	33.9% (20)	66.1% (39)	42.4% (25)	20.3% (12)	8.5% (5)	35.6% (21)	–	3.4% (2)
Drag Queen	21.9% (14)	82.8% (53)	48.4% (31)	26.6% (17)	6.3% (4)	54.7% (35)	9.4% (6)	10.9% (7)
Feminine	28.1% (18)	70.3% (45)	53.1% (34)	28.1% (18)	3.1% (2)	48.4% (31)	6.3% (4)	10.9% (7)
Flamboyant	24.6% (15)	85.2% (52)	47.5% (29)	18.0% (11)	3.3% (2)	45.9% (28)	11.5% (7)	14.8% (9)
	Fear	Fondness	Friendliness	Frustration	Guilt	Happiness	Hatred	Hopeful
Closeted	15.3% (9)	5.1% (3)	39.0% (23)	18.6% (11)	6.8% (4)	15.3% (9)	28.8% (17)	8.5% (5)
Drag Queen	25.0% (16)	3.1% (2)	26.6% (17)	12.5% (8)	4.7% (3)	12.5% (8)	25.0% (16)	9.4% (6)
Feminine	28.1% (18)	15.6% (10)	46.9% (30)	26.6% (17)	4.7% (3)	20.3% (13)	35.9% (23)	9.4% (6)
Flamboyant	27.9% (17)	11.5% (7)	31.1% (19)	26.2% (16)	8.2% (5)	18.0% (11)	24.6% (15)	9.8% (6)
	Hostility	Indignation	Inspiration	Interest	Irritation	Jealousy	Joy	Love
Closeted	32.2% (19)	6.8% (4)	10.2% (6)	33.9% (20)	27.1% (16)	1.7% (1)	3.4% (2)	6.8% (4)
Drag Queen	45.3% (29)	12.5% (8)	15.6% (10)	39.1% (25)	29.7% (19)	1.6% (1)	10.9% (7)	7.8% (5)
Feminine	48.4% (31)	10.9% (7)	21.9% (14)	29.7% (19)	40.6% (26)	6.3% (4)	17.2% (11)	10.9% (7)
Flamboyant	47.5% (29)	8.2% (5)	14.8% (9)	45.9% (28)	36.1% (22)	14.8% (9)	16.4% (10)	18.0% (11)
	Peacefulness	Pity	Pride	Remorse	Resentment	Respect	Sadness	Scorn
Closeted	6.8% (4)	39.0% (23)	15.3% (9)	10.2% (6)	23.7% (14)	32.2% (19)	15.3% (9)	15.3% (9)
Drag Queen	3.1% (2)	32.8% (21)	26.6% (17)	1.6% (1)	29.7% (19)	26.6% (17)	6.3% (4)	17.2% (11)
Feminine	10.9% (7)	29.7% (19)	26.6% (17)	10.9% (7)	32.8% (21)	43.8% (28)	9.4% (6)	20.3% (13)
Flamboyant	6.6% (4)	36.1% (22)	24.6% (15)	9.8% (6)	24.6% (15)	29.5% (18)	4.9% (3)	16.4% (10)
	Surprise	Sympathy	Tense	Unease				
Closeted	15.3% (9)	40.7% (24)	16.9% (10)	35.6% (21)				
Drag Queen	39.1% (25)	18.8% (12)	9.4% (6)	46.9% (30)				
Feminine	31.3% (20)	25.0% (16)	15.6% (10)	39.1% (25)				
Flamboyant	27.9% (17)	21.3% (13)	18.0% (11)	42.6% (26)				

Table 3-40. Frequencies of endorsement of emotions from a personal perspective for the gay men subgroups.

	% (n)							
	Acceptance	Admiration	Amusement	Anxiety	Apprehension	Awe	Comfortable	Compassion
Closeted	37.3% (22)	8.5% (5)	3.4% (2)	8.5% (5)	5.1% (3)	–	13.6% (8)	11.9% (7)
Drag Queen	28.1% (18)	17.2% (11)	20.3% (13)	12.5% (8)	14.1% (9)	9.4% (6)	3.1% (2)	4.7% (3)
Feminine	46.9% (30)	7.8% (5)	20.3% (13)	4.7% (3)	14.1% (9)	1.6% (1)	18.8% (12)	14.1% (9)
Flamboyant	26.2% (16)	8.2% (5)	16.4% (10)	11.5% (7)	8.2% (5)	3.3% (2)	6.6% (4)	8.2% (5)
	Confusion	Discomfort	Embarrassment	Friendliness	Happiness	Inspiration	Interest	Irritation
Closeted	22.0% (13)	20.3% (12)	8.5% (5)	33.9% (20)	10.2% (6)	1.7% (1)	23.7% (14)	1.7% (1)
Drag Queen	31.3% (20)	39.1% (25)	14.1% (9)	20.3% (13)	1.6% (1)	4.7% (3)	28.1% (18)	3.1% (2)
Feminine	15.6% (10)	17.2% (11)	6.3% (4)	42.2% (27)	7.8% (5)	9.4% (6)	18.8% (12)	7.8% (5)
Flamboyant	18.0% (11)	29.5% (18)	11.5% (7)	21.3% (13)	8.2% (5)	6.6% (4)	23.0% (14)	4.9% (3)
	Pity	Pride	Respect	Surprise	Sympathy	Tense	Unease	
Closeted	18.6% (11)	8.5% (5)	28.8% (17)	8.5% (5)	30.5% (18)	6.8% (4)	16.9% (10)	
Drag Queen	7.8% (5)	14.1% (9)	21.9% (14)	15.6% (10)	4.7% (3)	10.9% (7)	28.1% (18)	
Feminine	6.3% (4)	14.1% (9)	35.9% (23)	9.4% (6)	9.4% (6)	1.6% (1)	10.9% (7)	
Flamboyant	3.3% (2)	9.8% (6)	26.2% (16)	8.2% (5)	6.6% (4)	8.2% (5)	21.3% (13)	

Table 3-41. Frequencies of endorsement of behaviours from a societal perspective for the gay men subgroups.

	% (n)							
	Abandon	Abuse	Accept	Admire	Advocate for	Aggress against	Antagonize	Assist
Closeted	28.8% (17)	22.0% (13)	52.5% (31)	11.9% (7)	40.7% (24)	27.1% (16)	37.3% (22)	16.9% (10)
Drag Queen	25.0% (16)	34.4% (22)	35.9% (23)	14.1% (9)	43.8% (28)	21.9% (14)	40.6% (26)	15.6% (10)
Feminine	26.6% (17)	43.8% (28)	62.5% (40)	23.4% (15)	46.9% (30)	32.8% (21)	40.6% (26)	17.2% (11)
Flamboyant	16.4% (10)	39.3% (24)	49.2% (30)	14.8% (9)	36.1% (22)	21.3% (13)	34.4% (21)	14.8% (9)
	Associate with	Attack	Avoid	Befriend	Belittle	Celebrate	Comfort	Condone
Closeted	20.3% (12)	40.7% (24)	47.5% (28)	30.5% (18)	42.4% (25)	8.5% (5)	15.3% (9)	16.9% (10)
Drag Queen	14.1% (9)	31.3% (20)	56.3% (36)	20.3% (13)	43.8% (28)	32.8% (21)	10.9% (7)	25.0% (16)
Feminine	25.0% (16)	39.1% (25)	53.1% (34)	46.9% (30)	50.0% (32)	26.6% (17)	9.4% (6)	15.6% (10)
Flamboyant	24.6% (15)	29.5% (18)	62.3% (38)	26.2% (16)	37.7% (23)	24.6% (15)	11.5% (7)	14.8% (9)
	Control	Cooperate with	Compete with	Criticize	Dehumanize	Demean	Derogate	Discriminate against
Closeted	3.4% (2)	30.5% (18)	1.7% (1)	52.5% (31)	37.3% (22)	39.0% (23)	15.3% (9)	42.4% (25)
Drag Queen	3.1% (2)	25.0% (16)	3.1% (2)	56.3% (36)	50.0% (32)	53.1% (34)	21.9% (14)	64.1% (41)
Feminine	9.4% (6)	32.8% (21)	14.1% (9)	60.9% (39)	43.8% (28)	37.5% (24)	21.9% (14)	62.5% (40)
Flamboyant	8.2% (5)	21.3% (13)	9.8% (6)	49.2% (30)	42.6% (26)	49.2% (30)	27.9% (17)	52.5% (32)
	Dismiss	Embrace	Enable	Encourage	Endorse	Endure	Exclude	Fight
Closeted	39.0% (23)	15.3% (9)	11.9% (7)	30.5% (18)	5.1% (3)	6.8% (4)	40.7% (24)	15.3% (9)
Drag Queen	45.3% (29)	29.7% (19)	10.9% (7)	34.4% (22)	18.8% (12)	4.7% (3)	54.7% (35)	7.8% (5)
Feminine	35.9% (23)	18.8% (12)	14.1% (9)	34.4% (22)	15.6% (10)	10.9% (7)	48.4% (31)	21.9% (14)
Flamboyant	52.5% (32)	13.1% (8)	6.6% (4)	16.4% (10)	8.2% (5)	6.6% (4)	49.2% (30)	14.8% (9)
	Harass	Help	Hinder	Hurt	Ignore	Imitate	Include	Judge
Closeted	44.1% (26)	22.0% (13)	25.4% (15)	28.8% (17)	47.5% (28)	8.5% (5)	23.7% (14)	55.9% (33)
Drag Queen	48.4% (31)	18.8% (12)	28.1% (18)	15.6% (10)	56.3% (36)	14.1% (9)	18.8% (12)	59.4% (38)
Feminine	46.9% (30)	28.1% (18)	15.6% (10)	28.1% (18)	48.4% (31)	28.1% (18)	34.4% (22)	59.4% (38)
Flamboyant	36.1% (22)	16.4% (10)	16.4% (10)	29.5% (18)	50.8% (31)	14.8% (9)	16.4% (10)	54.1% (33)
	Mock	Neglect	Normalize	Objectify	Oppose	Praise	Protect	Reject
Closeted	44.1% (26)	32.2% (19)	20.3% (12)	15.3% (9)	23.7% (14)	11.9% (7)	25.4% (15)	42.4% (25)
Drag Queen	64.1% (41)	34.4% (22)	15.6% (10)	26.6% (17)	26.6% (17)	17.2% (11)	17.2% (11)	50.0% (32)
Feminine	53.1% (34)	32.8% (21)	18.8% (12)	32.8% (21)	29.7% (19)	21.9% (14)	35.9% (23)	39.1% (25)
Flamboyant	57.4% (35)	39.3% (24)	23.0% (14)	23.0% (14)	26.2% (16)	16.4% (10)	27.9% (17)	44.3% (27)
	Relate to	Sabotage	Shame	Support	Tolerate	Unite with		
Closeted	8.5% (5)	8.5% (5)	37.3% (22)	35.6% (21)	47.5% (28)	11.9% (7)		
Drag Queen	3.1% (2)	15.6% (10)	42.2% (27)	20.3% (13)	42.2% (27)	15.6% (10)		
Feminine	7.8% (5)	21.9% (14)	51.6% (33)	39.1% (25)	46.9% (30)	29.7% (19)		
Flamboyant	4.9% (3)	13.1% (8)	27.9% (17)	29.5% (18)	49.2% (30)	19.7% (12)		

Table 3-42. Frequencies of endorsement of behaviours from a personal perspective for the gay men subgroups.

	% (n)							
	Accept	Admire	Advocate for	Associate with	Avoid	Befriend	Belittle	Celebrate
Closeted	44.1% (26)	3.4% (2)	22.0% (13)	11.9% (7)	5.1% (3)	15.3% (9)	8.5% (5)	3.4% (2)
Drag Queen	29.7% (19)	6.3% (4)	15.6% (10)	4.7% (3)	25.0% (16)	9.4% (6)	1.6% (1)	10.9% (7)
Feminine	60.9% (39)	7.8% (5)	20.3% (13)	10.9% (7)	9.4% (6)	31.3% (20)	–	7.8% (5)
Flamboyant	37.7% (23)	3.3% (2)	19.7% (12)	4.9% (3)	24.6% (15)	9.8% (6)	1.6% (1)	16.4% (10)
	Comfort	Cooperate with	Criticize	Discriminate against	Dismiss	Embrace	Encourage	Exclude
Closeted	5.1% (3)	20.3% (12)	13.6% (8)	8.5% (5)	3.4% (2)	6.8% (4)	15.3% (9)	5.1% (3)
Drag Queen	1.6% (1)	12.5% (8)	12.5% (8)	4.7% (3)	7.8% (5)	15.6% (10)	23.4% (15)	7.8% (5)
Feminine	7.8% (5)	23.4% (15)	10.9% (7)	1.6% (1)	6.3% (4)	4.7% (3)	15.6% (10)	3.1% (2)
Flamboyant	3.3% (2)	8.2% (5)	9.8% (6)	6.6% (4)	8.2% (5)	6.6% (4)	11.5% (7)	6.6% (4)
	Help	Ignore	Include	Judge	Mock	Neglect	Normalize	Oppose
Closeted	13.6% (8)	6.8% (4)	15.3% (9)	16.9% (10)	5.1% (3)	3.4% (2)	5.1% (3)	8.5% (5)
Drag Queen	3.1% (2)	18.8% (12)	7.8% (5)	20.3% (13)	10.9% (7)	3.1% (2)	9.4% (6)	3.1% (2)
Feminine	9.4% (6)	10.9% (7)	21.9% (14)	7.8% (5)	3.1% (2)	6.3% (4)	4.7% (3)	3.1% (2)
Flamboyant	4.9% (3)	16.4% (10)	9.8% (6)	14.8% (9)	6.6% (4)	8.2% (5)	14.8% (9)	1.6% (1)
	Protect	Reject	Support	Tolerate	Unite with			
Closeted	10.2% (6)	3.4% (2)	25.4% (15)	20.3% (12)	3.4% (2)			
Drag Queen	4.7% (3)	7.8% (5)	12.5% (8)	25.0% (16)	3.1% (2)			
Feminine	15.6% (10)	4.7% (3)	23.4% (15)	14.1% (9)	4.7% (3)			
Flamboyant	8.2% (5)	3.3% (2)	11.5% (7)	26.2% (16)	13.1% (8)			

Table 3-43. Highest endorsed items on the societal and personal adjective, emotion, and behaviour checklists for the gay men subgroups.

Societal			Personal		
Closeted					
<u>Adjectives</u>	<u>Emotions</u>	<u>Behaviours</u>	<u>Adjectives</u>	<u>Emotions</u>	<u>Behaviours</u>
1. Abnormal	1. Discomfort	1. Judge	1. Ashamed	1. Acceptance	1. Accept
2. Ashamed	2. Confusion	2. Accept	2. Insecure	2. Friendliness	2. Support
3. Different	3. Disgust	2. Criticize	3. Friendly	3. Sympathy	3. Advocate for
4. Insecure	4. Acceptance	4. Avoid	4. Fashionable	4. Respect	4. Cooperate with
5. Emotional	4. Sympathy	4. Ignore	5. Clean	5. Interest	4. Tolerate
		4. Tolerate			
Drag Queen					
<u>Adjectives</u>	<u>Emotions</u>	<u>Behaviours</u>	<u>Adjectives</u>	<u>Emotions</u>	<u>Behaviours</u>
1. Abnormal	1. Discomfort	1. Discriminate	1. Artistic	1. Discomfort	1. Accept
1. Attention seeking	2. Confusion	against	2. Outgoing	2. Confusion	2. Avoid
3. Outgoing	3. Embarrassment	1. Mock	3. Fashionable	3. Acceptance	2. Tolerate
4. Artistic	4. Disgust	3. Judge	4. Attention seeking	3. Interest	4. Encourage
4. Different	5. Unease	4. Avoid	4. Proud	3. Unease	5. Judge
		4. Criticize			
		4. Ignore			
Feminine					
<u>Adjectives</u>	<u>Emotions</u>	<u>Behaviours</u>	<u>Adjectives</u>	<u>Emotions</u>	<u>Behaviours</u>
1. Abnormal	1. Discomfort	1. Accept	1. Friendly	1. Acceptance	1. Accept
1. Attention seeking	2. Confusion	1. Discriminate	2. Fashionable	2. Friendliness	2. Befriend
3. Fashionable	3. Disgust	against	3. Affectionate	3. Respect	3. Cooperate with
4. Different	4. Acceptance	3. Criticize	3. Outgoing	4. Amusement	3. Support
4. Friendly	5. Embarrassment	4. Judge	3. Sociable	5. Comfortable	5. Include
		5. Avoid			
		5. Mock			
Flamboyant					
<u>Adjectives</u>	<u>Emotions</u>	<u>Behaviours</u>	<u>Adjectives</u>	<u>Emotions</u>	<u>Behaviours</u>
1. Attention seeking	1. Discomfort	1. Avoid	1. Fashionable	1. Discomfort	1. Accept
1. Fashionable	2. Confusion	2. Mock	2. Outgoing	2. Acceptance	2. Tolerate
3. Flirtatious	3. Anxiety	3. Judge	3. Friendly	2. Respect	3. Avoid
4. Abnormal	4. Disgust	4. Discriminate	4. Enthusiastic	4. Interest	4. Advocate for
4. Outgoing	4. Hostility	against	5. Flirtatious	5. Friendliness	5. Celebrate
		4. Dismiss		5. Unease	

Table 3-44. Means and standard deviations for valence ratings of selected adjectives, emotional reactions, and behavioural reactions for the gay men subgroups.

	<i>M (SD)</i>		
	Adjectives	Emotional reactions	Behavioural reactions
Societal Perspective			
Closeted ( <i>n</i> = 59)	-.090 (.470)	-.190 (.526)	-.342 (.543)
Drag Queen ( <i>n</i> = 63)	.282 (.344)	-.195 (.517)	-.381 (.603)
Feminine ( <i>n</i> = 64)	.287 (.340)	-.125 (.488)	-.237 (.531)
Flamboyant ( <i>n</i> = 60)	.211 (.284)	-.233 (.465)	-.318 (.558)
Personal Perspective			
Closeted ( <i>n</i> = 59)	.186 (.685)	.236 (.715)	.242 (.790)
Drag Queen ( <i>n</i> = 62)	.617 (.448)	.127 (.714)	.128 (.840)
Feminine ( <i>n</i> = 64)	.672 (.445)	.434 (.644)	.502 (.728)
Flamboyant ( <i>n</i> = 60)	.605 (.422)	.220 (.733)	.318 (.779)



Table 3-45. Summary of findings for analyses of lesbian subgroups.

Societal		Personal	
SCM (cognitive)			
Butch: competent > warm		Butch: competent > warm	
Feminist: competent > warm		Feminist: competent > warm	
Tomboy: competent > warm		Tomboy: competent > warm	
No differences in competence		No differences in competence	
No differences in warmth		No differences in warmth	
--		No differences in status	
--		No differences in competition	
--		Butch < competitive when a photograph was shown	
SCM (affective)			
No differences in admiration		No differences in admiration	
No differences in pity		No differences in pity	
No differences in envy		No differences in envy	
No differences in contempt		No differences in contempt	
BIAS Map			
No differences in active facilitation		No differences in active facilitation	
No differences in passive facilitation		No differences in passive facilitation	
No differences in passive harm		No differences in passive harm	
No differences in active harm		No differences in active harm	
Mediation			
<u>Competence-Active Facilitation</u>	<u>Warmth-Active Facilitation</u>	<u>Competence-Active Facilitation</u>	<u>Warmth-Active Facilitation</u>
Admiration: Butch	Admiration: Butch	Admiration: Butch	Admiration: Butch
Tomboy	Feminist		
	Tomboy		
Pity: not a sig. mediator	Pity: not a sig. mediator	Pity: Tomboy	Pity: not a sig. mediator
<u>Competence-Passive Facilitation</u>	<u>Warmth-Passive Facilitation</u>	<u>Competence-Passive Facilitation</u>	<u>Warmth-Passive Facilitation</u>
Admiration: Butch	Admiration: Butch	Admiration: Butch	Admiration: Butch
Feminist	Feminist	Feminist	Feminist
Tomboy	Tomboy	Tomboy	Tomboy
Envy: Feminist	Envy: Feminist	Envy: not a sig. mediator	Envy: not a sig. mediator
<u>Competence-Passive Harm</u>	<u>Warmth-Passive Harm</u>	<u>Competence-Passive Harm</u>	<u>Warmth-Passive Harm</u>
Contempt: Butch	Contempt: Butch	Contempt: not a sig. mediator	Contempt: not a sig. mediator
	Tomboy		
Pity: not a sig. mediator	Pity: not a sig. mediator	Pity: not a sig. mediator	Pity: not a sig. mediator

Societal		Personal	
<u>Competence-Active Harm</u>	<u>Warmth-Active Harm</u>	<u>Competence-Active Harm</u>	<u>Warmth-Active Harm</u>
Contempt: Butch	Contempt: Butch Tomboy	Contempt: not a sig. mediator	Contempt: not a sig. mediator
Envy: not a sig. mediator	Envy: Butch	Envy: not a sig. mediator	Envy: not a sig. mediator
<u>Checklists</u>			
Feminist > negativity on adjective ratings than Tomboy		No differences on adjective checklist	
No differences on emotion checklist		No differences on emotion checklist	
No differences on behaviour checklist		No differences on behaviour checklist	
Subgroups with photographs > positively than subgroups with no photographs on the societal emotion checklist			

Table 3-46. Mediation by admiration and pity on the relationship of warmth and competence with active facilitation for the Butch lesbian woman subgroup ( $n = 65$ ).

Active Facilitation	c		c'		a		b		95% CI
	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	
<b>Admiration (societal)</b>									
Competence	.162*	.064	.063	.055	.127**	.042	.808***	.177	[.022, .236]
Warmth	.266***	.059	.146**	.052	.147***	.041			[.022, .234]
<b>Pity (societal)</b>									
Competence	.162*	.064	.063	.055	-.014	.052	.240	.141	[-.061, .022]
Warmth	.266***	.059	.146**	.052	.069	.052			[-.006, .063]
<b>Admiration (personal)</b>									
Competence	.279***	.073	.116	.072	.226***	.054	.765**	.227	[.046, .343]
Warmth	.267***	.064	.106	.067	.229***	.046			[.050, .335]
<b>Pity (personal)</b>									
Competence	.279***	.073	.116	.072	.123**	.046	-.080	.266	[-.115, .074]
Warmth	.267***	.064	.106	.067	.118**	.041			[-.102, .075]

\*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$

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Table 3-47. Mediation by admiration and pity on the relationship of warmth and competence with active facilitation for the Feminist lesbian woman subgroup ( $n = 63$ ).

Active Facilitation	c		c'		a		b		95% CI
	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	
<b>Admiration (societal)</b>									
Competence	.208**	.069	.145	.078	.173***	.037	.365	.232	[-.036, .166]
Warmth	.145	.073	.063	.091	.190***	.038			[.008, .186]
<b>Pity (societal)</b>									
Competence	.208**	.069	.145	.078	.017	.045	-.032	.191	[-.042, .028]
Warmth	.145	.073	.063	.091	.138**	.044			[-.116, .082]
<b>Admiration (personal)</b>									
Competence	.372***	.080	.217*	.094	.288***	.050	.359	.276	[-.083, .285]
Warmth	.428***	.071	.324***	.089	.294***	.046			[-.136, .219]
<b>Pity (personal)</b>									
Competence	.372***	.080	.217*	.094	.136***	.038	.385	.361	[-.044, .212]
Warmth	.428***	.071	.324***	.089	.136***	.036			[-.024, .205]

\*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$

Table 3-48. Mediation by admiration and pity on the relationship of warmth and competence with active facilitation for the Tomboy lesbian woman subgroup ( $n = 68$ ).

Active Facilitation	c		c'		a		b		95% CI
	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	
Admiration (societal)									
Competence	.174*	.067	.101	.064	.133**	.046	.560**	.167	[.024, .149]
Warmth	.221**	.068	.119	.071	.191***	.046			[.028, .212]
Pity (societal)									
Competence	.174*	.067	.101	.064	-.008	.043	.219	.182	[-.035, .012]
Warmth	.221**	.068	.119	.071	.015	.045			[-.014, .042]
Admiration (personal)									
Competence	.404***	.086	.212*	.086	.311***	.064	.326	.227	[-.041, .245]
Warmth	.397***	.078	.200*	.086	.338***	.056			[-.038, .268]
Pity (personal)									
Competence	.404***	.086	.212*	.086	.160**	.048	.567	.305	[.008, .206]
Warmth	.397***	.078	.200*	.086	.175***	.043			[-.011, .208]

\* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$

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Table 3-49. Mediation by admiration and envy on the relationship of warmth and competence with passive facilitation for the Butch lesbian woman subgroup ( $n = 65$ ).

Passive Facilitation	c		c'		a		b		95% CI
	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	
Admiration (societal)									
Competence	.208***	.053	.109*	.046	.127**	.042	.779***	.150	[.014, .226]
Warmth	.232***	.052	.123*	.047	.147***	.041			[.022, .233]
Envy (societal)									
Competence	.208***	.053	.109*	.046	.044	.038	-.011	.166	[-.021, .026]
Warmth	.232***	.052	.123*	.047	.078*	.037			[-.038, .036]
Admiration (personal)									
Competence	.257***	.069	.107	.065	.226***	.054	.637***	.139	[.069, .251]
Warmth	.246***	.060	.094	.061	.229***	.046			[.072, .246]
Envy (personal)									
Competence	.257***	.069	.107	.065	.011	.025	.455	.302	[-.013, .042]
Warmth	.246***	.060	.094	.061	.021	.022			[-.004, .050]

\* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$

Table 3-50. Mediation by admiration and envy on the relationship of warmth and competence with passive facilitation for the Feminist lesbian woman subgroup ( $n = 63$ ).

Passive Facilitation	c		c'		a		b		95% CI
	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	
<b>Admiration (societal)</b>									
Competence	.236***	.058	.124*	.055	.173***	.037	.955***	.176	[.087, .264]
Warmth	.267***	.059	.152*	.058	.190***	.038			[.095, .279]
<b>Envy (societal)</b>									
Competence	.236***	.058	.124*	.055	.083*	.038	-.647***	.173	[-.114, -.001]
Warmth	.267***	.059	.152*	.058	.090*	.040			[-.126, -.006]
<b>Admiration (personal)</b>									
Competence	.407***	.082	.256**	.096	.288***	.050	.478*	.207	[.013, .275]
Warmth	.444***	.074	.311**	.092	.294***	.046			[-.023, .255]
<b>Envy (personal)</b>									
Competence	.407***	.082	.256**	.096	.023	.026	.574	.398	[-.014, .069]
Warmth	.444***	.074	.311**	.092	.045	.024			[-.017, .080]

\*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$

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Table 3-51. Mediation by admiration and envy on the relationship of warmth and competence with passive facilitation for the Tomboy lesbian woman subgroup ( $n = 68$ ).

Passive Facilitation	c		c'		a		b		95% CI
	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	
<b>Admiration (societal)</b>									
Competence	.198***	.050	.142**	.049	.133**	.046	.404**	.133	[.014, .103]
Warmth	.256***	.049	.193***	.053	.191***	.046			[.005, .125]
<b>Envy (societal)</b>									
Competence	.198***	.050	.142**	.049	.042	.046	.056	.135	[-.009, .032]
Warmth	.256***	.049	.193***	.053	.062	.048			[-.013, .032]
<b>Admiration (personal)</b>									
Competence	.349***	.077	.163*	.078	.311***	.064	.614***	.129	[.101, .291]
Warmth	.370***	.068	.180*	.076	.338***	.056			[.100, .296]
<b>Envy (personal)</b>									
Competence	.349***	.077	.163*	.078	-.018	.025	.302	.336	[-.025, .018]
Warmth	.370***	.068	.180*	.076	.001	.023			[-.013, .019]

\*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$

Table 3-52. Mediation by contempt and envy on the relationship of warmth and competence with active harm for the Butch lesbian woman subgroup ( $n = 65$ ).

Active Harm	c		c'		a		b		95% CI
	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	
<b>Contempt (societal)</b>									
Competence	-.076	.080	-.002	.074	-.122**	.046	.777***	.198	[-.201, -.022]
Warmth	-.159*	.079	-.123	.078	-.134**	.046			[-.181, -.028]
<b>Envy (societal)</b>									
Competence	-.076	.080	-.002	.074	.044	.038	.474	.242	[-.002, .069]
Warmth	-.159*	.079	-.123	.078	.078*	.037			[.008, .128]
<b>Contempt (personal)</b>									
Competence	-.040	.036	-.016	.023	-.067*	.033	.485***	.096	[-.125, .003]
Warmth	-.028	.032	-.026	.020	-.038	.030			[-.089, .010]
<b>Envy (personal)</b>									
Competence	-.040	.036	-.016	.023	.011	.025	.711***	.127	[-.023, .040]
Warmth	-.028	.032	-.026	.020	.021	.022			[-.004, .053]

\* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$

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Table 3-53. Mediation by contempt and envy on the relationship of warmth and competence with active harm for the Feminist lesbian woman subgroup ( $n = 63$ ).

Active Harm	c		c'		a		b		95% CI
	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	
<b>Contempt (societal)</b>									
Competence	-.038	.083	-.025	.086	-.092*	.045	.514*	.227	[-.182, .003]
Warmth	.080	.087	.080	.087	-.049	.049			[-.116, .025]
<b>Envy (societal)</b>									
Competence	-.038	.083	-.025	.086	.083*	.038	.415	.272	[-.011, .092]
Warmth	.080	.087	.080	.087	.090*	.040			[-.020, .085]
<b>Contempt (personal)</b>									
Competence	-.003	.025	.005	.025	-.070	.043	.124	.075	[-.047, .001]
Warmth	-.019	.024	-.008	.026	-.108**	.039			[-.057, .003]
<b>Envy (personal)</b>									
Competence	-.003	.025	.005	.025	.023	.026	.018	.122	[-.008, .018]
Warmth	-.019	.024	-.008	.026	.045	.024			[-.013, .026]

\* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$

Table 3-54. Mediation by contempt and envy on the relationship of warmth and competence with active harm for the Tomboy lesbian woman subgroup ( $n = 68$ ).

Active Harm	c		c'		a		b		95% CI
	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	
<b>Contempt (societal)</b>									
Competence	-.166*	.078	-.143	.073	-.061	.052	.575**	.174	[-.103, .016]
Warmth	-.154	.083	-.095	.082	-.138*	.052			[-.175, -.010]
<b>Envy (societal)</b>									
Competence	-.166*	.078	-.143	.073	.042	.046	.298	.196	[-.015, .064]
Warmth	-.154	.083	-.095	.082	.062	.048			[-.006, .061]
<b>Contempt (personal)</b>									
Competence	.008	.014	.007	.014	-.006	.042	.038	.040	[-.008, .010]
Warmth	.011	.012	.013	.013	-.028	.039			[-.011, .008]
<b>Envy (personal)</b>									
Competence	.008	.014	.007	.014	-.018	.025	-.038	.069	[-.002, .004]
Warmth	.011	.012	.013	.013	.001	.023			[-.003, .002]

\*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$

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Table 3-55. Mediation by contempt and pity on the relationship of warmth and competence with passive harm for the Butch lesbian woman subgroup ( $n = 65$ ).

Passive Harm	c		c'		a		b		95% CI
	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	
<b>Contempt (societal)</b>									
Competence	.006	.087	.164*	.070	-.122**	.046	1.31***	.197	[-.305, -.037]
Warmth	-.172*	.086	-.018	.079	-.134**	.046			[-.272, -.047]
<b>Pity (societal)</b>									
Competence	.006	.087	.164*	.070	-.014	.052	-.086	.173	[-.019, .044]
Warmth	-.172*	.086	-.018	.079	.069	.052			[-.054, .031]
<b>Contempt (personal)</b>									
Competence	-.086	.050	-.040	.043	-.067*	.033	.942***	.158	[-.175, .016]
Warmth	-.064	.045	-.046	.037	-.038	.030			[-.126, .033]
<b>Pity (personal)</b>									
Competence	-.086	.050	-.040	.043	.123**	.046	.136	.113	[-.012, .050]
Warmth	-.064	.045	-.046	.037	.118**	.041			[-.011, .057]

\*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$

Table 3-56. Mediation by contempt and pity on the relationship of warmth and competence with passive harm for the Feminist lesbian woman subgroup ( $n = 63$ ).

Passive Harm	c		c'		a		b		95% CI
	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	
<b>Contempt (societal)</b>									
Competence	-.113	.091	-.041	.090	-.092*	.045	.795*	.299	[-.254, .004]
Warmth	.030	.096	.061	.106	-.049	.049			[-.197, .039]
<b>Pity (societal)</b>									
Competence	-.113	.091	-.041	.090	.017	.045	.047	.299	[-.036, .042]
Warmth	.030	.096	.061	.106	.138**	.044			[-.122, .118]
<b>Contempt (personal)</b>									
Competence	-.123**	.042	-.089	.048	-.070	.043	.257	.129	[-.091, .003]
Warmth	-.072	.042	-.008	.051	-.108**	.039			[-.124, .005]
<b>Pity (personal)</b>									
Competence	-.123**	.042	-.089	.048	.136***	.038	-.112	.144	[-.075, .031]
Warmth	-.072	.042	-.008	.051	.136***	.036			[-.101, .023]

\*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$

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Table 3-57. Mediation by contempt and pity on the relationship of warmth and competence with passive harm for the Tomboy lesbian woman subgroup ( $n = 68$ ).

Passive Harm	c		c'		a		b		95% CI
	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	
<b>Contempt (societal)</b>									
Competence	-.017	.095	.031	.086	-.061	.052	.746**	.214	[-.140, .016]
Warmth	-.105	.099	-.009	.095	-.138**	.052			[-.227, -.012]
<b>Pity (societal)</b>									
Competence	-.017	.095	.031	.086	-.008	.043	.345	.259	[-.037, .027]
Warmth	-.105	.099	-.009	.095	.015	.045			[-.035, .054]
<b>Contempt (personal)</b>									
Competence	-.078*	.031	-.082*	.033	-.006	.042	.177	.090	[-.029, .013]
Warmth	-.096***	.028	-.108***	.031	-.028	.039			[-.027, .009]
<b>Pity (personal)</b>									
Competence	-.078*	.031	-.082*	.033	.160**	.048	.034	.079	[-.013, .033]
Warmth	-.096***	.028	-.108***	.031	.175***	.043			[-.004, .046]

\*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$



Table 3-58. Frequencies of endorsement of adjectives from a societal perspective for the lesbian women subgroups.

		% (n)							
		Abnormal	Abusive	Active	Adventurous	Affectionate	Aggressive	Ambitious	Angry
	Butch	67.4% (44)	20.0% (13)	18.5% (12)	26.2% (17)	7.7% (5)	63.1% (41)	10.8% (7)	36.9% (24)
	Feminist	68.3% (43)	3.2% (2)	31.7% (20)	28.6% (18)	11.1% (7)	60.3% (38)	36.5% (23)	44.4% (28)
	Tomboy	67.6% (46)	8.8% (6)	25.0% (17)	29.4% (20)	10.3% (7)	52.9% (36)	19.1% (13)	36.8% (25)
		Arrogant	Artistic	Ashamed	Athletic	Attention seeking	Attractive	Bossy	Compassionate
	Butch	41.5% (27)	15.4% (10)	9.2% (6)	27.7% (18)	43.1% (28)	4.6% (3)	49.2% (32)	6.2% (4)
	Feminist	34.9% (22)	39.7% (25)	4.8% (3)	12.7% (8)	65.1% (41)	9.5% (6)	42.9% (27)	11.1% (7)
	Tomboy	30.9% (21)	35.3% (24)	14.7% (10)	38.2% (26)	41.2% (28)	1.5% (1)	35.3% (24)	4.4% (3)
		Competent	Competitive	Conceited	Cool	Cowardly	Cultural	Deceitful	Deviant
	Butch	13.8% (9)	35.4% (23)	10.8% (7)	20.0% (13)	1.5% (1)	9.2% (6)	6.2% (4)	26.2% (17)
	Feminist	11.1% (7)	30.2% (19)	14.3% (9)	6.3% (4)	1.6% (1)	14.3% (9)	7.9% (5)	28.6% (18)
	Tomboy	16.2% (11)	42.6% (29)	16.2% (11)	23.5% (16)	8.8% (6)	10.3% (7)	5.9% (4)	25.0% (17)
		Different	Easy going	Effeminate	Egotistical	Emotional	Energetic	Enthusiastic	Fashionable
	Butch	55.4% (36)	10.8% (7)	6.2% (4)	18.5% (12)	9.2% (6)	7.7% (5)	9.2% (6)	1.5% (1)
	Feminist	52.4% (33)	4.8% (3)	9.5% (6)	33.3% (21)	36.5% (23)	22.2% (14)	28.6% (18)	6.3% (4)
	Tomboy	66.2% (45)	20.6% (14)	8.8% (6)	16.2% (11)	27.9% (19)	10.3% (7)	11.8% (8)	11.8% (8)
		Flirtatious	Friendly	Greedy	Happy	Honest	Hostile	Humorous	Impulsive
	Butch	9.2% (6)	16.9% (11)	6.2% (4)	12.3% (8)	6.2% (4)	35.4% (23)	15.4% (10)	23.1% (15)
	Feminist	4.8% (3)	9.5% (6)	15.9% (10)	12.7% (8)	25.4% (16)	25.4% (16)	9.5% (6)	23.8% (15)
	Tomboy	20.6% (14)	20.6% (14)	8.8% (6)	13.2% (9)	14.7% (10)	20.6% (14)	13.2% (9)	25.0% (17)
		Independent	Individualistic	Insecure	Intelligent	Lazy	Liberal	Lonely	Loud
	Butch	35.4% (23)	30.8% (20)	27.7% (18)	9.2% (6)	6.2% (4)	26.2% (17)	9.2% (6)	24.6% (16)
	Feminist	49.2% (31)	38.1% (24)	27.0% (17)	17.5% (11)	3.2% (2)	54.0% (34)	3.2% (2)	39.7% (25)
	Tomboy	47.1% (32)	54.4% (37)	20.6% (14)	13.2% (9)	7.4% (5)	42.6% (29)	14.7% (10)	29.4% (20)
		Loyal	Macho	Mean	Melodramatic	Musical	Naïve	Noisy	Opinionated
	Butch	1.5% (1)	58.5% (38)	26.2% (17)	9.2% (6)	3.1% (2)	3.1% (2)	16.9% (11)	55.4% (36)
	Feminist	3.2% (2)	12.7% (8)	15.9% (10)	30.2% (19)	7.9% (5)	12.7% (8)	20.6% (13)	69.8% (44)
	Tomboy	7.4% (5)	44.1% (30)	13.2% (9)	14.7% (10)	5.9% (4)	13.2% (9)	10.3% (7)	57.4% (39)
		Optimistic	Outgoing	Passionate	Physically dirty	Pleasure loving	Practical	Politically active	Progressive
	Butch	6.2% (4)	24.6% (16)	12.3% (8)	23.1% (15)	12.3% (8)	4.6% (3)	16.9% (11)	16.9% (11)
	Feminist	14.3% (9)	22.2% (14)	31.7% (20)	6.3% (4)	9.5% (6)	–	52.4% (33)	34.9% (22)
	Tomboy	4.4% (3)	27.9% (19)	20.6% (14)	19.1% (13)	10.3% (7)	13.2% (9)	39.7% (27)	29.4% (20)
		Promiscuous	Proud	Radical	Rebellious	Reserved	Rude	Sad	Selfish
	Butch	16.9% (11)	29.2% (19)	20.0% (13)	50.8% (33)	3.1% (2)	26.2% (17)	4.6% (3)	10.8% (7)
	Feminist	19.0% (12)	42.9% (27)	39.7% (25)	47.6% (30)	–	25.4% (16)	1.6% (1)	14.3% (9)

	% (n)							
Tomboy	19.1% (13)	38.2% (26)	22.1% (15)	50.0% (34)	8.8% (6)	17.6% (12)	8.8% (6)	19.1% (13)
	Sensitive	Sexually perverse	Shrewd	Sociable	Spiritual	Spoiled	Stupid	Strong
Butch	7.7% (5)	27.7% (18)	7.7% (5)	12.3% (8)	4.6% (3)	–	12.3% (8)	44.6% (29)
Feminist	11.1% (7)	19.0% (12)	1.6% (1)	19.0% (12)	9.5% (6)	12.7% (8)	12.7% (8)	22.2% (14)
Tomboy	13.2% (9)	32.4% (22)	5.9% (4)	17.6% (12)	–	–	13.2% (9)	42.6% (29)
	Superficial	Talkative	Touchy	Tough	Uneducated	Unemotional	Unfriendly	Unreliable
Butch	1.5% (1)	10.8% (7)	15.4% (10)	56.9% (37)	16.9% (11)	13.8% (9)	24.6% (16)	13.8% (9)
Feminist	11.1% (7)	22.2% (14)	11.1% (7)	22.2% (14)	17.5% (11)	1.6% (1)	19.0% (12)	3.2% (2)
Tomboy	7.4% (5)	14.7% (10)	13.2% (9)	52.9% (36)	11.8% (8)	16.2% (11)	26.5% (18)	11.8% (8)
	Weak	Whiny						
Butch	1.5% (1)	6.2% (4)						
Feminist	17.2% (11)	34.4% (22)						
Tomboy	11.8% (8)	11.8% (8)						

Table 3-59. Frequencies of endorsement of adjectives from a personal perspective for the lesbian women subgroups.

	% (n)							
	Abnormal	Active	Adventurous	Aggressive	Ambitious	Artistic	Athletic	Attention seeking
Butch	18.5% (12)	6.2% (4)	7.7% (5)	12.3% (8)	1.5% (1)	10.8% (7)	12.3% (8)	10.8% (7)
Feminist	7.9% (5)	11.1% (7)	6.3% (4)	9.5% (6)	19.0% (12)	11.1% (7)	1.6% (1)	15.9% (10)
Tomboy	5.9% (4)	5.9% (4)	16.2% (11)	5.9% (4)	8.8% (6)	8.8% (6)	10.3% (7)	8.8% (6)
	Competent	Competitive	Cool	Different	Emotional	Friendly	Honest	Hostile
Butch	9.2% (6)	9.2% (6)	3.1% (2)	27.7% (18)	–	9.2% (6)	1.5% (1)	1.5% (1)
Feminist	4.8% (3)	1.6% (1)	–	15.9% (10)	6.3% (4)	4.8% (3)	9.5% (6)	7.9% (5)
Tomboy	1.5% (1)	10.3% (7)	8.8% (6)	20.6% (14)	7.4% (5)	11.8% (8)	2.9% (2)	–
	Independent	Individualistic	Insecure	Intelligent	Liberal	Macho	Opinionated	Outgoing
Butch	21.5% (14)	12.3% (8)	1.5% (1)	3.1% (2)	13.8% (9)	20.0% (13)	24.6% (16)	9.2% (6)
Feminist	30.3% (19)	11.1% (7)	7.9% (5)	7.9% (5)	31.7% (20)	3.2% (2)	42.9% (27)	4.8% (3)
Tomboy	26.5% (18)	27.9% (19)	8.8% (6)	2.9% (2)	29.4% (20)	8.8% (6)	13.2% (9)	10.3% (7)
	Passionate	Politically active	Progressive	Proud	Rebellious	Strong	Tough	
Butch	6.2% (4)	6.2% (4)	3.1% (2)	16.9% (11)	18.5% (12)	20.0% (13)	27.7% (18)	
Feminist	22.2% (14)	30.3% (19)	12.7% (8)	20.6% (13)	3.2% (2)	12.7% (8)	7.9% (5)	
Tomboy	1.5% (1)	7.4% (5)	14.7% (10)	16.2% (11)	7.4% (5)	25.0% (17)	20.6% (14)	

Table 3-60. Frequencies of endorsement of emotions from a societal perspective for the lesbian women subgroups.

	% (n)							
	Acceptance	Admiration	Affection	Amusement	Anger	Anxiety	Apprehension	Ashamed
Butch	43.1% (28)	9.2% (6)	32.3% (21)	16.9% (11)	27.7% (18)	33.8% (22)	44.6% (29)	20.0% (13)
Feminist	39.7% (25)	23.8% (15)	30.2% (19)	15.9% (10)	31.7% (20)	31.7% (20)	36.5% (23)	17.5% (11)
Tomboy	33.8% (23)	13.2% (9)	25.0% (17)	19.1% (13)	33.8% (23)	39.7% (27)	41.2% (28)	16.2% (11)
	Comfortable	Compassion	Contempt	Confusion	Disappointment	Discomfort	Disgust	Distress
Butch	16.9% (11)	20.0% (13)	16.9% (11)	53.8% (35)	23.1% (15)	76.9% (50)	43.1% (28)	21.5% (14)
Feminist	3.2% (2)	14.3% (9)	27.0% (17)	46.0% (29)	19.0% (12)	69.8% (44)	38.1% (24)	15.9% (10)
Tomboy	13.2% (9)	5.9% (4)	26.5% (18)	55.9% (38)	25.0% (17)	72.1% (49)	38.2% (26)	29.4% (20)
	Embarrassment	Envy	Excitement	Fear	Friendliness	Frustration	Happiness	Hatred
Butch	26.2% (17)	–	7.7% (5)	27.7% (18)	24.6% (16)	15.4% (10)	9.2% (6)	30.8% (20)
Feminist	28.6% (18)	11.1% (7)	9.5% (6)	33.3% (21)	9.5% (6)	28.6% (18)	12.7% (8)	31.7% (20)
Tomboy	29.4% (20)	4.4% (3)	5.9% (4)	26.5% (18)	30.9% (21)	14.7% (10)	4.4% (3)	30.9% (21)
	Hopeful	Hostility	Indignation	Inspiration	Interest	Irritation	Jealousy	Love
Butch	6.2% (4)	33.8% (22)	4.6% (3)	15.4% (10)	26.2% (17)	29.2% (19)	3.1% (2)	6.2% (4)
Feminist	15.9% (10)	47.6% (30)	12.7% (8)	14.3% (9)	25.4% (16)	41.3% (26)	11.1% (7)	12.7% (8)
Tomboy	2.9% (2)	39.7% (27)	10.3% (7)	16.2% (11)	25.0% (17)	20.6% (14)	4.4% (3)	2.9% (2)
	Lust	Peacefulness	Pity	Pride	Remorse	Resentment	Respect	Sadness
Butch	7.7% (5)	7.7% (5)	29.2% (19)	15.4% (10)	7.7% (5)	20.0% (13)	32.3% (21)	9.2% (6)
Feminist	4.8% (3)	4.8% (3)	22.2% (14)	28.6% (18)	9.5% (6)	30.3% (19)	30.2% (19)	6.3% (4)
Tomboy	4.4% (3)	8.8% (6)	27.9% (19)	20.6% (14)	7.4% (5)	35.3% (24)	17.6% (12)	10.3% (7)
	Scorn	Surprise	Sympathy	Tense	Unease			
Butch	15.4% (10)	18.5% (12)	15.4% (10)	15.4% (10)	41.5% (27)			
Feminist	19.0% (12)	6.3% (4)	19.0% (12)	17.5% (11)	46.0% (29)			
Tomboy	35.3% (24)	19.1% (13)	10.3% (7)	13.2% (9)	33.8% (23)			

Table 3-61. Frequencies of endorsement of emotions from a personal perspective for the lesbian women subgroups.

	% (n)							
	Acceptance	Admiration	Anxiety	Apprehension	Comfortable	Compassion	Contempt	Confusion
Butch	40.0% (26)	6.2% (4)	12.3% (8)	13.8% (9)	10.8% (7)	12.3% (8)	1.5% (1)	24.6% (16)
Feminist	31.7% (20)	14.3% (9)	7.9% (5)	15.9% (10)	3.2% (2)	7.9% (5)	7.9% (5)	19.0% (12)
Tomboy	32.4% (22)	5.9% (4)	17.6% (12)	17.6% (12)	10.3% (7)	4.4% (3)	4.4% (3)	23.5% (16)
	Disappointment	Discomfort	Disgust	Distress	Embarrassment	Friendliness	Frustration	Hostility
Butch	1.5% (1)	40.0% (26)	10.8% (7)	4.6% (3)	3.1% (2)	15.4% (10)	3.1% (2)	3.1% (2)
Feminist	7.9% (5)	38.1% (24)	7.9% (5)	1.6% (1)	11.1% (7)	4.8% (3)	7.9% (5)	11.1% (7)
Tomboy	4.4% (3)	36.8% (25)	8.8% (6)	7.4% (5)	2.9% (2)	23.5% (16)	–	2.9% (2)
	Inspiration	Interest	Irritation	Peacefulness	Pity	Pride	Resentment	Respect
Butch	9.2% (6)	18.5% (12)	6.2% (4)	4.6% (3)	7.7% (5)	9.2% (6)	–	27.7% (18)
Feminist	6.3% (4)	14.3% (9)	12.7% (8)	1.6% (1)	7.9% (5)	15.9% (10)	7.9% (5)	20.6% (13)
Tomboy	4.4% (3)	17.6% (12)	5.9% (4)	7.4% (5)	1.5% (1)	14.7% (10)	4.4% (3)	16.2% (11)
	Scorn	Surprise	Sympathy	Tense	Unease			
Butch	1.5% (1)	12.3% (8)	6.2% (4)	9.2% (6)	27.7% (18)			
Feminist	1.6% (1)	1.6% (1)	7.9% (5)	6.3% (4)	31.7% (20)			
Tomboy	7.4% (5)	11.8% (8)	8.8% (6)	11.8% (8)	23.5% (16)			

Table 3-62. Frequencies of endorsement of behaviours from a societal perspective for the lesbian women subgroups.

		% (n)								
		Abandon	Abuse	Accept	Admire	Advocate for	Aggress against	Antagonize	Assist	
193	Butch	24.6% (16)	27.7% (18)	38.5% (25)	10.8% (7)	33.8% (22)	32.3% (21)	32.3% (21)	9.2% (6)	
	Feminist	30.2% (19)	22.2% (14)	41.3% (26)	19.0% (12)	38.1% (24)	31.7% (20)	34.9% (22)	14.3% (9)	
	Tomboy	29.4% (20)	30.9% (21)	44.1% (30)	19.1% (13)	30.9% (21)	38.2% (26)	19.1% (13)	13.2% (9)	
			Associate with	Attack	Avoid	Befriend	Belittle	Celebrate	Comfort	Condone
	Butch	13.8% (9)	40.0% (26)	53.8% (35)	21.5% (14)	32.3% (21)	12.3% (8)	7.7% (5)	9.2% (6)	
	Feminist	15.9% (10)	38.1% (24)	58.7% (37)	25.4% (16)	47.6% (30)	19.0% (12)	3.2% (2)	19.0% (12)	
	Tomboy	20.6% (14)	30.9% (21)	50.0% (34)	19.1% (13)	32.4% (22)	20.6% (14)	7.4% (5)	20.6% (14)	
			Cooperate with	Compete with	Criticize	Dehumanize	Demean	Derogate	Discriminate against	Dismiss
	Butch	21.5% (14)	12.3% (8)	53.8% (35)	36.9% (24)	35.4% (23)	21.5% (14)	55.4% (36)	41.5% (27)	
	Feminist	23.8% (15)	12.7% (8)	58.7% (37)	33.3% (21)	39.7% (25)	22.2% (14)	50.8% (32)	39.7% (25)	
	Tomboy	22.1% (15)	10.3% (7)	55.9% (38)	27.9% (19)	44.1% (30)	13.2% (9)	64.7% (44)	32.4% (22)	
			Embrace	Encourage	Endorse	Endure	Exclude	Fight	Follow	Harass
	Butch	6.2% (4)	20.0% (13)	6.2% (4)	13.8% (9)	38.5% (25)	21.5% (14)	3.1% (2)	44.6% (29)	
	Feminist	20.6% (13)	17.5% (11)	7.9% (5)	4.8% (3)	42.9% (27)	20.6% (13)	7.9% (5)	34.9% (22)	
	Tomboy	13.2% (9)	25.0% (17)	8.8% (6)	4.4% (3)	51.5% (35)	10.3% (7)	–	41.2% (28)	
			Help	Hinder	Hurt	Ignore	Imitate	Include	Judge	Mock
	Butch	12.3% (8)	13.8% (9)	24.6% (16)	47.7% (31)	10.8% (7)	23.1% (15)	58.5% (38)	38.5% (25)	
	Feminist	14.3% (9)	23.8% (15)	19.0% (12)	49.2% (31)	7.9% (5)	23.8% (15)	74.6% (47)	42.9% (27)	
	Tomboy	13.2% (9)	16.2% (11)	16.2% (11)	39.7% (27)	5.9% (4)	16.2% (11)	60.3% (41)	44.1% (30)	
			Neglect	Normalize	Objectify	Oppose	Praise	Protect	Reject	Relate to
	Butch	26.2% (17)	13.8% (9)	18.5% (12)	20.0% (13)	12.3% (8)	16.9% (11)	36.9% (24)	12.3% (8)	
Feminist	25.4% (16)	19.0% (12)	25.4% (16)	36.5% (23)	12.7% (8)	23.8% (15)	38.1% (24)	6.3% (4)		
Tomboy	32.4% (22)	17.6% (12)	17.6% (12)	30.9% (21)	8.8% (6)	17.6% (12)	36.8% (25)	5.9% (4)		
		Sabotage	Shame	Support	Tolerate	Unite with				
Butch	15.4% (10)	33.8% (22)	21.5% (14)	46.2% (30)	15.4% (10)					
Feminist	12.7% (8)	31.7% (20)	25.4% (16)	36.5% (23)	19.0% (12)					
Tomboy	10.3% (7)	42.6% (29)	29.4% (20)	42.6% (29)	14.7% (10)					

Table 3-63. Frequencies of endorsement of behaviours from a personal perspective for the lesbian women subgroups.

	% (n)							
	Accept	Admire	Advocate for	Associate with	Avoid	Befriend	Celebrate	Cooperate with
Butch	33.8% (22)	4.6% (3)	18.5% (12)	4.6% (3)	30.8% (20)	12.3% (8)	6.2% (4)	15.4% (10)
Feminist	36.5% (23)	7.9% (5)	22.2% (14)	9.5% (6)	34.9% (22)	7.9% (5)	4.8% (3)	9.5% (6)
Tomboy	39.7% (27)	4.4% (3)	20.6% (14)	7.4% (5)	23.5% (16)	11.8% (8)	7.4% (5)	17.6% (12)
	Criticize	Discriminate against	Dismiss	Embrace	Encourage	Exclude	Help	Ignore
Butch	15.4% (10)	15.4% (10)	13.8% (9)	–	4.6% (3)	10.8% (7)	3.1% (2)	27.7% (18)
Feminist	20.6% (13)	6.3% (4)	6.3% (4)	9.5% (6)	6.3% (4)	11.1% (7)	9.5% (6)	33.3% (21)
Tomboy	11.8% (8)	8.8% (6)	13.2% (9)	8.8% (6)	17.6% (12)	8.8% (6)	7.4% (5)	22.1% (15)
	Include	Judge	Mock	Neglect	Normalize	Oppose	Protect	Reject
Butch	15.4% (10)	27.7% (18)	7.7% (5)	1.5% (1)	7.7% (5)	1.5% (1)	6.2% (4)	4.6% (3)
Feminist	9.5% (6)	28.6% (18)	6.3% (4)	6.3% (4)	9.5% (6)	12.7% (8)	9.5% (6)	7.9% (5)
Tomboy	10.3% (7)	17.6% (12)	2.9% (2)	8.8% (6)	14.7% (10)	4.4% (3)	8.8% (6)	7.4% (5)
	Support	Tolerate	Unite with					
Butch	9.2% (6)	27.7% (18)	3.1% (2)					
Feminist	12.7% (8)	25.4% (16)	7.9% (5)					
Tomboy	22.1% (15)	26.5% (18)	4.4% (3)					

Table 3-64. Highest endorsed items on the societal and personal adjective, emotion, and behaviour checklists for the lesbian subgroups.

Societal			Personal		
Butch					
<u>Adjectives</u>	<u>Emotions</u>	<u>Behaviours</u>	<u>Adjectives</u>	<u>Emotions</u>	<u>Behaviours</u>
1. Abnormal	1. Discomfort	1. Judge	1. Different	1. Acceptance	1. Accept
2. Aggressive	2. Confusion	2. Discriminate	1. Tough	1. Discomfort	2. Avoid
3. Macho	3. Apprehension	against	3. Opinionated	3. Respect	3. Ignore
4. Tough	4. Acceptance	3. Avoid	4. Independent	3. Unease	3. Judge
5. Different	4. Disgust	3. Criticize	5. Macho	5. Confusion	3. Tolerate
5. Opinionated		5. Ignore	5. Strong		
Feminist					
<u>Adjectives</u>	<u>Emotions</u>	<u>Behaviours</u>	<u>Adjectives</u>	<u>Emotions</u>	<u>Behaviours</u>
1. Opinionated	1. Discomfort	1. Judge	1. Opinionated	1. Discomfort	1. Accept
2. Abnormal	2. Hostility	2. Avoid	2. Liberal	2. Acceptance	2. Avoid
3. Attention seeking	3. Confusion	2. Criticize	3. Independent	3. Respect	3. Ignore
4. Aggressive	3. Unease	4. Discriminate	3. Politically active	4. Confusion	4. Judge
5. Liberal	5. Irritation	against	5. Passionate	5. Apprehension	5. Tolerate
		5. Ignore		5. Pride	
Tomboy					
<u>Adjectives</u>	<u>Emotions</u>	<u>Behaviours</u>	<u>Adjectives</u>	<u>Emotions</u>	<u>Behaviours</u>
1. Abnormal	1. Discomfort	1. Discriminate	1. Liberal	1. Discomfort	1. Accept
2. Different	2. Confusion	against	2. Individualistic	2. Acceptance	2. Tolerate
3. Opinionated	3. Apprehension	2. Judge	3. Independent	3. Confusion	3. Avoid
4. Individualistic	4. Anxiety	3. Criticize	4. Strong	3. Friendliness	4. Ignore
5. Aggressive	4. Hostility	4. Exclude	5. Different	3. Unease	4. Support
5. Tough		5. Avoid	5. Tough		



Table 3-65. Means and standard deviations for valence ratings of selected adjectives, emotional reactions, and behavioural reactions for the lesbian women subgroups.

	<i>M (SD)</i>		
	Adjectives	Emotions	Behaviours
Societal Perspective			
Butch ( <i>n</i> = 64)	.001 (.420)	-.297 (.477)	-.413 (.563)
Feminist ( <i>n</i> = 63)	-.069 (.388)	-.330 (.554)	-.369 (.532)
Tomboy ( <i>n</i> = 68)	.140 (.420)	-.257 (.523)	-.374 (.529)
Personal Perspective			
Butch ( <i>n</i> = 63)	.339 (.503)	-.046 (.713)	-.087 (.736)
Feminist ( <i>n</i> = 63)	.355 (.568)	-.087 (.823)	.009 (.778)
Tomboy ( <i>n</i> = 66)	.482 (.505)	.041 (.739)	.015 (.783)

Table 4-1. Photograph categorisation for the top four photographs in each subgroup and their mean characterisation ratings.

	Categorisation into the Subgroups	Mean Representativeness Rating
Closeted	% ( <i>n</i> )	<i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )
Photograph 1	94 (47)	5.98 (3.14)
Photograph 2	90 (45)	5.98 (3.30)
Photograph 3	84 (42)	6.19 (3.32)
Photograph 4	82 (41)	6.00 (2.80)
Drag Queen		
Photograph 1	100 (50)	9.42 (1.43)
Photograph 2	88 (44)	8.11 (1.78)
Photograph 3	80 (40)	8.40 (1.85)
Photograph 4	58 (29)	7.93 (1.89)
Feminine		
Photograph 1	66 (33)	7.36 (1.98)
Photograph 2	64 (32)	7.50 (2.36)
Photograph 3	58 (29)	7.41 (2.20)
Photograph 4	54 (27)	7.30 (2.30)
Flamboyant		
Photograph 1	74 (37)	8.46 (2.02)
Photograph 2	72 (36)	7.31 (2.48)
Photograph 3	68 (34)	7.53 (2.27)
Photograph 4	62 (31)	7.26 (2.32)
Butch		
Photograph 1	90 (45)	8.18 (2.31)
Photograph 2	88 (44)	8.34 (2.09)
Photograph 3	86 (43)	8.28 (1.92)
Photograph 4	78 (39)	8.33 (2.06)
Feminist		
Photograph 1	94 (47)	6.62 (2.89)
Photograph 2	92 (46)	5.98 (3.01)
Photograph 3	82 (41)	6.32 (2.95)
Photograph 4	66 (33)	6.61 (2.85)
Tomboy		
Photograph 1	92 (46)	7.52 (2.11)
Photograph 2	88 (44)	7.66 (2.01)
Photograph 3	70 (35)	7.69 (2.19)
Photograph 4	68 (34)	7.56 (2.21)

*Note.* Mean representativeness ratings ranged from 1 (not at all representative) to 10 (very representative).

Table 4-2. Summary of findings for analyses of gay men and lesbian women subgroups.

	Gay Men	Lesbian Women
	GNAT Scores	
	No differences in sensitivity scores across subgroups	No differences in sensitivity scores across subgroups
	SCM (cognitive)	
	Closeted: warm > competent Drag Queen: warm > competent Feminine: warm > competent Flamboyant: warm > competent	Butch: warm < competent Feminist: warm < competent Tomboy: warm < competent
	Drag Queen < competent than Feminine Drag Queen < warm than Feminine, Flamboyant	No differences in competence No differences in warmth
	Drag Queen < status than Closeted, Feminine, Flamboyant No differences in competition	Feminist > status than Butch, Tomboy No differences in competition
	SCM (affective)	
198	No differences in admiration Closeted < envied than Feminine No differences in pity No differences in contempt	Feminist > admired than Butch No differences in envy No differences in pity No differences in contempt
	BIAS Map	
	Drag Queen < active facilitation than Closeted, Feminine Flamboyant < active facilitation than Feminine Drag Queen < passive facilitation than Closeted No differences in passive harm No differences in active harm	No differences in active facilitation No differences in passive facilitation No differences in passive harm Feminist > active harm than Butch

Table 4-3. Mean sensitivity ( $d'$ ) scores on the Go/No-Go Association Test for all subgroups.

	Sensitivity ( $d'$ ) - Good $M (SD)$	Sensitivity ( $d'$ ) - Bad $M (SD)$	Difference between $d'$ $t$ -test	ANOVA Good	ANOVA Bad
<b>Gay Men</b>					
Closeted ( $n = 30$ )	2.41 (1.58)	2.20 (1.19)	$t(29) = 1.11, p = .276$	$F(3,116) = .297$	$F(3,116) = .273$
Drag Queen ( $n = 29$ )	2.26 (1.10)	2.19 (.775)	$t(28) = .358, p = .723$	$p = .828$	$p = .845$
Feminine ( $n = 30$ )	2.32 (1.12)	2.32 (1.34)	$t(29) = .028, p = .978$		
Flamboyant ( $n = 30$ )	2.11 (1.37)	2.37 (.992)	$t(29) = -.938, p = .356$		
<b>Lesbian Women</b>					
Butch ( $n = 40$ )	2.64 (1.57)	2.43 (1.46)	$t(39) = .744, p = .461$	$F(2,115) = 1.17$	$F(2,115) = .768$
Feminist ( $n = 39$ )	2.25 (1.01)	2.73 (1.64)	$t(38) = -1.58, p = .123$	$p = .313$	$p = .466$
Tomboy ( $n = 39$ )	2.31 (1.02)	2.34 (1.23)	$t(39) = -.158, p = .875$		

Table 4-4. Means and standard deviations for scale scores for gay men subgroups.

	<i>M (SD)</i>											
	Competence (6-30)	Warmth (6-30)	Status (3-15)	Competition (3-15)	Admiration (2-10)	Envy (2-10)	Pity (2-10)	Contempt (2-10)	Active Facilitation (3-15)	Passive Facilitation (3-15)	Active Harm (3-15)	Passive Harm (4-20)
Closeted ( <i>n</i> = 30)	19.67 (4.28)	21.30 (3.09)	9.57 (1.96)	6.03 (3.26)	5.00 (2.05)	2.60 (1.00)	5.87 (2.57)	5.30 (1.74)	8.50 (1.78)	9.23 (2.39)	8.30 (2.97)	11.40 (3.94)
Drag Queen ( <i>n</i> = 29)	18.31 (4.56)	19.45 (4.46)	6.62 (2.74)	5.00 (2.61)	5.14 (1.87)	3.28 (1.71)	4.90 (1.92)	5.86 (1.38)	6.45 (2.63)	7.17 (2.32)	9.14 (3.18)	12.66 (4.62)
Feminine ( <i>n</i> = 30)	22.13 (3.54)	23.57 (3.04)	9.43 (2.08)	5.70 (2.83)	5.53 (1.72)	3.70 (1.74)	4.73 (1.62)	5.10 (1.42)	8.93 (2.69)	8.57 (1.98)	9.07 (2.74)	12.27 (3.85)
Flamboyant ( <i>n</i> = 30)	19.90 (3.12)	22.40 (3.71)	8.63 (2.24)	6.23 (3.40)	5.20 (1.49)	2.97 (1.19)	4.37 (1.75)	5.53 (2.05)	7.17 (2.60)	8.17 (2.42)	9.63 (3.05)	13.07 (3.93)

Table 4-5. Means and standard deviations for scale scores for lesbian women subgroups.

	<i>M (SD)</i>											
	Competence (6-30)	Warmth (6-30)	Status (3-15)	Competition (3-15)	Admiration (2-10)	Envy (2-10)	Pity (2-10)	Contempt (2-10)	Active Facilitation (3-15)	Passive Facilitation (3-15)	Active Harm (3-15)	Passive Harm (4-20)
Butch ( <i>n</i> = 40)	20.80 (4.62)	18.08 (5.53)	7.73 (2.32)	5.45 (2.94)	4.38 (1.86)	2.58 (.958)	4.55 (1.88)	4.93 (1.83)	7.18 (2.88)	7.40 (2.28)	7.45 (3.43)	11.15 (4.30)
Feminist ( <i>n</i> = 39)	21.21 (2.90)	18.05 (4.25)	9.31 (2.43)	5.97 (3.26)	5.46 (2.05)	2.77 (1.09)	3.85 (1.35)	5.67 (1.74)	7.56 (2.71)	7.97 (2.17)	9.26 (3.07)	12.13 (4.14)
Tomboy ( <i>n</i> = 39)	20.15 (3.78)	18.64 (4.73)	7.95 (2.64)	5.00 (2.74)	4.82 (1.65)	3.28 (1.56)	4.49 (1.85)	5.36 (1.39)	7.13 (2.61)	7.92 (2.69)	7.85 (3.02)	11.31 (4.00)

Table 4-6. Intercorrelations between subscales for ratings of the Closeted gay man subgroup.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1. Competence	-													
2. Warmth	.765***	-												
3. Status	.570**	.438*	-											
4. Competition	-.212	-.271	-.321	-										
5. Admiration	.448*	.474**	.300	-.278	-									
6. Envy	.112	.107	.189	-.048	.385*	-								
7. Pity	-.118	-.148	-.019	-.024	-.237	-.290	-							
8. Contempt	-.323	-.312	-.344	.186	-.019	.327	-.083	-						
9. Active Facilitation	.290	.267	.292	.128	.435*	.213	-.008	.061	-					
10. Passive Facilitation	.477**	.514**	.383*	-.187	.465**	.184	.050	-.299	.703***	-				
11. Active Harm	-.320	-.217	-.208	.184	-.085	.042	.173	.587**	-.101	-.375*	-			
12. Passive Harm	-.417*	-.234	-.369*	.061	-.264	.007	.142	.553**	-.256	-.409*	.775***	-		
13. GNAT_Good	-.118	.039	-.179	-.290	-.055	-.123	-.250	-.206	-.303	-.113	.042	-.002	-	
14. GNAT_Bad	-.116	.000	-.087	-.135	-.015	-.071	-.263	-.164	-.184	-.131	.079	.022	.753***	-

\* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$

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Table 4-7. Intercorrelations between subscales for ratings of the Drag Queen gay man subgroup.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1. Competence	-													
2. Warmth	.813***	-												
3. Status	.598***	.534**	-											
4. Competition	-.370*	-.242	-.288	-										
5. Admiration	.536**	.537**	.150	.000	-									
6. Envy	.264	.391*	.297	.015	.324	-								
7. Pity	-.033	-.078	.040	.254	.264	.522**	-							
8. Contempt	-.033	.022	-.108	-.010	.063	.395*	.399*	-						
9. Active Facilitation	.221	.284	.396*	-.175	.133	-.029	-.289	-.150	-					
10. Passive Facilitation	.428*	.490**	.365	-.364	.441*	.168	-.213	-.115	.656***	-				
11. Active Harm	-.264	-.352	-.223	.124	.003	.374*	.659***	.224	-.525**	-.149	-			
12. Passive Harm	-.528**	-.542**	-.442*	.399*	-.227	.207	.541**	.076	-.555**	-.385*	.816***	-		
13. GNAT_Good	.195	.374*	-.043	-.142	.288	.006	-.248	.019	.041	.232	-.357	-.382*	-	
14. GNAT_Bad	.139	.276	-.067	-.093	.107	-.025	-.158	-.015	-.059	-.138	-.315	-.283	.450*	-

\* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$

Table 4-8. Intercorrelations between subscales for ratings of the Feminine gay man subgroup.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1. Competence	-													
2. Warmth	.355	-												
3. Status	.488**	-.007	-											
4. Competition	-.113	.145	-.124	-										
5. Admiration	.084	.264	.233	-.221	-									
6. Envy	-.233	-.090	.037	-.068	.366*	-								
7. Pity	-.150	-.214	.179	-.282	.127	.044	-							
8. Contempt	.203	-.229	.265	-.198	.119	.360	.387*	-						
9. Active Facilitation	.131	.186	.314	.264	.396*	.326	-.329	.056	-					
10. Passive Facilitation	.289	.169	.551**	-.129	.619***	.321	-.178	.163	.571**	-				
11. Active Harm	-.022	-.245	.128	-.304	-.066	.048	.463**	.370*	-.472**	-.115	-			
12. Passive Harm	-.089	.013	-.123	-.299	-.059	.228	.510**	.392*	-.411*	-.116	.786***	-		
13. GNAT_Good	.125	-.314	-.008	-.095	.118	.177	.211	.264	-.031	.084	-.058	.003	-	
14. GNAT_Bad	.021	-.305	.145	-.035	.149	.221	.135	.406*	.115	.237	.053	.079	.644***	-

\* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$

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Table 4-9. Intercorrelations between subscales for ratings of the Flamboyant gay man subgroup.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1. Competence	-													
2. Warmth	.254	-												
3. Status	.676***	.135	-											
4. Competition	-.069	-.270	-.247	-										
5. Admiration	.322	.072	.353	-.396*	-									
6. Envy	.055	.277	.073	-.228	.431*	-								
7. Pity	-.031	.131	-.211	-.073	.129	.188	-							
8. Contempt	-.499**	-.315	-.408*	.328	-.307	.064	.338	-						
9. Active Facilitation	.372*	.039	.349	.253	.390*	.102	-.173	-.374*	-					
10. Passive Facilitation	.321	.107	.470**	-.298	.495**	.062	-.080	-.401*	.663***	-				
11. Active Harm	-.066	.013	.056	.185	.191	.035	.291	.403*	.130	-.141	-			
12. Passive Harm	-.264	-.163	-.142	.094	.068	-.059	.292	.617***	-.217	-.269	.769***	-		
13. GNAT_Good	.000	-.016	.030	-.147	-.026	-.094	-.066	-.197	.012	.109	-.130	-.105	-	
14. GNAT_Bad	.154	.001	.150	.070	-.161	-.071	.012	.071	.121	.132	.039	-.089	.186	-

\* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$

Table 4-10. Intercorrelations between subscales for ratings of the Butch lesbian woman subgroup.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1. Competence	-													
2. Warmth	.772***	-												
3. Status	.521**	.621***	-											
4. Competition	-.321*	-.366*	-.263	-										
5. Admiration	.497**	.644***	.499**	-.120	-									
6. Envy	.056	.098	.004	.006	-.066	-								
7. Pity	.243	.361*	.347*	-.023	.474**	-.038	-							
8. Contempt	-.114	-.291	-.222	.254	-.375*	.303	.064	-						
9. Active Facilitation	.330*	.598***	.349*	.063	.666***	-.102	.389*	-.449**	-					
10. Passive Facilitation	.579***	.679***	.684***	-.233	.590***	-.084	.401*	-.324*	.667***	-				
11. Active Harm	-.153	-.221	-.232	.028	-.127	.021	.251	.613***	-.262	-.154	-			
12. Passive Harm	-.183	-.309	-.335*	.136	-.161	.053	.269	.529***	-.381*	-.218	.796***	-		
13. GNAT_Good	.123	.062	.038	.013	.042	-.286	-.197	-.080	-.014	-.021	-.122	-.134	-	
14. GNAT_Bad	-.227	-.114	-.133	-.031	-.191	-.214	-.100	.078	.052	-.082	.018	-.083	.343*	-

\* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$

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Table 4-11. Intercorrelations between subscales for ratings of the Feminist lesbian woman subgroup.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1. Competence	-													
2. Warmth	.590***	-												
3. Status	.606***	.434**	-											
4. Competition	-.294	-.357*	-.271	-										
5. Admiration	.430**	.626***	.388*	-.387*	-									
6. Envy	-.068	.322*	-.022	-.106	.061	-								
7. Pity	-.012	.102	.039	.017	.188	.334*	-							
8. Contempt	-.299	-.415**	-.312	.226	-.236	-.028	.360*	-						
9. Active Facilitation	.336*	.406*	.364*	.058	.340*	.322*	.039	-.043	-					
10. Passive Facilitation	.235	.294	.306	-.190	.316*	.120	-.190	-.240	.624***	-				
11. Active Harm	-.180	-.235	-.180	.035	-.007	-.148	.258	.387*	-.170	-.177	-			
12. Passive Harm	-.215	-.250	-.219	.020	.070	-.140	.367*	.478**	-.279	-.252	.850***	-		
13. GNAT_Good	-.035	-.053	-.199	-.178	-.008	.318*	.168	.212	.054	.060	.016	.116	-	
14. GNAT_Bad	.095	-.144	.340*	-.030	-.071	-.250	-.347*	-.089	-.044	.166	.032	-.013	.006	-

\* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$



Table 4-12. Intercorrelations between subscales for ratings of the Tomboy lesbian woman subgroup.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1. Competence	-													
2. Warmth	.700***	-												
3. Status	.638***	.484**	-											
4. Competition	-.244	-.259	-.218	-										
5. Admiration	.481**	.358*	.672***	-.099	-									
6. Envy	.221	.171	.375*	.074	.604***	-								
7. Pity	.034	-.073	.102	-.047	.107	.061	-							
8. Contempt	-.046	-.197	-.110	.118	-.029	.111	.279	-						
9. Active Facilitation	.516**	.377*	.589***	-.004	.610***	.542***	-.013	-.202	-					
10. Passive Facilitation	.524**	.413**	.691***	-.046	.625***	.389*	-.204	-.360*	.651***	-				
11. Active Harm	-.237	-.184	-.251	-.057	-.311	-.125	.490**	.347*	-.308	-.413**	-			
12. Passive Harm	-.250	-.362*	-.282	-.165	-.413**	-.260	.470**	.411**	-.440**	-.565***	.831***	-		
13. GNAT_Good	.037	.073	.066	.025	-.091	-.083	.036	.011	-.121	.097	-.153	-.039	-	
14. GNAT_Bad	.277*	-.232	-.153	.158	-.125	-.158	.033	.080	-.147	-.324*	-.078	-.047	.161	-

\* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$

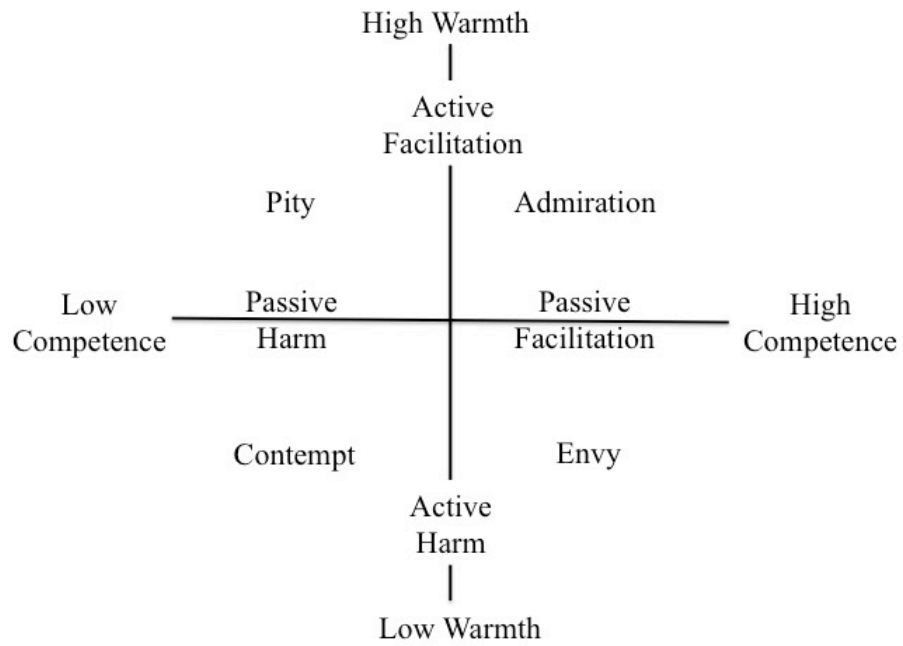


Figure 1-1. Visual representation of Stereotype Content Model (SCM; Fiske et al., 2002) and BIAS map (Cuddy et al., 2007).

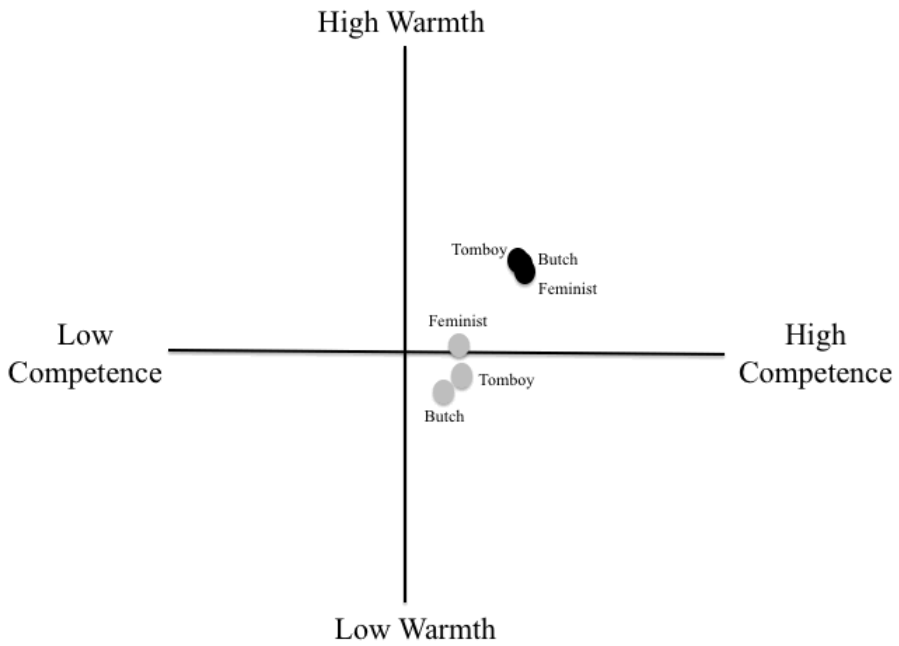
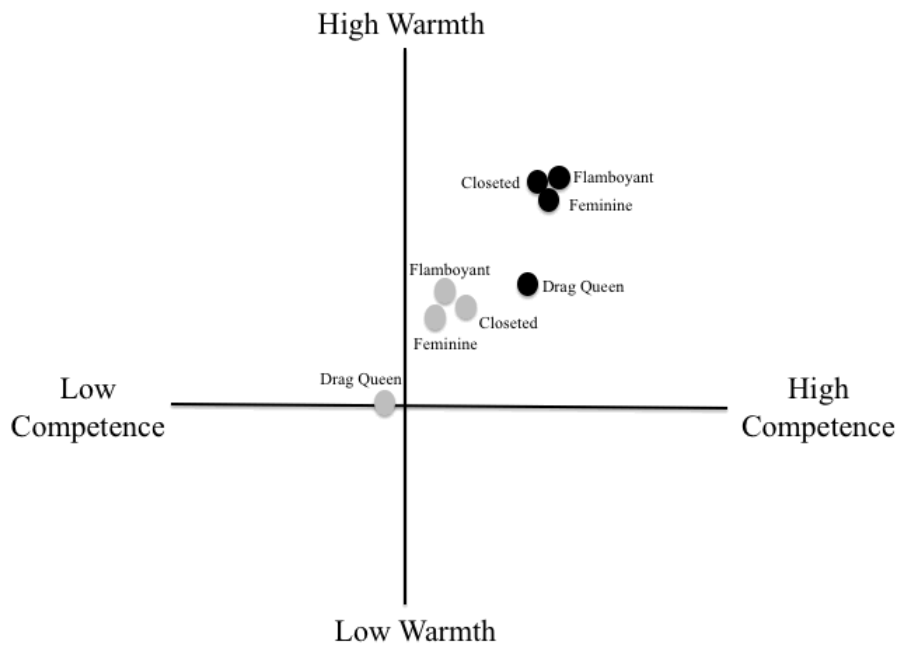


Figure 3-1. Stereotype Content Model map with relative positioning of ratings of gay men and lesbian women subgroups from a societal (grey) and personal (black) perspective.

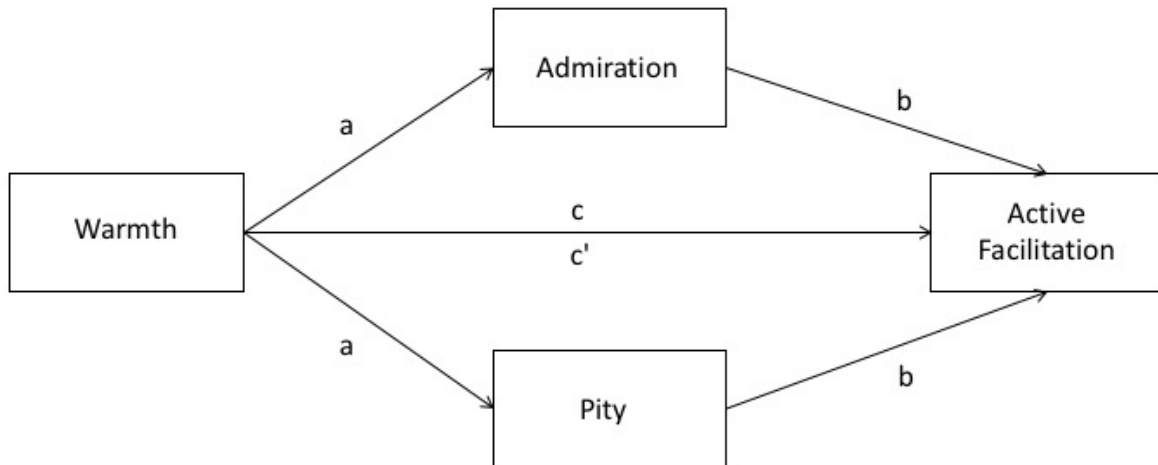


Figure 3-2. Mediation model of direct effects ( $c$ ) of Warmth on Active Facilitation, with indirect effects ( $c'$ ) of mediators Admiration and Pity.

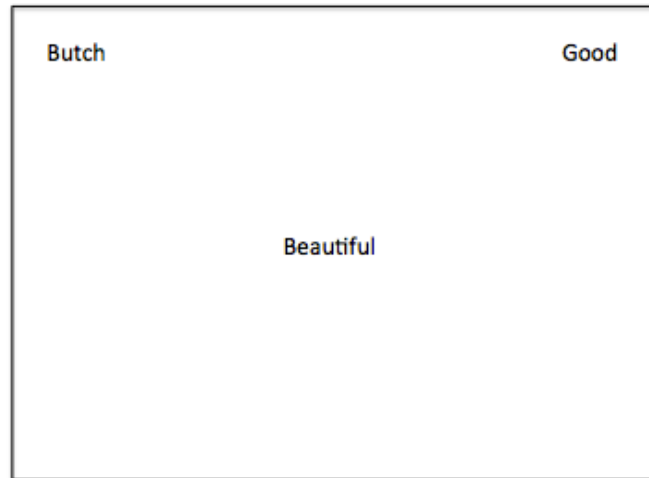


Figure 4-1. Visual representations of the Go/No-Go Association Task (Nosek and Banaji, 2001)

**Appendix A**  
**Subgroup Generation Form – Gay Men**

**Instructions:** Please list any and all subgroups of gay men that you think exist in society. You may take a new sheet of paper for every new subgroup you list. These subgroups do not need to reflect your own opinion, but rather should reflect societal stereotypes or associations with which you are familiar.

Subgroup of Gay Men: \_\_\_\_\_

**Instructions:** Please list five adjectives that are most characteristic of society’s view of this subgroup. (Remember: your responses do not need to correspond to your own attitudes or opinions, but should represent the attitudes or stereotypes that you think exist in society.)

Adjective 1: \_\_\_\_\_

Adjective 2: \_\_\_\_\_

Adjective 3: \_\_\_\_\_

Adjective 4: \_\_\_\_\_

Adjective 5: \_\_\_\_\_

**Appendix B**  
**Subgroup Generation Form – Lesbian Women**

**Instructions:** Please list any and all subgroups of lesbian women that you can think exist in society. You may take a new sheet of paper for every new subgroup you list. These subgroups do not need to reflect your own opinion, but rather should reflect societal stereotypes or associations with which you are familiar.

Subgroup of Lesbian Women: \_\_\_\_\_

**Instructions:** Please list five adjectives that are most characteristic of society's view of this subgroup. (Remember: your responses do not need to correspond to your own attitudes or opinions, but should represent the attitudes or stereotypes that you think exist in society.)

Adjective 1: \_\_\_\_\_

Adjective 2: \_\_\_\_\_

Adjective 3: \_\_\_\_\_

Adjective 4: \_\_\_\_\_

Adjective 5: \_\_\_\_\_

## Appendix C Photographs

### *Photographs of Men*







(selected as most representative Flamboyant photograph)



(selected as most representative Closeted photograph)



*Photographs of Women*



(selected as most representative Butch photograph)





(selected as most representative Tomboy photograph)



(selected as most representative Feminist photograph)

## **Appendix D Study 1 Consent Form**

### Consent Form

You are invited to participate in a study to investigate potential subgroups of sexual minorities. Please read this page carefully.

**Researcher:** Jessica McCutcheon, Ph.D. Candidate, Department of Psychology, University of Saskatchewan, 306-966-1773, [jessica.mccutcheon@usask.ca](mailto:jessica.mccutcheon@usask.ca)

**Supervisor:** Melanie Morrison, Ph.D., Department of Psychology, University of Saskatchewan, 306-966-2564, [melanie.morrison@usask.ca](mailto:melanie.morrison@usask.ca)

**Purpose and Procedure:** The purpose of the present study is to establish possible subgroups that exist for the superordinate categories of gay men and lesbian women. In this study, you will be asked to generate subgroups of gay men or lesbian women and to categorise photographs of men or women into subgroups. You will then be asked to complete some brief questionnaires to allow us to have a better sense of who is responding. We ask you to be as honest as possible in your responses. You may skip any questions that you are not comfortable answering. The study should take approximately 1 hour.

**Potential Risks:** Some participants may experience discomfort when discussing their attitudes toward sexual minorities therefore you may excuse yourself at any point during the study. If you have any questions or concerns, you also may contact the researchers using the information provided above or Student Services at 306-966-1212.

**Potential Benefits:** Your participation in this study will contribute to a better understanding of how individuals categorise sexual minorities.

**Compensation:** Your participation in this study will provide you with 1 credit towards your final mark in your Introductory Psychology course.

**Storage of Data:** The data will be stored in Dr. Melanie Morrison's laboratory for a minimum of five years. After this point in time, the researchers may choose to destroy the data. The data will be further safeguarded on a password-encrypted computer to which only the researchers will have access.

**Confidentiality:** The data will be kept on a password-encrypted computer or a locked filing cabinet for a minimum of five years in Dr. Melanie Morrison's laboratory, at which point the data may be destroyed beyond recovery. Any identifying information will not be included with the data. Only aggregate data will be used in the researcher's dissertation and journal articles, as well as in presentations or posters for conference purposes.

A portion of this study is hosted by Qualtrics, a company located in the USA and subject to US laws and whose servers are located outside of Canada. The privacy of the information you

provide is subject to the laws of those other jurisdictions. By participating in this survey you acknowledge and agree that your answers will be stored and accessed outside of Canada and may or may not receive the same level of privacy protection.

**Right to Withdraw:** You may withdraw from the study for any reason, at any time, without penalty of any sort. You will not lose any credits for participation if you choose to withdraw from this study. However, once you complete the study, you no longer have the option to withdraw your data, as they will be pooled anonymously with other participants' responses.

**Questions:** If you have any questions regarding the study, please feel free to contact the researchers at the numbers provided above. This project was reviewed on ethical grounds by the U of S Behavioural Research Ethics Board. Any questions regarding your rights as a participant may be addressed to the Research Ethics Office toll free at 1-888-966-2975 or [ethics.office@usask.ca](mailto:ethics.office@usask.ca). If you are interested in learning more about this study, please contact Jessica McCutcheon or Melanie Morrison at the numbers provided at the top of this form and more details will be provided. You may also choose to send them an e-mail to receive a summary of the results.

**Consent to Participate:** I have read and understood the description provided above. I consent to participate in the study described above, understanding that I may withdraw from the study at any time and that I should only respond to questions that I feel comfortable answering. Once the study is completed, I am providing my consent for my responses to be used by the researchers.

Name (printed): \_\_\_\_\_

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

---

Researcher's Signature

---

Date

**Appendix E**  
**Study 1 and 2 Debriefing Form**

Debriefing Form

Thank you for participating in this study. Below, you will find some information related to the study's purpose.

The current study was conducted to establish possible subgroups that exist for the superordinate categories of gay men and lesbian women for use in a future study on attitudes toward sexual minorities.

Over time, researchers are finding that attitudes toward gay and lesbian persons are improving. While these are positive findings, it is possible, and some research suggests, that certain groups of sexual minority persons (e.g., effeminate gay men) may not be experiencing these improved attitudes. If individuals are actually holding different attitudes toward certain types of sexual minorities based on perceived subgroups, we may not be getting an accurate picture of individuals' attitudes toward gay men and lesbian women. Therefore, it is critical that researchers investigate the existence of, and attitudes toward, various subgroups so that we can understand the positivity and/or negativity that may exist toward specific groups of people, and, ultimately, address the negativity that may exist.

Thank you for your participation in this research. If you have questions or additional comments, you can contact the researchers in the following ways:

Jessica McCutcheon  
University of Saskatchewan  
Phone #: 306-966-1773  
E-mail: [jessica.mccutcheon@usask.ca](mailto:jessica.mccutcheon@usask.ca)

Dr. Melanie Morrison  
University of Saskatchewan  
Phone #: 306-966-2564  
E-mail: [melanie.morrison@usask.ca](mailto:melanie.morrison@usask.ca)

Resources:

University of Saskatchewan's Counselling Centre: 306-966-4920

University of Saskatchewan Student Centre: 306-966-1212

Saskatoon Crisis Intervention Service: 306-933-6200

**Appendix F**  
**Subgroups of Gay Men Generated in Study 1 (N = 33)**

Activist ( <i>n</i> = 3)	Homo ( <i>n</i> = 1)
Actor ( <i>n</i> = 1)	Leather ( <i>n</i> = 1)
American ( <i>n</i> = 1)	Masculine ( <i>n</i> = 13)
Artistic ( <i>n</i> = 3)	Neat freak ( <i>n</i> = 1)
Attractive ( <i>n</i> = 6)	Nerdy ( <i>n</i> = 1)
Bear ( <i>n</i> = 4)	Normal ( <i>n</i> = 7)
Bisexual ( <i>n</i> = 2)	Optimist ( <i>n</i> = 1)
Black ( <i>n</i> = 1)	Outcast ( <i>n</i> = 3)
Closeted ( <i>n</i> = 5)	Partier ( <i>n</i> = 1)
Confident ( <i>n</i> = 6)	Pedophile ( <i>n</i> = 1)
Daddy ( <i>n</i> = 2)	Phenomenon ( <i>n</i> = 1)
Damaged ( <i>n</i> = 1)	Polygamist ( <i>n</i> = 1)
Different ( <i>n</i> = 5)	Preppy ( <i>n</i> = 3)
Diseased ( <i>n</i> = 2)	Professional ( <i>n</i> = 3)
Domestic ( <i>n</i> = 5)	Promiscuous ( <i>n</i> = 4)
Drag Queen ( <i>n</i> = 15)	Proud ( <i>n</i> = 2)
Feminine ( <i>n</i> = 11)	Sales associate ( <i>n</i> = 1)
Flamboyant ( <i>n</i> = 30)	Schlub ( <i>n</i> = 1)
Friend ( <i>n</i> = 3)	Stylish ( <i>n</i> = 1)
Funny ( <i>n</i> = 1)	Teenager ( <i>n</i> = 1)
Gym rat ( <i>n</i> = 6)	Theatric ( <i>n</i> = 1)
Happy ( <i>n</i> = 2)	Twink ( <i>n</i> = 2)
Helpful ( <i>n</i> = 1)	Twunk ( <i>n</i> = 2)
Hipster ( <i>n</i> = 5)	Typical ( <i>n</i> = 2)
Homewrecker ( <i>n</i> = 3)	Weak ( <i>n</i> = 1)
	White ( <i>n</i> = 1)

**Appendix G**  
**Subgroups of Lesbian Women Generated in Study 1 ( $N = 34$ )**

Activist ( $n = 2$ )	Hidden ( $n = 5$ )
Alternative ( $n = 4$ )	Hipster ( $n = 1$ )
Ambiguous ( $n = 3$ )	Homemaker ( $n = 3$ )
Athlete ( $n = 3$ )	Intellectual ( $n = 7$ )
Attention seeker ( $n = 7$ )	Model ( $n = 2$ )
Biker ( $n = 1$ )	Musician ( $n = 1$ )
Body image ( $n = 1$ )	Open ( $n = 2$ )
Butch ( $n = 26$ )	Prisoner ( $n = 1$ )
Caregiver ( $n = 5$ )	Professional ( $n = 7$ )
Classy ( $n = 1$ )	Promiscuous ( $n = 8$ )
Confidant ( $n = 1$ )	Punk ( $n = 2$ )
Drama Queen ( $n = 3$ )	Pushy ( $n = 4$ )
Dyke ( $n = 4$ )	Queer ( $n = 3$ )
Fashion ( $n = 1$ )	Reserved ( $n = 2$ )
Feminine ( $n = 14$ )	Straight-acting ( $n = 7$ )
Feminist ( $n = 8$ )	Tomboy ( $n = 11$ )
Flamboyant ( $n = 4$ )	Transgender ( $n = 3$ )
Free spirited ( $n = 14$ )	Troublemaker ( $n = 1$ )
Goth ( $n = 3$ )	Uncertain ( $n = 3$ )



## Appendix H Master Lists

*Gay Men (N = 97 subgroups)*

Aboriginal	Drag Queen	Outcast
Activist	Drama Queen	Partier
Actor	Ethnic fetishizer	Pedophile
Amateur porn producers/performers	Exclude ethnic minorities	Phenomenon
American	Father	Polygamist
Arab/Middle Eastern	Feminine	Potato Queen
Artistic	Femme	Power Bottom
Arts student	Flamboyant	Preppy
Asian	Friend	Professional
Attractive	Funny	Promiscuous
Bear	Gaymer	Proud
Bisexual	Gift giver	Queen
Bitchy	Gold star	Rice queen
Black	Goth	Sales associate
Body modifiers	Gym rat	Sadist
Boi	Happy	Schlub
Bottom	Helpful	Smoker
Bro	Hipster	South Asian
Bug chaser	Homewrecker	Straight acting
Castro clone	Homo	Stylish
Chubby chaser	Homophobic	Submissive
Closeted	Jailbait	Substance user
Club kid	Jock	Teenager
Confident	Latino	Theatric
Cruiser	Leatherman	Thug
Cub	Macho	Top
Daddy	Masculine	Twink
Damaged	Masochist	Twunk
Different	Neat freak	Typical
Diseased	Nerdy	Weak
Domestic	Normal	White
Dominant	Optimist	Wolf
	Otter	

*Lesbian Women (69 subgroups)*

Aboriginal	Confidant	Model
Activist	Dominant	Mother
Alpha	Drag king	Musician
Alternative	Drama Queen	Open
Ambiguous	Dyke	Prisoner
Androgynous	Ethnic fetishizer	Professional
Arab/Middle Eastern	Fashion	Promiscuous
Arts student	Feminine	Punk
Asian	Feminist	Pushy
Athlete	Femme	Queer
Attention seeker	Flamboyant	Reserved
Baby dyke	Free spirited	Sadist
Biker	Gold star	Smoker
Black	Goth	South Asian
Body image	Hidden	Straight-acting
Body modifier	Hipster	Submissive
Bottom	Homemaker	Substance user
Bulldyke	Intellectual	Tomboy
Butch	Jailbait	Top
Caregiver	Latino	Transgender
Chapstick	Lezboi	Troublemaker
Classy	Lipstick	Uncertain
Closeted	Masochist	White

**Appendix I**  
**Modern Homonegativity Scale**  
(MHS; Morrison & Morrison, 2003)

*Modern Homonegativity Scale – Gay Men*

1. Many gay men use their sexual orientation so that they can obtain special privileges.
2. Gay men seem to focus on the ways in which they differ from heterosexuals, and ignore the ways in which they are the same.
3. Gay men do not have all the rights they need.\*
4. The notion of universities providing students with undergraduate degrees in Gay and Lesbian Studies is ridiculous.
5. Celebrations such as “Gay Pride Day” are ridiculous because they assume that an individual’s sexual orientation should constitute a source of pride.
6. Gay men still need to protest for equal rights.\*
7. Gay men should stop shoving their lifestyle down other people’s throats.
8. If gay men want to be treated like everyone else, then they need to stop making such a fuss about their sexuality/culture.
9. Gay men who are “out of the closet” should be admired for their courage.\*
10. Gay men should stop complaining about the way they are treated in society, and simply get on with their lives.
11. In today’s tough economic times, Canadians’ tax dollars shouldn’t be used to support gay men’s organizations.
12. Gay men have become far too confrontational in their demand for equal rights.

*Modern Homonegativity Scale – Lesbian Women*

1. Many lesbians use their sexual orientation so that they can obtain special privileges.
2. Lesbians seem to focus on the ways in which they differ from heterosexuals, and ignore the ways in which they are the same.
3. Lesbians do not have all the rights they need.\*
4. The notion of universities providing students with undergraduate degrees in Gay and Lesbian Studies is ridiculous.
5. Celebrations such as “Gay Pride Day” are ridiculous because they assume that an individual’s sexual orientation should constitute a source of pride.
6. Lesbians still need to protest for equal rights.\*
7. Lesbians should stop shoving their lifestyle down other people’s throats.
8. If lesbians want to be treated like everyone else, then they need to stop making such a fuss about their sexuality/culture.
9. Lesbians who are “out of the closet” should be admired for their courage.\*
10. Lesbians should stop complaining about the way they are treated in society, and simply get on with their lives.
11. In today’s tough economic times, Canadians’ tax dollars shouldn’t be used to support lesbian’s organizations.
12. Lesbians have become far too confrontational in their demand for equal rights.

Notes

<sup>1</sup> Scoring is reversed for starred (\*) items.

\*Participants respond a 5-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree*; 5 = *strongly agree*).

\*Possible scores for each scale ranges from 12 to 60.

## **Appendix J Study 2 (Phase I) Consent Form**

### Consent Form

You are invited to participate in a study to investigate potential subgroups of sexual minorities. Please read this page carefully.

**Researcher:** Jessica McCutcheon, Ph.D. Candidate, Department of Psychology, University of Saskatchewan, 306-966-1773, [jessica.mccutcheon@usask.ca](mailto:jessica.mccutcheon@usask.ca)

**Supervisor:** Melanie Morrison, Ph.D., Department of Psychology, University of Saskatchewan, 306-966-2564, [melanie.morrison@usask.ca](mailto:melanie.morrison@usask.ca)

**Purpose and Procedure:** The purpose of the present study is to establish possible subgroups that exist for the superordinate categories of gay men and lesbian women. In this study, you will be asked to read through a list of possible subgroups, indicate if you think they represent subgroups of gay men or lesbian women, and then provide your own definitions. You will then be asked to respond to a brief questionnaire. You may skip any questions that you are not comfortable answering. The study should take approximately 30 minutes.

**Potential Risks:** Some participants may experience discomfort when discussing their attitudes toward sexual minorities therefore you may excuse yourself at any point during the study. If you have any questions or concerns, you also may contact the researchers using the information provided above or Student Services at 306-966-1212.

**Potential Benefits:** Your participation in this study will contribute to a better understanding of how individuals categorise sexual minorities.

**Compensation:** Your participation in this study will provide you with 1 credit towards your final mark in your Introductory Psychology course.

**Storage of Data:** The data will be stored in Dr. Melanie Morrison's laboratory for a minimum of five years. After this point in time, the researchers may choose to destroy the data. The data will be further safeguarded on a password-encrypted computer to which only the researchers will have access.

**Confidentiality:** The data will be kept on a password-encrypted computer or a locked filing cabinet for a minimum of five years in Dr. Melanie Morrison's laboratory, at which point the data may be destroyed beyond recovery. Any identifying information will not be included with the data. Only aggregate data will be used in the researcher's dissertation and journal articles, as well as in presentations or posters for conference purposes.

A portion of this study is hosted by Qualtrics, a company located in the USA and subject to US laws and whose servers are located outside of Canada. The privacy of the information you provide is subject to the laws of those other jurisdictions. By participating in this survey you

acknowledge and agree that your answers will be stored and accessed outside of Canada and may or may not receive the same level of privacy protection.

**Right to Withdraw:** You may withdraw from the study for any reason, at any time, without penalty of any sort. You will not lose any credits for participation if you choose to withdraw from this study. However, once you complete the study, you no longer have the option to withdraw your data, as they will be pooled anonymously with other participants' responses.

**Questions:** If you have any questions regarding the study, please feel free to contact the researchers at the numbers provided above. This project was reviewed on ethical grounds by the U of S Behavioural Research Ethics Board. Any questions regarding your rights as a participant may be addressed to the Research Ethics Office toll free at 1-888-966-2975 or [ethics.office@usask.ca](mailto:ethics.office@usask.ca). If you are interested in learning more about this study, please contact Jessica McCutcheon or Melanie Morrison at the numbers provided at the top of this form and more details will be provided. You may also choose to send them an e-mail to receive a summary of the results.

**Consent to Participate:** I have read and understood the description provided above. I consent to participate in the study described above, understanding that I may withdraw from the study at any time and that I should only respond to questions that I feel comfortable answering. Once the study is completed, I am providing my consent for my responses to be used by the researchers.

Name (printed): \_\_\_\_\_

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
Researcher's Signature

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

## **Appendix K**

### **Definitions of Gay Men Subgroups**

Aboriginal: People who are gay and aboriginal  
Activist: Gay man who fights for what they believe in. Fights for equality.  
Actor: Acts in plays, movies, etc.  
Amateur porn producers/performers: Performs sexual acts on other men in certain settings  
American: Men from America  
Arab/Middle Eastern: Arab/Middle Eastern men who like other men  
Artistic: Drawn to the theatre/drama/arts  
Arts student: Enjoys studying the arts, enrolled in Arts program  
Asian: Gay man of the Asian ethnicity  
Attractive: physically appealing  
Bear: Hairy man  
Bisexual: Likes both men and women  
Bitchy: Rude/sassy  
Black: Gay men of Black identity  
Body modifier: Piercings/tattoos  
Boi: Young person who prefers older man  
Bottom: Someone who wants to be on the penetrated side of sex  
Bro: Guy friend  
Chubby chaser: Likes heavysset men  
Closeted: Has not told anyone they are gay  
Club kid: Often goes to night clubs  
Confident: Has confidence in who they are  
Cruiser: Looking for sex  
Cub: Younger version of a bear/still hairy  
Daddy: Old guy/takes care of and dates younger men  
Damaged: Has issues  
Different: Unique/not the norm  
Domestic: Likes to penetrate orally/anally  
Drag queen: Men who dress up as women  
Drama queen: Gay men who blow situations out of proportion. Seeks attention.  
Ethnic Fetishizer: only likes certain ethnicities not their own  
Father: Someone with kids  
Feminine: Embraces femininity  
Femme: Feminine qualities  
Flamboyant: Over the top/showy  
Friend: Someone to like/someone you can relate to  
Funny: Sense of humour  
Gaymer: Person who likes to play video games  
Gift giver: Gives STD's to someone  
Gold star: Male who never had sex with a woman  
Goth: Dresses in black or dark colours/wears dark make-up  
Gym rat: Concerned with appearance of body/at the gym a lot  
Happy: Content

Helpful: Give others a hand when needed  
Hipster: Relates to clothes/music  
Homewrecker: Someone who tears apart a traditional marriage  
Homo: A description for a gay man/not a slur  
Homophobic: Someone who acts hateful to gay men/have unhealthy attitudes and beliefs about gays  
Jailbait: Underage  
Jock: Athlete  
Latino: Someone from one of the Spanish countries  
Leatherman: Dresses in motorcycle jackets, leather pants  
Macho: Very masculine  
Masculine: Predominantly masculine  
Neat freak: very clean  
Nerdy: bookish/academic  
Normal: what people see as the norm  
Optimist: Believes everyone is inherently good  
Otter: Slimmer and less hairy than the bear  
Outcast: no friends  
Partier: Likes to party and go to clubs a lot  
Pedophile: A male who seeks young boys for sex  
Polygamist: Having more than one male partner  
Power bottom: Male wants to be penetrated but the male is still dominant  
Preppy: Dresses ritzy or stylish  
Professional: Has a career in a professional context  
Promiscuous: Having a lot of sex  
Proud: Positive association with who they are as a person  
Queen: Flamboyant  
Rice queen: Interested in Asian men  
Straight acting: Do not display mannerisms typically associated with homosexuals  
Stylish: Dresses stylish, always into the new fashions/trends  
Submissive: Enjoys being penetrated anally/orally  
Substance user: Partakes in alcohol/drugs  
Teenager: Between the ages of 13-19  
Theatric: Refers to a way of acting and not being in the theatre  
Thug: Gangster  
Top: Wants to penetrate during sex  
Twink: young gay man, very little hair, skinny  
Twunk: More muscular than a twink  
Typical: Someone who partakes in activities/expressions thought to be stereotypically gay  
Weak: Not being able to stand up for themselves  
White: Declares their ethnicity as white  
Wolf: Like a bear but not so big, still hairy, medium built

## **Appendix L**

### **Definitions of Lesbian Women Subgroups**

Aboriginal: People who are lesbian and aboriginal  
Activist: Lesbian women who fight for what they believe in. Fight for equality  
Alpha: Dominant  
Alternative: Different from the norm  
Ambiguous: Not sure of their sexual identity/orientation  
Androgynous: Refers to gender roles/appearances-could display appearance in both characteristics  
Arab/Middle Eastern: Arab/Middle Eastern women who like other women  
Arts student: enjoys studying the arts, enrolled in Arts program  
Asian: Lesbian woman of the Asian ethnicity  
Athlete: Someone who is very athletic, sporty, competitive  
Attention seeker: Someone who wants attention  
Baby dyke: Young lesbian or a newly come out lesbian  
Biker: Wearing leather or likes driving motor cycles  
Black: Lesbian woman of Black identity  
Body modifier: piercings, tattoos  
Bottom: Refers to sexual not the position in a relationship  
Bull dyke: Masculine/dominant lesbian. More extreme.  
Butch: Manly in looks and personality  
Caregiver: A nurturing person who cares for others  
Closeted: Has not told anyone they are lesbian  
Confidant: Someone you tell your secrets to  
Dominant: Does not necessarily refer to sex. Can be personality as well  
Drag king: Women who dress up as a man Can't be that they are living as a man or wants to be a man.  
Drama queen: Lesbian woman who blows situations out of proportion. Seeks attention.  
Dyke: Masculine lesbian. Presents herself in a more masculine male look  
Feminine: Embraces femininity  
Feminist: Fights for women's rights/equality of sexes  
Femme: Feminine qualities  
Flamboyant: Anything to do with over the top in terms of dress/gestures  
Free-spirited: Hippy, open minded  
Goth: Dresses in lack or dark colours, dark make-up  
Hipster: Relates to clothes/music  
Intellectual: Engrossed in studies/academics  
Jailbait: Underage  
Latino: Someone from one of the Spanish countries  
Lezboi: Lesbian that is more boyish  
Lipstick: Feminine lesbian  
Mother: Someone who has children  
Musician: Plays music, very creative/artistic  
Open: Open minded  
Prisoner: In jail



Promiscuous: Having a lot of sex  
Punk: Rocker, counter culture-goes against the mainstream  
Pushy: True to their beliefs/cares only about their own opinions  
Queer: More than a derogatory term. Must describe it in some way (they do not correspond to the classical gender/sex roles of society)  
Sadist: Someone who likes to hurt other people in a sexual sense  
Smoker: Someone who smokes cigarettes  
South Asian: Belongs to the South Asian ethnicity  
Straight acting: Lesbian who passes as straight until they tell their actual orientation  
Substance user: Involved with drugs/alcohol  
Tomboy: More boyish in nature  
Top: Dominant role in sexual activities  
Transgender: Male person who has become a woman to attract a woman. To attract women they want to be a different gender.  
Trouble maker: Someone who doesn't follow the norm  
Uncertain: Uncertain in their sexuality  
White: Declare their ethnicity as white

## **Appendix M Pilot Study Consent Form**

### Consent Form

You are invited to participate in a study to investigate potential subgroups of sexual minorities. Please read this page carefully.

**Researcher:** Jessica McCutcheon, Ph.D. Candidate, Department of Psychology, University of Saskatchewan, 306-966-1773, [jessica.mccutcheon@usask.ca](mailto:jessica.mccutcheon@usask.ca)

**Supervisor:** Melanie Morrison, Ph.D., Department of Psychology, University of Saskatchewan, 306-966-2564, [melanie.morrison@usask.ca](mailto:melanie.morrison@usask.ca)

**Purpose and Procedure:** The purpose of the present study is to establish possible subgroups that exist for the superordinate categories of gay men and lesbian women. In this study, you will be asked to categorize photographs of gay men and lesbian women. You will then be asked to respond to a brief questionnaire. You may skip any questions that you are not comfortable answering. The study should take approximately 30 minutes.

**Potential Risks:** Some participants may experience discomfort when discussing their attitudes toward sexual minorities therefore you may excuse yourself at any point during the study. If you have any questions or concerns, you also may contact the researchers using the information provided above or Student Services at 306-966-1212.

**Potential Benefits:** Your participation in this study will contribute to a better understanding of how individuals categorise sexual minorities.

**Compensation:** Your participation in this study will provide you with 1 credit towards your final mark in your Introductory Psychology course.

**Storage of Data:** The data will be stored in Dr. Melanie Morrison's laboratory for a minimum of five years. After this point in time, the researchers may choose to destroy the data. The data will be further safeguarded on a password-encrypted computer to which only the researchers will have access.

**Confidentiality:** The data will be kept on a password-encrypted computer or a locked filing cabinet for a minimum of five years in Dr. Melanie Morrison's laboratory, at which point the data may be destroyed beyond recovery. Any identifying information will not be included with the data. Only aggregate data will be used in the researcher's dissertation and journal articles, as well as in presentations or posters for conference purposes.

A portion of this study is hosted by Qualtrics, a company located in the USA and subject to US laws and whose servers are located outside of Canada. The privacy of the information you provide is subject to the laws of those other jurisdictions. By participating in this survey you

acknowledge and agree that your answers will be stored and accessed outside of Canada and may or may not receive the same level of privacy protection.

**Right to Withdraw:** You may withdraw from the study for any reason, at any time, without penalty of any sort. You will not lose any credits for participation if you choose to withdraw from this study. However, once you complete the study, you no longer have the option to withdraw your data, as they will be pooled anonymously with other participants' responses.

**Questions:** If you have any questions regarding the study, please feel free to contact the researchers at the numbers provided above. This project was reviewed on ethical grounds by the U of S Behavioural Research Ethics Board. Any questions regarding your rights as a participant may be addressed to the Research Ethics Office toll free at 1-888-966-2975 or [ethics.office@usask.ca](mailto:ethics.office@usask.ca). If you are interested in learning more about this study, please contact Jessica McCutcheon or Melanie Morrison at the numbers provided at the top of this form and more details will be provided. You may also choose to send them an e-mail to receive a summary of the results.

**Consent to Participate:** I have read and understood the description provided above. I consent to participate in the study described above, understanding that I may withdraw from the study at any time and that I should only respond to questions that I feel comfortable answering. Once the study is completed, I am providing my consent for my responses to be used by the researchers.

**Appendix N**  
**Stereotype Content Model Scale - Cognitive**  
**(SCM Scale; Fiske et al., 2002)**

*Competence*

1. As viewed by society, how competent are members of this group?
2. As viewed by society, how confident are members of this group?
3. As viewed by society, how capable are members of this group?
4. As viewed by society, how efficient are members of this group?
5. As viewed by society, how intelligent are members of this group?
6. As viewed by society, how skillful are members of this group?

*Warmth*

7. As viewed by society, how friendly are members of this group?
8. As viewed by society, how well intentioned are members of this group?
9. As viewed by society, how trustworthy are members of this group?
10. As viewed by society, how warm are members of this group?
11. As viewed by society, how good-natured are members of this group?
12. As viewed by society, how sincere are members of this group?

*Status*

13. How prestigious are the jobs typically achieved by members of this group?
14. How economically successful have members of this group been?
15. How well educated are members of this group?

*Competition*

16. If members of this group get special breaks (such as preference in hiring decisions), this is likely to make things more difficult for people like me.
17. The more power that members of this group have, the less power people like me are likely to have.
18. Resources that go to members of this group are likely to take away from the resources of people like me.

Notes

\*Participants respond a 5-point Likert scale (*1 = not at all; 5 = extremely*).

\*Possible scores for each scale ranges from 6 to 30 for the competence and warmth subscales and 3 to 15 for the status and competition subscales.

**Appendix O**  
**Stereotype Content Model Scale - Affective**  
**(SCM Scale; Fiske et al., 2002)**

I'm going to ask you about some feelings that people have toward [subgroup name] as a group.

*Contempt*

1. To what extent do people tend to feel contempt toward members of this group?
2. To what extent do people tend to feel disgust toward members of this group?

*Admiration*

3. To what extent do people tend to feel admiration toward members of this group?
4. To what extent do people tend to feel pride toward members of this group?

*Pity*

5. To what extent do people tend to feel pity toward members of this group?
6. To what extent do people tend to feel sympathy toward members of this group?

*Envy*

7. To what extent do people tend to feel envy toward members of this group?
8. To what extent do people tend to feel jealousy toward members of this group?

Notes

\*Participants respond a 5-point Likert scale (*1 = not at all; 5 = extremely*).

\*Possible scores for each scale ranges from 2 to 10.

**Appendix P**  
**BIAS Map Scale**  
**(BIAS Scale; Cuddy et al., 2006)**

I'm going to ask you about the ways people generally behave toward [subgroup name] as a group.

*Active Facilitation*

1. Do people tend to help this group?
2. Do people tend to assist this group?
3. Do people tend to protect this group?

*Active Harm*

4. Do people tend to fight this group?
5. Do people tend to attack this group?
6. Do people tend to sabotage this group?

*Passive Facilitation*

7. Do people tend to cooperate with this group?
8. Do people tend to associate with this group?
9. Do people tend to unite with this group?

*Passive Harm*

10. Do people tend to exclude this group?
11. Do people tend to demean this group?
12. Do people tend to hinder this group?
13. Do people tend to derogate this group?

Notes

\*Participants respond a 5-point Likert scale (*1 = not at all; 5 = extremely*).

\* Possible total scores can range from 3 to 15 for the active and passive facilitation and active harm scales and from 4 to 20 for the passive harm scale.

## Appendix Q Adjective Checklist

**Instructions:** Carefully read through the list of adjectives below. Please check all of the adjectives that characterize society's beliefs about [insert subgroup name].

- Abnormal<sup>1</sup>
- Abusive<sup>1</sup>
- Active
- Adventurous
- Affectionate
- Aggressive
- Ambitious
- Angry
- Arrogant
- Artistic
- Ashamed<sup>1</sup>
- Athletic
- Attention seeking
- Attractive<sup>1</sup>
- Bossy
- Clean<sup>1</sup>
- Compassionate
- Competent
- Competitive
- Conceited
- Cool
- Cowardly
- Cultural
- Dainty
- Deceitful
- Deviant
- Different
- Easy going
- Effeminate
- Egotistical<sup>1</sup>
- Emotional
- Energetic
- Enthusiastic
- Faithful
- Fashionable
- Flirtatious
- Friendly<sup>1</sup>
- Generous
- Gentle
- Greedy
- Happy
- Honest
- Hostile
- Humorous
- Impulsive
- Independent
- Individualistic
- Insecure<sup>1</sup>
- Intelligent
- Kind
- Lazy
- Liberal
- Lonely<sup>1</sup>
- Loud
- Loyal
- Macho
- Materialistic
- Mean
- Melodramatic
- Musical
- Naïve
- Neat
- Noisy
- Opinionated
- Optimistic
- Outgoing
- Passionate
- Physically dirty
- Pleasure loving
- Practical
- Politically active
- Progressive
- Promiscuous<sup>1</sup>
- Proud
- Quiet
- Radical
- Rebellious
- Reserved
- Rude
- Sad<sup>1</sup>
- Selfish<sup>1</sup>
- Sensitive
- Sexually perverse
- Shrewd
- Sociable
- Spiritual<sup>1</sup>
- Spoiled
- Stupid
- Strong
- Superficial
- Talkative
- Touchy
- Tough
- Understanding
- Uneducated
- Unemotional
- Unfriendly
- Unreliable
- Weak<sup>1</sup>
- Whiny

Notes

<sup>1</sup> Researcher-generated adjective

**Instructions:** Now, in the space provided, please list any additional descriptors of [insert subgroup name] you feel are missing from this list of adjectives:

[Open-ended response box]

**Instructions:** Now please review the list of adjectives again, including the ones you generated, and after considering all of them, please indicate in the spaces provided, the three adjectives that you feel are **MOST** characteristic of YOUR view of [insert subgroup name].

Adjective 1: \_\_\_\_\_

Adjective 2: \_\_\_\_\_

Adjective 3: \_\_\_\_\_



## Appendix R Emotion Checklist

**Instructions:** Carefully read through the list of emotions below. Please check all of the emotions that are commonly evoked for people in society when they encounter [insert subgroup name].

- |                           |                             |                         |
|---------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------|
| • Acceptance <sup>1</sup> | • Dysphoria                 | • Joy                   |
| • Admiration              | • Embarrassment             | • Love                  |
| • Amusement               | • Envy                      | • Lust <sup>1</sup>     |
| • Anger                   | • Euphoria                  | • Peace <sup>1</sup>    |
| • Anticipation            | • Excitement                | • Pity                  |
| • Anxiety                 | • Fear                      | • Pride                 |
| • Apprehension            | • Fondness                  | • Relief                |
| • Ashamed                 | • Friendliness <sup>1</sup> | • Remorse               |
| • Awe                     | • Frustration <sup>1</sup>  | • Resentment            |
| • Comfortable             | • Grief                     | • Respect               |
| • Compassion <sup>1</sup> | • Guilt                     | • Sadness               |
| • Contempt                | • Happiness <sup>1</sup>    | • Scorn                 |
| • Confusion <sup>1</sup>  | • Hatred                    | • Secure                |
| • Contentment             | • Hopeful                   | • Sensory pleasure      |
| • Delight <sup>1</sup>    | • Hostility <sup>1</sup>    | • Serenity <sup>1</sup> |
| • Desire <sup>1</sup>     | • Indignation <sup>1</sup>  | • Surprise              |
| • Disappointment          | • Inspiration               | • Sympathy              |
| • Discomfort <sup>1</sup> | • Interest                  | • Relief                |
| • Disgust                 | • Irritation                | • Tense                 |
| • Distress                | • Jealousy                  | • Unease                |

Notes

<sup>1</sup> Researcher-generated emotions

**Instructions:** Now, in the space provided, please list any additional emotions that may be evoked when encountering [insert subgroup name] that you feel are missing from this list of adjectives:

[Open-ended response box]

**Instructions:** Now please review the list of emotions again, including the ones you generated, and after considering all of them, please indicate in the spaces provided, the three emotions that you feel are **MOST** likely to be evoked if YOU were to encounter [insert subgroup name].

Emotion 1: \_\_\_\_\_

Emotion 2: \_\_\_\_\_

Emotion 3: \_\_\_\_\_

## Appendix S Behaviours Checklist

**Instructions:** Carefully read through the list of behaviours below. Please check all of the behaviours that reflect that ways in which people generally behave toward [insert subgroup name].

- |                             |                           |                          |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| • Abandon <sup>1</sup>      | • Dehumanize <sup>1</sup> | • Include <sup>1</sup>   |
| • Abide by                  | • Demean                  | • Judge <sup>1</sup>     |
| • Abuse <sup>1</sup>        | • Depend on <sup>1</sup>  | • Lead                   |
| • Accept                    | • Derogate                | • Mock <sup>1</sup>      |
| • Admire <sup>1</sup>       | • Discriminate            | • Neglect                |
| • Advocate for <sup>1</sup> | against <sup>1</sup>      | • Normalize <sup>1</sup> |
| • Aggress against           | • Dismiss <sup>1</sup>    | • Objectify <sup>1</sup> |
| • Antagonize <sup>1</sup>   | • Embrace <sup>1</sup>    | • Oppose <sup>1</sup>    |
| • Assist                    | • Enable <sup>1</sup>     | • Please <sup>1</sup>    |
| • Associate with            | • Encourage <sup>1</sup>  | • Praise <sup>1</sup>    |
| • Attack                    | • Endorse <sup>1</sup>    | • Protect                |
| • Avoid                     | • Endure                  | • Reject <sup>1</sup>    |
| • Befriend <sup>1</sup>     | • Exclude                 | • Relate to <sup>1</sup> |
| • Belittle                  | • Fight                   | • Sabotage               |
| • Celebrate <sup>1</sup>    | • Follow                  | • Shame <sup>1</sup>     |
| • Comfort <sup>1</sup>      | • Harass                  | • Steal from             |
| • Condone <sup>1</sup>      | • Help                    | • Support                |
| • Control <sup>1</sup>      | • Hinder                  | • Tolerate               |
| • Cooperate with            | • Hurt <sup>1</sup>       | • Undermine              |
| • Compete with              | • Ignore                  | • Unite with             |
| • Criticize                 | • Imitate                 |                          |

Notes

<sup>1</sup> Researcher-generated behaviours

**Instructions:** Now, in the space provided, please list any additional behaviours that reflect the way in people generally behave toward [insert subgroup name] that you feel are missing from this list of adjectives:

[Open-ended response box]

**Instructions:** Now please review the list of behaviours again, including the ones you generated, and after considering all of them, please indicate in the spaces provided, the three behaviours that you feel are **MOST** characteristic of the behaviour YOU would exhibit toward [insert subgroup name].

Behaviour 1: \_\_\_\_\_

Behaviour 2: \_\_\_\_\_

Behaviour 3: \_\_\_\_\_

## **Appendix T**

### **Study 3 Consent Form**

You are invited to participate in a study to investigate attitudes toward subgroups of sexual minorities. Please read this page carefully.

**Researcher:** Jessica McCutcheon, Ph.D. Candidate, Department of Psychology, University of Saskatchewan, 306-966-1773, [jessica.mccutcheon@usask.ca](mailto:jessica.mccutcheon@usask.ca)

**Supervisor:** Melanie Morrison, Ph.D., Department of Psychology, University of Saskatchewan, 306-966-2564, [melanie.morrison@usask.ca](mailto:melanie.morrison@usask.ca)

**Purpose and Procedure:** The purpose of the present study is to develop an understanding of how attitudes toward sexual minorities differ by subgroup. In this study, you will be asked to match adjectives to subgroups of gay men or lesbian women and respond to various questions related to these subgroups. You also will be asked to complete some brief questionnaires to allow us to have a better sense of who is responding. We ask you to be as honest as possible in your responses. You may skip any questions that you are not comfortable answering. The study should take approximately 30 minutes.

**Potential Risks:** Some participants may experience discomfort when discussing their attitudes toward sexual minorities therefore you may excuse yourself at any point during the study. If you have any questions or concerns, you also may contact the researchers using the information provided above or Student Services at 306-966-1212.

**Potential Benefits:** Your participation in this study will contribute to a better understanding of the public's perceptions of adoptive couples.

**Compensation** [what appears for introductory psychology students]: Your participation in this study will provide you with 1 academic credit towards your final mark in your Introductory Psychology course.

**Compensation** [what appears for students recruited from PAWS or the SSRL participant pool]: You will earn \$5 for your participation in this study.

**Confidentiality:** The data will be kept on a password-encrypted computer or a locked filing cabinet for a minimum of five years in Dr. Melanie Morrison's laboratory, at which point the data may be destroyed beyond recovery. Any identifying information will not be included with the data. Only aggregate data will be used in technical reports and journal articles, as well as in presentations or posters for conference purposes.

A portion of this study is hosted by Qualtrics, a company located in the USA and subject to US laws and whose servers are located outside of Canada. The privacy of the information you provide is subject to the laws of those other jurisdictions. By participating in this survey you acknowledge and agree that your answers will be stored and accessed outside of Canada and may or may not receive the same level of privacy protection.

**Right to Withdraw:** You may withdraw from the study for any reason, at any time, without penalty of any sort. However, once you complete the study, you no longer have the option to withdraw your data, as they will be pooled anonymously with other participants' responses.

**Questions:** If you have any questions regarding the study, please feel free to contact the researchers at the numbers provided above. This project was reviewed on ethical grounds by the U of S Behavioural Research Ethics Board. Any questions regarding your rights as a participant may be addressed to the Research Ethics Office toll free at 1-888-966-2975 or [ethics.office@usask.ca](mailto:ethics.office@usask.ca). If you are interested in learning more about this study, please contact Jessica McCutcheon or Melanie Morrison at the numbers provided at the top of this form and more details will be provided. You may also choose to send them an e-mail to receive a summary of the results.

**Consent to Participate:** I have read and understood the description provided above. I consent to participate in the study described above, understanding that I may withdraw from the study at any time and that I should only fill out questions that I feel comfortable answering. Once the study is completed, I am providing my consent for my responses to be used by the researchers.

## **Appendix U**

### **Studies 3 and 4 Debriefing Form**

Thank you for participating in this study. Below, you will find some information related to the purpose of the present study.

The current study was conducted to increase our understanding of attitudes toward sexual minorities, and in particular, how attitudes may differ depending on perceived subgroup.

Over time, researchers are finding that attitudes toward gay and lesbian persons are improving. While these are positive findings, it is possible, and some research suggests, that certain groups of sexual minority persons (e.g., effeminate gay men) may not be experiencing the same level of reduction in the homonegativity that is being directed at them. If individuals are actually holding different attitudes toward sexual minorities based on perceived subgroups, we may be witnessing a dilution of the negative attitudes that still exist. Therefore, it is critical that researchers investigate the existence of, and attitudes toward, these subgroups so that we can adequately address any negativity that may exist.

Thank you for your participation in this research. If you have questions or additional comments, you can contact the researchers in the following ways:

Jessica McCutcheon  
University of Saskatchewan  
Phone #: 306-966-1773  
E-mail: [jessica.mccutcheon@usask.ca](mailto:jessica.mccutcheon@usask.ca)

Dr. Melanie Morrison  
University of Saskatchewan  
Phone #: 306-966-2564  
E-mail: [melanie.morrison@usask.ca](mailto:melanie.morrison@usask.ca)

#### Resources:

University of Saskatchewan's Counselling Centre: 306-966-4920  
University of Saskatchewan Student Centre: 306-966-1212  
Saskatoon Crisis Intervention Service: 306-933-6200

**Appendix V**  
**List of GNAT words**

Good – beautiful, celebrating, cheerful, excellent, excitement, fabulous, friendly, glad, glee, good, happy, joyful, laughing, likeable, loving, marvelous, pleasure, smiling, splendid, superb, paradise, terrific, wonderful

Bad – angry, brutal, destroy, dirty, disaster, dislike, evil, gross, hate, horrible, humiliate, nasty, noxious, painful, revolting, sickening, terrible, tragic, ugly, unpleasant, yucky.

## **Appendix W**

### **Study 4 Consent Form**

You are invited to participate in a laboratory study on assessing attitudes toward subgroups of gay men and lesbian women. Please read this page carefully.

**Researcher:** Jessica McCutcheon, Ph.D. Candidate, Department of Psychology, University of Saskatchewan, 306-966-1773, [jessica.mccutcheon@usask.ca](mailto:jessica.mccutcheon@usask.ca)

**Supervisor:** Melanie Morrison, Ph.D., Department of Psychology, University of Saskatchewan, 306-966-2564, [melanie.morrison@usask.ca](mailto:melanie.morrison@usask.ca)

**Purpose and Procedure:** The purpose of the present study is to develop an understanding of how attitudes toward sexual minorities differ by subgroup. In this study, you will be asked to perform an implicit measure known as the Go/No-Go Association Task. This task will involve rapid presentation of visual stimuli on a computer screen and identification of the stimuli. The study should take approximately 30 minutes.

**Potential Risks:** Some participants may experience discomfort from discussing their attitudes toward sexual minorities therefore you may excuse yourself at any point during the interview. If you have any questions or concerns you may contact the researchers using the information provided above or Student Services at 306-966-1212.

**Potential Benefits:** Your participation in this study will contribute to a better understanding of attitudes toward sexual minorities.

**Compensation** [what appears for introductory psychology students]: Your participation in this study will provide you with 1 academic credit towards your final mark in your Introductory Psychology course.

**Compensation** [what appears for students recruited from PAWS or the SSRL participant pool]: You will earn \$5 for your participation in this study.

**Storage of Data:** Data will be stored on password-encrypted computers in the researchers' laboratory at the University of Saskatchewan. This data will be kept for a minimum of five years; however, the data may be kept longer than five years if a manuscript based on the data is in the process of being published. After this point, the data would be destroyed.

**Confidentiality:** The data will be kept on a password-encrypted computer or a locked filing cabinet for a minimum of five years in Dr. Melanie Morrison's laboratory, at which point the data may be destroyed beyond recovery. Any identifying information will not be included with the data. Only aggregate data will be used in technical reports and journal articles, as well as in presentations or posters for conference purposes.

**Right to Withdraw:** You may withdraw from the study for any reason, at any time, without penalty of any sort. However, once you complete the study, you no longer have the option to withdraw your data, as they will be pooled anonymously with other participants' responses.



**Questions:** If you have any questions regarding the study, please feel free to contact the researchers at the numbers provided above. This project was reviewed on ethical grounds by the U of S Behavioural Research Ethics Board. Any questions regarding your rights as a participant may be addressed to the Research Ethics Office toll free at 1-888-966-2975 or [ethics.office@usask.ca](mailto:ethics.office@usask.ca). If you are interested in learning more about this study, please contact Jessica McCutcheon or Melanie Morrison at the numbers provided at the top of this form and more details will be provided. You may also choose to send them an e-mail to receive a summary of the results.

**Consent to Participate:** I have read and understood the description provided above. I consent to participate in the study described above, understanding that I may withdraw from the study at any time and that I should respond only to questions that I feel comfortable answering. Once the study is completed, I am providing my consent for my responses to be used by the researchers.

Name (printed): \_\_\_\_\_

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
Researcher's Signature

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date