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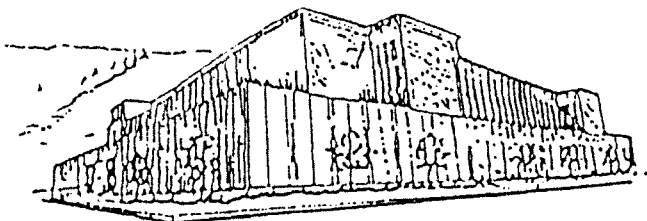
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IMPLICATIONS OF DESCRIPTIVE AND EVALUATIVE SOCIAL
LABELS FOR TARGETS AND LABELERS

By

Michelle L. Ceynar

B.A., University of Northern Colorado, 1992

Presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
Master of Arts
University of Montana
1994

Approved by



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Psychology

Implications of Descriptive and Evaluative Social Labels for Targets and Labelers (75 pp.)

Director: Mark Schaller, Ph.D.



The influence of descriptive and evaluative social labels on the perceptions of the target of the label and the labeler was examined. Sixty female and 57 male subjects participated in a study ostensibly investigating first impressions and small group discussion.

Using either a descriptive (lesbian or gay) or evaluative (dyke or faggot) label, one confederate informed the group that another confederate was homosexual. Subjects were asked to rate their first impressions of all members of their group. Subjects were taken to a separate room for discussion and seating distance from the target was measured.

It was predicted that the target of the label would be rated less favorably in the labeling conditions compared to the control (no label) condition. Results showed that the evaluations of the target were moderated by the subjects' existing attitudes toward homosexuals. Subjects were expected to sit farther from the target in the labeling conditions, but this effect failed to emerge. It was also predicted that evaluations of the labeler would be influenced by the label as well as the subject's attitudes toward homosexuals. Results showed that all subjects rated the labeler less favorably in the labeling conditions compared to the control. Implications for stereotype activation and creation of "hostile environments" are discussed.

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The information that we possess about people often includes various social groups that they fit into. A person can be a professor, Jewish, a parent and/or a criminal and each of these roles provides information for us about the individual. A label for the category gives an immediate summary of the information about the people belonging to that category. Through the use of labels for social categories we can quickly classify a novel person and therefore associate that person with all the information that category provides. If we learn that the woman we just met is a professor or Jewish, for example, we can group her together with all professors or Jews and then apply all the knowledge we have of professors or Jews to her.

What effect does classification of a person only on the basis of a label have on our perceptions of people?

According to Allport (1954), ". . . a noun abstracts from a concrete reality some one feature and assembles different concrete realities only with respect to this one feature" (p. 178). By labeling a person as belonging in a certain group we take that one aspect of the person and dismiss other relevant characteristics. A name can actually force us to disregard information that might otherwise be relevant in understanding the people we meet. The category in which a person belongs gives us a great deal of information about him or her. In fact, the category may be the only information we need to have about a person. Often, there

are different types of labels that place people in a category.

Two types of labels can be extracted from past research--descriptive (e.g., African-American, gay man) or evaluative (e.g., nigger, faggot). Descriptive labels place a person into a social category and evaluative labels go one step farther and attach some value to that category. When a label is applied to a target, further information processing is guided by the connotations of the label (Jones et al., 1984). A category label has a particular meaning attached to it. A listener can discern the undertones of the label when it is spoken. A derogatory evaluative label generally has more negative stereotypes and attitudes associated with it than a descriptive label. For example when we hear the label "faggot" rather than "gay man," we can be fairly sure that the speaker is intending not only to characterize the person as belonging to the group, but to disparage him or her as well (Allport, 1954). Whereas a descriptive label may designate the social category in which a person belongs, a derogatory evaluative label can serve to signal the negative stereotypes associated with that category. Labels, through both categorization and evaluation, can decrease the amount of information we need to gather on our own.

Instead of analyzing each piece of information as it comes to us, we can generalize from category labels to understand a new person. Through the use of categories,

people are able to conceptualize novel individuals in terms of old beliefs (Gilbert & Hixon, 1991). New people are understood using the existing belief structure. If a person believes that lesbians are aggressive man-haters, for example, when that person meets a lesbian he or she will assume that she is aggressive and hates men. A category furnishes a prototype which, in turn, provides a depiction of all individuals belonging to that category (Moscovici, 1981). The attributes that are commonly associated with the prototypical members of a category are easily ascribed to the person who is labeled as belonging to that category. Perceptions of the labeled person can be influenced as a result of this process. (These consequences of labels will be considered in greater detail below.)

Past research does indicate that both descriptive and evaluative labels generate distortions in our perceptions of the person who is labeled and of the person who is doing the labeling (Karr, 1978; Greenberg & Pyszczynski, 1985; Kirkland, Greenberg & Pyszczynski, 1987). However, a number of questions still remain after reviewing the research. The present research was designed to examine several of these: How do descriptive and evaluative labels influence evaluations of the target of the label? Through what psychological processes does this effect occur? How do descriptive and evaluative labels influence the evaluations of the labeler and what are the psychological processes

underlying this effect? While examining these primary questions this research also considered some additional questions that are not clearly addressed by past research. What effects do labels have on behavior toward the target of the label? And to what extent are the effects of labels moderated by the attitudes and prejudices of the people hearing the label?

Past Research

Evaluations of the person being labeled

Recently, researchers have started looking at the effects of evaluative labels on perceptions of the target of the label. Experiments have shown that compared to a person who is not labeled, people will make different judgments about an individual who is the target of a derogatory ethnic label. Greenberg and Pyszczynski (1985) conducted a study in which a black confederate either won or lost a debate with a white confederate. The black confederate debated either the pro position or the con position (which was always designed to be the stronger side). After the debate, a third confederate belittled the black debater to the subjects using either a derogatory ethnic label ("There's no way that nigger won the debate,") or a non-ethnic label ("There's no way the pro (or con) debater won the debate," p. 66). In a third condition (no label) the black debater was not disparaged at all. After the debate, subjects evaluated both debaters. Compared to both the control and

the non-ethnic label conditions, subjects who heard the derogatory ethnic label gave the black debater lower ratings.

In a related study, Kirkland et al. (1987) found that a derogatory ethnic label led to lower ratings of an African-American defense attorney. Using a court transcript, a white defendant was portrayed as having a black or white defense attorney. The competence of the lawyer was manipulated using admonishments by the judge during the opening statement. While the subjects were reading the transcript, a confederate disparaged the black lawyer using a derogatory ethnic label ("nigger") or non-ethnic label ("shyster"). In a third condition (no label) the black attorney was not disparaged at all. It was found that, compared to the control condition, subjects rated the lawyer as less skillful and the defendant less favorably in the ethnic label conditions. (The non-ethnic label lead to marginally significantly lower ratings of the black attorney.) These studies show that overhearing a derogatory evaluative label leads to more negative perceptions of the person who has been labeled. Are similar effects found if someone is labeled in a less evaluative manner? One might expect some differences. After all, derogatory evaluative labels express the value that is placed on that category. In the case of a stigmatized group, these labels often represent the negative images that are associated with that

group. Descriptive labels, on the other hand, merely categorize a person into a group.

Research has found that descriptive labels have some effect on the ratings of the target. In a study by Karr (1978), male subjects were informed by a confederate that a member of their group was homosexual. Subjects later rated this person on 32 adjective pairs and ranked him (along with other group members) on their preference for working with him during the study. Compared to the same person in the control condition, the labeled target received significantly lower ratings on the masculinity factor contained within the adjective ratings. Although the target was generally placed in the three most preferred ranks when he was not labeled, when the target was labeled as being homosexual he was generally placed in the three least preferred ranks. In this study, evaluations of the target were significantly altered by the use of a label.

It should be noted that in this study the label was not intentionally negative; it was merely descriptive. The labeler stated in a matter-of-fact tone that the target was a homosexual. Since it was carefully stated so that subjects could not interpret the declaration as a derogatory evaluation on the part of the labeler, the effects that were found were due to the descriptive label. Descriptive labels, therefore, can lead to differential evaluations of the target.

Although there is research supporting the effects of both descriptive and evaluative labels, the two types of labels have not been directly compared to determine whether their effects are similar and under what circumstances. The derogatory ethnic label studies (Greenberg & Pyszczynski 1985; Kirkland et al., 1987) do not address the differences between descriptive and evaluative labels. A descriptive label would be redundant in these studies because it was obvious that the African-American targets already belonged to that social category. Karr (1978) did not use an evaluative label of a homosexual (e.g. "faggot") in his study. Using homosexuality as a category, the present research directly compared the effects of descriptive and evaluative category labels on the perceptions of the person being labeled. It was designed to look at whether descriptive and evaluative labels have similar effects when referring to a stigmatized group and to shed some light on the cognitive processes that underlie the effect.

Underlying cognitive processes

How is it that a label such as "nigger" or "homosexual" influences the impressions of the person being labeled? A label is a name for a category, in this case a category of people. Since information about people is stored in memory much as other information is (Srull & Wyer, 1980), overhearing a category label should increase the accessibility of the attributes, images or experiences

associated with that category. Thus, overhearing the word "homosexual" will make the attributes that the perceiver associates with homosexuality more accessible. Often, these attributes will be stereotypes. Rather than recalling every single possible attribute or experience relevant to homosexuality, people may simply recall the information which is most commonly associated with the category-- stereotypical attributes and prototypical experiences.

There is abundant evidence that associating an individual with a social category tends to activate cognitions associated with that category (Wilder, 1986). For instance, memory may be biased in the direction of a stereotype if someone is told that the person is a member of a category (Bellezza & Bower, 1981; Snyder & Uranowitz, 1978). Stereotypical cognitions may be activated even if the perceiver does not hold any particular prejudice against the group (Devine, 1989), suggesting that labels automatically activate stereotypes. Additional evidence is also consistent with this notion. For example, Dovidio, Evans and Tyler (1986) presented subjects with three different words (primes) on a computer screen, and then asked them to make judgments about whether certain attributes were characteristic of the prime. After the subjects were given the opportunity to think about a typical black person, white person and house, they responded to the category primes *black*, *white* and *house*. Results indicated

that people responded more quickly to stereotypical attributes of African-Americans (e.g., lazy or musical) after exposure to the prime *black*. Similarly, it is likely that the word "homosexual" would activate stereotypical attributes of gay men and lesbians.

If labels such as these activate stereotypical information, they are also likely to influence judgments about people belonging to those groups. This is because individuals are often evaluated as a representative of the category to which they belong (Brewer, 1988; Fiske & Neuberg, 1990). Therefore, individual group members are likely to be evaluated in line with whatever stereotype has been activated (Bodenhausen, 1988; Bodenhausen & Wyer, 1985; Gilbert & Hixon, 1991; Hamilton, 1979; Tajfel & Forgas, 1981; Taylor, 1981; Taylor, Fiske, Etcoff & Ruderman, 1978). For example, Gilbert and Hixon (1991) found that an Asian student was judged in more stereotypical terms under circumstances that elicited "Asian" stereotypes than under conditions that prevented that stereotype from being activated. Similarly, a homosexual man is most likely to be judged in a stereotypical manner if the stereotype is activated by a speaker using the label "homosexual."

It is also likely that if descriptive labels such as "black" or "homosexual" activate stereotypes, then derogatory labels such as "nigger" or "faggot" may activate these stereotypes even more strongly. Derogatory evaluative

labels possibly activate more specific stereotypes. Hearing the label "faggot," for example, may prime the negative images of a gay man (i.e., effeminate), whereas the term "gay" is used much more broadly and may actually include some more positive stereotypical qualities as well (i.e., artistic). Derogatory labels may also communicate more animosity on the part of the speaker. A person using the term "dyke" is more likely to be seen as derogating the woman to whom he or she is referring. Hearing this emotionally laden word may help to prime negative attributes of lesbians.

So far research has not pinned down exactly what processes lead to differential evaluations of a person who is labeled. Kirkland et al. (1987) speculate that a derogatory ethnic label may cognitively prime stereotypes, however they do not have any strong tests of this idea. To examine the priming effect of labels, the present research compares descriptive and evaluative labels, using the label without direct criticism of the target. Furthermore, individual difference measures of prejudice are included with the assumption that people who have very negative views of a group will have access to more negative stereotypes and therefore will be more apt to be affected by the label than people with more positive attitudes.

Impressions of the labeler

Hearing labels may prime stereotypes which may in turn

affect the ratings of the person being labeled, but what effects do labels have on the person who is doing the labeling? Few researchers have considered the effect of labels on the evaluations of the labeler. Anecdotal evidence of the perception of the confederates who did the labeling in the derogatory ethnic label studies is reported by Kirkland et al. (1987). Their confederates indicated that they observed shock and disapproval from the subjects after making the ethnic slur. Later, these subjects expressed to the experimenter during debriefing that they were appalled by the derogatory ethnic label (Kirkland et al., 1987). (It is worth noting, however, that the results of the experiment show that the same subjects who expressed disgust were still influenced by the label and used the information in making their judgments of the target).

Kirkland et al. (1987) did not directly measure perceptions of the labeler, however, Karr (1978) measured impressions of both the labeler as well as the target. In Karr's (1978) study it was found that, compared to the same person in the control condition, the labeler of the homosexual was perceived by the subjects as being more masculine and more sociable in the labeling condition. The labeler was also placed in the three most preferred ranks to a greater degree in the experimental condition. Subjects who heard the homosexual label had different perceptions of the labeler than did subjects who had not heard the label.

The reactions to the labeler in the Kirkland et al. (1987) study were exactly opposite of those found by Karr (1978). Whereas subjects expressed very negative views of the person using a derogatory ethnic label, the people using the homosexual label were actually seen in a more positive light. This difference may be explained by the difference between society's reaction to African-Americans as opposed to homosexuals. Alternatively, this difference may be due to the difference in the evaluative tone inherent in the labels.

Greenberg et al. (1988) propose that culture defines the groups that are acceptable targets of derogatory slurs and these groups change over time. It is likely that slurs directed at the African-American population are no longer socially acceptable in a public setting. On the other hand, slurs directed at the homosexual population are still accepted and widely used in American society. Therefore, reactions to a person derogating a gay man or lesbian may be different than if the target of the slur was an African-American. A person who uses a derogatory evaluative label to refer to a gay man or lesbian, as opposed to an African-American, may still be able to gain social acceptance through its use. The proposed research is not designed to look directly at the possibility of socially acceptable labels. It is possible, however, that it is more socially acceptable to use descriptive labels rather than evaluative

labels. The proposed research will examine the perceptions of a person who uses either a descriptive or a derogatory evaluative label.

The present study looks further into the effects of labels on the perceptions of the labeler of a homosexual than Karr's (1978) study. By comparing descriptive and evaluative labels, as well as the attitudes of the subjects, we will be able to see what processes underlie people's impressions of the person doing the labeling. It is likely that a label will interact with people's attitudes toward the group in question. People with negative attitudes toward a group will perhaps perceive a person who labels another person as belonging to that group as possessing similar attitudes and therefore rate that person as more desirable. A person who does not have negative attitudes toward the group will possibly disapprove of the confederate, thereby rating him or her lower when the label is employed.

The specific nature of the label (descriptive or evaluative) may also have an effect on the ratings of the labeler. Hearing a derogatory evaluative label can leave no doubt in the person's mind that the speaker is intending to repudiate the target. People who have negative attitudes toward the group may approve of the snub and rate the labeler as more desirable than those hearing only the less derogatory (descriptive) label. Those people who do not

have negative attitudes are likely to exhibit more extreme disapproval of the derogatory term and rate the labeler as less desirable.

The Present Study

Overview of the present study

In this study the effects of descriptive and evaluative labels on both the target and the labeler are addressed. During the experiment, the manipulation was introduced by two confederates. In two of the three experimental conditions, one confederate (the *labeler*) led the subjects to believe that the other confederate (the *target*) was homosexual. In one of these conditions the labeler used a descriptive label ("lesbian"/"gay"), and in the other the labeler used a derogatory evaluative label ("dyke"/"faggot"). The third condition was a control condition in which no label was used. Perceptions of the labeler were measured along with perceptions of and behavior toward the target. During a prior screening of the subjects, measures of individual differences in prejudice were assessed.

Individual differences measures

In this study, heterosexism (negative attitudes toward homosexuals) was assessed using measurements of attitudes toward both the social roles and personal contact with lesbians and gay men. In the past, scales have been used that measure different aspects of antihomosexual attitudes

(Whitley, 1988). Some scales measure attitudes toward the social roles of gay men and lesbians, and others measure attitudes toward personal contact with gay men and lesbians. Whitley (1990) found these two scales are highly correlated. It was also shown that women and men are equally negative about homosexuals when asked about a homosexual person of the same sex (Whitley, 1990). The two scales were reworded to refer explicitly to a homosexual of the same sex as the respondent.

Another general measure of individual differences related to prejudice was administered during the experimental sessions. The Personal Need for Structure scale (PNS) has been developed to measure the extent to which a person desires to have organization in her or his environment (Thompson, Naccarato & Parker, 1989; Neuberg & Newsom, 1993). People who desire to have structure in their environments, such as social categories, become annoyed when there is a lack of structure and clarity in situations (Thompson et al., 1989) and past research shows that these people more readily form and apply stereotypes (Neuberg and Newsom, 1993; Schaller, Boyd, Yohannes & O'Brien, in press). A person who needs to have a lot of structure in his or her life might be less willing to tolerate homosexuals who do not fit neatly into the prescribed roles of society.

Dependent measures

Subjects rated both the labeler and the target on

several personality dimensions (likability, attractiveness, similarity and sex-role characteristics) as well as the extent to which they believed they would enjoy working with them.

In addition to these measures of subject's impressions, the physical distance subjects kept between themselves and the target was measured. The findings of unobtrusive studies of racism have found that people present themselves as less prejudiced than they actually are (Crosby, Bromley & Saxe, 1980; McConahay, 1986). Nonverbal behavior can give a more accurate view of people's attitude toward a group. People's nonverbal behavior may reveal how they really feel about a person or group. Word, Zanna and Cooper (1974), for example, found that the nonverbal behavior of white college students was less positive toward a black interviewee as opposed to a white interviewee. Distance measures have been used as nonverbal indicators of a person's perception of stigmatized groups. People may choose to distance themselves physically from a member of a stigmatized group. Using stick figures to represent themselves and stigmatized groups, subjects have drawn themselves closer to "normal" men and women than to homosexuals or people with heart disease (Wolfgang & Wolfgang, 1971).

In less hypothetical procedures, Morin, Taylor and Kielman (cited in Morin & Garfinkle, 1978) measured seating distance from an interviewer who was perceived as gay (wore

a "gay and proud" button), and Karr (1978) measured social distance from a confederate who was labeled as gay by another confederate. In these studies people chose to sit significantly farther from the confederates who they believed were gay. In the Karr (1978) study, this difference was found between high and low homophobic subjects. Compared to subjects who scored low on the homophobia measure, subjects who held negative attitudes toward gay men tended to sit farther from a man who they believed was gay. In the present study, the group is used as the unit of analysis for social distance. The group as a whole may choose to sit farther from someone they believe to be homosexual.

Predictions

In general, a person who is believed to be gay or lesbian is expected to be evaluated more negatively than the same person when she or he is not labeled. A derogatory evaluative label ("faggot" or "dyke") is hypothesized to lead to more negative evaluations of the target than a descriptive label ("gay" or "lesbian"). The sex-role characteristic ratings of the target are expected to vary depending on the sex of the target when she or he is labeled as being homosexual. The male target was expected to be rated as less masculine and more feminine, and the female target more masculine and less feminine in the labeling conditions compared to the control condition. It was

expected that compared to the control condition, a group would sit farther from a target who is believed to be homosexual. Heterosexism was expected to influence the ratings of the target to the extent that subjects scoring high in heterosexism would rate the target more negatively than those scoring low in heterosexism.

It was expected that for the ratings of the labeler, heterosexism would interact with labeling. Subjects who score high in heterosexism would rate the labeler more positively in the labeling conditions than the control condition. Additionally, it was hypothesized that the derogatory evaluative label would lead to more positive ratings than the descriptive label for those subjects scoring high in heterosexism. Subjects who score low in heterosexism were expected to rate the labeler lower in the labeling conditions than in the control condition. The derogatory evaluative label was hypothesized to lead to a more negative evaluation of the labeler for subjects scoring low in heterosexism. The sex-role characteristic ratings of the labeler were expected to vary due to labeling condition. The male labeler was hypothesized to be rated as more masculine in the labeling conditions compared to the control condition. The direction of the ratings for the female labeler could not be determined from past research.

A positive correlation was expected between the Personal Need for Structure scale and the measures of

heterosexism. This relationship was hypothesized to be stronger for attitudes toward social roles of homosexuals as opposed to attitudes toward personal contact with homosexuals. It was also hypothesized that a person who has a high need for structure would use the stereotypes of homosexuals to make judgments about gay men and lesbians and have more negative ratings of the target and more positive ratings of the labeler. No differences were expected between males and females on heterosexism or personal need for structure.

Method

Subjects

Subjects were 60 female and 57 male undergraduates enrolled in an introductory psychology course at the University of Montana. The subjects participated in 49 same-sex small groups of up to 3 subjects and two confederates. Seven groups had only 1 subject, 14 groups had 2 subjects and 26 groups had 3 subjects. Only people who reported their sexual orientation as exclusively heterosexual were used for the experimental sessions.

Screening

During a large screening at the beginning of the semester, the *Heterosexual Attitudes Towards Homosexuality Scale* (Larson, Read & Hoffman, 1980) and the *Index of Homophobia* (Hudson & Ricketts, 1980) scales were administered. Both scales were modified to refer explicitly

to either gay men (for male subjects) or lesbians (for female subjects).

The Heterosexual Attitudes Towards Homosexuality Scale (HATH) was used to assess people's attitudes toward the social roles of gay men and lesbians. Twenty statements (e.g., "Gay men/lesbians should not be allowed to work with children" and "I enjoy the company of gay men/lesbians") were rated on a 7-point, Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). For the present study the scale was scored such that higher numbers indicated high heterosexism (see Appendix A for male and female versions). Larson, Reed and Hoffman (1980) present reliability measures for the HATH. Internal reliability was calculated ($\alpha = .95$) as well as the split-half reliability ($\alpha = .86$). Larson et al. (1980) found the HATH was significantly correlated with religiosity ($r = -.50$) and authoritarianism ($r = -.22$) such that low scores on religiosity and authoritarianism were associated with tolerant attitudes toward homosexuals (high scores on the HATH). Scores on the original version of the HATH (referring only to "homosexuals") differed for males and females such that males were less tolerant of homosexuals (Whitley, 1988).

The Index of Homophobia (IHP) was used to assess people's attitudes about personal contact with lesbians and gay men. Twenty-two statements (e.g., "I would feel

comfortable working closely with a gay man/lesbian" or "If I saw two women/men holding hands in public I would be disgusted") were rated on a 7-point, Likert-type scale which ranges from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). Higher scores on this scale indicate high heterosexism. Hudson and Ricketts (1980) report reliability and validity of the IHP. Coefficient alpha for the IHP was found to be .90. The IHP is significantly correlated ($r = .53$) with conservative attitudes toward the expression of human sexuality (see Appendix B for male and female versions of the scales).

Along with these questionnaires, demographic information was obtained including sexual orientation (homosexual, bisexual or heterosexual). Three hundred and fourteen exclusively heterosexual respondents submitted useable data. Because the HATH and IHP scales were strongly correlated ($r = .83$), a single heterosexism score was calculated by adding the subjects' HATH and IHP scores. Subjects were selected whose heterosexism scores were spread approximately equally across the total range of the distribution. The experimenter as well as the confederates in the experimental sessions were blind to the subjects' heterosexism scores.

Procedure

The participants were contacted by telephone and asked to participate in a small group discussion study. The same-

sex groups consisted of up to three actual subjects and two confederates. As the subjects arrived for the session, a same-sex experimenter greeted them. The confederates entered the room intermittently with the actual subjects. After all the subjects (and confederates) had arrived, the experimenter explained to the group that they would be discussing a current social issue but before the discussion they would each individually complete questionnaires to determine their first impressions of the other members of the group. The subjects were then asked if they knew anyone else in the group. The experimenter took note of any acquaintances, and then left the room for five minutes, ostensibly allowing the group members to introduce themselves and learn a little bit about each other before the discussion.

During this introduction period, one of the confederates ("the labeler") asked the other confederate ("the target") if they had ever met because he or she "looks awfully familiar." The target denied that they had met. The confederates avoided any more discussion about whether they knew each other by steering the conversation toward general topics such as hobbies and classes. After about 5 minutes, each of the group members (including both of the confederates and the subjects) were individually called out of the room to fill out the first impression questionnaires. The target was always the first person to be called from the

room. While the target was out of the room, the labeling manipulation was introduced.

The labeling manipulation

There were three labeling conditions: descriptive label, derogatory evaluative label and control (no label). In the descriptive label condition the labeler said to the subjects, "I remember where I've seen him/her before. He/she came into one of my classes for a panel on homosexuality. He/she's gay." In the derogatory evaluative label condition the labeler said, "I remember where I've seen him/her before. He/she came into one of my classes for a panel on homosexuality. He's a faggot/she's a dyke." In the control condition, the labeler said, "I remember where I have seen him/her before, he/she was in one of my classes." The target and experimenter were blind to the labeling condition.

First impressions questionnaires

Each of the subjects was individually called from the room after the target. They were asked to complete a questionnaire about their first impressions of the other members of their group (including the two confederates). The subjects rated each group member on 7-point, Likert-type scales for likability, attractiveness, similarity and 10 traits corresponding to stereotypic sex-role characteristics (independent, masculine, self-reliant, competitive, ambitious, cheerful, sensitive, soft-spoken, feminine &

gentle). The subjects also rated, on a 7-point scale, each group member on three items pertaining to how much they thought they would enjoy working with him or her (see Appendix C for the Impressions Questionnaire). Subjects were then asked to verbally rate their agreement or disagreement with a current social issue ("Education should focus only on a student's major since that is all he/she will really need after graduation"). This was done for consistency with the cover story. Following the completion of these measures, each person was directed to another room to wait for the discussion.

Seating distance from the target

The chairs in the discussion room were arranged around a conference table (see Appendix E). As each person entered the room they choose a seat at the conference table. The target was always the first to arrive and sat at the head of the table to provide a standard point from which to measure. The ten other chairs were arranged around the rectangular conference table with five positions, approximately 50 cm apart, to both the right and left of the target. Distance from the target was measured by the seating position of the subjects (positions 1-5). The chairs were coded so that positions the same distance from the target on either side had the same number. Position one (1) indicated the two closest chairs to the target and position five indicated the farthest distance from the target. The distance from the

target was recorded for each subject. The subjects were given the Personal Need for Structure scale to complete while they waited for the rest of the group.

Personal Need For Structure (PNS) was used to assess the degree to which people desire to have organization in their lives (Thompson et al., 1989; see Appendix B). Participants rated 12 statements on a 7-point, Likert-type scale from one (strong disagreement) to seven (strong agreement). High scores on this scale suggest a high need for structure. Validation of the PNS scale is reported by both Thompson et al. (1989) and Neuberg and Newsom (1993; see Appendix D for the *Personal Need for Structure Scale*).

Debriefing

The labeler was always the last person to enter the discussion room and take a seat. The experimenter then asked the group to complete a suspicion questionnaire asking what they believed the hypothesis to be and if they thought anything was mysterious or suspicious about the experiment (Appendix F). Only 9 subjects (7 male and 2 female) indicated they were suspicious about the hypothesis. Four of these subjects were in the descriptive label condition and 5 were in the evaluative label condition. Analyses were conducted eliminating these subjects and the results did not change significantly.

After completing the suspicion form, subjects were debriefed and the confederates were introduced. Time was

allowed for discussion of any problems that may have arisen due to the procedure. Questions were solicited and the participants were thanked and asked to refrain from discussing the experiment with anyone (Appendix G).

Results

Heterosexism

Initial analyses tested for sex differences in heterosexism. The results failed to support the hypothesis that women and men would not differ in heterosexism when asked explicitly about homosexual people of the same sex. Consistent with previous research (e.g., Herek, 1988; Larson et al., 1980), men ($M = 9.09$) were, in fact, more heterosexist than women ($M = 6.90$), $t(115) = -4.35$, $p < .0001$.

Evaluation rating

In order to determine if the similarity, attractiveness, likability and the 3 preference ratings of the target and the labeler could be combined into one overall evaluation rating, they were analyzed using factor analysis. All 6 ratings were found to load on one single factor (Target factor loadings ranging from .475 to .865, Labeler factor loadings ranging from .557 to .902). Reliability for the evaluation rating was calculated for both the target and the labeler, coefficient alpha's = .83 & .87. Subsequent analyses were performed using this overall evaluation rating.

Effects of Labeling Manipulation on Target Evaluation Ratings

The hypothesis that all subjects would give lower evaluation ratings to the target in each of the two labeled conditions compared to the control (no label) condition was tested. To examine this hypothesis a 2 X 3 (Sex X Condition) ANOVA was calculated for the evaluation rating. This analysis did not reveal the expected main effect for condition $F(2,111) < 1$, $p = .85$. A significant main effect for sex was found such that females rated the target higher than males (M 's = 3.88 and 3.40, respectively), $F(1,111) = 21.007$, $p < .001$.

Further analyses of the evaluation ratings were conducted to examine the hypothesis that the target would be rated lower when labeled as being homosexual (with either a descriptive or derogatory label) compared to when she or he was not labeled. A planned contrast of the combined descriptive and evaluative label conditions to the control condition showed that the target was not rated significantly less favorably when labeled ($M = 3.68$) compared to when he or she was not labeled ($M = 3.63$), $t = -.340$, $p = .73$.

A second hypothesis that the target would be rated lower in the evaluative label condition compared to the descriptive label condition was tested using a planned contrast, orthogonal to the one above, comparing the descriptive label to the evaluative label. This hypothesis

was not confirmed. The target was not rated significantly lower in the evaluative label condition ($M = 3.65$) compared to the descriptive label condition ($M = 3.62$), $t = -.286$, $p > .78$.

Effect of the Labeling Manipulation on Ratings of Target's Sex-Role Characteristics

The hypothesis was tested that the male target would be rated as less masculine and the female target would be rated as more masculine in the two labeling conditions compared to the control condition. A single masculinity rating for the target was calculated as the mean of the five masculine sex-role characteristics (independent, masculine, self-reliant, competitive & ambitious). This masculine rating for the target was analyzed using a 2 X 3 (Sex X Condition) ANOVA. The predicted interaction did not emerge, $F(2,111) < 1$, $p = .666$, however, the male target ($M = 3.34$) was rated as more masculine than the female target ($M = 3.03$), $F(1,111) = 8.56$, $p < .01$. A main effect for condition was also found, $F(2,111) = 7.38$, $p < .001$. A contrast of the combined descriptive and evaluative label conditions to the control condition reveals that the target (whether male or female) was rated less masculine when labeled ($M = 3.05$) than when not labeled ($M = 3.48$), $t = -3.77$, $p < .001$. An orthogonal contrast reveals no differences between the two labeled conditions, $t = .416$, $p = .68$.

The male target was expected to be rated as more feminine and the female target was expected to be rated as less feminine in the two labeling conditions compared to the control condition. A single femininity rating for the target was calculated as the mean of the five feminine sex-role characteristics (cheerful, sensitive, soft-spoken, feminine & gentle). This feminine rating for the target were analyzed in the same manner as the masculine characteristic ratings. Again, the predicted sex X condition interaction did not emerge, $F(2,111) = 1.47$, $p = .23$. The female target ($M = 3.59$) was rated as more feminine than the male target ($M = 2.87$), $F(1,111) = 47.95$, $p < .0001$. A main effect for condition was again found, $F(1,111) = 3.553$, $p < .04$. Orthogonal contrasts revealed that the combined label conditions did not differ from the control condition, $t = 1.205$, $p > .05$, but the target was rated as significantly less feminine in the evaluative label condition ($M = 3.15$) compared to the descriptive label condition ($M = 3.44$), $t = -1.913$, $p < .05$.

Effect of Labeling Manipulation on Seating Distance From the Target

The hypothesis that the group as a whole would choose to sit farther from the target in the labeling conditions compared to the control condition was tested. A measure of group distance was calculated as the mean seating distance of the each group. The group distance from the target for

each condition was analyzed using a oneway ANOVA. The predicted main effect for condition failed to reach significance, $F(2,44) < 1$, n.s.. The group did not sit significantly farther from the target in either of the two labeled conditions (M 's 2.54 & 2.34) compared to the control condition ($M = 2.46$). The seating distance of the first member to enter the discussion room was analyzed in the same manner. Once again, the main effect for condition failed to reach significance, $F(2,44) < 1$, n.s..

Moderation of Heterosexism on Ratings of the Target

Effects of a Label (Combined Descriptive and Evaluative) vs. Control

The evaluation and sex-role characteristic ratings of the target were analyzed using regression analysis to examine the moderating effects of heterosexism. For these analyses, the descriptive and evaluative label conditions were combined in a single label condition (coded 1) and the control (no label) condition was coded -1. Sex was recoded -1 (female) and 1 (male) and heterosexism was converted into z-scores. Four interaction terms were computed as multiplicative functions of the 3 main effects: sex X condition, sex X heterosexism, condition X heterosexism, and sex X condition X heterosexism. These interactions along with the main effects were entered simultaneously into 3 separate regression equations testing effects on (a) evaluation ratings (b) masculinity ratings and (c)

femininity ratings.

Evaluation rating

The evaluation ratings of the target were examined. A significant main effect for sex was found such that females rated the target higher than males, $\beta = -.422$, $p < .001$. Two 2-way interactions were found to be significant. A significant interaction between labeling condition and heterosexism was found, $\beta = -.264$, $p < .01$. An examination of the means for high and low heterosexist subjects (determined by a median split) reveals that highly heterosexist subjects rated the target lower when he or she was labeled (with either a descriptive or an evaluative label) compared to the control condition. Low heterosexist subjects, on the other hand, increased their evaluation of the target slightly when the target was labeled (see Figure 1).

Insert Figure 1 about here

A significant interaction of sex and heterosexism was also found, $\beta = -.188$, $p < .05$. A closer look at the means for this interaction shows that high heterosexist female subjects rated the target more favorably than low heterosexist females. Male subjects did not differ in their ratings based on heterosexism.

Masculinity ratings

A second analysis examined the moderating effects of heterosexism on the masculinity ratings of the target. A significant main effect of sex was found such that the male target was rated as more masculine than the female target, $\beta = .274$, $p < .01$. A main effect for condition was also revealed, showing that the target was rated as less masculine when labeled compared to when he or she was not labeled, $\beta = -.353$, $p < .0001$. These effects are moderated by two significant interactions.

The sex X heterosexism interaction was found to be significant, $\beta = -.231$, $p < .01$. Female subjects, regardless of heterosexism score, all rated the target as being equally masculine. High heterosexist male subjects, on the other hand, rated the target as less masculine than low heterosexist male subjects. The three-way interaction of sex X condition X heterosexism was also significant, $\beta = .215$, $p < .03$. Both high and low heterosexist male subjects rated the target as less masculine when labeled compared to when he was not labeled. High heterosexist women rated the target as more masculine when she was not labeled compared to when she was labeled. The low heterosexist women, on the other hand, did not rate the target differently in label condition compared to the control condition (see Figure 2).

Insert Figure 2 about here

Since the masculinity ratings were all positive, it might be possible that the effects were due to a positivity rating. Further regression analysis showed that when controlling for the evaluation rating of the target, these effects remain significant with the exception of the three-way interaction which falls just below the traditional levels of significance, $\beta = .174$, $p = .07$. The effect could not have been entirely due to a positive evaluation of the target.

Femininity ratings

A third analysis inspected the moderating effects of heterosexism on the femininity ratings of the target. This analysis revealed only main effects, for sex and for heterosexism. Women rated the target as more feminine than men, $\beta = -.631$, $p < .0001$. High heterosexist subjects rated the target as more feminine than the low heterosexist subjects, $\beta = .117$, $p < .05$. These effects remain significant with analyses controlling for the effect of evaluation rating of the target.

Descriptive vs. Evaluative Labels

Similar analyses were conducted to compare the descriptive label (coded -1) to the derogatory label (coded 1) for the evaluation, masculinity and femininity ratings of

the target. The control condition was not used for these analyses.

The same main effects as above for sex were found in all three analyses. The female target was rated higher on both the overall evaluation rating and the femininity rating than the male target, $\beta = -.292$, $p < .02$ & $\beta = -.525$, $p < .0001$, and the male target was rated more masculine than the female target, $\beta = .286$, $p < .03$.

Aside from these main effects, there was only one effect involving the label condition, a three-way interaction between sex, condition and heterosexism on femininity ratings of the target, $\beta = -.222$, $p < .05$. For male subjects in the descriptive label condition, high heterosexist subjects rated the target as more feminine than low heterosexist subjects. In the evaluative label condition, men rated the target the same regardless of heterosexism. High heterosexist female subjects rated the target the same in both the descriptive and evaluative label conditions. Low heterosexist women, however rated the target as less feminine in the evaluative label condition compared to the descriptive label condition (see Figure 3).

Insert Figure 3 about here

This three-way interaction remains significant when the effect is controlled for the evaluation rating of the target.

Moderation of Personal Need for Structure on Target Ratings

The hypothesis that Personal Need for Structure will correlate with heterosexism was tested and a significant positive correlation was found ($r = .282$). PNS scores were analyzed in the same manner as heterosexism. Subjects' PNS scores were converted to z-scores and 4 interaction terms were computed by multiplying the 3 main effects: sex X condition, sex X PNS, condition X PNS, and sex X condition X PNS. These interactions along with the main effects were entered simultaneously into separate regression equations testing effects on (a) evaluation ratings (b) masculinity ratings and (c) femininity ratings. Regression analyses were done to compare the control condition to a label (combined descriptive and evaluative) as well as comparing the 2 label conditions. Regression analyses revealed no effects for Personal Need for Structure for any evaluations of the target.

Effects of Labeling Manipulation on Labeler Evaluation Ratings

The evaluation ratings of the labeler were expected to be moderated by heterosexism such that highly heterosexist subjects would rate the labeler higher than low heterosexist subjects. Analyses for the evaluation ratings of the

labeler were parallel to those for the target. A 2 X 3 (Sex X Condition) ANOVA was calculated for the evaluation ratings and revealed main effects. A significant main effect for sex was found such that females rated the labeler higher than males (M 's = 3.64 and 3.04, respectively), $F(1,111) = 23.45$, $p < .0001$. This analysis also showed a main effect for condition, $F(2,111) = 9.57$, $p < .0001$.

In order to examine the main effect for condition, two planned contrasts were performed. A contrast comparing the control condition to the combined (descriptive and evaluative) labeling conditions revealed a marginally significant effect for the label, $t(114) = -1.86$, $p = .07$. The labeler was rated less favorably in the label condition ($M = 3.43$) compared to the control condition ($M = 3.69$).

An orthogonal contrast comparing the descriptive label to the evaluative label showed a significant effect, $t(114) = -3.43$, $p < .001$. The labeler was rated less favorably in the derogatory evaluative label condition ($M = 3.17$) compared to the descriptive label condition ($M = 3.71$).

Effects of Labeling Manipulation on the Sex-role Characteristic Ratings of the Labeler

The sex-role characteristics of the labeler were expected to interact with sex of the labeler. The average of the masculine sex-role characteristic ratings for the labeler was analyzed using a 2 X 3 (Sex X Condition) ANOVA. It was expected that the male labeler would be rated as more

masculine in the two label conditions. The masculinity ratings of the female labeler could not be predicted from past research. The expected interaction of sex and condition was not found for the masculinity ratings of the labeler, $F(2,111) = 1.71$, $p = .19$. No other effects were found for the masculinity ratings of the labeler.

The femininity ratings of the labeler were also expected to interact with sex of the labeler. The male labeler was expected to be rated as less feminine in the labeling conditions and the femininity of the female labeler was, once again, unpredicted from past research. The combined femininity ratings of the labeler were also analyzed with a 2 X 3 (Sex X Condition) ANOVA, revealing main effects for sex and condition, $F(2,111) = 6.34$, $p < .01$ and $F(1,111) = 78.74$, $p < .001$. These effects are moderated by a significant interaction of condition and sex, $F(2,111) = 4.96$, $p < .01$.

To explore this interaction, separate between condition comparisons were performed for male and female subjects. Planned contrasts comparing the control and label (combined descriptive and evaluative) conditions showed no effect for the male labeler (M 's = 2.50 & 2.30), $t(54) = -1.10$, $p = .28$. A significant effect was found for the female labeler, however, showing that she was rated as less feminine in the label condition ($M = 3.25$) compared to the control condition (3.58), $t(57) = -2.16$, $p < .04$.

Planned contrasts also compared femininity ratings in the descriptive and evaluative label conditions for both male and female subjects. Male subjects did not rate the labeler significantly different in the descriptive label condition ($M = 2.26$) compared to the evaluative label condition ($M = 2.34$), $t(54) = .391$, $p = .69$. The female labeler, however, was rated as less feminine in the evaluative label condition ($M = 2.94$) than in the descriptive label condition ($M = 3.57$), $t(57) = -3.63$, $p < .001$.

Moderation of Heterosexism on Ratings of the Labeler

Analyses examining the moderation of heterosexism on the ratings of the labeler were conducted using the same regression equations as those used for the target ratings.

Evaluation rating

The evaluation ratings of the labeler were predicted to interact with heterosexism. Highly heterosexist subjects were expected to rate the labeler more favorably in the label conditions compared to the control condition. Subjects scoring low in heterosexism were expected to rate the labeler less favorably in the label conditions compared to the control condition. This interaction of heterosexism and condition did not emerge, $\beta = -.012$, $p = .91$. Analyses did reveal main effects for sex, condition and heterosexism. As seen above, female subjects rated the labeler more favorably than male subjects, $\beta = -.433$, $p < .0001$ and the

labeler was rated higher in the control condition than in the label condition, $\beta = .229$, $p < .03$. Highly heterosexual subjects (whether male or female) rated the labeler higher than low heterosexual subjects, $\beta = -.194$, $p < .03$.

Analysis comparing the descriptive label to the evaluative label for the evaluation rating of the labeler was also done. The predicted interaction of heterosexism and condition did not emerge, $\beta = .088$, $p = .43$. Reiterating the main effects seen above, the female labeler was rated more favorably than the male labeler, $\beta = -.49$, $p < .0001$ and the labeler was rated more favorably in the descriptive label condition compared to the evaluative label condition, $\beta = -.321$, $p < .01$.

Masculinity Ratings

The masculinity ratings of the labeler were expected to interact with sex of the labeler. High heterosexual male subjects were expected to rate the labeler more masculine in the label conditions compared to low heterosexual men in the same conditions. The ratings of the female labeler were not predicted from past research. The expected three-way interaction of sex, heterosexism and condition was not significant, $\beta = .056$, $p = .59$. Analysis revealed only one marginally significant main effect for heterosexism, $\beta = .207$, $p = .06$, such that highly heterosexual subjects tended to rate the labeler as being more masculine than low

heterosexist subjects.

Analysis to compare the descriptive label to the evaluative label was also conducted. Again, the expected three-way interaction did not emerge, $\beta = -.002$, $p = .99$. A significant main effect for heterosexism was found, showing that high heterosexist subjects rated the labeler more masculine than low heterosexist subjects, $\beta = .283$, $p < .03$. This effect remains significant when effects are controlled for the evaluation ratings of the labeler.

Femininity Ratings

The femininity ratings of the labeler were expected to interact with sex of the labeler as well. High heterosexist male subjects were expected to rate the labeler less feminine in the label conditions compared to the low heterosexist men in the same conditions. Once again, the ratings of the female labeler were not predicted from past research. Main effects for sex, heterosexism and condition were found. The female labeler was rated more feminine than the male labeler, $\beta = -.710$, $p < .0001$. Highly heterosexist subjects rated the labeler (whether male or female) more feminine than did low heterosexist subjects, $\beta = .179$, $p < .04$. The main effect for condition shows that subjects rated the labeler more feminine in the control condition compared to the label condition, $\beta = -.155$, $p < .04$. The main effects for heterosexism and condition are no longer significant when they are controlled for evaluation

rating of the labeler, $\beta = .061$, $p = .38$ & $\beta = .05$, $p = .37$.

Analysis comparing the descriptive label to the evaluative label was also done for the femininity ratings of the labeler. The predicted three-way interaction did not emerge $\beta = -.049$, $p = .62$. When controlling for heterosexism, the interaction between sex and condition was nearly significant, $\beta = .191$, $p = .06$. This effect was the same as discussed above. Female subjects rated the labeler lower in the evaluative label condition compared to the descriptive label condition. Male subjects rated the labeler the same in both conditions. As described above, this analysis also showed that female subjects rated the labeler as more feminine than male subjects, $\beta = -.667$, $p < .0001$. A main effect for heterosexism was also found showing that high heterosexist subjects rated the labeler as more feminine than low heterosexist subjects, $\beta = .226$, $p < .03$. When these effects are controlled for evaluation rating of the labeler, the interaction between sex and condition is significant, $\beta = .717$, $p < .03$ but the main effect for heterosexism is no longer significant, $\beta = .133$, $p = .09$.

Moderation of Personal Need for Structure on Labeler Ratings

Analyses for evaluation, masculinity and femininity ratings of the labeler were conducted using the same

procedure as that outlined above for the target. The comparison of descriptive and evaluative label revealed 2 unpredicted three-way interactions involving PNS. The first interaction involves sex of the labeler, condition and PNS, $\beta = -.223$, $p < .02$. All female subjects (regardless of their score on PNS) rated the labeler more positively in the descriptive label condition than those subjects who were in the evaluative label condition. Male subjects who scored high in PNS rated the labeler less favorably in the evaluative label condition compared to the descriptive label condition. Those male subjects who score low in PNS, however, did not rate the labeler differently in 2 label conditions (see Figure 4)

insert Figure 4 about here

A second interaction of sex of the labeler, condition and PNS on the femininity ratings of the labeler emerged, $\beta = -.204$, $p < .02$. This interaction shows that the female labeler (for both high and low PNS subjects) was rated as less feminine in the evaluative label condition compared to the descriptive label condition. Male subjects who scored high in PNS rated the labeler as less feminine in the evaluative label condition compared to the descriptive label condition. Male subjects who scored low in PNS rated the labeler as more feminine in the evaluative label condition

compared to the descriptive label condition (see Figure 5).

insert Figure 5 about here

Discussion

Summary: Support for Predictions

The present research was designed to examine several hypotheses concerning the effects of a label on a person's perceptions of the target of the label as well as the person doing the labeling.

Two hypotheses concerning the effects of the labels on the evaluation of the target were examined. The first hypothesis, that subjects would evaluate the target more negatively when she or he was labeled as being lesbian or gay (by either a descriptive or an evaluative label), was partially supported. The derogatory evaluative label was also hypothesized to lead to more negative evaluations of the target than the descriptive label. This hypothesis was not supported.

The subjects' ratings of the target's sex-role characteristics were expected to vary depending on the sex of the target and the labeling condition. The female target was expected to be rated as more masculine and the male target as less masculine when labeled as being lesbian or gay compared to when she or he was not labeled. This prediction was also only partially supported. It was also

predicted that the female target would be rated as less feminine and the male target more feminine in the labeling conditions compared to the control condition. This effect did not emerge. The prediction that the group would sit farther from the target in the labeling conditions compared to the control condition was not supported.

It was predicted that the ratings of the labeler would interact with heterosexism. The labeler was expected to be evaluated more favorably by highly heterosexist subjects in the two labeling conditions compared to the control condition. Low heterosexist subjects were expected to rate the labeler less favorably in the labeling conditions compared to the control condition. These two predictions were not supported. An additional hypothesis that the evaluative label would lead to more positive ratings than the descriptive label for highly heterosexist subjects and more negative for low heterosexist subjects also failed to emerge. Instead the labeler was simply rated less favorably in the label conditions, regardless of subjects' heterosexism score.

As with the ratings of the target, the sex-role characteristic ratings of the labeler were expected to vary by sex and labeling condition. The male labeler was expected to be rated as more masculine and less feminine in the labeling conditions. These effects were not found. No predictions were made concerning the sex-role characteristic

ratings for the female labeler.

Finally, two predictions were made concerning Personal Need for Structure (PNS). A positive correlation was expected between Personal Need for Structure and heterosexism. This prediction was confirmed. It was also hypothesized that people with high need for structure would rate the target more negatively and the labeler more favorably than those people with low need for structure. This prediction was not supported.

One of the general objectives of this research was to determine if a homosexual label affects people's perceptions of the person who is labeled. Does a label, either descriptive or evaluative, affect the ratings of the target of the label and of the labeler? And do the effects of the two labels differ from each other? Below I will consider some of the results that answer these questions.

What effects do labels have on evaluations of the target?

The results demonstrated that people's perceptions of the target were different when they believed him or her to be homosexual, although the effect is moderated by the subjects' existing attitudes toward lesbians or gay men. Highly heterosexist people responded to a label as predicted (Greenberg & Pyszczynski, 1985; Karr, 1978; Kirkland et al., 1987) and rated the target who they thought was lesbian or gay more negatively than when the target was not labeled. Clearly, people with highly heterosexist attitudes respond

to a person who they believe is gay or lesbian consistent with their attitude. In contrast, low heterosexist subjects tended to evaluate the target who was labeled even more favorably than in the "no label" control condition. Are these people merely responding in a way that is consistent with their attitudes toward homosexual people? Current research suggests that maybe they are.

It is a strong possibility that a portion, if not the majority, of the low heterosexist subjects had ambivalent rather than strictly positive attitudes toward homosexuals. Although not originally anticipated, the responses of the low heterosexist subjects are not inconsistent with recent research examining the effects of derogatory ethnic labels on ratings of a black confederate (Simon & Greenberg, 1994). In Simon and Greenberg's (1994) study, subjects were categorized as anti-black, pro-black or highly ambivalent based on responses to Pro-black and Anti-black scales. Subjects who held anti-black attitudes evaluated the black target less favorably in the derogatory ethnic label condition. Subjects who were categorized as pro-black did not differ in their rating of the black confederate based on the derogatory ethnic label. Highly ambivalent subjects, however, rated the black confederate more favorably in the label condition. The evaluations of the target in the present study were also moderated by the subjects' general attitude toward lesbians and gay men.

What effects do labels have on perceptions of the target's sex-role characteristics?

In addition to its effects on global evaluations of a person, a homosexual label may also affect people's perceptions of the specific sex-role characteristics of the target. Sex-role characteristics were chosen for this study in order to explore the idea that a label activates the stereotypical traits of the group which can then be applied to the person who is labeled. Since gay men are stereotypically viewed as feminine and lesbians are stereotyped as masculine, the ratings of a person's sex-role characteristics were expected to change in the direction of the stereotype. This prediction was not supported completely by this study. Unlike Karr (1978) who found that a male confederate was rated as less masculine when labeled as homosexual, the present research found both the male and female target were rated as less masculine when labeled.

It is a possibility that instead of simply assessing ratings of gender stereotypic traits, ratings of masculinity offered subjects a more subtle means of evaluating the target. All of the masculine adjectives (independent, masculine, self-reliant, competitive and ambitious) were positive traits. The subjects in this study may have been unwilling to admit they did not want to work with the target or have him or her as a friend (two of the ratings comprising the global evaluation measure). They may have

been willing, however, to derogate the target a little more subtly by rating him or her as less self-reliant or ambitious. People do not wish to appear prejudiced. By rating the target more negatively on these traits, a person can maintain his or her outward appearance of egalitarianism. This explanation is consistent with the findings of Simon and Greenberg (1994) who found that subjects evaluated the target of the derogatory label less favorably on positive traits, but did not rate the target higher on negative traits.

What effects do labels have on evaluations of the labeler?

A second general objective of the present study was to test whether a label influences people's evaluations of the labeler. The results show that the labeler is viewed less favorably when using a label of any kind. Although it was predicted that highly heterosexist subjects would appreciate the label and therefore evaluate the labeler more favorably as a result, all subjects in this study rated the labeler more negatively when the label was used. This finding is consistent with anecdotal evidence where subjects informally expressed disgust at the use of a label (Kirkland et al., 1987) as well as research showing that evaluations of the helpfulness of the labeler were lower when a derogatory ethnic label was used (Simon & Greenberg, 1994). These results contrast with Karr (1978) who found that the labeler received more positive ratings in the labeling conditions.

It is possible that the change toward political correctness in recent years has influenced the perceptions of people who use some sort of label or at least in how people are willing to admit they perceive the labeler.

Some broader considerations

The present research supports the idea that a label will alter people's perceptions, and therefore evaluations of the target of the label. It remains unclear, however, what process underlies this phenomenon. One possible explanation has focused on the activation of stereotypes. Labeling a person as belonging to a certain group may allow the listener to apply the stereotypes associated with that category of people to the target of the label, allowing them quickly and efficiently to judge the person. The novel person becomes more than just a stranger; he or she is a representative of a category and can be evaluated based on whatever stereotypes about that group have been activated (e.g., Bodenhausen, 1988; Gilbert & Hixon, 1991). Stereotype activation does not necessarily mean that the target will be evaluated negatively, however. Although negative stereotypes may be automatically activated upon hearing the label (Devine, 1989), people with positive attitudes toward that group may still give more favorable evaluations of that person.

Another possible explanation for the effect of a label has been put forth by Crandall and Thompson (1994).

Crandall and Thompson (1994) hypothesized that the use of a label or other derogation of an outgroup creates a "hostile environment" in which degradation of the target is more acceptable. When a person uses a derogatory slur, and is not corrected, the social environment is changed. People in the group feel that expression of prejudice will go unpunished by others. This is an interesting idea, and has received some support (Crandall & Thompson, 1994), but the support is not unequivocal.

The present research cannot distinguish clearly between these two explanations. In fact, it may be difficult to design empirical studies that can. It is hard to tease apart the distinction between the judgment of whether an environment is hostile and the activation of stereotypes since both are cognitive processes. In the present study, for example, the use of a label may have created a "hostile environment" where people who hold negative attitudes toward homosexuals feel it is okay to express those beliefs. On the other hand the use of a label may have activated stereotypes that influenced the perceptions of the subjects.

Perhaps these two processes work together. Situations may arise where stereotypes are activated (through a label or derogatory statement) and a hostile social environment is created (the person using the label or making the statement is not confronted). The people in this situation may feel they can express their own negative attitudes without being

snubbed. Only further research can begin to examine this question. No matter what the underlying cognitive processes may be, categorizing a person through the use of a social label has some affects on the perceptions of that person.

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Appendix A

On a scale of one (strongly disagree) to seven (strongly agree) please indicate (by writing the correct number) your agreement or disagreement with the following items. Your responses are completely confidential.

- | | |
|-------------------------------|----------------------|
| 1 = strongly disagree | 5 = slightly agree |
| 2 = moderately disagree | 6 = moderately agree |
| 3 = slightly disagree | 7 = strongly agree |
| 4 = neither agree or disagree | |

- _____ 1. I enjoy the company of lesbians.
- _____ 2. It would be beneficial to society to recognize lesbianism as normal
- _____ 3. Lesbians should not be allowed to work with children
- _____ 4. Lesbianism is immoral
- _____ 5. Lesbianism is a mental disorder
- _____ 6. All lesbian bars should be closed down
- _____ 7. Lesbians are mistreated in our society
- _____ 8. Lesbians should be given social equality
- _____ 9. Lesbians are a viable part of our society
- _____ 10. Lesbians should have equal opportunity employment
- _____ 11. There is no reason to restrict the places where lesbians work
- _____ 12. Lesbians should be free to date whomever they want
- _____ 13. Lesbianism is a sin
- _____ 14. Lesbians do need psychological treatment
- _____ 15. Lesbianism endangers the institution of the family
- _____ 16. Lesbians should be accepted completely into our society
- _____ 17. Lesbians should be barred from the teaching profession
- _____ 18. Those in favor of lesbianism tend to be lesbians themselves
- _____ 19. There should be no restrictions on lesbianism
- _____ 20. I avoid lesbians whenever possible

* items to be reverse scored: 1, 2, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 16, 19

On a scale of one (strongly disagree) to seven (strongly agree) please indicate (by writing the correct number) your agreement or disagreement with the following items. Your responses are completely confidential.

- | | |
|-------------------------------|----------------------|
| 1 = strongly disagree | 5 = slightly agree |
| 2 = moderately disagree | 6 = moderately agree |
| 3 = slightly disagree | 7 = strongly agree |
| 4 = neither agree or disagree | |

- _____ 1. I enjoy the company of gay men.
- _____ 2. It would be beneficial to society to recognize homosexuality as normal
- _____ 3. Gay men should not be allowed to work with children
- _____ 4. Homosexuality is immoral
- _____ 5. Homosexuality is a mental disorder
- _____ 6. All gay bars should be closed down
- _____ 7. Gay men are mistreated in our society
- _____ 8. Gay men should be give social equality
- _____ 9. Gay men are a viable part of our society
- _____ 10. Gay men should have equal opportunity employment
- _____ 11. There is no reason to restrict the places where gay men work
- _____ 12. Gay men should be free to date whomever they want
- _____ 13. Homosexuality is a sin
- _____ 14. Gay men do need psychological treatment
- _____ 15. Homosexuality endangers the institution of the family
- _____ 16. Gay men should be accepted completely into our society
- _____ 17. Gay men should be barred from the teaching profession
- _____ 18. Those in favor of homosexuality tend to be homosexuals themselves
- _____ 19. There should be no restrictions on homosexuality
- _____ 20. I avoid gay men whenever possible

* items to be reverse scored: 1, 2, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 16, 19

Appendix B

On a scale of one (strongly disagree) to seven (strongly agree) please indicate (by writing the correct number) your agreement or disagreement with the following items. Your responses are completely confidential.

- | | |
|-------------------------------|----------------------|
| 1 = strongly disagree | 5 = slightly agree |
| 2 = moderately disagree | 6 = moderately agree |
| 3 = slightly disagree | 7 = strongly agree |
| 4 = neither agree or disagree | |

- _____ 1. I would feel comfortable working closely with a lesbian
- _____ 2. I would enjoy attending social functions at which lesbians were present
- _____ 3. I would feel uncomfortable if I learned that my neighbor was a lesbian
- _____ 4. If a woman made a sexual advance toward me I would feel angry
- _____ 5. I would feel comfortable knowing that I was attractive to women
- _____ 6. I would feel uncomfortable being seen in a lesbian bar
- _____ 7. I would feel comfortable if a woman made an advance toward me
- _____ 8. I would be comfortable if I found myself attracted to a woman
- _____ 9. I would feel disappointed if I learned that my daughter was a lesbian
- _____ 10. I would feel nervous being in a group of lesbians
- _____ 11. I would deny to members of my peer group that I had friends who were lesbians
- _____ 12. I would feel that I had failed as a parent if I learned that my daughter was a lesbian
- _____ 13. If I saw two women holding hands in public I would feel disgusted
- _____ 14. If a woman made an advance toward me I would be offended
- _____ 15. I would feel comfortable if I learned that my daughter's teacher was a lesbian
- _____ 16. I would feel uncomfortable if I learned that my partner was attracted to members of his sex
- _____ 17. I would like to have my parents know that I had lesbian friends
- _____ 18. I would feel uncomfortable kissing a close female friend in public
- _____ 19. I would like to have female friends who were lesbian
- _____ 20. If a woman made an advance toward me I would wonder if I were lesbian
- _____ 21. I would feel comfortable if I learned that my best female friend was lesbian
- _____ 22. If a woman made an advance toward me I would feel flattered

* items to be reverse scored: 1, 2, 5, 7, 8, 15, 17, 19, 21, 22

On a scale of one (strongly disagree) to seven (strongly agree) please indicate (by writing the correct number) your agreement or disagreement with the following items. Your responses are completely confidential.

- | | |
|-------------------------------|----------------------|
| 1 = strongly disagree | 5 = slightly agree |
| 2 = moderately disagree | 6 = moderately agree |
| 3 = slightly disagree | 7 = strongly agree |
| 4 = neither agree or disagree | |

- _____ 1. I would feel comfortable working closely with a gay man
- _____ 2. I would enjoy attending social functions at which gay men were present
- _____ 3. I would feel uncomfortable if I learned that my neighbor was a gay man
- _____ 4. If a man made a sexual advance toward me I would feel angry
- _____ 5. I would feel comfortable knowing that I was attractive to men
- _____ 6. I would feel uncomfortable being seen in a gay bar
- _____ 7. I would feel comfortable if a man made an advance toward me
- _____ 8. I would be comfortable if I found myself attracted to a man
- _____ 9. I would feel disappointed if I learned that my son was gay
- _____ 10. I would feel nervous being in a group of gay men
- _____ 11. I would deny to members of my peer group that I had friends who were gay men
- _____ 12. I would feel that I had failed as a parent if I learned that my son was gay
- _____ 13. If I saw two men holding hand in public I would feel disgusted
- _____ 14. If a man made an advance toward me I would be offended
- _____ 15. I would feel comfortable if I learned that my son's teacher was a gay man
- _____ 16. I would feel uncomfortable if I learned that my partner was attracted to members of her sex
- _____ 17. I would like to have my parents know that I had gay friends
- _____ 18. I would feel uncomfortable kissing a close male friend in public
- _____ 19. I would like to have male friends who were gay
- _____ 20. If a man made an advance toward me I would wonder if I were gay
- _____ 21. I would feel comfortable if I learned that my best male friend was gay
- _____ 22. If a man made an advance toward me I would feel flattered

* items to be reverse scored: 1, 2, 5, 7, 8, 15, 17, 19, 21, 22

Appendix C

First Impressions questionnaire

Group member _____

We are interested in determining your first impressions of the people in your group. We understand that you have not had a opportunity to really get to know the people in your group, so just be as honest as you can. Please rate each person in your group by indicating to what extent you believe each of the following adjectives may describe that person. Use a separate sheet for each group member

1	2	3	4	5
not at all	slightly	uncertain	moderately	considerably
_____ attractive			_____ similar to me	
_____ independent			_____ masculine	
_____ self-reliant			_____ feminine	
_____ soft-spoken			_____ understanding	
_____ competitive			_____ gentle	
_____ sensitive			_____ ambitious	
_____ likeable				

Rate each of the following by indicating to what extent you agree with the statement.

1	2	3	4	5
strongly disagree	disagree	neutral	agree	strongly agree
_____	I think I will enjoy working with this person in the group discussion			
_____	I think this person will be an worthwhile member of the group			
_____	I think I would enjoy having this person as a friend			

Appendix D

Personal Need For Structure Scale

Read each of the following statements and decide how much you agree with each according to your attitudes, beliefs and experiences. It is important for you to realize that there are no "right" or "wrong" answers to these questions. People are different and we are interested in how you feel. Please respond according to the following 7-point scale:

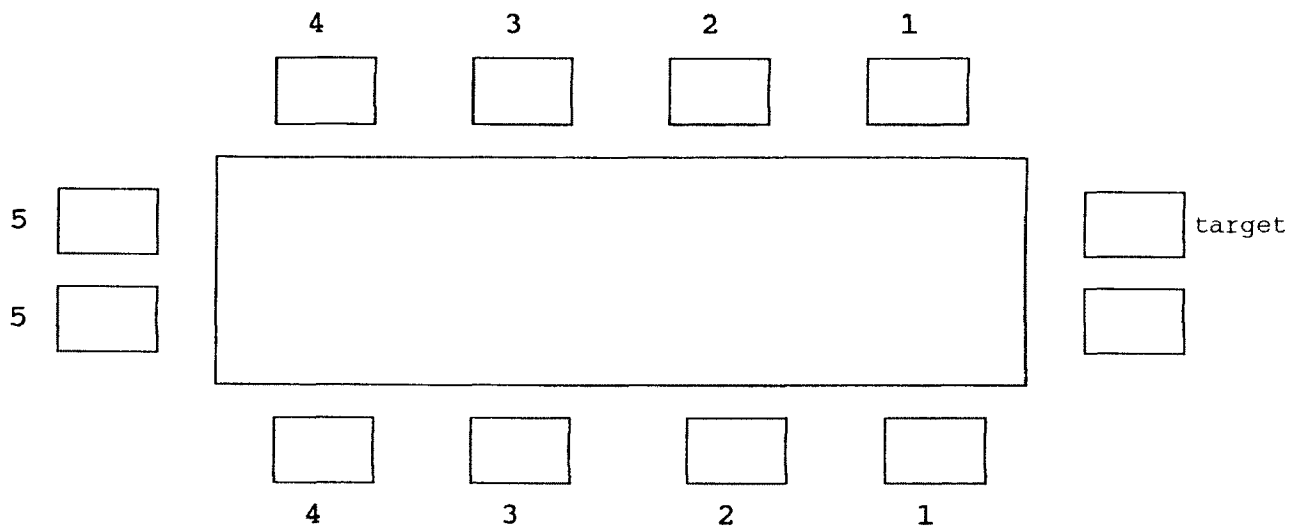
- | | | | |
|---|---------------------------|---|------------------|
| 1 | strongly disagree | 5 | slightly agree |
| 2 | moderately disagree | 6 | moderately agree |
| 3 | slightly disagree | 7 | strongly agree |
| 4 | neither agree or disagree | | |

1. It upsets me to go into a situation without knowing what I can expect from it
2. I'm not bothered by things that interrupt my daily routine
3. I enjoy having a clear and structured mode of life
4. I like to have a place for everything and everything in its place
5. I enjoy being spontaneous
6. I find that a well-ordered life with regular hours make my life tedious
7. I don't like situations that are uncertain
8. I hate to change my plans at the last minute
9. I hate to be with people who are unpredictable
10. I find that a consistent routine enables me to enjoy life more
11. I enjoy the exhilaration of being in unpredictable situations
12. I become uncomfortable when the rules in a situation are not clear

* items to be reverse scored: 2, 5, 6, 11

Appendix E

Seating Chart



Appendix F

Please answer each of the following questions as honestly as possible:

Based on what you know so far about the experiment, describe in your own words what you think is the hypothesis (what we are trying to find out)? _____

People often read in Psychology 100 about experiments that are not exactly what they say they are. When they come into an experiment they sometimes have doubts about what the experiment is about. Although it is normal to have questions, some doubts may affect how subjects respond to the experiment. Do you have any doubts about this experiment? If so, how have they affected your responding in this experiment? Please explain.

Was there anything mysterious or suspicious about this experiment?
_____ If so, please explain.

Appendix G

Description of the experiment

One of the first things we learn about a new person is what group they belong to. Sometimes that group is fairly obvious, like if a person is a woman or a man, an African-American or Chinese. Other times the group isn't as obvious, we can't tell right away if a person is a Republican or a lesbian.

We are interested in finding out what happens when someone is labeled as belonging in a social category. We are also interested in what happens when someone uses a derogatory label to refer to a person. In this experiment we chose to use homosexuality as the social category. We used confederates (a research assistant) to be labeled as being homosexual. In some of our groups we don't say anything about the person, in other groups the confederate says the person is "gay" or "lesbian" and in some groups the confederate says the person is a "faggot" or "dyke." Past research has shown that people will rate a person more negatively if they hear the label. Research has also shown that the person who is doing the labeling of a homosexual is often rated more positively.

The purpose for using a discussion group was to see if people will choose to sit farther away from someone who they believe is homosexual. In past research people have been shown to sit farther away from someone who is a member of a stigmatized group.

One of the possibilities for explaining why people react differently to members of a stigmatized group is that hearing the label for the group calls to mind the negative stereotypes associated with that group. For example, when someone hears "faggot" they may think of an effeminate man. These stereotypes are then associated with the person who belongs to that category.

We are looking into a sensitive area concerning prejudice and discrimination and the results of our study may lead to better insight into the cognitive processes that underlie the effects of labels. In order to keep the integrity of our study and to obtain useable data, we ask that you please help us by not discussing the experiment with anyone.

If this study has made you feel uncomfortable or brought about any unpleasant issues for you and you would like to discuss them, counseling is available to students through both:

Counseling Center

243-4711

Clinical Psychology Center

or

243-4523

If you have any questions or concerns about this experiment feel free to stop by my office or call:

Michelle Ceynar

Php 212 ex. 6347

Thank you for your participation!

Figure Captions

Figure 1. Effect of label on target evaluation, moderated by heterosexism. (Scale ranging from 1 to 5; higher values indicate more positive evaluation.)

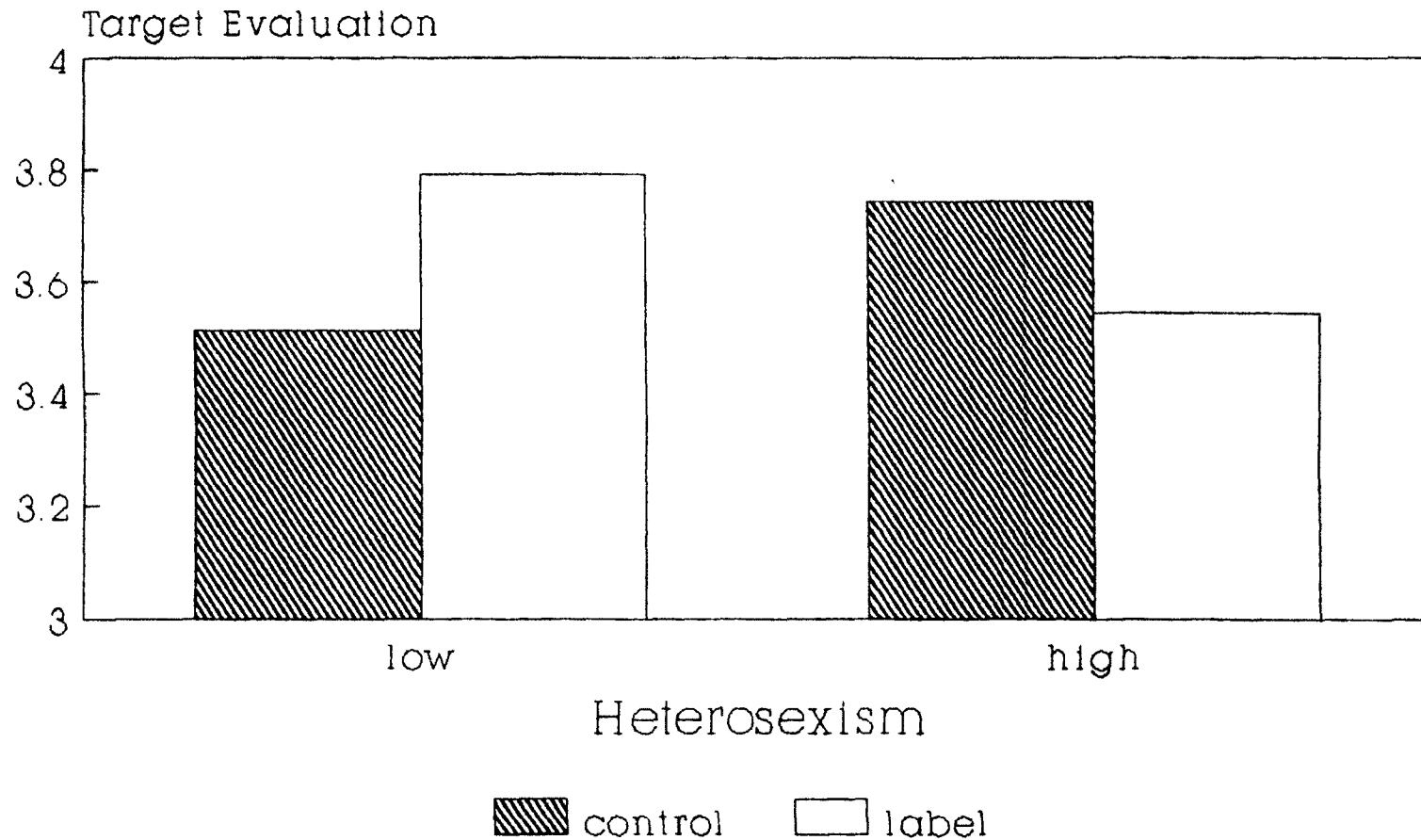
Figure 2. Effect of label on target masculinity ratings, moderated by both sex and heterosexism. (Rating ranging from 1 to 5; higher values indicate more masculine.)

Figure 3. Effect of type of label on target femininity ratings, moderated by both sex and heterosexism. (Rating ranging from 1 to 5; higher values indicate more feminine.)

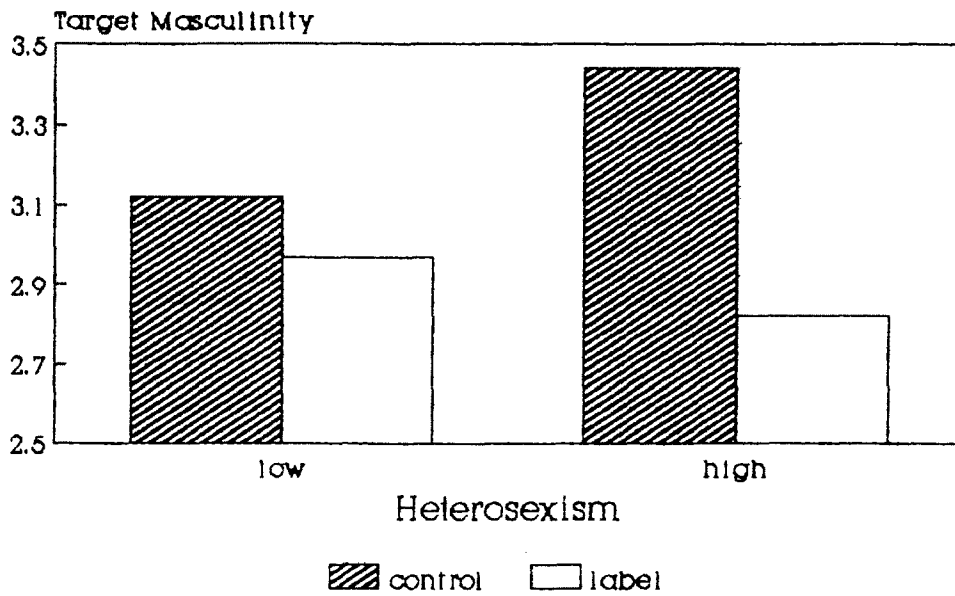
Figure 4. Effect of type of label on labeler evaluation ratings, moderated by both sex and Personal Need for Structure. (Scale ranging from 1 to 5; higher values indicate more positive evaluation.)

Figure 5. Effect of type of label on labeler femininity ratings, moderated by both sex and Personal Need for Structure. (Scale ranging from 1 to 5; higher values indicate more feminine.)

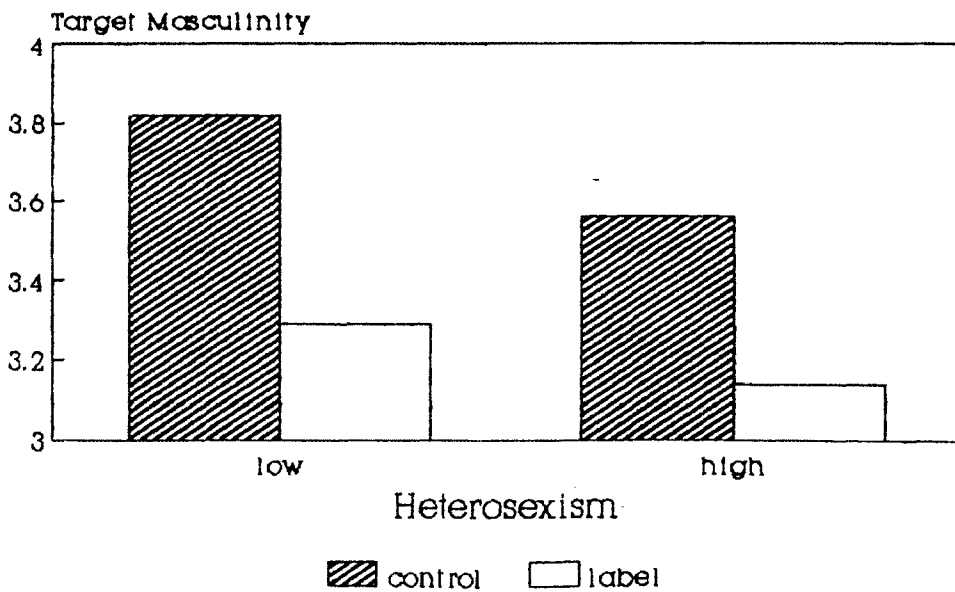
Target Evaluation Condition X Heterosexism



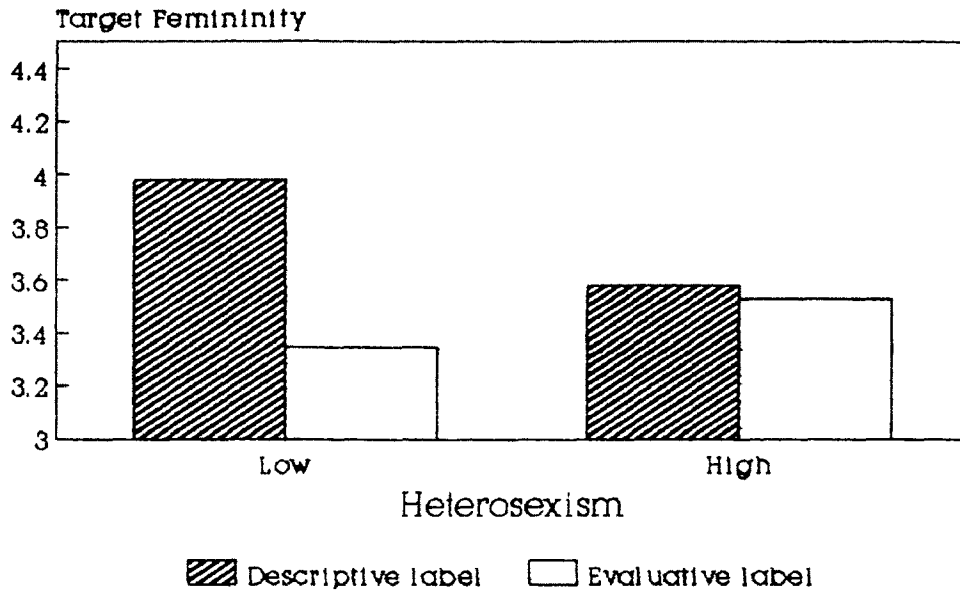
Female Target Masculinity Sex X Condition X Heterosexism



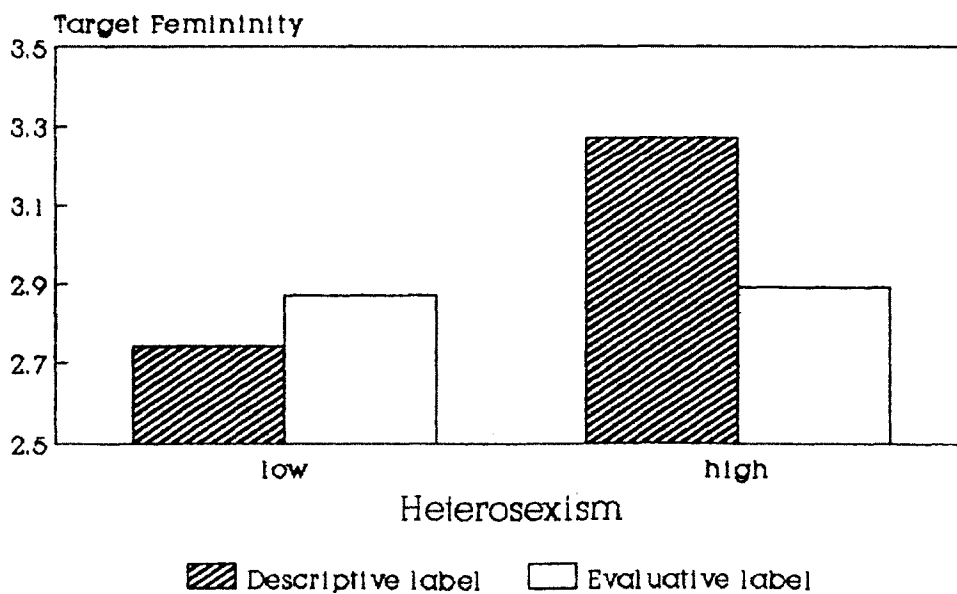
Male Target Masculinity Sex X Condition X Heterosexism



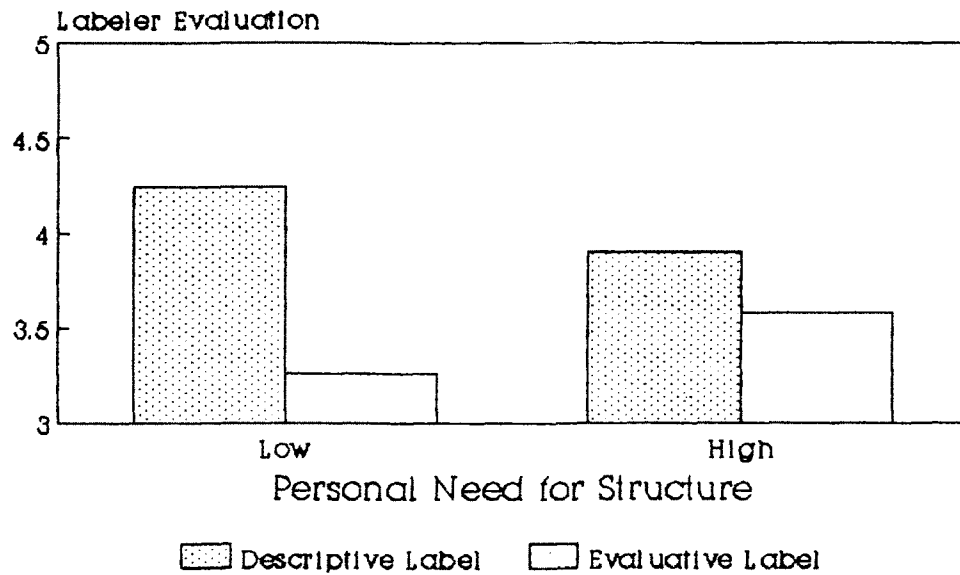
Female Target Femininity Sex X Condition X Heterosexism



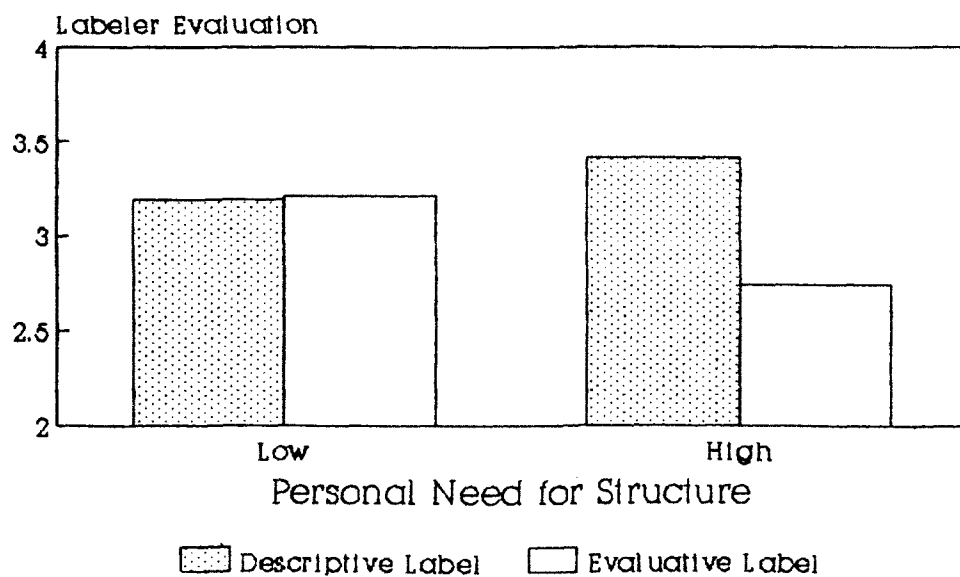
Male Target Femininity Sex X Condition X Heterosexism



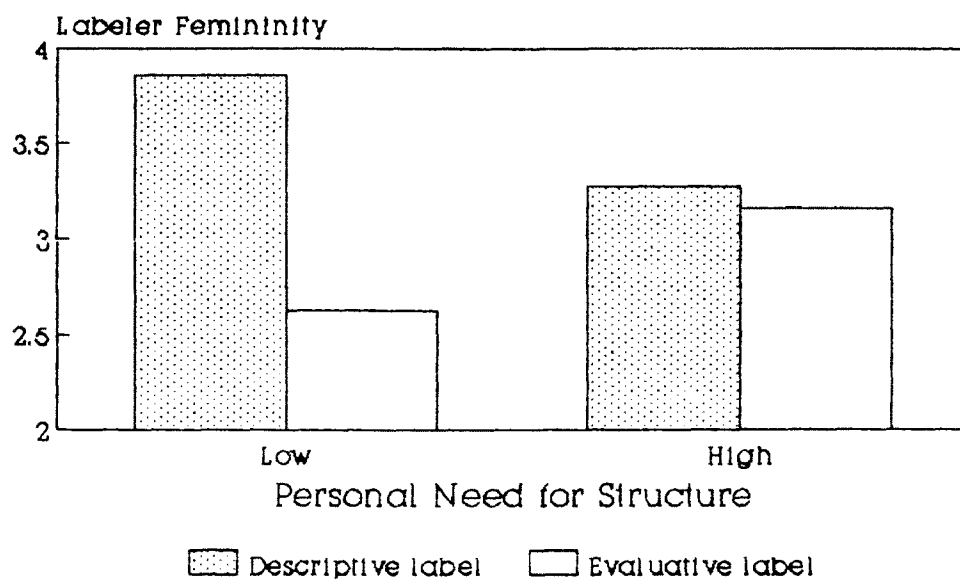
Female Labeler Evaluation PNS X Sex X Condition



Male Labeler Evaluation PNS X Sex X Condition



Female Labeler Femininity PNS X Sex X Condition



Male Labeler Femininity PNS X Sex X Condition

