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The Fear of Femininity vs. the Fear of Death and Attitudes Towards Lesbians and Gay Men

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**THE FEAR OF FEMININITY VS. THE FEAR OF DEATH AND
ATTITUDES TOWARDS LESBIANS AND GAY MEN**

**Thesis submitted to
The Graduate College of
Marshall University**

**In partial fulfillment of the
Requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts
Psychology**

by

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Abstract

Decades of research on attitudes toward non-heterosexuals has found that heterosexual males are significantly more negative towards gay men than lesbians, while females generally have similar attitudes toward both. Using a terror management research design, the current research investigates the influence of the fear of femininity and the fear of mortality on attitudes toward gay men and lesbians. Two hundred forty-seven introductory psychology students were primed to fear their own mortality, their femininity or masculinity, or dental pain. Sexual prejudice scores were consistent with prior research, but the findings were not consistent with either a mortality salience effect or femininity salience effect. Women primed to fear their own masculinity had the lowest sexual prejudice scores indicating a possible empathic response. Heterosexual women's attitudes toward gay men were influenced by the order of presentation, indicating a possible covert bias not found in self-report measures.

Dedication

The author wishes to dedicate this work to all people who have been victimized by hate and to the dream that we may someday truly be “one nation, under God.”

Acknowledgments

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The Fear of Femininity vs. the Fear of Death
and Attitudes towards Lesbians and Gay Men

In January 1975, the American Psychological Association (APA) adopted a new policy regarding discrimination against non-heterosexuals (Conger, 1975). First, the APA formally endorsed the removal of homosexuality from the American Psychiatric Association's list of mental disorders and reiterated its belief that homosexuality was not maladaptive and further directed mental health professionals to strive to remove the "stigma of mental illness" that had been attached to non-heterosexual orientations. Second, the APA urged that all forms of public and private discrimination against non-heterosexuals, including housing, employment, and public accommodation, be prohibited, and that civil rights measures be amended to include protections for non-heterosexuals.

Twenty-eight years later, a person can still be terminated from employment for having a non-heterosexual orientation in 37 states (Human Rights Campaign, 2001; Dewan, 2002), same-sex couples can only enjoy the legal benefits of marriage in one state, only 27 states have added sexual orientation to their hate crimes provisions, and non-heterosexuals are forbidden from openly serving in the United States military (Winfield & Spielman, 2001). The most recent federal legislation involving gay civil rights was the Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA), an anti-gay marriage rights measure passed by Congress and signed into law by then-President Bill Clinton in 1996 (Rae, 2002).

Although attitudes toward non-heterosexuals have grown less negative since the American Psychiatric Association declassified homosexuality as a mental disorder (Treas, 2002), non-heterosexuals arguably comprise the most marginalized and despised minority group in the United States. In 2001, the last year for which official statistics are available, non-heterosexual

victims of sexual orientation bias crimes made up 13.67% of the 12,020 victims of hate crimes. The number of non-heterosexual victims (1,643) exceeded the number of anti-Islamic (554), anti-Jewish (1,196), and anti-white victims (1,065) (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2001). Research on hate crimes has found that these crimes are significantly less likely to be reported than other crimes (Herek, Cogan, & Gillis, 2002). While ascertaining an accurate number of unreported crimes is a methodological challenge, recent research has suggested that only 24% to 46% of sexual orientation bias crimes were reported to police.

Studies using college undergraduates and nationwide random samples have shown that negative stereotypes of non-heterosexuals remain pervasive with non-heterosexuals seen as promiscuous recruiters, child molesters, mentally ill, and abnormal (Page & Yee, 1985; Herek, 2002). Both gay men and lesbians are seen as abdicating traditional gender roles with gay men seen as feminine and possessing traditionally female traits and lesbians seen as masculine and possessing traditionally male traits (Page & Yee, 1985; Kite & Deaux, 1987). Although most heterosexuals support legislative protection against employment discrimination for non-heterosexuals, most remain opposed to marriage and adoption rights, and among most heterosexuals, homosexuality is seen as an elective choice (O'Hare, Williams, & Ezoviski, 1996; Herek, 2002). With discrimination ingrained in culture and society, sanctioned by the government and the church, and tolerated by heterosexuals, non-heterosexuals find themselves the last remaining socially acceptable target of overt discrimination.

The years immediately surrounding the declassification of homosexuality as a mental illness saw a change concerning sexual orientation research. The study of homosexuality as a disease began to wane as the focus shifted to the study of prejudice (Herek, 1994). The oft used term *homophobia* was coined by Weinberg (1972) in *Society and the Healthy Homosexual*.

Strictly defined as the irrational fear of non-heterosexuals, *homophobia* has become a dogmatic, but controversial term to describe all kinds of anti-gay affect. Herek (1986) argues that the term *homophobia* “overpsychologizes” the nature of anti-gay prejudice by focusing on the individual rather than the social and cultural influences of such prejudice. Alternate terms have included *homoerotophobia*, *heterosexism*, *homosexphobia*, *homosexism*, *homonegativism*, *shame due to heterosexism*, *anti-gay prejudice*, *antihomosexuality*, and *antihomosexuality* (see Herek, 1991; Davies, 1996). More recently, Herek (2000a) has suggested *sexual prejudice*, defined as “negative attitudes toward (a) homosexual behavior, (b) people with a homosexual or bisexual orientation, and (c) communities of gay, lesbian, and bisexual people” (pp. 19-20).

For nearly three decades, psychologists have sought to uncover the social and personality correlates of sexual prejudice. Research has found that more negative attitudes toward homosexuals are associated with such things as: the fear of AIDS (O’Hare, Williams, & Ezoviski, 1996), Christian religious ideology (Plugge-Foust & Strickland, 2000), religious fundamentalism (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992; Wylie & Forest, 1992; Lathes, Finkel, & Kirkpatrick, 2001), right-wing authoritarianism (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992; Wylie & Forest, 1992; Laythe, Finkel, & Kirkpatrick, 2001), religious questing (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992), frequency of Bible reading (Wylie & Forest, 1992), frequency of church attendance (Agnew, Thompson, Smith, Gramzow, & Cure, 1993), youth (Lurks, Crawford, & Goldberg, 1991), less education (Luhrs, Crawford, & Goldberg, 1991, Wylie & Forest, 1992), less contact with non-heterosexuals (Herek, 1984b; Agnew, et. al., 1993; Herek & Capitanio, 1996; Basow and Johnson, 2000), a higher social dominance orientation (Whitley, 1999; Whitley & Ægisdottir, 2000), a conservative ideology (Heaven & Oxman, 1999), more traditional gender role beliefs (Ficarotto, 1990; Agnew, et. al. 1993; Harry, 1995; Patel, Long, McCammon, &

Wuensch, 1995; Kite & Whitley, 1996; Basow & Johnson, 2000; Whitley & Ægisdottir, 2000), attributions of femininity (Basow & Johnson, 2000), racism (Ficarotto, 1990; Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992; Agnew, et. al., 1993), a lack of intimacy between male friends (Devlin & Cowan, 1985), impulsivity (Patel, et. al., 1995), sex anxiety (Luhrs, Crawford, & Goldberg, 1991), using attitudes as a defensive function (Luhrs, Crawford, & Goldberg, 1991), and sports ideology (Harry, 1995).

Gender Differences in Attitudes toward Non-heterosexuals

In addition, the research has documented clear gender differences in attitudes toward lesbians and gay men (Herek, 1984b; 1988; 1994; 2000; Herek & Capitano, 1999; Kite, 1984; 1992; 1994; Kite & Whitley, 1996; 1998; McCreary, 1994; Whitley & Ægisdottir, 2000). These gender differences have manifested themselves in two ways. First, heterosexual males tend to have more negative views of non-heterosexuals than females. Second, gay men are consistently viewed more negatively than lesbians.

Research has demonstrated that while both males and females report greater discomfort around and more negative attitudes toward non-heterosexuals of their own gender, this pattern is especially strong for males (Herek 1984b; 1988; 1994; 2000b; 2002; Kite, 1984; 1992; Kite & Whitley, 1998). A meta-analysis of 112 studies by Kite and Whitley (1998) yielded a correlation of 0.19 between gender and attitudes with males consistently reporting more negative attitudes toward non-heterosexuals and homosexual behavior. Herek (2002) found that women tend to hold more favorable, less condemning views of non-heterosexuals. They also tend to have fewer stereotypical beliefs, are less likely to believe that a non-heterosexual orientation is a choice and yield less negative affective responses to non-heterosexuals than do heterosexual males. Compared to heterosexual men, heterosexual women tend to be more supportive of civil rights

measures such as adoption rights and employment discrimination protection for non-heterosexuals.

Strand (1998) found greater support among women for both civil liberties measures and civil rights measures such as discrimination protection and service in the military. In a meta-analysis, Kite and Whitley (1996) did not find a gender difference in support for free speech rights for non-heterosexuals, but a clear gender difference emerged in support for other civil rights measures, with heterosexual females significantly more supportive than heterosexual males.

Research also indicates that not all non-heterosexuals are viewed the same (Herek, 2002; Herek & Capitano, 1999). Attitudes toward gay men are significantly more negative than attitudes toward lesbians. Gay men are more likely than lesbians to be seen as child molesters and mentally ill, and heterosexuals are more supportive of adoption rights for lesbians than for gay men (Herek, 2002). Herek and Capitano (1999) found that when questions about lesbians preceded questions about gay men, lesbians were viewed more positively than when the lesbian questions followed the gay male questions (see also Herek, 2000b; and Herek, 2002).

While the research is clear that heterosexual males have greater negative attitudes toward gay men than lesbians and more negative anti-gay attitudes overall than do heterosexual females, the research is less clear on whether differences exist between how heterosexual women view lesbians and gay men (Kite, 1992; 1994). While several studies have found more negative attitudes toward lesbians than gay men among females (Whitley, 1988), others have not found a significant difference (Kite, 1984; Herek, 1988; 2002). This discrepancy may be based on methodological differences between studies (Kite, 1994). In a meta-analysis, Kite and Whitley (1996) found that while heterosexual women made a slightly more negative evaluation of

lesbians than gay men ($d=0.06$, $p<0.01$), the difference was so minute, they concluded that women have “similar” views of lesbians and gay men. Thus, while females tend to have similar views of lesbians and gay men, and males and females tend to have similar views of lesbians, the observed gender difference in attitudes toward non-heterosexuals appears to be a result of significantly more negative attitudes toward gay men by heterosexual males.

Explanations for Gender Differences

Kite and Whitley (1996; 1998) proposed that heterosexual men have less negative attitudes toward lesbians than gay men because they tend to view women in sexual terms. Citing research that men tend to find lesbian intercourse more erotic than do women and that no gender differences emerge in views toward gay male intercourse, Kite and Whitley argue that men tend to “eroticize” intercourse between females, resulting in more positive attitudes toward lesbians that would not apply to gay men. While this could account for the difference in males’ attitudes toward lesbians and gay men, this theory does not account for the finding that no gender differences are reported in attitudes toward lesbians.

One finding consistently replicated in the literature is that heterosexuals who report greater contact with non-heterosexuals tend to report significantly less negative attitudes toward lesbians and gay men than do heterosexuals who report less contact (Herek, 1984b; Agnew, et. al., 1993; Herek & Capitanio, 1996). Herek (1988) suggested that because heterosexual males tend to adhere to a more traditional gender role belief system than women (Harry, 1995; Whitley & Ægisdottir, 2000), non-heterosexuals, fearing hostility, are less likely to disclose their sexual orientation to men, resulting in more negative attitudes among heterosexual males. Given that contact with a non-heterosexual tends to result in similar affective responses to both lesbians and

gay men (Herek & Capitano, 1996), this would not explain the significant difference in negative attitudes heterosexual males hold toward gay men and lesbians.

Another relevant finding involves personality variables such as social dominance orientation. Social dominance theory proposes that societies create ideologies that legitimize the superiority of one group over other groups, ideologies serve to limit intergroup conflict (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994). Social dominance orientation refers to the “extent to which one desires that one’s in-group dominate and be superior to out-groups” (Pratto, et.al., 1994, p. 742). Given the research that has consistently demonstrated that males tend to score higher on measures of social dominance orientation than do females and that social dominance orientation is positively correlated with negative attitudes toward non-heterosexuals (Pratto, et al., 1994; Whitley, 1999; Whitley & Ægisdottir, 2000), more negative attitudes toward non-heterosexuals would be expected from males than females.

Whitley (1999) found that social dominance orientation partially mediated the gender differences in affective responses to non-heterosexuals (as a group) with gender accounting for 3.1% of the variance with social dominance orientation controlled, compared with 10.2% of the variance with social dominance orientation uncontrolled. Given that research has demonstrated that participants tend to think specifically of gay men when asked questions about homosexuals (Haddock, Zanna, & Esses, 1993), the gender difference found by Whitley (1999) likely applies more to attitudes toward gay men than both gay men and lesbians. Consistent with this interpretation, Whitley and Ægisdottir (2000) found that social dominance orientation partially mediated the gender differences in attitudes toward gay men with gender of participant accounting for 3.9% of the variance in attitudes toward gay men, compared to 9.8% with social dominance orientation uncontrolled.

Such research fails to address the true nature of the gender difference in anti-gay affect. Heterosexual women appear to view gay men and lesbian as one homogeneous out-group with similar attitudes toward both. Further, men and women tend to have very similar views of lesbians. What drives the gender phenomenon is not the difference between how men and women view gay men, but rather the difference between the heterosexual male attitudes towards lesbians and gay men (see Herek 2000b). Research should focus on why heterosexual men have significantly more negative views toward gay men than lesbians.

Functions of Anti-gay Attitudes

Herek (1984b) suggests that anti-gay attitudes serve one of three essential functions. The first is an experiential function that helps “us to make sense of the world by categorizing reality according to our past experiences” (p. 248). In other words, anti-gay attitudes develop because of past negative experiences with lesbians or gay men, and these attitudes help the individual to make sense of the world. The second function is an expressive function in which the anti-gay attitudes express the attitudes of the individual in one of two forms. The first expressive form is a value-expressive function where the anti-gay attitudes affirm beliefs in or adherence to values that are important to the individual. For example, a conservative Christian whose belief that homosexuality is a sin is important to his identity as a Christian may harbor negative affect toward non-heterosexuals to affirm his identity of being a Christian. The second expressive form is a social expressive function where the attitude affirms one’s membership in a group or one’s sense of acceptance by others. That is, one may have anti-gay attitudes because he perceives that those around him also have those attitudes and clings to those attitudes to be accepted by others. Finally, attitudes toward non-heterosexuals can serve a defensive function. Negative attitudes

toward non-heterosexuals stem from insecurity about one's own sexual orientation, gender identity, or masculinity/femininity.

Research indicates that sexual prejudice may serve different functions for males and females. Herek (2002) and Herek and Capitanio (1999) propose that men and women organize their attitudes toward lesbians and gay men differently. Both studies found, among heterosexual males, less negative attitudes toward lesbians when the questions about lesbians preceded questions about gay men than when the gay male questions were presented first. No such order effects were found for females. They speculated that while women use an expressive or experiential function of attitudes, which do not require different evaluations of lesbians and gay men, men use a defensive attitudes function. For heterosexual males, the questions about gay men arouse anxiety about gender roles/identity and sexuality, causing negative evaluations that, once activated, carries over into evaluations of lesbians (see also Herek, 2000b).

Consistent with this hypothesis, Herek (2002) found that highly prejudiced heterosexual males had significantly longer latencies when responding to questions about lesbians, irrespective of the order of presentation. Low prejudiced heterosexual males took longer to respond to which every question was posed first. These findings suggest that highly -prejudiced heterosexual males have more well developed attitudes toward gay men than lesbians.

Herek (2002) proposes that when highly prejudiced heterosexual males answer questions about gay men, their negative evaluations are carried into over into their evaluations of lesbians because their attitudes towards lesbians are less well developed and, consequently, more vulnerable to contextual effects.

Thus, answering questions about gay men may cause anxiety in heterosexual males that is not caused by answering questions about lesbians and is not experienced by heterosexual

females. This anxiety, then, may cause more negative attitudes toward gay men than lesbians.

What, then, would cause heterosexuals males to experience this anxiety? Research on the social construction of masculinity and femininity and the influence of traditional gender roles may answer this question.

Gender Role Beliefs Paradigm

Deaux and Kite (1987) define the gender belief system as “a set of beliefs and opinions about males and females and about the purported qualities of masculinity and femininity” (p. 97). This gender belief system includes beliefs about appropriate behavior for, attitudes toward, and stereotypes of males and females. Those beliefs about what behavior is appropriate for one’s given sex, those expectations about how male and female behavior are called gender role beliefs or gender roles (Lips, 2001).

Just as research has found gender differences in attitudes toward non-heterosexuals, a similar gender difference has been found in gender role beliefs (Stark, 1991; Whitley & Ægisdottir, 2000), and adherence to traditional gender role beliefs is positively correlated with more negative attitudes toward lesbians and gay men (Ficarotto, 1990; Harry, 1995; Patel, et.al., 1995; Kite & Whitley, 1996; Basow & Johnson, 2000; Whitley & Ægisdottir, 2000). Indeed, Kite and Whitley (1996) found that, with gender role beliefs controlled, the gender difference in attitudes toward non-heterosexuals disappeared. Stark (1991) found that males tend to adhere to more traditional gender role beliefs for both men and women than do females, and that while such adherence appears to be waning within both sexes, males appear to be “clinging” to the traditional gender role beliefs more than females. Males with strong traditional gender role beliefs also tend to show less same-sex intimacy and greater anti-gay attitudes.

This adherence to traditional roles appears to begin at an early age (Marshall, 1993), and just as adult males cling more rigidly to traditional gender roles than adult females, this adherence appears to begin at an earlier age for males than females. Young males report feeling greater pressure to conform to traditional gender roles than females and at an earlier age than females. This pressure difference continues into adulthood, with adult males reporting anxiety over the inability to meet societal expectations for appropriate gender behavior.

How does this rigid adherence to traditional gender roles manifest itself in sexual prejudice? Kimmel (1997) asserts that as homosexuality is seen as an “inversion of normal gender development” (see also Kite & Deaux, 1987), gay men are seen as “effeminate sissies.” Research has found that heterosexuals tend to associate non-heterosexuals with characteristics of the opposite sex (Kite & Deaux, 1987; Dunkle & Francis, 1990), especially for males (McCreary, 1994). Kite & Deaux (1987) found that heterosexuals tend to associate cross gender characteristics with lesbians and gay men. That is, gay men are seen as having female characteristics while lesbians are seen as having masculine characteristics. Dunkle and Francis (1990) found that heterosexuals are most likely to attribute homosexuality to feminine male faces and masculine female faces. However, McCreary (1994) found that men who engage in cross-gender role behavior were significantly more likely to be labeled non-heterosexual than females who engage in cross gender role behavior.

If gay men are seen as having females characteristics and lesbians are seen as having male characteristics, heterosexuals may see non-heterosexuals as abandoning their traditional gender roles. That heterosexual males adhere more strictly to traditional gender role beliefs than females is consistent with more negative attitudes toward non-heterosexuals, but, on the surface, this would not explain why males are particularly more negative toward gay men.

The explanation may lie in how heterosexual males view the male gender. Kite and Whitley (1996) speculate that because men have greater status in society, in part because of gender roles, they have greater expectations for males than females. Thus, while they see both lesbians and gay men as abdicating the traditional gender roles, they view any deviation by males more negatively than a deviation by a female (see also Lehne, 1976). Herek (2000b, 2002) argues that because gay men are seen as “abdicating” the traditional gender role to which heterosexual males cling, heterosexual males may use sexual prejudice to affirm their masculinity or heterosexuality.

The *gender role beliefs paradigm* thus postulates that men tend to cling to traditional gender role beliefs, which non-heterosexuals, both male and female, are seen as abdicating and/or rejecting. In part because of these gender roles, men have a higher status than women in society and view abdicating the traditional male gender role more negatively than abdicating the traditional female gender. Thus, to affirm their own masculinity and heterosexuality, male heterosexuals harbor more negative attitudes toward gay men than lesbians. Female heterosexuals, on the other hand, with less allegiance to these traditional gender role beliefs, are less obligated to reject gay men and lesbians for abdicating those roles. The gender role beliefs paradigm implies that rejecting gay men serves a defensive function for heterosexual males without necessarily identifying the source of the anxiety. To date, research has yielded only correlational evidence to support a link between gender role beliefs and sexual prejudice.

Gender Role Conflict Paradigm

For attitudes toward gay men to provide a defensive function for heterosexual males, there must be a source of anxiety for those attitudes to relieve. O’Neil (1981) proposes that, for males, attitudes toward homosexuality stem from a fear of femininity. O’Neil postulates that

through gender role socialization, the process of acquiring and socializing society's proscribed values, attitudes, and behaviors for each gender, males internalize the masculine mystique, a value system comprised of values and beliefs based on "rigid gender role stereotypes and beliefs about men and masculinity" (p. 205).

This masculine mystique includes, among other such values, the beliefs that men are biologically superior to women, that masculinity is superior to femininity, that men affirm their masculinity through sex, career and work success, power, domination, and control over others. According to this mystique, any signs of femininity, such as feelings, emotions, and intimate behavior, should be avoided. Thus, the masculine mystique socializes males to subjugate and devalue women and femininity, avoid any expression of what could be interpreted as feminine behavior, and punish men who do.

Consistent with this theory, Kimmel (1997) calls homophobia the "central organizing principle of our cultural definition of manhood" (p. 233). More than the irrational fear of non-heterosexuals, homophobia reflects the male fear of not measuring up to society's standards of manhood. Thus, "women and gay men become 'the other' against which heterosexual men project their identities, against whom they stack the decks so as to compete in a situation in which they will always win" (p. 236). Thus, by rejecting gay men, heterosexual males can affirm their own manhood and suppress any same-sex desire or notion of homosexuality.

Given that the derogation of femininity serves to affirm one's masculinity and that any display of effeminate behavior is seen as a failure to be masculine, many men develop a fear of femininity, defined by O'Neil (1981) as "a strong, negative emotion associated with feminine values, attitudes, and behaviors" (p. 206). Thus, the fear of femininity among men stems from the fear of themselves appearing to be feminine, and consequently, unmasculine.

According to O'Neil (1981), this fear of femininity can lead to gender role conflict, a negative psychological state characterized by interpersonal and/or intrapersonal conflict due to rigid gender role socialization. Men suffering from such gender role conflict engage in one or more of four patterns that restrict their behavior to masculine behaviors (O'Neil, 1981; O'Neil, Good, & Holmes, 1995): conflicts between work and family relations, restrictive emotionality, restrictive sexual and affectionate behavior between men, and success, power, and competition issues.

In his original theory, O'Neil (1981) included homophobia as a pattern of gender role conflict, but during the creation of the Gender Role Conflict Scale (GRCS), a scale to measure gender role conflict in men, homophobia failed to load as a distinct pattern of gender role conflict (O'Neil, Helms, Gable, David, & Wrightsman, 1986). Nonetheless, subsequent research has uncovered a relationship between the GRCS and attitudes toward homosexuality (O'Neil, Good, & Holmes, 1995).

In summary, the *gender role conflict paradigm* postulates that socialization of rigid masculine norms can cause some men to devalue and, consequently, fear feminine attitudes, feelings, and behavior. To avoid appearing unmasculine, these men engage in behavior patterns that restrict their behavior to conform to rigid masculine norms, among them, the derogation of non-heterosexuals. To date, the only empirical support comes from correlational studies showing a relationship between gender role conflict behavior patterns and negative attitudes toward non-heterosexuals (O'Neil, Good, & Holmes, 1995).

Terror Management Theory

Recently, the influence on social behavior of another, more primal fear has been subject of intense research. Terror management theory (Solomon, Greenberg, & Pyszczynski, 1991)

proposes that humans, because of their higher cognitive skills, possess a unique awareness of their own vulnerability and inevitable mortality, an awareness that creates the potential for crippling anxiety and terror. To minimize this terror, humans have adopted a cultural worldview, “a shared conception of reality that imbues life with meaning, order, and permanence, and the promise of safety and death transcendence to those who meet the prescribed standards of value” (Greenberg, Solomon, & Pyszczynski, 1997, p. 65). These cultural worldviews relieve the anxiety associated with knowledge of one’s death by providing standards of value by which individuals can be judged and by providing a sense of immortality to individuals who live up to those values.

Terror management theory thus posits that humans possess a cultural anxiety buffer composed of (a) one’s cultural worldview and its associated values and standards and (b) one’s self-esteem, the belief that one is living up to those standards and values and is therefore, a valuable member of society. As a fragile social construct functioning in a world where humans are bombarded with near constant reminders of their mortality, this anxiety buffer requires constant maintenance by bolstering one’s self-esteem and/or validating the cultural worldview in social interactions and defending it when it is threatened (Solomon, Greenberg, & Pyszczynski, 1991).

Empirical research has found support for the role of self-esteem and the cultural worldview as anxiety buffers (see Greenberg, Solomon, & Pyszczynski, 1997 for a thorough review). Most terror management research involves measuring behavior or attitudes following reminders of one’s mortality, or mortality salience inductions. In a series of studies, Greenberg, et. al. (1992) found that, after viewing a video about death and after being threatened with physical shock, subjects who were given information that bolstered their self-esteem (positive

personality feedback) experienced less anxiety than subjects who were not given self-esteem bolstering information. Harmon-Jones, Simon, Greenberg, Pyszczynski, Solomon, and McGregor (1997) found that individuals with dispositionally high self-esteem and individuals whose self-esteem was bolstered experimentally (through positive feedback on a personality test) showed lower worldview defense after exposure to reminders of their own mortality than individuals with dispositionally moderate self-esteem and individuals whose self-esteems were not bolstered experimentally.

If the cultural worldview serves as a mortality anxiety buffer, individuals should respond to mortality salience inductions by validating and defending their cultural worldviews by derogating any person who threatens or violates the worldview or its associated values and standards and responding positively to any person who supports or upholds them (Solomon, Greenberg, & Pyszczynski, 1991). Greenberg, et. al. (1990) found that, in response to reminders of one's mortality, subjects increased positive evaluations of an interviewee who made expressed pro-American sentiment and negative evaluations of an interviewee who expressed anti-American sentiment. Rosenblatt, Greenberg, Solomon, Pyszczynski, and Lyon (1989) found that mortality salience increased the penalties for prostitution from municipal court judges who held negative attitudes toward prostitution and increased the reward for someone who upheld cultural values, a hero who helped police apprehend a criminal.

The terror management functions of self-esteem and of cultural worldview have been replicated in over 75 studies in laboratories in the United States and around the world (Greenberg, et. al., 1997). A similar effect of fear has not been found in response to thoughts of any other potential source of fear, including dental pain, taking an exam, or making a speech (see Greenberg, et. al., 1997 for a review). While control measures have ruled out the effect of mood,

physiological arousal, and heightened self-awareness as causes of the mortality salience effect (Rosenblatt, et. al., 1989), research indicates that the mortality salience effect occurs only when subjects are in an experiential, rather than a rational, mode. Processing information in a rational mode involves deliberate, effortful thought, whereas an experiential mode involves more automatic processing of information (Simon, et. al., 1997).

From a terror management perspective, an individual's negative attitudes toward non-heterosexuals stem from the belief that they violate the standards of one's cultural worldview. Thus, one would expect more negative attitudes toward lesbians and gay men when mortality is made salient. To date, no terror management research has looked specifically at attitudes toward lesbians and gay men, but empirical support for the terror management function of prejudicial attitudes has been found (see Greenberg, et. al., 1997 for a review). Greenberg et. al. (1990) found that Christians made more negative evaluations of Jews when mortality was made salient than during a control condition. Schimel, et. al. (1999) found that mortality salience increased one's allegiance to social stereotypes. Among subjects who were dispositionally high in the need for cognition (NFC), subjects whose mortality was made salient rated African-Americans and gay men who disconfirmed stereotypes more negatively than those who behaved in a stereotypical fashion.

How then, could this primal fear of death influence the gender difference in attitudes toward non-heterosexuals? Arndt, Greenberg, and Cook (2002) found that mortality salience increased accessibility of nationalistic constructs for men and romantic constructs for women. The authors speculated that men and women use different elements, the most important elements, of the cultural worldview to buffer anxiety. If non-heterosexuals, especially gay men, violate cultural standards that are more central to the cultural worldview of men than women,

when their mortality is made salient, men should harbor more negative attitudes toward non-heterosexuals than women do.

The current research seeks to assess the influence of mortality salience on attitudes toward non-heterosexuals. To date, terror management research has not found that the fear of any other event can elicit a response comparable to the effect of mortality salience (see Greenberg, et. al., 1997 for a review). As such, this study will also examine the effect of the fear of femininity among heterosexual males (and, as a control, the fear of masculinity among heterosexual females) on attitudes toward non-heterosexuals.

Participants will first be given an instrument to assess their gender role beliefs. Consistent with prior mortality salience studies, participants will be given filler questionnaires to be consistent with the cover story for the study (see Greenberg, et. al., 1997 for a review). Participants will then be given a mortality salience manipulation, a femininity salience manipulation (for men), a masculinity salience manipulation (for women), or a control manipulation where participants are asked about dental pain. Finally, participants will be given an instrument to assess their attitudes towards lesbians and gay men. Five hypotheses are proposed:

Hypothesis 1: Men in the femininity salient condition would view gay men more negatively than men in the control condition. Gender role beliefs would moderate the differences.

Hypothesis 2: Women in the masculinity salient would not show more negative attitudes towards lesbians and gay men than women in the control condition.

Hypothesis 3: Men and women in the mortality salient condition would view lesbians and gay men more negatively than men and women in the control condition.

Hypothesis 4: Gender role beliefs would mediate the gender differences in attitudes toward lesbians and attitudes toward gay men. When Kite and Whitley (1996) controlled for gender role beliefs, the main effect for gender of respondent disappeared.

Hypothesis 5: For males, the difference between attitudes towards gay men and attitudes toward lesbians would be greater in the femininity salient condition than the mortality salient or control conditions.

Method

Participants

Two hundred forty-seven introductory psychology students at Marshall University participated in this experiment in exchange for extra credit. Eight participants (three male and five female) who indicated a sexual orientation other than heterosexual and six participants who failed to complete a demographic questionnaire were eliminated from the analysis. The final analysis included 233 participants (125 female, 108 male). The mean age was 20.48 and the median political orientation was moderate.

Materials

Gender role beliefs were measured using the 15-item form of Spence and Helmreich's (1972) Attitudes toward Women Scale (AWS) (see Appendix A). In a recent study of changes in gender role beliefs, the AWS had a Cronbach alpha of 0.84 for men and 0.81 for women. Responses were scored on a four-point Likert-type scale where "0" represented *strongly disagree* and "3" represented *strongly agree*. The score range was 0 to 45 where a higher score represented greater adherence to traditional gender role beliefs.

Mortality salience was measured using two open-ended questions used in prior mortality salience studies (See Appendix B; Greenberg, et. al., 1997). Parallel questions were asked for

the femininity salient, masculinity salient, and control conditions. The questions were slightly revised from versions used in previous research to allow for the use of parallel questions in the femininity and masculinity salient conditions. Contents of the answers were not analyzed. As prior research has shown that the mortality salience effect occurs only in the experiential mode (Simon, et. al., 1997), subjects were instructed that “On the following page are two open-ended questions. Please respond to them with your first, natural response. We are just looking for people’s gut reactions to these questions.”

The Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (PANAS; Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988) was used to assess the impact of the experimental and control conditions on affect (see Appendix C). The PANAS asks subjects to rate the extent to which they have experienced 20 distinct emotions within a specified time period. The scale uses a five point Likert-type scale where 1 represents “very slightly or not at all” and 5 represented “extremely.” For the purpose of this study, that time period was the moment the subjects were completing the scale. The Positive Affect (PA) Scale and Negative Affect (NA) Scale each contain 10 items. Internal consistency reliability ranges from 0.86 to 0.90 for the PA scale and 0.84 to 0.87 for the NA scale with correlations between them ranging from -0.12 to -0.23.

Sexual prejudice was measured using the 10-item short version of Herek’s Attitudes toward Lesbian and Gay Men Scale, Revised Version (ATLG-R; Herek 1998; see Appendix D). The 20 question scale contains a 10 question subscale measuring attitudes toward gay men (ATG-R) and a 10 question subscale measuring attitudes toward lesbians (ATL-R). The short version of the ATGL-R contains 10 items with two 5-item subscales (ATG-R-S5 and ATL-R-S5). Reliability levels are typically above 0.85 for the subscales and 0.90 for the full scale. The

short versions of the full scale and subscale are highly correlated with the corresponding full-length scale ($r=0.97$) and subscales (ATG-R-S5, $r=0.96$ and ATL-R-S5, $r=0.95$).

As the subscales were created as independent measures, they do not contain parallel questions and are inappropriate for comparison. Consistent with prior research (Herek 1988), an alternate form of the ATL with questions parallel to the ATG was created. Responses were scored on a five-point Likert-type scale where “0” represented *strongly disagree* and “4” represented *strongly agree*. The score could range from 0 to 40 (0 to 20 for each subscale) where a higher score represented greater sexual prejudice. Half of the subjects received the ATL questions first and the other half received the ATG questions first. As with the experimental manipulation, subjects were primed to respond in an experiential mode with the following instructions, “Please respond to these statements with your first, natural response. We are just looking for people’s gut-level reactions to these questions.”

Procedure

Subjects were given the Attitude Toward Women Scale followed by a filler scale to give support for the cover story. Randomly assigned subjects completed the mortality salience, femininity salience, masculinity salience, or control condition followed by the Positive and Negative Affect Schedule to measure affect. Finally, subjects were given the Attitudes toward Lesbian and Gay Men Scale and a demographics questionnaire (Appendix E). Following completion of the questionnaire, subjects were debriefed.

Results

Means and standard deviations for explanatory variables are presented in Table 1 below. Mean scores for Attitudes toward Lesbians (ATL) were 10.04 for females and 9.27 for males. Mean scores for Attitudes toward Gay Men (ATG) were 13.30 for males and 9.95 for females.

To measure the difference between ATG and ATL, a new variable, Diff, was created by subtracting ATL from ATG. The means scores for Diff were 4.03 for males and -0.09 for females.

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics by Gender and Combined

	Male		Female		Combined	
	Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev.
ATL	9.27	5.32	10.04	5.09	9.69	5.20
ATG	13.3	4.91	9.95	5.11	11.5	5.28
ATLG	22.57	8.90	19.99	9.99	21.18	9.57
Diff	4.03	5.06	-0.09	2.08	1.81	4.28
AWS	32.01	5.28	26.38	5.27	28.96	5.97
PA	28.04	8.37	27.73	9.05	27.87	8.72
NA	16.24	6.43	17.44	7.20	16.88	6.87

ATL=Attitudes Toward Lesbians; ATG=Attitudes Toward Gay Men; ATLG=Attitude Toward Lesbians and Gay Men; Diff=Difference between ATG & ATL, AWS=Attitude Toward Women Scale; PA=Positive Affect; NA=Negative Affect

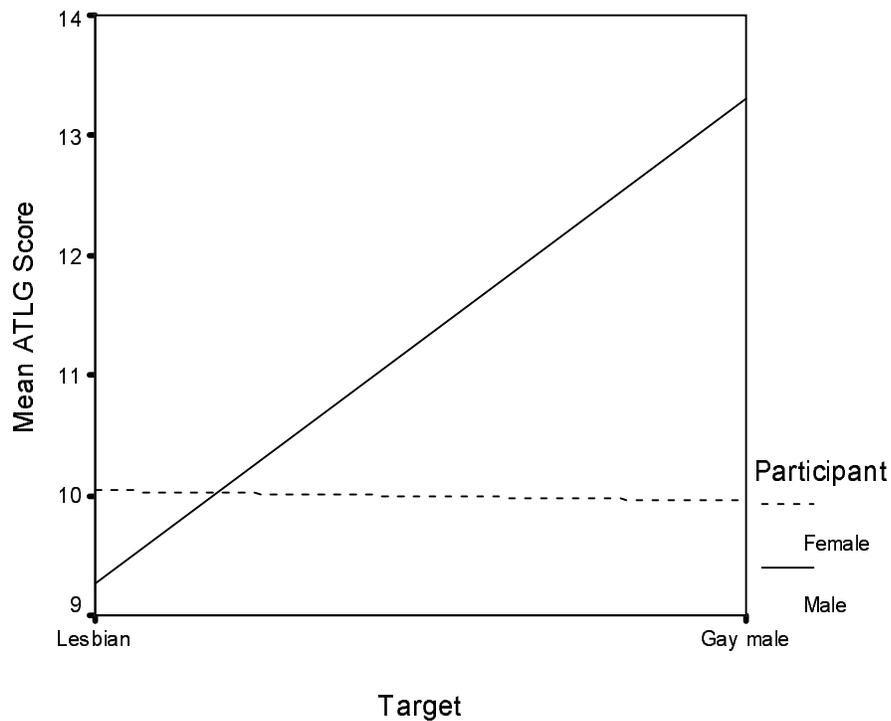
Bivariate correlations of explanatory and dependent variables are presented in Table F-1 in Appendix F. Gender of participant was positively correlated with ATG [$r(232)=0.32$, $p<0.01$], Diff [$r(232)=0.48$, $p<0.01$], and AWS [$r(231)=0.47$, $p<0.01$]. The analysis yielded a strong, positive correlation between ATG and ATL [$r(232)=0.67$, $p<0.01$]. ATG and ATL were also positively correlated with AWS, [$r(230)=0.43$, $p<0.01$] and [$r(230)=0.18$, $p<0.01$], respectively.

Gender Differences in Sexual Prejudice

A one-way ANOVA between gender of participant and sexual prejudice variables yielded main effects for Attitudes toward Gay Men (ATG) [$F(1,231)=25.63$, $p<0.001$], ATLG [$F(1,231)=4.24$, $p=0.04$], and Diff [$F(1,231)=69.06$, $p<0.001$]. The Attitudes toward Lesbians (ATL) and ATG variables were recoded as within subjects variables to run a 2(Gender of Target—ATL vs. ATG) by 2(Gender of Participant) ANOVA. Main effects were found for gender of target [$F(1,463)=17.14$, $p<0.001$] and gender of participant [$F(1,463)=7.38$, $p<0.01$]. The analysis also yielded a significant interaction [$F(1,463)=18.70$, $p<0.001$]. The interaction is presented below in Figure 1. While there are no significant gender of participant differences in

ATL or gender of target differences among females, heterosexual males have significantly higher ATG scores than ATL scores.

Figure 1. ATLG Scores by Gender of Target and Participant



For males, the order of presentation of ATG and ATL items had no impact on ATL scores [$F(1,229)=1.36$, $p<0.2$] or ATG scores ($F<1$); however, for females, when the ATL items were presented before the ATG items, ATG scores were significantly higher [$F(1,229)=5.56$, $p=0.02$], with mean ATG scores of 8.85 when the ATG questions were presented first and 10.97 when ATL questions were presented first. To see if this effect was influenced by sexual prejudice scores, female participants were labeled either high- or low-prejudiced using a median split of the ATL scores. A 2(Order) by 2(Level of prejudice) ANOVA found main effects for Order [$F(1,111)=5.168$, $p=0.03$] and Level of prejudice [$F(1,111)=159.397$, $p<0.001$], but the interaction was not significant ($F<1$). No such effect was found for ATL scores among females [$F(1,229)=2.47$, $p=0.12$].

Hypothesis 1

Hypothesis 1 predicted that men in the femininity salient condition would view gay men more negatively than men in the control condition. The results did not confirm the hypothesis. Males in the femininity salient condition had greater Attitude toward Gay Men (ATG) scores than males in the mortality salient and control conditions, but the differences were not significant [$F(2,104)=1.16, p=0.32$]. The mean differences are displayed in Figure F-1 in Appendix F.

Hypothesis 2

Hypothesis 2 predicted that women in the masculinity salient condition would not have more negative Attitudes toward Lesbians (ATL) and Attitudes toward Gay Men (ATG) than women in the control condition. The results were not entirely consistent with the hypothesis. A two-way ANOVA of female ATL scores yielded a significant main effect for experimental condition [$F(2,124)=3.42, p<0.05$]. A Student-Newman-Keuls post hoc analysis found that ATL scores in the control condition were significantly greater than ATL scores in the masculinity condition. An analysis of female ATG scores also yielded a significant main effect [$F(2,124)=4.07, p=0.02$]. A Student-Newman-Keuls post hoc analysis found that ATG scores in the control condition were significantly greater than ATG scores in the masculinity condition. Mean ATL and ATG scores among women are presented in Figure F-2 in Appendix F.

Hypothesis 3

Hypothesis 3 predicted that men and women in the mortality salient condition would have more negative Attitudes toward Lesbians (ATL) and Attitudes toward Gay Men (ATG) than men and women in the control condition. The results did not confirm the hypothesis. As noted in the discussion of Hypothesis 1, there were no significant differences in ATG scores among males. A two-way ANOVA on male ATL scores did not yield a significant main effect

[$F(2,104)=0.88$, $p>0.4$]. As noted in the discussion of Hypothesis 2, female ATG & ATL scores were significantly lower in the masculinity condition than the control condition. No differences were found between mortality salience and masculinity salience.

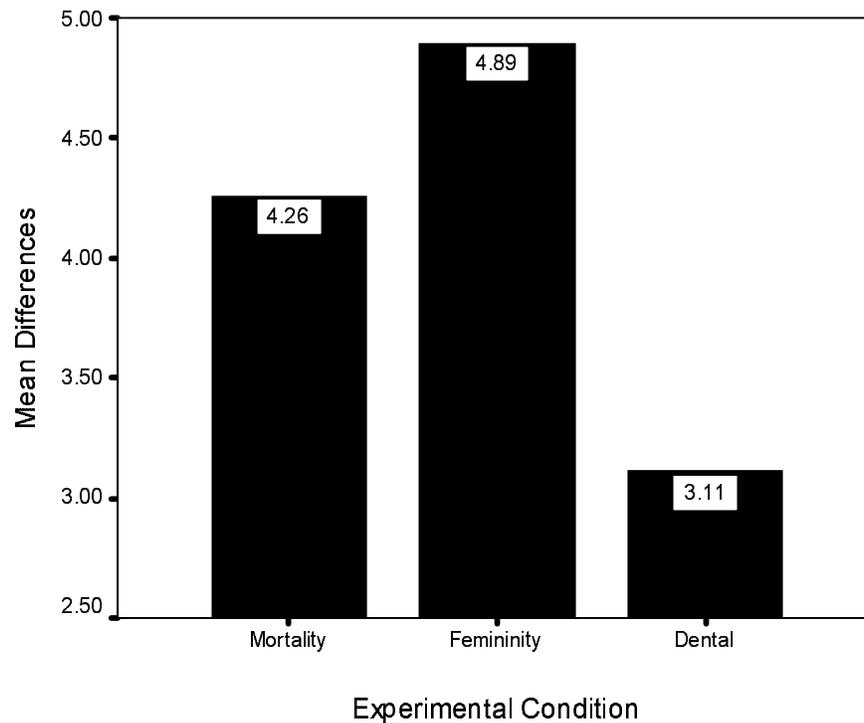
Hypothesis 4

Hypothesis 4 predicted that gender role beliefs would mediate the gender differences in Attitudes toward Lesbians (ATL) and Attitudes toward Gay Men (ATG). The results were consistent with this hypothesis. As already noted, no gender of participant differences were found in ATL scores, but such differences were found in ATG scores. A linear regression on ATG scores found that gender of participant accounted for 10.04% of the variance in ATG scores with Attitudes Toward Women (AWS) uncontrolled. With AWS controlled, gender of participant accounted for 1.8% of the variance. A linear regression on Diff, the arithmetic difference between ATG and ATL scores, found that gender of participant accounted for 23.14% of the variance in Diff with AWS uncontrolled. With AWS controlled, gender of participant accounted for 14.44% of the variance.

Hypothesis 5

Hypothesis 5 predicted that, among males, the differences (Diff) between Attitudes toward Lesbians (ATL) and Attitudes toward Gay Men (ATG) would be greater in the femininity salience condition than the mortality salience or control conditions. The results did not confirm the hypothesis. While males in the femininity salient condition had a greater difference than participants in the mortality salient and control conditions, the differences were not significant [$F(2,104)=1.16$, $p>0.3$]. Mean differences are presented below in Figure 2.

Figure 2. ATG-ATL Difference among Males by Experimental Condition



Discussion

Consistent with prior research, there were no significant differences between heterosexual males and heterosexual females' attitudes toward lesbians (Whitley & Ægisdottir, 2000) and no significant difference between heterosexual females' attitudes toward lesbians and attitudes toward gay men (Kite, 1984; Herek, 2002). Heterosexual males, on the other hand, had significantly more negative attitudes toward gay men than did heterosexual females and significantly more negative attitudes toward gay men than toward lesbians, a finding consistent with prior research (Whitley & Ægisdottir, 2000; Herek, 2002). Also consistent with prior research was the finding that traditional gender role beliefs mediated the gender of participant difference in attitudes toward gay men (Kite & Whitley, 1996).

Interestingly, though, the gender of participant difference in the difference between attitudes toward lesbian and gay men was only partially mediated by gender role beliefs. That is,

while a more traditional gender role belief system could account for more negative attitudes toward gay men among males than among females, this belief system does not explain why males have much more negative views of gay men relative to lesbians while females tend to have similar views of both groups.

While previous studies have found that introducing Attitudes toward Gay Men (ATG) items before Attitudes toward Lesbian (ATL) items produced significantly greater ATL scores among males (Herek & Capitanio, 1999; Herek, 2000b; Herek, 2002), this effect was not reproduced in the current study. Rather, in a departure from previous findings, an effect was found among female participants with presentation of ATL items before ATG items resulting in significantly greater ATG scores. Despite the lack of a significant gender of target difference in sexual prejudice scores among females, this result indicates that females experience greater discomfort with lesbians than gay men. Given that this finding was found among both high- and low-prejudiced participants, this finding could indicate that females are more concerned with appearing tolerant toward lesbians, but actually harbor more negative attitudes than they are willing to reveal in a self-report study. These results are consistent with previous findings that women harbor covert prejudice toward lesbians. Swim, Ferguson, and Hyers (1999) found covert prejudice against lesbians, in the form of social distancing, among women who scored both high and low on self-report measures of sexual prejudice.

The data are not consistent with the hypothesis that the fear of femininity produces more sexual prejudice among males. Priming males to see themselves as feminine did not cause a significant increase in their negative attitudes toward gay men or an increase in the difference between their negative attitudes toward gay men and their negative attitudes toward lesbians. There are several potential explanations for this outcome. As the experiment failed to produce a

mortality salience effect, it is possible that the study was not properly designed to elicit a femininity or mortality salience effect.

Greenberg, et. al. (1997) proposed an explanation for the lack of a mortality salience in such a study. In a discussion of anti-Black prejudice, Greenberg et. al. (1997) suggested that blacks have a role in the cultural worldviews of even the most racist whites. Those blacks whose behavior is not consistent with their roles in that cultural worldview would be seen as threatening the worldview or its associated standards. Thus, one would expect more negative views of blacks whose behavior is not consistent with the stereotype. A recent study by Schimel, et. al. (1999) found that mortality salience increased preferences for stereotype confirming individuals and decreased liking for stereotype disconfirming individuals. Specifically, Schimel found that mortality salience led to increased liking of stereotype consistent African Americans and decreased liking of stereotype inconsistent African Americans. When the target was stereotype confirming and disconfirming gay men, similar results were found; however, mortality salience led only to decreased liking of the stereotype disconfirming target (as opposed to a corresponding increase in liking of a stereotype confirming target), and this effect occurred only among subjects high in the need for closure (NFC). Thus, a mortality salience effect was not produced because mortality salience would cause a decrease in liking of lesbians and gay men per se, but rather should produce a decrease in liking only for lesbians and gay men whose behavior is inconsistent with one's cultural worldview.

Given that a mortality salience effect was not found, if mortality salience and femininity salience act on the same psychological processes, this could explain the absence of a femininity salience effect. If the two are independent phenomenon, two possible explanations for the absence of a femininity salience effect remain. One possibility is that the subjects recognized a

relationship between the femininity salience questions and the ATLG scale. In response to the femininity question, one subject commented that the “survey does [not] even try to hide its bias (sp) in try (sic) to force non liberals into answers that would make them seem bigoted.”

Another possibility is that priming the subjects to see themselves as feminine did not arouse a fear of femininity. Given that 12 of the 38 subjects in the femininity salient condition refused to answer the questions, these questions at least caused discomfort. One subject responded that he did not “even want to think about that. God made me masculine so I don’t argue with that.” Clearly, however, any arousal produced by the questions did not carry over into Attitudes toward Lesbians and Gay Men (ATLG) questions.

The finding that women had less negative attitudes toward lesbians when primed to see themselves as masculine may indicate that such priming aroused feelings of empathy. Finlay and Stephan (2000) found that inducing empathy among Anglo-Americans after reading about incidents of discrimination toward African-Americans reduced in-group-out-group prejudice toward African-Americans. Subjects in the empathy induction condition were asked to “imagine how each writer” felt. In the current study, subjects in the masculinity salient condition were asked to imagine how they would behave if they were masculine. Given the findings that people tend to associate gender atypical behavior with homosexuality (Kite & Deaux, 1987) and people high on empathic concern and perspective taking report less homophobia (Johnson, Brems, & Alford-Keating, 1997), it is possible that imagining oneself as masculine aroused empathic concern for lesbians and gay men.

Why, then, was a parallel empathic response not found among male subjects? There are at least two possible explanations. First, research on emotional empathy has found that females typically score higher on measures of empathy than males (Myyry & Helkama, 2001; Macaskill,

Maltby, & Day, 2002). If answering the masculinity and femininity questions were likely to arouse empathic emotions, these emotions would be more likely to occur among women. Thus, lower corresponding sexual prejudice scores would be expected. Another possibility is that both males and females experienced empathic arousal, but differed in their response. Research on emotional responses to empathy has found that such responses are not always positive and can include negative emotions, such as anxiety and revulsion (Stephan & Finlay, 1999). Indeed, in response to the first femininity question, one subject responded that he really didn't "like feminine men. They kind of scare me and I feel real uncomfortable around them." Such emotional responses are not likely to reduce in-group-out-group prejudice.

Conclusion

These findings must be understood in light of two serious limitations of the current study. The first is the use of undergraduates as participants. Given that age and education are typically negatively correlated with sexual prejudice, using a younger, educated sample makes generalizing such results troublesome. Future research should focus on more representative samples. Another serious limitation involves the use of self-report measures of sexual prejudice. The current research raised the possibility of covert prejudice among females not found in the self-report measures. Future research should focus on using measures of sexual prejudice or discrimination that do not involve self-report.

Although the study did not produce results consistent with the hypothesis, several significant findings were uncovered. The finding that presenting lesbian items before gay male items caused higher ATG scores among women indicates that women at least experience greater discomfort with lesbians than gay men, despite the fact that the self-report data indicated that women have no significant differences in their views of lesbians and gay men. Another

possibility is that heterosexual females are more concerned than heterosexual males about not appearing prejudiced. More research on covert prejudice among heterosexual females is necessary.

The finding that priming women to see themselves as masculine led to lower sexual prejudice scores may shed some light on the role of empathy. These findings raise the possibility that one method for reducing sexual prejudice, at least among females, involves arousing empathy. More research on the role of empathy is necessary.

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APPENDIX A

15 Item Attitudes Toward Women Scale (AWS)

With respect to the following statements, please indicate whether you strongly agree (SA), agree (A), disagree (D), or strongly disagree (SD).
Please circle your answer.

- | | | | | |
|---|-----------|----------|----------|-----------|
| 1. Swearing and obscenity are more repulsive in the speech of a woman than a man. | SA | A | D | SD |
| *2. Under modern economic conditions, with women active outside the home, men should share in household tasks such as washing dishes and doing laundry. | SA | A | D | SD |
| *3. It is insulting to women to have the “obey” clause still in the marriage service. | SA | A | D | SD |
| *4. A woman should be as free as a man to propose marriage. | SA | A | D | SD |
| 5. Women should worry less about their rights and more about becoming good wives and mothers. | SA | A | D | SD |
| *6. Women earning as much as their dates should bear equally the expense when they go out together. | SA | A | D | SD |
| *7. Women should assume their rightful place in business and all the professions along with men. | SA | A | D | SD |
| 8. A woman should not expect to go to exactly the same places or to have quite the same freedom of action as a man. | SA | A | D | SD |
| 9. Sons in a family should be given more encouragement to go to college than daughters. | SA | A | D | SD |
| 10. It is ridiculous for a woman to run a locomotive and for a man to darn socks. | SA | A | D | SD |
| 11. In general, the father should have greater authority than the mother in the bringing up of children. | SA | A | D | SD |
| 12. The intellectual leadership of a community should be largely in the hands of men. | SA | A | D | SD |
| *13. Economic and social freedom is worth far more to women than acceptance of the ideal of femininity, which has been set up by men. | SA | A | D | SD |
| 14. There are many jobs in which men should be give preference over women in being hired or promoted. | SA | A | D | SD |
| *15. Women should be given equal opportunity with men for apprenticeship in the various trades. | SA | A | D | SD |

APPENDIX B

Experimental and Control Manipulations

Mortality Salience

1. Imagine your life at the time of your death. Please tell me the emotions that the thought of your own death arouses in you.
2. Jot down, as specifically as you can, what you think will happen to you physically as you die and once you are dead?

Femininity Salience

1. Imagine your life if you were stereotypically feminine as opposed to masculine. Please tell me the emotions that the thought of your being feminine arouses in you.
2. Jot down, as specifically as you can, how you think you would behave if you were feminine?

Masculinity Salience

1. Imagine your life if you were stereotypically masculine as opposed to feminine. Please tell me the emotions that the thought of your being masculine arouses in you.
2. Jot down, as specifically as you can, how you think you would behave if you were masculine?

Control Condition

1. Imagine your life at the time of your last dental appointment. Please tell me the emotions that the thought of dental pain arouses in you.
2. Jot down, as specifically as you can, what you think will happen to you physically as you experience dental pain and once you have experienced dental pain?

APPENDIX C

Positive and Negative Affect Scale (PANAS)

The positive affect (PA) scale includes active, alert, attentive, determined, enthusiastic, excited, inspired, interested, proud, and strong. The negative affect (NA) scale includes afraid, ashamed, distressed, guilty, hostile, irritable, jittery, nervous, scared, and upset.

APPENDIX D

Attitudes Toward Lesbians and Gay Men Scale, Revised Version, Short Version (ATLG-R-S)

* Denotes items that are reverse scored

With respect to the following statements, please indicate whether you strongly agree (SA), agree (A), neither agree nor disagree (N), disagree (D), or strongly disagree (SD).

Please circle your answer.

Please respond to these statements with your first, natural response. We are just looking for people's gut-level reactions to these questions.

- | | | | | | |
|---|-----------|----------|----------|----------|-----------|
| 1. I think male homosexuals are disgusting. | SA | A | N | D | SD |
| 2. Male homosexuality is a perversion. | SA | A | N | D | SD |
| *3. Male homosexuality is a natural expression of sexuality in men. | SA | A | N | D | SD |
| 4. Sex between two men is just plain wrong. | SA | A | N | D | SD |
| *5. Male homosexuality is merely a different kind of lifestyle that should not be condemned. | SA | A | N | D | SD |
| 6. I think female homosexuals are disgusting. | SA | A | N | D | SD |
| 7. Female homosexuality is a perversion. | SA | A | N | D | SD |
| *8. Female homosexuality is a natural expression of sexuality in women. | SA | A | N | D | SD |
| 9. Sex between two women is just plain wrong. | SA | A | N | D | SD |
| *10. Female homosexuality is merely a different kind of lifestyle that should not be condemned. | SA | A | N | D | SD |

APPENDIX E

Demographics Questionnaire

Age: _____

Gender: Male Female

Ethnic Origin:

- A. White (Non-Hispanic)
- B. Black (non-Hispanic)
- C. Hispanic
- D. American Indian/Alaskan Native
- E. Asian or Pacific Islander
- F. Other

Which of the following best describes your sexual orientation?

- A. Heterosexual
- B. Bisexual
- C. Homosexual

Which of the following best describes your political orientation?

- A. Very conservative
- B. Conservative
- C. Somewhat conservative
- D. Moderate
- E. Somewhat liberal
- F. Liberal
- G. Very liberal

APPENDIX F

Tables & Figures

Figure F-1. Mean ATL-ATG Scores among Males by Experimental Condition

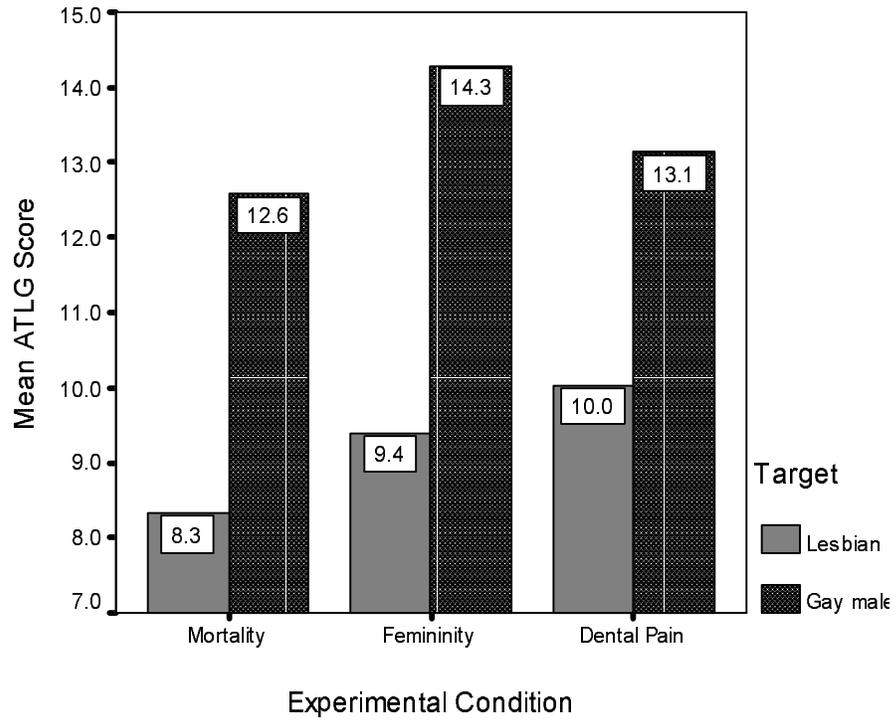


Figure F-2. Mean ATL-ATG Scores among Females by Experimental Condition

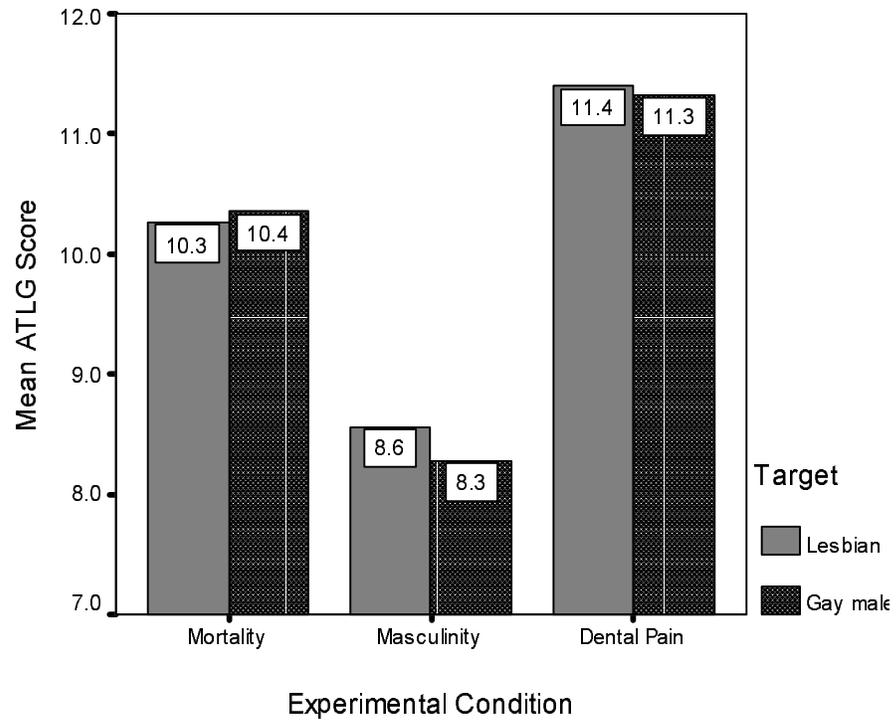


Table F-1. Bivariate Correlations

	Gen	ATG	ATL	ATLG	Diff	AWS	PA	NA
Age	-.03	-.10	-.01	-.06	-.11	-.10	.05	-.07
Gen		.32	-.07	<i>.14</i>	.48	.47	.02	-.09
ATG			.67	.91	.42	.43	.02	-.11
ATL				.91	-.39	.18	.03	<i>-.14</i>
ATLG					.02	.33	.02	<i>.14</i>
Diff						.31	-.01	.04
AWS							-.03	-.06
PA								.06

Numbers in italics denote that correlation was significant at 0.05 level.

Numbers in bold denote that correlation was significant at 0.01 level. Gen=Gender of Participant