

Gay Black man does not equal gay + Black + man: An Intersectional Analysis of Race and Sexual Orientation Stereotypes

By
© 2019

Justin P. Preddie
B.A, Hampton University, 2015

Submitted to the graduate degree program in Psychology and the Graduate Faculty of the University of Kansas in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

Chair: Monica R. Biernat

Ludwin E. Molina

Charlene L. Muehlenhard

Date Defended: 2 May 2019

The thesis committee for Justin P. Preddie certifies that this is the approved version of the following thesis:

Gay Black man does not equal gay + Black + man: An Intersectional Analysis of Race and Sexual Orientation Stereotypes

Chair: Monica R. Biernat

Date Approved: 16 May 2019

Abstract

Intersectionality theory suggests that group identities based on the intersection of different social categories are unique and cannot be understood by simply adding together the elements of each separate identity (Cole & Zucker, 2007). Across two studies, I apply an intersectional analysis to investigate how the interaction of sexual orientation and race affect perceptions of group similarity and stereotype content. The *intersectionality hypothesis* (H1) predicts that stereotypes for “race by sexual orientation” groups (e.g. gay Black men) will contain unique elements that are not the result of simply adding race stereotypes to sexual orientation stereotypes. With perceived similarity, intersectionality is evident in the statistical interaction between target race and sexual orientation. The *prototypicality hypothesis* (H2) suggests that “race by sexual orientation” groups will generate more unique attributes when they are non-prototypical with respect to race (Black) and sexual orientation (gay). The results partially supported both hypotheses. In Study 1, perceptions of similarity to the groups “Men” and “Black men” were qualified by a significant interaction between race and sexual orientation. In Study 2, all four “race by sexual orientation” groups produced unique attributes that were absent in the stereotype profiles of their constituent groups. Sexual orientation emerged as a more dominant factor than race for both perceptions of similarity and stereotype content. The results contribute to research and theory building by demonstrating that the intersection of ethnic and sexual orientation stereotypes is complex and produces meaningful differences in the perception of groups.

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank my committee members, Dr. Monica Biernat, Dr. Ludwin Molina and Dr. Charlene Muehlenhard, for their direction, guidance, support and kindness throughout this academic journey. Your insights and critical feedback has pushed me to think more deeply and reflexively about my scholarship and my life.

I would also like to acknowledge and thank my former teachers and advisors: Dr. Candice Wallace, Dr. Kwame Brown, Dr. Tamara Williams, Dr. Kalynda Smith and Dr. Tanisha Burford, who have always believed in me and continue to mentor me throughout my professional development.

I would also like to thank my Lawrence community of friends, mentors and surrogate parents. This would not have been possible without your love and care.

I wish to extend special thanks to my wonderful partner, Anthony, for walking alongside me every step of the way and for always knowing what I need in the moment.

Finally, I would like to thank my mother, Angela Preddie, my father, Glen Bostock, my brother, Gerard Padia, my sister, Lema Bostock, and everyone who has been family to me throughout my life for your love, encouragement and wisdom. I reflect you in every way.

Table of Contents

Introduction	1
Intersectionality from the target perspective	6
Intersectionality from the perceiver perspective: stereotyping and person perception	7
Overview of Present Research	12
Study 1	13
Method	13
Results	15
Discussion	20
Study 2	23
Method	23
Results	24
Discussion	29
General Discussion	31
Limitations, Future Directions and Implications	36
Tables	38
Table 1	38
Table 2	39
Table 3	40
Table 4	41
Table 5	42
Table 6	43
Table 7	44
Table 8	45
Figures	46
Figure 1	46
Figure 2	47
References	48

Research on the content of stereotypes has traditionally focused on single categories of marginalization such as ethnicity (Katz & Braly, 1933; Devine & Elliot, 1995; Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002) or gender (e.g., Haines, Deaux, & Lofaro, 2016; Wood & Eagly, 2011). However, more recent work has begun to both acknowledge and theorize the ways in which multiple social identities influence person perception and social categorization processes (Kang & Bodenhausen, 2015). This resulting research has provided us with a more dynamic and complex view of social categories (such as race, gender and sexual orientation) and the ways in which they intersect and interact. The multiple category or multiple identity approach has necessitated moving away from a unitary model of categorization that has become increasingly untenable. The research presented here follows this tradition by focusing on stereotypes at the intersection of race and sexual orientation.

The theoretical importance of research focusing on multiple identity categories is mirrored by contemporary developments in technology, politics and popular culture. Debates surrounding transgender identity and the rights of transgender persons coupled with an increasing acknowledgement of the unique challenges faced by transgender people of color have brought the existence of complex social identities that both defy and actively resist simplistic binary conventions into stark relief. Social categories are powerful and pervasive cognitive tools for organizing the social world and contribute to the speed and efficacy of person perception processes (Macrae, Milne, & Bodenhausen, 1994; Tajfel, 1969). Scholarly research has continued to engage the psychological implications for impression formation (for the perceiver) and identity formation and experience (for the target) that accompany the consideration of multiple social identities.

One of the most productive bodies of scholarship on persons with multiply stigmatized group memberships has focused on the concept of “double jeopardy”. This term was introduced to describe the specific nature of racism and sexism that characterized the discrimination faced by minority women (Beale, 1979; Reid, 1984). Later work expanded the original paradigm to include class and sexual orientation as additional “jeopardies” (King, 1988). Several theoretical approaches have been used to explain how double jeopardy can potentially shape a person’s life experiences including the additive, multiplicative/interactionist and intersectional perspectives. The additive approach argues that social inequality increases cumulatively with the addition of each stigmatized identity such that, for example, a black gay man would be multiply oppressed by the combination of his race and sexual orientation (Almquist, 1975). Alternatively, the multiplicative model suggests that each of a target’s multiple stigmatized identities interacts synergistically and that a person experiences discrimination as a multiply-marginalized “other” (Settles, 2006; Crenshaw, 1993).

One of the key predictions of both the additive and multiplicative models of double jeopardy is that persons with multiple subordinate identities will be the victims of more prejudice and discrimination than persons with a single subordinate identity. A robust body of empirical literature has supported this hypothesis, demonstrating that people with intersecting subordinate identities (e.g., Black women) rank lower than persons with a single subordinate identity (e.g., White women) across many different social and economic indicators (e.g., see Landrine, Klonoff, Alcaraz, Scott & Wilkins, 1995). Berdahl and Moore (2006) found that while women experienced more sexual harassment than men and African Americans, and Latinx individuals experienced more ethnic harassment than Whites, minority women experienced more frequent and severe harassment overall when compared to White males, White females and minority

males. Settles (2006) found that Black women expected to be paid less by employers relative to Black married males and white females, and Gonzales, Blanton & Williams, (2002) found that the compound effect of stereotypes related to Latino intelligence *and* stereotypes about women's intelligence contributed to Latina women's lower test scores when the stereotypes were simultaneously activated. However, other evidence supports the "subordinate male target" hypothesis (Sidanius & Veniegas, 2000) which argues that men (and in particular men who belong to subordinate groups e.g., Black men) are the primary targets of negativity and discrimination in most intergroup contexts. Minority men face more discrimination than minority women in domains such as criminal sentencing (Haley, Sidanius, Lowery & Malamuth, 2004), employment opportunities (Arai, Burrell & Nekby, 2008) and intergroup competition (van Vugt, De Cremer & Janssen, 2007). In a recent study, four-year-old children showed stronger racial bias toward Black boys than Black girls, White girls or White boys (Perszyk, Lei, Bodenhausen, Richeson, & Waxman, 2019). Navarrete, McDonald, Molina, and Sidanius (2010) extended this work across four studies suggesting that men tend to be the targets *and* agents of race discrimination; that discrimination is "primarily a male–male enterprise" (p. 936), rooted in aggression and dominance motives.

Feminist scholars have critiqued the additive and multiplicative perspectives on double jeopardy because these approaches to conceptualizing multiple social identities assume that different minority statuses operate as independent dimensions (Parent, DeBlaere & Moradi, 2013). This stands in contrast to the *intersectional* perspective, which maintains that multiple stigmatized identities result in novel experiences that are both unique and irreducible to the bare constituent elements of each social category. This perspective also differs significantly in its attention to and contestation of systems of social power. In this way, the intersectional

perspective moves beyond the mere acknowledgement that multiple identities interact synergistically to interrogate how privilege works to obscure the mutually constitutive nature of particular identities such that they appear unidimensional e.g. American = white = straight = male. Not all interactions are created equal. Purdie-Vaughns and Eibach (2008) suggest that another important limitation of the additive and multiplicative perspectives is the implication that either the target or the perceiver can rank social identities (and the discrimination relevant to them). This “score keeping” approach does not capture the mutually constitutive nature of social categories and fails to account for persons at the intersections of privilege and marginalization (e.g., a White man with a visible physical disability).

Intersectionality theory was initially proposed to provide a more nuanced and inclusive approach to understanding the ways in which sexism and racism affected the lives of Black women (Crenshaw, 1989; 1991) As a result, this theoretical perspective is recognized as a “signal contribution of feminist studies” (Cole, 2008, p. 171). The first theme of intersectionality states that each person belongs to multiple social categories simultaneously and that these categories are mutually constitutive. Each of us is perceived not only in terms of multiple identities (e.g., race and gender), but through our multiple identities: Gender identity is often perceived through the lens of racial identity and vice versa. As a result, it is impossible to fully understand the experiences of an individual without considering the interaction and influence of different identities on person perception processes. The second theme of intersectionality emphasizes that group identities based on the intersection of ethnicity and gender (e.g., being a Black man) are unique and cannot be understood by simply adding up the attributes of each separate identity (Cole & Zucker, 2007; Peplau, Veniegas, Taylor & DeBro, 1999). Each gender, ethnicity, age, sexual orientation, etc. combination results in distinctive experiences that cannot

be reduced to their constituent elements. Lastly, intersectionality argues that social categories are embedded in power asymmetries that shape social and material life. An intersectional analysis is predicated on the belief that categories are conceived of and always permeated by other categories in an iterative cycle of construction, destruction and reconstruction that is shaped by dynamics of power (Cho, Crenshaw & McCall, 2013). Stereotypes and identities are the *products* of the intersection of multiple hierarchies, not the dynamic that creates them (MacKinnon, 2013). Through an examination of overlapping identity categories, intersectionality helps reveal the complex, subtle and diffuse ways in which power operates to render certain people invisible and thus, subject to structural violence (Tomlinson, 2013). People's experiences are best understood in the context of the power dynamics embedded in different social identity categories.

This theme is echoed in social dominance theory, which argues that human social systems are organized as group-based hierarchies of power and status, which allow dominant groups more access to material and symbolic resources (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). The theory also states that prejudiced people endorse *legitimizing myths* that justify their prejudicial attitudes (Sidanius, 1993; Sidanius and Pratto, 1993). The belief that heterosexuality is the only acceptable sexual orientation legitimizes prejudice and discrimination against lesbians and gay men (Whitley & Ægisdóttir, 2000). Similarly, when asked to rank the social status of ethnic groups in the U.S., participants typically located Whites at the top and Blacks at the bottom (Sidanius, Pratto & Rabinowitz, 1994). As a result, race and sexuality stereotypes tend to reflect the social hierarchies of race and sexual orientation.

Intersectionality can be considered from two perspectives: that of the target and that of the perceiver. Much of the research and theorizing about intersectionality has focused on the "lived experience" of targets who belong to multiple stigmatized groups (e.g., gay Black men);

other research, including the present work, focuses on how these targets are perceived by non-stigmatized others. Below I briefly review relevant research from these two perspectives.

Intersectionality from the target perspective

The first area of intersectionality research examines how individuals' intersectional identity shapes their sense of self. Berdahl and Moore (2006) examined how the interaction of gender and ethnicity affected the incidence of workplace harassment. Using survey data from employees at five organizations, they found that minority women reported experiencing significantly more workplace harassment than minority men, White men and White women (when ethnic and sexual harassment were combined into a single harassment measure). Their results support the double jeopardy hypothesis which suggests that minority women will be subject to the most harassment as members of marginalized groups in terms of both race and gender. Work by Villicana, Delucio and Biernat (2016) used an intersectional framework to investigate the effect of verbal disclosure of gay identity ("coming out") on subjective well-being among gay Latino men and gay White men. Across two studies, they found that verbal disclosure was associated with increased subjective well-being for gay White men but not for gay Latino men. For gay White men, the relationship between disclosure and well-being was mediated by increased perceptions of intrinsic self-expression and higher relational self-construal. However, this pattern did not emerge for gay Latino men suggesting that the centrality of "outness" as explicit (verbal) disclosure of sexual orientation for subjective well-being and gay identity development does not hold for gay men whose ethnic identity reveals alternative constructions of "outness" and gay identity.

Intersectionality also affects the relationship between individuals and the various communities with which they identify. For example, Townsend (2008) used an intersectional

framework to develop a model of sexual risk for low-income African American adolescent girls. The model describes the socialization practices that African American mothers use to prepare their daughters to cope with racism and sexism and highlights the ways in which girls internalize their mother's attitudes and beliefs about heterosexual romantic relationships. Swank and Fahs (2012) conducted an intersectional analysis of 285 self-identified gays and lesbians in the U.S. to determine how gender and race impacted their political behaviors. Their results suggested that White lesbians were less likely to engage in protest action or vote than lesbians of color. Conversely, gay men's political engagement was more dependent on experiencing workplace discrimination and endorsement of an activist identity than race, highlighting the efficacy of intersectional approaches for capturing important nuance in the psychological processes relevant to identity.

Intersectionality from the perceiver perspective: Stereotyping and person perception

Another area of research examines the effect of intersectionality on person perception and the downstream consequences for stereotyping, discrimination and prejudice. Johnson, Freeman and Pauker (2012) investigated the potential for race to bias sex-based categorizations due to the common cues or overlapping stereotypes between race and gender. Stereotypes of Asians tend to overlap with stereotypes of women, whereas stereotypes of African Americans overlap more with stereotypes of men. In this sense, race is gendered. Johnson et al. (2012) found that when asked to categorize androgynous faces into "male" or "female," female categorizations were facilitated, and male categorizations were impaired as the race of the stimuli changed from Black to White to Asian. Additionally, the biasing effect of race was more pronounced among those participants who endorsed stereotypical associations of "Asian as female" and "Black as male".

Across two studies, Sesko and Biernat (2010) examined the “invisibility” of Black women due to their non-prototypicality in terms of both gender and race. In Study 1, they found that participants were less able to distinguish between “old” faces and “new” faces (i.e. faces that they had seen in a previous trial versus new stimuli) for Black women compared to other race/gender groups. In Study 2, they replicated the “invisibility” effect in a “who said what” paradigm by evaluating whether spoken statements by Black women were correctly attributed to their source. The statements of Black women, more so than the statements of White men, White women, or Black men, were misattributed to other speakers. Other scholars have extended the intersectional invisibility hypothesis to account for similar effects in other ethnic groups. Using the “who said what” paradigm, Schug, Alt, and Klauer (2015) found that participants were less likely to correctly remember statements made by Asian men relative to Asian women (Study 1). In a second study, participants were told the race of a protagonist and asked to write a story. White participants (especially men) were least likely to write about a man in the Asian condition compared to the Black and White conditions (Study 2). This is consistent with the invisibility hypothesis since Asian men are perceived as non-prototypical of their ethnic group due to cultural stereotypes that associate “Asian” phenotypical characteristics with femininity.

Some research has focused specifically on how intersectionality affects person perception processes in leadership contexts. Rosette, Koval, Ma, and Livingston (2016) examined how the intersection of race and gender affected agentic biases towards women in leadership positions. Black women are stereotyped as dominant but not competent, Asian American women are stereotyped as competent but passive, while White women are perceived as communal without being seen as overly dominant or excessively competent. As a result, Black female leaders were the least likely to suffer agentic penalty (backlash for engaging in counterstereotypical behavior)

compared to Asian American women and White women (i.e., dominance was more expected for Black women and therefore was less penalized). However, the pattern of findings was reversed for agentic deficiency (perceiving a lack of leadership potential). Based on stereotypes about relative competence, Black women suffered relative to White women and Asian American women. Livingston and Pearce (2009) conducted two studies that investigated the positive role of “babyfacedness” on the success of Black male CEOs. Across two studies, the researchers found that for Black CEOs but not White CEOs, having a “baby face” was associated with perceptions of warmth, as well as higher salary and corporate prestige. These findings are consistent with prior literature suggesting that the success of Black leaders is due, at least in part, to the presence of disarming mechanisms: Physical, psychological or behavioral traits that attenuate stereotypical perceptions that Blacks are threatening.

In a related vein, Remedios, Chasteen, Rule, and Plaks (2011) examined how perceivers integrate information from both perceptually obvious categories (e.g., age, race) and perceptually ambiguous (e.g., sexual orientation) categories. They found that participants rated the faces of Black gay men as more likable than Black straight men and approached Black gay men faster than Black straight men. The category of “Black gay men” presumably activated warmth stereotypes that compensated for negative stereotypes of Black men. Non-prototypical groups might be more well-liked if the stereotype profiles for their constituent identity categories are considered incompatible or contradictory (Livingston & Pearce, 2009). As a result, “Black gay men” are perceived more favorably overall because the stereotypes for gay men (effeminate, submissive, intelligent) and black men (dominant, hypermasculine, stupid) are oppositional.

Research in this area has also considered the impact of increasing intersectional awareness on the perceptions of intersectionally dissimilar others. Greenwood and Christian

(2008) manipulated consciousness of the intersection of White privilege and gender discrimination in a sample of White women and found that participants with more intersectional consciousness reported greater acceptance of Muslim covering practices, described the Muslim female target in a brief vignette as less sexually promiscuous and perceived more similarity between themselves and the Muslim vignette writers. Participants whose politics were more left-oriented expressed significantly more positive attitudes towards Muslim women than participants whose politics were oriented towards the right suggesting that the effect of intersectional consciousness was moderated by political orientation.

In addition to its implications for categorization and perception, intersectionality theory also provides a useful empirical framework for examining the unique intersectional stereotypes faced by groups with multiple stigmatized identities. Ghavami and Peplau (2013) examined the content of cultural stereotypes that combined ethnicity and gender and established the empirical paradigm that guides the present work. The researchers asked participants to generate stereotypes about specific groups using an open-response format. Both race- and gender-specific (e.g. Black women) groups as well as superordinate groups (e.g. women, Blacks) were included. Frequencies of all the stereotypes were computed and the top 15 were reported for each group. A key finding was that intersectional groups were often non-prototypical of their constituent identity categories. For example, the stereotypes most commonly associated with the category “White” overlapped to a greater extent with those ascribed to White *men* vs. White women, and the most common stereotypes about “women” overlapped to a greater extent with those ascribed to *White* women vs. Black women (Ghavami & Peplau, 2013). The authors suggest that their findings are consistent with the intersectional invisibility hypothesis, which argues that the convergence of androcentrism and ethnocentrism—which privileges the experiences of men and

Whites—render ethnic women non-prototypical of both of their marginalized superordinate groups (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008).

One of the central arguments of the intersectional invisibility hypothesis is that perceived prototypicality is determined relative to hegemonic standards that position Whites, heterosexuals and men as the exemplars of any given social group. Through the interrelated ideologies of androcentrism, ethnocentrism and heterocentrism, the perspectives of dominant group members achieve hegemonic status and become the societal standard against which all group members are evaluated (Bem, 1994; Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008). These three ideologies privilege the experiences of white, heterosexual men whose status is taken as the norm for an entire culture and species. This framing positions women, non-Whites and sexual minorities as “others” whose behaviors and identities deviate from an ostensibly universal standard. One of the manifestations of this non-prototypicality is the emergence of unique stereotypes for the intersectional categories (e.g., Black women) that are not represented in the stereotype content of either superordinate category (Blacks, women). The failure to recognize persons with multiple intersecting subordinate identities as “full members” of their constituent groups necessitates the generation of unique stereotypes precisely because their lack of full membership invalidates an additive model for stereotype generation.

Similarly, Black gay men are rendered non-prototypical by the confluence of heterocentrism and ethnocentrism, which centers Black heterosexual men as the prototype for “black men” and White gay men as the prototype for “gay men” (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008). Calabrese, Earnshaw, Magnus, Hansen, Krakower, Underhill, Mayer, Kershaw, Betancourt and Dovidio (2018) have applied an intersectional approach to the *sexual* stereotypes ascribed to Black men who have sex with men (MSM). In line with the argument of

intersectional invisibility, the researchers found that unique stereotypes (“down low”, diseased, loud, and dirty) emerged for the intersectional category of Black gay men that were not reflected in the stereotypes generated for either of the two superordinate groups (gay men, Black men). Their results also showed evidence of a prototypicality effect such that sexual stereotypes of Black men were more similar to stereotypes associated with Black heterosexual men than Black gay men. Similarly, the sexual stereotypes of gay men overlapped more with the stereotypes for White gay men than Black gay men.

Overview of the Present Research

In the present research, I consider the intersection of race and sexual orientation and focus on stereotypes of gay and straight Black and White men. The present studies extend the research of Ghavami and Peplau (2013) and others by simultaneously assessing, comparing and testing hypotheses about the perceived similarity and cultural stereotypes associated with the intersection of race and sexual orientation. In Study 1, I examine *perceived similarity* between intersectional and single category groups as a means of assessing prototypicality and intergroup differentiation. This approach provided a content-free test of how the different groups were perceived in terms of similarity. Perceived similarity is an indicator of overlap between constructs and has been used to measure categorization (low similarity = distinctions between categories; e.g., Tajfel & Wilkes, 1963), group prototypicality (e.g., Hogg, Hardie, & Reynolds, 1995), and self-stereotyping (Spears, Doosje, & Ellemers, 1997). Measuring perceived similarity between intersectional groups and their contrasting and superordinate categories was a first step in determining whether perceivers differentiate between groups on the basis of race and sexual orientation. In Study 2, I examine open-ended stereotype content of superordinate and intersectional groups using Ghavami and Peplau’s (2013) procedures.

I test two hypotheses: The *intersectionality hypothesis* (H1) predicts that stereotypes for “race by sexual orientation” groups (e.g. gay Black men) will contain unique elements that are not the result of simply adding race stereotypes to sexual orientation stereotypes. With regard to perceived similarity, intersectionality is evident in the statistical interaction between target race and sexual orientation. The *prototypicality hypothesis* (H2) further suggests that “race by sexual orientation” groups will generate more unique attributes (and be perceived as less similar) when they are non-prototypical with respect to race (Black) rather than prototypical (White), and when they are non-prototypical with respect to sexual orientation (gay) rather than prototypical (straight). For example, stereotypes of Black gay men should include more unique attributes than stereotypes of White gay men, and Black gay men should be perceived as less similar to their constituent categories than White gay men.

Study 1

Method

Participants. I recruited 1816 participants via Amazon Mechanical Turk (mTurk; see Buhrmester et al., 2011; 2018), who each received \$0.25 payment for participation. After filtering participants who did not provide any responses, the sample consisted of 936 women and 866 men ranging in age from 18 to 82 years ($M = 35.9$, $SD = 11.4$). The majority of the sample identified as White (74%) and heterosexual (88%). Sixty percent of the sample indicated having close friends who identified as members of the LGBT community, and 37% indicated having family who identified as members of the LGBT community.

Materials and procedure. Participants completed an online survey (built in Qualtrics) that assessed “the effect of sexual orientation and/or race on perceptions of group similarity.”

Participants read an information sheet describing the study and granted their consent to participate. Participants were then randomly assigned to 1 of 36 conditions, each of which contained a pair of specified groups that participants were asked to compare. The groups used in the study described 1 gender group (Men), 2 ethnic groups (Black men or White men), 2 sexual orientation groups (Gay men, Straight men) and 4 race-by-sexual orientation groups (Black gay men, White gay men, Black straight men, White straight men). The 36 conditions reflect the comparison of each of these 9 groups to each of the other 8 groups (e.g., “Men” compared to “Black men” was one condition; “Gay Black men” compared to “Straight Men” was another).

After agreeing to participate, participants read the following instructions:

The two groups that we would like you to think about are [the first target group, e.g. “Gay men”] and [the second target group, e.g. “Black men”].

Participants were then asked to rate the similarity of the pair on two scales. The first simply asked participants to “indicate the similarity of the two groups in the picture” answered on a 5-point rating scale (1= “Not at all similar,” 5= “Extremely similar”). The second scale was a modified version of the Inclusion of Other in the Self Scale (Aron, Aron & Smollan, 1992) which asked respondents to select the image that best described the degree of similarity between the target groups using a set of seven 2-circle Venn-like diagrams that illustrated different degrees of overlap of the labeled circles (from completely non-overlapping to substantially overlapping). The survey ended with standard demographic questions. Finally, participants read a written debriefing statement and were thanked for their participation. The entire procedure took approximately 5 minutes.

Results

Because responses to the two similarity ratings were substantially correlated (overall $r = .85$), I combined the two judgments by first standardizing each item (because the number of response options differed for each scale), then averaging the two to create an overall similarity index. Mean perceived similarity for each pair of groups appears in Table 1. Because these are standardized scores, values indicate the degree of similarity perceived between the groups in standard deviations above and below the overall mean. For example, the first entry in Table 1 (.170) indicates that the perceived similarity between “Black men” and “White men” was .170 standard deviations higher than the overall mean similarity rating of pairs of groups.

One of the central questions of Study 1 was whether the intersection of race and sexual orientation affected participants’ perceptions of group similarity. To address this question, I first focused on the four (4) race by sexual orientation groups (Black gay men, Black straight men, White gay men, White straight men), and used 2 X 2 ANOVAs to test whether these intersectional groups were perceived as differentially similar to (1) men, (2) Black men, (3) straight men, (4) gay men, (5) white men and (6) all other groups [collapsed]. These are followed by more focused t-tests comparing pairs of similarity judgments.

ANOVA results: Comparison of the similarity of the four intersectional groups to other groups.

Similarity to men. Perceptions of similarity to the category “Men” were analyzed with a 2 (Race: Black versus White) x 2 (Sexual orientation: Gay versus Straight) between subjects ANOVA. The main effect of race on ratings of similarity was significant, $F(1, 198) = 5.70, p = .018, \eta^2 = .028$, as was the main effect of sexual orientation, $F(1, 198) = 53.19, p < .001, \eta^2 = .212$. These main effects were qualified by a significant interaction between race and sexual orientation, $F(1, 198) = 5.44, p = .021, \eta^2 = .027$. which is depicted in Figure 1. Consistent with

the intersectionality hypothesis, simple effects tests indicated that Black gay men ($M = -.610$, $SD = .919$) were judged significantly less similar to the group “Men” than White gay men ($M = -.093$, $SD = .631$), $p < .01$, 95% *CI* of the difference = $-.821$ to $-.213$. Black straight men ($M = .445$, $SD = .879$) and White straight men ($M = .451$, $SD = .639$) were judged equally similar to the group men, $p = .970$, 95% *CI* of the difference = $-.313$ to $.301$. The gay-straight difference was significant in the case of both Black men, $p < .01$, 95% *CI* of the difference = $.749$ to 1.36 , and White men, $p < .001$, 95% *CI* of the difference = $.238$ to $.849$, but the difference was larger for Black men

Similarity to Black men. Perceptions of similarity to the category “Black Men” were analyzed with a similar 2 (Race: Black versus White) x 2 (Sexual orientation: Gay versus Straight) between subjects ANOVA. The main effect of race on ratings of similarity was significant, $F(1, 196) = 30.57$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .135$, as was the main effect of sexual orientation, $F(1, 196) = 48.24$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .198$, and the race by sexual orientation interaction, $F(1, 196) = 6.51$, $p = .011$, $\eta^2 = .032$ (see Figure 2). Simple effects tests indicated that Black straight men ($M = .827$, $SD = .599$) were significantly more similar to “Black Men” than Black gay men ($M = -.312$, $SD = .905$) $p < .001$, 95% *CI* of the difference = $.804$ to 1.47 . White gay men ($M = -.669$, $SD = .848$) were also judged significantly less similar to the group “Black Men” than White straight men ($M = -.142$, $SD = .988$), $p = .002$, 95% *CI* of the difference = $-.861$ to $-.192$. Not surprisingly, Black targets were judged more similar to “Black men” than White targets in the case of both gay men, $p = .037$, 95% *CI* of the difference = $.023$ to $.691$, and straight men, $p < .001$, 95% *CI* of the difference = $.635$ to 1.30 .

Similarity to White men. The 2 (Race: Black versus White) x 2 (Sexual orientation: Gay versus Straight) between-subjects ANOVA focusing on perceived similarity to the category

“White Men” revealed main effects of race, $F(1, 199) = 27.56, p < .001, \eta^2 = .122$, and sexual orientation, $F(1, 199) = 29.64, p < .001, \eta^2 = .130$, but not the interaction, $p = .222$. Perceptions of similarity to “White Men” were lower for Black men ($M = .214, SD = .999$) than for White men ($M = .404, SD = .784$), and higher for straight men ($M = .271, SD = .719$) than for gay men ($M = -.339, SD = .871$).

Similarity to straight men. The 2 (Race: Black versus White) x 2 (Sexual orientation: Gay versus Straight) between-subjects ANOVA focusing on perceived similarity to “Straight men” indicated only a main effect of sexual orientation, $F(1, 197) = 79.21, p < .001, \eta^2 = .287$. Perceptions of similarity to “Straight Men” were lower for gay men ($M = -.419, SD = .901$) than for straight men ($M = .660, SD = .813$). Neither the main effect of race ($p = .938$), nor the interaction between race and sexual orientation was significant ($p = .106$). Not surprisingly, being gay reduced similarity ratings to “straight men,” but this did not vary based on target race.

Similarity to gay men. For perceived similarity to the category “Gay Men,” the main effect of race was significant, $F(1, 200) = 7.37, p = .007, \eta^2 = .036$, as was the main effect of sexual orientation, $F(1, 200) = 49.84, p < .001, \eta^2 = .199$. Black men ($M = -.803, SD = .795$) were perceived as less similar to gay men than White men ($M = -.270, SD = .772$), and not surprisingly, straight men ($M = -.464, SD = .912$) were perceived as less similar to “Gay Men” than gay men ($M = .384, SD = .798$). The interaction was not significant, $p = .154$.

Similarity to all other groups. Each of the four intersectional group’s perceived similarity to all groups was combined (e.g., similarity ratings to men, gay men, straight men, White men, and Black men were averaged), and analyzed with the same 2 (Race: Black versus White) x 2 (Sexual orientation: Gay versus Straight) between subjects ANOVA. Only the main effect of sexual orientation was significant, $F(1, 906) = 56.65, p < .001, \eta^2 = .071$. Gay men ($M =$

-.037, $SD = .964$) were perceived as less similar to all other groups than straight men ($M = .210$, $SD = .989$). Neither the main effect of race ($p = .261$) nor the interaction between race and sexual orientation was significant ($p = .640$). Overall then, sexual orientation mattered more than race for perceptions of similarity to all groups.

T-test results: More focused group comparisons. To examine the prototypicality hypothesis, I next conducted a series of t-tests examining whether non-prototypical groups (those that include being Black and/or being gay) are perceived as less similar to the other groups than prototypical groups (those that include being White and/or being straight).

Comparing the similarity to all other groups of Black men and White men. In Table 2, I report a series of t-tests comparing the perceived similarity of “Black men” versus “White men” to each of the other groups. Relevant means from Table 1 are repeated in Table 2, along with t-tests for each comparison. White men were perceived as more similar to the category “gay men” than Black men; i.e., “gay man” = “White man” to a greater degree than “gay man” = “Black man.” However, contrary to our prototypicality hypothesis, there was no significant difference between the perceived similarity of Black men and White men for the categories “Men” ($p = .292$) or “straight men” ($p = .288$). Not surprisingly, Black men were perceived as significantly less similar to the category “White gay men” than White men, White men were perceived as more similar to the category “white straight men” than Black men and Black men were rated as more similar to the category “black gay men” than white men.

Comparing the similarity to all other groups of gay men and straight men. Table 3 reports a series of t-tests (along with the relevant means from Table 1) comparing the similarity of “gay men” and “straight men” to each of the other categories. Consistent with the prototypicality hypothesis, gay men were rated as significantly less similar than straight men to

the following categories: “Black men”, “white men”, “black straight men”, “white straight men” and “men” ($ps < .001$). As expected, gay men were perceived as more similar to the categories “Black gay men” and “White gay men” than straight men. Compared to the findings concerning relative similarity of Black and White men (Table 2), the Table 3 findings suggest that sexual orientation mattered more than race for perceptions of similarity: Being gay versus straight significantly reduced perceived similarity to all groups (other than gay groups) more so than being Black versus White.

Comparing the similarity to all other groups of Black straight men and white straight

men. Table 4 reports another set of t-tests, comparing the similarity of “Black straight men” and “White straight men” to each of the other groups. Consistent with the prototypicality hypothesis, Black straight men were perceived as significantly less similar to the category “gay men” than White straight men. However, contrary to this hypothesis, there was no significant difference between Black straight men and White straight men in their perceived similarity to the categories “Men” ($p = .970$) or “straight men” ($p = .211$). The other comparisons were significant but less interesting in that they suggest that groups sharing one membership were perceived to be more similar than groups sharing no memberships: Black straight men were rated as more similar to the category “Black men” than white straight men, White straight men were perceived as more similar to the category “white men” than Black straight men, and Black straight men were perceived as more similar to the category “Black gay men” than White straight men, and White straight men were rated as more similar to “white gay men” than Black straight men.

Comparing the similarity to all other groups of Black gay men and white gay men.

Table 5 reports the final set of t-tests, comparing the perceived similarity of “Black gay men” to

each group compared to the perceived similarity of “White gay men” to each group. Supporting the prototypicality hypothesis, White gay men were perceived as more similar to the category “Men” than Black gay men. However, Black gay men and white gay men did not differ significantly in their perceived similarity to “gay men” ($p = .332$) or “straight men” ($p = .296$). The less interesting comparisons were significant: Black gay men were perceived as more similar to the category “Black men” than white gay men, Black gay men were rated as more similar to the category “Black straight men” than white gay men, White gay men were rated as more similar to the category “white men” than Black gay men, and Black gay men were perceived as less similar to the category “white straight men” than white gay men.

Discussion

Study 1 examined perceived similarity between all nine groups of interest—including the four intersectional groups of gay and straight Black and White men—as a “content free” approach to understanding how these groups are perceived. I tested two hypotheses: The *intersectionality hypothesis* and the *prototypicality hypothesis*.

I tested the intersectionality hypothesis via the statistical interaction between sexual orientation and race on perceptions of similarity to the highest level group, “men”, and to the constituent groups (gay men, straight men, Black men, White men). There was partial support for this prediction in that the interaction qualified perceptions of similarity to the group “Men”. Black gay men were viewed as the most dissimilar to the overarching category “men” relative to the other three groups (straight Black men and straight and gay White men). The interaction was also significant in the case of comparison to the group “Black men.” In this case, White gay men were viewed as significantly less similar to the category “Black men” than white straight men, Black straight men, and Black gay men. It is not surprising that White target groups (both gay

and straight) were judged dissimilar from the group “Black men” – they clearly differ on the race dimension. But this interaction is notable in its demonstration that being gay lowered *Black men’s* similarity to the group “Black men” as much as being White (though straight) did (see Figure 2). The intersection of race and sexual orientation mattered for similarity perceptions to the constituent group “Black men.”

However, contrary to the intersectionality hypothesis, perceptions of similarity to “straight men”, “gay men”, “White men” and the average of all groups showed no evidence of interaction between race and sexual orientation. Instead, the main effect of sexual orientation mattered in all cases, and the main effect of race mattered in just two comparisons (White groups were judged more similar than Black groups to “gay men” and “White men.”). These findings suggest the dominance of sexual orientation relative to race in driving perceptions of similarity.

The prototypicality hypothesis was examined with a series of t-tests in which a prototypical group (White and/or straight) was compared to a non-prototypical group (Black and/or gay) with regard to its perceived similarity to other groups. Again, this hypothesis received partial support. In line with the prototypicality hypothesis, White men were perceived as more similar to the category “gay men” than Black men, and White gay men were perceived as more similar to the category “men” than Black gay men. However, there was no difference between Black men and White men in their perceived similarity to the category “men,” or to the category “straight men.” Thus, “gay men” were judged more similar to “White men” than “Black men,” and “men” were judged more similar to White gay men than Black gay men. But the broad category “men” as well as the category “straight men” was equally likely to incorporate White and Black men. This again points to the dominance of sexual orientation as a factor that mattered for perceptions of similarity: Non-prototypicality on the sexual orientation dimension

(being gay) reduced perceived similarity more than non-prototypicality on the race dimension (being Black).

In further support of this pattern, and consistent with the prototypicality hypothesis, gay men were evaluated as less similar to all other groups except “Black gay men” and “white gay men” and Black straight men were rated as less similar to “gay men” than white straight men. But contrary to the (race) prototypicality hypothesis, perceptions of Black straight men’s and White straight men’s similarity to “Men” and “straight men” did not differ, nor did perceptions of Black gay men’s and White gay men’s similarity to “gay men” or “straight men.”

The findings of the first study provide partial support for both the intersectionality and prototypicality hypotheses. However, the prototypicality effect only emerged in the case of sexual orientation, not race. The similarity ratings of Study 1 were useful, and the pattern of means (e.g., that groups that shared one category were perceived as more similar to each other than groups that shared no categories) points to the validity of this method as a content-free indicator of perceived closeness or overlap between groups. However, the lack of content is also a limitation. In the second study, I examine the actual content of stereotypes for each of the nine groups. This allows me to test the intersectionality hypothesis more directly by examining whether the interaction between race and sexual orientation produces unique stereotype content, and to test the prototypicality hypothesis by examining whether non-prototypical groups share less content with superordinate categories than prototypical groups.

Study 2

Method

Participants. I recruited 487 participants via Amazon Mechanical Turk (mTurk; see Buhrmester et al., 2011; 2018), who each received \$1.00 payment for participation. After filtering participants who did not provide any responses, the sample consisted of 287 women and 195 men ranging in age from 19 to 74 years ($M = 38.1$, $SD = 12.3$). The majority of the sample identified as White (76%) and heterosexual (86%). 63% of the sample indicated having close friends who identified as members of the LGBT community while 39% indicated having family who identified as members of the LGBT community.

Materials and Procedure. Participants completed an online survey (built in Qualtrics) that assessed “the effect of sexual orientation and/or race on the content of group stereotypes.” Online methodology can facilitate participation by providing anonymity to the participants (e.g., Gosling, Vazire, Srivastava, & John, 2004). After following the Qualtrics link to the study website, participants read an information sheet describing the study and granted their consent to participate. Participants were then randomly assigned to 1 of 9 conditions describing 1 gender group (Men), 2 ethnic groups (Black men or White men), 2 sexual orientation groups (Gay men, Straight men) and 4 race-by-sexual orientation groups (Black gay men, White gay men, Black straight men, White straight men). After agreeing to participate, participants read the following instructions:

We are all aware of *cultural stereotypes* of social groups. These may be ideas that you learned from movies, saw in commercials, or in magazines, etc. For example, people often perceive models as beautiful, tall but dumb. Note that these characteristics may or may not reflect your own personal beliefs about these groups. In the space below, list at least 10 characteristics that are part of the current cultural stereotypes of [the target group, e.g., gay men]. Think of [the target group] as a group rather than a specific

individual you may know. Please note that we are not asking for your personal beliefs, but rather those held by people in general.

Participants then were provided ten blocks in which they could enter attributes/descriptors for their target group. The survey ended with standard demographic questions. Finally, participants read a written debriefing statement and were thanked for their participation. The entire procedure took approximately 15 minutes.

Results

Treatment of Free-Response Data. To code and organize the free responses, I used the Buss and Craik (1985) method described in a paper by Peplau and Ghavami (2013). This procedure allows the researcher to inductively derive conceptual categories based on the free responses of participants instead of imposing a priori categories. I did all coding, and my knowledge of the study purpose may have exerted some bias. However, because entries were traits or attributes, coding decisions were limited to defining synonyms appropriately.

I began by simply alphabetizing all responses nominated for each target group such that obvious close-relatives could be identified (e.g., “flirtatious” and “flirty”). I then further reduced the data within each of the 9 target groups into synonymous attribute categories. For example, “wealthy,” “well-to-do” and “affluent” were combined into the umbrella category “rich.” For ease of presentation, I will refer to the category labels that combined synonymous traits as attributes from this point forward (e.g., “rich” represents all its synonyms). I then computed frequency distributions within each target group (e.g., “Black men”) for each attribute (e.g., “violent”). Frequencies for each attribute were based on counting the total number of times each

word or phrase in that attribute category was listed across participants assigned to that target group.

To define the content of a group stereotype, I modeled the analytical approach after Peplau and Ghavami (2013). The content of each group stereotype was defined, a priori, as the 15 most frequently listed attributes, and only those attributes that represented at least 1% of the total attributes listed for a group could be considered a stereotype. For example, “stuck up” was the 15th most common attribute listed for “White men”. Since 524 words, phrases or characteristics were listed for “White men” and “stuck up” was listed 6 times, it accounted for 1.1% of the total attributes for this group. As a result, this attribute was included in the analysis. However, “athletic”, the 16th most commonly listed attribute for “White men” was not included because it was listed five times and accounted for 0.95% of the total attributes. Some groups had more than 15 attributes because of frequency ties for 15th place. Stereotype content for each of the nice groups is presented in Tables 1-3.

Testing the intersectionality and prototypicality hypotheses. The intersectionality hypothesis predicts that intersecting race and sexual orientation stereotypes will contain unique elements that are not the result of simply adding race stereotypes to stereotypes about sexual orientation. Thus, for example, stereotypes of Gay Black men should include content that is not part of the stereotypes of “gay men” or “Black men.” The appropriate statistical test for uniqueness is unclear, as the “chance” level that unique traits might emerge is uncertain. However, if an intersectional category is simply the sum of its constituent parts, we might expect *no* unique attributes (e.g., roughly half of the attributes for the intersectional groups derive from its subcomponents). As a more conservative test, we used a baseline of 10% against which to

compare the uniqueness rates that emerged: Uniqueness rates that significantly differ from the null hypothesis of 10% provide evidence of intersectionality.

Based on the prototypicality hypothesis, I predicted that race-sexual orientation intersections would generate more unique attributes when target race was Black rather than White, and when target sexual orientation was gay rather than straight. This was tested via chi-square tests that directly compared percentages of unique attributes for the prototypical v. non-prototypical groups.

Using Ghavami and Peplau's (2013) approach, I considered an attribute unique for an intersectional group if it was not included in the 15 most frequent attributes for its constituent race and sexual orientation groups. To illustrate, for "Gay Black Men", 7 unique attributes emerged (funny, friendly, dramatic, well-dressed, good dancers, nice, outgoing; see Table 6). Each of these attributes was unique for "Gay Black Men" because it was not included in the top 15 attributes for either "Black men" or "Gay men". Also following Ghavami and Peplau (2013), for each of the four race-by-sexual orientation groups, I summed across the frequencies for all unique attributes. For example, for "Gay Black Men" I added 9 (friendly) to 9 (funny) to 8 (dramatic), etc. to arrive at 45, the total number of unique attributes out of 124 (36.29%). I conducted identical computations for the groups "Gay White men" (counting frequency of traits that were not part of the "Gay men" and White men" stereotypes), "Straight Black men" (frequency of traits that were not part of the "Straight men" and "Black men" stereotypes), and "Straight White men" (frequency of traits that were not part of the "Straight men" and "White men" stereotypes (see Tables 6).

Stereotypes of gay men. Table 6 presents cultural stereotypes of Gay Men (race unspecified), Gay Black Men and Gay White Men. As noted above, seven of the 17 most

frequent attributes associated with Gay Black Men were unique (stereotypes of Black men appear in Table 8). Only three of the attributes listed for “Gay Black Men” overlapped with the stereotype profile for “Black Men” but seven of the attributes listed for “Gay Men” overlapped with the profile for “Gay Black Men.” Of the 17 stereotypes of “Gay White Men”, 7 were unique. Ten attributes overlapped with stereotypes for “Gay Men” but none overlapped with the profile for “White Men” (see Table 8).

Based on the computations described above, 45 of the 124 attributes mentioned (36.29%) for “Gay Black Men” were unique compared to 52 of 175 (29.71%) of the attributes listed for “Gay White Men.” Thus, both intersecting groups generated significant unique stereotype content, especially relative to their respective race groups (Black men, White men). These percentages were significantly larger than the null hypothesis prediction of 10% unique traits (for Gay Black men, $\chi^2(1) = 24.81, p < .0001$; for Gay White men, $\chi^2(1) = 20.64, p < .0001$).

I next conducted a chi-square test of independence comparing the frequency of unique and non-unique attributes for “Gay Black Men” and “Gay White Men”. A significant association means that the proportion of unique stereotypes is differentially distributed between the group profiles. Contrary to the prototypicality prediction, there was no significant difference between the proportion of unique attributes for “Gay Black Men” and “Gay White Men” $\chi^2(1) = 1.43, p = .231$. That is, while both “Gay Black Men” and “Gay White Men” were stereotyped with unique content, this was *not* more marked for the non-dominant racial group.

To test the prototypicality hypothesis that race-sexual orientation intersections would generate more unique attributes when the target was gay than straight, I conducted two chi-square analyses comparing the frequency of unique and nonunique attributes for: (1) Gay Black Men versus Straight Black Men and (2) Gay White Men versus Straight White Men. As noted

above, 45 of 124 attributes mentioned (36.29%) for “Gay Black Men” were unique compared to 39 of 202 (19.31%) of the attributes listed for “Straight Black Men” (see Table 7). Consistent with the prototypicality hypothesis, a significantly greater proportion of unique attributes was generated for “Gay Black Men” than for “Straight Black Men” $\chi^2(1) = 11.59, p < .001$. Similarly, 52 of 175 attributes listed (29.71%) for “Gay White Men” were unique compared to 15 of 173 (8.67%) of the attributes mentioned for “Straight White Men;” this difference was also significant, $\chi^2(1) = 24.78, p < .001$. In short, gay target groups, both Black and White, generated more unique stereotypes than their corresponding straight target groups.

Stereotypes of straight men. Table 7 presents participants’ reports of cultural stereotypes of Straight Men (race unspecified), Straight Black Men and Straight White Men. Four of the 16 most frequent attributes associated with Straight Black Men were unique: Ten of the attributes for “Straight Black Men” overlapped with the stereotype profile for “Black Men” but only four of the attributes listed for “Straight Men” overlapped with the profile for “Straight Black Men”. Of the 15 attributes listed for “Straight White Men”, only two were unique. Eleven attributes overlapped with stereotypes for “White Men” and seven overlapped with the profile for “Straight Men.” Using the frequency counting method described above, 39 of 202 attributes mentioned (19.31%) for “Straight Black Men” were unique; supporting the intersectionality account, this value was significantly greater than chance $\chi^2(1) = 9.95, p < .008$. For “Straight White Men,” 15 of 173 (8.67%) attributes were unique. For this group, reflecting two prototypical categories, the level of unique attributes was no different from chance, $\chi^2(1) = .138, p = .711$. These data were also consistent with the prototypicality hypothesis: A significantly greater proportion of unique attributes were generated for “Straight Black Men” than for “Straight White Men” $\chi^2(1) = 8.55, p < .01$.

Stereotypes of men. Table 8 shows participants' reports of cultural stereotypes of Men (race unspecified), Black Men and White Men. These are not intersecting groups, in that sexual orientation is not referenced. Furthermore, because the groups "Blacks" and "Whites" were not included, the uniqueness of "Black men" relative to "Blacks" and "Men" and of "White men" relative to "Whites" and "men" cannot be assessed. But these data allow a test of whether stereotypes of "Black men" overlap less with the inclusive category "Men" than stereotypes of "White men," a different instantiation of the "White as dominant" (prototypicality) hypothesis. This analysis therefore focuses on overlap rather than uniqueness of attributes.

Of the 16 attributes associated with "Black Men", only four overlapped with the stereotype profile for "Men;" by comparison, seven of the 19 attributes listed for "White Men" overlapped with the category "Men." Using frequency counts, 63 of 238 attribute mentions for "Black men" overlapped with "Men" (26.47%) and 49 of 189 (25.93%) attribute mentions for "White men" overlapped with "Men." This difference was not significant, $\chi^2(1) = 0.016, p = .89$.

Discussion

Study 2 provided tests of the intersectionality and prototypicality hypotheses by focusing on the actual content of stereotypes of the nine different groups. The intersectionality prediction was that the interaction of race and sexual orientation would produce unique stereotypes that were not captured when either sexual orientation or race were considered in isolation. Consistent with this hypothesis, all four intersectional groups (Black gay men, White gay men, Black straight men, and White straight men) produced unique attributes that were not present in the stereotype profile of either of their constituent groups. Unique attributes accounted for 36% of the stereotype profile for gay Black men and 30% of the stereotype profile for gay White men; the profile for Black straight men contained 19% unique attributes, and the profile for straight

white men was 9% unique. These results align with prior research that suggests that stereotypes for intersectional groups are generated in a multiplicative (interactive) rather than additive (cumulative) manner (Ghavami & Peplau, 2013). Using a criterion of 10% expected unique attributes, all of these groups produced significantly more unique attributes with the exception of White straight men. This is an intersectional group, but it also represents the prototype for both race (White) and sexual orientation (straight). It is perhaps not surprising, then, that unique attributes were rare in this case.

Indeed, the prototypicality hypothesis predicted that race-sexual orientation intersections would generate more unique attributes when target race was Black rather than White, and when target sexual orientation was gay rather than straight. The findings clearly support this hypothesis in the case of sexual orientation: The proportion of unique attributes in the stereotype profile was significantly higher for gay target groups compared with straight target groups. Irrespective of racial category, the profile of gay men contained more unique attributes than the profile for straight men. This aligns with patterns in the data from Study 1 and suggests that the primacy of sexual orientation extends beyond perceptions of similarity to affect the content of stereotypes for intersectional groups. Support for the prototypicality account was weaker in the case of race: straight Black men had more unique attributes in their stereotype profile than straight White men, but stereotypes of gay Black men and gay White men did not differ in rates of uniqueness.

Although the design of Study 2 precluded any analysis of the unique attributes of Black men and white men compared to their constituent categories, we were able to analyze the degree to which the stereotype profile for “Men” overlapped with that of Black and White men as a proxy measure of prototypicality. Similar to Study 1, there was no significant difference between the number of attributes for White men or Black men that overlapped with the superordinate

category “Men.” This suggests that race as a category may matter less than sexual orientation for stereotype content as well as for perceptions of similarity.

General Discussion

Using the theoretical framework of intersectionality, both studies examined how the interaction of race and sexual orientation affects social perceptions. In Study 1, I examined perceived similarity between intersectional and single category groups as a content-free test of how the different groups were perceived in terms of similarity. Measuring perceived similarity between intersectional groups was a first step in determining whether perceivers differentiate between groups on the basis of race and sexual orientation. In Study 2, I use an open-ended response paradigm to examine how the intersection of race and sexual orientation affects the actual content of group stereotypes.

Both studies tested two main hypotheses: The *intersectionality hypothesis* (H1) predicts that stereotypes for “race by sexual orientation” groups (e.g. gay Black men) will contain unique elements (and prompt heightened dissimilarity) that are not the result of simply adding the effects of race and sexual orientation. The *prototypicality hypothesis* (H2) further suggests that “race X sexual orientation” groups will generate more unique attributes (and be perceived as less similar) when they are non-prototypical with respect to race (Black) rather than prototypical (White), and when they are non-prototypical with respect to sexual orientation (gay) rather than prototypical (straight).

In Study 1, I found support for the intersectionality hypothesis via the statistical interaction between sexual orientation and race on perceptions of similarity to the superordinate group “Men.” Black gay men were viewed as the most dissimilar to the overarching category

“men” relative to the other three groups (straight Black men and straight and gay White men). As indicated in Figure 1, Black (but straight) men were seen as quite similar to “men;” being gay (but White) reduced this similarity, but being gay *and* Black particularly lowered similarity to this overarching category. I also found that White gay men were viewed as significantly less similar to the category “Black men” than White straight men, Black straight men, and Black gay men. However, perceptions of similarity to “straight men”, “gay men”, “White men” and the average of all groups showed no evidence of interaction between race and sexual orientation. Instead, the main effect of sexual orientation mattered in all cases, and the main effect of race mattered in just two comparisons (White groups were judged more similar than Black groups to “gay men” and “White men”). These results suggest the dominance of sexual orientation relative to race in driving perceptions of similarity. The fact that “Black gay men” were perceived as equally dissimilar to “Black men” as “White straight men” also points to the significance of sexual orientation for similarity perceptions (see Figure 2): Even when race was explicitly shared, gayness reduced similarity to the same extent as an explicitly distinct race category (Whiteness).

Study 2 provided stronger support for the intersectionality hypothesis compared with Study 1. All four intersectional groups (Black gay men, White gay men, Black straight men, and White straight men) produced unique attributes that were not present in the stereotype profile of either of their constituent groups. These findings are consistent with an intersectional hypothesis that the interaction of race and sexual orientation would produce unique stereotypes that were not captured when either sexual orientation or race were considered in isolation. One potential explanation for this might be the more content-focused nature of the study design. Asking participants to generate cultural stereotypes for the intersectional groups may have increased

their awareness of the multiple group identities and the utility of an intersectional perspective for assigning attributes to individual group members. Using a criterion of 10% expected unique attributes, I assessed how many of the groups produced significantly more unique attributes than predicted by chance alone. All of the groups produced significantly more unique attributes with the exception of White straight men. Although this is an intersectional group, it is prototypical in terms of both race and sexual orientation. Participants evaluating this group might have assumed a high level of overlap since “White” and “straight” typically operate as taken-for-granted qualifiers of the overarching category “Men”. This suggests that the utility of intersectionality (at least in terms of stereotype content) might be dependent on the non-prototypicality of *at least one* of the relevant category memberships.

Indeed, such a pattern can be viewed as consistent with the prototypicality hypothesis, which predicts lower similarity and higher stereotype uniqueness for non-prototypical groups. Across both studies, this hypothesis was partially supported. In Study 1, White men were perceived as more similar to the category “gay men” than Black men, and White gay men were perceived as more similar to the category “men” than Black gay men. Similarly, gay men were judged less similar to all other groups except “Black gay men” and “White gay men” and Black straight men were rated as less similar to “gay men” than White straight men. In Study 2, the proportion of unique attributes in the stereotype profile was significantly higher for gay target groups compared with straight target groups. In all of these cases, non-prototypicality in terms of sexual orientation (being gay) produced the predicted lower similarity and higher stereotype content uniqueness.

However, there was no support for the prototypicality hypothesis in the case of race. Black men and White men did not differ in their perceived similarity to the category “men,” or to

the category “straight men.” And neither perception of Black straight men’s and White straight men’s similarity to “Men” and “straight men” nor of Black gay men’s and White gay men’s similarity to “gay men” or “straight men” differed significantly. Support for the prototypicality account in the case of race was also weak in Study 2: Straight Black men had more unique attributes in their stereotype profile than straight White men, but stereotypes of gay Black men and gay White men did not differ in rates of uniqueness. This again points to the dominance of sexual orientation as a factor that mattered for perceptions of similarity and stereotype content compared with race.

One potential explanation for this pattern is that participants may hold more essentialist beliefs about sexual orientation and more social constructionist beliefs about race (Haslam & Levy, 2006; Shih, Bonam, Sanchez & Peck, 2007). Essentialist beliefs suggest that social categories reflect immutable biological characteristics that are indicative of abilities and traits and result in discrete categories of people (DeLamater & Hyde, 1998; Prentice & Miller, 2007). This belief system can be contrasted with social constructionist perspectives which suggest that social categories reflect labels and meanings that are culturally contingent, change over time and do not reflect deep-rooted differences between groups. To the extent that perceivers endorse more essentialist beliefs about sexual orientation relative to race, they are more likely to believe that differences in sexual orientation reflect fundamental differences in group attributes that could lead to greater perceptions of dissimilarity and the generation of more unique stereotypes. Conversely, the compulsory heterosexuality implicit in societal definitions of manhood could potentially serve as a central and immutable trait that unifies men across racial lines.

I hypothesize that had my studies included female targets, race would have been *at least* as equally important as sexual orientation for perceptions of similarity and stereotype content.

Research has documented the stereotypic association between masculinity and “Blackness” which positions Black men as hypermasculine and masculinizes Black women (Goff, Eberhardt, Williams & Jackson, 2008). The gender inversion heuristic, which assumes that gay men present as more feminine than straight men and that lesbian women present as more masculine than straight women, drives most judgments of behavioral cues used to perceive sexual orientation (Johnson & Ghavami, 2011). As a result, stereotypes of Black lesbian women would most likely reflect the compound effects of being gay and Black as a function of the increased masculinization associated with their race and sexual orientation. Paradoxically, this might result in fewer unique attributes for Black lesbian women than White lesbian women since both “lesbian women” and “Black women” have stereotype profiles that emphasize masculine traits and behaviors.

Although this work extends the tradition of intersectional scholarship that focuses on the perceiver perspective, the pattern of results and the empirical questions that arise are highly relevant to the perspective of the target. One potential point of convergence might examine how these unique stereotypical attributes affect target outcomes across a range of situational contexts. How does being perceived as *friendly*, *funny*, *nice* or *dramatic* shape the outcome of an important job interview if the target is Black, male and gay? Research might also assess the degree to which targets are aware of the unique attributes that perceivers ascribe to their specific intersectional identity as well as how processes of meta-perception inform the strategic deployment of various identities for instrumental purposes.

Limitations, Future Directions and Implications

The present study has several limitations. Both studies focused on White and Black men as targets. Future research should replicate and extend the current study with female targets and

include a wider representation of ethnic groups (e.g. Asian, Latinx, Native American, Arab American etc.) This will allow us to investigate whether and how the impact of the intersection of race and sexual orientation varies across different ethnicities and genders. Another limitation is that neither study included direct tests of potential moderating or mediating variables (e.g. essentialist beliefs about sexual orientation/race/gender, perceived masculinity, intersectional awareness) that might qualify the relationship between intersectionality and perceptions of similarity and group stereotypes. The studies also relied on samples that were largely White and heterosexual. Future research should investigate whether perceivers who share one or both of the identity categories with the target group view multiple identities interactively and therefore generate unique stereotype content.

One other limitation of the work has to do with the differential order in which sexual orientation and race were introduced in group labels across the two studies. In Study 1, race preceded sexual orientation in the intersectional group descriptions (e.g., “Black gay men”), whereas in Study 2, sexual orientation preceded race (e.g., “gay Black men”). Given the pattern of similar patterns of findings across the two studies, this distinction may not matter. However, the primacy of either race or sexual orientation (e.g. Black gay men vs gay Black men) might be triggered by order, and may have affected participants’ judgments of the centrality of the different identity categories. Future research should more systematically examine this possibility.

Another profitable approach would be the application of network analysis to the stereotypes generated for each intersectional group (Borgatti, Mehra, Brass and Labianca, 2009). Such an approach could identify central characteristics, strength of associations and semantic structure change as a function of race and sexual orientation. Finally, future work should investigate the relationship between the unique attributes generated for each intersectional group

and psychologically relevant outcomes such as likability, trustworthiness and competence. An intersectional analysis of race and sexual orientation provides a theoretical framework for understanding how persons assess and integrate multiple identity categories, particularly in cases when the categories are non-prototypical and/or contain divergent stereotypical elements (e.g., black = aggressive, gay = docile).

Table 1

Mean standardized perceived similarity between groups named in columns and groups named in rows (SDs in parentheses)

	Black men (1)	White men (2)	Gay men (3)	Straight men (4)	Black straight men (5)	White straight men (6)	Black gay men (7)	White gay men (8)	Men (9)
1	--								
2	.170 (.702)	--							
3	-.803 (.795)	-.270 (.772)	--						
4	.214 (.999)	.404 (.784)	-.311 (.902)	--					
5	.827 (.599)	.046 (.760)	-.713 (.913)	.763 (.765)	--				
6	.142 (.988)	.497 (.678)	-.215 (.913)	.557 (.860)	.346 (.764)	--			
7	-.312 (.905)	-.702 (.858)	.307 (.843)	-.512 (.907)	-.417 (.839)	-.904 (.878)	--		
8	-.669 (.848)	.024 (.884)	.461 (.752)	-.325 (.893)	-.845 (.870)	-.073 (.812)	.342 (.730)	--	
9	.837 (.749)	.685 (.681)	-.026 (.954)	.598 (.777)	.445 (.879)	.451 (.639)	-.610 (.919)	-.093 (.631)	--

Table 2.

T-tests comparing the similarity of Black men to each group to the similarity of White men to each group (SDs in parentheses)

Comparison group	Black Men (BM)	White Men (WM)	t	df	Sig.
------------------	----------------	----------------	---	----	------

Gay Men (GM)	-.803 (.795)	-.270 (.772)	-3.38	97	.001
Straight Men (SM)	.214 (.999)	.404 (.784)	-1.07	100	.288
Black Straight Men (BSM)	.827 (.599)	.046 (.760)	5.73	99	<.001
White Straight Men (WSM)	-.142 (.988)	.497 (.678)	-3.80	99	<.001
Black Gay Men (BGM)	-.312 (.905)	-.702 (.858)	2.22	99	.028
White Gay Men (WGM)	-.669 (.848)	.024 (.884)	-3.99	98	<.001
Men (M)	.837 (.749)	.685 (.681)	1.06	98	.292

Table 3.

T-tests comparing the similarity of Gay men to each group to the similarity of Straight men to each group (SDs in parentheses)

	Gay Men (GM)	Straight Men (SM)	t	df	Sig.
BM	-.803 (.795)	.214 (.999)	-5.62	98	<.001
WM	-.270 (.772)	.404 (.784)	-4.36	99	<.001
BSM	-.713 (.913)	.763 (.765)	-8.74	98	<.001
WSM	-.215 (.913)	.557 (.860)	-4.37	99	<.001
BGM	.307 (.843)	-.512 (.907)	4.72	100	<.001
WGM	.461 (.752)	-.325 (.893)	4.81	100	<.001
M	-.026 (.954)	.598 (.777)	-3.61	99	<.001

Table 4.

T-tests comparing the similarity of Black Straight men to each group to the similarity of White Straight men to each group (SDs in parentheses)

	Black Straight Men (BSM)	White Straight Men (WSM)	t	df	Sig.
BM	.827 (.599)	-.142 (.988)	5.93	98	<.001
WM	.046 (.760)	.497 (.678)	-3.16	100	.002
GM	-.713 (.913)	-.215 (.913)	-2.75	100	.007
SM	.763 (.765)	.557 (.860)	1.26	97	.211
BGM	-.417 (.839)	-.904 (.878)	2.86	100	.005
WGM	-.845 (.870)	-.073 (.812)	-4.56	97	<.001
M	.445 (.879)	.451 (.639)	-.038	98	.970

Table 5.

T-tests comparing the similarity of Black Gay men to each group to the similarity of White Gay men to each group (SDs in parentheses)

	Black Gay Men (BGM)	White Gay Men (WGM)	t	df	Sig.
BM	-.312 (.905)	-.669 (.848)	2.04	98	.045
WM	-.702 (.858)	.024 (.884)	-4.19	99	<.001
GM	.307 (.843)	.461 (.752)	-.975	100	.332
SM	-.512 (.907)	-.325 (.893)	-1.05	100	.296
BSM	-.417 (.839)	-.845 (.870)	2.52	99	.013
WSM	-.904 (.878)	-.073 (.812)	-4.91	98	<.001
M	-.610 (.919)	-.093 (.631)	-3.31	100	.001

Table 6.

Top 15 Attributes Listed for Gay Men, Gay Black Men, and Gay White Men.

Gay Men (n=53)		Gay Black Men (n=45)		Gay White Men (n=57)	
Attribute	Frequency	Attribute	Frequency	Attribute	Frequency
feminine	21	feminine	13	feminine	24
flamboyant	21	loud	12	Fashionable	19
promiscuous	15	flamboyant	12	flamboyant	13
diseased	13	friendly*	9	promiscuous	13
effeminate	12	funny*	9	weak	11
fashionable	11	promiscuous	9	effeminate	11
weak	8	diseased	8	friendly*	10
intelligent	8	dramatic*	8	diseased	10
lisp	7	weak	7	emotional	9
emotional	7	well-dressed*	6	clean*	9
immoral	7	angry	6	sensitive*	8
strange	7	good dancers*	5	perverted*	7
loud	6	drug user	4	immoral	7
atheist	6	fashionable	4	fun*	6
well groomed	6	nice*	4	artistic*	6
		outgoing*	4	higher pitched voice*	6
		unintelligent	4	loud	6
		Unique attributes	45	Unique Attributes	52
Total	155	Total	124	Total	175
% unique			36.29%		29.71%

Note. Unique attributes are designated with an asterisk

Table 7.

Top 15 Attributes Listed for Straight Men, Straight Black Men, and Straight White Men

Straight Men (n=54)		Straight Black Men (n=51)		Straight White Men (n=59)	
Attribute	Frequency	Attribute	Frequency	Attribute	Frequency
masculine	29	Lazy	23	rich	29
strong	24	Criminal	20	intelligent	21
intelligent	16	Athletic	19	privileged	16
beer drinking	15	poor	16	racist	14
unemotional	12	gang member*	14	aggressive	11
like sports	10	violent	13	masculine	10
hardworking	9	Strong	11	sexist	10
tough	9	Aggressive	19	successful	10
unfashionable	8	loud*	9	athletic	8
aggressive	7	dumb	9	conservative*	8
athletic	7	Uneducated	9	homophobic	8
homophobic	7	tough	8	strong	8
confident	6	drug users	8	can't dance*	7
cheaters	5	drug dealer*	8	powerful	7
family	5	well endowed	8	egotistical	6
father	5	womanizer*	8		
handsome	5				
successful	5				
		Unique Attributes	39	Unique Attributes	15
Total	184	Total	202	Total	173
% unique			19.31%		8.67%

Note. Unique attributes are designated with an asterisk

Table 8.

Top 15 Attributes Listed for Men, Black Men, and White Men.

Men (N=62)		Black Men (N=52)		White Men (N=54)	
Attribute	Frequency	Attribute	Frequency	Attribute	Frequency
strong	38	criminal	52	racists	21
aggressive	19	aggressive*	27	rich	21
Intelligent	14	lazy	22	privileged	20
masculine	13	uneducated	17	arrogant	14
unemotional	13	athletic*	16	entitled	11
dominant	12	drug user	12	smart*	11
hard working	11	poor	11	handsome	11
leader	11	strong*	11	tall*	10
tough	11	violent	11	powerful	9
Tall	9	big penis	10	selfish	8
loving sports	8	stupid	10	successful	7
muscular	8	tall*	9	educated	7
athletic	7	cool	8	strong*	6
brave	7	rude	8	egotistical	6
cheaters	7	fast	7	aggressive*	6
sexist	7	scary	7	hard	6
				working*	
				athletic*	5
				misogynist*	5
				religious	5
Total	195	Total	238	Total	189

Note. Attributes that overlap with the category “Men” are designated with an asterisk

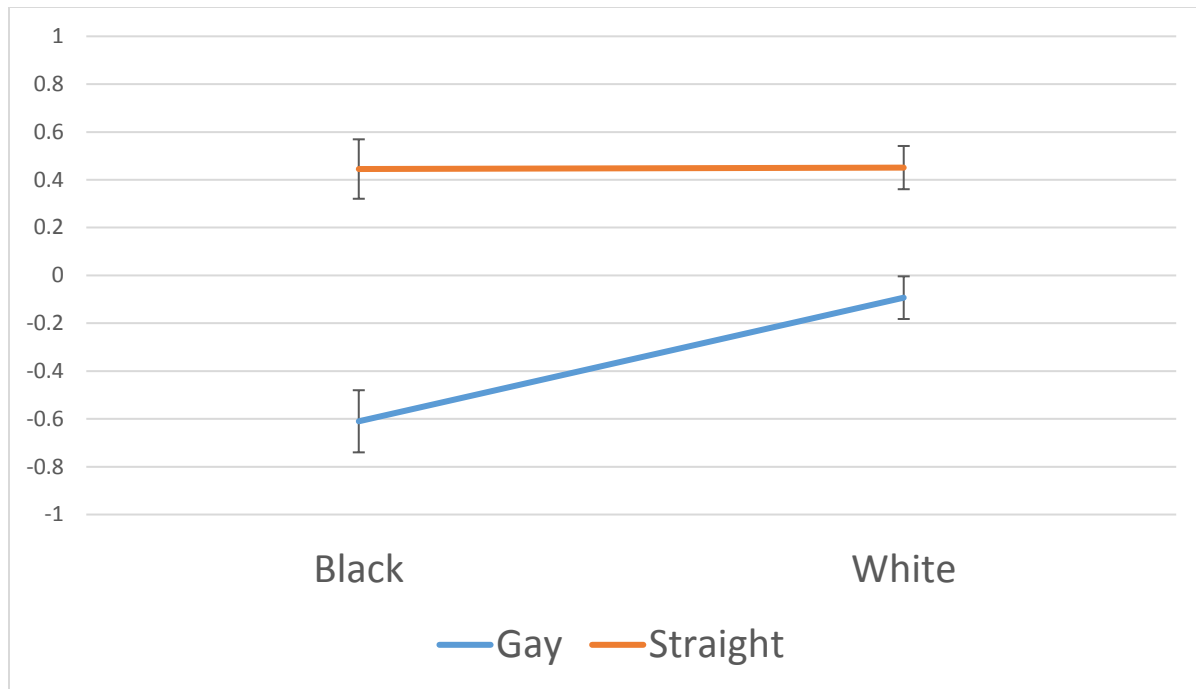


Figure 1. Interaction between target race and sexual orientation in perceived similarity to the group "Men" (error bars indicate standard errors)

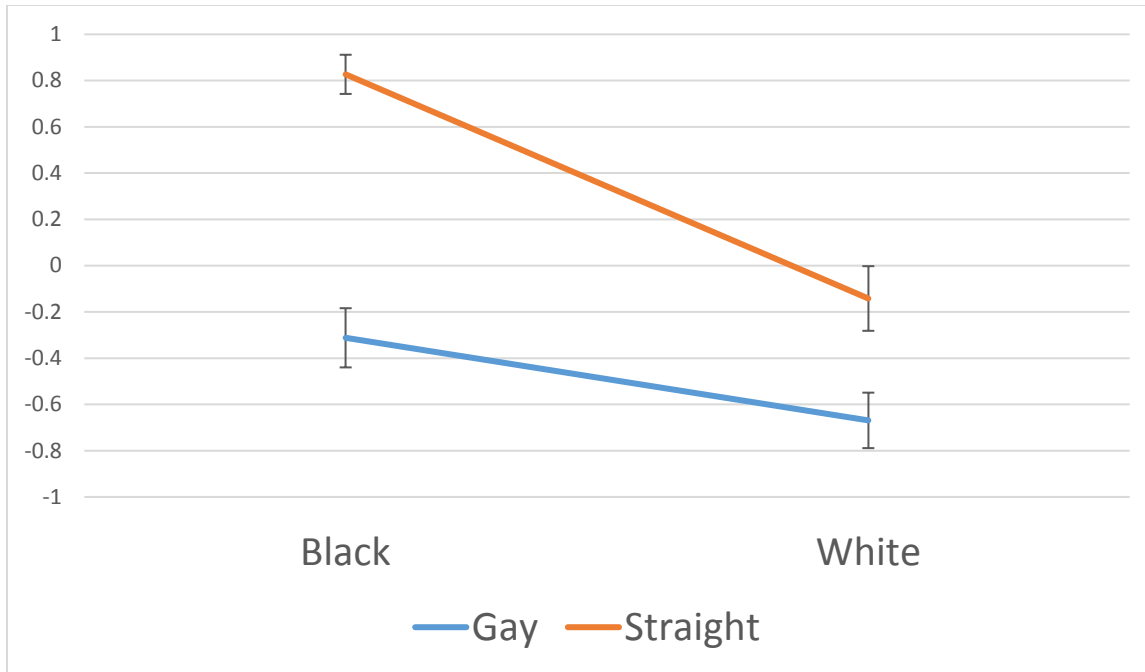


Figure 2. Interaction between target race and sexual orientation in perceived similarity to the group "Black men" (error bars indicate standard errors)

References

- Almquist, E. M. (1975). Untangling the effects of race and sex: The disadvantaged status of Black women. *Social Science Quarterly*, 56, 129-142.
- Aron, A., Aron, E. N., & Smollan, D. (1992). Inclusion of other in the self scale and the structure of interpersonal closeness. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 63(4), 596.
- Beale, F. (1979). Double jeopardy: To be black and female. In T. Cade (Ed.), *The Black Woman* (pp. 90–100). New York: New American Library.
- Bem, S. L. (1994). *The lenses of gender: Transforming the debate on sexual inequality*. Yale University Press.
- Berdahl, J. L., & Moore, C. (2006). Workplace harassment: double jeopardy for minority women. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 91(2), 426.
- Borgatti, S. P., Mehra, A., Brass, D. J., & Labianca, G. (2009). Network analysis in the social sciences. *Science*, 323(5916), 892-895.
- Buss, D. M., & Craik, K. H. (1985). Why not measure that trait? Alternative criteria for identifying important dispositions. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 48(4), 934.
- Calabrese, S. K., Earnshaw, V. A., Magnus, M., Hansen, N. B., Krakower, D. S., Underhill, K., Mayer, K.H., Kershaw, T.S., Betancourt, J.R. & Dovidio, J. F. (2018). Sexual stereotypes ascribed to Black men who have sex with men: An intersectional analysis. *Archives of sexual behavior*, 47(1), 143-156.
- Cho, S., Crenshaw, K. W., & McCall, L. (2013). Toward a field of intersectionality studies: Theory, applications, and praxis. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 38(4), 785-810.

- Cole, E. R. (2008). Coalitions as a model for intersectionality: From practice to theory. *Sex roles, 59*(5-6), 443-453.
- Cole, E. R., & Zucker, A. N. (2007). Black and white women's perspectives on femininity. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 13*(1), 1.
- Crenshaw, K. (1991). Mapping the margins: Identity politics, intersectionality, and violence against women. *Stanford Law Review, 43*(6), 1241-1299.
- Crenshaw, K. (1993). Demarginalizing the intersection of race and sex: A Black feminist critique of antidiscrimination doctrine, feminist theory and antiracist politics. In D. K. Weisbert (Ed.), *Feminist legal theory: Foundations* (pp. 383–395). Philadelphia: Temple University Press. (Original work published 1989)
- DeLamater, J. D., & Hyde, J. S. (1998). Essentialism vs. social constructionism in the study of human sexuality. *Journal of sex research, 35*(1), 10-18.
- Devine, P. G., & Elliot, A. J. (1995). Are racial stereotypes really fading? The Princeton trilogy revisited. *Personality and social psychology bulletin, 21*(11), 1139-1150.
- Eagly, A. H., & Wood, W. (2011). Social role theory. *Handbook of theories in social psychology, 2*, 458-476.
- Fiske, S. T., Cuddy, A. J., Glick, P., & Xu, J. (2002). A model of (often mixed) stereotype content: competence and warmth respectively follow from perceived status and competition. *Journal of personality and social psychology, 82*(6), 878.
- Ghavami, N., & Peplau, L. A. (2013). An intersectional analysis of gender and ethnic stereotypes: Testing three hypotheses. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 37*(1), 113-127.
- Goff, P. A., Eberhardt, J. L., Williams, M. J., & Jackson, M. C. (2008). Not yet human: implicit

- knowledge, historical dehumanization, and contemporary consequences. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 94(2), 292.
- Gonzales, P. M., Blanton, H., & Williams, K. J. (2002). The effects of stereotype threat and double-minority status on the test performance of Latino women. *Personality and social psychology bulletin*, 28(5), 659-670.
- Greenwood, R. M., & Christian, A. (2008). What happens when we unpack the invisible knapsack? Intersectional political consciousness and inter-group appraisals. *Sex Roles*, 59(5-6), 404-417.
- Haines, E. L., Deaux, K., & Lofaro, N. (2016). The times they are a-changing... or are they not? A comparison of gender stereotypes, 1983–2014. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 40(3), 353-363.
- Haley, H., Sidanius, J., Lowery, B., & Malamuth, N. (2004). The Interactive Nature of Sex and Race Discrimination: A Social Dominance Perspective.
- Haslam, N., & Levy, S. R. (2006). Essentialist beliefs about homosexuality: Structure and implications for prejudice. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 32(4), 471-485.
- Hogg, M. A., Hardie, E. A., & Reynolds, K. J. (1995). Prototypical similarity, self-categorization, and depersonalized attraction: A perspective on group cohesiveness. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 25(2), 159-177.
- Johnson, K. L., & Ghavami, N. (2011). At the crossroads of conspicuous and concealable: What race categories communicate about sexual orientation. *PLoS One*, 6(3), e18025.
- Johnson, K. L., Freeman, J. B., & Pauker, K. (2012). Race is gendered: How covarying phenotypes and stereotypes bias sex categorization. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 102(1), 116.

- Kang, S. K., & Bodenhausen, G. V. (2015). Multiple identities in social perception and interaction: Challenges and opportunities. *Annual review of psychology*, *66*, 547-574.
- Katz, D., & Braly, K. (1933). Racial stereotypes of one hundred college students. *The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, *28*(3), 280.
- King, D. H. (1988). Multiple jeopardy, multiple consciousness: The context of a black feminist ideology. *Signs*, *14*, 42-72.
- Landrine, H., Klonoff, E. A., Alcaraz, R., Scott, J., & Wilkins, P. (1995). The social psychology of interpersonal discrimination.
- Livingston, R. W., & Pearce, N. A. (2009). The teddy-bear effect: Does having a baby face benefit black chief executive officers?. *Psychological science*, *20*(10), 1229-1236.
- MacKinnon, C. A. (2013). Intersectionality as method: A note. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, *38*(4), 1019-1030.
- Macrae, C. N., Milne, A. B., & Bodenhausen, G. V. (1994). Stereotypes as energy-saving devices: A peek inside the cognitive toolbox. *Journal of personality and Social Psychology*, *66*(1), 37.
- Navarrete, C. D., McDonald, M. M., Molina, L. E., & Sidanius, J. (2010). Prejudice at the nexus of race and gender: an outgroup male target hypothesis. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, *98*(6), 936.
- Parent, M. C., DeBlaere, C., & Moradi, B. (2013). Approaches to research on intersectionality: Perspectives on gender, LGBT, and racial/ethnic identities. *Sex Roles*, *68*(11-12), 639-645.
- Peplau, L. A., Veniegas, R. C., Taylor, P. L., & DeBro, S. C. (1999). Sociocultural perspectives

- on the lives of women and men. *Gender, culture, and ethnicity: Current research about women and men*, 23-37.
- Perszyk, D. R., Lei, R. F., Bodenhausen, G. V., Richeson, J. A., & Waxman, S. R. (2019). Bias at the intersection of race and gender: Evidence from preschool-aged children. *Developmental science*, e12788.
- Prentice, D. A., & Miller, D. T. (2007). Psychological essentialism of human categories. *Current directions in psychological science*, 16(4), 202-206.
- Purdie-Vaughns, V., & Eibach, R. P. (2008). Intersectional invisibility: The distinctive advantages and disadvantages of multiple subordinate-group identities. *Sex Roles*, 59(5-6), 377-391.
- Reid, P. T. (1984). Feminism versus minority group identity: Not for Black women only. *Sex Roles*, 10, 247-255.
- Remedios, J. D., Chasteen, A. L., Rule, N. O., & Plaks, J. E. (2011). Impressions at the intersection of ambiguous and obvious social categories: Does gay+ Black= likable?. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 47(6), 1312-1315.
- Rosette, A. S., Koval, C. Z., Ma, A., & Livingston, R. (2016). Race matters for women leaders: Intersectional effects on agentic deficiencies and penalties. *The Leadership Quarterly*, 27(3), 429-445.
- Schug, J., Alt, N. P., & Klauer, K. C. (2015). Gendered race prototypes: Evidence for the non-prototypicality of Asian men and Black women. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 56, 121-125.
- Sesko, A. K., & Biernat, M. (2010). Prototypes of race and gender: The invisibility of Black women. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 46(2), 356-360.

- Settles, I. H. (2006). Use of an intersectional framework to understand Black women's racial and gender identities. *Sex Roles, 54*(9-10), 589-601.
- Shih, M., Bonam, C., Sanchez, D., & Peck, C. (2007). The social construction of race: Biracial identity and vulnerability to stereotypes. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 13*(2), 125.
- Sidanius, J. (1993). The psychology of group conflict and the dynamics of oppression: A social dominance perspective.
- Sidanius, J., & Pratto, F. (1993). The inevitability of oppression and the dynamics of social dominance. *Prejudice, politics, and the American dilemma*, 173-211.
- Sidanius, J., & Pratto, F. (1999). *Social dominance: An intergroup theory of social hierarchy and oppression*. Cambridge University Press.
- Sidanius, J., Pratto, F., & Rabinowitz, J. L. (1994). Gender, ethnic status, and ideological asymmetry: A social dominance interpretation. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 25*(2), 194-216.
- Sidanius, J., Veniegas, R. C., & Oskamp, S. (2000). Reducing prejudice and discrimination.
- Spears, R., Doosje, B., & Ellemers, N. (1997). Self-stereotyping in the face of threats to group status and distinctiveness: The role of group identification. *Personality and social psychology bulletin, 23*(5), 538-553.
- Swank, E., & Fahs, B. (2012). Resources, social networks, and collective action frames of college students who join the gay and lesbian rights movement. *Journal of Homosexuality, 59*(1), 67-89.
- Tajfel, H. (1969). Social and cultural factors in perception. *Handbook of social psychology, 3*, 315-394.

- Tajfel, H., & Wilkes, A. L. (1963). Classification and quantitative judgement. *British journal of psychology*, 54(2), 101-114.
- Tomlinson, B. (2013). To tell the truth and not get trapped: Desire, distance, and intersectionality at the scene of argument. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 38(4), 993-1017.
- Townsend, T. G. (2008). Protecting our daughters: Intersection of race, class and gender in African American mothers' socialization of their daughters' heterosexuality. *Sex Roles*, 59(5-6), 429.
- Villicana, A. J., Delucio, K., & Biernat, M. (2016). "Coming out" among gay Latino and gay White men: implications of verbal disclosure for well-being. *Self and Identity*, 15(4), 468-487.
- Vugt, M. V., Cremer, D. D., & Janssen, D. P. (2007). Gender differences in cooperation and competition: The male-warrior hypothesis. *Psychological science*, 18(1), 19-23.
- Whitley, B. E., & Ægisdóttir, S. (2000). The gender belief system, authoritarianism, social dominance orientation, and heterosexuals' attitudes toward lesbians and gay men. *Sex Roles*, 42(11-12), 947-967.