



**UNIVERSIDADE FEDERAL DA PARAÍBA**  
**CENTRO DE CIÊNCIAS HUMANAS, LETRAS E ARTES**  
**PROGRAMA DE PÓS-GRADUAÇÃO EM PSICOLOGIA SOCIAL**  
**MESTRADO EM PSICOLOGIA SOCIAL**

**THE EFFECT OF GENDER AND MALE DISTINCTIVENESS THREAT ON  
PREJUDICE AGAINST HOMOSEXUALS**

**CAMILLA VIEIRA DE FIGUEIREDO**

**JOÃO PESSOA**

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**O EFEITO DO SEXO E DA AMEAÇA À DISTINTIVIDADE MASCULINA NO  
PRECONCEITO CONTRA HOMOSSEXUAIS**

Dissertação apresentada ao Programa de Pós-Graduação em Psicologia Social da Universidade Federal da Paraíba por Camilla Vieira de Figueiredo, sob orientação do Prof. Dr. Cicero Roberto Pereira, como requisito parcial para obtenção do grau de Mestre em Psicologia Social.

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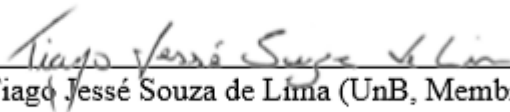
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## ABSTRACT

Positive distinctiveness threat is central for understanding ingroup bias, but its role in gender differences in the expression of sexual prejudice is not yet satisfactorily elucidated. We analyzed this issue by proposing that sexual prejudice is a defensive strategy to ensure intergroup distinctiveness and that consequently, heterosexual men are more prejudiced against homosexuals than heterosexual women because they strive more for positive distinctiveness. In Study 1 (N = 232), we manipulated the target of prejudice (gay men vs. lesbians) and found that men exhibited more prejudice against gay men, while women did not significantly differentiate their prejudice against these target groups. In Study 2, we manipulated the target group of prejudice (gay men vs. lesbians) in a sample of men (N = 79) and confirmed that they made greater efforts to differentiate heterosexual men from gay than heterosexual women from lesbians. In Study 3 (N = 178), we indirectly manipulated the threat to the distinctiveness between homosexual and heterosexual and demonstrated that the need for positive distinctiveness mediates the relationship between gender and prejudice in men but not in women. Finally, in Study 4 (N = 75), we directly manipulated the perception of distinctiveness for men and women and measured sexual prejudice by means of an implicit measure (IAT). The results showed more implicit prejudice in men than in women when intergroup distinctiveness was threatened. Our results have important implications for understanding sexual prejudice by shedding light on the role played by the distinctiveness threat of gender difference in expressing homophobia.

*Keywords:* Sexual prejudice; distinctiveness threat; social identity.

## RESUMO

A ameaça à distintividade positiva é central para a compreensão dos conflitos entre grupos, mas seu papel nas diferenças de gênero na expressão de preconceito sexual ainda não foi elucidado satisfatoriamente. Analisamos essa questão propondo que o preconceito sexual é uma estratégia defensiva utilizada para garantir a distintividade entre grupos e que, conseqüentemente, homens heterossexuais expressam mais preconceito contra homossexuais do que as mulheres heterossexuais porque se esforçam mais para alcançar essa distintividade positiva. No Estudo 1 (N = 232), manipulamos o alvo de preconceito (gays vs. lésbicas) e descobrimos que os homens exibem mais preconceito contra gays, enquanto as mulheres não diferenciam significativamente seu preconceito contra esses grupos-alvo. No Estudo 2, manipulamos o grupo-alvo de preconceito (gays vs. lésbicas) em uma amostra de homens (N = 79) e confirmamos que eles fizeram maiores esforços para diferenciar homens heterossexuais de gays do que mulheres heterossexuais de lésbicas. No Estudo 3 (N = 178), manipulamos indiretamente a ameaça à distintividade entre heterossexuais e homossexuais e demonstramos que a necessidade de distintividade positiva medeia a relação entre gênero e preconceito nos homens, mas não nas mulheres. Por fim, no Estudo 4 (N = 75), manipulamos diretamente a percepção de distintividade entre homens e mulheres e medimos o preconceito sexual por meio de uma medida implícita (IAT). Os resultados mostraram mais preconceito implícito nos homens do que nas mulheres quando a distintividade intergrupala estava ameaçada. Nossos resultados têm implicações importantes para a compreensão do preconceito sexual, esclarecendo o papel desempenhado pela ameaça à distintividade na diferença de gênero na expressão da homofobia.

*Palavras-chave:* Preconceito sexual; ameaça à distintividade; identidade social.

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## **Introduction**

Sexual prejudice is a complex and change-resistant psychosocial phenomenon, and is pervasive social problem in many countries. LGBTQIA+ individuals have had their rights and opportunities denied, and they have been raped and murdered due to discrimination based on sexual orientation and gender identity in extreme cases. Its incidence suggests that it is a descriptive social norm that is difficult to change, and identifying its causes is an important step toward implementing measures to mitigate its negative consequences in social life.

In the domain of sexuality, heteronormativity is the prevailing cultural pattern. It segregates and subordinates those who assume nonheterosexual orientations, notably homosexuals (Allen & Mendez, 2018; Javaid, 2018). This pattern is strongly associated with the concept of hegemonic masculinity, historically defined as the authentic nature of men and involving obligatory heterosexuality and opposition to any characteristics or practices that reflect femininity in males (Herz & Johansson, 2015). As a result, heterosexual men express more prejudice and discrimination against homosexuals than women do (Glotfelter & Anderson, 2017; Herek, 1988, 2000, 2016; Kite & Whitley, 1996, 1998), and gay men are their main victims (Kiss, Morrison, & Morrison, 2018; Vincent, Peterson, & Parrott, 2016). Brazilian statistics profiling gay bashers confirm this evidence, revealing that young heterosexual men who mostly endorse “macho” and conservative attitudes are the main perpetrators of this type of violence (GGB, 2018; Ministério dos Direitos Humanos, Brazil, 2018). However, what explains gender differences in the context of sexual prejudice? Why do heterosexual men express more prejudice against homosexuals?

Male prejudice against gays has already been well documented (e.g., Herek, 2016; Herek & McLemore, 2013), but the reasons why men are consistently more homophobic

than women are still not satisfactorily elucidated. Guided by social identity theory, we expanded on previous studies and focused on the role of identity factors to understand this phenomenon. We propose that the need to maintain a positive and distinct gender identity may explain why heterosexual men are more uncomfortable with homosexuality and therefore more motivated to differentiate themselves from gay men through prejudice, discrimination and aggressive behaviors.

We focus on the hypothesis that heterosexual men endorse prejudiced attitudes toward gay men, especially when they feel that their heterosexuality is being threatened, to a greater extent than heterosexual women do. Thus, we propose that men are more prejudiced than women because homosexuality threatens male identity more than female identity. Accordingly, heterosexual men feel a greater need for positive differentiation and therefore express more prejudice as a defensive reaction to ensure their distinctiveness. We tested this hypothesis in a unique social context where homophobia is endemic (Aliança Nacional LGBTI, 2017; Grupo Gay da Bahia, GGB, 2018, 2019). Brazil tops the world's ranking of crimes against sexual minorities. More homosexuals die in Brazil from hate crimes than in Asian or African countries where the death penalty for homosexuality is still prescribed by law.

#### *Gender Differences in Prejudice Against Homosexuals*

Currently, sexual prejudice results from the social construction of gender identity (see Kimmel, 1997; Plummer, 2005). Men and women are under pressure to behave in consistently male and female ways, respectively. However, throughout the socialization process, boys are overly encouraged to take on a "male role" and more severely criticized by parents and peers when they fail to properly comply with this role (Bosson & Michniewicz, 2013). Thus, by avoiding any traces of femininity in their heterosexual male identity and sustaining this identity through gender-typical behaviors, men protect

and maintain a gender ideal that is unquestionably more volatile or “easily lost” than that of women (Kiebel, Bosson, & Caswell, 2019; Rivera & Dasgupta, 2018).

Based on the above, men experience increased anxiety regarding the violation of gender roles and tend to perceive gay men as the source of this anxiety because they have higher expectations regarding other men’s adherence to these norms (Herek, 1986; Kite & Whitley, 1996). A way of circumventing such transgressions and reaffirming their masculinity to society may be to accentuate the differences between them and gay men (Herek, 2002). Gender role violation, however, seems to have little or no effect on women’s anxiety (see Allen & Smith, 2011; Bosson & Vandello, 2011) because women are more tolerant of transgressions of gender roles and have less interest in upholding the tradition of these roles (Hogg & Turner, 1987; Lewin & Tragos, 1987), as such roles offer numerous benefits only to men, helping them maintain their position of power and social dominance.

Unlike women, men have a more dichotomized view of the world and of social and gender roles (see Bosson & Michniewicz, 2013). Because they experience greater uncertainty than women regarding the stability of their gender status, heterosexual men feel particularly threatened when they observe stereotypically feminine acts in other men, such as grooming or talking about emotions (Bosson, Prewitt-Freilino, & Taylor, 2005). Furthermore, they often attribute to their group traits that preserve and reinforce their gender status (e.g., assertiveness, dominance, action) and avoid low-status behaviors and tasks (Martínez, Vázquez, & Falomir-Pichastor, 2015), which are typically attributed to women.

The hypothesis that sexual prejudice is greater among men than among women is supported by the greater threat to men’s identity. The higher rates of prejudice against gay men reflect an identity function of psychological defense for heterosexual men. (Herek,

1986; Herek & McLemore, 2013). Heterosexual men feel a greater need to differentiate their gender role, possibly to reaffirm their social identity. Consequently, men, more than women, are likely to feel a greater need for positive distinctiveness in the domain of sexuality when this distinctiveness is under threat.

#### *The Role of Distinctiveness Threat*

According to social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), people are motivated to maintain positive self-esteem through their assessment of their group membership. Specifically, they compare their group with other relevant groups to positively differentiate themselves from these other groups. Consequently, they are motivated to favor their own group and discriminate against other groups, especially when these other groups pose a threat to their positive social identity. Thus, when two groups are considered very similar, that is, when the distinctiveness between them is threatened, group members address this threat in different ways: by emphasizing positive in-group characteristics or by reacting negatively to the out-group, which may underlie the formation of prejudice and motivation for intergroup discrimination (Branscombe, Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 1999; Jetten & Spears, 2003).

Studies on sexual prejudice have shown that the need for distinctiveness is significantly higher in heterosexual men than in heterosexual women (Falomir-Pichastor & Hegarty, 2014; Plante et al., 2015; Talley & Bettencourt, 2008). Negativity toward gay men increases substantially when the social identity of heterosexual men is threatened (Branscombe & Wann, 1994; Branscombe, Wann, Noel, & Coleman, 1993; Schmitt & Branscombe, 2001). This threat occurs when the value of heterosexual men as members of the group is questioned, that is, when they realize that they share essential characteristics with gay men, such as their biological system and behavioral and personality traits. This perceived distinctiveness threat motivates them to reestablish

group membership and the positive image of the group. A way to satisfy this motivation is through psychological and social distancing from gay men and discrimination against them (Carnaghi, Maass, & Fasoli, 2011; Herek, 1988; Talley & Bettencourt, 2008).

Psychological distancing is associated with the formation of hostile gender stereotypes that obey a bipolar distribution: individuals that present a high level of male traits consider themselves to have a low level of female traits, and vice versa (Rivera & Dasgupta, 2018; Salvati, Ioverno, Giacomantonio, & Baiocco, 2016). When this bipolarity is threatened by a resemblance to homosexuals, a social category that defies the prototype of masculinity, a compensatory reaction is often triggered in heterosexual men (Bosson, Vandello, Burnaford, Weaver, & Wasti, 2009; Gabarrot, Falomir-Pichastor, & Mugny, 2009). This compensatory reaction manifests as negative attitudes and discriminatory behavior towards gay men.

Other mechanisms, mainly psychological, are used to differentiate these groups, and people commonly attribute these “differences” to stable and immutable causes. Sexist men, for example, strongly support the biological explanation of gender differences more strongly when the traditional gender hierarchy is threatened (Morton, Postmes, Haslam, & Hornsey, 2009). Simultaneously, they endorse the biological theory of sexual orientation as a way of ensuring that they are unambiguously distinct from gay men (Falomir-Pichastor & Mugny, 2009; Glotfelter & Anderson, 2017) while maintaining their gender self-esteem.

In the present article, we directly address the problem of distinctiveness threat and its relation to prejudice against homosexuals. We test the general hypothesis that heterosexual men express more prejudice than heterosexual women because homosexuality poses a threat to male but not female distinctiveness. We operationalize group distinctiveness in terms of the similarities (vs. the differences) between

heterosexual and gay men and between heterosexual and lesbian women, and we assume that reactive distinctiveness processes are particularly strong among men.

### **Overview of Studies**

We conducted four experimental studies to test the following hypotheses: (H1) heterosexual men express more sexual prejudice than heterosexual women, especially against gay men; (H2) heterosexual men express greater distinctiveness when the targets of prejudice are gay men than when they are lesbians; (H3) gender differences in prejudice can be measured by assessing heterosexual men's defense of distinctiveness when this distinctiveness is threatened; and (H4) heterosexual men will express more implicit sexual prejudice than women when their perception of distinctiveness is threatened (vs. affirmed). In Study 1, we manipulate the group targeted by prejudice (i.e., gay men vs. lesbian) to assess whether heterosexual men express more prejudice against gay men than women do. In Study 2, we aim to replicate the results of Study 1 by demonstrating that gay men threaten the positive distinctiveness of heterosexual men and, therefore, that the struggle to reinforce the difference between homosexuals and heterosexuals accounts for the stronger prejudice against gay men than against lesbians. Study 3 goes beyond manipulating the distinctiveness threat to show that the struggle to defend the difference between heterosexual and homosexual men mediates the effect of gender on prejudice. Study 4 goes further by directly manipulating distinctiveness threat and measuring implicit sexual prejudice using the Implicit Association Test (Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz, 1998). In each study, all participants provided consent according to the Declaration of Helsinki and the American Psychological Association. We informed them of incentives for participation, their ability to withdraw from the study without penalty, the confidentiality of their responses, as well as whom they could contact if they had questions. All procedures used in the studies were approved by the Research Ethics

Committee of Federal University of Paraíba, Brazil. We have made been publicly available data of all studies on the Open Science Framework.

### **Study 1**

Study 1 aims to test the hypothesis that heterosexual men are more prejudiced than heterosexual women, especially when the targets of prejudice are gay men (vs. lesbians). Several studies since the 1970s have demonstrated that men react more negatively to gay men than to lesbians, whereas the reactions of women to these groups remain inconclusive (for a meta-analysis, see Kite & Whitley, 1996). Some studies indicate that women have more negative attitudes toward lesbians than men do (e.g., Massey, 2009; Whitley, 1987, 1990), but other studies (e.g., Cárdenas & Barrientos, 2008; Kite, 1984) show that men and women have similar attitudes towards this group. Although the attitudes of heterosexual men and women towards gay men and lesbians are highly correlated, the attitudes towards both groups are more similar among heterosexual women (Clarke & Arnold, 2017). This may indicate that heterosexual women perceive gay men and lesbians as a uniform group, i.e., as homosexuals, regardless of gender. Therefore, women's expressions of prejudice may reflect an attitude toward a general minority group and not an attitude that differentiates the target group by gender. This finding suggests that heterosexual women express similar levels of prejudice towards gay men and lesbians precisely because lesbians do not pose as strong a threat to their positive distinctiveness as gay men pose to that of heterosexual men. Accordingly, we expect to identify an interaction between gender (male vs. female) and the target group (gay men vs. lesbians) of the participants' prejudice, indicating that men express more prejudice against gay men than against lesbians and that this differential effect is smaller for women.

## Method

*Participants and experimental design.* To define the required sample size, we used WebPower (Zhang & Yuan, 2018), in which we specified a median expected effect size ( $f = .25$ ) and set the significance level to .05, with a test power of .80. Considering our experimental design, the minimum sample size required for testing the main and interaction effects was 127 participants. We decided to conduct the study with a larger sample because we specified that only heterosexual individuals were eligible. In total, 278 Brazilian university students enrolled in this study. However, 46 were excluded from the analyses because they described themselves as nonheterosexual. Thus, the final sample consisted of 232 university students, namely, 117 women and 115 men, with a age mean of 23.5 years ( $SD = 6.8$ ). We ensured that, on average, we had 58 participants per condition in a 2 (participant gender: male vs. female) x 2 (the target of prejudice: gay men vs. lesbians) factorial design between participants.

*Prejudice measure.* To measure sexual prejudice, we used a scale validated by Lacerda, Pereira and Camino (2002). This scale evaluates blatant prejudice in terms of avoiding close relationships with homosexuals (see Pereira, Monteiro, & Camino, 2009; Pereira, Pereira, & Monteiro, 2016). The participants indicated how uncomfortable they were with each of the ten situations described in the items (e.g., “seeing homosexual couples expressing affection”; “having a homosexual son or daughter”; “having friends who are overtly homosexual”). This scale was adapted in the present study to adjust the ten items according to the group targeted by prejudice (gay men or lesbians). For example, under the condition *gay men*, the participants answered items such as “Seeing gay men expressing affection”. Under the condition *lesbians*, the same item was written as: “Seeing lesbian expressing affection”. The items were answered on a scale from 1 (Does not bother me at all) to 5 (Bothers me a lot), with higher scores indicating greater

prejudice against gay men or lesbians. We performed exploratory factor analyses of these scales separately. The measure adopted for the condition *gay men* showed a single factor that explained 60.6% of the variance [*Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO)* = .90; *Bartlett's test*  $p < .05$ ; *eigenvalue* = 6.42; *loadings* = .58 to .89;  $\alpha = .93$ ]. The measure adapted for the condition *lesbians* also showed a single factor that explained 65.3% of the variance (*KMO* = .89; *Bartlett's test*  $p < .05$ ; *eigenvalue* = 6.84; *loadings* = .58 to .92;  $\alpha = .94$ ). The overall internal consistency was satisfactory when the two experimental conditions were analyzed together ( $\alpha = .93$ ).

*Procedures and data analysis.* The data were collected via *Survey* (online), using the platform *Qualtrics*. The university students were contacted and asked to participate in the study through social networks. The participants were instructed to answer according to what they thought and were informed that there were no right or wrong answers. We used the software SPSS, version 21, to analyze the data.

## **Results**

We applied a 2 (participant gender: male vs. female) x 2 (the target of prejudice: gay men vs. lesbians) ANOVA to the prejudice scores. The main effect of participant gender was not significant,  $F(1, 228) = .345, p = .55, \eta^2 = .00$ , but we observed a significant main effect of the target of prejudice,  $F(1, 228) = 3.682, p = .05, \eta^2 = .02$ . This effect indicates that there was more prejudice against gay men ( $M = 1.69; SD = .06$ ) than against lesbians ( $M = 1.51; SD = .06$ ). More importantly, an interaction effect was observed between the gender of the participant and the target of the prejudice,  $F(1, 228) = 11.925, p = .001, \eta^2 = .05$ . Simple effects indicated that the male participants expressed more prejudice against gay men ( $M = 1.82; SD = .09$ ) than against lesbians ( $M = 1.32; SD = .09$ ),  $F(1, 228) = 14.306, p = .001, \eta^2 = .06$ . In turn, the attitudes of the women did not differ significantly between gay men ( $M = 1.55; SD = .09$ ) and lesbians ( $M = 1.70; SD =$

.09),  $F(1, 228) = 1.188, p = .277, \eta^2 = .00$  (see Figure 1). The analysis of the interaction from another perspective showed that the men expressed more negative attitudes toward gay men than the women did,  $F(1, 228) = 4.070, p = .04, \eta^2 = .02$ , whereas they expressed less negative attitudes toward lesbians than the women did,  $F(1, 228) = 8.236, p = .004, \eta^2 = .03$ .

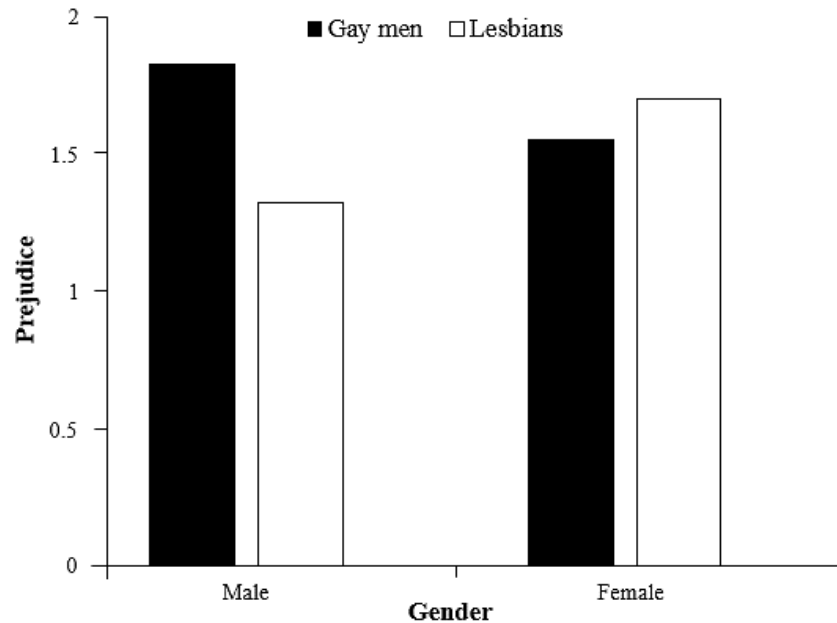


Figure 1. Prejudice as a function of participants' gender and the target group of prejudice.

## Discussion

The results of Study 1 are in line with our predictions and replicate previous findings demonstrating that heterosexual men manifest more prejudice against gay men than against lesbians, whereas heterosexual women did not differ significantly in their prejudice towards the two groups. These results have been widely discussed based on differences between men and women regarding the internalization of traditional gender roles and the construction of their social identity (e.g., Clarke & Arnold, 2017; Sirin, McCreary, & Mahalik, 2004). Our interpretation goes beyond this finding and indicates that men are especially reactive to male homosexuality because it is a source of distinctiveness threat to their male identity.

Heterosexual men may express more prejudice to demonstrate to others not only that they are heterosexual but that they fit the cultural patterns associated with their gender role, especially the masculinity pattern (Hunt, Fasoli, Carnaghi, & Cadinu, 2016). Accordingly, they express less prejudice against lesbians because lesbians do not threaten the distinctiveness of their heterosexual male identity (Schope & Eliason, 2004). Thus, the items regarding prejudice against lesbians and those regarding prejudice against gay men should activate different identity meanings in men. Men may express less prejudice against lesbians because female homosexuality may take on positive sexual meanings that are not associated with male homosexuality (Clarke & Arnold, 2017; Kite & Whitley, 1996). Conversely, items related to gay men primarily affect the gender identity of men (Glotfelter & Anderson, 2017), threatening their self-image, self-esteem and positive distinctiveness.

The results regarding the prejudice of heterosexual women against lesbians are less clear. However, some degree of the reactivity that women express toward lesbians may also occur because sexual prejudice is based on attitudes toward one's own sexual or gender identity. Most likely, men express more prejudice against gay men and women express more prejudice against lesbians in specific contexts (see Herek, 2000), and both prejudices reflect a motivation towards positive distinctiveness and the defense of gender roles, although this motivation is stronger in men than in women.

Although our findings are significant and corroborate patterns found in previous studies, they do not allow us to determine whether heterosexual men express more prejudice against gay men than against lesbians because the distinctiveness between heterosexuals and homosexuals is threatened. We address this issue in Study 2, in which we test the hypothesis that individuals perceive more difference between heterosexual men and gay men than between heterosexual women and lesbians. Consequently, the more

heterosexual men fight for distinctiveness, the more they express sexual prejudice against gay men as a target than against lesbians as a target.

## **Study 2**

In Study 2, we examine how the target of prejudice (gay men vs. lesbians) differentially affects the expression of prejudice among heterosexual men. Replicating the results from Study 1, we expect to find higher scores for prejudice against gay men than against lesbians. The present study proposes that heterosexual men are more reactive to gay men because of their effort to establish distinctiveness between heterosexuals and homosexuals and that this occurs because gay men threaten the positive distinctiveness of heterosexual men, whereas lesbians pose no threat to them. To test this hypothesis, we evaluate, in addition to prejudice, the perception of distinctiveness between heterosexual men and gay men (vs. between heterosexual women and lesbians). We expect that the participants perceive greater distinctiveness between heterosexual men and gay men. If this is the case, distinctiveness is the psychological process that mediates the relationship between the target of prejudice and sexual prejudice in men.

## **Method**

*Participants and experimental design.* The sample size was defined in WebPower (Zhang & Yuan, 2018) for simple mediation analysis. We specified a median expected effect size ( $Path\ a = .50$ ;  $Path\ b = .50$ ), setting the significance level at .05 with a test power of .80, which indicated a requirement of 65 participants for this study. We decided to include a higher number of participants than was predicted because only heterosexual individuals were considered eligible for the study. Of the 87 questionnaires administered to male subjects, eight were excluded from the analysis because the participants declared themselves as nonheterosexual. Thus, 79 heterosexual Brazilian male college students composed our final sample. The age mean was 26 years ( $SD = 6.4$ ). We manipulated the

group targeted of prejudice by using a unifactorial between-subject design, randomly allocating the participants to one of two conditions (gay men vs. lesbians).

*Distinctiveness measure* (Falomir-Pichastor, Mugny, & Berent, 2015). This measure evaluates the motivation for intergroup differentiation, bringing together five items that represent beliefs about differences between heterosexuals and homosexuals. The scale was adapted to the present study to adjust the items according to the group targeted by prejudice (gay men or lesbians). For example, for the condition *gay men*, the participants answered items such as “Heterosexual men and homosexual men have different emotional characteristics”. For the condition *lesbians*, the same item was written as “Heterosexual women and lesbians have different emotional characteristics”. The items are answered on a scale from 1 (Strongly disagree) to 7 (Strongly agree), with higher scores indicating greater perceived distinctiveness from gay men or lesbians. We performed an exploratory factorial analysis of each scale separately. The measure adapted for the condition *gay men* showed a single factor that explained 48.4% of the variance ( $KMO = .81$ ;  $Bartlett's p test < .05$ ;  $eigenvalue = 2.91$ ;  $loadings = .55$  to  $.79$ ;  $\alpha = .82$ ). The measure adapted for the condition *lesbians* also showed a single factor that explained 47.2% of the variance ( $KMO = .79$ ;  $Bartlett's p test < .05$ ;  $eigenvalue = 2.87$ ;  $loadings = .51$  to  $.76$ ;  $\alpha = .81$ ). The overall internal consistency was satisfactory when we analyzed the two experimental conditions together ( $\alpha = .82$ ).

*Prejudice measure* (Lacerda et al., 2002). We used the measure adapted for Study 1, which was scored on a Likert scale ranging from 1 (Does not bother me at all) to 5 (Bothers me a lot). The measure showed good overall internal consistency ( $\alpha = .85$ ).

*Procedures and data analysis.* Data were collected via *Survey* (online) using the platform *Qualtrics*. The data collection procedures were similar to those used in the previous study. Our hypothesis of mediation was analyzed by estimating regression

models using the tool PROCESS provided by Hayes (2013) for this procedure. We estimate confidence intervals for the indirect effect using bootstrapping with 10,000 resamples.

## Results

To test the hypothesis that distinctiveness mediates the effect of the target of prejudice on the expression of sexual prejudice, we estimated Model 4 in PROCESS (Hayes, 2013), specifying sexual prejudice as the dependent variable, the target group as the independent variable and distinctiveness as the mediating variable. The estimated parameters are shown in Figure 2.

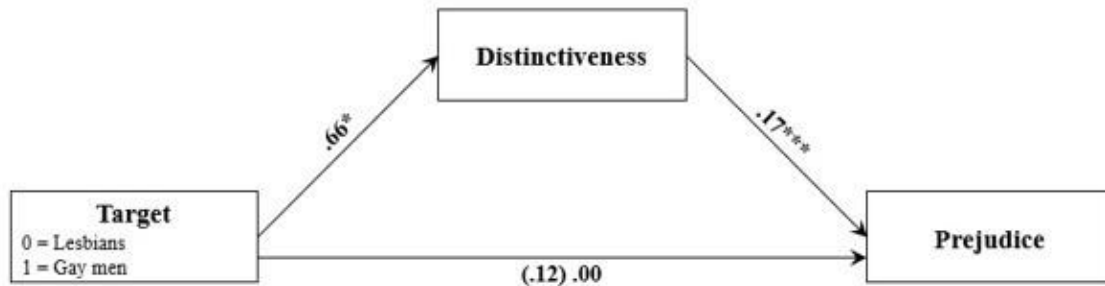


Figure 2. Target group effect on sexual prejudice mediated by the perception of distinctiveness. \* $p = .05$  \*\*\* $p = .001$

As expected, we found that the target of prejudice significantly affected the perception of distinctiveness ( $b = .66$ ,  $SE = .33$ ,  $95\%CI$ : .001 to 1.312,  $d = 0.45$ ). The participants expressed greater perceived distinctiveness from gay men ( $M = 4.23$ ;  $SD = 1.52$ ) than from lesbians ( $M = 3.57$ ;  $SD = 1.39$ ). Furthermore, we observed that the relationship between distinctiveness and prejudice was significant, indicating that the stronger the perception of distinctiveness is, the greater the prejudice against homosexuals will be ( $b = .17$ ,  $SE = .04$ ,  $95\%CI$ : .083 to .261,  $r^2_s = .40$ ). Our results demonstrate, therefore, that distinctiveness mediates the relationship between the target

of prejudice and sexual prejudice in men (*Indirect Effect* = .11, 95%*CI*: .004; .261).

## **Discussion**

The results of Study 2 replicate those of Study 1 and identify distinctiveness as a mediator of the greater reactivity of heterosexual men to gay men (vs. lesbians). Heterosexual men react more negatively against gay men and express greater prejudice, as predicted, thus differentiating themselves more strongly from gay men than heterosexual women differentiate themselves from lesbians. More importantly, we observed that the stronger the perception of distinctiveness is, the more negative the attitude toward gay men will be. Therefore, we attest that the gay target affects heterosexual men's expressions of prejudice and that distinctiveness mediates the relationship between the target and the sexual prejudice.

These findings are supported by the literature (e.g., Branscombe & Wann, 1994; Branscombe, Wann, Noel, & Coleman, 1993; Rivera & Dasgupta, 2018; Schmitt & Branscombe, 2001; Talley & Bettencourt, 2008), which suggests that heterosexual men disparage homosexuals because they perceive them as nonprototypical of the group. Thus, heterosexual men may regard gay men as deviating from masculine traits, which are important means of positive group distinctiveness. Consequently, they seek to ensure that they do not resemble gay men through intergroup differentiation.

Although the results of Study 2 support our hypotheses, this study has some important limitations. First, we did not study heterosexual women, which makes it impossible to assess their perceived distinctiveness from lesbians and to compare this result with heterosexual men's perceived distinctiveness from gay men. In addition, we did not manipulate distinctiveness threat in terms of similarities and differences between heterosexuals and homosexuals, which has already been explored as a key question in other studies (e.g., Falomir-Pichastor, Martínez, & Paterna, 2010; Falomir-Pichastor &

Mugny, 2009). Considering these issues, we must analyze the role of heterosexuals' perceptions of the differences between and similarities of heterosexual men and women's prejudice towards homosexuals, which is the focus of study 3.

### **Study 3**

In this study, we aim to replicate the effects we assessed in the first two experiments and to experimentally analyze the role of the threat to distinctiveness between heterosexuals and homosexuals in the prejudice of heterosexual men and women. In Study 1, we show that men are more reactive to gay men than women are. Study 2, in addition, shows that the reactivity of heterosexual men to gay men occurs through the perception of distinctiveness between heterosexuals and homosexuals. In the present study, we aim to test the hypothesis that the perceived threat to distinctiveness indeed motivates heterosexual men to differentiate heterosexuals from homosexuals and that this differentiation is the explanatory mechanism underlying the higher reactivity of men towards homosexuals than that of women. Specifically, in addition to the hypotheses tested in previous studies, we now aim to show that greater perceived difference between homosexuals and heterosexuals mediates the relationship between the participant's gender and sexual prejudice and that this mediation is moderated by distinctiveness threat (vs. affirmation of distinctiveness), which we experimentally activate by inducing the notion of similarities between heterosexuals and homosexuals. Mediation should occur in response to implications that no biological differences occur between these groups, a situation that threatens intergroup distinctiveness. Thus, heterosexual men should demonstrate a heightened perception of distinctiveness and express greater sexual prejudice. In turn, when the existence of a biological basis that differentiates them from gay men is implied (i.e., when their distinctiveness is affirmed), they will be assured and therefore should demonstrate a lesser perception of intergroup differentiation and express

less sexual prejudice. In contrast, this pattern of results should not be identified in the reaction of heterosexual women to lesbians because the similarity of the latter to the former is not as threatening to female intergroup distinctiveness as the similarity between heterosexual and gay men is to male intergroup distinctiveness.

## **Method**

*Participants and experimental design.* As in the previous studies, we used WebPower to define the sample size (Zhang & Yuan, 2018). We specified a median expected effect size ( $f = .25$ ), setting the significance level to .05 with power = .80. Considering our experimental design, the minimal sample for testing main and interaction effects was 128 participants. We decided to conduct the study with a larger number of participants because only heterosexual individuals were considered eligible for the study. Accordingly, we distributed 295 questionnaires, but 118 were not eligible for sampling because the participants declared themselves nonheterosexual ( $N = 44$ ), stated that they had engaged in homosexual sex ( $N = 39$ ), had felt very attracted to people of the same gender ( $N = 25$ ), did not answer the manipulation check ( $N = 9$ ) or provided missing on the dependent variable ( $N = 1$ ). Thus, 177 Brazilian university students comprised our sample (51% women) with age mean of 21.8 years ( $SD = 4.5$ ). The research plan comprises a 2 (gender of the participant: male vs. female) x 2 (distinctiveness perception: distinctiveness threat vs. affirmation of distinctiveness) between-subject factorial design.

*Distinctiveness threat manipulation.* Distinctiveness threat was manipulated using a text, which the participants believed had been published in an online newspaper. The text stated that there was scientific evidence comparing heterosexual with homosexual men (or heterosexual women with lesbians, depending on the gender of the participant) regarding genetic, biological and physiological aspects supposedly related to sexual orientation. In the condition *distinctiveness threat*, the text described the strong scientific

support for the biological similarity between homosexuals and heterosexuals. Specifically, the text highlighted the following findings:

“[...] Overall, neurobiologists and geneticists have consensus views on the lack of a genetic basis for homosexuality. Results from more than 30 years of research clearly indicate that heterosexual and homosexual men are biologically very similar, thus highlighting strong scientific support for biological similarity between homosexuals and heterosexuals”.

In the condition *affirmation of distinctiveness*, the text highlighted the strong scientific support for the theory of biological determination of sexual orientation. Specifically, the text indicated the following:

“[...] Overall, neurobiologists and geneticists have consensus views on the genetic basis of homosexuality. Results from more than 30 years of research clearly indicate that there are essential biological differences between heterosexual and homosexual men, thus highlighting strong scientific support for biological differences between homosexuals and heterosexuals”.

After reading the text, the participants answered a questionnaire that, in addition to sociodemographic data, included the following measures:

*Manipulation check.* We asked participants to indicate how much they consider homosexuals and heterosexuals biologically similar by answering the following items: “*Sexual orientation is biologically determined*” and “*There are fundamental biological differences between homosexuals and heterosexuals*”. The answers were scored on a scale from 1 (Strongly disagree) to 7 (Strongly agree). The measure showed good internal consistency ( $\alpha = .84$ ).

*Distinctiveness perception measure* (Falomir-Pichastor et al., 2015). The original version of a scale of beliefs about differences between heterosexuals and homosexuals

was used (e.g., “*Heterosexuals and homosexuals are psychologically different*”; “*Heterosexuals and homosexuals are essentially different*”). Participants answered the questions on a scale ranging from 1 (Strongly disagree) to 7 (Strongly agree). We performed an explanatory factorial analysis of this scale and found that it had a single factor that explained 49.61% of the variance (eigenvalue = 2.48; loadings = .62 to .81). The measure showed good internal consistency ( $\alpha = .83$ ).

*Prejudice measure* (Lacerda et al., 2002). The original version of a scale of blatant prejudice against homosexuals was used. The items were answered on a scale ranging from 1 (Does not bother me at all) to 5 (Bothers me a lot), and the measure showed good internal consistency ( $\alpha = .84$ ).

*Procedures and data analysis.* The questionnaires were administered in person in a classroom. The participants were instructed to answer according to what they thought and told that there were no right or wrong answers. We used the software SPSS, version 21, for data analysis. To test the hypotheses that (1) the perception of distinctiveness mediates the effect of gender on prejudice and (2) this mediation is moderated by the threat to the distinctiveness between heterosexuals and homosexuals, we performed a set of regression analyses. The mediation-moderation underlying these hypotheses was analyzed using the PROCESS macro, with which we estimated the parameters applying Model 59 (Hayes, 2013). Thus, we specified sexual prejudice as the dependent variable, gender as the independent variable, distinctiveness as mediating variable and the perception of threat/affirmation of distinctiveness as moderating variable. Codes were assigned to the conditions gender (that is, male condition = .5; female condition = -.5) and to the conditions perception of distinctiveness (that is, the condition distinctiveness threat = -.5; the condition affirmation of distinctiveness = .5). The distinctiveness scores were centered on their average. Then, interaction terms were created by multiplying the

manipulation of gender by the manipulation of the perception of distinctiveness (*gender* x *perception of threat/affirmation*).

## Results

*Manipulation check.* We initially assessed the efficacy of the experimental manipulation. The manipulation effect was significant,  $t(175) = 25.13, p < .001, d = 3.78$ . The average score was 1.49 ( $SD = .56$ ) under the distinctiveness threat condition and 4.57 ( $SD = 1.02$ ) under the affirmation of distinctiveness condition, thus providing strong evidence of the effectiveness of our experimental manipulation.

*Main analyses.* The analyses were divided into three steps, and the estimated parameters are outlined in Table 1. In the first step, prejudice was significantly predicted by the gender of the participants; that is, heterosexual man expressed more prejudice against homosexuals ( $M = 1.54; SE = .061$ ) than heterosexual women did ( $M = 1.38; SE = .059$ ). In the second step, men perceived more distinctiveness ( $M = 3.79; SE = .147$ ) than women ( $M = 3.09; SE = .143$ ). Importantly, the interaction between gender and the manipulation of distinctiveness threat was significant. Figure 3 shows the decomposition of this interaction, indicating that the effect of gender on perception of distinctiveness is significant under the distinctiveness threat condition ( $b = 1.27, SE = .29, t = 4.41, p < .001, 95\%CI: .70$  to  $1.83$ ) but not under the affirmation of distinctiveness condition ( $b = .13, SE = .29, t = .47, ns, 95\%CI: -.44$  to  $.71$ ). This result indicates that heterosexual men need distinctiveness more when their gender identity is threatened by the implication of biological similarities between them and homosexuals than otherwise.

Table 1.

Parameters estimated according to the regression models used to analyze the role of distinctiveness and DTA in the relationship between gender and sexual prejudice.

Predictors	Criterion variables		
	Step 1: Prejudice	Step 2: Perceived Distinctiveness	Step 3: Prejudice
	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>
Intercept	1.45	.02	1.45
Gender (G)	.16*	.71***	.02
DTA	-.03	.31	-.09
G x DTA	-.02	-1.13**	.23
Perceived Distinctiveness (D)			.18***
D x DTA			-.05
Model information	<i>R</i> = .15 <i>R</i> <sub>adj</sub> <sup>2</sup> = .02 <i>F</i> (3, 173) = 1.26 <i>p</i> = .29	<i>R</i> = .34 <i>R</i> <sub>adj</sub> <sup>2</sup> = .12 <i>F</i> (3, 173) = 7.62 <i>p</i> < .001	<i>R</i> = .47 <i>R</i> <sub>adj</sub> <sup>2</sup> = .22 <i>F</i> (5, 171) = 9.60 <i>p</i> < .001

Note: *b* = nonstandardized coefficients; DTA = Distinctiveness threat/affirmation.

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

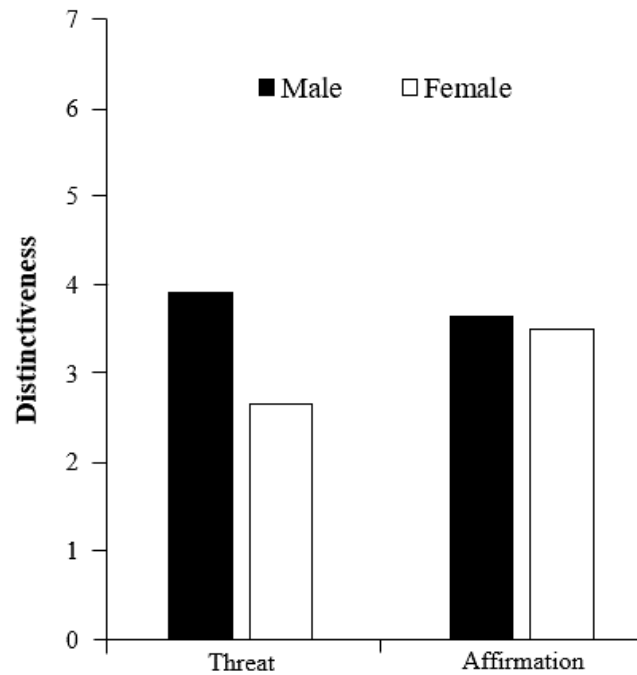
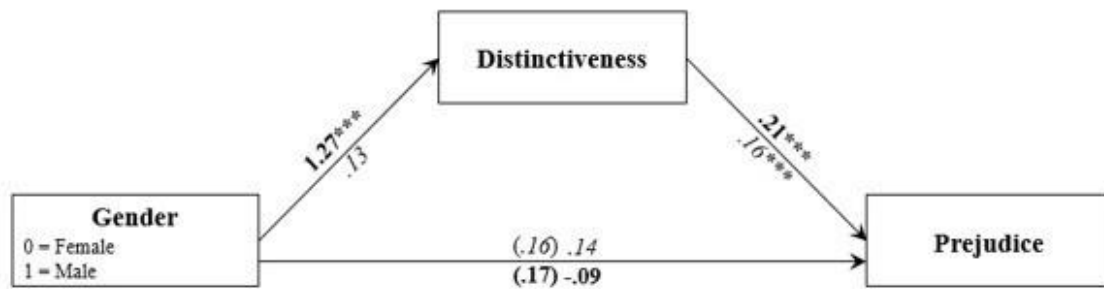


Figure 3. Perception of distinctiveness as a function of the manipulation of the threat/affirmation of distinctiveness between homosexuals and heterosexuals and participants' gender.

Consistently, the results of the third step show that the main effect of the perception of distinctiveness is significant: the stronger the perception of distinctiveness is, the greater the prejudice against homosexuals ( $b = .18, SE = .03, 95\%CI: .13 \text{ to } .24$ ). Possible mediation was observed when the direct effect of gender on prejudice was no longer significant, suggesting that the perception of distinctiveness mediates this relationship. We observed that mediation is indeed significant; therefore, men have a higher perception of distinctiveness, which is positively related to prejudice against homosexuals (*Indirect Effect* = .13,  $95\%CI: .06; .21$ ).

The significant interaction observed in the second step is more important for testing the moderation-mediation hypothesis. To better understand this effect, we observed the mediation in each experimental condition (see Figure 4). The results indicated that when we experimentally purported that there are no biological differences

between heterosexuals and homosexuals (the distinctiveness threat condition), the effect of gender was mediated by the perception of distinctiveness (*Indirect Effect* = .27, 95%*CI*: .16; .43). Mediation did not occur under the affirmation of distinctiveness condition, in which we purported that homosexuals and heterosexuals are very different biologically (*Indirect Effect* = .02, 95%*CI*: -.06; .13).



*Note:* Coefficients in bold refer to the distinctiveness threat condition. Coefficients in italics refer to the affirmation of distinctiveness condition. \*\*\* $p < .001$

*Figure 4.* Effect of gender on prejudice mediated by the perception of distinctiveness and moderated by the manipulation of threat/affirmation of the distinctiveness between heterosexual and homosexuals.

## Discussion

The results consistently demonstrate that gender is related to sexual prejudice and that this effect is mediated by the perception of distinctiveness between homosexuals and heterosexuals. In addition, we found that this mediation is moderated by the threat to the distinctiveness between heterosexual men and gay men. When the experimental condition purported that these groups are biologically similar, the motivation of heterosexual men to ensure positive differentiation increased. Conversely, when the condition purported that these groups are biologically different, no increase in the perception of distinctiveness was assessed. Thus, the need for psychological distancing was reduced, thereby narrowing the difference between men and women in the expression of sexual prejudice.

We observed that statements of biological similarities between heterosexual women and lesbians did not trigger the perception of a female distinctiveness threat. The fact that the perception of distinctiveness does not mediate the effect of gender on the sexual prejudice of women has important psychological significance because it indicates that women do not need to believe that they are biologically different from lesbians and therefore do not react with more prejudice merely to ensure intergroup differentiation. However, we may have obtained this result because, regardless of sexual orientation, women believe they share biological characteristics essentially feminine, like the reproductive system. Accordingly, the argument that heterosexual and lesbian women are biologically different may not hold; hence, female distinctiveness is not threatened under these conditions.

There is an alternative but simultaneously complementary explanation for our pattern of results regarding women. Because the female category is socially less valued than the male category (Feinman, 1981, 1984; Sirin et al., 2004), when a lesbian breaks the heteronormative pattern and deviates from the ideal of femininity, she does not call into question her female status since this status is relatively more stable than the male status (Bosson et al., 2005). That is, lesbians and heterosexual women continue to be regarded as “real women”, in contrast to gay men, who are no longer recognized as “real men” due to their sexual orientation (Glick, Gangl, Gibb, Klumpner, & Weinberg, 2007; Rudman & Glick, 2008). Simultaneously, similarities between heterosexual women and lesbians do not demean the social status of the female gender category since this category has historically already assumed a socially inferior status relative to the male category (Kray, Howland, Russell, & Jackman, 2017), which reinforces the notion that lesbians indeed do not pose a threat to female distinctiveness.

Although these findings are consistent with our predictions, they have considerable limitations. In Study 3, we indirectly manipulated the distinctiveness threat to heterosexual men and women by merely highlighting similarity (vs. difference) between the two categories (heterosexuals and homosexuals). In this procedure, the participants acted as observers in both experimental situations, but noting indicated that they were personally affected by threat/affirmation situations. It is necessary to directly activate the distinctiveness threat felt by the participants by establishing that they share (vs. not share) personal features with homosexuals. This activation can be reached, for example, by convincing heterosexual men that they score low on heterosexual male traits and share specific personality traits with gay men. Such a procedure can also be performed with heterosexual women concerning lesbians, to test whether a distinctiveness threat is felt more strongly by men than women. Study 4 addresses this possibility.

#### **Study 4**

In Study 4, we directly manipulated distinctiveness threat by providing false feedback about the participants' personality traits (compatible vs. incompatible with gays/lesbians). We subsequently measured implicit sexual prejudice using the IAT (Greenwald et al., 1998). Our predictions extend Study 3's results by proposing that heterosexual men are more implicitly affected by distinctiveness threats. Thus, we predict that when compatibility between heterosexual and homosexual personality traits is highlighted (i.e., in the threatening distinctiveness condition), men will express more implicit bias toward gays than women towards lesbians. On the other hand, when the distinctiveness between groups is preserved (i.e., in the distinctiveness affirmation condition), no effect of gender on implicit prejudice should occur.

## Method

*Participants and experimental design.* As in previous studies, we estimated the sample size by specifying a median expected effect size ( $f = .25$ ), with  $p$ -value = .05 and power = .80. Considering our experimental design, the estimated sample size to detect an interaction effects was 128 participants. We obtained 126 undergraduates and stopped collecting data because the semester ended and there were no more students on campus. However 51 were disregarded from our analyses because they declared themselves to be non-heterosexual ( $N = 32$ ), did not declare their sexual orientation ( $N = 3$ ), failed in the manipulation check ( $N = 12$ ) or were extreme outliers in the dependent variable ( $N = 4$ ). Thus, 75 participants were eligible for the final sample, 36 women and 39 men (mean age = 21.7 years;  $SD = 5.8$ ). Because of this break in the sample size, we carried out a sensitivity analysis for fixed main effects and interactions with  $\alpha = .05$ , numerator  $df = 1$  and four groups, which indicated that we had an 80% chance of detecting a middle effect ( $f = 0.33$ ). We randomly located the participants in one of the two experimental conditions: distinctiveness threat vs. affirmation of distinctiveness.

*Manipulation of distinctiveness threat/affirmation.* On the basis of a cover story, we invited the participants to collaborate in a study on implicit personality traits. They answered a supposed implicit personality test on a computer. To assure the credibility of our cover story, we told them that the test they were going to take was based on reaction time to assess personality traits more reliably. We then presented random individual features (e.g., adaptable, kind, ambitious) on the computer screen and asked the participants to indicate, by pressing an appropriate key, whether or not each attribute described their personality. In reality, the computer did not record any information, since it only served to lead the participants to believe their personality features were being evaluated. When completing this task, the software simulated that it was processing

answers, and after a brief interval, presented to the participants the test results of their personality profiles. We summarized these fictitious results in three graphs, which showed the similarity (vs. dissimilarity) between participants' personality profiles and those of homosexual (vs. heterosexual) individuals. After viewing the graphs, the participants read a summary of their results. Randomly, half of them received false feedback describing that they have personality traits very compatible with those of homosexual profiles (heterosexual men received feedback comparing them with gay men, while heterosexual women received feedback comparing them with lesbians); the other half of participants received a version of the feedback describing their dissimilarity with homosexual profiles. Specifically, in the condition *distinctiveness threat*, the men [vs. women] participants read this text:

“[...] Your profile indicates that you are a person who has psychological and behavioral characteristics very similar to those expressed by gay men [lesbians]. Your thoughts, actions and worldview are similar to those often presented by gay men's [lesbians'] profiles, but this similarity occurs unconsciously. Individuals with implicit personality like yours usually express their homosexuality sooner or later in life. This form of homosexuality can occur in specific episodes, or it can be more stable, lasting for the rest of a person's life.”

In the other condition, *affirmation of distinctiveness*, the men [vs. women] participants read this text:

“[...] Your profile indicates that you are a person who has psychological and behavioral characteristics very different to those expressed by gay men [lesbians]. Your thoughts, actions and worldview are different to those often presented in gay men's [lesbians'] profiles, but this dissimilarity occurs unconsciously. Individuals with this implicit personality type never manifest homo-affective desires or

inclinations throughout their lives. Heterosexuality is stable, lasting for the rest of a person's life.”

After reading the feedbacks with their personality profiles, the participants responded to the IAT and a manipulation check measure. We thoroughly debriefed all participants after completing the experiment. We implemented the procedures and collected the data using the E-Prime software, version 2.0 (Psychology Software Tools, 2002).

*Implicit prejudice measure.* We used the version of IAT developed by Pereira (2009) to measure implicit attitudes towards homosexuals. We assessed the extent to which the participants associated two target concepts (Homosexual vs. Heterosexual) with two evaluative concepts (“Good” vs. “Bad”). We presented the concept “homosexuals” using four pre-tested photos of homosexual couples, while representing the concept of “heterosexual” with four also pre-tested photos of heterosexual couples. We represented the evaluative concepts of “good” and “bad” with eight positive words and eight negative words (see Greenwald et al., 1998). Participants performed five task blocks. Blocks 1, 2 and 4 were practice blocks. Blocks 3 and 5 were critical ones. In one of the critical blocks, participants performed compatible categorization tasks, in which they categorized heterosexual couples and positive words by pressing a specific key (i.e., heterosexual + good) and categorized homosexual couples and negative words by pressing another specific key (i.e., homosexuals + bad). In the other critical block, participants performed incompatible categorization tasks, in which they categorized heterosexual couples and negative words with a specific key (i.e., heterosexual + bad) and categorized homosexual couples and positive words with another specific key (i.e., homosexual + good). In the practical blocks, the participants made 40 judgments, and in

the critical blocks, they made 48 judgments. As in research using the IAT, we balanced presentation of critical blocks to avoid order effects.

*Manipulation check.* We asked participants to indicate the extent to which they perceived their personality traits as compatible vs. incompatible with those of heterosexual and homosexual individuals (1 = Exclusively heterosexual personality traits to 4 = Exclusively homosexual personality traits). The participants in the distinctiveness threat condition perceived their personality as more similar to homosexuals ( $M = 3.17$ ;  $SD = .38$ ), while participants in the distinctiveness affirmation condition perceived their personality as more similar to heterosexuals ( $M = 1.22$ ;  $SD = .42$ ),  $t(73) = 20.39$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $d = 4.71$ .

## Results

We used conventional procedures to compute the D-IAT scores after categorizing reaction times of less than 300 ms and greater than 10000 ms as incorrect responses (see Greenwald, Nosek, & Banaji, 2003). No participant showed error rate greater than 40%, so we kept the 75 subjects in the sample. We then applied ANOVA 2 (participants' gender: men vs. women) x 2 (distinctiveness: distinctiveness threat vs. distinctiveness affirmation) to the D-IAT scores. The main effect of manipulation of distinctiveness was non-significant,  $F(1, 71) = .098$ ,  $p = .75$ ,  $\eta^2 = .00$ , but we found a significant main effect of gender,  $F(1, 71) = 4.131$ ,  $p = .046$ ,  $\eta^2 = .05$ , indicating that heterosexual men expressed more implicit prejudice ( $M = .192$ ;  $SE = .083$ ) than heterosexual women ( $M = -.050$ ;  $SE = .085$ ). Importantly, this effect was marginally moderated by distinctiveness threat,  $F(1, 71) = 3.25$ ,  $p = .07$ ,  $\eta^2 = .04$ .

Simple effects indicated (see Figure 5) that men expressed more implicit prejudice ( $M = .317$ ;  $SE = .130$ ) than women ( $M = -.139$ ;  $SE = .130$ ) in the distinctiveness threat condition,  $F(1, 71) = 6.136$ ,  $p = .01$ ,  $\eta^2 = .08$ . In contrast, in the affirmation of

distinctiveness condition, expressing implicit prejudice was not different between men ( $M = .066$ ;  $SE = .103$ ) and women ( $M = .038$ ;  $SE = .110$ ),  $F(1, 71) = .033$ ,  $p = .85$ ,  $\eta^2 = .00$ .

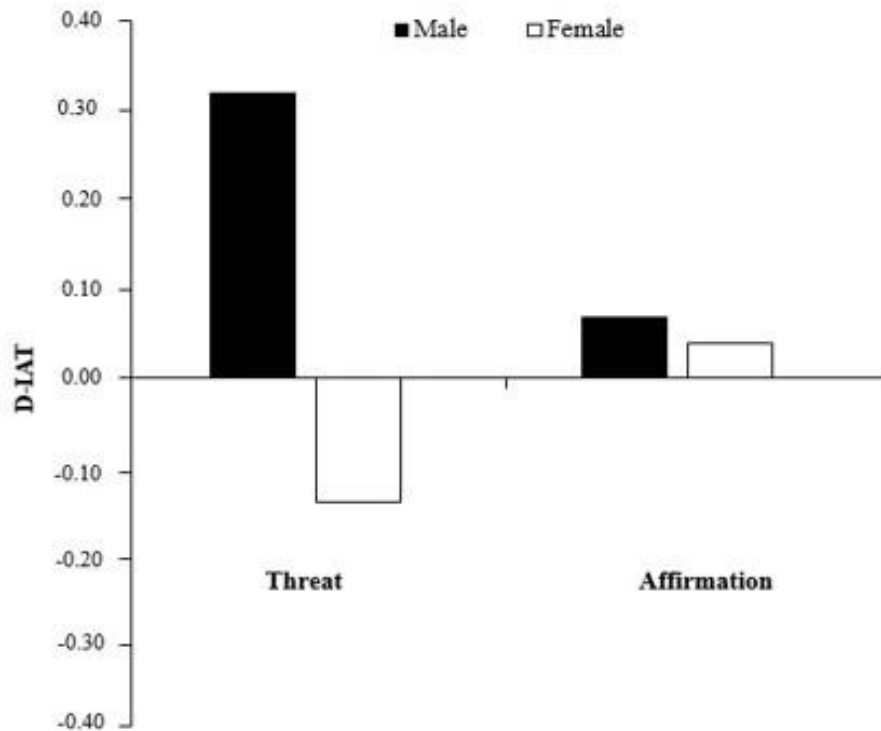


Figure 5. Implicit prejudice (D-IAT) as function of distinctiveness threat/affirmation manipulation and participants' gender.

In addition, considering a gender-specific reaction to manipulation, men expressed more implicit prejudice in the distinctiveness threat condition than in the affirmation condition, but effect size was not sufficiently strong to reach significance,  $F(1, 71) = 2.297$ ,  $p = .134$ ,  $\eta^2 = .03$ . We observed a different pattern in women participants. They showed less implicit prejudice in the threat condition than in the distinctiveness affirmation condition, but the effect size was very small and far from being reliable,  $F(1, 71) = 1.079$ ,  $p = .302$ ,  $\eta^2 = .01$ . Finally, comparing the D-IAT mean scores against zero in each conditions, we found it was significantly different from zero in the male participants in the distinctiveness threat condition ( $b = .32$ ,  $SE = .13$ ,  $t = 2.44$ ,  $p =$

.01,  $d = .56$ ), but not in the distinctiveness affirmation condition ( $b = .06$ ,  $SE = .10$ ,  $t = .64$ ,  $p = .52$ ,  $d = .15$ ). For women, the D-IAT was not significantly different from zero in the threat condition ( $b = -.14$ ,  $SE = .13$ ,  $t = -1.06$ ,  $p = .29$ ,  $d = -.24$ ), or in the distinctiveness affirmation condition ( $b = .04$ ,  $SE = .11$ ,  $t = .35$ ,  $p = .73$ ,  $d = .08$ ).

## **Discussion**

In this study, we directly manipulated distinctiveness threat/affirmation and observed its impact on individuals' implicit bias towards homosexuals. Although we obtained a final sample size somewhat underpowered because of excluding ineligible participants from the sample, we found a pattern of results consistent with our predictions and with the effects we obtained in previous studies. That is, the current study reinforces evidence that distinctiveness threat mainly affects heterosexual men. They act with more prejudice as a reacting action to their impaired distinctiveness as heterosexual men.

Accordingly, these results not only replicate those of Study 3, but also go further by demonstrating that men express more sexual prejudice than women, not only at the explicit, but also at the implicit level. This effect follows our rationale that both explicit and implicit prejudice are present in heterosexual men, since they are motivated by their struggle to maintain intergroup distinctiveness. As predicted, we observed a different pattern of results in heterosexual women, since distinctiveness threat manipulation did not affect the implicit bias of women participants towards lesbians. This phenomenon is in line with our prediction, according to which lesbian behaviours do not represent a source of identity threat to women (Glotfelter & Anderson, 2017; Herek, 1988, 2000; Kite & Whitley, 1996). Reactive prejudice towards lesbians does not seem to be a way of affirming the identity of heterosexual women.

## General Discussion

Positive distinctiveness threat is a central factor in ingroup bias and may be a key explanatory mechanism for differences between men and women in the expression of sexual prejudice. In four experimental studies, we addressed these issues and demonstrated that heterosexual men express more prejudice than heterosexual women do, especially against gay men, because they feel a greater need for positive differentiation, and prejudice is a defensive strategy to ensure intergroup distinctiveness.

In Study 1, we manipulated the target of prejudice (gay men vs. lesbians) and observed that men manifested more prejudice against gay men, whereas women did not significantly differentiate between the target groups. In Study 2, we manipulated the target groups in a sample of heterosexual men and demonstrated that they differentiated themselves more from gay men than heterosexual women did from lesbians; we determined that this differentiation mediates the stronger prejudice of heterosexual men against gay men than against lesbians. In Study 3, we advanced by indirectly manipulating the perception of distinctiveness (distinctiveness threat vs. affirmation of distinctiveness) between these groups in a sample of men and women and demonstrated that distinctiveness mediates the relationship between gender and prejudice and that this effect is moderated by the perception of a threat to the distinctiveness between heterosexual men and gay men. Finally, in Study 4, we directly manipulated individuals' distinctiveness threat and found that men reacted with more implicit bias than women when intergroup distinctiveness was under threat.

Our interpretation of the observed effects is that the prejudice of heterosexual men is related to a greater motivation for positive distinctiveness from homosexual men, since they expressed less prejudice when they were assured that they are unambiguously different from gay men. In contrast, we did not observe greater motivation among women

to positively distinguish themselves from lesbians, which further supports our consideration of distinctiveness as a predominantly male psychological mechanism, which may explain the increased expression of sexual prejudice in men.

Our concept of the greater need for differentiation among men is in line with the literature on this topic, which has shown that men internalize gender social systems more strongly than women do (Herek, 1986; Kite & Whitley, 1996) and dichotomize more sexual roles (Bosson & Michniewicz, 2013). Historically, men not only take on superior social roles in relation to gender systems but are also driven from an early age to demonstrate traits and characteristics that help maintain their position of dominance in the social hierarchy (Kray et al., 2017). Heterosexual men, particularly those highly identified with their gender group, avoid personality traits that might counteract this hierarchy. Such traits are associated with low status and therefore considered stereotypical of women (Rudman, Moss-Racusin, Phelan, & Nauts, 2012) and gay men (Salvati et al., 2016).

Our results are also consistent with the gender dichotomization effect. The more that male and female traits are dichotomized, the more individuals perceive psychological distance between identity aspects of their ingroup and outgroup (Talley & Bettencourt, 2008). Psychological distance is a mechanism of intergroup differentiation that acts as a consequence of perceived threat to identity. In other words, it is a reaction to something that affects the individual's self-concept (Liviatan, Trope, & Liberman, 2008). The dichotomy of gender identity has implications at the behavioral level. Since dichotomization is related with distinctiveness threat (e.g., gay men for heterosexual men), reactive behavior of heterosexual men, but not women, can restore gender status (see Bosson et al., 2009; Weaver, Vandello, & Bosson, 2013).

The distinctiveness mechanism works so that when heterosexual men realize that they share relevant characteristics with homosexuals, a group, in their view, is closer to the female group than the male group (Clarke & Arnold, 2017), they feel psychologically uncomfortable and, possibly, socially embarrassed. To overcome this tension, reestablish their self-esteem, as well as the positive distinctiveness of their group, they seek to distance themselves from homosexuals, being able to express discriminatory behaviors against them (Gabarro et al., 2009). The rejection of gay men strengthens the traditional gender hierarchy and helps heterosexual men ensure the intergroup distinction needed to support their social identity, in which they struggle to be positively distinct from women (Falomir-Pichastor et al., 2015).

We observed that similarities between heterosexual women and lesbians did not pose a threat to female distinctiveness and that, in this case, sexual prejudice among women should not be explained in these terms. Conversely, the results showed that attitudes toward gay men and lesbians are more similar among women than among men (see Cohen, Hall, & Tuttle, 2009; Herek, 1988, 2000; Kite & Whitley, 1996, 1998). Men likely establish their attitudes toward such groups based on gender and sexual identity, which may lead them to different ways of thinking about lesbians and gay men. Women, in turn, apparently organize their attitudes in terms of a more generalist minority group that does not differentiate gay men so clearly and definitively from lesbians (Herek, 2000, 2002). This is related to the fact that heterosexual women feel less affected by the violation of gender roles by lesbians, thereby rendering the expression of prejudice against lesbians less relevant to maintaining their self-image and positive social identity (Falomir-Pichastor & Mugny, 2009). Taken together, our findings establish the critical role of distinctiveness threat in the greater expression of prejudice and sexual discrimination by men.

### *Theoretical implications*

Our discussion focuses on the relevance of current findings to the field of study that examines gender differences in the expression of prejudice against gays and lesbians. This body of research still has room for theoretical explanations of why heterosexual men are more uncomfortable with homosexuality than women and, consequently, why they are the main aggressors against homosexuals (GGB, 2018). Our results are consistent with the literature on sexual prejudice, which defines prejudice as a psychosociological mechanism used to differentiate, delegitimize and discriminate against socially devalued or stigmatized categories (Herek, 2000, 2016; Herek & McLemore, 2013).

The prejudice of men has been mainly explained by the need to maintain the hegemonic model of masculinity and the pattern of heteronormativity, which involves a series of social and sexual privileges over women and LGBTQIA+ groups (Allen & Mendez, 2018; Javaid, 2018). Our study seeks to broaden this explanation by suggesting that psychological distancing and group differentiation are psychological processes resulting from a threat to heterosexual male distinctiveness. Such a threat is therefore the basis for prejudice against gay men.

Our findings are based on the theory of social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and take the concept of positive distinctiveness as a core-concept for understanding individuals' reaction to homosexuality. Our results are consistent with theorizing from the Social Identity Framework, according to which cognitive and motivational-based psychological processes motivate group behaviors and is useful to explain complex social phenomena (e.g., Camino & Torres, 2013). Social identity drives group distinctiveness to maintain the status hierarchy of ingroup over outgroups. This status hierarchy function follows specific criteria, and sexual orientation is still one of the most critical evaluation

criteria in Western societies to define the supremacy of particular groups (Herz & Johansson, 2015).

Our explanation for such a research question assumes the premises of the theory of social identity. However, other models based on different theoretical assumptions have been discussed in the literature. MacInnis and Hodson (2014), for example, investigated the relationship between sex and sexual prejudice based on the theory of social dominance (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). The authors hypothesized that the orientation towards social dominance, together with sexism, mediates this relationship, predicting prejudice against gays more consistently than against lesbians. Similarly, Whitley and Ægisdóttir (2000) proposed an alternative explanation, inserting gender beliefs, right-wing authoritarianism and social dominance as mediating factors for gender effect on homophobia. Although the results were significant, since the endorsement of such variables increased the negative attitudes towards homosexuals, the study did not allow analyzing the direction of the relationships because it was based on correlational designs. Our model moves away from these previous studies in theoretical and methodological terms, insofar as we adopted an intergroup perspective, emphasizing the role of identity factors, and examined, on an experimental basis, the relationship between sex and prejudice against gays and lesbians separately.

Furthermore, because these variables (i.e., gender beliefs, authoritarianism, social dominance, sexism) are more strongly expressed by heterosexual men than by women, maybe distinctiveness is a common factor underlying these endorsements. For example, perhaps men support essentialist beliefs about gender roles due to a need to differentiate positively from women, since maintaining such beliefs entails more significant social benefits for them only. Likewise, authoritarianism and social dominance are ideological conceptions defended more strongly by men than by women (Duncan, Peterson, &

Winter, 1997; Whitley & Ægisdóttir, 2000), and this might correspond to the need to maintain the status quo and differentiate such social groups.

The present study may also help to understand the functions of stereotypes and self-stereotypes (Coleman & Hong, 2008; Tajfel, 1981). To maintain their gender status, people may engage in self-stereotypes or regard themselves mainly in terms of their group characteristics (Hogg & Turner, 1987). Furthermore, to protect the status of their group, they may strengthen their group identification (Doosje & Ellemers, 1997). Thus, when heterosexual men, especially those who strongly identify with their group, perceive themselves as similar to homosexuals in some stereotyped aspect, intergroup differences are compromised, and therefore, their motivation to react with prejudice increases.

Although stereotyping has a strong cognitive aspect, prejudice and stereotypes are socially shared (Tajfel, 1981). Stereotypes fulfill both individual and social functions in that they contribute to preserving the value system of individuals, to allowing people to differentiate their own group (in-group) from other groups (out-groups) and, a posteriori, to justifying violent conduct, intentional or unintentional, toward out-groups (Clarke & Arnold, 2017; Cohen et al., 2009). Accordingly, stereotypes provide people with a satisfying self-image and a positive and distinct social identity, and they ensure the protection of their beliefs and positions in relation to other social groups (Vaughn, Teeters, Sadler, & Cronan, 2017).

Stereotypes related to male homosexuality reveal the notion that gay men have strong attributes that are stereotypical of women (Clarke & Arnold, 2017; Kite & Deaux, 1987). These stereotypes are negative and are endorsed mainly by heterosexual men (Allen & Smith, 2011; Hunt et al., 2016). Homosexuals, especially “effeminates”, while sharing biological similarities with heterosexual men, have a homosexual sexual orientation and a feminine presentation in their gender identity, which completely violates

gender-related normative standards (Glick et al., 2007; Salvati et al., 2016). They move away from the socially idealized pattern of masculinity and, in the heterosexual view, move toward the female category, a socially less-valued category (Feinman, 1981, 1984). This may explain why men who do not fit the heteronormative model and who have more attributes that are stereotypically applied to women are the preferred target of prejudice in society (Kiebel et al., 2019). Proportionately, it can explain the fact that transvestites and transsexuals face greater risks of being murdered, especially in Brazil (GGB, 2018).

#### *Limitations and future directions*

Despite consistent evidence supporting our hypotheses, the results of this set of studies have some important limitations and future research should consider them. First, we do not include a control situation in the manipulation of the perception of distinctiveness. In our study 3, this manipulation was operationalized in terms of biological similarities or differences between heterosexuals and homosexuals, and in Study 4, in terms of compatibility or incompatibilities between the personality traits of these groups. A control situation in Study 3 could present a lack of scientific consensus on the biological explanation of sexual orientation, which would make it possible to assess effects of this controversy on the expression of group differentiation.

Second, in this study, distinctiveness was measured using a five-item scale examining essentialist beliefs about differences between heterosexuals and homosexuals (Falomir-Pichastor et al., 2015). Despite the good reliability of the measurement and the consistent pattern of findings, future research should replicate these findings using other group differentiation tools; additionally, it should include measures of gender identity or gender self-perception (for example, hypermasculinity; see Whitley, 2002) to test male identity as a possible moderating variable. Most importantly, the independent variable gender is an observable variable that cannot be manipulated experimentally. Thus, a

relationship of effect or causality between the variables gender and prejudice cannot be inferred.

As a future possibility, it would also be interesting to investigate heterosexual women's stereotypes regarding lesbians by manipulating the perception of the femininity of lesbians (maintained/reduced femininity) and by assessing whether the reduced femininity condition could threaten the positive distinctiveness of heterosexual women. Just as men are encouraged to demonstrate gender-typical attributes and behaviors, women are encouraged to express traits and behaviors that represent femininity, such sensitivity, kindness, and cooperation (Kray et al., 2017; Rudman et al., 2012). Accordingly, the violation of female gender norms may threaten the positive distinctiveness of heterosexual women to some extent. Later searches examining this relationship is pertinent.

Despite these limitations, the present research represents a key contribution to understanding why men systematically express more homophobic prejudice than women. Our results have direct implications for the study of identity factors in the expression of sexual prejudice. They may contribute to the field of study on intergroup relations and foster an understanding of the psychosocial mechanisms that make sexual prejudice resistant to change.

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## Appendix

### Appendix 1. Scales used in Study 1.

#### Prejudice Measure (adapted; Lacerda et al., 2002)

*Version answered by male participants:*

Indique em que medida você se sentiria incomodado(a) em cada uma das seguintes situações. Quanto maior for o número assinalado, maior será o seu incômodo.

	Incomoda Nada - - - - - Incomoda Muito				
01. Ter no seu grupo de trabalho da faculdade um gay	1	2	3	4	5
02. Receber em sua casa um casal de gays	1	2	3	4	5
03. Ter amigos que sejam homossexuais assumidos	1	2	3	4	5
04. Ver casais de homens gays namorando	1	2	3	4	5
05. Ter um filho gay	1	2	3	4	5
06. Saber que um familiar próximo é gay	1	2	3	4	5
07. Ter um professor gay	1	2	3	4	5
08. Conversar com gays	1	2	3	4	5
09. Se um filho seu tivesse amizades com homens gays	1	2	3	4	5
10. Morar com gays assumidos	1	2	3	4	5

*Version answered by female participants:*

Indique em que medida você se sentiria incomodado(a) em cada uma das seguintes situações. Quanto maior for o número assinalado, maior será o seu incômodo.

	<b>Incomoda Nada - - - - - Incomoda Muito</b>				
01. Ter no seu grupo de trabalho da faculdade uma lésbica	1	2	3	4	5
02. Receber em sua casa um casal de lésbicas	1	2	3	4	5
03. Ter amigas que sejam homossexuais assumidas	1	2	3	4	5
04. Ver casais de lésbicas namorando	1	2	3	4	5
05. Ter uma filha lésbica	1	2	3	4	5
06. Saber que uma familiar próxima é lésbica	1	2	3	4	5
07. Ter uma professora lésbica	1	2	3	4	5
08. Conversar com lésbicas	1	2	3	4	5
09. Se uma filha sua tivesse amizades com lésbicas	1	2	3	4	5
10. Morar com lésbicas assumidas	1	2	3	4	5

## Appendix 2. Scales used in Study 2.

### Distinctiveness perception measure (adapted; Falomir-Pichastor et al., 2015)

*Version answered by male participants:*

Pedimos que indique, utilizando a escala de resposta abaixo de cada uma das afirmações, em que medida você concorda com cada uma delas. Quanto maior for o número assinalado, maior será a sua concordância.

a) Homens heterossexuais e homens gays são psicologicamente diferentes.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Discordo muito			Não concordo, nem discordo			Concordo muito

b) Eu posso identificar facilmente homens homossexuais por sua forma de ser e se comportar.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Discordo muito			Não concordo, nem discordo			Concordo muito

c) Homens heterossexuais e homens homossexuais são essencialmente diferentes.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Discordo muito			Não concordo, nem discordo			Concordo muito

d) Homens heterossexuais e homens homossexuais têm diferentes características emocionais.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Discordo muito			Não concordo, nem discordo			Concordo muito

e) Homens heterossexuais e homens homossexuais têm diferentes traços de personalidade.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Discordo muito			Não concordo, nem discordo			Concordo muito

*Version answered by female participants:*

Pedimos que indique, utilizando a escala de resposta abaixo de cada uma das afirmações, em que medida você concorda com cada uma delas. Quanto maior for o número assinalado, maior será a sua concordância.

a) Mulheres heterossexuais e lésbicas são psicologicamente diferentes.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Discordo muito			Não concordo, nem discordo			Concordo muito

b) Eu posso identificar facilmente mulheres lésbicas por sua forma de ser e se comportar.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Discordo muito			Não concordo, nem discordo			Concordo muito

c) Mulheres heterossexuais e lésbicas são essencialmente diferentes.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Discordo muito			Não concordo, nem discordo			Concordo muito

d) Mulheres heterossexuais e lésbicas têm diferentes características emocionais.


1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Discordo muito			Não concordo, nem discordo			Concordo muito

e) Mulheres heterossexuais e lésbicas têm diferentes traços de personalidade.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Discordo muito			Não concordo, nem discordo			Concordo muito

## Appendix 3. Materials used in the experimental manipulation of Study 3.

*Text used in the affirmation of distinctiveness condition:*

<b>Notícias</b>	<b>Especial</b>	<b>Serviço</b>	<b>Galeria</b>	<b>Erramos</b>	<b>Colunas</b>	<b>Fale conosco</b>	<b>Atendimento ao assinante</b>	<b>Grupo</b>	 O que é isso?
Em cima da hora	Ambiente	Bichos	Brasil	Ciência e Saúde	Comida	Cotidiano	Dinheiro	Educação	Equilíbrio

11/07/2012 - 13h37

### Fim da polêmica sobre as causas da homossexualidade

Maria João Vieira  
da **Agência de Notícias**


Geneticistas e neurobiólogos têm se dedicado a pesquisar a sexualidade humana, buscando verificar possíveis variações biológicas e fisiológicas entre heterossexuais e homossexuais. Especificamente, os cientistas têm avaliado diferenças genéticas, taxas de hormônios androgênicos no período da gravidez, bem como o tamanho de subáreas do hipotálamo que podem estar relacionadas com a orientação sexual.

O geneticista Dean Hamer (Instituto Nacional de Saúde dos EUA) sustenta a tese de que homossexuais e heterossexuais são geneticamente muito diferentes. Ele diz ter descoberto genes numa determinada região, a que ele chamou GAY-1, associados à homossexualidade, e afirma que "Os genes transmitem as características hereditárias e contêm 'instruções' para a produção das substâncias que fazem os organismos funcionarem. De fato, as pesquisas mais atuais sobre este tema têm mostrado que há, do ponto de vista genético, uma forte probabilidade de homossexuais terem filhos também homossexuais".

Nesta mesma linha de raciocínio, o pesquisador norte-americano Simon LeVay (Universidade da Califórnia, EUA), ao estudar as células do hipotálamo de homossexuais e heterossexuais, descobriu que elas tinham tamanhos diferentes para cada grupo. O hipotálamo é considerado a região do cérebro responsável pela elaboração das emoções e dos sentimentos eróticos. O Dr. LeVay realizou 41 autópsias em heterossexuais e homossexuais masculinos [femininos]. As análises mostraram que os hipotálamos dos homossexuais do sexo masculino [feminino] eram menores do que os dos heterossexuais do mesmo sexo. Tal descoberta mostra uma relação direta entre a orientação afetivo-sexual e a conformação celular do hipotálamo.

No conjunto, os neurobiólogos e os geneticistas têm opiniões consensuais sobre a base genética da homossexualidade. Os resultados obtidos em mais de 30 anos de pesquisa indicam claramente que existem diferenças biológicas essenciais entre homens heterossexuais e homossexuais [mulheres heterossexuais e lésbicas], realçando, dessa maneira, o forte apoio científico para as diferenças biológicas entre homossexuais e heterossexuais.

*Text used in the distinctiveness threat condition:*

<b>Notícias</b>	<b>Especial</b>	<b>Serviço</b>	<b>Galeria</b>	<b>Erramos</b>	<b>Colunas</b>	<b>Fale conosco</b>	<b>Atendimento ao assinante</b>	<b>Grupo</b>	 O que é isso?
Em cima da hora	Ambiente	Bichos	Brasil	Ciência e Saúde	Comida	Cotidiano	Dinheiro	Educação	Equilíbrio

11/07/2012 - 13h37

## Fim da polêmica sobre as causas da homossexualidade

Maria João Vieira

da **Agência de Notícias**

Geneticistas e neurobiólogos têm se dedicado a pesquisar a sexualidade humana, buscando verificar possíveis variações biológicas e fisiológicas entre heterossexuais e homossexuais. Especificamente, os cientistas têm avaliado diferenças genéticas, taxas de hormônios androgênicos no período da gravidez, bem como o tamanho de subáreas do hipotálamo que podem estar relacionadas com a orientação sexual.

O geneticista Dean Hamer (Instituto Nacional de Saúde dos EUA) sustenta a tese de que homossexuais e heterossexuais são geneticamente iguais. Ele diz que ainda não foram descobertos genes associados à homossexualidade, e afirma que "mesmo que os genes transmitam as características hereditárias e contenham 'instruções' para a produção das substâncias que fazem os organismos funcionarem, as pesquisas mais atuais sobre este tema mostram que não há, do ponto de vista genético, como homossexuais terem filhos também homossexuais".

Nesta mesma linha de raciocínio, o pesquisador norte-americano Simon LeVay (Universidade da Califórnia, EUA), ao estudar as células do hipotálamo de homossexuais e heterossexuais, descobriu que elas tinham tamanhos iguais em cada grupo. O hipotálamo é considerado a região do cérebro responsável pela elaboração das emoções e dos sentimentos eróticos. O Dr. LeVay realizou 41 autópsias em heterossexuais e homossexuais masculinos [femininos]. As análises mostraram que os hipotálamos dos homossexuais do sexo masculino [feminino] eram iguais aos dos heterossexuais do mesmo sexo. Tal descoberta mostra que não existe uma relação direta entre a orientação afetivo-sexual e a conformação celular do hipotálamo.

No conjunto, os neurobiólogos e os geneticistas têm opiniões consensuais sobre a inexistência de uma base genética da homossexualidade. Os resultados obtidos em mais de 30 anos de pesquisa indicam claramente que homens heterossexuais e homossexuais [mulheres heterossexuais e lésbicas] são biologicamente muito semelhantes, realçando, dessa maneira, o forte apoio científico para a semelhança biológica entre homossexuais e heterossexuais.

#### **Appendix 4.** Materials used in the experimental manipulation of Study 4.

##### ***Versions for male participants:***

###### *Text used in the affirmation of distinctiveness condition:*

A partir da análise de seus resultados, constatamos valores elevados em traços de personalidade incompatíveis com a personalidade de homens gays. Portanto, seu perfil indica que você é uma pessoa que tem características psicológicas e comportamentais muito diferentes daquelas endossadas por homens gays. Sua forma de pensar, agir e se posicionar socialmente é diferente da das pessoas deste grupo e isto ocorre inconscientemente. As pessoas com este tipo de personalidade implícita nunca manifestam desejos ou inclinações homoafetivas ao longo da vida. A heterossexualidade é estável, instalando-se e perpetuando-se para o resto da vida da pessoa.

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###### *Text used in the distinctiveness threat condition:*

A partir da análise de seus resultados, constatamos valores elevados em traços de personalidade compatíveis com a personalidade de homens gays. Portanto, seu perfil indica que você é uma pessoa que tem características psicológicas e comportamentais muito semelhantes àquelas endossadas por homens gays. Sua forma de pensar, agir e se posicionar socialmente é semelhante à das pessoas deste grupo e isto ocorre inconscientemente. As pessoas com este tipo de personalidade implícita normalmente expressam a sua homossexualidade mais cedo ou mais tarde. A manifestação dessa forma de homossexualidade pode ocorrer em episódios pontuais em algum momento específico, ou pode ser mais estável, instalando-se e perpetuando-se para o resto da vida da pessoa

***Versions for female participants:***

*Text used in the affirmation of distinctiveness condition:*

A partir da análise de seus resultados, constatamos valores elevados em traços de personalidade incompatíveis com a personalidade de lésbicas. Portanto, seu perfil indica que você é uma pessoa que tem características psicológicas e comportamentais muito diferentes daquelas endossadas por lésbicas. Sua forma de pensar, agir e se posicionar socialmente é diferente da das pessoas deste grupo e isto ocorre inconscientemente. As pessoas com este tipo de personalidade implícita nunca manifestam desejos ou inclinações homoafetivas ao longo da vida. A heterossexualidade é estável, instalando-se e perpetuando-se para o resto da vida da pessoa.

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*Text used in the distinctiveness threat condition:*

A partir da análise de seus resultados, constatamos valores elevados em traços de personalidade compatíveis com a personalidade de lésbicas. Portanto, seu perfil indica que você é uma pessoa que tem características psicológicas e comportamentais muito semelhantes àquelas endossadas por lésbicas. Sua forma de pensar, agir e se posicionar socialmente é semelhante à das pessoas deste grupo e isto ocorre inconscientemente. As pessoas com este tipo de personalidade implícita normalmente expressam a sua homossexualidade mais cedo ou mais tarde. A manifestação dessa forma de homossexualidade pode ocorrer em episódios pontuais em algum momento específico, ou pode ser mais estável, instalando-se e perpetuando-se para o resto da vida da pessoa.

**Appendix 5.** Sociodemographic data.

**Finalmente, gostaríamos de saber um pouco mais a seu respeito:**

**01. Sexo:**  Masculino  Feminino

**02. Idade:** \_\_\_\_\_ anos

**03. Estado Civil:**

Solteiro(a)  Casado(a)  Divorciado(a)  Outro (Especifique:\_\_\_\_\_)

**04. Religião:**

Católica  Protestante  Espírita  Sem religião  Outra  
(Especifique:\_\_\_\_\_)

**05. Classe socioeconômica:**

Baixa  Média-Baixa  Média  Média-Alta  Alta

**06. Curso:** \_\_\_\_\_

**07. Orientação Sexual:**

Heterossexual  Homossexual  Bissexual  Outra (Especifique:\_\_\_\_\_)

**08. Você já teve relações sexuais com alguém do mesmo sexo?**

Sim  Não

**09. Você já se sentiu atraído por alguém do mesmo sexo?**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Nunca			Raramente			Frequentemente

**Obrigada pela sua participação!**