

Who Confronts Sexual Prejudice? How Gender and Ideologies are Related to Heterosexual Allies Challenging Hate Speech

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WHO CONFRONTS SEXUAL PREJUDICE? HOW GENDER AND IDEOLOGIES
ARE RELATED TO HETEROSEXUAL ALLIES
CHALLENGING HATE SPEECH

by

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ABSTRACT
WHO CONFRONTS SEXUAL PREJUDICE? HOW GENDER AND IDEOLOGIES
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Kelly L. LeMaire, B.S.

Marquette University, 2014

Sexual prejudice and discrimination are extremely prevalent throughout society and previous research suggests that there are a multitude of negative consequences associated with being the target of this prejudice. One way of reducing prejudice is by confronting the perpetrator; however the majority of previous research examining confrontation has focused on the target's response to racism or sexism. The current study utilized a 10-condition experimental design in order to examine how the; gender of the perpetrator, target, and non-target witness of heterosexist prejudice affected the witness' responses. Attitudinal variables and past allied behaviors were also examined in order to determine if they predicted confrontation behavior. A sample of 298 (134 men, and 164 women) undergraduate college students participated in the current study by watching one of 4 videos in which a male or female perpetrator "approaches" them and makes a heterosexist comment about a lesbian woman or gay man and then answering questions about how they would respond if they were in that situation. They also completed a number of surveys about their attitudes and past behavior. Results suggest that gender of the participant, perpetrator, and target all play a significant role in responses to heterosexist hate speech. Furthermore, attitudes toward gay men, allophilia, and number of friends who identify as gay or lesbian were all significant unique predictors of confrontation responses. Implications for reduction of prejudice and future research are discussed.

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INTRODUCTION

Sexual prejudice has been historically and institutionally legitimized and is still prevalent today (Herek, 2007). The term sexual prejudice encompasses all negative attitudes and preconceived notions about a person or group based on sexual orientation. These negative attitudes may manifest in internalized stigma on the part of sexual minorities as well as discrimination—negative behaviors directed at the group—such as unequal rights, internalized stigma on the part of sexual minorities, microaggressions, and hate crimes violence. Research suggests that both blatant acts of violence and more subtle forms of heterosexism are extremely prevalent (Herek, 2009; U.S. Department of Justice, 2013; Taylor & Peter, 2012; Woodford, Howell, Kulick, & Silverschanz, 2013). The 2012 report of hate crimes issued by the Federal Bureau of Investigation stated that 1,376 hate crimes based on sexual orientation were reported that year and that sexual orientation hate crimes were only second in prevalence to hate crimes based on race (U.S. Department of Justice, 2013). Another study reported that approximately 38% of gay men and 11-13% of lesbian women report having experienced “a crime against their person or property” in adulthood based on their sexual orientation (Herek, 2009). Approximately 50% of gay men and women report having experienced verbal harassment because of their sexual identity.

Similarly, researchers have found that derogatory terms and phrases such as “dyke,” “fag,” “homo,” and “That’s so gay!” are very commonly used at both the high school and collegiate level (Taylor & Peter, 2012; Woodford, et al., 2013). For example, Taylor and Peter’s 2012 study revealed that about 70% of high school students heard the

phrase “That’s so gay” every day, while an additional 21.5% of students reported hearing the phrase weekly. Contrary to the belief that discrimination only happens in a few select environments, such as high schools, and is perpetrated mostly by bullies or “hate groups,” research suggests that many instances are perpetuated by schoolmates, co-workers, neighbors and family members of the victims, across a multitude of different settings (Herek, Cogan, & Gillis, 2002).

Sexual prejudice and discrimination based on sexual prejudice has been associated with a number of negative consequences. Research has demonstrated that sexual prejudice and internalized stigma can negatively affect gay men and lesbian women’s well-being (Garnets, Herek, & Levy, 1990; Herek, 2007; Nadal, 2013). Victims of hate crimes, hate speech, and more subtle forms of sexual prejudice often experience a number of symptoms including psychological, emotional and physical distress as well as a number of social consequences (Garnets, et al., 1990; Nadal, 2013; Nadal, Issa, Leon, Meterko, Wideman, & Wong, 2011). Symptoms associated with sexual prejudice and discrimination include, but are not limited to, feelings of hopelessness, anger, fear, guilt, frustration, increased risk of depression, anxiety, suicidal ideation, and even symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder.

Because instances of sexual prejudice are widespread and the consequences are severe for so many individuals, there is need for research to examine how to reduce prejudice. Past research suggests that confronting perpetrators of prejudicial speech can bring about changes in prejudice behavior (Blanchard, Crandall, Bigham & Vaughn, 1994; Czopp & Monteith, 2003; Czopp, Monteith, & Mark, 2006). While a great deal of previous research has examined factors related to targets of prejudice and why they

decide—or not—to confront perpetrators, the current study seeks to understand what characteristics and ideologies are related to heterosexual allies confronting sexuality-based hate speech. Specifically, the present study will examine how the gender of the witness, perpetrator, or target of hate speech affects whether the witness confronts the perpetrator of sexual prejudice. The current study also seeks to identify what attitudes and past allied behaviors are related to and best predict confrontation behavior of straight allies.

Confrontation of Prejudice

Confrontation of prejudice can promote more tolerance and be a catalyst for social change. Previous research has illustrated that confrontation of prejudice leads to perpetrators responding in less stereotypic and prejudiced ways, which is at least in part due to internal motivations or negative affect such as guilt (Czopp, et al., 2006; Fazio & Hiden, 2001). Czopp and colleagues' (2006) research revealed that although low-threat appeals for fairness created more immediately favorable reactions from the subject of confrontation than did more threatening confrontations, both low-threat and higher-threat confrontations led to behavior changes and less stereotypic responding in the people they confronted. Even if the ideals of tolerance are not internalized in an immediate and permanent way, when someone is confronted for being prejudiced they are likely to curb their prejudice responding in that situation. This change in behavior may apply not only to perpetrators of prejudice but other witnesses as well. Research suggests that when individuals hear someone express strongly anti-racist views they condemn racism significantly more strongly than those who did not hear the anti-racist

views (Blanchard, Crandall, Bigham & Vaugh, 1994). Conversely, those who heard a person condone racism were significantly less condemning of racism than those who were not exposed to another's opinion, which may suggest that promotion of confrontation responses is even more important. These responses held true regardless if the other person condemning or condoning racism was White or Black.

Even though confrontation responses made by targets are important for changing behavior of perpetrators, some research suggests that perpetrators may respond with even more remorseful emotions when confronted by non-targets. Specifically, researchers found that confrontations from non-target group members elicited more guilt and self-criticism than confrontation by a target-group member (Czopp & Monteith, 2003). However, stronger feelings of discomfort were reported when confrontations were made by target group members than non-target group members. It is also important to recognize that a perpetrator's responses to confrontation may vary depending on the type of prejudicial attitudes expressed. For example, one study revealed that when participants imagined being confronted about being prejudiced, they reported more guilt and discomfort when they were confronted about racial prejudice against Black individuals than when they were confronted about sexism targeting women (Czopp & Monteith, 2003).

Although research has demonstrated a number of positive outcomes related to confrontation of prejudice, there are some downsides to the behavior, particularly in terms of negative social evaluation. Kaiser and Miller (2001) conducted a study in which participants evaluated a Black student who received a failing grade on a test. They observed that participants viewed the student as a "complainer" and evaluated him more

negatively when he attributed the grade to racial discrimination than when he said it was due to the quality of his work. This was so even when participants were informed that 100% of those grading the tests discriminated against Black individuals, and therefore provided undeniable validity to the student's claims. Assuredly this negative outcome is not ideal, but may not hold true in all instances of prejudice confrontation. At least some research suggests that perpetrators respond equally well to confrontation of sexism from a woman as they do neutral confrontation and furthermore, that the social outcomes of confrontation are not as negative as anticipated (Mallet & Wagner, 2011). Additionally, confronting prejudice appears to have positive benefits for those who confront. Results of one study indicate that women who assertively responded to experienced prejudice were significantly more satisfied with their responses than those women who did not assertively respond to prejudice (Hyers, 2007). Women who did not actively respond to prejudice tended to "take the incident with them" and sought more social support to deal with the event later than those who confronted it.

If confrontation of prejudiced behavior or speech leads to less prejudicial behavior in the future, it is imperative to understand what leads individuals to confront prejudice. It should be noted, however, that the vast majority of research on confrontation behaviors has focused on the target of prejudice confronting the perpetrator. Little research has examined how other non-target witnesses of prejudice respond. However, one might expect similar factors influence confronting factors for witnesses of prejudice.

Previous research suggests that there are a number of situational factors, social roles, and personality factors that are related to targets confronting prejudice. Individuals

are more likely to confront prejudice when they feel higher levels of personal distress (Fitzgerald, Swan, & Fischer, 1995) and if they believe that their confrontation can make a difference in the perpetrator's behaviors (Rattan & Dweck, 2010). Targets of prejudice are less likely to confront prejudice if they are in a situation where they are surrounded by other members of the majority (Stangor, Swim, Van Allen, & Sechrist, 2002), or if they perceive the social costs of confronting to be too high (Fitzgerald et al., 1995; Shelton & Stewart, 2004). Social roles also appear to influence confrontation. Specifically, women may struggle with their decision to confront prejudice (consistent with an activist role) and to be passive, keeping consistent with gender role norms (Brinkman, Garcia, & Richard, 2011; Hyers, 2007). One study examining the responses of non-targets found that individuals who had lower levels of racial prejudice were more likely to choose stronger confrontation behaviors when they witnessed racial prejudice than those who had higher levels of prejudice (Dickter & Newton, 2013). Within the article, the authors outlined two studies, each revealing non-targets confronting racial prejudice about 1/3 of the time. The authors did not find participant gender differences in responses; however, their results suggest that individuals who were more invested in letting the perpetrator know they disagreed, educating the perpetrator, or discouraging them from making similar comments in the future were more likely to confront the perpetrator.

As previously stated, most of the research examining confronting prejudice has focused on the target's responses to prejudice. How non-target witnesses respond in the face of prejudice, especially prejudice based on sexual orientation, has not been studied in as much detail. In fact, to the author's knowledge, there has been no previous research

examining heterosexual allies' responses to witnessing sexual prejudice. Heterosexual allies may be particularly important to examine, however, as some evidence suggests that individuals who are more actively committed to fighting prejudice (such as sexism) are more likely to choose confrontation of prejudice responses than those who are less committed (Swim & Hyers, 1999).

Heterosexual Allies

The term heterosexual ally or "straight ally" generally describes a person who is heterosexual but has favorable and supportive attitudes toward those in the LGB community. It is sometimes the case that individuals are considered allies if they simply have positive attitudes toward gay men and lesbians; however, a heterosexual ally could also describe a person who actively pursues equal rights for all sexual orientations either by joining gay rights advocate groups or supporting these rights politically or in other ways. There are a wide range of behaviors considered "allied behaviors," which may include attending Gay Pride events, voting for and politically supporting equal rights for sexual minorities, making monetary or time donations to sexual minority charity organizations, and trying to eliminate sexual prejudice in daily life. Heterosexual allies also tend to have significantly more friends and family members who are homosexual than those who have less favorable views of gay men and lesbian women (Fingerhut, 2011; Herek, 2007). Although little research has examined ally identity and responses to witnessing prejudice, it is probable that individuals who view being an ally as central to their identity may be more likely to actively confront prejudice than those who do not.

There are a number of known factors related to being a heterosexual ally including demographic variables such as gender. A consistent finding throughout the literature is that heterosexual women have more favorable attitudes toward and are less likely to hold stereotypical beliefs about gay men and lesbians than heterosexual men (Collier, Bos, & Sandfort, 2012; Fingerhut, 2011; Herek, 1988; 2000; 2002; Herek & Capitano, 1999; Kite, 1984). In general, heterosexual men hold more negative views of gay men than they do of lesbians, but women's views of gay men and lesbians do not differ significantly (Herek, 1988; 2000; 2002). Most perpetrators of sexual orientation hate crime violence are also male (Herek, et al., 2002).

Beyond demographic factors related to sexual orientation-based prejudice, there appears to be a family of ideological beliefs that support allied behaviors, including allophilia and personal support. Allophilia is defined as "liking or loving of the other" and signifies positive attitudes toward an out-group (Pittinsky, Rosenthal, & Montoya, 2011^b). Individuals who are low in prejudice but also high in allophilia are more likely to take action on behalf of the LGBT community (Fingerhut, 2011). Similarly, personal support is a measure of an individual's self-reported intervention on behalf of another group that is strongly and positively correlated with allophilia (Pittinsky, Rosenthal, & Montoya, 2011^a). Individuals who are high in personal support have generally encouraged others to have more positive attitudes about a particular minority population—in this case, gay men and lesbian women—and are bothered when other people or organizations promote negative attitudes toward this group. Individuals high in personal support for gay men and lesbian women may also be more likely to confront

individuals because they have strong attitudes toward promoting positive attitudes about that group in general.

In contrast, other ideologies, such as religious fundamentalism, are related to sexual prejudice and may have a negative relationship with allied behavior. Religious fundamentalism is a term generally used to describe the belief that there is one set of religious teachings that signifies the essential truth that must be followed (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992). Fundamentalism is strongly and positively related to sexual orientation prejudice and discrimination (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992; Kirkpatrick, 1993; McFarland, 1989). Specifically, religious fundamentalists tend to have relatively high levels of hostile attitudes toward gay men and lesbians. Religious fundamentalism is positively related to right-wing authoritarianism—a measure of an individual's strong adherence to social conventions and perceived authority figures, as well as hostile attitudes toward those who do not adhere to social norms. Previous research indicates that right-wing authoritarianism at least partially motivates self-reported and outward expressions of sexual prejudice (Tsang & Rowatt, 2007). This concept is also highly related to social dominance orientation. Social dominance orientation is an attitudinal measure of an individual's belief in the necessity of a social hierarchy and that some groups should inherently dominate others. Both social dominance and right-wing authoritarianism are related to blatant, self-expressed prejudice (Van Hiel & Mervielde, 2005) and may be negatively related with confronting prejudice. Together these variables represent a set of ideological beliefs that should be associated with less support for GLBT issues and therefore are likely to be negatively related to allied behaviors, including confrontation of sexual prejudice.

In addition to the outlined attitudinal variables related to being a heterosexual ally, it is likely that other ideologies and individual characteristics may play a role in whether or not an individual confronts sexual prejudice. For example, moral outrage has been associated with making efforts to enact social change and correct social injustice (Jost & Hunyady, 2005). Moral outrage is an attitudinal variable identifying one's outrage toward and disapproval for inequality. It is probable that individuals who have higher levels of moral outrage may be more likely to be distressed by sexual prejudice and may be more likely to confront sexual prejudice. Furthermore, the concepts of private and public self-consciousness have been linked to how individuals behave in public settings (Franzoi, 2012). Individuals who have high levels of private self-consciousness are more aware of their own mood, beliefs and values, and are more likely to act in accordance with them than act in a particular manner simply because it is more socially appropriate. Conversely, those high in public self-consciousness are more keenly aware of how others may perceive them, and are more likely to act in a way that is considered socially acceptable, even though they may not necessarily agree. It is probable that individuals who are higher in public self-consciousness may be less likely to confront a prejudiced individual, as they may perceive the social costs of doing so to be too high. Similarly, social desirability—the desire to portray themselves in a favorable manner to others—may also be related to whether an individual confronts sexual prejudice on behalf of a target, or indicates that they would, if they perceive that to be the socially desirable response.

Current Study

Research has shown that many gay men and lesbian women face sexual prejudice in their daily lives and suffer a great deal of negative consequences due to stigma and verbal and physical violence (Garnets et al., 1990; Herek, 1998; 2007; Herek et al., 2002; Nadal, 2013). One way to curb this stigma and violence is for both targets and allies to confront the perpetrators of this stigma. Confrontation of prejudice has been shown to result in less prejudicial behavior in the perpetrators in the future and a sense of satisfaction and relief in the confronter (Czopp et al., 2006; Hyers, 2007). Heterosexual allies are essential in ending sexual prejudice.

In the present study, the participants in the experimental conditions watched one of four videos in which a perpetrator (either male or female) makes heterosexist comments about a lesbian woman or gay man. Participants then indicated how they would respond if the situation were real and provided measures of their level of distress and liking of the perpetrator. Participants were also asked to respond to a number of ideological beliefs that previous research suggests are associated with heterosexual ally identity and sexual prejudice. An experimental design was utilized in order to allow for some inference of causation when examining how gender affected intended confrontation behavior. By using a video manipulation, this study sought to create a truer-to-life example of a prejudicial situation than if participants were asked to read a story describing the event. It was hoped that this research will give realistic insight to the way men and women may actually respond in this situation. This research can then be used as a foundation for conducting research on allies that employs face-to-face

interactions and examines ally traits and possible gender differences in confronting prejudice.

There were two main goals of this study. The first goal was to examine how heterosexual individuals respond to heterosexual slurs in the context of a hallway conversation with a peer. It is of particular interest how many individuals in each condition indicate that they would confront the sexual prejudice (thereby engaging in “allied behavior”). Participants will be categorized as “confronting prejudice” if they report that they would respond to the heterosexual comment in a manner that entails explaining, pointing out, or disapproving of the prejudicial comment or asking the perpetrator to refrain from making similar comments in the future. The second goal was to examine the attitudes, ideologies, and past allied behaviors that are related to actively confronting sexual prejudice. The present study expands on other research in that it combines many of the factors already identified as being related to prejudice, both sexual and other variations, and examining which of these factors are most related to confronting hate speech. Furthermore, it utilizes an experimental design, which few previous studies have used.

Based on previous research on confrontation of prejudicial behavior and heterosexual allies, the following hypotheses were developed.

Hypothesis 1: It is hypothesized that women will report overall higher levels of distress, disapproval of the perpetrator, and negative affect than men upon hearing a heterosexual slur, regardless of the gender of the perpetrator or target; however, there will be an interaction of the gender of the participant and the gender of the target of heterosexual prejudice. Although, women will have higher levels of distress, more

negative affect, and express more disapproval of the perpetrator regardless of the gender of the target, men will have more distress, more negative affect and more disapproval if the target is a lesbian woman than a gay man. It is also hypothesized that participants will be more distressed and endorse less approval of a male perpetrator than a female perpetrator.

Hypothesis 2: Similarly, it is hypothesized that female participants will report a greater likelihood of engaging in both nonverbal disagreement and verbal confrontation than male participants regardless of the gender of the target. Male participants will report less nonverbal disagreement and verbal confrontation than female participants overall; however, men will report engaging in more nonverbal disagreement and verbal confrontation when the target is female, rather than male. It is hypothesized that both male and female participants will report more nonverbal disagreement and verbal confrontation when the perpetrator is male than when the perpetrator is female.

Hypothesis 3: It is hypothesized that allophilia, personal support, ally identity centrality, positive attitudes toward gay men and lesbians, moral outrage, and private self-consciousness will be positively associated with verbal confrontation behavior. In contrast, right-wing authoritarianism, social dominance orientation, religious fundamentalism, and public self-consciousness will be negatively associated with confrontation.

Past allied behaviors will also be measured in order to determine if they predict confrontation behavior, as well as to gain an understanding of how common these behaviors are.

Hypothesis 4: It is hypothesized that past allied behaviors, and particularly the number of friends and family members an individual has who identify as being gay or lesbian will significantly and positively predict confrontation behavior.

Method

Participants

Participants were recruited using the psychology department's participant pool and after giving consent were randomly assigned to one of the 5 conditions (4 video, 1 control – no video). The final sample included 347 undergraduate college students (163 men and 184 women); however, because the present study is concerned only with heterosexual allied behavior, some participants were excluded from analysis because of their self-identified sexual orientation. Of the 347 participants, 298 (85.9%) indicated that they were “completely heterosexual” when given a scale from 1 - 7 (1 = *completely heterosexual*, 7 = *completely homosexual*). Forty-nine individuals indicated that their sexual orientation fell between 2-7 when using this scale. Their data was excluded from analysis. Table 1 outlines the original and adjusted number of participants in each experimental and control condition.

The remaining sample of 298 (134 men, and 164 women) had a mean age of 19.19 ($sd = 1.66$) years. Freshmen made up 62.1% ($n = 185$) of the final sample. Fifty-two (17.4%) were sophomores, 34 (11.4%) were juniors, and 27 (9.1%) were seniors. A large majority of the sample indicated that their race was Caucasian ($n = 231, 77.5%$). Others indicated they identified as African American ($n = 15, 5.0%$), Asian ($n = 26,$

Table 1

Number of Participants in Each Condition

| Condition | All Participants | Completely Heterosexual | Difference |
|----------------------------|------------------|-------------------------|------------|
| Male Participants | | | |
| 1) MPMT | 33 | 28 | 5 |
| 2) MPFT | 35 | 26 | 9 |
| 3) FPMT | 34 | 25 | 9 |
| 4) FPFT | 36 | 35 | 1 |
| 5) No Video | 25 | 20 | 5 |
| Total | 163 | 134 | 29 |
| Female Participants | | | |
| 1) MPMT | 40 | 37 | 3 |
| 2) MPFT | 40 | 32 | 8 |
| 3) FPMT | 40 | 35 | 5 |
| 4) FPFT | 39 | 36 | 3 |
| 5) No Video | 25 | 24 | 1 |
| Total | 184 | 164 | 20 |

Note: MP = Male Perpetrator, FP= Female Perpetrator, MT = Male Target, FT = Female Target. For example, MPMT equates to a condition with a male perpetrator and a male target

8.7%), Biracial (n = 7, 2.3%), Latino/a (n = 32, 10.7%), Native American (n = 3, 1.0%), and Other (n = 6, 2.0%). Participants were allowed to choose more than one racial identity, which resulted in percentages totaling more than 100%. In terms of religious affiliation, 193 participants (64.8%) indicated that they were Catholic, 7 (2.3%) Baptist, 1 (.3%) Buddhist, 4 (1.3%) Episcopalian, 1 (.3%) Hindu, 2 (.7%) Jewish, 22 (7.4%) Lutheran, and 5 (1.7%) Methodist. Twenty-eight (9.4%) participants indicated belonging to another unspecified religion, 32 (10.7%) endorsed not having a religion, and 3 skipped the question. Political affiliation was also measured. Nineteen participants (6.4%) indicated that they were “very conservative,” 81 (27.2%) were between “very conservative” and “moderate,” 73 (24.5%) were moderate, 63 (21.2%) were between “moderate and very liberal,” 21 (7%) indicated being “very liberal,” 20 (6.7%) were “independent,” and 21 (7.0%) skipped the item.

Materials

For those in the experimental condition, the present study consisted of two main parts, a video presentation and questions regarding the video and a survey battery. First, the participants watched one of 4 short videos, each about 40 seconds in length. The four video conditions were 1. male perpetrator, male target (MPMT) 2. male perpetrator, female target (MPFT) 3. female perpetrator, male target (FPMT) 4. female perpetrator, female target (FPFT). In the video a “peer” (perpetrator) approaches the participant and begins to engage in a conversation with them (looking into the camera). The interaction was filmed outside of a classroom, signaling that the participant and the perpetrator in the video were waiting for class to begin. The video was filmed from the viewer’s

perspective in order to give the participant the experience that interaction was happening face-to-face. The following is the script for the perpetrator in the video:

“Oh, hey! You were in Professor Brown’s class, right? (camera moves up and down to signal nodding) “Yeah, I thought I recognized you. I really liked that class. That’s why I signed up for this one. Did you do the reading last night? I thought it was really....”

At this point in the video a second person, the target, walks past the perpetrator (and participant). The perpetrator pauses in his or her conversation to look at the target. After the target is out of sight, the perpetrator continues:

“Oh... Did you see that girl who just walked by? Well, she’s a lesbian (said quietly). I saw her outside with her girlfriend (said with air quotes). [shudders] Seriously, it’s disgusting. What they do is just wrong. Two girls should *not* be together. It’s a crime against nature!”

The same script was followed for the male target conditions, substituting masculine nouns and pronouns for feminine nouns and pronouns.

Pilot Studies

A pilot study was conducted in order to ensure that there were no significant differences in attractiveness level of the male and female perpetrators and targets. Information was also gathered about whether participants had heard a conversation(s) similar to the one presented in the video conditions previously as well as how prejudiced they felt the comments were. Pilot participants were asked to watch all four video conditions (1. male perpetrator, male target 2. male perpetrator, female target 3. female

perpetrator, male target 4. female perpetrator, female target) and provide feedback about each video individually. Videos were presented to participants in a counter-balanced manner so participants did not view the same video first or last each time.

Twenty-seven participants completed the pilot study; although in order to keep the pilot sample similar to sample used for the main study, only those participants who reported being “completely heterosexual” were included in the pilot data. The pilot sample was comprised of 22 undergraduate participants (8 men and 14 women) whose mean age was 19.36 ($sd = 1.29$). Fourteen were Caucasian (63.6%), 3 were African American (13.6%), 4 were Latino/a (18.2%), and 2 did not report their race (9.1%). Twelve were freshmen (54.5%), Six (27.3%) were sophomores, 2 were juniors (9.1%) and 2 were seniors (9.1%).

The average level of prejudice reported for the video comments was 6.44 ($sd = 1.03$) using a 1-7 (1 = *not at all prejudiced*, 7 = *extremely prejudiced*). Sixteen participants (72.7%) reported hearing a conversation similar to at least one of the video conditions. There were no significant differences in how realistic participants rated the comments between conditions, $F(3, 21) = .65, p \geq .08, \eta^2_p = .03$, with condition means ranging from 3.64 to 3.95 (1 = *not at all realistic*, 7 = *extremely realistic*). In terms of target and perpetrator attractiveness, there was a significant difference between the 4 individuals, $F(3, 18) = 9.33, p < .001, \eta^2_p = .03$. Participants rated the male perpetrator ($M = 1.79, sd = .93$) as being significantly less attractive than the male target ($M = 2.87, 1.03$), female target ($M = 3.08, sd = 1.38$), and female perpetrator ($M = 3.08, sd = 1.38$).

In order to ensure these lower ratings were due to attractiveness and not dislike of the individual because of the negative comments, a second pilot test was conducted.

Still frames of the perpetrators and targets in the videos were taken and printed.

Fourteen (5 male, 9 female) heterosexual undergraduate students (Mean age = 20.57, $sd = 1.34$) rated each of the 4 still frame video photos on the person's level of attractiveness. There was no significant difference in attractiveness rating of the four photos, $F(3, 13) = 2.49, p \geq .08, \eta^2_p = .16$.

Confrontation. Following the video, the participants were asked a number of questions about the "interaction." First, they were asked to respond freely to the question, "What would happen next if you were actually in this situation?" Participants were asked to freely respond to the question so as not to influence their answer in anyway.

They were then asked to choose from a list, which one option most closely resembled what they would do if they were actually in the presented situation with the perpetrator. Choices included verbally disagreeing (e.g., verbalize disapproval or ask the perpetrator to not make similar comments), nonverbally disagree (e.g. roll eyes, shake head "no"), verbally agree, nonverbally agree (e.g. smile/laugh, shake head "yes"), walk away, change the subject, or do nothing (See Appendix A). Although the participants had many choices, in order to simulate a real world experience, the list was coded into a dichotomous variable. Within the list of response options only items 7 and 8 ("Tell the person you disagree" and "Ask the person to stop making similar comments") were considered "confrontation." This coding mirrors real world effects and situations in that doing nothing, laughing, or shrugging off the comment is similar to passively agreeing.

After the participants chose the behavior they felt they were most likely to carry out in the situation, they were also asked to indicate how likely it would be that they

complete each of the behaviors on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = *not at all likely*, 7 = *extremely likely*). Responses to these items were used to calculate two separate variables, verbal confrontation and nonverbal disagreement. The verbal confrontation score for a participant was calculated using 4 items, their responses to the two “verbally disagree” items as well as the two reverse-scored “verbally agree” (“Continue the conversation about the other person” and “Tell the other person that you agree”). The second variable, nonverbal disagreement, was calculated using both of the nonverbal disapproval items (“Roll your eyes/look of disapproval” and “Shake your head no in disagreement”) as well as the two reverse-scored verbal approval items (“Nod your head in agreement” and “Laugh/smile”). The coefficient alpha for verbal confrontation was .63, but without the item “continue the conversation about the other person,” the coefficient alpha was .72, so that item was deleted from the scale, and it was used with the three remaining items. The coefficient alpha for nonverbal disagreement was .76. Higher scores indicate a greater likelihood of engaging in nonverbal disagreement and verbal confrontation.

Reaction to comment. Participants then completed 5 questions about the comments they heard in the video. For example, “How offensive did you feel the comments were?” (1 = *not at all offensive*, 7 = *very offensive*), and “How distressing did you find the comments?” (1 = *not at all distressing*, 7 = *very distressing*). See Appendix 2 for a full list of items. Participant’s responses to these questions were averaged into a combined score of overall distress, with higher numbers indicating more comment distress. The coefficient alpha for this scale was .53.

Perpetrator evaluation. Participants also completed 7 questions regarding the peer in the video, including “How friendly was the person in the video?” (1 = *not at all*

friendly, 7 = *very friendly*), “How much do you like the person in the video?” (1 = *do not like him/her at all*, 7 = *like him/her very much*), and “How likely would you be to avoid interactions with the person in the future?” (1 = *not at all likely*, 7 = *extremely likely*). Appendix B includes all seven questions. Participant’s responses to these 7 questions were used to create an average score of how much they “dislike” the perpetrator in the video, with higher numbers indicating more dislike for the perpetrator. The coefficient alpha for this scale was .72.

Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (PANAS). Watson, Clark, and Tellegan’s (1988) 20-item scale was completed by participants in order to get a measure of both their positive and negative affect. The scale is comprised of 10 positive affect items (e.g. Inspired, Attentive, Strong) and 10 negative affect items (e.g., Distressed, Guilty, Hostile). Participants indicated the degree to which they were feeling that emotion currently (1 = *not at all*, 7 = *very much*), with higher scores indicating more positive or negative affect. The current sample’s coefficient alpha was .91 for positive affect and .85 for negative affect.

The Revised 12-Item Religious Fundamentalism Scale. Participants completed Altemeyer and Hunsberger’s (2009) revised religious fundamentalism scale. Items include “God has given humanity a complete, unfailing guide to happiness and salvation, which must be totally followed” and “To lead the best, most meaningful life, one must belong to the one, fundamentally true religion” (-4 = *strongly disagree*, 4 = *strongly agree*), with higher mean scores indicating higher levels of religious fundamentalism. The current sample’s coefficient alpha was .91.

Right-Wing Authoritarianism Scale (RWA). Altemeyer's (1981) 22-item scale was completed by participants to measure their attitudes toward obeying authority and maintaining the status quo. Items include, "The 'old-fashioned ways' and the 'old-fashioned values' still show the best way to live" and "Women should have to promise to obey their husbands when they get married" (-4 = *very strongly disagree*, 4 = *very strongly agree*), with higher mean scores indicating stronger beliefs in tradition and obeying authority. The coefficient alpha for the present sample was .89.

Social Dominance Orientation (SDO). Participants completed a 16-item social dominance orientation scale (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle 1994). This scale measures the degree to which participant's feel that some individuals are superior to others and that it is acceptable for those "on top" to assert their dominance. Items include "In getting what you want, it is sometimes necessary to use force against other groups" and "Inferior groups should stay in their place" (1 = *very negative*, 7 = *very positive*), with higher mean scores indicating more acceptance of social dominance. The coefficient alpha level was .91.

Moral Outrage. A 10-item scale (Montada, Schmitt, & Dalbert, 1986) measuring participant's level of outrage toward injustice was completed by participants. Items include "I feel morally outraged by social injustice" and "I resent the fact that people have to suffer unjustly the consequences of unemployment" (1 = *disagree strongly*, 6 = *agree strongly*), with higher scores indicating more outrage toward injustice. For the current sample, the coefficient alpha was .90.

Allophilia Scale. Pittinsky et al.'s (2011^b) 17-item allophilia scale measures participants' level of "liking" for individuals who are homosexual. The scale was used to

create a mean allophilia score. Items include “I feel positively toward people who are homosexual” and “I am truly interested in understanding the points of view of people who are homosexual” (1 = *strongly disagree*, 6 = *strongly agree*). Higher scores indicate more liking of individuals who are homosexual and the coefficient alpha for the current sample was .96.

Attitudes Toward Lesbians and Attitudes Toward Gay men—Revised scales (ATGL-R). Herek’s (1984) scale measures attitudes toward gay men and lesbians independently. Items include, “Female homosexuality is a sin,” “Female homosexuality is a threat to many of our basic social institutions,” “I think male homosexuals are disgusting,” and “Sex between two men is just plain wrong” (1 = *strongly disagree*, 5 = *strongly agree*), with higher scores indicating stronger negative attitudes toward female or male homosexuality. The coefficient alpha was .90 for attitudes toward gay men and .85 for attitudes toward lesbian women for the current sample.

Personal Support Scale. Pittinsky and colleagues’ (2011^a) 8-item scale was completed by participants to measure the degree to which they support individuals who are homosexual. Items include “In the last year, I have volunteered my time to benefit people who are homosexual” and “I get upset when people perpetuate stereotypes about people who are homosexual” (1 = *strongly disagree*, 6 = *strongly agree*), with higher mean scores indicating stronger personal support for homosexual individuals. The current sample’s coefficient alpha was .90.

Past Allied Behavior. Participants were asked to indicate the number of times over the past two years they participated in events that support gay men and lesbian women gay and lesbian rights. Items include “How many times over the past two years

have you attended a Gay-Straight Alliance meeting?” and “How many times over the past two years have you called, emailed, or mailed letters to politicians in support of gay and lesbian rights?” Participants were also asked to indicate the number of friends and family members they have who are homosexual. Participants responded to these items using the following choices: 0, 1-2, 3-5, 6-10, 11-15, 16-20, 21 or more. See Appendix C for a full list of items.

Ally Identity Centrality. Participants completed an 8-item scale measuring how important being a heterosexual ally is to their identity. This measure has been revised for the current study from the Centrality sub-scale on the Revised Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley, & Chavous, 1997) and includes items such as “In general, being a straight ally is an important part of my self-image” and “Being a straight ally is an important reflection of who I am” (1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*). Higher mean scores indicate more identification with ally identity; the current coefficient alpha was .84.

Self-Consciousness Scale (SCS). Public and private self-consciousness were measured using Fenigstein and colleagues’ (1975) 17-item scale. Independent private (10 items) and public self-consciousness (7 items) scores were computed. Private self-consciousness items include “I’m always trying to figure myself out” and “I’m generally attentive to my inner feelings” (1 = *extremely uncharacteristic*, 5 = *extremely characteristic*). Public self-consciousness is assessed by items such as “I’m concerned about the way I present myself” and “I’m concerned about what other people think of me” (1 = *extremely uncharacteristic*, 5 = *extremely characteristic*). Higher scores on

both sub-scales indicate higher levels of that form of self-consciousness. The coefficient alpha was .76 for public self-consciousness and .63 for private self-consciousness.

Social-Desirability Scale. Participants completed Crowne and Marlow's (1960) Social-Desirability Scale in order to gain a measure of how willing participants were to be honest about common flaws vs. responding in a way that is socially desirable. The scale is comprised of 33 true-false items, including, "I like to gossip at times" (reverse scored) and "I don't find it particularly difficult to get along with loudmouthed, obnoxious people." A total score is obtained by calculating the total number of socially desirable responses a participant endorsed, where scores between 9 and 19 are equated to an average level of social desirability for college student samples. Higher scores indicate more social desirable responding. This scale was used to examine whether social desirability significantly accounted for participant's responses to the video.

Procedure

Participants were told that they were being asked to participate in a study about communication styles. After consent was obtained, each participant was taken into a private research room with a computer on which they watched the video and completed the questionnaires. Participants in the experimental conditions were first asked to choose one of eight different videos to view and answer questions about. Regardless of the video number chosen, participants were shown a randomly assigned, pre-selected video featuring sexual prejudice with either a male or female peer making heterosexist comments about the gay or lesbian target in the video. After the video was completed, the participants answered questions about how they would react if they were actually in

this situation as well as their level of distress and liking of the perpetrator. Participants then completed the attitude questionnaires, along with demographic information. Participants in the control condition completed all of the same questionnaires, but were not presented with a video or questions relating to the video. When participants completed the study, they were debriefed, thanked and given extra credit equal to their participation time as well as information about free on-campus counseling services available to students. All procedures, including pilot procedures, were approved by the university's Institutional Review Board.

Results

Hypothesis 1 proposed an interaction of participant and target gender such that female participants would report overall higher levels of distress, negative affect, and disapproval of the perpetrator than male participants, regardless of the gender of the target, but that men would report more distress and perpetrator disapproval when the target was a lesbian woman than a gay man. In addition, it was hypothesized that participants would report more distress and perpetrator disapproval when the perpetrator was a male than when the perpetrator was female. A 2x2x2 Factorial ANOVA was conducted using participant, perpetrator, and target gender as independent variables. Results indicate a trend toward a significant main effect of participant gender, $F(7, 246) = 3.40, p \leq .08, \eta^2_p = .01$. Female participants reported marginally higher levels of comment distress ($M = 5.71, sd = .78$) than their male counterparts ($M = 5.52, sd = .89$). There was a significant main effect of perpetrator gender, $F(7, 246) = 4.83, p < .05, \eta^2_p = .02$. Participants endorsed a higher level of comment distress when the

perpetrator of sexual prejudice was male ($M = 5.73, sd = .83$) than when the perpetrator was female ($M = 5.53, sd = .83$). A third marginally significant main effect was also revealed when examining target gender, $F(7, 246) = 3.20, p \leq .08, \eta^2_p = .01$.

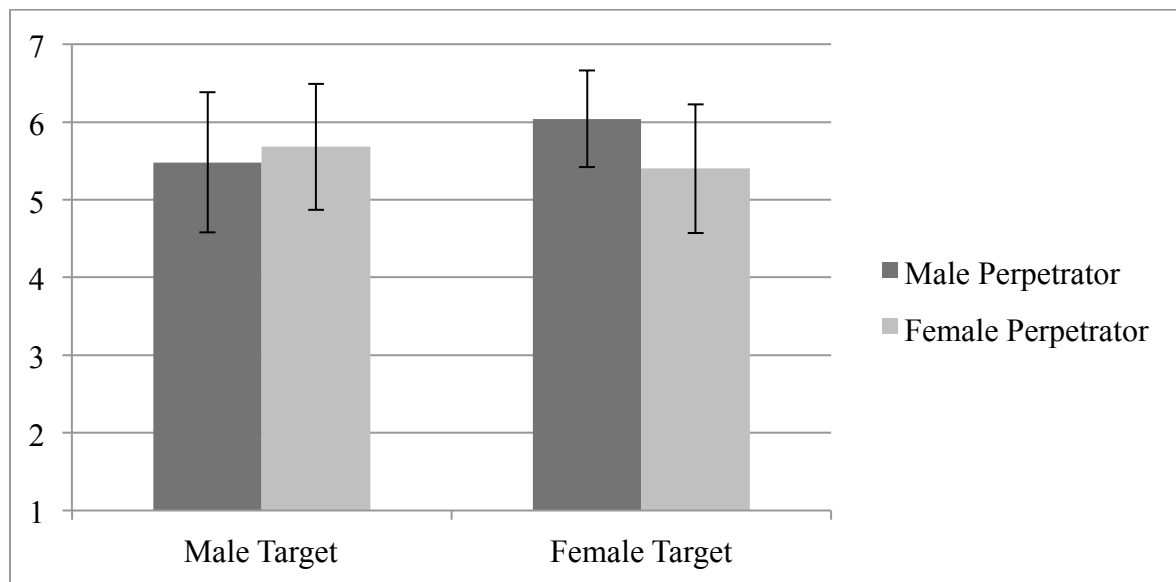
Participants endorsed marginally higher levels of distress due to the video comments when the target was female ($M = 5.69, sd = .81$) than when the target was male ($M = 5.56, sd = .86$). However, both main effects were qualified by a significant interaction between perpetrator gender and target gender, $F(7, 246) = 17.28, p < .001, \eta^2_p = .07$ (see figure 1). Simple main effects tests indicated that when the target was male, participants expressed more comment distress when the perpetrator was female ($M = 5.68, sd = .81$) than male ($M = 5.45, sd = .90$), $F(7, 246) = 2.75, p < .01$. When the target was female, participants endorsed more comment distress when the perpetrator was male ($M = 6.04, sd = .62$) than female ($M = 5.40, sd = .83$), $F(7, 246) = 20.57, p < .001$.

Similarly, a second 2x2x2 Factorial ANOVA was conducted for participant's rating of perpetrator dislike. A significant main effect was revealed for perpetrator gender, $F(7, 246) = 9.71, p < .01, \eta^2_p = .04$. Participants reported significantly less favorable opinions of the perpetrator when the perpetrator was male ($M = 5.21, sd = .83$) than when the perpetrator of sexual prejudice was female ($M = 4.87, sd = .86$). There were no other significant main effects or interactions for this variable.

A 2x2x2 Factorial MANOVA was utilized to examine whether participant's positive or negative affect differed among the different gender conditions. MANOVA results revealed a marginally significant interaction of participant and perpetrator gender for positive and negative affect, $F(2, 245) = 2.60, p \leq .08, \eta^2_p = .02$. In examining

Figure 1

Comment Distress: Interaction of Target and Perpetrator Gender



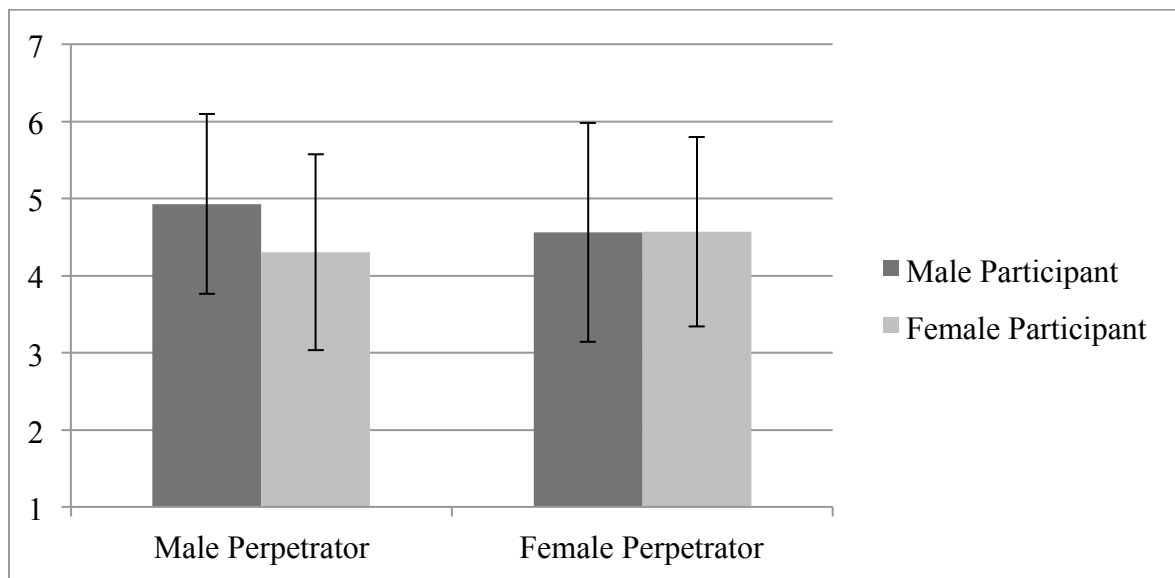
Note: Simple main effects revealed a significant difference in comment distress for both male targets, $F(7, 246) = 2.75, p < .01$, and female targets, $F(7, 246) = 20.57, p < .001$. Higher scores indicate higher levels of comment distress.

univariate analyses there was a marginally significant interaction between participant gender and perpetrator gender for positive affect, $F(2, 245) = 3.69, p \leq .08, \eta^2_p = .02$, but not negative affect $F(2, 245) = .87, p \geq .08, \eta^2_p < .01$. Simple main effect tests revealed that male participants ($M = 4.56, sd = 1.42$) and female participants ($M = 4.57, sd = 1.23$) reported similar levels of positive emotions when the perpetrator was female, $F(2, 245) = .001, p \geq .08$. However, when the perpetrator was male, male participants reported significantly more positive emotion ($M = 4.93, sd = 1.17$) than female participants ($M = 4.30, sd = 1.27$), $F(2, 245) = 7.18, p \leq .001$ (see figure 2).

Hypothesis 2 stated that although female participants would report more nonverbal disagreement and verbal confrontation behavior than male participants, regardless of the gender of the target, that male participants would report more nonverbal disagreement and verbal confrontation when the target was a lesbian woman than a gay man. In addition, both male and female participants would report more nonverbal disagreement and verbal confrontation if the perpetrator was male, than if the perpetrator was female. Using the scaled verbal and nonverbal behavioral response questions, 2 composite scores of verbal and nonverbal behavior were created and used to test hypothesis 2. Results of the factorial ANOVA revealed a marginally significant difference in nonverbal disagreement in regard to perpetrator gender, $F(7, 246) = 3.29, p \leq .08, \eta^2_p = .01$. Participants were more likely to say they would engage in nonverbal disagreement when the perpetrator was male ($M = 5.38, sd = 1.07$) than if the perpetrator was female ($M = 5.11, sd = 1.21$). A significant interaction of target and perpetrator gender was also revealed, $F(7, 246) = 5.15, p < .05, \eta^2_p = .02$ (see figure 3). Simple main effects revealed a significant difference for female targets, $F(7, 246) =$

Figure 2

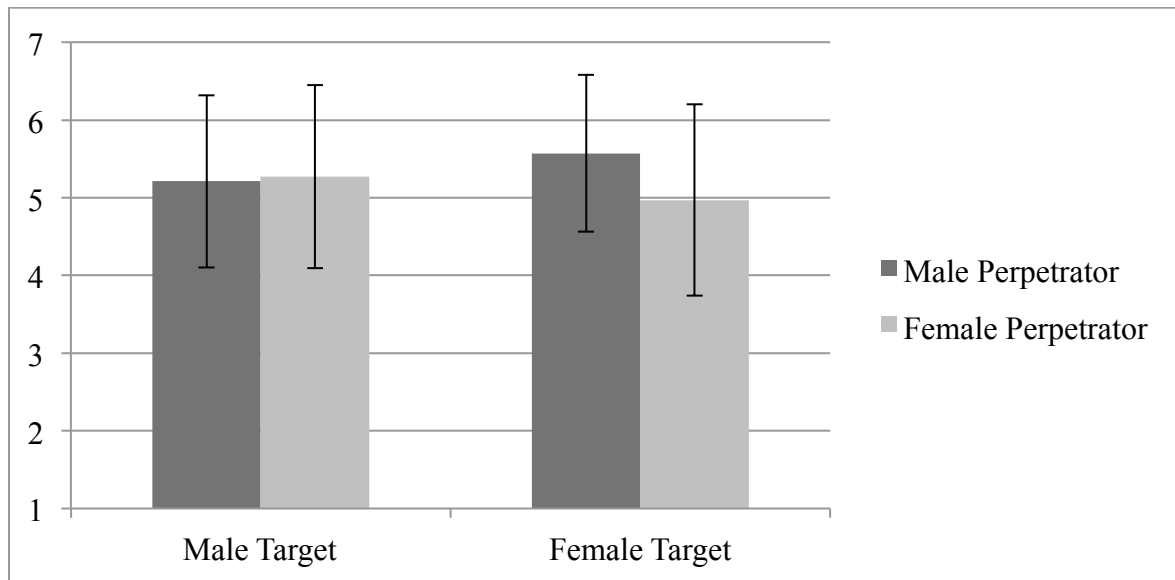
Positive Affect: Interaction of Perpetrator and Participant Gender



Note: Simple main effects revealed a significant difference in positive affect for male perpetrators, $F(2, 245) = 7.18, p < .001$, but not female perpetrators, $F(2, 245) = .001, p \geq .08$. Higher scores indicate higher levels of positive affect.

Figure 3

Nonverbal Disagreement: Interaction of Target and Perpetrator Gender



Note: Simple main effects revealed a significant difference in nonverbal disagreement for female targets, $F(7, 246) = 8.79, p < .001$, but not male targets, $F(7, 246) = .07, p \geq .08$. Higher scores indicate greater likelihood of nonverbal disagreement.

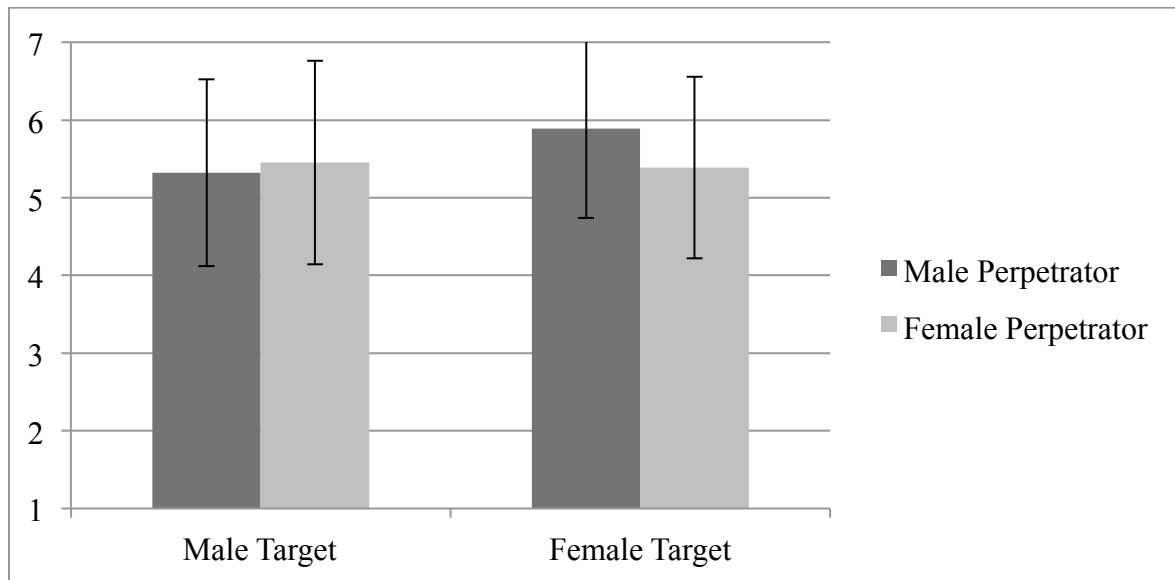
8.793, $p < .001$, such that when the perpetrator was male ($M = 5.57$, $sd = 1.01$) participants reported significantly more nonverbal disagreement than when the perpetrator was female ($M = 4.97$, $sd = 1.23$). There was no significant difference in nonverbal disagreement between male ($M = 5.21$, $sd=1.11$) and female perpetrators ($M = 5.27$, $sd = 1.18$) when the target was male, $F(7, 246) = .07$, $p \geq .08$.

Participant's perceived likelihood of confrontation behavior was also examined using a 2x2x2 Factorial ANOVA. A marginally significant main effect of target gender was found, $F(7, 246) = 3.35$, $p \leq .08$, $\eta^2_p = .01$. Participants indicated that when the target was male ($M = 5.39$, $sd = 1.25$), they were less likely to confront the perpetrator than if the target was a female ($M = 5.61$, $sd = 1.81$). However, this main effect was qualified by a significant interaction between target and perpetrator gender, $F(7, 246) = 4.75$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2_p = .02$ (see figure 4). When the target was female, participants reported a greater likelihood of confrontation behavior when the perpetrator was male ($M = 5.89$, $sd = 1.15$) than female ($M = 5.39$, $sd = 1.17$), $F(7, 246) = 5.49$, $p < .001$. There was no difference in participant's response when the target was male, regardless if the perpetrator was male ($M = 5.32$ $sd = 1.20$) or female ($M = 5.45$ $sd = 1.31$), $F(7, 246) = .35$, $p \geq .08$.

There was also a marginally significant interaction of participant and target gender for verbal confrontation, $F(7, 246) = 3.59$, $p \leq .08$, $\eta^2_p = .01$. Simple main effects indicated that there was a significant difference in male's confrontation behavior depending on the gender of the target, $F(7, 246) = 5.02$, $p < .001$, but no difference in female participants confrontation responses, $F(7, 246) = .01$, $p \geq .08$. Male participants reported significantly greater likelihood of confrontation behavior when the target was

Figure 4

Verbal Confrontation: Interaction of Target and Perpetrator Gender



Note: Simple main effects revealed a significant difference in verbal confrontation for female targets, $F(7, 246) = 5.49, p < .001$, but not male targets, $F(7, 246) = .35, p \geq .08$. Higher scores indicate greater likelihood of verbal confrontation.

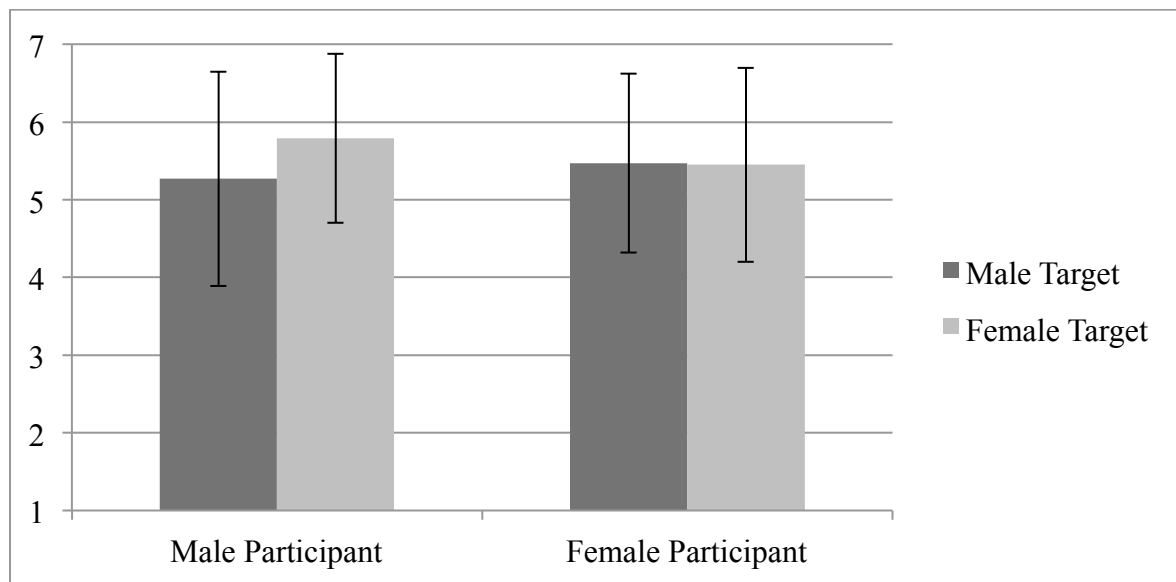
female ($M = 5.79$, $sd = 1.09$) than if the target was male ($M = 5.27$, $sd = 1.38$). For female participants, there was no difference in confrontation responses when the target was male ($M = 5.47$, $sd = 1.15$) or female ($M = 5.45$, $sd = 1.25$) (see figure 5).

Because verbally confronting the perpetrator of prejudice may be difficult in daily life but is the socially desirable response, two additional Factorial ANOVA's were conducted for nonverbal disagreement and verbal confrontation using participant's social desirability composite score as a covariate. Social desirability was not a significant covariate for nonverbal disagreement, $F(8, 245) = .01$, $p \geq .08$, $\eta^2_p = .00$, nor verbal confrontation, $F(8, 245) = 2.21$, $p \geq .08$, $\eta^2_p = .01$, and all other trends and significant findings remained stable when using social desirability as a covariate.

Participant's free responses to the question "What would happen next if you were actually in this situation?" were each independently coded by two trained research assistants. Inter-rater reliability totaled 88%. Some participants ($n = 64$, 25.4%) indicated that they would engage in more than one action, while the majority only reported one intended response ($n = 188$, 74.6%). Of the 252 participants who responded to the question 4.0% ($n = 10$) indicated they would verbally agree with the perpetrator, 1.6% ($n = 4$) nonverbally agree, .4% ($n = 1$) nonverbally disagree, 71.8% ($n = 181$) verbally confront, 5.6% ($n = 14$) would change the subject, 3.2% ($n = 8$) say nothing, 3.2% ($n = 8$) walk away, 5.6% ($n = 14$) responded in a way not listed in the choose one behavior list, and 4.8% ($n = 12$) did not indicate how they would respond. After coding essay responses, it was clear that a "neutral" category was missing from the list of actions to choose from. For example, some participants indicated that they would "Ask the person (perpetrator) why they felt that way." While this response may be interpreted

Figure 5

Verbal Confrontation: Interaction of Participant and Target Gender



Note: Simple main effects revealed a significant difference in verbal confrontation for male participants, $F(7, 246) = 5.20, p < .001$, but not female participants, $F(7, 246) = .01, p \geq .08$. Higher scores indicate greater likelihood of verbal confrontation.

as coming from a place of disagreement with the perpetrator rather than in agreement with them, because the question itself does not imply that the person feels one way or another, it was coded as “other.” Surprisingly, only 64.7% ($n = 163$) of individuals choose a response from the list that matched their free response answers. Although some of this difference can be accounted for by taking into consideration “other” responses, approximately another 30% of participants modified their answers after reading through the list of behaviors to choose from even though their original response was among the options.

A dichotomous confrontation (confront or not confront) variable was also computed using participant’s choose one behavioral response. Overall, the large majority of participants in the experimental conditions indicated that they would verbally confront the perpetrator of sexual prejudice. Of the 252 participants who completed the item in which they chose one behavioral response to the video, 159 (63.1%) indicated that they would confront the perpetrator (either “disagree with person making comments” or “ask the person to stop making similar comments”). Table 2 provides frequencies for the all of the possible choices. Nineteen percent of those responding to the item indicated that they would walk away from the situation. Less than seven percent of participants indicated that they would either agree or nonverbally agree with the perpetrator.

Chi-Square analyses were utilized with the dichotomous confrontation variable and the three gender variables. First, the data file was split by participant gender and two Chi-Square tests were conducted with perpetrator gender. Results revealed that perpetrator gender was not associated with behavioral confrontation for neither male, χ^2

Table 2

Frequencies Behavioral Responses to Video, Choose One Behavior (n = 254)

| Behavior | Frequency | Percent |
|--|-----------|---------|
| 1. Continue conversation about target | 2 | .8% |
| 2. Agree with perpetrator | 5 | 2.0% |
| 3. Laugh/smile | 2 | .8% |
| 4. Nod head in agreement | 7 | 2.8% |
| 5. Shake head in disagreement | 7 | 2.8% |
| 6. Roll eyes/look of disapproval | 11 | 4.3% |
| 7. Disagree with perpetrator | 120 | 47.2% |
| 8. Ask perpetrator to stop making similar comments | 39 | 15.4% |
| 9. Change the subject | 48 | 18.9% |
| 10. Say nothing | 5 | 2.0% |
| 11. Walk away | 6 | 2.4% |
| 12. Skipped question | 2 | .8% |

(1, $n = 114$) = .90, $p \geq .08$, nor female participants, χ^2 (1, $n = 140$) = .31, $p \geq .08$. Two additional Chi-Square analyses were conducted with target gender, again with male and female participants analyzed separately. Results indicate that male participants were more likely to confront the perpetrator of sexual prejudice when the target was female (61.6%) than male (38.4%), χ^2 (1, $n = 114$) = 5.40, $p \leq .05$. There was no significant difference in female participant's intended confrontation behavior for male or female targets, χ^2 (1, $n = 140$) = .93, $p \geq .08$.

Before hypothesis 3 could be tested to examine which attitudes predicted confrontation of the perpetrator of sexual prejudice, the researcher wanted to ensure that the attitudinal variables did not differ significantly between those participants who were in one of the experimental groups and those who were a part of the control group. A series of Factorial ANOVA's were utilized to examine whether there were significant differences between the control conditions and experimental conditions on any of the attitudinal variables that would be used to predict confrontation behavior. In order to better account for familywise error, bonferroni alpha corrections were utilized. The only significant difference in the mean scores of any experimental group and the control condition was for right-wing authoritarianism, F (4, 293) = 3.54, $p = .01$, $\eta^2_p = .05$. Tukey's Post Hoc Analysis revealed a significant difference between the control condition ($M = 4.32$, $sd = 1.18$) and the "male perpetrator, female target (MPFT)" condition ($M = 3.50$, $sd = 1.36$), $p < .01$.

Bivariate correlations were also utilized to examine relationships between the attitudinal variables and to identify possible issues of multicollinearity. Because only participants in the 4 video conditions would be used in the logistic regression analysis,

the correlations conducted exclude data from participants in the control condition. See Table 3 for a full list of variable correlations. A number of the variables were correlated beyond the $r = .70$ level. Attitudes toward lesbians was very highly correlated with attitudes toward gay men, $r = .79, p < .001$, and right-wing authoritarianism, $r = .72, p < .001$. Right-wing authoritarianism was also highly correlated with religious fundamentalism, $r = .71, p < .001$. Finally, allophilia and personal support were also highly correlated, $r = .71, p < .001$. In order to correct for these issues of multicollinearity, attitudes toward lesbians, right-wing authoritarianism, and personal support were not included in logistic regression analysis.

Logistic regression analysis was used to test hypothesis 3, which sought to examine whether a number of attitudinal variables associated with being a heterosexual ally was predictive of verbal confrontation behavior. The logistic regression included attitudes toward gay men, ally identity centrality, moral outrage, allophilia, religious fundamentalism, social dominance orientation, social desirability, private self-consciousness, and public self-consciousness as predictor variables for confrontation behavior. The model as a whole was significant, $\chi^2(9, n = 248) = 19.39, p < .05$, explaining between 7.5% (Cox & Snell R^2) and 10.2% (Nagelkerke R^2) of the variance in confrontation behavior and correctly classifying 62.1% of cases (85.0% of confrontation responses and 25.3% of non-confrontation (see Table 4). Attitudes toward gay men was a significant unique predictor. For every one-unit increase in attitudes toward gay men (less positive attitudes), participants were .59 times less likely to indicate that they would confront the perpetrator of sexual prejudice. Allophilia also trended toward being a significant predictor, such that for every one-unit increase

Table 3

Correlation of Attitudinal Variables

| Variable | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 |
|-----------------------|---------|---------|--------|---------|---------|---------|---------|------|------|---------|--------|------|
| 1. ATL | - | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2. ATG | .79*** | - | | | | | | | | | | |
| 3. Ally ID Centrality | -.12 | -.13* | - | | | | | | | | | |
| 4. Personal Support | -.59*** | -.65*** | .28*** | - | | | | | | | | |
| 5. RWA | .72*** | .69*** | -.04 | -.55*** | - | | | | | | | |
| 6. Moral Outrage | -.14* | -.15* | .23*** | .40*** | -.13* | - | | | | | | |
| 7. Allophilia | -.53*** | -.60*** | .36*** | .71*** | -.45*** | .33*** | - | | | | | |
| 8. Religious Fundam. | .58*** | .56*** | -.05 | -.34*** | .71*** | .12 | -.30*** | - | | | | |
| 9. SDO | .32*** | .37*** | -.03 | -.32*** | .33*** | -.56*** | -.30*** | .05 | - | | | |
| 10. Social Desir. | .11 | .10 | .05 | -.08 | .14* | .13* | -.02 | .15* | -.16 | - | | |
| 11. Private SC | -.05 | -.08 | .13* | .24*** | -.01 | .19** | .22*** | .04 | -.05 | -.21** | - | |
| 12. Public SC | .10 | .01 | -.05 | .11 | .07 | .10 | .12 | .11 | -.02 | -.32*** | .38*** | - |
| <i>M</i> | 1.90 | 2.11 | 3.62 | 3.73 | 3.89 | 4.72 | 4.09 | -.75 | 2.57 | 14.90 | 3.74 | 3.86 |
| <i>sd</i> | .72 | .86 | 1.22 | 1.12 | 1.19 | .86 | .96 | 1.71 | .97 | 4.89 | .49 | .66 |

Note: ATL = Attitudes Toward Lesbians; ATG = Attitudes Toward Gay Men; RWA = Right-wing Authoritarianism; SDO = Social Dominance Orientation; Private SC = Private Self Consciousness; Public SC = Public Self Consciousness

Table 4

Logistic Regression of Attitudinal Variables (n = 248)

| Predictor | B | Wald Chi- Square | Odds Ratio | 95% CI for Odds Ratio | |
|-------------------------------|------|------------------------|---------------|--------------------------|-------|
| | | | | Lower | Upper |
| 1. ATG | -.53 | .25* | .59 | .36 | .96 |
| 2. Ally ID Centrality | -.08 | .13 | .93 | .72 | 1.19 |
| 3. Moral Outrage | -.07 | .21 | .93 | .62 | 1.40 |
| 4. Allophilia | .36 | .21^ | 1.44 | .96 | 2.15 |
| 5. Religious Fundamentalism | .10 | .11 | 1.10 | .90 | 1.35 |
| 6. SDO | 2.4 | .19 | 1.27 | .88 | 1.82 |
| 7. Social Desirability | .00 | .03 | 1.00 | .94 | 1.06 |
| 8. Private Self Consciousness | -.18 | .32 | .83 | .45 | 1.55 |
| 9. Public Self Consciousness | -.34 | .26 | .71 | .43 | 1.18 |
| Constant | 2.23 | 1.92 | 9.31 | - | - |

Note: ATG = Attitudes Toward Gay Men; SDO = Social Dominance Orientation
[^] $p < .08$ * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

in an individual's level of allophilia, they are 1.44 times more likely to confront the perpetrator of sexual prejudice. No other attitudinal variables were unique significant predictors.

In terms of past allied behaviors, Table 5 outlines the frequency of participant responses to questions of allied behaviors in which they have engaged in the past 2 years, the number of LGB alliance groups in which they have membership as well as the number of family members and friends they have who identify as gay or lesbian. For many of the allied behaviors, over 80% of participants, and in most cases, over 90% of participants, had not engaged in the behavior within the past 2 years. However, 35% indicated that they had at least one gay or lesbian family member and 76% of participants reported having at least one friend who identifies as gay or lesbian.

In order to test Hypothesis 4, which sought to examine which previous allied behaviors best predicted intended verbal confrontation, all thirteen variables (including number of friends and number of family members) were included in a logistic regression in attempt to predict verbal confrontation of sexual prejudice. Because many of the allied behaviors had very little variation in responses (most participants indicated not engaging in that behavior), 11 of the variables (attending pride or similar event, attending an LGB alliance meeting, making a monetary donation, volunteering time, promoting a club or event, attending a rally, contacting a politician, signing a petition, displaying pins or bumper stickers, voting in support of gay and lesbian rights, and being a member of an alliance group) were converted into dichotomous variables and were labeled as categorical in the logistic regression analysis. Overall, the model was significant, $\chi^2(13, n = 246) = 37.94, p < .001$, explaining between 14.3%

Table 5

Frequencies of Allied Behaviors (n = 254, unless specified)

| Behavior | 0 | 1-2 | 3-5 | 6-10 | 11-15 | 16-20 | 21+ |
|--|-------|-------|-------|------|-------|-------|-----|
| 1. Attended pride | 83.5% | 15.0% | 1.29% | .4% | - | - | - |
| 2. Attended alliance meeting (n = 253) | 93.3% | 5.5% | .4% | .4% | - | - | - |
| 3. Monetary donation | 97.6% | 2.0% | .4% | - | - | - | - |
| 4. Volunteered time | 96.1% | 3.1% | .4% | .4% | - | - | - |
| 5. Promoted club/event | 84.3% | 11.4% | 3.5% | .8% | - | - | - |
| 6. Attended rallies | 93.3% | 5.5% | 1.2% | - | - | - | - |
| 7. Contacted politician | 97.6% | 1.6% | .8% | - | - | - | - |
| 8. Signed petition | 82.7% | 12.2% | 3.9% | 1.2% | - | - | - |
| 9. Wore pins/posted bumper stickers | 85.0% | 12.6% | 2.0% | .4% | - | - | - |
| 10. Voted (n = 248) | 73.6% | 20.9% | 2.0% | .8% | .4% | - | - |
| 11. Number of groups | 97.6% | 2.4% | - | - | - | - | - |
| 12. Number of family members (n = 253) | 65% | 28% | 5.9% | .8% | - | - | - |
| 13. Number of friends | 24.0% | 36.2% | 29.5% | 8.7% | .8% | - | .8% |

(Cox & Snell R^2) and 19.5% (Nagelkerke R^2) of the variance in confrontation behavior and correctly classifying 71.5% of cases (85.0% of confrontation responses and 49.5% of non-confrontation responses). Full results of this analysis are presented in Table 6. Participant's reported number of friends who identify as gay or lesbian was a significant, unique predictor of the variance in confrontation response. The odd's ratio indicates that for every one-unit in increase in the number of friends a participant had who are gay or lesbian, they are 2.3 times more likely to indicate that they would verbally confront a perpetrator of sexual prejudice. Number of LGB alliance groups was also a marginally significant predictor. Surprisingly, the odds ratio indicates that participants who are a member of an LBT alliance group are .08 times less likely to confront sexual prejudice than those who are not a part of a group.

Discussion

In this study the researcher sought to understand how gender of the witness, target and perpetrator of sexual prejudice affected how non-target witnesses would respond when facing heterosexist hate speech. Furthermore, it was of interest how different ideologies associated with identification as a heterosexual ally and favorable attitudes toward gay men and lesbian women as well as past allied behaviors were related to confrontation responses when witnessing prejudice. By using a video-manipulation and a ten-condition experimental design, the researcher was able to examine and draw conclusions about how gender, attitudinal, and behavioral variables are related to responses to witnessing sexual prejudice.

Table 6

Logistic Regression of Past Allied Behaviors (n = 246)

| Predictor | B | Wald Chi-Square | Odds Ratio | 95% CI for Odds Ratio | |
|-------------------------------------|-------|-------------------|------------|-----------------------|-------|
| | | | | Lower | Upper |
| 1. Attended pride | -.23 | .20 | .79 | .29 | 2.17 |
| 2. Attended alliance meeting | -1.20 | 2.81 | .30 | .02 | 1.22 |
| 3. Monetary donation | .76 | .23 | 2.13 | .10 | 47.32 |
| 4. Volunteered time | .53 | .25 | 1.69 | .22 | 13.00 |
| 5. Promoted club/event | .00 | .00 | 1.00 | .31 | 3.23 |
| 6. Attended rallies | 1.52 | 2.29 | 4.59 | .64 | 32.93 |
| 7. Contacted politician | -.59 | .26 | .56 | .06 | 5.34 |
| 8. Signed petition | .06 | .01 | 1.06 | .37 | 3.08 |
| 9. Wore pins/posted bumper stickers | -.17 | .11 | .84 | .30 | 2.35 |
| 10. Voted | .06 | .02 | 1.06 | .44 | 2.55 |
| 11. Number of groups | -2.57 | 3.66 [^] | .08 | .01 | 1.06 |
| 12. Number of family members | -.15 | .33 | .86 | .51 | 1.44 |
| 13. Number of friends | .83 | 17.82*** | 2.30 | 1.56 | 3.39 |
| Constant | -1.04 | 5.29 | .35 | - | - |

Note: [^] $p < .08$ * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

One of the major goals of the study was to understand how comment distress, affect, rating of the perpetrator, and verbal and nonverbal responses to sexual prejudice differed when participant, target, and perpetrator gender was manipulated. When examining comment distress, there was a marginally significant main effect of participant gender, such that female participants were more distressed than male participants. This finding was consistent with the study hypotheses as heterosexual women tend to have more favorable attitudes toward gay men and lesbians than heterosexual men, and may therefore be more distressed when hearing negative comments about the group (Fingerhut, 2011; Herek, 1988; 2000; 2002; Herek & Capitanio, 1999; Kite, 1984). In contrast with hypothesis 1, a significant interaction of target and perpetrator gender was also revealed. When the target was male, participants endorsed more distress when the perpetrator was female than male. Conversely, when the target was female, participants endorsed more distress when the perpetrator was male than female. It is interesting that participants were less distressed in both instances when the gender of the target and perpetrator were the same. Perhaps what these results demonstrate is that participants perceived that men and women are more legitimate in “policing” their own gender, and thus give less of a “social break” to targets when they are criticized by someone of the same gender. Previous research suggests people expect that others ascribe to fairly stable gender roles, traits, and behaviors (e.g. Glick & Fiske, 1996). The lesbian and gay target could be viewed as breaking with traditional gender roles by being romantically involved with someone of the same gender. These results could speak to individuals being perceived as more able or more credible in criticizing others of their same gender for not complying with socialized gender roles (by being

homosexual). Another possible explanation may be that the results speak to the nature of violence. Previous research suggests that both men and women are more likely to be aggressive to a person of their same sex rather than “opposite” sex (Harris, 1992), which may explain why same-sex violence is less distressing. In addition, men being violent toward other men is generally more accepted in our society than men and being aggressive toward women (Cauffman, Feldman, Jensen & Arnett, 2000; Harris, 1992).

In terms of peer rating, as hypothesized, participants reported disliking the male perpetrator significantly more than the female perpetrator; however, unlike with other dependent variables there were no effects of participant or target gender. Although it was hypothesized that target and participant gender would play a role in perceptions of the perpetrator, it appears as if perpetrator gender was the only factor that affected their disapproval rating.

In addition to comment distress, the PANAS was used to measure both positive and negative emotion. Results revealed a marginally significant interaction of participant and perpetrator gender, but this interaction was maintained only for positive affect upon examining univariate analyses. Specifically, male and female participants endorsed similar levels of positive emotion when the perpetrator of prejudice was female; however, female participants reported significantly less positive emotion when the perpetrator was male than their male counterparts. Unexpectedly, gender of the target of prejudice did not affect positive or negative emotion.

With respect with intended confrontation behavior there was a notable percentage of individuals (35.3%) that selected a response from the “choose one behavior” list that was different from their free response answer. In coding responses, it

was clear that a number of individuals reported that they would ask the perpetrator a neutral question, such as “Why do you feel that way?” Part of the difference in free response and “choose one behavior” responses can be accounted for by the absence of a neutral verbal response to choose from in the list; however, that would only account for approximately 5% of respondents who changed their answer. In comparing the two response groups further, it was clear that very few participants talked about nonverbal responses (both agreement and disagreement) in their essays. It is possible that the majority of participants, when answering the free response question did not consider nonverbal ways of responding to the situation, but upon seeing them in the list as possible responses, they felt they were the most fitting of what their actual responses would be. Similarly, fewer people indicated that they would change the subject in the free response question; however, they may have judged that it would be the most appropriate response for them in the actual situation once they were prompted by reading the list.

In regard to the confrontation behavior, results suggest that overall, many people report that they are willing to confront the prejudicial comment in some manner. Over 70% of the current sample indicated that they would verbally confront the perpetrator of sexual prejudice when asked “What would happen next if you were actually in this situation?” About 63% reported that they would engage in confrontation behavior when asked to choose one behavioral response from a list. Less than 6% of the sample indicated that they would agree with the perpetrator verbally or nonverbally and 7.1% indicated that they would demonstrate nonverbal forms of disagreement by giving the perpetrator a look of disapproval or shaking their head “no.” These results are very

promising from a perspective of reducing prejudice, as it suggests that the majority of college-aged individuals have negative attitudes toward and would confront sexual prejudice. It should be taken in to account, however, that previous research suggests that a much smaller percentage of individuals may actually confront the perpetrator if they were faced with the situation in real life (Brinkman, et al., 2011; Dickter & Newton, 2013). It is also important to note that nearly 21% of participants indicated that they would engage in a more passive behavior such as changing the subject or saying nothing in return. This is somewhat concerning as perpetrators or other witnesses may see these behaviors as signs of passive agreement, which may foster an environment in which these types of comments are “ok” or even more prevalent (Blanchard, et al., 1994). This is problematic as prejudicial comments have been linked to negative social and emotional outcomes for targets (Garnets, et al., 1990; Herek, 2007; Nadal, et al., 2011).

As hypothesized, results revealed that female participants were no more likely to confront the perpetrator when the target of prejudice was male or female; however, male participants were more likely to confront the perpetrator when the target or prejudice was a lesbian woman rather than a gay man. These results are in line with previous research that has demonstrated that women tend to hold about equally favorable views of gay men and lesbian women, but that men tend to have more favorable views of lesbians than gay men (Herek, 1988; 2000; 2002). They may also elude to benevolent sexist attitudes that would suggest that women need to be protected (Glick & Fiske, 1996) In contrast to hypothesis 2 which held that male perpetrators would be confronted more than female perpetrators, results suggest that male participants were no more likely to

confront a male perpetrator than a female perpetrator. Similarly, female participants did not confront male or female perpetrators more than the other.

For male targets, participants reported they were equally likely to respond with nonverbal disagreement regardless of the gender of the perpetrator. However, for female targets, participants were more likely to respond with nonverbal disagreement when the perpetrator was male than when the perpetrator was female. With regard to confrontation behavior, there was a similar significant interaction between target and perpetrator gender. When the target was female, participants endorsed being more likely to engage in confrontation behavior when the perpetrator was male than when the perpetrator was female. There was no difference in confrontation when the target was male, with regard to perpetrator gender. This interaction was similar to that found with comment distress. Although this interaction was not hypothesized, it is not entirely surprising. Perhaps both male and female participants find it more distressing when a man displays verbal violence toward a woman, than if it man displays violence toward another man. Previous research suggests that both men and women are generally more accepting of men being violent toward other men, as it is thought to be more “typical”, but that men acting violent toward women is less accepted and therefore, most likely more distressing (Cauffman, et al., 2000; Harris, 1992). Furthermore, both men and women have reported being more likely to be aggressive toward a man than a woman, supporting the idea that as a society, there is value put on that idea “a fair fight.”

So when and how does gender matter? Consistent with previous research that males tend to report more negative attitudes toward individuals with same sex sexual orientation (Fingerhut, 2011; Herek, 1988, 2000, 2002; Herek & Capitanio, 1999; Kite,

1984) results suggest that participant gender differentiated responses to the video such that women reported marginally more comment distress and less positive emotion overall than men when witnessing heterosexist prejudice.

As anticipated, women reported similar levels of comment distress, positive and negative affect, perpetrator disapproval, nonverbal disagreement and verbal confrontation, regardless of the gender of the target; however there was no significant interaction of participant and target gender for comment distress, positive and negative affect, peer disapproval or nonverbal disagreement. Consistent with hypothesis 2 and previous research (Herek, 1988; 2000; 2002), a significant participant and target interaction was revealed for confrontation behavior, such that male participants were more likely to confront the perpetrator when the target was a lesbian woman, rather than a gay man. Although not measured directly due to the limits of simple effects tests, men may have been even more likely than women to confront the perpetrator when the target was female, which would have been contrary to the hypothesis made. It is possible that in addition to men having more favorable attitudes toward lesbian women than gay men, the difference may be due in part to beliefs about traditional gender roles, which would call for a man to be chivalrous and protect women (Glick & Fiske, 1996; 1999).

In addition, the results of the current study suggest that the gender of the perpetrator of prejudice plays an important role in how witnesses respond to sexual prejudice. In general, participants experienced more comment distress, greater perpetrator disapproval, and endorsed more nonverbal disagreement when the perpetrator was male rather than female. However, the target's gender often qualified the main effect of perpetrator gender, such that participants reported more comment distress,

nonverbal disagreement, and verbal confrontation when the perpetrator was male and the target was female than when the target was male.

It is interesting to consider that participants did not confront the perpetrator more overall when the target was female, but only when a male perpetrator made the comments. These results may illustrate an elevated level of distress that may be experienced by witnesses when the perpetrator is thought to be acting on both hostile sexism and heterosexism. Hostile sexism encompasses negative and disapproving views of women who break with traditional gender roles (Glick & Fiske, 1996), which could apply to women who identify as lesbians because they may be viewed as feminists, independent of men, and less attached to “traditional family values” (Fernald, 1995). It may be that participants experience more distress when the target is a female, especially when the perpetrator is male, as the targets may be seen as being disadvantaged in two ways, being a woman and of homosexual sexual orientation. In this case, the white, heterosexual male perpetrator may be viewed more negatively, especially when “picking on” a woman.

In addition, both men and women reported being less likely to confront a male perpetrator on behalf of a male target than a female target. Part of this may be due to viewing aggression as more common and acceptable when men direct it at other men than men at women (Cauffman, et al., 2000; Harris, 1992), but it may also have to do with adherence to traditional gender roles. Consistent with ideas of benevolent sexism, the female target may be viewed by participants as being in need of protection, especially from a man, (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Gay men on the other hand may not be

viewed as needing the same protection from a male perpetrator as it is already “a fair fight.”

Within this study, the researcher further sought to understand how ideologies related to heterosexual allies and prejudice were associated with confrontation behavior. Results suggest that together, attitudes toward gay men, ally identity centrality, moral outrage, allophilia, religious fundamentalism, social dominance orientation, social desirability, and public and private self-consciousness predicted intended confrontation behavior. However, only participant’s attitudes toward gay men was a significant, unique predictor and allophilia was a marginally significant predictor of confrontation behavior. Consistent with previous research and hypothesis 3, both of these variables have been found to be related to identifying as a heterosexual ally (Fingerhut, 2011; Herek, 2002). It is surprising, however, that a number of the other attitudes were not unique predictors of confrontation behavior, including ally identity centrality. It is possible that individuals’ attitudes toward gay men and lesbians and their sense of connection and kinship with that group (allophilia) were the most relevant and readily available for participants when faced with heterosexist hate speech. This may be why these attitudes were most predictive of confrontation behavior. The comment in the video was also rated as strongly prejudiced. Perhaps even individuals who do not identify as an ally very strongly would intend to confront blatant forms of prejudice, like the comments made in the videos. It may also be that some ideologies such as public or private self-consciousness would play a larger role in a real-life situation, rather than when imagining oneself in the situation. For example, it is possible that participants

watching videos would underestimate their desire to be viewed favorably by the perpetrator.

The current study also sought to examine whether past allied behaviors predicted intentions to confront sexual prejudice. It is noteworthy that only a small percentage of the current sample reported engaging in many of the past allied behaviors that were assessed by the current study. All but one of the behaviors assessed had been completed by 20% or less of the current sample. This may have been due, in part, to the age of the current sample. For example, it is possible that many of those who participated were not able to vote in previous elections nor had the financial ability to make a monetary donation to a LGB supportive group.

When examining whether past allied behavior was predictive of confrontation responses, the model of 11 past allied behaviors and number of friends and family members was statistically significant; however, only the number of friends a participant reported having that identify as gay or lesbian was a significant predictor. This finding is generally consistent with previous research suggesting heterosexual allies tend to have a greater number of friends who identify as gay or lesbian (Fingerhut, 2011). Being a member of an allied group was a marginally significant predictor as well; however, it was unexpectedly associated with less likelihood of confrontation. It is unclear why being a part of an allied group may make someone less likely to confront sexual prejudice. It may be that other factors, such as the degree to which they believed they could change the perpetrator's mind affected their responses. Additionally, it could be that individuals in allied groups have either personally had negative previous experiences with confrontation or heard of others negative experiences. Previous

research on microaggressions suggests that a “catch 22” phenomenon is sometimes found with responding to prejudice in that confronters have negative feelings about not responding, but when they respond, they receive negative feedback from those they confronted or other bystanders (Sue & Sue, 2013). It was also surprising that the number of family members who identified as gay or lesbian was not a significant unique predictor. Meta-analytic research examining the contact hypothesis for prejudice reduction indicates that simply having contact with out-group members reduces prejudice even if other “optimal” conditions are not met (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). However, it may be that people who actively choose to spend time with individuals of different sexual orientations may have more favorable attitudes and a greater want to reduce prejudice toward the group. Similarly, because participants were not asked how close they were to their friends or family members who identify as gay or lesbian, it is difficult to gauge how much time they spend with those individuals. It could be that participants are spending more time with their friends and fellow alliance group members than family, especially while they are away at college.

The current study holds a number of important theoretical and practical implications. First, it helps to explain why individuals may be more likely to confront sexual prejudice by taking into account gender, attitudinal, and behavioral variables. The current study suggests that the gender of the target, non-target witness, and perpetrator of sexual prejudice matter when examining responses to prejudicial speech about sexual minorities. Specifically, participants endorsed a greater likelihood of confrontation when the perpetrator was male and the target was female. Furthermore, male participants tended to confront more on behalf of female targets rather than male targets. These

results seem to not only support previous research about gender differences in attitudes toward gay men and lesbian women, but may also speak to an intersection of sexism and heterosexism. Although more research is needed on this topic, these results indicate that gender and gender role beliefs may be important to target when examining sexual prejudice and sexual prejudice reduction.

Furthermore, the current study suggests that the majority of individuals intend to confront prejudiced hate speech against gay men and lesbian women. Because confrontation of prejudice has been associated with a reduction of prejudicial behavior in the future, this finding is quite promising from a prejudice reduction viewpoint. In addition, attitudes towards gay men, and allophilia affect non-target's responses to witnessing sexual prejudice. It may be beneficial to try to increase these positive attitudes when creating prejudice reduction interventions.

Limitations and Future Directions

As is the case with all studies, the current project has a number of limitations. First and foremost, this study utilized a video manipulation and asked participants to imagine what they would do if the situation were real. It was hoped that a video manipulation would provide truer to life responses than reading a short description of a similar event. While this may have made it easier for participants to imagine themselves in the situation, their intended and imagined responses may not mirror what they would actually do if faced with the situation. Previous research suggests that individuals who imagine encountering racist comments made by a peer, significantly over estimate the degree of distress they would experience in the situation as well as the degree to which

they would want to distance themselves from the perpetrator of prejudice (Kawakami, Dunn, Karmali, & Dovidio, 2009). Furthermore, it is possible that participants may have been more likely to indicate what they wanted to do, rather than what they would actually do. Future research should examine whether gender, attitudes and past allied behavior are related to how witnesses respond when actually faced with heterosexism prejudice. It would be interesting to compare expected responses measured in this study to actual responses and to examine whether similar patterns of distress and confrontation hold for the different gender combinations, even if the number of individuals who utilize confrontation responses declines.

There were a few limitations that should be noted with some of the measures used in the current study. For example, in the “choose one behavioral response”, a neutral verbal response, such as “Ask the person more about his/her views” was not included, which may have skewed the results somewhat. It is also noteworthy that the coefficient alpha for the comment distress rating and private self-consciousness were significantly lower than desirable ($\alpha = .52$ and $.63$, respectively) and therefore, results using that dependent variable should be interpreted with caution.

There may also be some limit to the generalizability of the study results due to the nature of the sample population that was used. Because the data was collected at a private, Catholic university, the sample of college students may have been more religious and politically conservative than college students attending more liberal, public universities. Similarly, results of research studies utilizing college students may not be representative of the population of older adults or those not attending college. The current study also used only Caucasian men and women as the targets and perpetrators in

the videos. This does not allow for an examination of how racial and ethnic identities of the target and perpetrator intersect with how heterosexist comments are received and how witnesses of prejudice may respond to them. Future research could expand on the current project by including other variables, such as race, or by manipulating the gender presentation of the target and perpetrator of prejudice.

Conclusions

Sexual prejudice, discrimination, and violence is still extremely prevalent today and is associated with a multitude of negative social, emotional, and mental health outcomes (Garnets, et al., 1990; Herek, 2009; Nadal, 2013; Nadal, et al., 2011; Taylor & Peter, 2012; U.S. Department of Justice, 2013; Woodford, et al., 2013). Because the occurrence of sexual prejudice is so common and the consequences are so severe, there is a need for researchers to examine how to reduce it. One method that has been shown to reduce prejudice is for both targets and witnesses of prejudice to confront perpetrators (Blanchard, et al., 1994; Czopp & Monteith, 2003; Czopp, et al., 2006). While previous research has revealed a number of important factors associated with confronting prejudice, most of the research focuses on target's responses to prejudice, rather than that of non-target witnesses. Furthermore, the majority of previous studies have examined racism and sexism and have utilized recall or correlational designs. The current study adds to the body of research on the topic by examining heterosexual's responses to witnessing heterosexist prejudice and using an experimental design. Overall the current study demonstrates that gender of the target, perpetrator, and non-target witness of prejudice affects how individual men and women respond when witnessing

sexual prejudice. Furthermore, particular ideologies such as attitudes toward lesbian women and gay men, allophilia, as well as the number of gay and lesbian friends a person has also predicts confrontation responses to prejudice. These results hold important implications for how gender and attitudes can impact whether witnesses of prejudice confront perpetrators.

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Appendix A
Reactions to Heterosexist Comments

Which of the following best describes what you would do next if you were in this situation?*(choose one)

- 1) Continue the conversation about the other person
- 2) Tell the person that you agree
- 3) Nod your head in agreement
- 4) Laugh/smile
- 5) Roll your eyes/give look of disapproval
- 6) Shake your head in disagreement
- 7) Tell the person that you disagree
- 8) Ask the person to stop making similar comments
- 9) Change the subject
- 10) Say nothing
- 11) Walk away

* Only items 7 and 8 were considered “confrontation of prejudice” as they indicate verbal disagreement. Items 1 and 2 were coded as verbally agreeing, items 3 and 4 indicate nonverbal agreement, items 5 and 6 indicate nonverbal disagreement, and items 9, 10, and 11 are neutral or ambiguous responses.

Reactions to Heterosexist Comments Scaled Items

- 1) How likely would you be to continue the conversation about the other person
- 2) How likely would you be to tell the person that you agree?
- 3) How likely would you be to nod you head in agreement?
- 4) How likely would you be to laugh/smile?
- 5) How likely would you be to roll your eyes/give a look of disapproval?
- 6) How likely would you be to tell the person that you disagree?
- 7) How likely would you be to ask the person to stop making similar comments?
- 8) How likely would you be to change the subject?
- 9) How likely would you be to say nothing?
- 10) How likely would you be to walk away?

Questions were answered using a scale from 1 to 7, where 1 = *not at all likely*, 7 = *extremely likely*

Appendix B
Reactions to Video Conversation and Perpetrator

- 1) How funny did you feel the conversation was?
- 2) How distressing did you feel the conversation was?
- 3) How appropriate did you feel the conversation was?
- 4) How much do you agree with what was said in the conversation?
- 5) How offensive did you feel the conversation was?
- 6) How friendly was the person in the video?
- 7) How aggressive was the person in the video?
- 8) How much do you approve of the person in the video?
- 9) How much do you like the person in the video?
- 10) How kind was the person in the video?
- 11) How likely is it that you would be friends with the person in the video?
- 12) How likely would you be to avoid interactions with the person in the future?

Questions were answered using a scale from 1 to 7, where 1 = *not at all*, 7 = *extremely*

Appendix C
Past Allied Behavior

- 1) How many times in the past 2 years have you attended a Gay Pride event?
- 2) How many times in the past 2 years have you attended a Gay-Straight Alliance (or a similar group) meeting?
- 3) How many times in the past 2 years have you made a monetary donations to a gay and lesbian charity group?
- 4) How many times in the past 2 years have you donated your time to a gay and lesbian charity group?
- 5) How many times in the past 2 years have you promoted gay and lesbian rights supportive clubs or events?
- 6) How many times in the past 2 years have you attended political rallies in support of gay marriage, civil unions, same-sex rights, or another sexual minority cause?
- 7) How many times in the past 2 years have you called/emailed/mailed letters to politicians in support of gay and lesbian rights?
- 8) How many times in the past 2 years have you signed petitions in support of gay and lesbian rights?
- 9) How many times in the past 2 years have you wore pins or posted bumped stickers on your personal property in support of gay and lesbian rights?
- 10) How many times in the past 2 years have you voted in support of gay and lesbian rights?
- 11) How many clubs or groups that are supportive of gay and lesbian rights (i.e. Gay-Straight Alliance) are you a part of?

- 12) How many gay or lesbian family members do you have?
- 13) How many gay or lesbian friends do you have?

Respondents chose from the following options: 0, 1-2, 3-5, 6-10, 11-15, 16-20, 21+