

Running head: ATTITUDES TOWARD GAY MEN

Men's Attitudes toward Gay Men:
Minimizing the Effects of a Threatened Identity

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in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

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Abstract

Feeling threatened in terms of one's status within a valued social group may lead to expression of negative attitudes not only toward outgroups, but also toward other marginalized ingroup members. The present study assessed whether heterosexual men's (N = 204) attitudes toward gay men and toward women were linked to the strength of their male identity, and whether these attitudes would be more negative when men's identity was threatened or not. Regression analyses indicated that more strongly identified men expressed more negative attitudes toward gay men, but these were not exacerbated when men received false feedback that served to threaten their male identity. However, as expected, making salient a superordinate identity (commonalities among all men) served to negate the relation between level of identification with the male gender group and attitudes toward gay men, an effect that was not evident when a dual identity (retaining subgroup differentiation) was highlighted.

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Table of Contents

Introduction	1
<i>Attitudes Toward Homosexuals</i>	2
<i>Social Identity Theory</i>	4
Motivation for positive self-esteem	6
<i>Identity Threat</i>	9
<i>Subgroup Relations</i>	11
<i>The Present Research</i>	13
<i>Hypotheses</i>	16
Method	16
<i>Participants</i>	16
<i>Procedures</i>	17
<i>Measures</i>	22
Male identity	22
Manipulation checks	22
Attitudes toward gay men	23
Attitudes toward women	24
Male role endorsement	25
Religious fundamentalism	26
Results	26
<i>Equivalence of Samples Across Conditions</i>	26

	Attitudes toward gay men
<i>Relations Among Outcome Measures</i>	27
<i>Manipulation Checks</i>	28
Identity threat	29
Identity salience	30
<i>Main Analyses</i>	32
Attitudes toward gay men	32
Attitudes toward women	33
<i>Attitudes Toward the Male Gender Group</i>	34
<i>Religious Fundamentalism</i>	38
Attitudes toward gay men	39
Attitudes toward women	40
Discussion	41
<i>Identity Threat</i>	42
<i>Identity Salience</i>	47
<i>Limitations and Conclusions</i>	49
References	53

List of Tables

Table 1:	<i>Correlations Among the Main Dependent Variables</i>	28
Table 2:	<i>Mean (SD) Changes (Postmanipulation-Premanipulation) of Reference Group Dependence scores as a Function of Strength of Male Identity and Identity Salience Condition</i>	32
Table 3:	<i>Regression Coefficients Indicating Relations Between Male Role and Male Identification Variables and Attitudes Toward Gay Men, Homonegative Attitudes, and Attitudes Toward Women</i>	38

List of Appendices

Appendix A: <i>Questionnaire Package #1</i>	61
Appendix B: <i>Identity Salience Articles and Instructions</i>	66
Appendix C: <i>Questionnaire Package #2</i>	75

Men's Attitudes toward Gay Men:

Minimizing the Effects of a Threatened Identity

In spite of recent social advances, attitudes toward lesbian women and gay men continue to be explicitly negative (Basow & Johnson, 2000; Kite & Whitley, 1996; Newman, 2002). Most studies have found that heterosexual males tend to have more negative attitudes toward homosexuals (Aguero, Bloch & Byrne, 1984; Herek, 1984, 1988; Kite & Whitley, 1998). This gender effect is generally related to men's attitudes toward gay men, which are found to be more negative than men's attitudes toward lesbian women, or women's attitudes toward either gay men or lesbian women (Kite & Whitley, 1996, 1996; LaMar & Kite, 1998). As a result of these gender differences in attitudes, it has been suggested that interventions to promote more positive attitudes ought to be differentially tailored to males and females, as the underlying factors appear to differ (Herek, 2000; Simoni, 1996). Research has supported conceptualizing attitudes toward lesbian women and gay men as multi-dimensional (Davies, 2004; Haddock, Zanna & Esses, 1993; Herek, 1984, 1988; LaMar & Kite, 1998). Thus, specific attitude components may be related to a wide range of variables (i.e. culture, socialized homophobia, religious affiliation, adherence to a traditional gender belief system, etc.). However, given that heterosexual men's attitudes toward gay men are particularly virulent, this suggests men's identity may play a role in the manifestation of these attitudes. Of particular interest in the present study was the extent to which men's identification with male gender roles might influence their attitudes toward gay men.

Although gender roles may vary to some degree over time and culture, on the whole, male gender roles are clearly defined and strongly enforced (Kite & Whitley, 1996, 1998; Sinn, 1997; Thompson, Grisanti & Pleck, 1985). Adherence to male gender roles is reinforced, and those who are perceived as violating them are viewed negatively (Kite & Whitley, 1996). Heterosexual men's attitudes toward gay men may therefore be linked to perceptions of gay men as violators of the prescribed male role norms, and this response may be particularly evident among men whose identity as a male is highly central or restrictive in meaning. Thus, we examined men's attitudes toward gay men as a function of (a) threats to individuals' position within the group in terms of whether they themselves typify the male gender or are instead marginalized and (b) exposure to different ways of defining their group, and especially how diversity among men is incorporated into men's understanding of the male identity.

Attitudes Toward Homosexuals

Kite and Whitley (1996, 1998) describe a generalized gender belief system wherein gender-associated characteristics are bundled together into a stereotype of masculine and feminine. This belief system "includes, but is not limited to, stereotypes about women and men, attitudes toward appropriate roles for the sexes, and perceptions of those who presumably violate the modal pattern (e.g., gay persons)" (Kite & Whitley, 1996, p. 337). One of the most prevalent stereotypes of homosexuals is the violation of gender-normative characteristics, and by default, the endorsement of cross-gender characteristics (Deaux & Lewis, 1984; Gross, Green, Storck & Vanyur, 1980; Herek, 1984; Kite & Deaux, 1987; Wong, McCreary, Carpenter, Engle & Korchyncky, 1999). Lesbian women are believed to exhibit traits that are traditionally "masculine," and gay

men are believed to exhibit traits that are traditionally “feminine.” McCreary (1994) summarizes previous research by noting that “studies of people’s expectations of homosexuals show that, when presented with descriptions of a target described as a homosexual male or female, subjects frequently ascribe cross-gender traits to him or her” (p. 521). The opposite effect is also true, in that individuals who appear to violate prescribed gender-roles are perceived as homosexuals (Dunbar, Brown & Amoroso, 1973; McCreary, 1994; Wong et al., 1999), but this is typically only true for male not female targets. Female targets may be perceived as more masculine, but this does not necessarily entail the ascription of a homosexual label (Wong et al., 1999). However, other researchers find similar results for both male and female targets (e.g., Deaux & Lewis, 1984; Martin, 1990). In general, a target exhibiting even a single cross-gender behaviour is labelled homosexual, in spite of other gender appropriate behaviours. Thus, attitudes toward homosexuals may be tied to a generalized gender belief system wherein homosexuals are seen as violating norms for their own gender and adhering to cross-gender norms (Kite & Whitley, 1996, 1998; Whitley, 2001). This relation between adherence to a traditional gender belief system and negative attitudes toward homosexuals has been well documented (Herek, 1984, 1988; Kite & Whitley, 1996, 1998; Kurdek, 1988; Sinn, 1997; Thompson et al., 1985; Whitley, 1987, 2001).

Attitudes toward gay men are particularly virulent, especially among other men (Herek, 1984; Kite & Whitley, 1996, 1998; LaMar & Kite, 1998; Simoni, 1996; Sinn, 1997; Whitley, 1987, 2001). Gender roles are more clearly defined and strongly enforced for men – men are expected to conform to male norms and avoid feminine traits or activities (Kite & Whitley, 1996, 1998; Sinn, 1997; Thompson et al., 1985). With male

gender roles so clearly delineated, and violations of those roles censured, then it follows that those who are perceived as violating these roles would be viewed negatively (Kite & Whitley, 1996). Thus, gay men, as perceived violators of prescribed gender roles are viewed negatively. Moreover, due to the rigidity of these norms, heterosexual men seek to avoid association with those who violate these norms, and perceptions that they themselves violate these norms (Herek, 1984, 1988; Kite & Whitley, 1996, 1998; Kurdek, 1988; Sinn, 1997; Thompson et al., 1985; Whitley, 1987, 2001). Indeed when males are given feedback that they themselves violate male gender group norms, they typically respond by either derogating an out-group (Maass, Cadinu, Guarnieri, & Grasselli, 2003), or by derogating other non-typical males (Schmitt & Branscombe, 2001). This response to an identity threat is best understood within the context of Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986).

Social Identity Theory

Tajfel and Turner (1986; Tajfel, 1978; Turner, 1982) developed Social Identity Theory as a means of understanding social influences on the individual in the context of their group memberships (Oakes, Haslam, & Turner, 1994). When attempting to define our “self”, we utilize a multifaceted, relatively enduring system of self-descriptions and self-evaluations: the self-concept. The self-concept is defined as a system of cognitive representations, or self-categorizations, that exist at three levels of abstraction: (1) a super-ordinate or human level wherein the self is categorized as a human being, (2) an intermediate or social level based on group memberships, and (3) a subordinate or personal level based on the self as a unique individual (Hogg & Abrams, 1988; Turner, 1982; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher & Wetherell, 1987). Social Identity Theory focuses

primarily on the latter two levels of abstraction in terms of two relatively separate subsystems, namely the social identity and personal identity (Brown & Turner, 1981; Hogg & Abrams, 1988; Turner, 1982). Whereas personal identity denotes more idiosyncratic characteristics that are unique to the individual, social identity refers to self-definitions in terms of one's social category memberships (Brown & Turner, 1981).

A social identity is that part of the self-concept that stems from the awareness of our membership in various social groups (Hogg & Abrams, 1988; Tajfel, 1978; Turner, 1982). Turner (1982) defines a social group as two or more individuals who perceive themselves to be members of the same social category. A result of this social categorization is a perception of the social world as distinct classes or categories (Turner, 1982). Not only does the individual perceive distinct social categories, there is a tendency to "accentuate similarities between objects within the *same* category and differences between stimuli in *different* categories" (Hogg & Abrams, 1988, p. 19). Therefore, the individual perceives the social environment as consisting of a homogeneous ingroup and distinct outgroup(s) (Turner, 1981). However, individuals do not just belong to one social category, they are members of various groups. Thus, there can be numerous identities, each stemming from the different social groups to which the individual belongs, that contribute to the social identity component of the self-concept (Hogg & Abrams, 1988).

In addition to organizing the social environment into categories, social groups also provide a "system of orientation for *self-reference*" (Tajfel & Turner, 1986, p. 16). Members of a social group acquire norms and values from the group and also use the group for subjective social comparisons (Turner et al., 1987). Tajfel and Turner (1986)

note that identification with the ingroup is relational and comparative, in that, the group serves to define the individual as similar to other ingroup members and different from outgroup members. The evaluation of the ingroup is in reference to a specific other group or groups and is in terms of value-laden characteristics (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). As a result, the ingroup can be seen as better or worse than the out-group and thus the identity that the individual derives from membership within the group can be positive or negative, respectively (Hogg & Abrams, 1988; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). It is this derived positive or negative social identity that motivates social behaviour (Hogg & Abrams, 1988; Tajfel, 1978; Turner, 1982).

Motivation for positive self-esteem. Social Identity Theory assumes that there is a fundamental motivation to achieve and maintain a positive self-concept (Hogg & Abrams, 1988; Tajfel, 1978; Turner, 1981). As a component of the self-concept, the social identity is also subject to this motivation as we seek to achieve positive distinctiveness for our ingroup relative to the outgroup (Turner, 1981). This is achieved by maximizing the differences between the ingroup and outgroup(s) on those dimensions which are favourable to the ingroup (Hogg & Abrams, 1988; Turner, 1982). Hogg and Abrams (1988) separate this process into two steps: categorization and social comparison. Categorization produces stereotypic perceptions of the ingroup, the outgroup, and the self, and also accentuates intergroup differences. Social comparison, resulting from the motivation for positive self-esteem, affects the magnitude of the perceived intergroup differences and accounts for the selection of the comparison dimensions (those that are favourable to the ingroup).

Categorization as a tool for making sense of our social environment, involves the stratification of individuals into groups: an ingroup consisting of the self and similar others, and an outgroup consisting of dissimilar others. This process of categorization leads to an accentuation of the perception of similarities between the self and other members of the ingroup, as well as perceptions of similarity among members of the outgroup (Hogg & Abrams, 1988; Turner, 1981). Thus, it is the process of categorization that leads to perceptions of group homogeneity and intergroup differences. For both the ingroup and outgroup, group members are not merely perceived as being similar to each other, but are perceived as having the characteristics of some group “prototype.” In the intergroup context, group members are seen as exemplifying the prototypical characteristics of the group that serve to distinguish the group from relevant outgroup(s) (Hogg & Abrams, 1988). The defining characteristics of the group prototype are dependent upon the intergroup context, and are based on those dimensions that best serve to positively differentiate the ingroup from the outgroup. In the intergroup context, group members are individually stereotyped based on all dimensions perceived to be related to the ingroup-outgroup classification (Hogg & Abrams, 1988; Turner, 1981). Thus, the group prototype not only serves to accentuate intergroup differences, but also serves a normative function, whereby ingroup members are expected to conform to the prototype. Indeed, group members who are most similar to the prototype are regarded favourably, whereas those who are perceived to violate the prototype are viewed negatively (Branscombe, Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 1999; Oakes, Haslam & Turner, 1998). In this way, members of the ingroup are perceived as interchangeable exemplars of the group prototype, further exaggerating ingroup homogeneity and intergroup differences.

The self is also involved in the categorization process, in that, there is a tendency to classify others on the basis of their similarities (ingroup) and differences (outgroup) to the self (Hogg and Abrams, 1988). It is this self-categorization process that gives rise to *self-stereotyping* (Hogg & Abrams, 1988; Turner et al., 1987). Self-stereotyping is a process in which the self is stereotyped along with the ingroup on all dimensions that pertain to the differentiation of the ingroup from the outgroup. Similar to the manner in which members of the ingroup and outgroup come to be perceived as interchangeable with other members of their group, the self is also perceived as an interchangeable group member. As a result of this self-stereotyping, the attributes of the group become the attributes of the individual, and thus the motivation for positive self-esteem becomes a motivation for positive group distinctiveness (Hogg & Abrams, 1988; Turner, 1982; Turner et al., 1987).

Once ingroup-outgroup categories are salient and meaningful, the individual is motivated to engage in an evaluative social comparison process (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Turner et al., 1987). These comparisons, guided by the motivation for positive self-esteem, seek to achieve positive group distinctiveness by accentuating the differences between the ingroup and the outgroup on dimensions that reflect favourably on the ingroup, while at the same time minimizing (or discounting) distinctiveness between ingroup and outgroup on dimensions that reflect poorly on the ingroup (Hogg & Abrams, 1988; Turner, 1982). This motivation for positive ingroup distinctiveness leads to cognitive and behavioural biases in favour of the ingroup (Brown, 2000; Turner 1982; Turner et al., 1987). When presented with an opportunity to support the ingroup over the outgroup, this opportunity can be viewed as a way of benefiting the self; any bias in

favour of the ingroup is also a bias in favour of the self (Brown, 2000). Thus, one of the consequences of our motivation for positive self-esteem is intergroup discrimination.

For men, feelings of being “male” and the meaning ascribed to being a member of the male gender group are guided by gender role norms (Mahalik et al., 2003). Social categorization into gender groups entails a set of beliefs, expectations and norms of what constitutes masculinity, including its differentiation from what it means to be feminine. These pervasive, socially proscribed gender roles are thus the basis for the male prototype (Sinn, 1997). Following from Social Identity Theory, men’s feelings of typicality within their gender group are based on perceiving themselves as distinct from the outgroup (i.e., women), and as embodying the prototype characteristics of the ingroup. This process of self-stereotyping serves a self-censoring role, and is supported by ingroup pressures among men that further enforce conformity to the male gender roles. Together, these processes serve to uphold the group prototype and positively differentiate men from women, thereby reducing subjective uncertainty about the meaning of the masculine identity and enhancing self-esteem (Hornsey & Hogg, 2000a).

Identity Threat

The salience of these norms and their interpretations to individuals may vary from one male to another as a function of individual differences in the extent to which this identity is important to them. In addition, the masculine prototype and its relevance for behaviour may vary across situations, depending on whether this aspect of the identity is relevant or salient. The situational relevance of an identity is typically highlighted under conditions in which this aspect of the identity is threatened. Such threat may occur at a group level, whereby men as a whole feel that their group’s status is undermined or

challenged. The effects of these types of challenges are likely moderated by the extent to which the individual identifies with the group, in that, men who regard their masculinity as central to their identity may be most threatened by such challenges. An identity threat might also occur when the individual himself feels that his own position within the group has been challenged, in that he is not regarded as fitting the prototype. Finally, a social identity threat might occur in situations where the group's distinctiveness from the outgroup is rendered ambiguous. Under all of these conditions, pressures toward conformity to the group prototype, and ingroup bias are highlighted (Branscombe et al., 1999; Hornsey & Hogg, 2000a, 2000b).

Of particular relevance to understanding individual differences among heterosexual men in terms of their attitudes toward gay men may be the extent to which they identify with the male prototype, and relatedly, whether their fit with the prototype has been challenged (Spears, Doosje & Ellemers, 1997). Threatening an individual's position within the group can have an effect on their level of discrimination toward outgroups, but as well, can influence their evaluations of other ingroup members (Jetten, Branscombe & Spears, 2002; Jetten, Branscombe, Spears & McKimmie, 2003; Jetten, Spears & Manstead, 1997; Noel, Wann & Branscombe, 1995; Schmitt & Branscombe, 2001). For example, Schmitt and Branscombe (2001) gave their male participants false feedback about the extent to which they were prototypical of the male gender group. They found that threats to the individual's prototypicality within the group led to decreased liking for other non-prototypical males. This was especially true for males who were highly identified with the male gender group. It may be that threatened individuals seek to affirm their own position within the group by negatively evaluating

others who threaten the group's integrity (Schmitt & Branscombe, 2001; Willer, 2005). Similarly, Wade and Brittan-Powell (2000, 2001) noted that males who were dependent upon the male gender group for their self-concept (i.e., highly identified) manifested more rigid gender roles and stereotyped attitudes. Thus, when their own status within the group (i.e., whether or not they themselves reflect the prototype) is threatened, men may be more likely to derogate other men who appear to be peripheral¹ to the group prototype. Consistent with this, Maass et al. (2003) found that males who experienced a threat to their position within the male gender group and subsequently engaged in outgroup derogation experienced increases in gender identification. Thus, it appears that men may engage in derogation either of the outgroup (women) or peripheral members of the ingroup (e.g., gay men) as a strategy for achieving self-enhancement within the male gender group.

Subgroup Relations

Members of any given group are likely to vary in the extent to which they adhere to the prototype characteristics. As noted earlier, such variability may be regarded as less acceptable when the relevant social identity has been challenged or threatened, in that under these conditions group members are expected to conform to the prototype, and are increasingly marginalized as they deviate from it. Indeed, ingroup members who violate the prototype, and hence undermine group distinctiveness, are more negatively evaluated than similar outgroup members (Branscombe, Wann, Noel & Coleman, 1993; Marques, Robalo & Rocha, 1992; Marques, Yzerbyt & Leyens, 1988).

¹ The use of the terms "prototypical," "nonprototypical" and "peripheral" is consistent with the Social Identity Threat literature (i.e. Branscombe et al., 1999; Jetten et al., 1997, 2002, 2003; Maass et al., 2003; Noel et al., 1995; Schmitt & Branscombe, 2001) and is intended to denote perceived similarity to a stereotypical group prototype. No value judgement is intended.

According to Social Identity Theory, the marginalization of ingroup members who deviate from the prototype may be reduced by making salient commonalities associated with the superordinate identity. The notion of creating, or making salient, a superordinate identity as a strategy to transcend differences between groups has a long theoretical and empirical history in contact theory (Allport, 1954), and has been most recently articulated in the Common Ingroup Identity Model (Dovidio, Gaertner & Validzic, 1998; Gaertner, Rust, Dovidio, Bachman & Anastasio, 1994). According to the Common Ingroup Identity Model, bias between groups is reduced when two separate groups are re-categorized as a single group (a common identity) at a superordinate level (a higher order identity that is shared by the two groups). For example, distinctions between men and women may be reduced when a superordinate category, human, is made salient. In so doing, efforts to maintain or assert group superiority are allegedly minimized. Similarly, members of a given ingroup that have been marginalized, or 'subgrouped' may be assimilated into a superordinate identity. In particular, making salient a common group identity, namely "men," may facilitate perceptions of commonalities between heterosexual and gay men. In effect, "us and them" perceptions become "we" perceptions.

As noted earlier, when the group identity is salient, group members are expected to conform to the prototype. Thus, the notion of making salient a superordinate identity as a strategy for embracing variations among ingroup members may be inherently problematic. Indeed, assimilationist strategies have been soundly critiqued in that they are effective as long as marginalized or outgroup members assimilate to the centre, which is embodied by the prototype. For example, gay men may be viewed as acceptable, as

long as they aren't 'practicing,' as this would actively assert their difference from the prototype. Similarly, the Common Ingroup Identity Model has been criticized for its inability to allow the subsumed groups or subgroups to retain the characteristics that made them distinct from the ingroup, or ingroup prototype, in the first place (Hewstone, Rubin & Willis, 2002; Hornsey & Hogg, 2000a, 2000b).

In contrast, the Dual Identity Model (Hewstone et al., 2002; originally conceptualized as the Mutual Intergroup Distinctiveness Model, Hornsey & Hogg, 2000a, 2000b) proposes that for ingroup biases (including marginalization of subgroups who deviate from the ingroup prototype) to be reduced, group members must find not only a common identity, but must also retain their unique subgroup identities. Thus, they must be able to simultaneously identify at both the superordinate level (men) and the subgroup level (heterosexual and gay). As members of a superordinate group, each subgroup is recognized and equally valued (Hewstone et al., 2002; Hornsey & Hogg, 2000a, 2000b). In effect, the Dual Identity Model posits that only when the characteristics that make subgroups distinct are explicitly acknowledged will pressures to embrace a common prototype, and ingroup biases, be eliminated.

The Present Research

The goal of the present research was to assess the social identity processes that may encourage the expression of negative attitudes toward gay men particularly among other men. We have argued that the marginalization of gay men emanates from perceptions that they pose a threat to the distinctiveness of the male identity, as gay men are viewed as stereotypically endorsing cross-gender characteristics. Thus, the

expression of anti-gay attitudes is most likely to come from men who strongly identify with their masculine identity.

However, situational factors may exacerbate or attenuate such attitudes. In particular, when men's identity is threatened in terms of their own position within the male gender group, they may be particularly likely to marginalize gay men, and this again, may be especially true of men with high levels of identification. To assess this possibility, in the present study, we manipulated the extent to which men believed that they fit with, or deviated from, the group prototype. Consistent with Schmitt and Branscombe (2001), men completed a measure of male identity, and allegedly based upon their responses, were provided with bogus feedback about their masculinity. Men were randomly assigned to receive a high score indicating that they were highly representative of the male gender group (prototypical condition), or a low score indicating that their typicality as a male was relatively low (peripheral condition). It was expected that group members who were led to believe they fit the prototype would be less threatened than those who were led to believe that they deviated from it.

Importantly, we expected that the effects of a threat to the individual's position within the group might be overcome by making salient a superordinate identity, especially if the ability to maintain one's unique subgroup characteristics was also facilitated. Although the Common Ingroup Identity Model, like Social Identity Theory, argues that simply making salient the superordinate identity ought to alleviate the need for ingroup bias and the marginalization of subgroups, this perspective has been critiqued, and in fact, such an approach could even exacerbate these outcomes in the presence of an identity threat (i.e., by threatening group distinctiveness). In contrast,

consistent with the Dual Identity Model, if both the superordinate identity along with the equal value of variations within the group are highlighted, the need to marginalize such deviations ought to be minimized. In the present study, men were exposed to a construal of their group that varied in terms of the emphasis and value given to the superordinate identity versus ingroup variations. They were randomly assigned to one of three conditions. All conditions entailed reading, and engaging with, a newspaper article that described the male reporter's experience of a series of activities that involved extensive interactions with other men. One of the articles focused on the commonalities among all the men involved (superordinate identity), whereas a second article simultaneously highlighted both the commonalities, as well as the variation among men, their experiences, and skills. The variability described was designed to emphasize the high degree of diversity among men (dual identities), without making explicit reference to gay men or cross-gender activities. Finally, a third article focused on an unrelated identity (control group). It was expected that when both superordinate and subgroup identities were made salient, the need to derogate gay men would be attenuated.

We sought to assess changes in attitudes toward gay men resulting from our manipulations, it was important to take into account other significant influences on attitudes toward homosexuals that may impact their malleability. Possessing a fundamental religious ideology has been found to have a significant relation with attitudes toward homosexuals (Herek, 1984, 1987, 1988; Newman, 2002). To the extent that one's religious ideology is most likely to be fairly stable and unaffected by the transitory manipulations in the present research, it was expected that participants' level of

religious fundamentalism would affect the predicted relationship between our manipulations and attitudes toward gay men.

In sum, it was hypothesized that

- (1) High identification with the male gender group would be associated with the expression of more negative attitudes toward gay men.
- (2) Among highly identified men, when their prototypicality was threatened, they would express particularly negative attitudes toward gay men. The attitudes of men whose male identity was not important would not be affected by the manipulation of their own position within the group (prototypicality).
- (3) Among highly identified men whose prototypicality was threatened, dual identity salience would override the effects of the identity threat to alleviate the expression of negative attitudes toward gay men. Making salient only a superordinate identity may also reduce negative attitudes toward gay men (albeit to a lesser degree than the dual identity). Alternatively, if this manipulation encourages assimilation to a prototype, it may, in fact, exacerbate the expression of negative attitudes. This manipulation would not affect the attitudes of men whose male identity was not important, as their attitudes are not likely a function of their male identity.

Method

Participants

Male students ($N = 204$) enrolled in Introductory Psychology who self-defined as heterosexual were recruited to participate in a study concerning male identity.

Participants ranged in age from 18 to 47 ($M = 20.4$ years, $SD = 3.2$). The majority (58%, $n = 118$) of the participants identified as either Canadian or of European descent, 16% (n

= 33) identified as Arabic, Middle Eastern, or South East Asian, 12% ($n = 25$) identified as Asian, and 14% ($n = 28$) were either of other ethnic minority backgrounds or were multi-ethnic. In addition, most (64%, $n = 130$) participants indicated that they were not actively religious, whereas 36% ($n = 74$) indicated that they had an active religious affiliation. Of those who were actively religious, 77% ($n = 56$) of these were Judaeo-Christian, and 23% were of other faiths (i.e. Buddhist, Hindu, Muslim, Sikh). All participants received experimental credit as incentive. Participants who self-identified as either gay/bisexual ($n = 5$) or who did not indicate their sexual orientation ($n = 2$) were removed from the analyses. Additionally, on a measure to assess participant suspicions, one participant correctly guessed the nature of the study and hence was removed from the analyses.

Procedure

Participants were tested individually. They were randomly assigned to one of the six identity conditions based on a 2 (Identity threat: self as prototypical vs. peripheral) x 3 (Levels of identity salience: superordinate identity vs. dual identities vs. control) between groups design.

The study was described as an examination of male identity and the personality characteristics associated with the male gender group. Participants were given a brief overview of the procedures of the study, and then completed an informed consent form. They were then given the first questionnaire package (see Appendix A), which included an open-ended measure of male identity (included for the purpose of legitimizing the first questionnaire as a test of “male identity”), a closed-ended measure of male identity (Schmitt & Branscombe, 2001), and the Reference Group Identity Dependence Scale

(Wade & Gelso, 1998). The Reference Group Identity Dependence Scale was designed to assess feelings of psychological relatedness to other males, and was included prior to, as well as after, our experimental manipulations in order to assess any possible changes in identification with the male gender group resulting from the manipulations, and in particular, the manipulation of the level of identity salience.

Once participants completed the first questionnaire package, they were informed that this package would be scored for level of “male identity”, and that their score would provide the comparative starting point for the second part of the study. While the first questionnaire package was out being “scored,” participants completed the next task, which served the purpose of manipulating levels of identity salience (see Appendix B)². This manipulation consisted of three conditions: (1) a superordinate identity condition highlighting men’s common identity as men, (2) a dual identity condition, which involved simultaneously making mens’ identity at the superordinate level and the subgroup level salient, and (3) a control condition, in which the male gender identity was not made salient. This manipulation involved giving participants a task that entailed reading a bogus newspaper article and underlining specific content. The newspaper article in each of the three conditions involved a journalist having been assigned by his editor the task of answering a question: in the two experimental conditions, “what does it mean to be male in Canada today?” and in the control condition “what does it mean to be

² Several strategies for invoking this level of identity salience manipulation were pilot tested. The particular rendition employed was found to be effective. Specifically, 15 participants were randomly assigned to reading either the superordinate identity or the dual identity media article after which they completed the Reference Group Identity Dependence Scale (Wade & Gelso, 1998), which was also employed as a manipulation check in the present study. These results indicated that in the superordinate condition, focusing on the similarities within the entire group led to increased appreciation of the similarities among, and diversity within, all males. As well, in the dual identity condition, focusing on the differences among subgroups within the entire group lead to increased feelings of similarity to some males, and to a lesser extent, appreciation of diversity within all males.

Canadian?” The journalist comes to an answer while working as a volunteer for the organizing committee for the local Canada Day festivities. All three articles involve descriptions of diverse individuals, and the journalist is faced with the task of reconciling these differences among individuals within the larger group.

In the superordinate condition, participants read an article discussing the commonalities within the entire male gender group. In this condition the journalist was faced with the diversity within the male gender group (e.g. farmers, accountants, hockey players, pastors), yet even with all of this within group variation, the journalist was still able to see “the commonalities that each of these unique individuals was able to find with each other, and the way they used those to relate to one another.” Their task in this condition was to underline content that they felt indicated that “*all or some men have some common characteristics.*”

In the dual identity condition, participants read an article focusing on the differences between various groups/individuals within the male gender group. In this condition, the journalist, facing the same diversity within the male gender group, comes to realize that “each committee consisted of a relatively unique group of individuals. It was as if each committee was composed of a unique type of male – yes, there was variation within each group, but it was the differences between the groups that got me thinking about how different one group of men can be from another.” Participants were asked to underline content that they felt indicated how “*some men have characteristics that differ from other men.*”

Finally, in the control condition, the article made salient a non-relevant identity (Canadian). In this instance, the earlier points regarding men were applied to all

Canadians (across both genders). The journalist is facing the same diversity and comes to a similar conclusion as in the superordinate identity condition (focusing solely upon the superordinate identity – in this case Canadian). The journalist concludes that “there is no single answer but rather that there are as many individual answers to [*being Canadian*] as there are individuals. The answer lies more in the commonalities that each of these unique individuals was able to find with each other, and the way they used those to relate to one another.” In this condition, participants were asked to underline content that they felt indicated “*what it means to be Canadian.*”

After participants completed the level of identity salience task, the experimenter returned with their alleged scores on the male identity measure. In fact, prior to their arrival in the lab, participants were randomly assigned to receive one of two scores, with these scores constituting the manipulation of whether participants’ position within the male gender group was threatened (peripheral to the group) or not (prototypical of the group identity). Consistent with Schmitt and Branscombe (2001), on a scale of zero (low male identity) to 10 (high male identity), the participant received either a score of 4.27 (peripheral condition) or 8.27 (prototypical condition), with the implication that this score reflected the extent to which they were “typical within the male gender group.” This manipulation was consolidated with a subsequent task, which also served to provide a cover story explaining the need to give them a score. Written onto the first page of the second questionnaire package was the participant’s bogus male identity score (either 8.27 or 4.27) (see Appendix C). In addition to the participant’s own score, normative data regarding typical scores on this scale was provided (e.g. “previous research indicates that most males score between 6.6 and 9.2 on this measure of Male Identity”). This was

followed by brief 1-2 sentence descriptions of five other males that varied in terms of occupation (e.g., mechanic, bank manager, university student) and male stereotyped behaviours (e.g., golf, coaching, stay-at-home dad); none of these males was described as gay. Participants task was then to indicate on a “male identity” number line (marked from zero to ten): (1) their own score (8.27 or 4.27), (2) the high and low range (6.6 and 9.2) of the normative data, and (3) to rate the five other target males on the number line.

Participants then completed a final questionnaire package (see Appendix C). This included a manipulation check of identity threat (Schmitt & Branscombe (2001), an abbreviated version of the Reference Group Identity Dependence Scale (Wade & Gelso, 1998) to be used as a manipulation check of the effectiveness of the identity salience manipulation, a measure of collective identity derived from Luhtanen and Crocker (1992; reworded to assess identification with the male gender group), the Modern Homonegativity Scale (Morrison & Morrison, 2002), the short form of the Attitudes Toward Women scale (Swim & Cohen, 1997), the Attitudes Toward Gay Men scale (Herek, 1987), the Masculine Role Inventory (Snell, 1986), the Religious Fundamentalism scale (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992), and a demographic questionnaire. Lastly, they completed a measure assessing any suspicions they may have had about the study’s procedures.

Upon completion of the suspicion measure, participants were given an oral debriefing. Given that participants were deceived about the true purpose of the study, we recognized that they were not initially able to provide full informed consent. Thus, after being informed of the study’s true purpose, participants were given a second opportunity to provide informed consent allowing us to use their data. Participants were given a

credit receipt, a sheet indicating contacts for further information, and an information sheet containing more information about heterosexism in our society.

Measures

Male identity (Schmitt & Branscombe, 2001). A 15-item unidimensional scale was used to assess participants' pre-existing level of identification with the male gender group (e.g. "I value being a member of my gender group"). Response options ranged from -3 "strongly disagree" to 3 "strongly agree." This scale was scored such that higher scores reflected greater levels of identification with the male gender group (Cronbach's $\alpha = .83$).

Manipulation checks. To assess whether men's identity was threatened or not, Schmitt and Branscombe's (2001) manipulation check for identity threat was employed. In an effort to reduce the demand characteristics, participants were given the following information: "This questionnaire was requested by the Carleton University Psychology Department, because they would like to know about how participants feel when we provide them with feedback about themselves. This questionnaire is intended to gain some information about how participants feel about getting feedback about their scores in psychological research." Along with five filler items, they responded to six questions assessing their feelings of threat (e.g., "I feel good about myself after seeing my results from this study"). Response options ranged from -3 "strongly disagree" to 3 "strongly agree." This scale was scored such that higher scores reflected higher feelings of identity threat (Cronbach's $\alpha = .88$).

To assess the effectiveness of the identity salience manipulation, we used the Reference Group Identity Dependence Scale (Wade & Gelso, 1998), comprised of four

subscales to assess the extent to which men were dependent on a male reference group for their gender role self-concepts. In order to assess changes in participants' level of reference group dependence resulting from the identity salience manipulation, participants completed this measure both before and after the experimental manipulations. We included the complete 30-item scale in the first questionnaire, however to reduce participant fatigue in the second questionnaire, we selected two items from each of the four subscales for a total of eight items. The subscales (with pre-measure alpha and post measure correlation) assess (1) reference group non-dependent diversity (Cronbach's $\alpha = .68$; $r = .39$, $p < .001$), defined as the appreciation of differences among males (e.g. "I feel connected with various types of males"); (2) reference group non-dependent similarity (Cronbach's $\alpha = .76$; $r = .61$, $p < .001$), defined as feelings of connectedness with all males (e.g. "I am similar in many ways to all males"); (3) reference group dependent (Cronbach's $\alpha = .56$; $r = .35$, $p < .001$), defined as feelings of connectedness with some males and not others (e.g. "I feel a common bond with my male friends, but not so much with other males"), and (4) no reference group (Cronbach's $\alpha = .75$; $r = .39$, $p < .001$), defined as feelings of disconnectedness from other males (e.g. "I have little in common with most other males"). Response options consist of a Likert-type scale ranging from -3 "strongly disagree" to 3 "strongly agree." This scale was scored such that higher scores reflected greater salience of the respective aspect of the male identity.

Attitudes toward gay men. Two measures of attitudes toward gay men were included, each reflecting different conceptual frameworks of prejudice in general, and homophobia specifically. The Modern Homonegativity Scale (Morrison & Morrison,

2002) is a 12-item unidimensional scale that was included to assess contemporary attitudes toward gay men (e.g. "Gay men should stop shoving their lifestyle down other people's throats"). This measure was designed to reflect the recognition that in the current politically correct society, negative attitudes toward particular groups are not necessarily expressed explicitly, but rather are framed in terms of their violation of fundamental social values (i.e. modern racism; McConahay, 1986). Response options range from -3 "strongly disagree" to 3 "strongly agree." This scale was scored such that higher scores reflected more negative attitudes toward gay men (Cronbach's $\alpha = .89$).

A second measure, the Attitudes Toward Gay Men Scale (Herek, 1987) is a 10-item unidimensional scale assessing condemnation-intolerance (i.e., moral based) attitudes toward gay men (e.g. "Male homosexuality is a perversion"). This scale is more consistent with traditional definitions of prejudice. Response options ranged from -3 "strongly disagree" to 3 "strongly agree." This scale was scored such that higher scores reflected greater levels of prejudice against gay men (Cronbach's $\alpha = .93$).

Attitudes Toward Women Scale (Swim & Cohen, 1997). Although the present study was primarily interested in the expression of negative attitudes toward a subgroup of men, namely gay men, it was also important to evaluate whether the manipulated variables impacted on participants' derogation of the outgroup. To this end, a 15-item unidimensional scale assessing attitudes and beliefs regarding women's gender role norms (e.g. "A woman should be as free as a man to propose marriage") was administered. Response options ranged from -3 "strongly disagree" to 3 "strongly agree." This scale was scored such that higher scores reflected more traditional gender

attitudes (i.e., reflecting the higher status of men relative to women) (Cronbach's $\alpha = .82$).

Male role endorsement. Just as men were expected to reject gay men when their identity was threatened, it was expected that they would embrace traditional male norms. To this end, a measure of the extent to which men endorsed traditional male roles, and a measure of collective identification with the male gender group were included. The Masculine Role Inventory (Snell, 1986) is a 30-item scale designed with three sub-scales was used to tap into men's self-concept within three conceptual domains of the male role: success preoccupation (Cronbach's $\alpha = .64$, e.g. "If I committed myself to another person, I would not have enough time to wholeheartedly pursue a career"), restrictive emotionality (Cronbach's $\alpha = .60$, e.g. "If people thought of me as a sensitive person, they might exploit me"), and inhibited affection (Cronbach's $\alpha = .72$, e.g. "I prefer not to be emotionally involved with another person"). In order to minimize participant fatigue, we used three questions from each sub-scale for a total of 9 items. Response options ranged from -3 "strongly disagree" to 3 "strongly agree." This scale was scored such that higher scores reflected greater levels of identification with each of the three dimensions.

A second scale was included to assess men's collective esteem in relation to the male gender group (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992). This 19-item scale is based on Luhtanen and Crocker's measure of collective self-esteem, and was re-worded to assess esteem in relation to the male gender group. It has several sub-scales designed to assess individual differences in collective self-esteem, including: (1) typicality (Cronbach's $\alpha =$

.82, e.g. “I am a typical male”), (2) membership esteem (Cronbach’s $\alpha = .50$, e.g. “I am worthy as a male”), (3) public collective self-esteem (Cronbach’s $\alpha = .64$, e.g. “People have respect for ‘males’ as a group”), (4) private collective self-esteem (Cronbach’s $\alpha = .67$, e.g. “I’m glad to be a male”), and (5) the centrality of the identity (Cronbach’s $\alpha = .74$, e.g. “Being male is an important reflection of who I am”). Response options range from -3 “strongly disagree” to 3 “strongly agree.” This scale was scored such that higher scores reflect greater levels of collective self-esteem.

Religious fundamentalism scale (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992). To assess participants’ level of religious fundamentalism, a 30-item unidimensional scale was used (e.g. “God will punish most severely those who abandon his true religion”). Response options range from -3 “strongly disagree” to 3 “strongly agree.” This scale was scored such that higher scores reflect greater levels of religious fundamentalism (Cronbach’s $\alpha = .92$).

Results

Equivalence of Samples Across Conditions

As participants were randomly assigned to experimental conditions, there ought to be no systematic differences on a priori characteristics. To ensure that there were no pre-existing group differences on levels of male identity, age, and religious fundamentalism, 2 (Identity threat: self as prototypical vs. peripheral) by 3 (Identity salience: control, vs. superordinate, vs. dual) analyses of variance (ANOVAs) were conducted. There were no significant differences across conditions as a function of age. However, there was a significant interaction between the identity threat and identity salience conditions on pre-existing levels of male identity, $F(2, 190) = 3.20, p < .05, \eta^2 = .033$, and religious

fundamentalism, $F(2, 190) = 3.48, p < .05, \eta^2 = .035$. Follow-up analyses of the simple effects of identity threat at each level of identity salience indicated that, although there were no significant differences in the male identity of participants exposed to the differing threat conditions in the superordinate and dual identity conditions, in the control condition, participants assigned to receive the prototypical feedback indicated marginally higher levels of male identity ($M = 1.55, SD = 0.52$) than did participants assigned to receive the peripheral (threat) feedback ($M = 1.22, SD = 0.82$), $F(1, 62) = 3.68, p = .06$. Similarly, in the control condition only, participants assigned to receive the prototypical feedback indicated higher levels of religious fundamentalism ($M = -0.90, SD = 1.12$) than did participants assigned to receive the peripheral feedback ($M = -1.47, SD = 1.07$), $F(1, 62) = 4.34, p < .05$. Indeed, not surprisingly, religious fundamentalism and strength of male identification were mildly positively correlated ($r = .21, p < .01$). Thus, due to the ineffectiveness of random assignment in the identity salience control condition, any differences emanating from the threat manipulation in this condition will have to be interpreted with caution.

Relations Among Outcome Measures

To assess the extent to which the outcome variables were related to one another, zero-order Pearson correlations were examined. As seen in Table 1, the two measures of attitudes toward gay men were strongly positively correlated, suggesting that in this sample, they were not assessing unique aspects of men's attitudes. As would be expected, prejudice against gay men was also positively correlated with traditional attitudes toward women's roles. Feelings of threat were positively correlated with mood indices of distress, hostility, and anxiety, and hence to the extent that the manipulation of

identity threat was effective in inducing subjective feelings of threat, these feelings appear to be linked to a negative mood response.

Table 1

Correlations among the main dependent variables

	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Perceived Threat ^a	.23***	.37***	.39***	.05	.06	.04
2. Anxious		.64***	.48***	.12	.09	.29***
3. Hostile			.62***	.23***	.17*	.34***
4. Depressed				.10	.09	.19**
5. Attitudes Toward Gay Men					.76***	.60***
6. Modern Homonegativity Scale						.44***
7. Attitudes Toward Women						

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

^a $n = 195$, all other $n = 196$

Manipulation Checks

The effects of each of the manipulations in relation to their respective checks were assessed, both in terms of the anticipated main effects, but as well in terms of whether they were equally effective for men with high versus low identification with their male gender, given that past research has suggested that such manipulations may be less effective if men do not place great importance on this aspect of their identity. For the purposes of these analyses, a median split on self-reported level of identification was

conducted. Specifically, men whose identification ratings were above the median (Median = 1.40) were considered to be highly identified, whereas those scoring below the median were considered low identifiers.

Identity threat. To assess the effectiveness of the identity threat manipulation, a 2 (Male identity: high vs. low identification with men) by 2 (Identity threat: self as prototypical vs. peripheral) ANOVA was conducted on participants' threat appraisals. The main effect of male identity was not significant, $F < 1$. Although the main effect of identity threat was significant, $F(1, 191) = 65.64, p < .001, \eta^2 = .256$, this was qualified by an expected interaction between male identity and identity threat, $F(1, 191) = 25.17, p < .001, \eta^2 = .116$. Simple effects analyses assessing the impact of the identity threat manipulation for each of high and low identified men were conducted. Among men with a low male identity, the identity threat manipulation resulted in greater levels of perceived threat ($M = -1.21, SD = .84$ and $M = -.77, SD = 1.18$, for non-threatened and threatened males respectively), $F(1, 98) = 4.59, p < .05, \eta^2 = .045$. As expected, however, the effect of the threat manipulation on perceived threat was especially strong for men with high male identity ($M = -1.87, SD = .76$ and $M = -.01, SD = 1.10$, for non-threatened and threatened males respectively), $F(1, 93) = 89.90, p < .001, \eta^2 = .492$.

Given the previously noted relations between feelings of threat and the three indices of mood (anxiety, hostility, and depression), we also assessed the effect of the identity threat manipulation on participants' mood. The effect of the identity threat manipulation on mood was assessed with a 2 (Male identity) by 2 (Identity threat) MANOVA with the three measures of participants' mood as outcome variables. There was no interaction between male identity and identity threat, $F < 1$. However, there was

a significant effect of male identity, Pillais = .054, $F(3, 192) = 3.59, p < .05$. An examination of the univariate analyses subsumed under this multivariate effect indicated that high identifiers indicated greater levels of anxiety ($M = 2.55, SD = 1.00$) than did low identifiers ($M = 2.22, SD = .96$), $F(1, 192) = 5.20, p < .05, \eta^2 = .026$. There was also a marginal main effect of male identity on feelings of hostility. High identifiers indicated greater levels of hostility ($M = 2.08, SD = .93$) than did low identifiers ($M = 1.82, SD = .88$), $F(1, 192) = 3.60, p = .059, \eta^2 = .018$. High identifiers, regardless of the type of feedback they receive (threatening or non-threatening), may be expressing greater levels of negative mood as a result of having to participate in a study in which a valued identity is being challenged.

There was also a marginal main effect of the threat manipulation, Pillais = .04, $F(3, 192) = 2.62, p = .052$. An examination of the univariate analyses subsumed under this multivariate effect indicated a significant effect of threat on feelings of depression and hostility. Participants who were threatened indicated greater levels of depressed feelings ($M = 2.70, SD = 1.01$) than participants who were not threatened ($M = 2.37, SD = .73$), $F(1, 192) = 7.02, p < .01, \eta^2 = .035$. Additionally, participants who were threatened indicated greater levels of hostility ($M = 2.08, SD = 1.03$) than participants who were not threatened ($M = 1.81, SD = .76$), $F(1, 192) = 3.88, p = .050, \eta^2 = .020$. As expected, our threat manipulation produced greater levels of negative mood; this lends support to the effectiveness of our threat manipulation.

Identity salience. To assess the effectiveness of the identity salience manipulation, change scores (pre- post manipulation subscale scores) were calculated for three dimensions of the Reference Group Identity Dependence Scale. A 2 (Male identity)

by 3 (Identity salience) MANOVA conducted on the three change scores, indicated a marginal multivariate interaction, Pillais = .058, $F(6, 190) = 1.89$, $p = .082$. Examination of the univariate analyses subsumed under this multivariate effect indicated a significant interaction between male identity and identity salience for the Reference Group Dependent subscale (feelings of connectedness to some males but not to all), $F(2, 190) = 3.65$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .037$. Simple effects analyses of identity salience at each level of male identity indicated that, as expected, there was a significant effect of identity salience on highly identified men's level of reference group dependence, $F(2, 93) = 3.14$, $p < .05$ (see Table 2), but not for low identified men. Follow-up comparisons (using Tukeys correction to maintain family-wise error at $p < .05$) indicated that when a dual identity was made salient, as might be anticipated, highly identified males became less dependent upon a specific group of males for their identity, in comparison to men who were in the identity salience control condition. Making a superordinate identity salient led to a similar change in reducing dependence on a specific group of men, but to a lesser degree, and thus, this group was not significantly different from either of the other groups. Thus, it appears that the identity salience manipulation was somewhat effective, although the effects, as assessed by these particular manipulation check measures, were not strong.

Table 2

*Mean (SD) Changes (Postmanipulation-Premanipulation) of Reference Group
Dependence scores as a Function of Strength of Male Identity and Identity Salience
Condition*

Male Identity	Male Identity Salience		
	Control	Superordinate	Dual
Low	0.18 (1.16)	-0.12 (0.98)	0.40 (0.96)
High	0.10 (1.02)	-0.33 (1.62)	-.069 (1.06)

Main Analyses

To assess the extent to which the relations between attitudes toward gay men and toward women with strength of male identity were moderated by manipulated levels of identity threat and salience of the male gender group, hierarchical regressions were conducted in which attitudes were regressed onto strength of male identity (as a continuous variable) on the first step, level of identity threat (dummy coded) on the second, and two dummy coded variables representing level of identity salience on the third. The subsequent steps included the two-way interactions (cross-products between the relevant variables), and lastly the three-way interaction among these variables.

Attitudes toward gay men. In relation to men's modern homonegative attitudes, there was a significant main effect for male identification, $F(1, 194) = 12.48, p < .001, R^2 = .060$, in that, as expected, higher identification with the male gender group was associated with more negative attitudes toward gay men ($\beta = .25$). In addition, there was a significant interaction between male identity and identity salience condition, $F(2, 188)$

= 5.43, $p < .01$, $\eta^2 = .050$. Follow up simple effects analyses indicated significant relations between stronger male identity and more negative attitudes toward gay men in the control ($\beta = .45$, $p < .001$) and dual identity ($\beta = .26$, $p < .05$) salience conditions, but not in the superordinate identity salience condition ($\beta = .01$, *ns*). Thus, making salient a superordinate identity appeared to be particularly effective in attenuating the relation between male identity and attitudes toward gay men. There were no further significant effects.

A similar regression was performed for the other measure of men's attitudes toward gay men assessing more traditional attitudes of condemnation/tolerance toward gay men. Once again, there was a significant main effect for male identification, $F(1, 194) = 26.95$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .122$, in that, as expected, higher identification with the male gender group was associated with more negative attitudes toward gay men ($\beta = .35$). In addition, there was a significant interaction between male identity and identity salience condition, $F(2, 188) = 3.06$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .027$. Follow up simple effects analyses indicate significant relations between stronger male identity and more negative attitudes toward gay men in the control ($\beta = .45$, $p < .001$) and dual identity ($\beta = .44$, $p < .001$) salience conditions, but once again, this relation was rendered nonsignificant in the superordinate identity salience condition ($\beta = .15$, *ns*). There were no further significant effects. Thus, the patterns of response as a function of the male identity predictors were identical, irrespective of how attitudes toward gay men were conceptualized and assessed.

Attitudes toward women. In relation to men's attitudes toward women, there was a significant main effect for male identity, $F(1, 194) = 24.58$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .112$, in that

men who were more strongly identified expressed more traditional attitudes toward women ($\beta = .34$). In addition, there was a significant main effect of identity threat, $F(1, 193) = 5.47, p < .05, \eta^2 = .024$, in that, surprisingly, men who received the non-threatening feedback expressed more traditional attitudes toward women ($M = -1.00, SD = 0.94$) than did participants who received the threatening feedback ($M = -1.24, SD = 0.78$). There were no further significant effects.

Attitudes Toward the Male Gender Group

When membership in a valued social group is threatened, individuals can engage in “impression management” in an attempt to clarify their position within the group (Branscombe et al., 1999; Noel et al., 1995). In response to threats to one’s typicality within the group, individuals may even express more extreme attitudes as a means of differentiating self from the outgroup (Schmitt & Branscombe, 2001). As such, in response to threats to their typicality within the male gender group, men should express greater adherence with stereotypical male gender roles and norms. However, as with attitudes toward gay men, making a dual or superordinate identity salient ought to diminish this threat; this reduced threat, in turn, ought to be predictive of men’s less negative attitudes toward gay men. To test this possibility, a series of hierarchical regressions as described previously were conducted. Male identity was related to all five of the collective esteem sub-scales. Specifically, feelings of typicality within the male gender group ($r = .66, p < .001$), feelings of worthiness as a member of the male gender group ($r = .25, p < .001$), judgements of how positively others evaluate the male gender group ($r = .36, p < .001$), private evaluations of the value of the male gender group ($r = .44, p < .001$), and centrality, or the importance of the male gender group to one’s

personal self-concept ($r = .57, p < .001$) were all positively related to the strength of male identity. Of the three dimensions of male role adherence, the restrictive emotionality subscale was also positively related to men's gender identification ($r = .23, p < .001$).

The interaction between identity threat and identity salience also influenced one aspect of men's collective esteem, namely the dimension of centrality, $F(2, 186) = 4.19, p < .05, \eta^2 = .037$, as well as the male norm reflecting success pre-occupation, $F(2, 186) = 3.46, p < .05, \eta^2 = .038$. Follow up simple effects analyses indicate that when participants were given non-threatening feedback, there was a significant effect of identity salience, in that, participants for whom a dual identity was made salient indicated that their gender group was less central to their self-concept ($M = .09, SD = 1.35$) compared to those for whom the superordinate identity was made salient ($M = .92, SD = 1.14$); the centrality of the gender identity as a function of these manipulations did not differ from the levels reported by men in the control condition ($M = .65, SD = 1.06$). Likewise, only when participants were given non-threatening feedback was there a significant effect of identity salience on men's success pre-occupation, in that participants for whom a superordinate identity was made salient expressed greater success preoccupation ($M = .56, SD = 1.43$), than did participants in either the identity salience control condition ($M = -.27, SD = 1.26$) or in the dual identity salience condition ($M = -.45, SD = 1.23$). There was no effect of identity salience for participants who were given threatening feedback.

Finally, there was also a significant three way interaction between male identity, identity threat, and identity salience on the endorsement of male norms regarding restrictive emotionality, $F(2, 184) = 4.00, p < .05, R^2 = .037$. Follow up analyses

indicate that when threatened, there was a significant main effect of male identity, in that identification with the male gender group is positively related to restricted emotion ($\beta = .28, p < .01$). For participants who were given the non-threatening feedback, there was a significant two way interaction between male identity and identity salience, $F(2, 91) = 3.37, p < .05$. Follow up simple effects analyses indicated a significant relation between male identity and restrictive emotionality in the identity salience control condition ($\beta = .50, p < .01$), but this relation was no longer significant in either the superordinate identity condition ($\beta = .01, ns$), or the dual identity condition ($\beta = .11, ns$).

In sum, collective esteem and agreement with, or adherence to, male roles was, for the most part, significantly positively related to our pre-measure of male identity. The effects of the manipulated variables (identity threat and identity salience) were manifested when participants' identity was affirmed (the non-threat condition). Specifically, when participants' male identity was affirmed, rather than threatened, making a superordinate identity salient served to exacerbate success preoccupation and the centrality of the male identity, whereas, making a dual identity salient served to reduce the centrality of the male identity. Finally, when identity was affirmed, focusing on either a dual identity or a superordinate identity negated the relation between male identity and restrictive emotionality.

In order to assess whether the effects that the manipulations had on adherence to male roles and collective esteem might also translate into effects on the main outcome variables (attitudes toward gay men and toward women), each of the three outcome measures was regressed onto the two collective esteem variables and one male role variable that had been influenced by the manipulations (centrality, success preoccupation,

and restrictive emotionality). There was a significant effect on traditional attitudes toward gay men $F(3, 192) = 14.38, p < .001, R^2 = .184$. Regression coefficients indicated significant positive relations between traditional attitudes toward gay men and both restrictive emotionality and centrality (see Table 3). There was also a significant effect on homonegative attitudes $F(3, 192) = 7.11, p < .001, R^2 = .100$, in that homonegative attitudes were uniquely positively related to endorsing restrictive emotionality (see Table 3). Finally, there was also a significant effect on attitudes toward women $F(3, 192) = 13.12, p < .001, R^2 = .170$, in that there were significant positive relations between traditional attitudes toward women and both restrictive emotionality and centrality (see Table 3).

Table 3

Regression Coefficients Indicating Relations Between Male Role and Male Identification Variables and Attitudes Toward Gay Men, Homonegative Attitudes, and Attitudes Toward Women

Variable	r	β	R ²
Attitudes toward gay men			.184***
Success preoccupation	.16*	.00	
Restrictive emotionality	.37***	.32***	
Centrality	.29***	.22**	
Homonegative attitudes			.100***
Success preoccupation	.14*	.01	
Restrictive emotionality	.30***	.29***	
Centrality	.14*	.09	
Attitudes toward women			.170***
Success preoccupation	.21**	.07	
Restrictive emotionality	.35***	.28***	
Centrality	.27***	.21**	

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Religious Fundamentalism

One key variable that has been identified as linked to negative attitudes toward gay men is religious fundamentalism (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992; Herek, 1984, 1987; Newman, 2002). Thus as a final analysis, it was important to evaluate whether

such religious attitudes altered the relations between the male identity variables and attitudes toward gay men and women. In order to do so, hierarchical regressions were conducted in which attitudes toward gay men and toward women were regressed onto religious fundamentalism on the first step as a potential covariate. On the second step, strength of male identity (as a continuous variable) was entered, followed by level of identity threat on the third, and two dummy coded variables representing level of identity salience on the fourth. The subsequent steps included the two-way interactions (cross-products between the relevant independent variables), and lastly the three-way interaction among the independent variables, as in the previous analyses.

Attitudes toward gay men. In relation to men's modern homonegative attitudes, religious fundamentalism was associated with holding more negative attitudes, $\beta = .34$, $F(1, 194) = 24.89$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .114$. However, controlling for religious fundamentalism did not alter the previously noted main effect of male identity, $F(1, 193) = 7.34$, $p < .01$, $R^2 = .032$, nor did it render the interaction between male identity and identity salience nonsignificant, $F(2, 187) = 4.68$, $p < .01$, $\eta^2 = .039$. Thus, even when controlling for religious fundamentalism, the previously noted relations between male identity factors and modern homonegative attitudes remained significant.

A similar regression was performed for the other measure of men's attitudes toward gay men assessing more traditional attitudes of condemnation/tolerance toward gay men. Again, religious fundamentalism was related to holding more negative attitudes, $\beta = .55$, $F(1, 194) = 85.12$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .305$. When controlling for religious fundamentalism, the main effect of male identity remained significant, $F(1, 193) =$

17.53, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .058$, but the previously significant interaction between male identity and identity salience was attenuated, $F(2, 187) = 2.24$, ns , $\eta^2 = .014$.

Attitudes toward women. In relation to men's attitudes toward women, religious fundamentalism was again a positive predictor, $\beta = .45$, $F(1, 194) = 47.90$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .198$, but even when controlled for, the main effect of male identity, $F(1, 193) = 16.16$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .062$, and the main effect of threat, $F(1, 192) = 4.91$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .018$, remained significant. Additionally, controlling for religious fundamentalism resulted in a significant three-way interaction between male identity, identity threat, and identity salience, $F(2, 183) = 3.11$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .023$. However, examination of the zero-order and partial correlations indicated that this was likely a statistical artefact reflecting a pattern of suppression when religious fundamentalism was added to the analysis, and hence this interaction was not pursued further.

In sum, these results were consistent with previous research demonstrating that fundamental religious attitudes are related to more negative attitudes toward gay men, and traditional attitudes toward women (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992; Herek, 1984, 1987; Newman, 2002). Controlling for religious fundamentalism did not, for the most part, impact the effects that the manipulations had on attitudes. Nevertheless, given the significant intercorrelations between religious fundamentalism, male identity, and attitudes toward gay men and toward women, it is not surprising that controlling for religious fundamentalism served to weaken somewhat the relations between male identity, the identity-related manipulations, and the outcome attitudes. In the case of the interaction between male identity and the identity salience manipulation on traditional attitudes toward gay men, controlling for religious fundamentalism accounted for enough

of the variance to render the effects of this interaction nonsignificant. This was not entirely surprising, as this interaction had demonstrated a relatively small effect size to begin with ($\eta^2 = .027$). In addition, this particular measure of attitudes toward gay men assesses a condemnation/tolerance dimension of attitudes toward gay men that is more highly associated with religiosity (see also Herek, 1987) than modern homonegative attitudes.

Discussion

The goal of the present study was to examine the influence of factors pertaining to the male identity on men's attitudes toward gay men. It was argued that men's attitudes toward gay men, which tend to be more negative than men's attitudes toward lesbian women, or women's attitudes toward either gay men or lesbian women (Kite & Whitley, 1996, 1996; LaMar & Kite, 1998), may be part of a generalized gender belief system (Herek, 1984, 1988; Kite & Whitley, 1996, 1998; Kurdek, 1988; Sinn, 1997; Thompson et al., 1985; Whitley, 1987, 2001). In line with this, in the present investigation, greater identification with the male gender group was associated with holding more negative attitudes toward gay men, along with more traditional attitudes toward women. Moreover, high levels of endorsing male role characteristics were linked to expressions of negative attitudes toward gay men and traditional attitudes toward women. Thus, among the heterosexual men in the present study, attitudes toward gay men appeared to be part of a system of beliefs associated with their male gender role identity.

Men's identification with their male gender was also linked to greater religious fundamentalism, and this factor was similarly related to men holding more negative attitudes toward gay men and more traditional attitudes toward women. Thus, it might be

argued that men's attitudes might reflect greater adherence to traditional religious dogma, rather than being a function of their understanding of masculinity. However, on the whole, the relations between men's male identification with these attitudes held even after controlling for religious fundamentalism. Thus, although such attitudes may also be related to men holding more traditional and religious beliefs, it appears that this was not the sole basis for these attitudes toward gay men and to women.

Identity Threat

Although attitudes toward gay men appeared to be linked to men's identification with their gender, it was suggested that these relations ought to be particularly evident when men's identity was threatened. Specifically, to the extent that these attitudes are rooted in men's group identity, highly identified men ought to be particularly prone to derogate members of their group who do not appear to adhere to the group's norms when they themselves feel that their 'maleness' has been challenged. Consistent with this, when men were told that they did not fit with the male prototype, just as Schmitt and Branscombe (2001) found, they expressed greater perceived threat, along with greater feelings of distress (hostility and depression). Thus, the challenge to men's masculine identity in the present study was effective in inducing negative affect about their sense of self. However, contrary to expectations, under these conditions, men did not express more negative attitudes toward gay men, nor were they more likely to derogate the outgroup, namely women. To the contrary, when men's position within the male gender group was threatened, they did not demonstrate more extreme negative responses to gay men, and they responded by expressing *less* sexist attitudes toward women. These findings were not consistent with past research, which demonstrated that when

threatened, men were more likely to try to re-affirm their identity through derogation of peripheral members of the ingroup (Schmitt & Branscombe, 2001; Willer, 2005) or of the outgroup (Maass et al, 2003). The difference may be due, in part, to the use of “trait-level” attitude measures as outcome indices in the present study. Specifically, the three attitude measures used to measure derogation in response to threat were all standardized scales, purportedly measuring relatively stable attitudes, and may thus have been less sensitive to relatively minor contextual variations, including a temporary identity threat. For example, men were asked to express beliefs such as “If a man has homosexual feelings, he should do everything he can to overcome them”, which may have been relatively stable and less prone to vary as a function of situation. In contrast, Schmitt and Branscombe (2001) measured derogation by having participants indicate “liking” for a prototypical and non-prototypical target. Maass and colleagues (2003) measured outgroup derogation in response to threat by giving their participants an opportunity to engage in sexist harassment of a female student. Thus, it is possible that the difference between our findings and the findings of previous research, were due to the level of analysis of the outcome measures. If this is the case, future research might consider using both standardized attitude measures, as well as more “state-like” evaluations of a particular target. Another possibility might be to use more indirect measures of attitudes toward male roles. For example, we might consider using an evaluative measure of a non-prototypical male (i.e., a man who is a homemaker while his spouse works outside the home; similar to Schmitt & Branscombe, 2001, who did not explicitly state the sexual orientation of their non-typical target). Participants could rate the target on a number of dimensions, including masculinity and sexual orientation. In this instance, when

threatened, men might be more likely to attribute a gay sexual orientation to the non-prototypical male as a strategy for distancing himself from the target – this would only be effective if he did not view gay sexual orientation as positive. However, even this approach might confound more negative attitudes toward gay men, and more negative attitudes toward anyone who is different from the self. Hence, another possibility would be to ask participants to evaluate two targets, one that is, and one that is not explicitly identified as “gay.” In this manner, any differences between evaluations of a non-typical male target and evaluations of a similarly described gay male target might clarify whether the defensive responses to an identity threat are solely based on identity-based group dynamics (in which case both males ought to be equally derogated), or whether gay men are particularly likely to be targeted for any number of reasons (e.g., cultural or religious negativity to homosexuals) along with gender group dynamics.

Although it certainly is possible that the measures in the present study were not as sensitive to contextual variations as we might have wished, as noted earlier attitudes toward women were affected by the identity threat manipulation, as were attitudes toward gay men in response to the identity salience manipulations. Indeed, others have been successful in capturing situational shifts in the derogation of gay men using similar measures to our own. For example, Willer (2005) used a composite of three questions, two of which assessed political views toward gays and one assessing condemnation/tolerance; although this is not a standardized attitude measure, there is no reason to believe that this composite measured attitudes that were any less stable than the standardized measures used in the present study. Willer’s success at producing an ingroup derogation effect in response to threat, raises the possibility of an alternative

explanation for the lack of ingroup or outgroup derogation in response to threat in the current study, and in particular, a methodological artefact relating to the ordering of the questionnaires. In order to minimize the transparency of the true purpose of the study, we included two measures of male identification after the administration of the threat manipulation and before the outcome attitude measures. The purpose was to avoid making the outcome attitude measures the obvious focus of the study. However, following from Social Identity theory, individuals can engage in multiple forms of self-expression to re-establish their sense of identity (Branscombe et al., 1999; Brown, 2000; Noel et al., 1999). Thus, completing these intervening questionnaires may have served as a form of identity expression that negated the effects of identity threat (i.e., allowing participants the opportunity to reaffirm their membership within the male gender group may have served as a counter to the “low male identity” feedback). Even though there were no threat effects on these male identity measures, merely having the opportunity to express their male identity, to the level to which they feel comfortable, may have served a self-affirmational function. If this was the case, then it would account for the manifestation of the threat effects on the threat and mood measures, which were completed prior to the male identity measures, but the lack of threat effects on the attitude measures, completed after the male identity measures. A more appropriate procedure would have been to counter balance the post-manipulation measures, allowing for an assessment of this possibility.

Although the threat to men’s identity did not influence the attitudes they expressed toward gay men, it nonetheless appeared to result in the expression of more positive attitudes toward women. This expression of more positive attitudes toward women may

represent a form of creative response to an identity threat (Hinkle, Taylor, Fox-Cardamone & Ely, 1998). Men may not perceive masculinity and femininity to be two orthogonal constructs, but rather one unidimensional construct (Whitley, 2001). Thus, when presented with the “low male identity” feedback, they may have interpreted this as indicating that they had expressed a relatively feminine identity. As a result of receiving feedback indicating that their own identity may include some female aspects, men’s attitudes toward women may have become less negative. In short, perceiving that they may share some commonalities with the outgroup (women), men may no longer have felt the need to like derogate the outgroup. This interpretation would be consistent with the Common Ingroup Identity Model, where the “us” and the “them” become the “we” and the positive bias usually reserved for the ingroup is now extended to the outgroup (Dovidio, Gaertner & Validzic, 1998; Gaertner, Rust, Dovidio, Bachman & Anastasio, 1994). However, this pattern of results might also be consistent with Dual Identity theory (Hewstone et al., 2002; Hornsey & Hogg, 2000a, 2000b). Specifically, as noted earlier, due to having had the opportunity to re-affirm their identity through completing the male-role measures, the participants may have felt connected to their own group after all. When combined with the ‘threat’ feedback that might have served to accentuate their similarity to the outgroup women, this ‘dual identity’ salience may have resulted in more positive attitudes toward women. If this was indeed the case, this might explain the contradictory findings between the present study and the study of Maass et al. (2003). In both studies, participants affirmed their identity through the first available means. Whereas participants reacted to threat by derogating the outgroup in the Maass et al. study, in the present study, participants were first given the opportunity to affirm their

membership in the male gender group, hence diminishing the need to affirm their identity by derogating the outgroup.

Identity Salience

Assessing the effectiveness of particular strategies for overcoming the impacts of an identity threat in terms of exacerbating negative attitudes toward gay men was one of the primary goals of the present study. Following from Social Identity Theory, it was argued that negative attitudes might be overcome by making salient either a superordinate identity or a dual identity. Specifically, it was hypothesized that by focusing on a more inclusive definition of the group that incorporates non-typical members (superordinate identity salience), or by simultaneously focusing on the more inclusive group and also maintaining sub-group uniqueness (dual identity salience), group members who do not fit the prototypical characteristics that define the group would no longer be targets of derogation in order to counter the threat. Indeed, when a superordinate identity was made salient, identification with the male gender group was no longer associated with expressing more negative attitudes toward gay men. Thus, when men's attention was manipulated to focus on the similarities among all men, this more inclusive identity appeared to be effective at attenuating the relation between strength of male identification and attitudes toward gay men. However, despite our earlier contention regarding the importance of the dual identity in promoting more positive attitudes toward women, contrary to expectations, making salient a dual identity (by directly highlighting the superordinate identity, men, along with the features that make subgroups of men different) was not particularly effective in diminishing the relation between men's gender identification and their more negative attitudes toward gay men. It is possible that

highlighting a superordinate identity served to focus participants' attention on the similarities between typical and non-typical group members, in that, both straight and gay men were viewed as having equally legitimate ties to the group's identity. In contrast, by making salient a dual identity, participants may have continued to feel that some sub-groups were "more typical" or "better" than others, and hence their own level of identification with the male gender group may still generate more negative attitudes toward non-typical group members, namely gay men. Thus, when a dual identity was made salient, maintaining sub-group distinctiveness did not appear to lead to an equalization of sub-groups. Consistent with a whole body of research supporting the important role of establishing a superordinate identity to overcome group differences (Dovidio et al., 1998; Gaertner et al., 1994), the present findings similarly suggest that focusing on the similarities among all members of the ingroup may be the most effective strategy for equalizing the value of all group members.

Interestingly, the manipulation of the salience of the male gender group also had an effect on the expression of male roles and collective esteem, but only when identity was affirmed (i.e., not threatened). Specifically, focusing on the superordinate identity served to increase the centrality of participants' male identity and their success pre-occupation, a dimension of male identity reflecting the need to achieve success or status at the expense of personal relationships. Thus, when participants feel safe within their own group (affirmed), focusing on the similarities within the group appeared to increase the value or importance of that identity, but at the same time appeared to increase a need for personal distinctiveness. This finding is consistent with Brewer's (1991) notion of 'optimal distinctiveness', which reflects individuals' need to fit in with their group, but at

the same time to convey features that make them positively unique. When group membership provides the individual with a balanced sense of assimilation and uniqueness, the identity may be viewed as important to the self, and serves as a motivating force. However, rather than promoting more positive attitudes toward gay men or women, these characteristics were correlated with men expressing more negative attitudes toward these groups. Thus, it may be that when men felt integrated into the group, attempts to undermine the group's distinctiveness might have instigated a defensive reaction among men, as they attempt to maintain a sense of identity balance. However, it should also be noted that men's attitudes were more negative when they endorsed the male gender role that entailed restricting their emotionality. This same role was less likely to be endorsed when men's identity was affirmed, and either a dual identity or a superordinate identity was made salient. Thus, not surprisingly, given the complexity of the male identity, any given manipulation may have multiple effects, which have differential implications for men's attitudes or behaviours. It may be important in future research to identify individual difference variables that might account for which of these effects is most likely to be realized.

Limitations and Conclusions

Previous research has noted the limitations of using a university sample when assessing attitudes toward homosexuals (Herek, 1984, Morrison & Morrison, 2002). Specifically, younger and university educated samples tend to express less prejudice against homosexuals, and this might create floor effects when studying attitudes and attitude change. Consistent with this, in the present study we utilized two measures of attitudes toward gay men, one reflecting more traditional negative attitudes, and one

designed to tap into modern, or more subtle, negative attitudes toward gay men.

Morrison and Morrison's (2002) Modern Homonegativity scale was specifically designed to address the potential limitations of more traditional measures that might suffer from a lack of sensitivity due to social norms prohibiting the expression of prejudice toward gay men. Not surprisingly, participants expressed less prejudice on the traditional measure than on the modern measure. However, mean responses on both scales were still close to the centre of the scale, and hence did not appear to suffer from floor effects. Similarly, attitudes toward women's roles were expected to be less traditional (more egalitarian) in a university sample (Swim & Cohen, 1997). Consistent with this, in the present sample, mean attitudes toward women were just over one standard deviation below the midpoint of the scale (i.e., less traditional). Although this is not ideal, there was still enough variability in the sample to reveal significant relations with the other variables.

Nonetheless, it is possible, that by using a university sample, attitudes were more positive, and potentially less sensitive to threat, in that modern cultural norms to avoid expressions of prejudice may be more deep-seated in this sample, thereby reducing participants' willingness to express prejudice even in response to threat. Thus, it is possible that using a representative community sample (i.e. on average an older and less educated sample) would manifest greater prejudice toward gay men, and more traditional attitudes toward women, and such participants would experience less cultural inhibition about expressing negative attitudes in response to identity threats.

It was also possible that because participants from Introductory Psychology pools are generally somewhat savvy regarding the nature of psychological research, their natural responses were somewhat attenuated by demand characteristics. To assess this

possibility, we included a measure of participants' suspicions to evaluate whether our cover story had successfully masked our manipulations. Some participants suspected that the study might have something to do with attitudes toward "gays," which is not surprising given that we used two separate measures of attitudes toward gay men, and the suspicion measure was administered after these measures were completed. Some participants suspected that we might be assessing their reactions to seeing their scores. However, only one participant correctly guessed that the scores were manipulated for the purpose of assessing responses; as previously noted, this participant was removed from the analyses. Thus, the deception used in the study appears to have been effective, and we can be somewhat confident that whatever demand characteristics participants were responding to, they were not confounded by our specific manipulations.

In conclusion, the purpose of the present research was to identify a way of attenuating the negative attitudes toward gay men that may result from threats to men's sense of their own masculinity. Although the results of the present study suggest that these attitudes may reflect a complex integration of traditional sex-role attitudes and religious beliefs, they appear to have been uniquely related to men's identification with the male gender group. Importantly, however, these relations could be attenuated by focusing men more on what all men have in common with one another, which was presented within a context of co-operation and achieving a common goal (a superordinate identity). Thus, it is possible that by focusing men on a more inclusive identity that brings together diverse people into the same group, the relations between level of identification and negative attitudes toward group members who 'do not fit the mould'

can be attenuated. Continuing research in this vein may contribute to effective intervention strategies that could be used to increase tolerance for gay men.

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Appendix A
Questionnaire package #1

Open-ended male identity questionnaire

Participant Code: _____
Date: _____
Time: _____

The questions on this page are an open-ended measure of "Male Identity." Please take 5 to 10 minutes to work on these questions. Please Print Clearly.
If you need more space – feel free to write on the back of this page.

1. Describe the characteristic ways that you deal with conflict (for example, conflict at work, or conflict in a relationship).

2. Describe the values that define you as a male.

3. Describe the emotions that define you as a male.

4. Describe the characteristic ways that you relate to, or interact with, your friends.

5. Please describe any other characteristics that define you as a male (these can include; biological characteristics, emotional characteristics, personality traits, value orientations, world views, etc.).

Male Identity Questionnaire (Schmitt & Branscombe, 2001)

Please use the following scale to indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with each statement.

Strongly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Moderately Agree	Strongly Agree
-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3

1. I value being a member of my gender group.
-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3
2. I like being a member of my gender group.
-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3
3. I am proud to be a member of my gender group.
-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3
4. I am ashamed to be a member of my gender group.
-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3
5. I would feel good if I were described as typical of my gender group.
-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3
6. I am a typical member of my gender group.
-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3
7. Other people see me as a typical member of my gender group.
-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3
8. I don't have much in common with other members of my gender group.
-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3
9. My gender is central to my identity.
-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3
10. I often think of myself in terms of my gender group.
-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3
11. I often think of myself as a member of my gender group.
-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3
12. Being a member of my gender group is important to me.
-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

Continued on next page

13. I do not care much for other members of my gender group.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

14. I really like the characteristics of my gender group.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

15. Out of all the social groups I belong to, my gender group is most important to me.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

Reference Group Identity Dependence Scale (Wade & Gelso, 1998)

Please use the following scale to indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with each statement.

Strongly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Moderately Agree	Strongly Agree
-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3

1. I have little in common with most other males.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

2. I feel comfortable relating to different types of males.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

3. I share a common bond with all males.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

4. I only feel connected with a certain group of males.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

5. Men are confusing to me.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

6. I have different types of males as friends.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

7. Although I feel most similar to some males, I am also similar to all males.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

8. It is important that I share a particular commonality with a certain group of males.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

9. I don't feel connected with any group of males.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

10. I feel connected with various types of males.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

11. I am similar in many ways to all males.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

12. Most of my social activities are centred around a particular group of male friends.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

13. I don't know of any particular group of males with whom I identify.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

Continued on next page

14. I find differences in men interesting.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

15. Although males may differ in some ways, we are essentially all the same.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

16. I feel a common bond with my male friends, but not so much with other males.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

17. I am not like most males.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

18. I believe there is something wrong with guys who are very different from me, my male friends, and other males like me.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

19. I have much in common with most other males.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

20. There are only certain types of males with whom I relate.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

21. I often wonder whether there are other men like myself.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

22. I understand differences in men.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

23. To some degree, I identify with all males.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

24. My male friends and I all share the same perspective.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

25. Basically I am different from my male friends.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

26. It does not matter to me whether my friends and I are all alike.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

27. Others might consider my friends and I a clique.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

28. I find it difficult to describe who I am as a man.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

29. I don't understand why men are the way they are.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

30. I believe there are no other males who think the way I do about things.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

Appendix B

Superordinate Identity Condition: Instructions & Article

Content Analysis

In this section of the study, you will be asked to read through the attached article that has been taken from the Globe & Mail website.

Please read the article carefully.

You are asked to underline any and all sentences or phrases that you feel indicate how “*all or some men have some common characteristics*” (these can be biological characteristics, mental characteristics, personality traits, emotional characteristics, etc.). There are no right or wrong answers.

Thanks to Canada Day, I think I might be a man!

Part one in a four part series examining masculinity in Canada today.

By ROY MacGREGOR

Thursday, July 3, 2003 - Page A2

OTTAWA – This four part series examining “what does it mean to be male in Canada today?” has been a work in progress for several months. Who could have known that it would turn out to be so difficult to define masculinity?

When my editor asked me to do this four part series, I thought it would be an easy assignment. Give me almost any car built in the 60’s and I can rebuild the engine; I have done almost all of the renovations on our home; I go fly-fishing every summer; I’ve even been hunting (more than once!); and when there’s a spider in the house – it’s my job to kill it. So writing this editorial on “what it means to be male” should be easy...right? Wrong!

Thanks to Canada Day – I have an answer.

For the past few years I have been volunteering with the organizing team of the Canada Day celebrations here in Ottawa. Like most public events, this one manages to run with only a few paid employees and a host of volunteers. This year, I was working with “internal communications”, which means that it was my job to make sure that each of the volunteer “teams” (each with their specific task) were working together as a unified whole. It was because of this volunteer position that I found my answer to the question “what does it mean to be male in Canada today?”

It was in the weeks leading up to the actual Canada Day celebrations, when the volunteer workload begins to increase, that I began to see the pattern in the characteristics and behaviours of the male volunteers (yes, there are also female volunteers – but my editor did not ask me to write about femininity in Canada today). The problem I had been having trying to write this editorial was that I had been trying to come up with one single definition of masculinity in Canada today. In hindsight, I can see why this was an impossible task. Even looking only at the Canada Day volunteers, it would have been difficult to come up with one single definition of masculinity.

Take “Benny” for example. One weekend I walked into the head office of the organizing committee and was met by this giant of a man (he looked as if he wrestled grizzlies for a living), but it turned out that he was volunteering as a website developer (I later found out that Benny worked as a software developer). A couple of days before the Canada Day celebrations, we had a problem with the stage set up and needed someone to step in quickly and operate a tractor for a couple of hours. I immediately thought of Benny, but it turned out that it was not Benny but rather Dave from the accounting office who could operate a tractor. Dave was volunteering as an accountant with the Canada Day organizing committee because he actually was an accountant, and he looked more like an

accountant than someone who could have operated a tractor. It was no wonder that I was having difficulty coming up with a single definition of masculinity – not only was there a lot of variation in the group, but I was also finding variation within each individual as well.

As I fulfilled my duty of meeting with all of the various committees working on their specific tasks, I began to realize that each committee consisted of a diverse group of individuals. Yet each committee was able to find common ground in which they could relate to each other, none more so than the group of individuals who were volunteering as security. This group consisted of retail employees, lawyers, cafeteria staff, a short order cook, a politician, retired police officers, a couple of farmers, even a pastor, and this is just naming a few. Even with this wide range of individuals, the guys of the volunteer security team, were able to work together as a functional unit. Not only was this group of volunteers able to function as a unit, their ability to relate to one another seemed to be strengthened by the diversity of the unit. It appeared as if even this diverse group had the ability to form common bonds.

Even among the volunteers working in the head office there was a wide range of individuals. The guys volunteering in the head office consisted of accountants, computer programmers, a former professional hockey player, RCMP officers, a university professor, an electrician, and an auto mechanic. And just like the security volunteers, this diverse group of head office volunteers were able to find common ground on which to relate.

Thanks to my fellow Canada Day volunteers, instead of finding a single answer to the question “what does it mean to be male in Canada today?” I instead found that there is no single answer but rather that there are as many individual answers to that question as there are individuals. The answer lies more in the commonalities that each of these unique individuals was able to find with each other, and the way they used those to relate to one another.

Next Thursday, Roy MacGregor explores part two of this four part series examining masculinity in Canada today.

Dual Identity Condition: Instructions & Article

Content Analysis

In this section of the study, you will be asked to read through the attached article that has been taken from the Globe & Mail website.

Please read the article carefully.

You are asked to underline any and all sentences or phrases that you feel indicate how “*some men have characteristics that differ from other men*” (these can be biological characteristics, mental characteristics, personality traits, emotional characteristics, etc.). There are no right or wrong answers.

Thanks to Canada Day, I think I might be a man!

Part one in a four part series examining masculinity in Canada today.

By ROY MacGREGOR

Thursday, July 3, 2003 - Page A2

OTTAWA – This four part series examining “what does it mean to be male in Canada today?” has been a work in progress for several months. Who could have known that it would turn out to be so difficult to define masculinity?

When my editor asked me to do this four part series, I thought it would be an easy assignment. Give me almost any car built in the 60’s and I can rebuild the engine; I have done almost all of the renovations on our home; I go fly-fishing every summer; I’ve even been hunting (more than once!); and when there’s a spider in the house – it’s my job to kill it. So writing this editorial on “what it means to be male” should be easy...right? Wrong!

Thanks to Canada Day – I have an answer.

For the past few years I have been volunteering with the organizing team of the Canada Day celebrations here in Ottawa. Like most public events, this one manages to run with only a few paid employees and a host of volunteers. This year, I was working with “internal communications”, which means that it was my job to make sure that each of the volunteer “teams” (each with their specific task) were working together as a unified whole. It was because of this volunteer position that I found my answer to the question “what does it mean to be male in Canada today?”

It was in the weeks leading up to the actual Canada Day celebrations, when the volunteer workload begins to increase, that I began to see the pattern in the characteristics and behaviours of the male volunteers (yes, there are also female volunteers – but my editor did not ask me to write about femininity in Canada today). The problem I had been having in trying to write this editorial was that I had been trying to come up with one single definition of masculinity in Canada today. In hindsight, I can see why this was an impossible task. Even looking only at the Canada Day volunteers, it would have been difficult to come up with one single definition of masculinity.

Take “Benny” for example. One weekend I walked into the head office of the organizing committee and was met by this giant of a man (he looked as if he wrestled grizzlies for a living), it turned out that he was volunteering as the security coordinator. What stood out the most was the contrast between Benny and the other head office staff. The guys volunteering in the head office were typical accountants, commerce graduates, office managers, engineers, etc. In contrast to the head office volunteers, Benny seemed as if he was from a different planet.

As I fulfilled my duty of meeting with all of the various committees working on their specific tasks, I began to realize that each committee consisted of a relatively unique group of individuals. It was as if each committee was composed of a unique type of male – yes, there was variation within each group, but it was the differences between the groups that got me thinking about how different one group of men can be from another.

For example, the volunteer security team (with Benny as coordinator) was largely composed of volunteer police and RCMP officers (active and retired) and other guys who would make you think twice before getting rowdy. Clearly, the type of guys who were volunteering to be on the security team were of a certain type. This was most noticeable in comparison to the type of guys who were on the programming committee (the programming committee consisted of architects, musicians and visual artists – this group was in charge of organizing the entertainment and art content of the Canada Day celebrations).

At times, it even seemed as if these different groups of guys were speaking entirely different languages. For example, at one point the programming committee was having difficulty getting the head office volunteers to understand what they were trying to propose. The managers, accountants and businessmen of the head office couldn't seem to comprehend what the programming committee volunteers were saying. I was beginning to think that we would never be able to come together to create a successful Canada Day celebration.

Thanks to my fellow Canada Day volunteers, instead of finding a single answer to the question “what does it mean to be male in Canada today?” I instead found that there is no single answer but rather that there are as many individual answers to that question as there are individuals. The answer appears to lie in these key differences, but can we learn to live with and deal with these key differences?

Next Thursday, Roy MacGregor explores part two of this four part series examining masculinity in Canada today.

Control Condition: Instructions & Article

Content Analysis

In this section of the study, you will be asked to read through the attached article that has been taken from the Globe & Mail website.

Please read the article carefully.

You are asked to underline any and all sentences or phrases that you feel indicate “*what it means to be Canadian*” (these can be biological characteristics, mental characteristics, personality traits, emotional characteristics, etc.). There are no right or wrong answers.

Thanks to Canada Day, I think I know what it means to be Canadian!

Part one in a four part series examining living in Canada today.

By ROY MacGREGOR

Thursday, July 3, 2003 - Page A2

OTTAWA – This four part series examining “what does it mean to Canadian?” has been a work in progress for several months. Who could have known that it would turn out to be so difficult to define “Canadian”?

When my editor asked me to do this four part series, I thought it would be an easy assignment. I’ve actually been to all ten provinces and three territories, I’ve played hockey all my life, I’ve made maple syrup, I’ve played in a curling league, I’ve been fishing in the Maritimes, I’ve been to the Canadian Aboriginal Festival, I’m polite (and yet, I do enjoy making fun of Americans), and most importantly – I drink beer! So writing this editorial on “what it means to be Canadian” should be easy...right? Wrong!

Thanks to Canada Day – I have an answer.

For the past few years I have been volunteering with the organizing team of the Canada Day celebrations here in Ottawa. Like most public events, this one manages to run with only a few paid employees and a host of volunteers. This year, I was working with “internal communications”, which means that it was my job to make sure that each of the volunteer “teams” (each with their specific task) were working together as a unified whole. It was because of this volunteer position that I found my answer to the question “what does it mean to be Canadian?”

It was in the weeks leading up to the actual Canada Day celebrations, when the volunteer workload begins to increase, that I started to become aware of the commonalities and of the diversity of the people working (volunteering) around me. The problem I had been having in trying to write this editorial was that I had been trying to come up with one single definition of the meaning of “Canadian”. In hindsight, I can see why this was an impossible task. Even looking only at the Canada Day volunteers, it would have been difficult to come up with one single definition.

Take “Benny” for example. One weekend I walked into the head office of the organizing committee and was met by this giant of a man (he looked as if he wrestled grizzlies for a living), but it turned out that he was volunteering as a website developer (I later found out that Benny worked as a software developer). When we think of Canadian identity – we might tend to think of guys who look like Benny out in the Canadian wilderness hunting for their supper. However, the reality of today’s Canadian identity includes the urban jungle of the big cities just as much as the arctic landscape, and computer programmers just as much as trappers.

This is not to say that the more traditional aspects of Canadian identity have been replaced. Out of all the volunteers I was able to talk to, I found several who had been hunting at least once, one who ran a team of dogs in dog-sledding competitions, a few people from the Maritimes who had worked in the fishing industry (all of whom still had family working in the fishing industry), several who had grown up as prairie farmers, and many others who were Aboriginal peoples, Quebecois, or recent immigrants. Many of the volunteers I talked to had played hockey or ringette as kids, and even more had been, or were still, involved in a curling league.

As I fulfilled my duty of meeting with all of the various committees working on their specific tasks, I began to realize that each committee consisted of a diverse group of individuals. Yet each committee was able to find common ground in which they could relate to each other, none more so than the group of individuals who were volunteering as security. This group consisted of Canadians (new and old) from across the country and from all walks of life. Even with this wide range of individuals, the members of the volunteer security team, were able to work together as a functional unit. Not only was this group of volunteers able to function as a unit, their ability to relate to one another seemed to be strengthened by the diversity of the unit. It appeared as if even this diverse group had the ability to form common bonds. Is that the result of their shared Canadian identity, or is that something that makes us uniquely Canadian?

Thanks to my fellow Canada Day volunteers, instead of finding a single answer to the question "what does it mean to be Canadian?" I instead found that there is no single answer but rather that there are as many individual answers to that question as there are individuals. The answer lies more in the commonalities that each of these unique individuals was able to find with each other, and the way they used those to relate to one another.

Next Thursday, Roy MacGregor explores part two of this four part series examining living in Canada today.

Appendix C
Questionnaire package #2

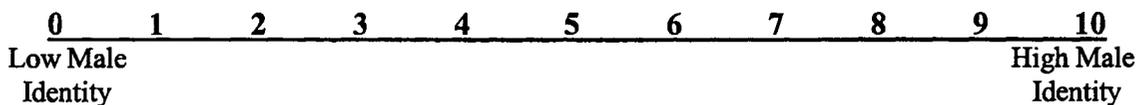
Your Male Identity Score: _____

Male Identity Rating Measure

In this section, you will be asked to rate five other males on a scale of Male Identity. You will be provided with brief descriptions of five individuals. You will also be provided with your own Male Identity score from the first questionnaire package. Your task will be to indicate how you think each of the five individuals would score on this scale of Male Identity *relative to you, based on your own score.*

Please complete the following tasks:

1. Your own Male Identity Score will be written in at the top of this page. Please place the word “Me” on the number line below in the position that corresponds with your own personal Male Identity Score.
2. Previous research indicates that most males score between 6.6 and 9.2 on this measure of Male Identity. On the number line below, place an “L” (for Low) at 6.6 and an “H” (for High) at 9.2
3. After you read each of the five brief character descriptions, please use the number line below to indicate where you think that individual would score on Male Identity. The number line runs from 0 (the lowest possible male identity score) to 10 (the highest possible male identity score). For each description, use the corresponding letter (A, B, C, D, and E) to mark where you think that individual would score on the scale of Male Identity.



Individual “A”

He is a 68-year-old retired bank manager. He and his wife have two children and two grandchildren. They enjoy taking road trips across the country in the summer. He is currently taking lessons to become a better golfer, but is concerned that his arthritis will limit his ability to enjoy the game.

Individual “B”

He is a 20-year-old university student. After spending a couple of years trying to figure out what he wants to do, he has finally decided to pursue a degree in economics. He has been dating his current girlfriend for the past five months. He plays guitar in a band with some friends, but they are not yet good enough to play any clubs.

Individual “C”

He is a 48-year-old automotive mechanic. He has no post-secondary education, but has managed to run his own fairly successful automotive shop. He is married with three kids. In his spare time he enjoys coaching his eldest daughter’s soccer team.

Individual "D"

He is a 36-year-old stay at home dad. He and his wife have a 1-year-old son. They realized that her earning potential was greater than his, thus they decided that she should work and he should take a leave of absence from work to raise their son. He has decided that he hates cleaning but enjoys cooking and is considering enrolling in some cooking classes.

Individual "E"

He is a 22-year-old employee at a local coffee shop. He seems to be moving from one dead-end job to another without any real direction in his life. He is trying to save up enough money to buy a car, but his low income can barely pay the rent and bills. He wants the car anyway and will probably get it even though it will put him into debt.

Threat Assessment questionnaire (Schmitt & Branscombe, 2001)

This questionnaire was requested by the Carleton University Psychology Department, because they would like to know about how participants feel when we provide them with feedback about themselves. This questionnaire is intended to gain some information about how participants feel about getting feedback about their scores in psychological research. Please use the following scale to indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with each statement.

Strongly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Moderately Agree	Strongly Agree
-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3

1. Showing students their scores from the questionnaires is a good idea.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

2. I am pleased with my score(s) in this study.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

3. The Psychology Department should make it a requirement for researchers to reveal scores to participants.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

4. I feel good about myself after seeing my results from this study.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

5. I think participants learn something valuable when they are shown their scores.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

6. Seeing my score(s) from this study was a fun experience.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

7. If I had a choice, I would choose to participate in a study that revealed my scores over a study that did not reveal my scores.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

8. I am disappointed in my results from this study.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

9. My results from this study put me in a good mood.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

10. I feel kind of down after seeing my results from this study.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

Multiple Affect Adjective Checklist (Zuckerman, 1960; Zuckerman et al., 1964)

For each of the following items, please rate how you feel at this moment in time:

- | | | | | | | | | | |
|------------------|------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|-----------|
| 1. Calm | Not at all | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | Very much |
| 2. Secure | Not at all | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | Very much |
| 3. Anxious | Not at all | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | Very much |
| 4. Worrying | Not at all | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | Very much |
| 5. Irritated | Not at all | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | Very much |
| 6. Cooperative | Not at all | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | Very much |
| 7. Agreeable | Not at all | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | Very much |
| 8. Angry | Not at all | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | Very much |
| 9. Discouraged | Not at all | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | Very much |
| 10. Blue | Not at all | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | Very much |
| 11. Fine | Not at all | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | Very much |
| 12. Active | Not at all | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | Very much |
| 13. Hostile | Not at all | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | Very much |
| 14. Frustrated | Not at all | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | Very much |
| 15. Enthusiastic | Not at all | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | Very much |

Collective Esteem (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992)

We would like you to describe how you feel about your identity as a male, and respond to the following statements on the basis of how you feel about this group and your membership in it *at this moment*. There are no right or wrong answers to any of these statements; we are interested in your honest reactions and opinions. Please read each statement carefully, and respond by using the following scale:

Strongly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Moderately Agree	Strongly Agree
-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3

- _____ 1. I am worthy as a male.
- _____ 2. "Males" are considered good by society.
- _____ 3. I am a typical male.
- _____ 4. I feel I don't have much to offer to other males.
- _____ 5. I am cooperative as a male.
- _____ 6. My being male has very little to do with how I feel about myself.
- _____ 7. I feel I'm a useless male.
- _____ 8. I am similar to other males.
- _____ 9. I'm glad to be male.
- _____ 10. People have respect for "males" as a group.
- _____ 11. I am a good example of a male.
- _____ 12. Being male is an important reflection of who I am.
- _____ 13. I feel that being male is not worthwhile.
- _____ 14. I feel good that I am a male.
- _____ 15. In general, being male is an important part of my self-image.
- _____ 16. Others think males are *unworthy*.
- _____ 17. I like to think of myself as a typical male.
- _____ 18. Being male is *unimportant* to my sense of what kind of person I am.
- _____ 19. I have a lot in common with other males.

Post-measure of Wade & Gelso's (1998) Reference Group Identity Dependence Scale

Please use the following scale to indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with each statement.

Strongly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Moderately Agree	Strongly Agree
-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3

1. I have little in common with most other males.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

2. I feel comfortable relating to different types of males.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

3. I share a common bond with all males.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

4. I only feel connected with a certain group of males.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

5. I don't feel connected with any group of males.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

6. I feel connected with various types of males.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

7. I am similar in many ways to all males.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

8. I feel a common bond with my male friends, but not so much with other males.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

Modern Homonegativity Scale (Morrison & Morrison, 2002)

Please use the following scale to indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with each statement.

Strongly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Moderately Agree	Strongly Agree
-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3

1. Many gay men use their sexual orientation so that they can obtain special privileges.
-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3
2. Gay men seem to focus on the ways in which they differ from heterosexuals and ignore the ways in which they are the same.
-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3
3. Gay men do not have all the rights they need.
-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3
4. The notion of universities providing students with undergraduate degrees in Lesbian & Gay Studies is ridiculous.
-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3
5. Celebrations such as "Gay Pride Day" are ridiculous because they assume that an individual's sexual orientation should constitute a source of pride.
-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3
6. Gay men still need to protest for equal rights.
-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3
7. Gay men should stop shoving their lifestyle down other people's throats.
-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3
8. If gay men want to be treated like everyone else, then they need to stop making such a fuss about their sexuality/culture.
-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3
9. Gay men who are "out of the closet" should be admired for their courage.
-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3
10. Gay men should stop complaining about the way they are treated in society, and simply get on with their lives.
-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3
11. In today's tough economic times, Canadians' tax dollars shouldn't be used to support gay men's organizations.
-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3
12. Gay men have become far too confrontational in their demand for equal rights.
-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

Attitudes Toward Women Scale (Swim & Cohen, 1997)

Please use the following scale to indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with each statement.

Strongly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Moderately Agree	Strongly Agree
-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3

1. Swearing and obscenity are more repulsive in the speech of a woman than in a man.

-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3
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2. Under modern economic conditions with women being active outside the home, men should share in household tasks such as washing dishes and doing the laundry.

-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3
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3. It is insulting to women to have the "obey" clause in the marriage service.

-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3
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4. A woman should be as free as a man to propose marriage.

-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3
----	----	----	---	---	---	---
5. Women should worry less about their rights and more about becoming good wives and mothers.

-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3
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6. Women should assume their rightful place in business and all the professions along with men.

-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3
----	----	----	---	---	---	---
7. A woman should not expect to go exactly the same places or have quite the same freedom of action as a man.

-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3
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8. It is ridiculous for a woman to run a locomotive and for a man to darn socks.

-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3
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9. The intellectual leadership of a community should be largely in the hands of men.

-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3
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10. Women should be given equal opportunity with men for apprenticeship in the various trades.

-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3
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11. Women earning as much as their dates should bear equally the expense when they go out together.

-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3
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12. Sons in a family should be given more encouragement to go to college than daughters.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

13. In general, the father should have greater authority than the mother in bringing up the children.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

14. Economic and social freedom are worth far more to women than acceptance of the ideal of femininity which has been set up by men.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

15. There are many jobs in which men should be given preference over women in being hired or promoted.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

Attitudes Toward Gay Men Scale (Herek, 1987)

Please use the following scale to indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with each statement.

Strongly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Moderately Agree	Strongly Agree
-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3

1. Male homosexual couples should be allowed to adopt children the same as heterosexual couples.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

2. I think male homosexuals are disgusting.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

3. Male homosexuals should *not* be allowed to teach school.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

4. Male homosexuality is a perversion.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

5. Just as in other species, male homosexuality is a natural expression of sexuality in human men.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

6. If a man has homosexual feelings, he should do everything he can to overcome them.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

7. I would *not* be too upset if I learned that my son were a homosexual.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

8. Homosexual behavior between two men is just plain wrong.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

9. The idea of male homosexual marriages seems ridiculous to me.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

10. Male homosexuality is merely a different kind of lifestyle that should *not* be condemned.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

The Masculine Role Inventory (Snell, 1986)

Please use the following scale to indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with each statement.

Strongly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Moderately Agree	Strongly Agree
-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3

1. There are career drawbacks associated with investing oneself in a relationship.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

2. If people thought of me as a sensitive person, they might exploit me.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

3. I would be tempted to end a relationship if my partner asked me to devote any more time to him/her.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

4. If I committed myself to another person, I would not have enough time to wholeheartedly pursue a career.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

5. People who are sensitive cannot become effective leaders.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

6. I don't search for too much personal fulfillment from a relationship with another person, because of the potential costs to my ambitions.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

7. Strong involvement in a love relationship will ultimately interfere with career activities.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

8. In order to become a successful person, it's important not to show emotional weakness.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

9. I prefer not to be emotionally involved with another person.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

Religious Fundamentalism Scale (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992)

Please use the following scale to indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with each statement.

Strongly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Moderately Agree	Strongly Agree
-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3

1. God has given mankind a complete, unfailing guide to happiness and salvation, which must be totally followed.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

2. *All* of the religions in the world have flaws and wrong teachings.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

3. Of all the people on this earth, one group has a special relationship with God because it believes the most in his revealed truths and tries the hardest to follow his laws.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

4. The long-established traditions in religion show the best way to honour and serve God, and should never be compromised.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

5. Religion must admit all its past failings, and adapt to modern life if it is to benefit humanity.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

6. When you get right down to it, there are only two kinds of people in the world: the Righteous, who will be rewarded by God; and the rest, who will not.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

7. Different religions and philosophies have different versions of the truth, and may be equally right in their own way.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

8. The basic cause of evil in this world is Satan, who is still constantly and ferociously fighting against God.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

9. It is more important to be a good person than to believe in God and the right religion.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

Strongly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Moderately Agree	Strongly Agree
-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3

10. No one religion is especially close to God, nor does God favour any particular group of believers.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

11. God will punish most severely those who abandon his true religion.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

12. No single book of religious writings contains all the important truths about life.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

13. It is silly to think people can be divided into “the Good” and “the Evil.” Everyone does some good, and some bad things.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

14. God’s true followers must remember that he requires them to *constantly* fight Satan and Satan’s allies on this earth.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

15. Parents should encourage their children to study all religions without bias, then make up their own minds about what to believe.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

16. There *is* a religion on this earth that teaches, without error, God’s truth.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

17. “Satan” is just the name people give to their own bad impulses. There really is *no such thing* as a diabolical “Prince of Darkness” who tempts us.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

18. Whenever science and sacred scripture conflict, science must be wrong.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

19. There is *no* body of teachings, or set of scriptures, which is completely without error.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

20. To lead the best, most meaningful life, one must belong to the one, true religion.

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3

Demographic Information

Age: _____ **Sex:** (check one) Male Female

Relationship Status: (check one)

Single Married Common Law Dating relationship – If you are in a dating relationship, please indicate the length of time you have been dating:

Sexual Orientation: (check one)

Heterosexual Gay or Lesbian Bisexual

Race/Ethnicity: Please indicate your racial/ethnic background

Religious Background:

Are you actively involved with any religious organization? Yes No

If so, which religion and/or denomination are you actively involved with?

Are you a full time or part time student? Full Time Part Time

What is your first language? _____

What country were you born in? _____

Manipulation Check

Your perceptions of this study

We would like to make sure that you understood the nature of this study. To do so, we'd like you to complete the following questions. Point form responses are fine.

1. In your opinion, what was this study about?

2. What do you think we hope to find?

3. Is there anything about the conduct of this study that did not make sense to you (ie. things the experimenters said or did, or questions we asked that seemed 'out of place')?
