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Hegemonic Masculinity and Radical Feminism:
How Gendered Ideologies Are Associated with Transphobia

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Abstract

Recently, there has been an epidemic of violence against trans women, especially trans women of color. To investigate factors associated with anti-trans attitudes, we conducted a correlational study examining the relationship between transphobia, feminist attitudes, and hegemonic masculinity. Also, we included other social attitudes (i.e., Islamophobia, xenophobia, racism, and aggrieved entitlement) and personality traits (i.e., trait anger, trait anxiety, and self-esteem). We predicted that transphobia would positively correlate with anti-feminist attitudes and hegemonic masculinity. In addition, we expected hegemonic masculinity to positively correlate with every social attitude scale, with gender-relevant social attitudes (i.e., transphobia and anti-feminist attitudes) having the largest correlations. Over and above gender, we found that hegemonic masculinity and anti-feminist attitudes predicted transphobia, consistent with predictions. Furthermore, we found that hegemonic masculinity positively correlated with every social attitude scale, and the largest correlations were for gender-relevant social attitudes. In exploration, trait anger positively correlated with transphobia for only men. Outside of gender-relevant social attitudes, racism was the largest predictor of transphobia for men, and aggrieved entitlement was the largest predictor of transphobia for women. For men, there was a relationship between transphobia, hegemonic masculinity, racism, and trait anger, which could theoretically lead to the epidemic of violence against trans women of color. For women, there was a relationship between transphobia and aggrieved entitlement, which could theoretically lead to the TERF belief that trans women are men encroaching upon women's spaces and threatening the identity of cis women.

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I dedicate my thesis to the transgender community and the precious lives lost in the violent epidemic against trans people.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

As the transgender community has fought for their civil rights, there has been resistance from many, including some progressive individuals. Unlike other prejudices, both sides of the political aisle are laden with anti-trans attitudes. The behavioral manifestations of anti-trans attitudes can range from subtle forms of exclusion to fatal acts of violence. As a result, trans people are four times more likely to be victims of violent crime than those who are cisgender (Flores et al., 2021). In fact, in 2019, the American Medical Association classified the wave of violence against trans women as an epidemic, disproportionately affecting trans women of color, with 18 deaths recorded (Heller, 2019). In 2020, 45 trans people were murdered — almost double that of the previous two years — and Black trans women comprised most of those murdered (Hall & López, 2021). Importantly, these statistics may not fully reflect the true magnitude of this violent epidemic because there is an issue with underreporting. One reason for underreporting is that the police often misgender the victims. Another reason for underreporting is that family members and friends sometimes conceal the victim's transgender identity or do not know their relative was transgender. To solve the issue of underreporting, Insider began the Transgender Homicide Project to report on violence against trans people more accurately through communication with the family members of the victim and the local LGBTQ community. The Transgender Homicide Project shows that “of the 71 homicides...from 2019 [to] 2020, 56 were trans women of color, and 46 were Black trans women” (Hall & López, 2021, para. 13). Other research further documented that Black and Latina trans women are an especially vulnerable population (Dinno, 2017).

To further develop the research base into the violence against trans women, our study aims to investigate how social attitudes correlate with transphobia. The main objectives of the present work are to examine two theoretically relevant relationships. First, this research examines the relationship between feminist attitudes and transphobia. Second, this research examines the relationship between the endorsement of hegemonic masculinity — the culturally idealized form of masculinity — and transphobia.

Sex and Gender Terminology

To begin, we will define some terms to build a foundational understanding that we hope to expand upon with our findings. According to the National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine, a person's *biological sex* is “based on a cluster of anatomical and physiological traits that include external genitalia, secondary sex characteristics, gonads, chromosomes, and hormones” (Bates et al., 2022, p. 20). A person's sex assigned at birth can be male, female, or intersex. *Intersex* is an umbrella term that refers to all individuals whose sex is not clearly defined as either male or female at birth (Stonewall Equality Limited, n.d.). Bates et al. (2022) define *gender* as a multidimensional construct that links

gender identity, which is a core element of a person's individual identity; gender expression, which is how a person signals their gender to others through their behavior and appearance (such as hairstyle and clothing); and cultural expectations about social status, characteristics, and behavior that are associated with sex traits. (p. 20)

Cisgender refers to any individual whose gender identity corresponds with the sex they were assigned at birth (Bates et al., 2022). By contrast, *transgender* is an umbrella term for any individual whose gender identity differs from the sex they were assigned at birth. To be transgender does not require a change in physical appearance or any medical intervention; it only

requires identifying with a gender that differs from the sex one was assigned at birth (Gay & Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation [GLAAD], n.d. -c). As an umbrella term, transgender includes trans women, trans men, and non-binary individuals. *Trans women* are women who were assigned male at birth, and *trans men* are men who were assigned female at birth. *Non-binary* is itself an umbrella term that includes any genderqueer or gender non-conforming individuals (GLAAD, n.d. -a). Non-binary people are included in the transgender umbrella because their gender identity differs from their sex assigned at birth. However, some non-binary people may not identify with the transgender label or perceive themselves in terms of gender.

Hill and Willoughby (2005) define *transphobia* as an “emotional disgust toward individuals who do not conform to society’s gender expectations,” which often manifests “in the fear that personal acquaintances may be trans” (p. 533–534). On the topic of transphobia due to genderism, which we will refer to as the gender binary, the authors state:

Genderism is an ideology that reinforces the negative evaluation of gender non-conformity or an incongruence between sex and gender. It is a cultural belief that perpetuates negative judgments of people who do not present as a stereotypical man or woman. Those who are genderist believe that people who do not conform to sociocultural expectations of gender are pathological. Similar to heterosexism, genderism is both a source of social oppression and psychological shame, such that it can be imposed on a person, but also that a person may internalize these beliefs. (p. 534)

According to Kanamori et al. (2017), there are three components to transphobia: interpersonal discomfort, gender binary beliefs, and human value. First, *interpersonal discomfort* refers to the discomfort that someone feels when interacting with a trans person. In racial prejudice, for instance, interpersonal discomfort is often a measure to assess attitudes toward racial outgroups

(e.g., Britt et al., 1996). Second, *gender binary beliefs* refer to the beliefs that there are only two genders and their subsequent gender roles. Gender roles include *prescriptive* and *proscriptive gender roles*, which are about how a gender identity should and should not behave. Transphobia is levied at those who do not conform to the gender binary or gender role expectations (Hill & Willoughby, 2005). Third, the *human value* component refers to the degree to which a person dehumanizes trans people or views them as less valuable human beings who are not entitled to the same civil rights as everyone else.

Trans-Exclusionary Radical Feminism

As trans individuals fight for their civil rights, resistance comes from a contingent of progressives who label themselves as gender-critical feminists and whom others label as trans-exclusionary radical feminists (TERFs). Radical feminism originated in feminism's second wave, which lasted from the early 1960s to the 1980s. The core belief of *radical feminism* is that the patriarchy should be dismantled in every aspect, which calls for the radical re-organization of society (Mackay, 2015). What is vital for the present work is that the self-proclaimed gender-critical feminists find the label and use of TERF to be pejorative because they do not view themselves as prejudiced against the transgender community (Zanghellini, 2020). *Gender-critical feminists* oppose "gender theory," which they believe seeks to create a society without male or female identity (Bassi & LaFleur, 2022, as cited in Bernini, 2018). However, we will continue to refer to gender-critical feminists as TERFs throughout the text. Many people referred to as TERFs are not gender-critical feminists but just transphobic female celebrities, so there is erroneous labeling of women in ways that link feminism to transphobia (Smythe, 2018).

According to Claire Thurlow (2022), the most important and influential text for TERFs is *The Transsexual Empire* by Janice Raymond (1979). This book produces the central tenants of TERF ideology, which, according to Thurlow (2022), are as follows:

(a) [the concept of] trans is a manifestation of [the] patriarchy and is caused, at least in part, by sex role rigidity, (b) trans people are either delusional or deceiving, and to think otherwise is to ‘collude with the falsification of reality’ (c) trans women are violators and penetrators, of space, of bodies, of true womanhood. (p. 2)

LGBTQ and feminist communities have heavily criticized these perspectives; however, a small minority of radical feminists — TERFs — see trans people as antithetical to their goal of dismantling the patriarchy (Williams, 2016). Often, their transphobic rhetoric contradicts feminist beliefs; their intolerance of the transgender community overshadows their feminist values. On the topic of TERFs, Sally Hines (2020) states that there is

a minority of feminist groups who argue that self-[identification] of gender will reduce the safety and well-being of cis women. At the hub of this battle is the sex/gender binary wherein ‘sex’ is reinstated as the primary source of women’s oppression in order to agitate against trans rights. More so, reproductive function has gained primacy as the fundamental site of women’s disadvantage. (p. 706)

In the 19th century, reproductive function was the basis for gender roles, so feminist writers have identified these biological models of gender as problematic and the basis of women’s oppression (de Beauvoir, 1949/2011; Young, 1980). Ironically, TERFs’ views on gender have been suggested to regress toward early sexism in order to exclude trans women from women’s spaces (Alcoff, 2006). TERFs place reproductive function at the center of womanhood, which denies womanhood to all trans women. What is often overlooked by TERF arguments is that such focus

on reproductive function would exclude cis women who struggle with reproductive issues or choose not to reproduce. Therefore, TERF rhetoric is laden with misogyny and sexism through the reinstatement of biological sex as the primary source of women's oppression, which is problematic for cis and trans women. TERFs do not recognize trans women as women because they believe that a person's gender is based solely on their biology (Hotine, 2021). These perspectives can also result in the view that trans women are men trying to enter women's spaces, threatening the sanctity of these spaces for cis women. In addition, TERFs view trans men as women who have succumbed to the patriarchy and only transitioned to get a step up in the gender hierarchy.

Unlike transphobic language used by conservatives and traditionalists, TERF rhetoric can be persuasive to other progressives. In the seminal Asch (1951) study, participants performed a visual acuity test where they were shown a card with a single line. Then, they were shown a second card with three lines and were asked to indicate the line equal in length to the line from the first card. Each participant was told to state their answer aloud in front of the group. Asch found that a sizable minority of the participants would conform to the group opinion even if that opinion were objectively incorrect. Extending Asch's findings, Abrams et al. (1990) investigated the effect of group membership and self-categorization on conformity. Replicating the seminal Asch (1951) study, participants were in a group with three confederates who introduced themselves as either ingroup members (i.e., sharing the same major) or outgroup members (i.e., having a different major). The researchers found that ingroup members greatly influenced an individual's conformity to group opinion.

Extending the preceding logic to TERF rhetoric, self-labeling as a feminist aligns oneself with progressives and cues progressive ingroup membership. The shared progressive label

denotes a focus on social justice, and as a result, one may believe they are less likely to be prejudiced. Therefore, TERF rhetoric may persuade progressives to be transphobic because they share the group label of women, progressive, and feminist. This sharing of the group label may make other progressives conform to the opinions of TERFs even if they do not personally agree. Theoretically, the persuasiveness of TERF rhetoric would increase as the group identity becomes more specific and narrower: woman to progressive to feminist to radical feminist. TERFs appear as experts on gender identity when they present themselves as gender-critical feminists, which posits them as experts of ‘gender theory’ (Bassi & LaFleur, 2022). If TERFs present themselves as experts, progressives are more likely to listen because people are more receptive to knowledgeable ingroup members (Adelman & Dasgupta, 2019, as cited in Kane et al., 2005). When a TERF spreads anti-trans sentiment, other progressives may latch onto it and not recognize it as transphobic because it comes from a progressive ingroup member who presents as an expert in gender identity. Most TERF rhetoric is toward trans women and the assertion that they are not women since this lies at the foundation of TERF ideology (Thurlow, 2022). In an exploratory investigation, we hope to discover whether components of transphobia are related to feminism. In addition, we will examine other factors that correlate with transphobia in hopes of better understanding the rhetoric of TERFs and other transphobic people.

Hegemonic Masculinity

The concept of *hegemony* comes from international politics and refers to the “condition in which one state enjoys exceptional material predominance” over others (Clark, 2011, p. 1). The state does so by inspiring subordinates to engage in processes that subtly legitimate the authority of the state. Social, political, and economic factors contribute to a state’s ability to dictate the rules of the international system (Schenoni, 2019). Hegemony involves coercion and

requires the consent, or acquiescence, of everyone in the system (Schenoni, 2019). Scholars use the concept of hegemony in many different contexts of power.

Regarding gender and of relevance to the present work, hegemonic masculinity refers to the culturally predominant and most valued form of masculinity, which prescribes men to be tough, have power, be high status, and reject feminine traits and roles (Connell, 2020; Thompson & Pleck, 1986). Like state hegemony, men use social, political, and economic power to maintain the patriarchy, which dictates the rules for women and other men. Glick and Fiske (1997) argue that the patriarchy “has profound consequences for all aspects of relationships between men and women, from gender roles and stereotypes to power in intimate relationships” (p. 120). Men define the characteristics and features of hegemonic masculinity in a way that serves their best interest in maintaining the patriarchy and other systems of power. In addition, there are racialized expectations of hegemonic masculinity because it “is glorified and associated with white men at the highest levels of society,” which “maintains institutional dominance over racial minorities” (Phua, 2007, p. 910).

There are several types of masculinity, and “hegemonic masculinity [is] at the apex as a normative, if unachievable, ideal” (Sang & Calvard, 2019, p. 4). Since almost no man can embody every prescription of hegemonic masculinity, masculinity is easily threatened (Vandello et al., 2008). When a man experiences a threat to his masculinity, outgroup prejudice increases compensatively to reassert his position at the top of the social hierarchy (Vescio & Schermerhorn, 2021; Vescio et al., 2023). Since hegemonic masculinity upholds the patriarchy and appeals to other systems of power, it should highly correlate with other prejudices in the present study.

Analogous to state hegemony, compliance with the patriarchy can come from consent or coercion. Since it aims to place men above women in the gender hierarchy, men often consent to the prescriptions of hegemonic masculinity. However, their compliance may also come through violence and coercion. In the concept of ambivalent sexism, women comply with hegemonic masculinity and the patriarchy through overt and subtle means. *Ambivalent sexism* comprises two forms: hostile and benevolent (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Glick and Fiske (1997) define the two terms:

Hostile sexism seeks to justify male power, traditional gender roles, and men's exploitation of women as sexual objects through derogatory characterizations of women. *Benevolent sexism*, in contrast, relies on kinder and gentler justifications of male dominance and prescribed gender roles; it recognizes men's dependence on women (i.e., women's dyadic power) and embraces a romanticized view of sexual relationships with women. (p. 121)

Benevolent sexism rewards women who accept the status quo, while men direct hostile sexism toward women who challenge the status quo. Most coercion occurs through benevolent sexism because the processes of hegemony are subtle and occur in the shadow of the implicit threat of violence toward women who deviate from the rules. Because hegemonic masculinity is an ideology, women can and do endorse it. Women often come to support hegemonic masculinity from their experiences with benevolent sexism, or men coerce women to endorse hegemonic masculinity with an implicit threat of hostile sexism.

All transgender individuals violate hegemonic masculinity because they deviate from its prescriptions. In hegemonic masculinity, "good" men are to be tough, have power, and be high in status while distancing from everything considered feminine. The following two sentences are

according to the beliefs of hegemonic masculinity and thus are in the voice of hegemonic masculinity supporters. Trans women — if even recognized as women under hegemonic masculinity — were assigned male at birth and chose to be women, so they could not be good men. Trans men — if even recognized as men under hegemonic masculinity — were assigned female at birth, so they could not be good men. Non-binary people do not even identify with the gender binary, so they violate hegemonic masculinity. Hegemonic masculinity enforces the gender binary and expectations, so trans people are not good men or women and are forced to comply through benevolent and hostile means. Theoretically, this may be the catalyst behind the epidemic of violence against trans women. As a result, we expect hegemonic masculinity to correlate positively with transphobia. Also, hegemonic masculinity maintains the gender hierarchy and rejects all feminine traits, so we expect it to correlate with anti-feminist attitudes. Therefore, we expect hegemonic masculinity to correlate highly with gender-relevant social attitudes (i.e., transphobia and anti-feminist attitudes).

Gender Differences in Prejudice

Although men and women can endorse trans-exclusionary radical feminism and hegemonic masculinity, their main perpetrators are of the corresponding gender. Trans-exclusionary radical feminists are primarily women, and supporters of hegemonic masculinity are primarily men. Therefore, it is crucial to examine the gender differences in other social attitudes and personality traits because they might serve as the foundation for endorsing these belief systems.

Many researchers have found gender differences in explicit racial prejudice (e.g., Akrami et al., 2000; Ekehammar & Sidanius, 1982; Qualls et al., 1992; Whitley, 1999). *Explicit attitudes* are conscious and controlled, while *implicit attitudes* are unconscious and automatic (Banaji &

Greenwald, 1995). People are consciously aware of their explicit prejudices, while they may be unaware of their implicit prejudice. In Ekehammar et al. (2003), the researchers found that men scored higher on explicit prejudice measures, but women scored higher on implicit prejudice measures. So, gender differences in prejudice might result from implicit and explicit prejudice.

TERFs believe they are not prejudiced towards the transgender community, so their scores on explicit measures could be lower. Therefore, implicit measures could better reflect TERF attitudes and ideology. The racialization of hegemonic masculinity corresponds with men's more explicit prejudice. However, our study will only examine gender differences in prejudice using explicit measures. Researchers have found that men were more prejudiced than women toward racial minorities (Qualls et al., 1992). Specifically, prejudice was measured through self-reported social-distance measures with three subscales: friendship, residence, and marriage. Interestingly, although men were more prejudiced than women overall, women were more prejudiced in marriage. A large portion of violence against trans women is intimate partner violence in heterosexual relationships (Peitzmeier et al., 2020). Men being more prejudiced toward certain groups but more willing to have a partner from one of the groups connects to the phenomenon of violence against trans women. If men are more prejudiced towards the transgender community, they may still get into relationships with trans women, which could lead to intimate partner violence.

Overview of the Present Research

In the psychological and sociological literature, there has been little research on transphobia and its correlation with other social attitudes and personality traits. Most research has examined gender identity disorder, gender dysphoria, and transgender mental health. The present research aims to address two primary research questions: does the endorsement of

feminism correlate with transphobia, and does the endorsement of hegemonic masculinity correlate with transphobia? The secondary topics we explore are transphobia and its correlation with other social attitudes (Islamophobia, xenophobia, racism, and aggrieved entitlement) and personality traits (trait anger, trait anxiety, and self-esteem).

We expect the endorsement of feminism will negatively correlate with transphobia because feminism overall supports the transgender community, and the sample is not large enough to capture the small minority of TERFs. The relationship between feminism and the transphobia subscales is exploratory, so we have no hypotheses for these results. We expect the endorsement of hegemonic masculinity will positively correlate with every social attitude scale, with the largest correlations being for gender-relevant social attitudes (i.e., transphobia and anti-feminist attitudes). Also, we predict men will score higher than women on all scales measuring prejudice, with large differences between men's and women's gender-relevant social attitudes.

Chapter 2

Methodology

Participants

The participants were 310 undergraduate students from the Pennsylvania State University, which includes 162 men (cis men = 161; trans men = 1), 148 women (cis women = 147; trans women = 1), and one gender non-binary/queer-identified person. Of the 310 participants, 228 identified as white, 39 identified as Asian, 19 identified as Black, ten identified as other, and five identified as biracial. Also, of the 310 participants, 26 identified as Spanish, Hispanic, or Latine. Participants were recruited through the Pennsylvania State University Department of Psychology subject pool and received partial course credit for their introductory psychology course in return for their participation.

Procedure

After reading a consent form (see Appendix A), participants completed an online survey with measures of transphobia, hegemonic masculinity, trait anger, trait anxiety, self-esteem, anti-feminist attitudes, Islamophobia, xenophobia, racism, and aggrieved entitlement. After completing these scales, participants answered demographic questions, including reports of age, gender, sexual orientation, race, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, level of education, level of parental education, household income, marital status, employment status, region of family origin, and current residence.

Measures

Transphobia. Participants completed the 29-item Transgender Attitudes and Beliefs Scale (TABS; Kanamori et al., 2017; 1 = *strongly disagree*, 5 = *strongly agree*), which assesses a person's attitudes and beliefs about transgender individuals (see Appendix B). The TABS has

three subscales. The interpersonal discomfort subscale assesses a person's relative discomfort with trans people in situations of increasing physical proximity (e.g., "I would be uncomfortable if my boss were transgender."). The gender binary beliefs subscale assesses the degree to which a person perceives gender in binary terms (e.g., "A person who is not sure about being male or female is mentally ill."). Finally, the human value subscale assesses the degree that a person views transgender individuals as valuable human beings (e.g., "Transgender individuals are valuable human beings regardless of how I feel about transgenderism."). After reverse-scoring appropriate items for higher values to reflect more transphobia — including more discomfort, gender binary beliefs, and denial of human value — we created an overall transphobia variable by averaging across items ($\alpha = .94$). We also averaged across items loading on a particular subscale to create an interpersonal discomfort variable ($\alpha = .87$), a gender binary variable ($\alpha = .92$), and a human value variable ($\alpha = .89$).

Hegemonic Masculinity, Participants completed 25 items of the 26-item Male Role Norms Scale (Thompson & Pleck, 1986; 1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*), which measures a person's endorsement of hegemonic masculinity (see Appendix C). One item was omitted by error (i.e., "It bothers me when a man does something that I consider 'feminine.'"). The hegemonic masculinity scale has three subscales: power/status, toughness, and anti-femininity. The power/status subscale assesses the belief that a man should achieve status and the respect of others (e.g., "Success in his work has to be man's central goal in life."). The toughness subscale assesses the belief that a man should be mentally, emotionally, and physically tough (e.g., "When a man feels a little pain, he should try not to let it show very much."). Lastly, the anti-femininity subscale assesses the belief that a man should avoid activities and occupations deemed stereotypically feminine (e.g., "It is a bit embarrassing for a

man to have a job that is usually filled by a woman.”). After reverse-scoring appropriate items for higher values to reflect more hegemonic masculinity endorsement, an overall hegemonic masculinity variable was created by averaging across items ($\alpha = .90$). We also averaged across items loading on a particular subscale to create a power/status variable ($\alpha = .89$), a toughness variable ($\alpha = .82$), and an anti-femininity variable ($\alpha = .72$).

Trait Anger, Participants completed the 15-item Trait Anger Scale (Spielberger et al., 1983; 1 = *almost never*, 4 = *almost always*), which measures a person’s level of trait anger (see Appendix D). The Trait Anger Scale has two subscales: anger temperament and anger reaction. Anger temperament assesses a person’s anger as a component of their personality (e.g., “I am quick-tempered.”). Anger reaction assesses a person’s tendency to become angry in specific situations (e.g., “It makes me furious when I am criticized in front of others.”). An overall trait anger variable was created by averaging across items ($\alpha = .89$). We also averaged across items loading on a particular subscale to create an anger temperament variable ($\alpha = .83$) and an anger reaction variable ($\alpha = .76$).

Trait Anxiety, Participants completed the 20-item Trait Anxiety Scale (Spielberger et al., 1983/2003; 1 = *almost never*, 4 = *almost always*), which measures a person’s trait anxiety as a component of their personality (e.g., “I feel nervous and restless.”). This scale is shown in Appendix E. After reverse-scoring appropriate items for higher values to reflect more trait anxiety, a trait anxiety variable was created by averaging across items ($\alpha = .92$).

Self-Esteem, Participants completed the 10-item Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (Rosenberg, 1965; 1 = *strongly agree*, 4 = *strongly disagree*), which assesses a person’s general feelings of self-esteem (e.g., “I am able to do things as well as most other people.”). This scale is

shown in Appendix F. After reverse-scoring appropriate items for higher values to reflect less self-esteem, a self-esteem variable was created by averaging across items ($\alpha = .92$).

Anti-Feminism, Participants completed the 27-item Short Scale of Attitudes towards Feminism (Smith et al., 1975; 1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*), which measures a person's attitudes toward feminism and gender equality (e.g., "A woman who refuses to bear children has failed in her duty to her husband"). This scale is shown in Appendix G. After reverse-scoring items for higher values to reflect more anti-feminist attitudes, an anti-feminism variable was created by averaging across items ($\alpha = .91$).

Islamophobia, Participants completed the 16-item Islamophobia Scale (Lee et al., 2009; 1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*), which measures a person's attitudes toward Muslims and anti-Islam policies (see Appendix H). There are two subscales: an affective-behavioral subscale (e.g., "If possible, I would avoid going to places where Muslims would be.") and a cognitive subscale (e.g., "Islam is a religion of hate."). By averaging across all items, we created an Islamophobia variable ($\alpha = .97$), and by averaging across items loading on a particular subscale, we created an affective-behavioral ($\alpha = .96$) and a cognitive variable ($\alpha = .96$).

Xenophobia, Participants completed the 17-item ESS Immigration scale (Meuleman & Billiet, 2012), which comprises four subscales:

- the broad rejection of all immigrants (e.g., "To what extent do you think the United States should allow people from the poorer countries in Europe to come and live here?")
- the conditional acceptance of English-speaking and skilled immigrants (e.g., "How important should it be for them to be able to speak English?")
- the perception of immigration as a cultural threat (e.g., "It is better for a country if almost everyone shares the same customs and traditions.")

- the perception of immigration economic threat (e.g., “People who come to live and work here generally harm the economic prospects of the poor more than the rich.”)

We reverse-scored appropriate items such that higher values reflect more xenophobia. Items were measured using different scales (see Appendix I); therefore, we standardized responses on each item, then averaged across all items to create an overall xenophobia variable ($\alpha = .65$). We also averaged across standardized items loading on a particular subscale to create a broad rejection variable ($\alpha = .94$), a conditional acceptance variable ($\alpha = .74$), a cultural threat variable ($\alpha = .48$), and an economic threat variable ($\alpha = .37$).

Racism, Participants completed a 20-item racism scale (Katz & Hass, 1988; 1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*). This scale, as shown in Appendix J, has two subscales: pro-Black attitudes (e.g., “Black people do not have the same employment opportunities that Whites do.”) and anti-Black attitudes (e.g., “Many Black teenagers don't respect themselves or anyone else.”). After reverse-scoring appropriate items, an overall racism variable was created by averaging across items ($\alpha = .88$); higher numbers reflect more racism. We also averaged across items loading on a particular subscale to create a pro-Black attitudes variable ($\alpha = .62$) and an anti-Black attitudes variable ($\alpha = .69$), such that higher numbers revealed more pro-Black attitudes and more anti-Black attitudes.

Aggrieved Entitlement, Participants completed the 9-item Aggrieved Entitlement scale (Karasavva & Forth, 2021; 1 = *strongly disagree*, 5 = *strongly agree*), which assesses the belief that the rights of the privileged are infringed upon when the rights of minoritized groups increase (see Appendix K). An aggrieved entitlement variable was created by averaging across items ($\alpha = .84$).

Chapter 3

Results

First, we computed the mean and standard deviation for each variable. Table 1 shows the means and standard deviations for the entire sample and separately by gender.

Table 1. *The means and standard deviations for all variables.*

| Variable | Total Mean (SD) | Men Mean (SD) | Women Mean (SD) | t-value (1,308) | p-value | Cohen's d |
|----------------------------|--------------------|------------------|--------------------|--------------------|---------|-----------|
| Transphobia | 2.04 (.71) | 2.33 (.69) | 1.72 (.58) | -8.35 | < .001 | 0.64 |
| - Interpersonal Discomfort | 2.03 (.70) | 2.28 (.73) | 1.75 (.55) | -7.21 | < .001 | 0.65 |
| - Gender Binary Beliefs | 2.38 (1.00) | 2.78 (.97) | 1.94 (.85) | -8.13 | < .001 | 0.91 |
| - Human Value | 1.42 (.73) | 1.58 (.82) | 1.24 (.53) | -4.21 | < .001 | 0.70 |
| Hegemonic Masculinity | 3.52 (.90) | 3.90 (.86) | 3.08 (.74) | -8.98 | < .001 | 0.80 |
| - Power/Status | 3.61 (1.15) | 4.02 (1.13) | 3.15 (.99) | -7.22 | < .001 | 1.07 |
| - Toughness | 3.25 (1.13) | 3.83 (1.00) | 2.60 (.88) | -11.45 | < .001 | 0.95 |
| - Anti-Femininity | 3.11 (.98) | 3.37 (1.03) | 2.81 (.83) | -5.24 | < .001 | 0.94 |
| Trait Anger | 1.95 (.52) | 1.87 (.50) | 2.02 (.53) | 2.65 | .004 | 0.51 |
| - Anger Temperament | 1.66 (.62) | 1.56 (.59) | 1.76 (.65) | 2.84 | .002 | 0.62 |
| - Anger Reaction | 2.31 (.71) | 2.18 (.71) | 2.45 (.69) | 3.33 | < .001 | 0.70 |
| Trait Anxiety | 2.26 (.54) | 2.19 (.51) | 2.34 (.56) | 2.61 | .005 | 0.54 |
| Self-Esteem | 2.11 (.64) | 2.06 (.64) | 2.15 (.63) | 1.25 | .106 | 0.64 |
| Anti-Feminist Attitudes | 2.58 (.84) | 2.93 (.78) | 2.19 (.73) | -8.70 | < .001 | 0.75 |
| Islamophobia | 1.68 (.98) | 1.81 (1.06) | 1.54 (.87) | -2.50 | .007 | 0.97 |
| - Affective-Behavioral | 1.60 (.96) | 1.71 (1.03) | 1.48 (.86) | -2.09 | .019 | 0.95 |
| - Cognitive | 1.76 (1.08) | 1.92 (1.17) | 1.59 (.94) | -2.68 | .004 | 1.07 |
| Xenophobia (standardized) | .0006 (.41) | -0.15 (.37) | 0.17 (.38) | 7.56 | < .001 | 0.37 |
| - Reject | -0.0050 (.90) | -0.11 (.99) | 0.11 (.79) | 2.20 | .014 | 0.90 |
| - Conditions | 0.0010 (.74) | 0.04 (.72) | -0.04 (.77) | -0.97 | .168 | 0.74 |
| - Economic Threat | -0.0002 (.58) | -0.15 (.69) | 0.17 (.38) | 5.12 | < .001 | 0.56 |
| - Cultural Threat | 0.0108 (.81) | -0.53 (.61) | 0.62 (.51) | 17.85 | < .001 | 0.57 |
| Racism | 3.15 (.89) | 3.43 (.84) | 2.85 (.84) | -5.97 | < .001 | 0.84 |
| - Pro-Black Attitudes | 4.42 (.79) | 4.27 (.87) | 4.57 (.65) | 3.41 | < .001 | 0.77 |
| - Anti-Black Attitudes | 3.36 (.78) | 3.55 (.81) | 3.15 (.69) | -4.64 | < .001 | 0.75 |
| Aggrieved Entitlement | 2.36 (.79) | 2.51 (.80) | 2.20 (.75) | -3.48 | < .001 | 0.77 |

For transphobia, men ($M = 2.33$, $SD = 0.69$) scored higher than women ($M = 1.72$, $SD = 0.58$), and the difference was statistically significant ($p < .001$). In addition, men scored higher than women on each transphobia subscale. Also, men scored higher than women in hegemonic masculinity, anti-feminist attitudes, Islamophobia, racism, and aggrieved entitlement to statistical significance. However, women scored higher than men in xenophobia, which does not support our hypothesis that men would score higher than women in all social attitude scales. However, the previous results support our hypothesis that men would score higher than women in gender-relevant social attitudes (i.e., transphobia, hegemonic masculinity, and anti-feminist attitudes). We will investigate this xenophobia inconsistency in later analyses.

Predictors of Transphobia

Next, we split the data by participant gender and estimated correlations between all variables separately for men and women. Table 2 presents correlations for men and women above and below the diagonal, respectively. For men and women, transphobia had a positive correlation with Islamophobia ($r_{\text{men}} = .498$, $p < .001$; $r_{\text{women}} = .592$, $p < .001$), racism ($r_{\text{men}} = .603$, $p < .001$; $r_{\text{women}} = .623$, $p < .001$), and aggrieved entitlement ($r_{\text{men}} = .473$, $p < .001$; $r_{\text{women}} = .636$, $p < .001$). These results mean that, regardless of gender, as transphobia increased, prejudice in the previous social attitudes increased. For men, trait anger positively correlated with transphobia; we did not find this relationship for women.

We found that there was a positive correlation between transphobia and anti-feminist attitudes for men ($r = .695$, $p < .001$) and women ($r = .654$, $p < .001$). This result means that, regardless of gender, more anti-feminist attitudes were associated with more transphobic attitudes. Therefore, pro-feminist attitudes are negatively correlated with transphobia, consistent

Table 2. A correlation matrix for all social attitude and trait scales.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
|----------------------------|----------|----------|---------|---------|---------|---------|----------|----------|----------|---------|
| 1. Transphobia | - | .542*** | .207** | -.016 | .030 | .695*** | .498*** | .603*** | .473*** | .256*** |
| 2. Hegemonic Masculinity | .420*** | - | .288*** | .032 | .006 | .566*** | .222** | .511*** | .469*** | .162* |
| 3. Trait Anger | -.067 | .262** | - | .334*** | .203** | .225** | .207** | .093 | .287*** | -.091 |
| 4. Trait Anxiety | -.098 | .043 | .551*** | - | .746*** | .049 | -.002 | -.126 | .064 | -.061 |
| 5. Self Esteem | -.014 | .005 | .258** | .708*** | - | .062 | .104 | -.090 | .040 | -.169* |
| 6. Anti-feminist Attitudes | .654*** | .538*** | .010 | -.097 | .015 | - | .474*** | .590*** | .606*** | .182* |
| 7. Islamophobia | .592*** | .337*** | .084 | -.010 | .110 | .522*** | - | .374*** | .365*** | -.031 |
| 8. Racism | .623*** | .531*** | .025 | -.104 | -.049 | .618*** | .663*** | - | .600*** | .207** |
| 9. Aggrieved Entitlement | .636*** | .553*** | .014 | -.153 | -.085 | .631*** | .527*** | .761*** | - | .140 |
| 10. Xenophobia | -.317*** | -.279*** | .130 | .108 | -.056 | -.263** | -.375*** | -.367*** | -.327*** | - |

Note. Values above the diagonal are correlations for men. Values below the diagonal are correlations for women. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

with previous literature and supporting our hypothesis that feminism would negatively correlate with transphobia.

We found a positive correlation between transphobia and hegemonic masculinity for men ($r = .542, p < .001$) and women ($r = .420, p < .001$). These results mean that, regardless of gender, more hegemonic masculinity endorsement was associated with more transphobia. On all gender-relevant social attitudes (i.e., hegemonic masculinity and anti-feminist attitudes), the correlation with transphobia was larger for men than women. For all other social attitudes (i.e., Islamophobia, xenophobia, racism, and aggrieved entitlement), the correlation with transphobia was larger for women than men.

In the mean differences, we found that women scored higher than men in xenophobia. This result did not support our hypothesis that men would score higher than women in all social

attitude scales. This xenophobia inconsistency by gender continued in the correlational analysis. For xenophobia, men had a positive correlation with transphobia ($r = .256, p < .001$), while women had a negative correlation with transphobia ($r = -.317, p < .001$). These results mean that for men, as transphobia increased, xenophobia increased. However, for women, as transphobia increased, xenophobia decreased. This difference continues to showcase an interesting phenomenon in the relationship between xenophobia and gender, which we will address with further analyses.

The TERF Question

For men and women, we found that anti-feminist attitudes had a positive correlation with transphobia ($r_{\text{men}} = .695, p < .001; r_{\text{women}} = .654, p < .001$), hegemonic masculinity ($r_{\text{men}} = .566, p < .001; r_{\text{women}} = .538, p < .001$), Islamophobia ($r_{\text{men}} = .474, p < .001; r_{\text{women}} = .522, p < .001$), racism ($r_{\text{men}} = .590, p < .001; r_{\text{women}} = .618, p < .001$), and aggrieved entitlement ($r_{\text{men}} = .606, p < .001; r_{\text{women}} = .631, p < .001$). These results mean that, regardless of participant gender, less endorsement of feminism was associated with more transphobia, hegemonic masculinity, Islamophobia, racism, and aggrieved entitlement. Anti-feminist attitudes positively correlated with trait anger ($r = .225, p = .004$) only for men. This result means that men's personality trait of anger predicted their anti-feminist attitudes. Once again, there was a gender difference for xenophobia where the correlation with anti-feminism was positive for men ($r = .182, p = .021$) and negative for women ($r = -.263, p = .001$). These results mean that, for men, as anti-feminist attitudes increased, xenophobia increased; however, for women, as anti-feminist attitudes increased, xenophobia decreased.

To further examine the relationship between transphobia and anti-feminist attitudes, we estimated correlations between anti-feminist attitudes and transphobia subscales. We split the

data file by participant gender and reported the correlations between anti-feminist attitudes and transphobia subscales separately for men and women. Recall that there are three transphobia subscales. First, the interpersonal discomfort subscale assesses participants' discomfort with trans people in situations of increasing physical proximity (e.g., "I would be uncomfortable if my boss were transgender."). Second, the gender binary beliefs subscale assesses the degree to which the participant perceives gender in binary terms (e.g., "A person who is not sure about being male or female is mentally ill."). Third, the human value subscale assesses the degree that participants view trans individuals as valuable human beings (e.g., "Transgender individuals are valuable human beings regardless of how I feel about transgenderism.").

Table 3. *A correlation matrix for anti-femininity and transphobia subscales.*

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
|-----------------------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| 1. Anti-Feminist Attitudes | - | .570*** | .617*** | .525*** |
| 2. Gender Binary Beliefs | .579*** | - | .626*** | .203** |
| 3. Interpersonal Discomfort | .581*** | .682*** | - | .601*** |
| 4. Human Value | .658*** | .513*** | .732*** | - |

Note. Values above the diagonal are correlations for men. Values below the diagonal are correlations for women. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Correlations between anti-feminist attitudes and the transphobia subscales are shown in Table 3, with men's correlations above the diagonal and women's correlations below the diagonal. Across the subscales, similar patterns emerged for men and women. Anti-feminist attitudes positively correlated with each xenophobia subscale. Less endorsement of feminism predicted more interpersonal discomfort, gender binary beliefs, and denial of transgender human value. The only notable difference by gender was the correlation between gender binary beliefs and human value ($r_{\text{men}} = .203, p = .010$; $r_{\text{women}} = .513, p < .001$). Regardless of gender, as beliefs in the gender binary increased, the denial of the transgender human value increased. The only

difference was in the strength of this relationship by gender. Therefore, gender binary beliefs were a better predictor of how women value transgender lives than how men value transgender lives.

Hegemonic Masculinity Correlations

For men and women, we found hegemonic masculinity had a positive correlation with transphobia ($r_{\text{men}} = .542, p < .001$; $r_{\text{women}} = .420, p < .001$), trait anger ($r_{\text{men}} = .288, p < .001$; $r_{\text{women}} = .262, p = .001$), anti-feminist attitudes ($r_{\text{men}} = .566, p < .001$; $r_{\text{women}} = .538, p < .001$), Islamophobia ($r_{\text{men}} = .222, p = .005$; $r_{\text{women}} = .337, p < .001$), racism ($r_{\text{men}} = .511, p < .001$; $r_{\text{women}} = .531, p < .001$), and aggrieved entitlement ($r_{\text{men}} = .469, p < .001$; $r_{\text{women}} = .553, p < .001$). These results mean that, regardless of gender, more hegemonic masculinity endorsement was associated with more transphobia, trait anger, anti-feminist attitudes, Islamophobia, racism, and aggrieved entitlement. These results support our hypothesis that hegemonic masculinity would correlate positively with each social attitude.

For men, trait anger positively correlated with transphobia ($r = .207, p = .008$), hegemonic masculinity ($r = .288, p < .001$), anti-feminist attitudes ($r = .225, p = .004$), Islamophobia ($r = .207, p = .008$), and aggrieved entitlement ($r = .287, p < .001$). For women, the only social attitude that trait anger correlated with was hegemonic masculinity ($r = .262, p = .001$). In addition, there was no notable difference in the correlation between hegemonic masculinity and trait anger by gender. Again, xenophobia held a different pattern than other results because its correlation with hegemonic masculinity was positive for men ($r = .162, p = .040$) and negative for women ($r = -.279, p < .001$).

Table 4. A correlation matrix for hegemonic masculinity and transphobia.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
|-----------------------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| 1. Hegemonic Masculinity | - | .911*** | .860*** | .662*** | .542*** | .592*** | .392*** | .289*** |
| 2. Power/Status | .929*** | - | .660*** | .453*** | .464*** | .514*** | .333*** | .234** |
| 3. Toughness | .844*** | .650*** | - | .594*** | .448*** | .518*** | .290*** | .253** |
| 4. Anti-Femininity | .701*** | .529*** | .652*** | - | .498*** | .443*** | .420*** | .354*** |
| 5. Transphobia | .420*** | .368*** | .358*** | .431*** | - | .840*** | .930*** | .607*** |
| 6. Gender Binary Beliefs | .401*** | .342*** | .348*** | .421*** | .902*** | - | .626*** | .203** |
| 7. Interpersonal Discomfort | .366*** | .334*** | .296*** | .365*** | .921*** | .682*** | - | .601*** |
| 8. Human Value | .329*** | .300*** | .300*** | .318*** | .755*** | .513*** | .732*** | - |

Note. Values above the diagonal are correlations for men. Values below the diagonal are correlations for women.
* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

To further examine the relationship between transphobia and hegemonic masculinity, we estimated correlations between hegemonic masculinity, transphobia, and all their subscales. We split the data file by participant gender and reported the correlations separately for men and women. These correlations are shown in Table 4, with men's correlations above the diagonal and women's correlations below the diagonal. Generally, the pattern of correlations for all variables was similar regardless of gender: each variable had a positive correlation with all other variables. As noted earlier, the only notable difference between men and women was the correlation between beliefs in the gender binary and transgender human value ($r_{\text{men}} = .203, p = .010$; $r_{\text{women}} = .513, p < .001$). Regardless of gender, as beliefs in the gender binary increased, participants rated transgender lives as having less value. However, the strength of this relationship differed by gender, which means that belief in the gender binary is a better predictor of how women value transgender lives than how men value transgender lives.

Trait Anger and Its Subscales

To investigate the relationship between trait anger and social attitudes, we estimated correlations between trait anger, its subscales, and other social attitudes. We split the data by participant gender and reported correlations separately for men and women. Recall that there are two subscales for trait anger: anger temperament and anger reaction. First, the anger temperament subscale assesses the participant’s anger as a component of their personality (e.g., “I am quick-tempered.”). Second, the anger reaction subscale assesses the participant’s tendency to become angry in specific situations (e.g., “It makes me furious when I am criticized in front of others.”). These correlations are shown in Table 5, with men’s correlations above the diagonal and women’s correlations below the diagonal. For this analysis, we included every social attitude that correlated with trait anger for either gender from Table 2. We highlighted the correlations of interest in green, with previously reported correlations remaining unhighlighted.

Table 5. A correlation matrix for trait anger, its subscales, and social attitudes.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
|----------------------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| 1. Transphobia | - | .542*** | .695*** | .498*** | .473*** | .207** | .179* | .169* |
| 2. Hegemonic Masculinity | .420*** | - | .566*** | .222** | .469*** | .288*** | .297*** | .235** |
| 3. Anti-Feminist Attitudes | .654*** | .538*** | - | .474*** | .606*** | .225** | .295*** | .101 |
| 4. Islamophobia | .592*** | .337*** | .522*** | - | .365*** | .207** | .236** | .100 |
| 5. Aggrieved Entitlement | .636*** | .553*** | .631*** | .527*** | - | .287*** | .301*** | .187* |
| 6. Trait Anger | -.067 | .262** | .010 | .084 | .014 | - | .800*** | .844*** |
| 7. Anger Temperament | -.013 | .186* | .069 | .127 | .035 | .824*** | - | .486*** |
| 8. Anger Reaction | -.108 | .221** | -.082 | -.002 | -.012 | .850*** | .545*** | - |

Note. Values above the diagonal are correlations for men. Values below the diagonal are correlations for women.
* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

For women, trait anger and its subscales only correlated with hegemonic masculinity; the strength of these correlations was relatively equal. These results mean that, regardless of gender, as trait anger increased, hegemonic masculinity endorsement increased. As previously reported, men's correlations with gender-relevant prejudices were much larger than women's, which was also true for hegemonic masculinity and trait anger. For men, trait anger positively correlated with each social attitude, as previously reported. These results mean that, for men, increases in trait anger predicted more transphobia, endorsement of hegemonic masculinity, anti-feminist attitudes, Islamophobia, and aggrieved entitlement. In addition, the anger temperament subscale had a positive correlation for men with each social attitude. By contrast, the anger reaction subscale was not correlated with anti-feminist attitudes and Islamophobia but was correlated with transphobia, hegemonic masculinity, and aggrieved entitlement for men.

Gender Differences in Xenophobia

To investigate the gender difference in xenophobia, we split the data by participant gender and estimated correlations between all variables and the subscales of xenophobia. These correlations are shown in Table 6, with correlations for men above the diagonal and correlations for women below the diagonal. We highlighted the correlations of interest in green, with previously reported correlations remaining unhighlighted.

For women, xenophobia had a negative correlation with every social attitude scale: transphobia ($r = -.317, p < .001$), hegemonic masculinity ($r = -.279, p < .001$), anti-feminist attitudes ($r = -.263, p < .001$), Islamophobia ($r = -.375, p < .001$), racism ($r = -.367, p < .001$), and aggrieved entitlement ($r = -.327, p < .001$). These results mean that, for women, more xenophobia predicted less transphobia, endorsement of hegemonic masculinity, anti-feminist attitudes, Islamophobia, racism, and aggrieved entitlement. However, for men, xenophobia was

positively correlated with transphobia ($r = .256, p < .001$), hegemonic masculinity ($r = .162, p = .040$), anti-feminist attitudes ($r = .182, p = .021$), and racism ($r = .207, p = .008$). These results mean that, for men, more xenophobia predicted more transphobia, hegemonic masculinity endorsement, anti-feminist attitudes, and racism. Recall that there are four xenophobia subscales: the broad rejection of all immigrants, the conditional acceptance of English-speaking and skilled immigrants, the perception of immigrants as a cultural threat, and the perception of immigrants as an economic threat.

Table 6. A correlation matrix for all scales and xenophobia subscales.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 |
|----------------------------|----------|----------|---------|---------|---------|----------|----------|----------|----------|---------|----------|---------|---------|----------|
| 1. Transphobia | - | .542*** | .207** | -.016 | .030 | .695*** | .498*** | .603*** | .473*** | .256*** | -.261*** | .270*** | .437*** | .493*** |
| 2. Hegemonic Masculinity | .420*** | - | .288*** | .032 | .006 | .566*** | .222** | .511*** | .469*** | .162* | -.290*** | .305*** | .279*** | .406*** |
| 3. Trait Anger | -.067 | .262** | - | .334*** | .203** | .225** | .207** | .093 | .287*** | -.091 | -.154 | -.040 | .078 | .075 |
| 4. Trait Anxiety | -.098 | .043 | .551*** | - | .746*** | .049 | -.002 | -.126 | .064 | -.061 | .064 | -.173 | -.045 | -.041 |
| 5. Self Esteem | -.014 | .005 | .258** | .708*** | - | .062 | .104 | -.090 | .040 | -.169* | -.023 | -.213** | .016 | -.128 |
| 6. Anti-feminist Attitudes | .654*** | .538*** | .010 | -.097 | .015 | - | .474*** | .590*** | .606*** | .182* | -.361*** | .341*** | .392*** | .461*** |
| 7. Islamophobia | .592*** | .337*** | .084 | -.010 | .110 | .522*** | - | .374*** | .365*** | -.031 | -.351*** | -.010 | .356*** | .348*** |
| 8. Racism | .623*** | .531*** | .025 | -.104 | -.049 | .618*** | .663*** | - | .600*** | .207** | -.260*** | .173* | .454*** | .485*** |
| 9. Aggrieved Entitlement | .636*** | .553*** | .014 | -.153 | -.085 | .631*** | .527*** | .761*** | - | .140 | -.359*** | .325*** | .297*** | .440*** |
| 10. Xenophobia | -.317*** | -.279*** | .130 | .108 | -.056 | -.263** | -.375*** | -.367*** | -.327*** | - | .521*** | .538*** | .365*** | .490*** |
| 11. Broad Rejection | -.405*** | -.166* | .136 | .056 | -.054 | -.217** | -.360*** | -.282*** | -.262** | .752*** | - | -.178* | -.248** | -.306*** |
| 12. Conditional Acceptance | -.023 | -.134 | .085 | .063 | -.044 | -.104 | -.149 | -.157 | -.116 | .664*** | .134 | - | .167* | .351*** |
| 13. Cultural Threat | -.376*** | -.389*** | .054 | .168* | .093 | -.383*** | -.289*** | -.488*** | -.383*** | .439*** | .148 | .270*** | - | .475*** |
| 14. Economic Threat | .192* | -.022 | -.057 | .029 | -.035 | .074 | .037 | .036 | -.014 | .131 | -.137 | -.063 | -.054 | - |

Note. Values above the diagonal are correlations for men. Values below the diagonal are correlations for women. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

For women, the xenophobia subscales of broad rejection (BR) and cultural threat (CT) had a negative correlation with every social attitude scale: transphobia ($r_{BR} = -.405, p < .001; r_{CT} = .376, p < .001$), hegemonic masculinity ($r_{BR} = -.166, p = .044; r_{CT} = -.389, p < .001$), anti-feminist attitudes ($r_{BR} = -.263, p = .001; r_{CT} = -.383, p < .001$), Islamophobia ($r_{BR} = -.375, p < .001; r_{CT} = -.289, p < .001$), racism ($r_{BR} = -.367, p < .001; r_{CT} = -.488, p < .001$), and aggrieved entitlement ($r_{BR} = -.327, p < .001; r_{CT} = -.383, p < .001$). These results mean that the above prejudices decreased as women's preference for the broad rejection of all immigrants increased. Also, as women's perceptions of immigration as a cultural threat increased, the above prejudices decreased. For men, their correlations were consistent across xenophobia subscales for each social attitude. For every social attitude, men had negative correlations with broad rejection and positive correlations with cultural threat. Regardless of gender, broad rejection negatively correlated with each social attitude scale, which means that as broad rejection increased, all other prejudices decreased.

Chapter 4

Discussion

Are There Gender Differences in Prejudice?

On each social attitude scale, men scored higher than women. This result suggests that men are more explicitly prejudiced than women, consistent with previous literature (e.g., Akrami et al., 2000; Ekehammar & Sidanius, 1982; Qualls et al., 1992; Whitley, 1999). Men's higher explicit prejudice toward outgroups could result from their greater endorsement of hegemonic masculinity, which would be consistent with our hypothesis and previous literature. Vescio and Schermerhorn (2021) found significant correlations between hegemonic masculinity and other prejudices. Recall that hegemonic masculinity prescribes men to be tough, have power, and be high in status while rejecting and distancing from all considered feminine (Connell, 2020; Thompson & Pleck, 1986). These prescriptions uphold the patriarchy and maintain white men's dominance over women and other minoritized groups. As a result, hegemonic masculinity maintains most systems of power by prioritizing straight, white, cisgender, non-disabled, neurotypical, wealthy, and otherwise privileged men. Although men and women can hold hegemonic masculinity beliefs, men endorse hegemonic masculinity more. In conclusion, men scoring higher than women in each prejudice appears to be related to hegemonic masculinity and its intolerance of outgroups.

The previous results raise the question, what do the gender differences in prejudice reveal about TERF ideology? Like hegemonic masculinity, feminism has a history of prioritizing straight, white, cisgender, non-disabled, neurotypical, wealthy, and otherwise privileged women. In addition, radical feminism tends to be much whiter than other feminist groups or movements. The tenants of hegemonic masculinity specifically call for an outgroup intolerance, while

feminism's prioritization can result from ignorance toward intersectionality. Voichita Nachescu (2009) says the heroines that "white second-wave feminists chose for their genealogy were not only white but also had situated whiteness at the center of the claim for female suffrage" (p. 45). In addition, some early feminists fought for women's suffrage as a counter to the suffrage of Black men. So, all feminists may score lower in prejudice scales, but if the sample had feminists of varying races, we would expect white feminists to be more prejudiced than feminists of color. Furthermore, TERFs are a subgroup of radical feminists, so TERFs are likely to be more prejudiced than typical radical feminists.

What Are the Predictors of Transphobia?

Hegemonic masculinity, anti-feminist attitudes, Islamophobia, racism, and aggrieved entitlement were all strong predictors of transphobia for men and women. All the preceding scales measure outgroup bias as opposed to ingroup favoritism. Although those two concepts may be interrelated, outgroup bias is consistent across all preceding social attitudes and transphobia, while ingroup favoritism is absent. In addition, outgroup bias may be related to a person's preference for the status quo; transphobia would be a way to maintain the status quo of gender. If individuals tend to endorse the status quo, they may be more likely to hold transphobic beliefs and have other outgroup prejudiced beliefs.

For women, their gender-irrelevant correlations with transphobia were higher than that of men. Although women's prejudice toward gender-irrelevant outgroups was lower than men's, they were more consistent with general prejudice toward various groups. Although men's prejudice was higher than women's, their prejudice was more individualistic and inconsistent across various groups. Outside of gender-relevant prejudices, the largest predictor of transphobia

was racism for men and aggrieved entitlement for women. We will expand upon this result in the following discussion sections.

What About TERFs?

Our investigation into the relationship between feminism and transphobia was purely exploratory for us to discover what may underlie TERF ideology. We found that, regardless of gender, anti-feminist attitudes positively correlated with transphobia. This result means that as anti-feminist attitudes increased, transphobia increased; as anti-feminist attitudes decreased, transphobia decreased. Further, this result is consistent with the pro-transgender stance of most feminists, which is why we predicted this relationship with our hypothesis that endorsement of feminism would negatively correlate with transphobia (Williams, 2016). Feminist writers have extensively depicted the gender binary as an extension of the patriarchy, so feminists — especially radical feminists — do not endorse the gender binary (de Beauvoir, 1949/2011; Young, 1980). Trans-exclusionary radical feminists contradict their feminist beliefs when they engage in transphobia, so it would make sense that the relationship between feminist attitudes and transphobia does not reflect the TERF phenomenon.

Women's transphobia better predicted their interpersonal discomfort than their gender binary beliefs or perceptions of transgender human value. Conceptually, this may connect to the TERF belief that trans women are men invading women's spaces. Since our results are all correlational, we do not know whether interpersonal discomfort causes transphobia or whether transphobia causes interpersonal discomfort. However, TERFs feel uncomfortable around trans women, which may result from or be the cause of their transphobia. Also, for women, interpersonal discomfort was strongly correlated with beliefs in the gender binary and denial of transgender human value. Suppose we apply this conceptual framework to TERFs. In that case,

they have more gender binary beliefs than other radical feminists, which would cause them to view transgender lives as less valuable. TERFs may view trans women as having less human value because they view trans women as opponents invading their safe space and threatening their identity as women.

Earlier, we found that the largest predictor of transphobia for women was aggrieved entitlement. Recall that aggrieved entitlement is the belief that the rights of the privileged are infringed upon when the rights of minoritized groups increase. TERFs view the increase in transgender rights as antithetical to their rights as cis women. As we discussed before, TERFs do not recognize trans women as women; they believe trans women are men who are trying to invade women's spaces (Thurlow, 2022). Their aggrieved entitlement to the female identity may cause them to view trans women as their opposition. Therefore, TERFs may differ from other feminists because they view the increasing social acceptance of trans individuals as an attack on their status as a woman.

How Does Hegemonic Masculinity Connect?

Recall that the concept of hegemony comes from international politics and refers to a state's power over dictating the rules for the global system (Clark, 2011). The state can uphold its hegemony through violence and coercion, but it can also use persuasion for the consent of the governed (Schenoni, 2019). Regarding hegemonic masculinity, men can dictate the rules of the gender hierarchy. Men have the political, economic, and social influence to maintain the patriarchy through hegemonic masculinity. If we narrow our focus to the social realm, men use hostile and benevolent sexism to coerce women and other men into endorsing hegemonic masculinity (Glick & Fiske, 1996). So, although women hold hegemonic beliefs, it is more

important to focus on men and their endorsement of hegemonic masculinity since they are the ones who have power in the gender hierarchy.

Recall that men's correlations were higher than women's for each gender-relevant social attitude. Men were more consistent across their gender-relevant social attitudes because hegemonic masculinity prescribes that men reject femininity and acquire power (Connell, 2020; Thompson & Pleck, 1986). Therefore, men must be more prejudiced in every gender-relevant social attitude to maintain the patriarchy and dominance over sexual minorities. So, it is consistent with the tenants of hegemonic masculinity that men were more consistent in their gender-relevant prejudices because it is prescribed explicitly within the belief system. As a secondary priority, hegemonic masculinity maintains power for men by prioritizing gender-irrelevant power systems, such as racism, heterosexism, ableism, classism, ageism, and religious prejudice. So, men are less consistent across gender-irrelevant prejudices because those prejudices are second in priority, but they are still more prejudiced than women in every prejudice except xenophobia. Regardless of gender, hegemonic masculinity positively correlated with each social attitude. These results are consistent with the framework of hegemonic masculinity because it maintains other systems of power through many forms of prejudice.

Men's perception of trans human value was driven more by their interpersonal discomfort with trans people. The data suggest that as men's discomfort increased, they perceived trans individuals as having less human value. Therefore, men saw trans lives as less important when they felt more uncomfortable around them. How people value trans lives is very important to understand when experiencing a violent epidemic against trans women. Outside of gender-relevant social attitudes, the largest predictor of transphobia was racism for men. In the wave of violence, trans women of color are victimized at a higher rate, so there appears to be a

relationship between men's racism and transphobia. Also, recall that men's trait anger correlated with transphobia as well. So, the relationship between racism, transphobia, and anger may result in violent acts against trans women of color.

With What Is Xenophobia Associated?

Xenophobia positively correlated with every social attitude for men; by contrast, the correlations were negative for women. One could interpret this result to mean that women's xenophobia was independent of their other social attitudes. However, if women's xenophobia were independent of other social attitudes, the correlation would be close to zero and insignificant. Therefore, women's xenophobia correlated with their other social attitudes, but it was surprisingly negative.

The situation becomes more evident if we look at the correlations for the subscales of xenophobia. Broad rejection and cultural threat were the only xenophobia subscales correlated with other social attitudes. Conditional acceptance and economic threat did not correlate with other social attitudes, with one exception being a relatively weak but significant correlation between economic threat and transphobia ($r = .192, p = .020$). This finding reveals that, for women, only two subscales drove the correlation of xenophobia with other social attitudes. For men, the xenophobia subscales consistently correlated with other social attitudes. This result means that, for men, the subscales equally contributed to the correlation with other social attitudes. The difference in xenophobia by gender lies within this distinction between xenophobia subscales.

Regardless of gender, broad rejection negatively correlated with each social attitude: transphobia, hegemonic masculinity, anti-feminist attitudes, Islamophobia, racism, and aggrieved entitlement. However, for cultural threat, the correlations with other social attitudes were

negative for women and positive for men. So, the difference in xenophobia between men and women resulted from their difference in perceptions of immigration as a cultural threat. For men, the more they viewed immigration as a threat to American culture, the higher they scored in transphobia, hegemonic masculinity, anti-feminist attitudes, Islamophobia, racism, and aggrieved entitlement. This result is consistent with previous research that prejudices often correlate (Akrami et al., 2010). For women, their perception of immigration as a threat to American culture negatively correlated with every social attitude. This result means that as their perceptions of a cultural threat increased, they were less prejudiced in other social attitudes. According to Cronbach's alpha for xenophobia and its subscales, the items were unreliable, perhaps explaining the difference in xenophobia by gender.

Limitations

One limitation of the study is that it had a sample of convenience. Therefore, the sample is not representative, and the results cannot generalize to a larger population. Our sample is primarily white and college-educated, so they are generally more privileged than the general population. As a result, their scores may not be indicative of the broader population. In a future study, we would include a more representative sample through an unbiased sampling method, such as *simple random sampling*, where every member of the population has an equal chance of being chosen for the study. In simple random sampling, the sample would accurately represent the population the researchers want to generalize to with their results. However, most psychology studies use college students, and generalizability is often an issue.

Another limitation is that the study was only correlational. Our results were from correlation analyses which do not reveal anything about causality. For example, hegemonic masculinity and transphobia had a positive correlation, but we do not know if hegemonic

masculinity causes transphobia to increase or if transphobia causes hegemonic masculinity to increase. In addition, there could be a third scenario where a confounding or lurking variable causes both hegemonic masculinity and transphobia to increase. It may be possible that someone's preference for the status quo could cause both hegemonic masculinity and transphobia to increase. So, in a future study, we could investigate how status quo maintenance plays a role or control for other variables.

As discussed in the introduction, there is a gendered difference between explicit and implicit prejudice, with men being more explicitly prejudiced and women being more implicitly prejudiced (e.g., Akrami et al., 2000; Ekehammar & Sidanius, 1982; Qualls et al., 1992; Whitley, 1999). However, our study only measured explicit prejudice, and we may be missing a vital aspect of women's prejudice. If there were implicit prejudice measures in our study, the results might have differed, with women being more prejudiced than men. In a future study, we could include an implicit bias assessment to assess prejudice, which may be more useful when analyzing women and TERFs.

Another limitation is the issue of the white male default. Zarate and Smith (1980) found that people think of a white male when asked to think of a person. The further an identity deviates from a white male, the less likely they are to be considered when someone is prompted to think of a person. For example, the transphobia scale assesses participants' prejudice toward transgender individuals in general. However, when prompted to think of "a transgender person," the participant could think of a trans woman, trans man, or non-binary person (Kanamori et al., 2017, p. 1509). Therefore, our results could reflect a participant's prejudice toward only trans women, trans men, or non-binary people instead of all transgender individuals, regardless of gender.

Regarding the white male default in this study, do participants view trans women or trans men as the male default? If the participant does not recognize trans women as women, they would think of trans women as the male default according to the theory of the white male default. In popular media, the most known trans individuals are white trans women, so one could conclude that the white male default in transphobia research would be a white trans woman. A wave of violence against trans women prompted our investigation, so in future studies, we could specify trans women in our assessment of anti-trans attitudes.

Future Directions

Other than improving upon our limitations in future studies, there are several studies that this research prompts for further investigation. A masculinity study involving transphobia could be a fruitful avenue of research. In masculinity threat studies, researchers investigate how a masculinity threat affects various social attitudes and vital statistics. As previously discussed, research has shown that men's prejudice increases after a masculinity threat in a compensatory manner (Vescio & Schermerhorn, 2021; Vescio et al., 2023). Since hegemonic masculinity links to transphobia as a gender-relevant social attitude, it would be interesting to investigate the effect of a masculinity threat on transphobia. In addition, the mere concept of a transgender identity may trigger a masculinity threat because it makes the fragility of the gender binary more salient. Previous research has found that sexual advances from gay men threaten a straight man's masculinity. It would be interesting to investigate whether sexual advances from trans women constitute a masculinity threat (Schermerhorn & Vescio, 2021).

Another interesting research route would be to investigate the persuasiveness of TERF rhetoric and its use of moral credentials. Moral credentialing is a way of credentialing oneself as a moral individual to appear less bigoted before unloading discriminatory rhetoric (Monin &

Miller, 2001). There are four types of moral credentialing: social group membership, social activism, verbal activism, and the denial of prejudice. In Krumm and Corning (2008), the researchers found that using moral credentials was most effective when the user shared a social group with the observer of the rhetoric. Adelman and Dasgupta (2019) found that appealing to social group membership was a persuasive rhetoric strategy. It is apparent that TERFs use their identity as feminists to mask their blatant transphobic rhetoric; however, do they use other types of moral credentials, and are these moral credentials effective in persuading others?

Chapter 5

Conclusion

Influential people in our country are pushing a narrative that trans individuals are a threat to American culture. This narrative can range from the subtle reinforcement of the gender binary to what many interpret as a call for the genocide of trans people. The latter is not from a fringe reactionary group but by a speaker at one of the most popular conservative political events. A speaker at the 2023 Conservative Political Action Committee, Michael Knowles, said: “for the good of society...transgenderism must be eradicated from public life entirely – the whole preposterous ideology, at every level” (Wade & Weis, 2023, para. 2). In even the most generous interpretation, there is no way to eradicate transgender identity from our culture without threatening the lives of trans people. The most-watched newscaster in America, Tucker Carlson, repeatedly makes transphobic comments on air and hosts people who dehumanize trans individuals (Concha, 2020). According to GLAAD (n.d. -b), Carlson has referred to transgender children as grotesque and repeatedly spews falsehoods about gender-affirming healthcare research. Even progressive individuals like J. K. Rowling have made transphobic comments. In 2020, J. K. Rowling said:

If sex isn't real, there's no same-sex attraction. If sex isn't real, the lived reality of women globally is erased. I know and love trans people, but erasing the concept of sex removes the ability of many to meaningfully discuss their lives. It isn't hate to speak the truth. The idea that women like me, who've been empathetic to trans people for decades, feeling kinship because they're vulnerable in the same way as women - i.e., to male violence - 'hate' trans people because they think sex is real and has lived consequences - is a nonsense. I respect every trans person's right to live any way that feels authentic and

comfortable to them. I'd march with you if you were discriminated against on the basis of being trans. At the same time, my life has been shaped by being female. I do not believe it's hateful to say so.

When someone usually progressive on social issues takes an anti-trans stance, many more people will likely latch onto the idea. Some of the most influential celebrities from both sides of the political aisle are pushing wildly dangerous narratives about trans people. When there is bipartisan opposition to the transgender community, transphobia becomes more acceptable.

These narratives demonize transgender individuals and posit valuable human beings as cultural enemies. As a result, there has been an increase in anti-trans violence, often resulting in homicide. The increase in anti-trans violence over the last few years reflects an issue we must address. Recall that transgender individuals are four times more likely to be victims of violent crime than cisgender individuals (Flores et al., 2021). After the American Medical Association called the wave of violence against trans women an epidemic, 45 trans people were murdered the following year (Hall & López, 2021; Heller, 2019). Most of these deaths were Black trans women. Men have inflicted a wave of violence against trans women, and research is needed to understand what produces this alarming phenomenon. Once there is literature on the topic, we can work toward a solution that ends the disproportionate homicide rate of trans women, especially trans women of color.

Because of the dominant cultural narrative against trans individuals, U.S. states are creating legislation making it more difficult or illegal to seek gender-affirming healthcare. There has been a decrease in the civil rights of trans individuals in recent years. As of March 2023, there are 428 anti-LGBTQ bills currently in state legislatures across the nation, according to the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU; n.d.). These anti-trans bills include limiting the ability

to update gender information on documents, undermining nondiscrimination employment laws, limiting transgender people's access to standard healthcare, restricting transgender access to public accommodations, censoring school discussions that mention anything about LGBTQ people, restricting trans students from competing in sports, and forcing teachers to out students to their parents if they are unaware of their gender identity (ACLU, n.d.). We are at a pivotal point in the trans civil rights movement where it has become increasingly more difficult to be trans as their existence is being questioned and, in some states, even criminalized.

There has been little research on anti-trans attitudes, and we feel that it is a necessary step toward understanding and deconstructing transphobia. Transphobia is not a single-gender issue; it is not just men or women who perpetuate anti-trans attitudes. However, there appears to be a gendered component to transphobia, so we looked at hegemonic masculinity and radical feminism. Despite the limitations of our study, it is a crucial step in understanding how transphobia manifests and what other beliefs are associated with transphobia.

Appendix A

Informed Consent Form

The Pennsylvania State University

Title of Project: Ongoing Political and Social Attitudes

Principal Investigator: Nathaniel Schermerhorn

Telephone Number: 814-863-1749

Faculty Advisor: Dr. Theresa Vescio

Faculty Advisor Telephone Number: 814-863-1714

You are being invited to volunteer to participate in a research study. This summary explains information about this research.

- The purpose of this study is to see how people with different backgrounds react to and view different social roles.
- You will be asked to answer a short set of questions in which you identify whether you agree or disagree with various statements. You will be asked a short set of questions about your political identity and beliefs. Finally, we will ask you to provide us with simple demographic information.
- No information links your identity to your responses, and the Principal Investigator and Research Associates will keep all data.
- Information collected in this project may be shared with other researchers, but we will not share any information that could identify you.

- If you participate on MTurk or Prolific, you will be compensated for the amount listed in the posting.
- If you are participating through the Psychology Subject Pool, you will earn course credit for participating as specified in the syllabus provided by your instructor. Alternative means are also available for earning this course credit as specified in your syllabus.

If you have questions, complaints, or concerns about the research, contact Nathaniel Schermerhorn at 814-863-1749 or Dr. Theresa Vescio at 814-863-1714. If you have questions regarding your rights as a research subject or concerns regarding your privacy, you may contact the Office for Research Protections at 814-865-1775.

Your participation is voluntary, and you may decide to stop at any time. You do not have to answer any questions that you do not want to answer.

Your participation implies your voluntary consent to participate in the research.

Appendix B

Transgender Attitudes and Beliefs Scale

Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with the following statements:

(1 = *strongly disagree*, 5 = *strongly agree*). R = *reverse-coded*.

Interpersonal Discomfort

1. I would feel comfortable having a transgender person in my home for a meal. (R)
2. I would be comfortable being in a group of transgender individuals. (R)
3. I would be uncomfortable if my boss were transgender.
4. I would feel uncomfortable working closely with a transgender person in my workplace.
5. If I knew someone was transgender, I would still be open to forming a friendship with that person. (R)
6. I would feel comfortable if my next-door neighbor was transgender. (R)
7. If my child brought home a transgender friend, I would be comfortable having that person in my home. (R)
8. I would be upset if someone I'd known for a long time revealed that they used to be another gender.
9. If I knew someone was transgender, I would tend to avoid that person.
10. If a transgender person asked to be my housemate, I would want to decline.
11. I would feel uncomfortable finding out that I was alone with a transgender person. (R)
12. I would be comfortable working for a company that welcomes transgender individuals. (R)
13. If someone I knew revealed to me that they were transgender, I would probably no longer be as close to that person.

14. If I found out my doctor was transgender, I would want to seek another doctor.

Gender Binary Beliefs

15. A person who is not sure about being male or female is mentally ill.

16. Whether a person is male or female depends upon whether they feel male or female. (R)

17. If you are born male, nothing you do will change that.

18. Whether a person is male or female depends strictly on their external sex parts.

19. Humanity is only male or female; there is nothing in between.

20. If a transgender person identifies as female, she should have the right to marry a man. (R)

21. Although most of humanity is male or female, there are also identities in between. (R)

22. All adults should identify as either male or female.

23. A child born with ambiguous sex parts should be assigned to be either male or female.

24. A person does not have to be clearly male or female to be normal and healthy. (R)

Human Value

25. Transgender individuals are valuable human beings regardless of how I feel about transgenderism. (R)

26. Transgender individuals should be treated with the same respect and dignity as any other person. (R)

27. Transgender individuals should have the same access to housing as any other person. (R)

28. Transgender individuals are human beings with their own struggles, just like the rest of us. (R)

29. Transgender individuals should have the same access to housing as any other person. (R)

Appendix C

Male Role Norms Scale

Please indicate your agreement with each statement using the scale provided.

(1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*). R = *reverse-coded*.

Power/Status

1. Success in his work has to be man's central goal in this life.
2. The best way for a young man to get the respect of other people is to get a job, take it seriously, and do it well.
3. A man owes it to his family to work at the best-paying job possible.
4. A man should generally work overtime to make more money whenever he can.
5. A man always deserves the respect of his wife and children.
6. It is essential for a man always to have the respect and admiration of everyone who knows him.
7. A man should never back down in the face of trouble.
8. I always like a man who's totally sure of himself.
9. A man should always think everything out coolly and logically and have rational reasons for everything he does.
10. A man should always try to project an air of confidence even if he doesn't feel confident inside.
11. A man must stand on his own two feet and never depend on others to help him do things.

Toughness

12. When a man feels a little pain, he should try not to let it show very much.

13. Nobody respects a man very much who frequently talks about his worries, fears, and problems.
14. A good motto for a man would be, “When the going gets tough, the tough get going.”
15. A young man should try to become physically tough, even if he’s not big.
16. Fists are sometimes the only way to get out of a bad situation.
17. A real man enjoys a bit of danger now and then.
18. In some situations, a man should be ready to use his fists, even if his wife or girlfriend would object.
19. A man should always refuse to get into a fight, even if there seems to be no way to avoid it. (R)

Anti-Femininity

20. It bothers me when a man does something that I consider “feminine.”
21. A man whose hobbies are cooking, sewing, and going to the ballet probably wouldn’t be my kind of guy.
22. It is a bit embarrassing for a man to have a job that is usually filled by a woman.
23. Unless he were desperate, I would probably advise a man to keep looking rather than accept a job as a secretary.
24. If I heard about a man who was a hairdresser and a gourmet cook, I might wonder how masculine he was.
25. I think it’s extremely good for a boy to be taught how to cook, sew, clean the house, and care for younger children.
26. I might find it a little silly or embarrassing if a male friend of mine cried over a sad love scene in a movie. (R)

Appendix D

Trait Anger Scale

Several statements that people have used to describe themselves are given below. Read the statements below and indicate how you *generally feel*. (1 = *almost never*, 4 = *almost always*)

1. I have a fiery temper.
2. I am quick-tempered.
3. I am a hotheaded person.
4. I get annoyed when I am singled out for correction.
5. It makes me furious when I am criticized in front of others.
6. I get angry when others' mistakes slow me down.
7. I feel infuriated when I do a good job and get a poor evaluation.
8. I fly off the handle.
9. I feel annoyed when I am not given recognition for doing good work.
10. People who think they are always right irritate me.
11. When I get mad, I say nasty things.
12. I feel irritated.
13. I feel angry.
14. When I get frustrated, I feel like hitting someone.
15. It makes my blood boil when I am pressured.

NOTE: Anger Temperament Subscale: 1, 2, 3 & 8; Anger Reaction Subscale: 5, 6, 7 & 9. A short form consists of items 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11 & 14.

Appendix E

Trait Anxiety Scale

Several statements that people have used to describe themselves are given below. Read the statements below and indicate how you generally feel. (1 = *almost never*, 4 = *almost always*).

R = *reverse-coded*.

1. I feel pleasant. (R)
2. I feel nervous and restless.
3. I feel satisfied with myself. (R)
4. I wish I could be as happy as others seem to be.
5. I feel like a failure.
6. I feel rested. (R)
7. I am "calm, cool, and collected." (R)
8. I feel that difficulties are piling up, so I cannot overcome them.
9. I worry too much over something that really doesn't matter.
10. I am happy. (R)
11. I have disturbing thoughts.
12. I lack self-confidence.
13. I feel secure. (R)
14. I make decisions easily. (R)
15. I feel inadequate.
16. I am content. (R)
17. Some unimportant thought runs through my mind and bothers me.
18. I take disappointments so keenly that I can't put them out of my mind.

19. I am a steady person. (R)

20. I get in a state of tension or turmoil as I think over my recent concerns and interests.

Appendix F

Self-Esteem Scale

Below is a list of statements dealing with your general feelings about yourself.

(1 = *strongly agree*, 4 = *strongly disagree*). R = *reverse-coded*.

1. On the whole, I am satisfied with myself. (R)
2. At times, I think I am no good at all.
3. I feel that I have a number of good qualities. (R)
4. I am able to do things as well as most other people. (R)
5. I feel I don't have much to be proud of.
6. I certainly feel useless at times.
7. I feel that I'm a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with others. (R)
8. I wish I could have more respect for myself.
9. All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure.
10. I take a positive attitude toward myself. (R)

Appendix G

Short Scale of Attitudes towards Feminism

Please select the response that most closely aligns with your opinion on each statement.

(1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*). R = *reverse-coded*.

1. Women have the right to compete with men in every sphere of activity. (R)
2. As head of the household, the father should have final authority over his children.
3. The unmarried mother is morally a greater failure than the unmarried father.
4. A woman who refuses to give up her job to move with her husband would be to blame if the marriage broke up.
5. A woman who refuses to bear children has failed in her duty to her husband.
6. Women should not be permitted to hold political offices that involve great responsibility.
7. A woman should be expected to change her name when she marries.
8. Whether or not they realize it, most women are exploited by men. (R)
9. Women who join the Women's Movement are typically frustrated and unattractive people who feel they lose out by the current rules of society.
10. A working woman who sends her six-month-old baby to a daycare center is a bad mother.
11. To be truly womanly, a woman should gracefully accept chivalrous attention from men.
12. It is absurd to regard obedience as a wifely virtue. (R)
13. The "clinging vine" wife is justified, provided she clings sweetly enough to please her husband.
14. Realistically speaking, most progress so far has been made by men, and we can expect it to continue that way.
15. One should never trust a woman's account of another woman.

16. Women should be appointed to police forces with the same duties as men. (R)
17. Women are more unpredictable than men.
18. It is all right for women to work, but men will always be the basic breadwinners.
19. A woman shouldn't expect to go to the same places or have the same freedom of action as a man.
20. Profanity sounds worse, generally coming from a woman.
21. Parental authority and responsibility for the discipline of the children should be equally divided between husband and wife. (R)
22. No woman is too cultured to take complete responsibility for housework.
23. It is unjust to say that women think in more personal terms than men do. (R)
24. In reality, most men are at least unconscious sexists. (R)
25. Women are fine, but men can only relax in the company of other men.
26. A woman doesn't have to learn to be a mother; she has an instinct.
27. Men and women should be paid the same for the same work regardless of whether they have a family to support. (R)

Appendix H

Islamophobia Scale

Please select the response that most closely aligns with your opinion of each statement.

(1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*).

Affective-Behavioral

1. I would support any policy that would stop building new mosques (Muslim places of worship) in the US.
2. If possible, I would avoid going to places where Muslims would be.
3. I would become extremely uncomfortable speaking with a Muslim.
4. To be safe, it is important to stay away from places where Muslims could be.
5. I dread the thought of having a professor that is Muslim.
6. If I could, I would avoid contact with Muslims.
7. If I could, I would live in a place where there were no Muslims.
8. Muslims should not be allowed to work where many Americans gather, such as airports.

Cognitive

9. Islam is a dangerous religion.
10. The religion of Islam supports acts of violence.
11. Islam is Anti-American.
12. Islam supports terrorist acts.
13. Islam is an evil religion.
14. Islam is a religion of hate.
15. I believe that Muslims support the killings of all non-Muslims.
16. Muslims want to take over the world.

Appendix I

ESS Immigration Scale

Reject

To what extent do you think the United States should allow people...

(1 = *many*, 4 = *none*)

1. ...of the same race or ethnic group as most American people to come and live here?
2. ... of a different race or ethnic group from most American people to come and live here?
3. ... from the richer countries in Europe to come and live here?
4. ... from the poorer countries in Europe to come and live here?
5. ... from the richer countries outside of Europe to come and live here?

Conditions

Please tell me how important you think each of these things should be in deciding whether someone born, brought up, and living outside the United States should be able to come and live here. How important should it be for them to...

(1 = *extremely important*, 7 = *extremely unimportant*). R = *reverse-coded*.

6. ... have good educational qualifications? (R)
7. ... have close family living here? (R)
8. ... be able to speak English? (R)
9. ... have work skills that the United States needs? (R)

Cultural Threat/Economic Threat (CT: 10, 11, & 14; ET: 12, 13, 15, & 16)

Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with the following statements.

(1 = *strongly agree*, 5 = *strongly disagree*). R = *reverse-coded*.

10. It is better for a country if almost everyone shares the same customs and traditions. (R)

11. It is better for a country if there are a variety of different religions.
12. If people who have come to live and work here are unemployed for a long period, they should be made to leave. (R)
13. People who come to live and work here generally harm the economic prospects of the poor more than the rich. (R)

Would you say that the United States cultural life is generally undermined or enriched by people coming to live here from other countries? (R)

1. Cultural life is strongly undermined.
2. Cultural life is undermined.
3. Cultural life is somewhat undermined.
4. Cultural life is somewhat enriched.
5. Cultural life is enriched.
6. Cultural life is strongly enriched.

Would you say that people who come to live here generally take jobs away from workers in the United States or generally help to create new jobs? (R)

1. Take many jobs away.
2. Take some jobs away.
3. Create some jobs.
4. Create many jobs.

Would you say it is generally bad or good for the United States economy that people come to live here from other countries? (R)

1. Really bad for the economy.
2. Bad for the economy.

3. Somewhat bad for the economy.
4. Somewhat good for the economy.
5. Good for the economy.
6. Really good for the economy.

Appendix J

Racism Scale

Please select the response that most closely aligns with your opinion of each statement.

(1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*). R = *reverse-coded*.

Pro-Black Attitudes

1. Black people do not have the same employment opportunities that Whites do. (R)
2. It's surprising that Black people do as well as they do, considering all the obstacles they face. (R)
3. Too many Blacks still lose out on jobs and promotions because of their skin color. (R)
4. Most big corporations in America are interested in treating their Black and White employees equally.
5. Most Blacks are no longer discriminated against.
6. Blacks have more to offer than they have been allowed to show. (R)
7. The typical urban ghetto public school is not as good as it should be in providing equal opportunities for Blacks. (R)
8. This country would be better off if it were more willing to assimilate the good things in Black culture. (R)
9. Sometimes Black job seekers should be given special consideration in hiring. (R)
10. Many Whites show a real lack of understanding of the problems that Blacks face. (R)

Anti-Black Attitudes

11. The root cause of most of the social and economic ills of Blacks is the weakness and instability of the Black family.

12. Although there are exceptions, Black urban neighborhoods don't seem to have strong community organization or leadership.
13. On the whole, Black people don't stress education and training.
14. Many Black teenagers don't respect themselves or anyone else.
15. Blacks don't seem to use opportunities to own and operate little shops or businesses.
16. Very few Black people are just looking for a free ride. (R)
17. Black children would do better in school if their parents had better attitudes about learning.
18. Blacks should take the available jobs and work up to better ones.
19. One of the biggest problems for many Blacks is their lack of self-respect.
20. Most Blacks have the drive and determination to get ahead. (R)

Appendix K

Aggrieved Entitlement Scale

Rate your agreement with each statement. You may skip any questions you do not want to answer. (1 = *strongly disagree*, 5 = *strongly agree*).

1. It is my birthright to achieve greatness.
2. Women and minorities have more rights.
3. White men are the ones who are truly persecuted in today's culture.
4. Reverse sexism and reverse racism are real and valid problems that I or people I know often deal with.
5. Our government should prioritize helping real citizens first instead of immigrants who offer nothing of value to our country.
6. If our culture weren't so politically correct, I would have achieved great things.
7. Race and gender quotas in jobs and universities are taking jobs away from well-deserving white men.
8. I believe I have been cheated out of opportunities that have been given to undeserving minorities instead so the employer can appear to be politically correct.
9. I believe that the invasion of immigrants threatens our way of life.

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Academic Vita

Raymond French

EDUCATION

- B.A. in Psychology & B.A. in Sociology** Fall 2019 – Present
The Pennsylvania State University, University Park, PA
Schreyer Honors College
Thesis Title: *Hegemonic Masculinity and Radical Feminism: How Gendered Ideologies Are Associated with Transphobia*
Advisor: Dr. Theresa K. Vescio
- Paterno Fellows Program, College of the Liberal Arts Fall 2019 – Present

HONORS AND AWARDS

- Dean's List Honoree in the College of Liberal Arts, 7 semesters Fall 2019 – Present
Psi Chi National Honor Society – Penn State Chapter Fall 2022 – Present
Phi Beta Kappa National Honor Society – Penn State Chapter Fall 2022 – Present
Phi Eta Sigma National Honor Society – Penn State Chapter Fall 2019 – Present
- George H. Deike Memorial Scholarship - \$5,500 Fall 2022 – Present
Poole Family Scholarship - \$4,000 Fall 2022 – Present
Werber Honors Scholarship - \$4,000 Fall 2022 – Present
Weiss Breakthrough Scholarship - \$38,000 Fall 2019 – Present
Barry Directorship in the College of Liberal Arts - \$2,000 Summer 2022 – Present
Whole World Scholarship - \$1,050 Summer 2022 – Present
Janis Jacobs Study Abroad Fund - \$500 Summer 2022 – Present
Education Abroad Scholarship Fund - \$500 Summer 2022 – Present
Alumni Association Scholarship - \$3,000 Fall 2019 – Spring 2021

RESEARCH EXPERIENCE

- Research Assistant**, Gender, Power, & Privilege Lab Spring 2021 – Present
• Social Psychology Lab
Director: Dr. Theresa K. Vescio
The Pennsylvania State University
- Served as an experimenter, using SONA, posting studies, and granting credit hours
 - Designed studies to investigate correlational relationships between social attitudes
 - Collaborated with other research assistants, graduate students, and the research advisor to construct studies and qualitative surveys
 - Clean, code, and recode data for statistical analysis
 - Analyzed data via SPSS software:
 - ANOVA (Analysis of Variance)
 - Correlational analyses
 - Bootstrapping Hayes Model

CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

French, R., & Vescio, T. K. (2023, April). *Moral Credentialing and TERF Rhetoric*. Poster presented at the annual meeting of the Psi Chi Undergraduate Research Conference, University Park, PA.

French, R., Schermerhorn, N. E. C., Lovisky, A., & Vescio, T. K. (2022, April). *A Correlational Investigation into the Relation between Masculinity, Transphobia, and other Prejudiced Attitudes*. Poster presented at the annual meeting of the Psi Chi Undergraduate Research Conference, University Park, PA.

French, R., Zipfel, M., & Hilands, H. (2021, April). *Attitudes Towards the COVID-19 Vaccine*. Poster presented at the annual meeting of the Psi Chi Undergraduate Research Conference, University Park, PA.

VOLUNTEER EXPERIENCE

ServeState, University Park, PA Fall 2022 – Present

- Penn State Hillel, State College, PA
 - Prepared food and served meals to over 100 Jewish students and faculty
 - Performed weekly maintenance duties before and after Shabbat dinner
- Lions Pantry, State College, PA
 - Helped to organize food and toiletry donations to the local Lions Pantry
 - Collected a total of 1000 items to donate to the Lions Pantry

Men's Leadership, Gloucester Township, NJ Fall 2018 – Spring 2019

- **Volunteer Reader**, Erial Elementary School, Erial, NJ
 - Read to 3rd graders every Thursday afternoon
- **Mentor**, Timber Creek High School, Erial NJ
 - Mentored three students throughout senior year
 - Aided mentees in keeping a schedule
 - Tutored mentees in history, math, and art class

SKILLS

- Google Workspace
- Microsoft Office
- SPSS
- R Studio
- Qualtrics
- Zotero
- SONA