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# Effects of Gender Norms & Heterosexism on Adoptions & Disgust

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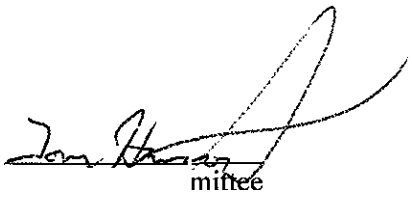

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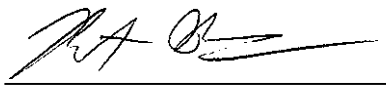

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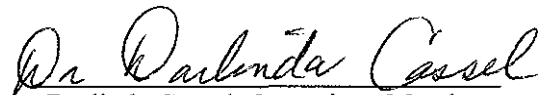

Dr. Darlinda Cassel, Committee Member

Abstract

Heterosexism affects both individual and societal prejudices, leading to discrimination based on one's sexual orientation. In the following studies, it was shown that level of heterosexism predicted homosexual discrimination in adoptions. Along with heterosexism, gender norms also play a role in prejudice and discrimination. The emotion of disgust has been shown to overgeneralize into perceptions of outgroups and moral decisions, including negative attitudes towards homosexuals. The following three studies examined the influence of heterosexism on adoption decisions. Studies Two and Three also examined the influence of gender norms on adoption decisions, and Study Three included a behavioral measure that examined the influence of gender norms and heterosexism on implicit disgust levels. Results indicated that heterosexism and gender norms affected homosexual discrimination but not implicit disgust levels. Additional analyses indicated that a stereotype suppression/rebound effect occurred in Studies Two and Three.

*Keywords:* Gender Norms, Heterosexism, Disgust, Same-Sex Families, Adoption, Stereotype Rebound Effect

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Table of Contents

List of Tables

Study One



Study Two



Study Three

List of Figures

Study One



Study Two



Study Three

## Chapter 1: Effects of Gender Norms & Heterosexism on Adoptions & Disgust

When one hears the term family, the image of a traditional heterosexual family normally comes to mind: a married couple, male and female, with their own biological child. However, according to the U.S. Census Bureau, as of the year 2000, less than 24% of homes were composed of the traditional family as described above (ACLU, 2006) while approximately 30% of the gay and lesbian community were in committed relationships (Smith & Gates, 2001). Therefore, in today's society, families are extremely diverse and some may even look very non-traditional. These nontraditional families may include lesbian mothers and gay fathers.

As of September 30, 2012, approximately 102,000 children in the U.S. child welfare system were waiting to be adopted (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2013). It is practical to assume that these non-traditional families can help lessen the adoption need that exists in the U.S. Nonetheless, gay and lesbian couples are an untapped resource due to legal bans, adoption agency policies, state and national laws, and other barriers to the adoption process (Shelley-Sirecei & Ciano-Boyce, 2002; Mallon, 2011). They continue to struggle with social biases, public policies, and legal battles that hinder them from creating a family (Shelley-Sireci & Ciano-Boyce, 2002; Herek, 2006). This discrimination is not limited to the United States. Recent legislation in Russia bans foreign same-sex couples from adopting Russian children (Black & Eschenko, 2014).

The Donaldson Institute (2011) reported that 25% of the rejections given by adoption agencies were due to the sexual orientation of the couple. However, research shows that children who are raised by same-sex parents are no worse than children who are raised by heterosexual parents (APA, 2005; Averett, Nalavany & Ryan, 2009; Perrin et al., 2013; Tasker, 2010). Being raised in a non-traditional family does not increase the number of negative events a child may experience (APA, 2005; Anderson, 2008; Averett, 2009; Boswell v Boswell, 1998; Herek, 2006;

Lamb, 2014; Perrin et al., 2013; Potter, 2012; Tasker, 2010). Even so, same-sex couples are still being discriminated against in adoptions. One reason could be heterosexism, which includes the compliance of strict gender roles, enforcement of traditional family structures, and granting special privileges to heterosexuals. Hence, it might be the heterosexist beliefs of adoption professionals that are hindering same-sex couples in the adoption process.

Heterosexism may affect implicit levels of disgust; thereby affecting adoption decisions. The emotion of disgust is an evolutionary defense mechanism, acting as a deterrent from harmful substances. Disgust has been shown to overgeneralize into perceptions of outgroups and moral decisions, including negative attitudes towards homosexuals. This phenomenon has been studied with outgroup prejudices, including the effects of hand washing on levels of racism. The following studies investigated how priming gender norms, heterosexism and implicit disgust affect decisions in adoption cases.

## Chapter 2: Heterosexism

### Definition and Components of Heterosexism

Heterosexism is a term that is not synonymous to homophobia. Homophobia refers to the irrational fear an individual harbors about homosexuals whereas heterosexism refers to the process that grants special societal privileges and rights to heterosexuals over homosexuals (McGeorge & Carlson, 2011). According to this definition, homosexuals are a deviation from an ideological norm, and through this specific process, are denied rights, harassed, victimized, and stigmatized (Silverschanz et al., 2008). An example of heterosexism is the concept of a "normal couple" or a proper "family." Heterosexist attitudes are thought to be on a continuum, so one's heterosexist attitudes may not be as extreme to be labeled as homophobic.

Heterosexist attitudes are based on an internal belief that heterosexuality should be the norm and is the only proper way to live. Therefore, any deviation from this norm is assumed to be morally wrong and not natural (McGeorge & Carlson, 2011). These beliefs are not based on any scientific evidence (Sánchez et al., 2010; Boswell v Boswell, 1998; McGeorge & Carlson, 2011) and are comprised of three major components.

The first component is having heteronormative assumptions. These assumptions are based on expectations that are automatic and unconscious, which reinforce heterosexual attitudes and relationships (McGeorge & Carlson, 2011). Through these unconscious assumptions, a society is formed where only heterosexual couples are seen in public and, therefore, are considered to be natural.

The second component is institutional heterosexism. These are the policies and actions of various social institutions, which include government, education, health care, and the economy. By either having these policies in place or allowing these actions to pervade the institution, these various institutions are either directly or indirectly promoting a heterosexual lifestyle, thereby

excluding all other lifestyles (McGeorge & Carlson, 2011). Examples are the ban of same-sex marriage (Smith, 2005) and the health care system in regards to lesbians (Saulnier, 2002).

The final component of heterosexism is the existence of heterosexual privilege. McGeorge and Carlson (2011) state that these privileges are "unearned civil rights, societal benefits, and advantages granted to individuals based solely on their sexual orientation" (p. 15). Examples of heterosexual privilege include showing public affection with a romantic partner without fear of ridicule or harassment, displaying pictures of a significant other in a public setting such as an office work space, and not being fired for one's sexual orientation. The intangible benefits are an increase of self-worth of the individual by acceptance of the dominant group and being a part of the norm. Hence, since same-sex couples are viewed to be a deviation from this norm, they would not benefit from this increase in self-worth, and many times have low feelings of self-worth as a result (McGeorge & Carlson, 2011).

These attitudes can be summarized as a preference, conscious or unconscious, for opposite-sex relationships and sexuality. A significant aspect of heterosexism is in the compliance to strict gender roles and the enforcement of traditional family structures, with an operational definition of a traditional family structure that includes a male as a father and a female as a mother in the family unit (Vincent, Parrott, & Peterson, 2011). It is interesting to note that homosexuals may also fall on the heterosexist spectrum, as some homosexuals may still believe firmly in traditional family structures and typical gender roles as a result of experiencing heterosexist bias (Burn, Kadlec & Rexer, 2005).

Gender also plays a role with heterosexist attitudes. Herek (1988) conducted several studies using a scale called the Attitudes Towards Lesbians and Gays (ATLG; Herek, 1988). The scale is composed of 20 questions and uses a 5-point Likert scale to measure the amount of

heterosexist attitudes in an individual. The results indicate that, compared to heterosexual females, heterosexual men hold more negative attitudes towards homosexuals. Also, heterosexual men held more negative attitudes towards gay men than towards lesbians. Heterosexual females' attitudes showed the same relationship, holding slightly more negative attitudes towards lesbians than towards gay men, but the difference was not significant. This gender difference results from several different variables, including holding traditional values regarding gender norms and social mores.

**Implicit and Explicit Attitudes**

Attitudes are defined as evaluations and judgments placed on objects (Fabrigar & Wegener, 2010). These attitudes can vary in valence and change over time. There is a distinction between conscious and unconscious attitudes, termed explicit and implicit attitudes. Explicit attitudes are the attitudes that we are consciously aware of and are products of evaluation and introspection (Nosek, 2007). A verbal report can be given regarding the evaluation, controlling the expression of the attitude (Rydell et al., 2006). In contrast, implicit attitudes, attitudes that one is not consciously aware of, can be drawn upon without any thought (Nosek, 2007). These implicit attitudes are not accessible on a conscious level, and therefore cannot be controlled in the same manner as explicit attitudes (Rydell et al., 2006).

Research has shown that the valence between implicit and explicit attitudes is not always congruent (Rydell et al., 2006). Therefore a person can express a positive explicit attitude about a certain object while maintaining a negative implicit attitude about the same object. This inconsistency has been shown to come from different systems of reasoning. One system is referred to as the fast-learning system. This system is regarded as a higher-order level of cognition due to its reliance on logic and symbolic representation. Since explicit attitudes are

expressed due to the evaluations that are based on conscious thought, they are affected by information that is consciously accessible. Rehearsing this conscious evaluation process leads to increased availability of the explicit responses (Nosek, 2007).

The other reasoning system is referred to as the slow-learning system (Rydell et al., 2006). This system relies on associations formed between objects based on similarity, familiarity and functionality, and are strengthened over time. Implicit attitudes are judgments based on these associations. In some contexts, the implicit attitude is in direct contradiction to one's deliberated and endorsed explicit attitude (Nosek, 2007). Because of these different systems of reasoning, people can exhibit an explicit attitude that is distinctly different than the implicit attitude held.

Differing types of information will have different affects for explicit and implicit attitudes. Subliminal information can affect the valence of implicit attitudes while explicit attitudes can be affected by information received at the conscious level (Rydell et al., 2006). This is due to how the information received is processed via slow-learning or fast-learning systems.

Also, explicit attitudes are affected by self-presentation biases. Self-presentation bias influences how people present themselves to the social environment, being motivated to present a certain identity (Kim & Lee, 2011). This bias is regarded as a possible moderator for the relationship between implicit and explicit attitudes (Nosek, 2007). Other moderators include the amount of contact with an outgroup and the amount of knowledge of culture norms.

Studies have shown that attitudes affect outcomes from evaluative judgments in a variety of areas, processes and issues. Behavioral areas include the adherence of medication regimen (Rusch et al., 2009), spontaneity (Asendorpf, Banse, & Mucke, 2002), bullying (van Goethem, Scholte, & Wiers, 2010), and smoking (Chassin et al., 2010; Sherman et al, 2009). Decision-making processes are also affected, including managerial decisions based on business ethics

(Marquardt & Hoeger, 2008) and evaluations of brands and their products (Ratliff et al., 2012). Social issues exhibit the effects of attitudes, such as in the areas of racism (Payne et al., 2010; Sabin et al, 2009), ageism (de Paula Couto & Wentura, 2012; Lin, Bryant & Boldero, 2011), genderism (Rudman & Phelan, 2010; Steffens, Jelenec, & Noack, 2010), weightism (Budd et al., 2011; Roddy, Stewart & Barnes-Holmes, 2010) and heterosexism (Pichler, Arup, & Bruce, 2010).

**Explicit Heterosexism**

Explicit attitudes are typically measured using self-reports, and research has shown that explicit attitudes are moderated by motivation (Devine et al., 2002; Lemm, 2006). Motivation can either be internal or external. With internal motivation, the drive behind expressing a specific explicit attitude is the person's self-concept or identity, whereas external motivation hinges on the influence of outside factors. People who rate high on internal motivation tend to show less explicit prejudice due to the explicit attitude not being congruent with his identity. In contrast, people who rate high on external motivation only showed less explicit prejudice in a public situation, where outside factors were an influence.

Explicit heterosexism can be observed in a variety of situations, including institutional privileges, such as the ban of same-sex marriage in more than 50% of the United States (ProCon.org, 2015), and as well as other various societal privileges, such as the acceptance of public displays of affection (Prokupecz & Rosendale, 2013). Explicit heterosexism has also occurred within the medical community when Auto-Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) was originally labeled as GRID (Gay Related Immune Deficiency) (Richards & Rathbun, 1993). Also during this time homosexuality was labeled as a disorder in the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual (DSM), which was not removed until the seventh printing of the DSM-II in 1974 (Spitzer, 1981).

Recent evidence shows that this explicit bias is slowly decreasing, such as the repeal of 'Don't Ask, Don't Tell' (DADT) in 2010 (Stolberg, 2010) and the recent overturn of the Defense Of Marriage Act (DOMA) by the Federal Courts (Supreme Court, 2013).

**Implicit Heterosexism**

Research has shown that explicit attitudes towards homosexuals have become more favorable since the 1970s (Lemm, 2006). However, there is recent evidence of bias and prejudice in current society. As of October, 2013, only 17 of the 50 states in the United States have legalized same-sex marriage whereas 33 states have laws that make it illegal (ProCon.org, 2015). So if self-report measures have been showing a consistent trend in the reduction of attitudes towards sexual minorities, why is there still evidence that shows a bias is at play? This bias could be regarded as implicit heterosexism.

People who explicitly state that they harbor no prejudice towards non-heterosexuals may still show implicit bias (Lemm, 2006). As society progresses to become more egalitarian, people are becoming motivated to exhibit behaviors that line up with the ideals of acceptance and diversity. Even though one can state they support an egalitarian society and equality for all, they may harbor unconscious attitudes that are in conflict with their explicit attitude.

The motivation to display a certain attitude can either be internal or external. Internal motivation is when the person's self-concept is what drives them to be explicitly non-prejudice whereas external motivation is the driving force when the person is concerned with how society views them (Devine et al., 2002; Lemm, 2006). People who are high in internal motivation and low in external motivation show low instances of implicit prejudice.

The task of measuring implicit attitudes has led to the development of the Implicit Association Test (IAT; Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz, 1998). The IAT is used to detect bias

against outgroup members (Hatzenbuehler et al., 2009). Various situations include racism (Devin et al., 2002; Greenwald et al., 2009), genderism (Greenwald & Krieger, 2006; Rudman & Goodwin, 2004), weightism (Schwartz et al., 2012; Wang, Brownell, & Wadden, 2004) and anti-gay attitudes (Greenwald et al., 2009; Jellison, McConnell, & Gabriel, 2004). The IAT used in the anti-gay attitudes looks at the associations between good/bad and heterosexual/homosexual. This can be a good predictor of bias behavior in regards to sexual orientation, where a person can explicitly endorse and support non-heterosexuals while implicitly maintaining the belief that heterosexuality is what is normal and correct.

However there is research indicating that the IAT is not measuring unconscious evaluations but associations (Karpinski & Hilton, 2001). According to the environmental association model, the IAT measures associations between objects as opposed to an unconscious endorsement or rejection of the objects. One's responses to the IAT are influenced by the environment, showing what associations one has been exposed to in their environment. Using the IAT as an implicit attitude measure can be misleading and invalid. Hence other measures are needed to measure implicit attitudes, such as galvanic skin response, facial expressions and nonverbal behavior.

**Heterosexism's Effect on Children of Same-Sex Families**

The belief that a child raised in a same-sex environment wreaks havoc on the child is more rhetorical and not empirically sound (Ford, 2014; Somerville, 2007). The research about this topic indicates that it is a bit more complicated than a simple "good" or "bad" argument.

Current research indicates that there is a difference between children who are raised in same-sex homes when compared to heterosexual homes. Children who are raised in same-sex homes must deal with unique issues and challenges that children who are not raised in these

types of home do not have to face (Crouch et al., 2012; Lamb, 2014; Marks, 2012; Pennings, 2011; Tasker, 2010). Various studies have looked at these differences to determine if they are a detriment to the health of the child.

Children who were raised in a same-sex environment report having a positive and loving environment where they learned acceptance, tolerance, and support, thereby gaining a stronger appreciation for differences in others (Lamb, 2014). Children who are raised in a same-sex household have a more expansive view of what constitutes a family compared to children who are raised in a heterosexual household. Negative experiences regarding their non-traditional family did not originate from the home but from their peers' lack of acceptance. Some children reported teasing and bullying from their peers in relation to their non-traditional family (Crouch et al., 2012; Lamb, 2014; Pennings, 2011; Perrin et al., 2013). As the child progresses through adolescence, they experience some hardship in determining how to integrate their family into their personal identity (Lamb, 2014). They mention feeling especially different when they compare their family to heterosexual families, requiring them to constantly defend their family to their peers and the rest of society (Lamb, 2014; Pennings, 2011; Perrin et al., 2013). Hence any challenges these individuals had to face were not within the family but outside the family.

Challenges these children had to face were due to the heteronormative beliefs that society currently holds in regards to sexual orientation and family structure (Eggebeen, 2012; Lamb, 2014; Pennings, 2011; Perrin et al., 2013). One key aspect is the legalization of marriage (Lamb, 2014; Pennings, 2011; Perrin et al., 2013). Before 2013 only a third of the United States had legalized gay marriage while several other countries around the world have recognized marriage equality, including Argentina, Belgium, Canada, Norway, Portugal, and Sweden (Perrin et al., 2013). Various studies indicate that a particular hardship children within nontraditional families

have to endure is the need to answer for their same-sex parents' relationship, which is regarded as not being legitimate due to same-sex marriage bans (Lamb, 2014; Pennings, 2011; Perrin et al., 2013). Regardless of this, children raised in a same-sex environment grew up to be healthy, well-adjusted individuals who functioned normally in society (Eggebeen, 2012; Lamb, 2014; Perrin et al., 2013; Tasker, 2010).

On the other side, some research refutes the claim, stating that differences do exist between children in same-sex families and children in heterosexual families (Allen, Pakaluk, & Price, 2013; Marks, 2012; Tasker, 2010). However, these differences exist between adopted children in same-sex homes and biological children raised in heterosexual homes (Crouch et al., 2012; Marks, 2012; Rosenfield, 2013; Tasker, 2010). Other studies controlled for these differences in the home environment by only comparing adopted children from same-sex homes with adopted children from heterosexual homes. These studies revealed no significant differences between these two types of homes (Crouch et al., 2012; Rosenfield, 2013; Tasker, 2010).

Besides the lack of controlling for the home environment, the refuting studies based their results on only one moment in time. The researchers only examined the transition period when the child was being adopted into their new family (Eggebeen, 2012; Potter, 2012).When one includes longitudinal data, the differences are no longer there: there are no significant negative differences in areas such as academic achievement, health, or well-being between adopted children in same-sex families than children adopted into heterosexual families (Crouch et al., 2012; Eggebeen, 2012; Potter, 2012. This includes a short-term timeframe as well as the long-term, well into adulthood. Hence any child is expected to perform poorly during the course of a

major life transition, regardless if they are being adopted into a new family, moving to a new home, starting a new school, etc. (Eggebeen, 2012; Potter, 2012).

**Heterosexism's Effect on Same-Sex Adoptions**

The pervading negativity towards lesbians and gay men has hindered the adoption process for same-sex couples, creating a tremendous barrier that these couples must overcome in order to start a family. An underlying attitude permeates throughout the child welfare system of the belief that these non-traditional couples are unfit to raise children, even though adoption agencies profess to agree with the research that lesbian and gay parents are comparable to heterosexual parents (Ausbrooks & Russell, 2011). As reported by the Donaldson Institute (2006), of the adoption agencies surveyed, 25% of the rejections were due to sexual orientation. These rejections are solely dependent upon the social workers on the case. These workers may or may not reflect the agencies' policies regarding the sexual orientation of potential adoptive parents. Therefore, the personal beliefs and attitudes of these workers guide rejections. (Ausbrooks & Russell, 2011). Their decisions can be affected by heterosexist attitudes.

Perhaps heterosexist opinions of adoption professionals are a hindrance to the same-sex couple in the adoption process, even if the adoption agency has non-discriminatory policies in place (Ryan, 2000). Explicit heterosexism can be exhibited by the outright rejection solely based on the couple's sexual orientation. Implicit heterosexism can be exhibited by the preference for heterosexual couples while explicitly giving other reasons (such as money or personality) for why heterosexual couples are chosen over same-sex couples. If heterosexism is the case, the attitudes of adoption professionals could predict discrimination against homosexuals in adoptions.

## Chapter 3: Gender Norms

### Previous Research using Priming Techniques

Priming is the process that uses associations between stored information and present stimuli. Information, represented in the memory as nodes, is activated by adjoining nodes (Sternberg, 2009). This activation process is called the priming effect and the adjoining nodes are called primes. Priming occurs when recognition of a present target is affected by exposure to a previous stimulus that is similar in nature. The priming effect is strengthened by repeated and consistent presentation of the stimulus, causing greater recognition of the present stimuli.

Priming can occur both explicitly and implicitly (Sternberg, 2009). Explicit priming occurs when the person is aware of the prime being presented, registering in the conscious. Implicit priming occurs when the prime is presented in one of two ways: either at a low intensity with other stimuli present which distracts conscious awareness from the prime, or the prime is too brief for conscious registration. Therefore implicit primes are registered in the subconscious.

A variety of priming techniques are used in experimental research. One priming technique used in cognitive psychology is sequential priming (Voss et al., 2013). This technique is used to determine the associations within semantic memory, to study subliminal semantic processing, and to analyze mental processing of attitudes, prejudice, and stereotypes. Through prior research, sequential priming has been shown that a response to a current stimulus can be influenced by a previously exposed prime stimulus, regardless if there is an association or not between the two. However, responses are quicker and more accurate if there is a relation between the prime and stimulus. Various relations include associations, semantics, similarity and function.

Another priming technique is affective priming (Skandrani-Marzouki, Marzouki, & Joule, 2012). This technique shows how the emotional strength of primed stimuli affects recognition and association of target stimuli. Primed stimuli can be pictures or words. Many are

not aware of the influence the prime has on their emotional state and subsequent behavior. Research has consistently shown that when emotional primes are presented subliminally, it can have an effect on social behavior, even if this behavior is not directly connected to the prime itself. This supports the concept that there are cognitive and affective processes that influence perception and behavior of which people are not consciously aware.

Past research has shown that priming social norms, stereotypes, and emotions have an unconscious effect on the person's behavior (Saroglou, Corneille, & Cappellen, 2009). For example, being primed with words that activate stereotypes affiliated with the elderly has an effect on how fast one walks (Saroglou, Corneille, & Cappellen, 2009) or being primed by holding either a hot or cold cup of coffee affects one's view of a stranger's persona (either warm and generous or cold and unfeeling) (Johnson, Rowatt, & LaBouff, 2010). Other examples include voting inside a school building affecting one's support of a school funding project, being primed with "rude" words affecting the number of interruptions a person makes during a conversation, and being primed with altruistic words causing one to be more helpful (Johnson, Rowatt, & LaBouff, 2010).

Priming studies indicate that religiosity influences social behavioral schemas (Saroglou, Corneille, & Cappellen, 2009).This includes submissive behaviors in intragroup relations as well as aggressive behaviors in intergroup relations, particularly with outgroups that are not part of the social norm (Johnson, Rowatt, & LaBouff, 2010; Saroglou et al., 2009). Therefore religiosity promotes prejudice and racism by influencing these social schemas. However, research has been inconclusive in regards to whether these effects occur only in religious participants or among all people, regardless of religiosity (Saroglou, Corneille, & Cappellen, 2009). Research indicates certain aspects of religiosity priming elicit responses only from religious participants while other

aspects elicit responses from all participants. The universal aspects of religion are shared with religious and non-religious, which can be activated via priming, drawing out responses regardless of religious background.

**Gender Norms**

Society uses gender as a categorization tool via gender stereotypes (Bigler, 1995). These stereotypes are developed through the interactions between the environment and cognitive mechanisms, influencing explicit as well as implicit attitudes about gender. These schemas are learned early on in children. Once these associations have been established, they are strengthened by the use of these categorization tools even when the use is not outright explicit (Bigler, 1995; Rudman & Phelan, 2010). A person's implicit gender stereotypes have an effect on various perceptions, including roles, personality traits, and certain abilities of others (Bigler, 1995; Rudman & Phelan, 2010). These associations become automatic and implicit, even if the person explicitly states otherwise (Rudman & Phelan, 2010).

Recent studies have shown that children who grow up in a same-sex household had less-strict gender stereotypes when compared to children raised in a heterosexual household (Bigler, 1995; Bigler & Liben, 2007; Goldberg, Kashy & Smith, 2012). It was noted that there is more pressure to gender conformity in heterosexual families than in other nontraditional families, specifically within the relationship between the child and the heterosexual father (Tasker, 2010). Other studies have shown how environmental factors can influence gender perception and stereotypes. One such study showed how the implicit use of gender as a classification tool in the classroom reinforces children's implicit gender stereotypes (Bigler, 1995). The results also indicate that gender as a classification tool not only reinforces implicit gender stereotypes but also ingroup favoritism within children.

Other studies have indicated that children raised in a same-sex home showed play behavior that was less gender-stereotyped than children who are raised in a heterosexual home (Goldberg, Kashy, & Smith, 2012). Gender-typed play behaviors start as young as 18 months, are well established by age 3, and are universal and stable through development (Goldberg, et al., 2012). This behavior is reinforced more often within a heterosexual parent environment when compared to a same-sex parent environment. Therefore, being raised by same-sex parents creates an environment where children feel safe and encouraged to not strictly adhere to gender-typed play. This can be due to the notion that same-sex parents themselves adhere less to gender stereotypes through career choices, interests, and extracurricular activities. This provides a flexible environment where children do not develop strict gender stereotypes, later influencing implicit gender attitudes which play a role in the disparity between genders in STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics) careers and other leadership positions.

Therefore parents play a key role in the development and socialization of their child (Goldberg et al., 2012). By reinforcing gender-typed behaviors through rewards for gender normative and punishment for gender non-normative, they are influencing the associations created for the child's implicit gender beliefs. These beliefs hinder the child's development and inhibit growth, skill building, and other experiences. Having flexible gender attitudes expands the type of toys and activities the child may engage in, enhancing the learning environment.

The gender of the parent has more of an impact on a child's development than the sexual-orientation of the parent (Crouch et al., 2012; Goldberg et al., 2012). Boys who are raised in a same-sex female environment showed less gender-typed play and higher psychological adjustment compared to boys raised with a male role model (either same-sex male or heterosexual parents) (Goldberg et al., 2012). It was also found that daughters raised in a same-

sex male environment were not “more masculine” when compared to girls raised in heterosexual families or same-sex female environments.

Studies have shown that priming women with gender normative concepts, such as men in stereotypical roles (doctors, political leaders, etc.) and women in stereotypical roles (homemaker, teacher, etc.) reinforced implicit gender attitudes (Rudman & Phelan, 2010). When women are primed with gender non-normative concepts, there are backlash effects as well as contrast effects. The backlash effects were due to the need to protect women’s sense of competency after the process of social comparison occurred – when women viewed other women in highly successful masculine positions, they rated them as being unattractive and uninspiring. Contrast effects were observed though women’s self-concept -- after being primed with the gender non-normative pictures, women’s self-concept as a strong leader able to fill a masculine role was greatly reduced.

## Chapter 4: Disgust

### Definition and Components of Disgust

Disgust is an innate emotion that is globally experienced as an automatic, reflexive rejection of the offending object (Looy, 2004). Disgust has evolved to discourage one from ingesting dangerous substances and is evoked by a threat of contamination to one's physical or moral self, causing behavioral avoidance, exclusions and rejection (Buckels & Trapnell, 2013; Dasgupta, DeSento, Williams, & Hunsinger, 2009; Inbar, Pizarro, Knobe, & Bloom, 2009). The offending objects tend to fall in one of seven categories: body envelope violations, sex taboos, food taboos, animals, body products, death, hygiene, interpersonal contamination, and social disgust (Looy, 2004). The basic emotion of disgust is associated with objects that can threaten bodily harm and survival, such as body envelope violations and contamination threats. However this basic emotion becomes a secondary emotion when the offending object does not threaten bodily harm, such as social disgust.

Disgust has various automatic behavioral cues, including unique facial expressions and specific bodily behaviors (Looy, 2004; Zinkernagel, Hofmann, Dislich, Gschwender, & Schmitt, 2011; Zinkernagel, Hofmann, Gerstenberg, & Schmitt, 2013). Automatic facial expressions include slightly narrowed brows, curled upper lip, wrinkling of the nose and the visible prominence of the tongue (Oaten, Stevenson, & Case, 2009). Automatic behavioral cues include a physical reaction of revulsion, causing various avoidance reactions such as the drawing of the hands or body away from the object (Oaten, Stevenson, & Case, 2009; Zinkernagel et al., 2011).

Stimuli that act as triggers for the moral emotion of disgust are culturally contextual and learned by socialization and associations (Looy, 2004).These triggers act as reminders of one's own impurity, degradation and animal nature (Buckels & Trapnell, 2013). These particular acts blur the human-animal boundary within social cognition, with various disgust elicitors being

thought of as animal-related, including human drives such as sex and aggression. Therefore disgust helps one maintain a safe cultural identity by avoiding behaviors that threaten this identity.

By the age of 12, children have learned many of the associated triggers in their specific culture, including the concept that the triggers vary by context (Looy, 2004). One example of this is the touching of feces. This particular act is considered to be disgusting except in the context of a caregiver who is changing an infant's diaper. Also, behavior can be considered less disgusting when the act was performed under coercion rather than of one's own free will. Another cultural example is within the food category. In certain cultures it is considered to be disgusting to consume horse meat where in other countries it is considered to be normal. Therefore the emotional reaction of disgust is based on socially shared factors, making the elicitors of disgust socialized within the society (Zinkernagel et al., 2013).

**Disgust within the Behavioral Immune System**

Humans have developed a behavioral immune system which serves as a protective barrier from exposure to unknown novel pathogens (Inbar et al., 2009; Oaten, Stevenson, & Case, 2009). Disgust is the driving force of the behavioral immune system, functioning as a disease-avoidance mechanism by detecting potential sources of infection in order to minimize contact (Inbar et al., 2009; Oaten, Stevenson, & Case, 2009). Disgust is aroused when stimuli exhibit certain features that are disease-related. Basic disgust is acquired early in childhood and evoked when the stimuli is directly disease-related, such as seeing someone who is coughing and sweating. Secondary disgust is learned later in development and is evoked when the stimuli is indirectly disease-related, specifically when social norms are violated. These violations become reminders of basic disgust elicitors thereby activating the behavioral immune system (Oaten, Stevenson, & Case, 2009).

Secondary disgust can also be evoked by a member of an outgroup (Oaten, Stevenson, & Case, 2009). Members of outgroups pose a greater risk of carrying unknown pathogens, threatening the health of the ingroup. In response to this threat, disgust activates the behavioral immune system, causing various avoidance behaviors. The system is activated regardless if the outgroup member is carrying an unknown pathogen or not; the risk of not detecting an infectious agent greatly outweighs the cost of incorrectly identifying a harmless outgroup member as being contagious. Therefore the behavioral immune system is hyper vigilant, with people who are more sensitive to the emotion of disgust displaying this hyper vigilance.

**Disgust as a Moral Emotion**

Morality is based on certain neurobiological mechanisms and is exhibited in various psychosocial behaviors that serve as protection (Looy, 2004). Moral codes are sociocultural constructs that mediate interpersonal interactions and influence the stability of society. Research indicates that moral evaluations are best predicted by emotional responses as opposed to rational reasoning processes. Moral evaluations, being intuitive and automatic, are not based on conscious deliberation (Inbar et al., 2009; Looy, 2004). Hence moral judgments are best predicted by emotional responses rather than rational reasoning (Inbar et al., 2009; Looy, 2004). Moral judgments do differ from moral reasoning in that moral reasoning is based on the application of social norms through conscious deliberation whereas moral judgments are automatic evaluations (Inbar et al., 2009).

Disgust influences moral judgments by guiding the moral evaluation process (Buckels & Trapnell, 2013; Inbar et al., 2009). Through this influence, disgust shapes implicit moral judgments that are not accessible to moral reasoning, leading to harsh moral evaluations across a variety of domains (Inbar et al., 2009). Moral disgust contains a moral dimension that pertains to certain behaviors within society that are considered to be violations to set cultural moral norms

(Looy, 2004; Oaten, Stevenson, & Case, 2009). These norms then become an indirect means of avoiding disease-related threats (Oaten, Stevenson, & Case, 2009). Hence these particular behaviors become associated with the emotion of disgust (Looy, 2004). This process of associating simple disgust objects with complex disgust behavior is a highly dynamic process (Oaten, Stevenson, & Case, 2009). Different cultures hold different behaviors as disgusting, and can change the definition of what is considered to be a normative behavior. Changing the cultural norms would begin at the societal level through moralization and filter down to the individual level through socialization.

Moral disgust encourages adherence to social norms by eliciting disgust by coupling the violations to the norms with the associated simple disgust object, producing the subsequent reaction (Oaten, Stevenson, & Case, 2009). Therefore one will avoid violating these norms to maintain one's cultural identity and acceptability. Disgust has also been shown to overgeneralize into outgroup attitudes, particularly in regards to outgroups that are considered to be deviant or dangerous (Bargh et al., 2012; Inbar et al., 2009). If one perceives a certain outgroup to violate cultural norms, including norms regarding food preparation, cleanliness, and sexual behavior, the person's disgust level will increase (Inbar et al., 2009; Oaten, Stevenson, & Case, 2009). Therefore disgust is a key variable in moral decision-making and perceptions of outgroups, including negative attitudes towards homosexuals (Herek & Glunt, 1993; Inbar et al., 2009). Negative attitudes towards non-heterosexuals are associated with feelings of disgust due to the perception of non-heterosexuals being in violation of cultural norms regarding appropriate sexual behavior (Dasgupta et al., 2009; Inbar et al., 2009). People who are sensitive to the emotion of disgust intuitively judge homosexuals as being immoral, even if they explicitly endorse homosexuality as not being immoral. (Inbar et al., 2009)

**Effects of Disgust on Moral Judgments of Homosexuality**

Emotions influence information processing, especially within intergroup relations (Dasgupta et al., 2009). Emotions can be directly connected to the outgroup or be incidental, where the emotion is aroused by a different stimuli (Dasgupta et al., 2009). These incidental emotions will overgeneralize to outgroup biases, affecting moral judgments and subsequent behavior. Disgust promotes a heuristic approach to processing information where the person relies on stereotypes to make moral evaluations. Thus disgust encourages implicit bias against outgroups. This includes incidental disgust, which can bias moral evaluations of homosexuals based on social stereotypes (Buckels & Trapnell, 2013; Dasgupta et al., 2009).

Disgust is thought of to be a rejection emotion by enabling dehumanized social cognition in regards to outgroups (Buckels & Trapnell, 2013). By eliciting feelings of superiority, disgust enhances the meaningfulness of the human-animal boundary in social cognition by encouraging outgroup infrahumanization. Through this process, the association of ingroup members with humanity is strengthened by the reaffirmation of one's own humanity, thereby extending it to other ingroup members. Implicit dehumanization of outgroup members is also evoked by the strong associations of outgroup members with animality. This can be seen in outgroup stereotypes being low in competence and warmth, such as the homeless and people on welfare. These outgroups are more likely to elicit disgust, due to competence and warmth being human characteristics.

Disgust sensitivity is an implicit disposition that has been associated with moral intuitions and implicit moral responses (Inbar et al., 2009; Zinkernagel et al., 2011). One who is sensitive to disgust will hold a stronger judgment against violators of cultural norms as well as perceive the violations to be intentional rather than context-dependent or non-coercive (Inbar et al., 2009). This includes intuitive moral evaluations of same-sex gender sexual behavior, with individuals

higher in disgust sensitivity holding stronger negative moral judgments of same-sex gender sexual behavior. People who engage in same-sex gender sexual behavior are associated with disgust based on the perception that they are violating social norms regarding appropriate sexual behavior. However a distinction exists between moral judgments and moral reasoning, where moral judgments are based on intuition whereas moral reasoning is based on conscious deliberation. Therefore disgust sensitivity can predict implicit attitudes but not explicit attitudes towards homosexuals.

Disgust overgeneralizes to outgroup prejudices with disgust elicitors inducing acts of hand hygiene (Bargh et al., 2012; Huang et al., 2011; Oaten, Stevenson, & Case, 2009). People who recall certain unethical acts are more likely to accept an anti-septic wipe over a pencil and are less likely to volunteer to help another student if they had previously washed their hands (Oaten, Stevenson, & Case, 2009). The effects of hand washing and vaccinations on levels of racism and prejudice against immigrants has also been studied (Bargh et al., 2012; Huang et al., 2011).One study showed a correlation between disgust sensitivity and implicit attitudes towards non-heterosexuals (Inbar et al., 2012). People who exhibited higher sensitivity to the emotion of disgust also exhibited higher negative attitudes towards non-heterosexuals (Herek & Capitanio, 1999; Inbar et al., 2012; Olatunji, 2008; Terrizi, Shook & Ventis, 2010). However much of this research used the IAT as an implicit measure of disgust rather than the behavioral act of hand washing.

## Chapter 5: Current Studies

Based on the previous research, heterosexism affects one's personal prejudices and biases (Shelley-Sirecei & Ciano-Boyce, 2002; Herek, 2006; Mallon, 2011). These then affect societal biases which lead to homosexual discrimination, including the policies that regulate the adoption process (Ausbrooks & Russell, 2011; Lemm, 2006). Other known factors that influence prejudices and biases are gender norms and the emotion of disgust. Gender norms influence prejudices by affecting one's perception of gender stereotypes whereas disgust overgeneralizes into perceptions of outgroups, including negative attitudes towards homosexuals (Bigler, 1995; Herek & Glunt, 1993; Inbar et al., 2009; Rudman & Phelan, 2010; Zinkernagel et al., 2011). Both gender norms and disgust influence moral decision-making behavior, contributing to homosexual discrimination during the adoption process.

## Research Questions

Based on the previous research, the following studies sought to answer the following research questions.

1. Do primed gender norms and levels of heterosexism affect adoption decisions?
2. Is there a correlation between implicit levels of disgust and explicit levels of heterosexism and primed gender norms?
3. Do reasoning and explanations for adoption decisions vary across groups (priming type and levels of heterosexism)?

## Chapter 6: Study One

The research question for the first study was to determine if the level of heterosexism would affect the mean number of rejections to a same-sex couple, regardless of the household income of the couple. It was predicted people who had a higher level of heterosexism would reject the same-sex couple more often. The purpose of including an annual salary was to determine if annual household income would be a significant variable in rejecting a same-sex couple compared to a heterosexual couple.

### Method

#### Participants

Participants in this study were 243 undergraduate students enrolled in an Introductory Psychology course at the University of Central Oklahoma. Participation in this experiment was to fulfill partial credit for the Introductory Psychology course.

#### Materials

Four adoption scenarios were created. Each scenario stated that the participant was a case worker who needed to determine if the couple in the scenario could adopt the child mentioned. The scenarios differed by stating that the couple in the scenario was A) heterosexual and had a combined annual income of $48,000 , B) heterosexual and had a combined annual income of $88,000 , C) same-sex and had a combined annual income of $48,000 , D) same-sex and had a combined annual income of $88,000 (see Appendix A). These particular income numbers were used based on Oklahoma and United State Census information (US Census Bureau, 2012).

The amount of heterosexist attitudes was measured using the Attitudes Towards Lesbians and Gay Men scale (ATLG; Herek, 1988). As was previously discussed, this scale was designed to measure negative attitudes towards homosexuals (Appendix B).

SurveyMonkey, an internet survey and questionnaire software program, was used to present the survey and collect data (see www.surveymonkey.com). This program has the capability to determine at random which participant is presented with what questions using ratio scales, and has the capability to randomize questions. These features were used to randomize which adoption scenario the participant was presented with, using a 1:4 ratio scale, and the 20 survey questions from the ATLG were randomized for counterbalancing.

**Procedure**

After indicating consent, the participant was asked to answer six demographic questions, and then was presented with one of four adoption scenarios. The scenario type was chosen at random. The scenario stated that the participant was a case worker overseeing an adoption case of a 4-month old infant. A couple had put in the adoption request and went through the necessary classes and background checks, and was deemed appropriate to adopt the infant (see Appendix A). The scenarios differed only by income and sexual preference of the couple. The participant was asked to indicate either Yes or No to the adoption. The following screen asked the participant to indicate on a 4-point Likert scale how confident s/he was in the decision, indicating Extremely Not Confident, Not Confident, Confident, or Extremely Confident. At the bottom of the screen, the participant was given the opportunity to provide an explanation for the decision made towards the adoption scenario. On the following screens, the participant was given the ATLG questionnaire (see Appendix B). These 20 questions were randomized for each participant. After completing the survey, the participant was presented with a debriefing screen, thanking the participant for participating in the research study.

**Results**

Any participant that decided to not answer any of the questions during the course of the survey was discarded from the data analysis. Of the 243 participants, 33 skipped questions

during the survey, leaving 210 participants to be included in the analysis. Two-thirds of the remaining 210 participants were female.

Overall, 92% of the participants chose yes and accepted the couple for the adoption (see Figure 1.1). A little over half of the sample was considered to be Low in Heterosexism, having scored between 0 and 25 on the ATLG scale (see Figure 1.2).

Figure 1.1

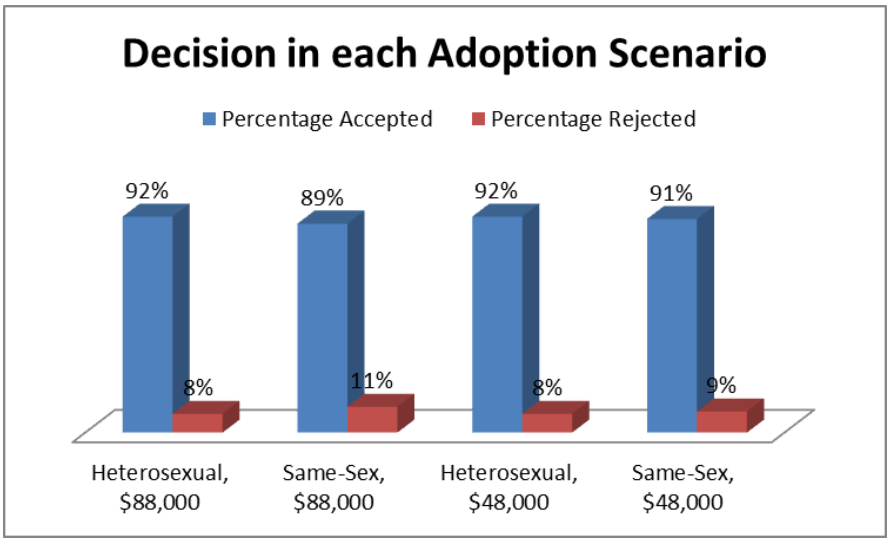
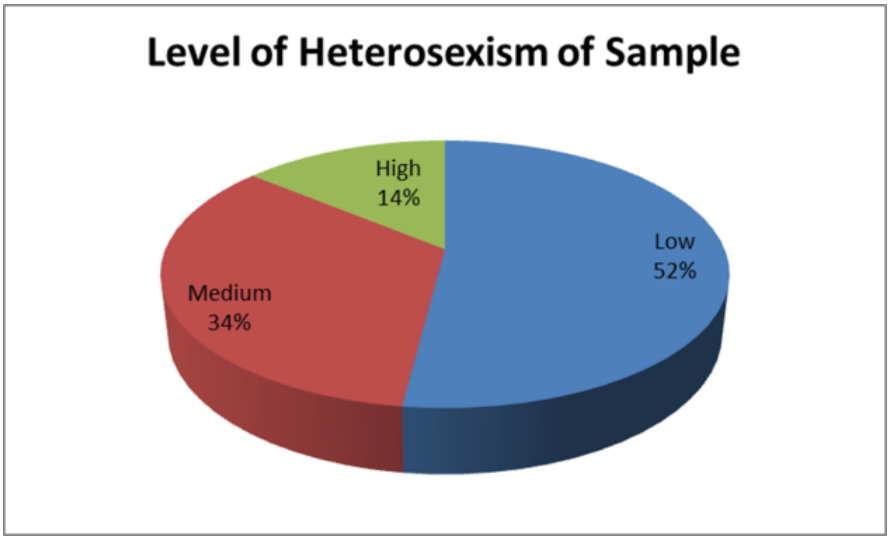



Figure 1.2



A logistic regression was conducted to predict rejection for 210 participants using level of heterosexism and adoption scenario type as predictors. A constant only model was statistically significant with a Wald criterion of 92.04, $p < .001$ (see Table 1.1) and a success rate of 91% (see Table 1.2). A test of the full model against a constant only model was also statistically significant, indicating that at least one of the predictors does reliably distinguish between either choosing yes or no ($\chi^2 = 30.104$, $p < .001$ with $df = 4$; see Table 1.1).

Table 1.1

*Test of Model*

| Model | -2loglikelihood | $\chi^2$ | df | Significance |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Constant | 127.840 | | | |
| Full | 136.840 | 30.104 | 4 | p < .001 |

Table 1.2

*Classification Tables*

| | Observed | Predicted | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Constant Model | | Reject | Accept | % Correct |
| | Reject | 0 | 19 | 0 |
| | Accept | 0 | 191 | 100 |
| | Overall % | | | 91 |
| Full Model | | | | |
| | Reject | 1 | 18 | 5.3 |
| | Accept | 2 | 189 | 99 |
| | Overall % | | | 90.5 |

However Nagelerke's $R^2$ of 0.293 indicated a weak relationship between prediction and grouping (see Table 1.3). With the predictors, prediction success overall was 90.5% (see Table 1.2). The Wald criterion demonstrated that level of heterosexism made a significant contribution to prediction ($p < .001$). Adoption scenario type was not a significant predictor ($p = 0.958$). Table 1.4 shows regression coefficients, Wald statistics, odds ratios and 95% confidence intervals for odds ratios for each predictor.

Table 1.3

*Pseudo $R^2$ Values*

| Cox & Snell | Nagelkerke |
|---|---|
| 0.134 | 0.293 |

Table 1.4

*Variables in Full Model*

| | | | | 95% CI for Odds Ratio | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | B (SE) | Wald | df | Lower | Odds Ratio | Upper |
| Constant | 5.494 (1.033) | 28.301*** | 1 | | 243.133 | |
| ATLG | -0.078 (0.017) | 20.382*** | 1 | 0.895 | 0.925 | 0.957 |
| Scenario (Same-Sex, $88) | -0.390 (0.789) | 0.245 | 1 | 0.144 | 0.677 | 3.177 |
| Scenario (Hetero, $88) | -0.291 (0.775) | 0.141 | 1 | 0.164 | 0.748 | 3.413 |
| Scenario (Same-Sex, &48) | -0.108 (0.771) | 0.019 | 1 | 0.198 | 0.898 | 4.072 |
| Scenario (Hetero, $48) | | 0.308 | 3 | | | |

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

A content analysis was conducted on the explanations given for the scenario. The following four overarching themes were extracted: 1) Gender and Sexuality Issues (Children need a mother and a father; I believe homosexuality is/is not wrong); Background & Financial

Issues, Passed Necessary Requirements (They were deemed to be good parents); Ability to Provide a Proper Home/Loving Environment (They seem like that would be able to love the child); Left Explanation Blank/Provided No Explanation. Figures 1.3 and 1.4 show the percentages of explanations used between accepting (Figure 1.3) and rejecting (Figure 1.4) the couple for adoption.

Figure 1.3

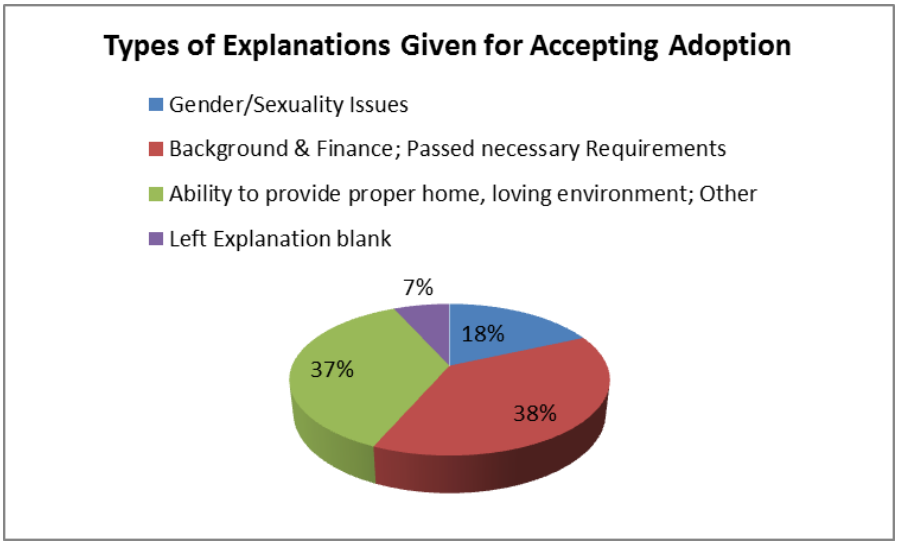
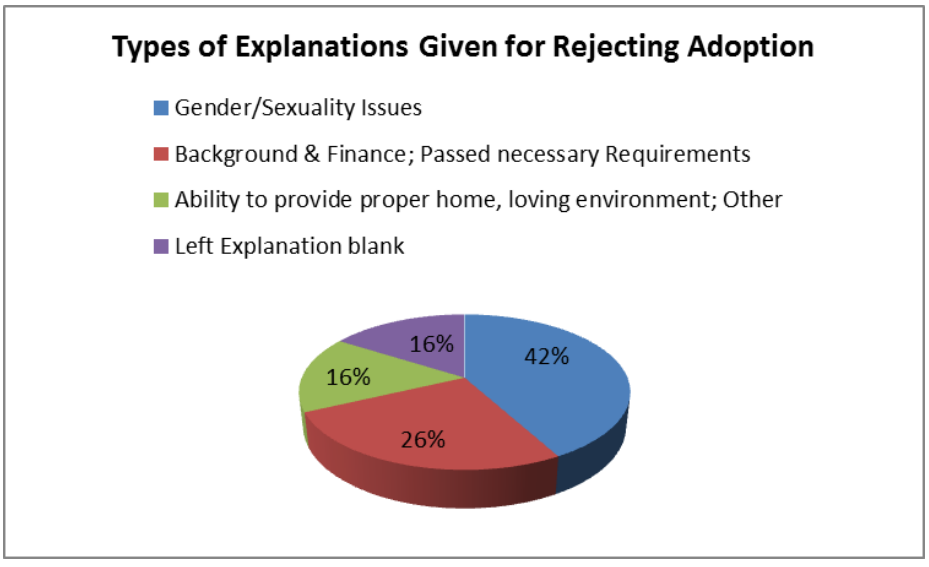



Figure 1.4



## Discussion

The stated hypothesis of the study was not supported by the data collected and analyzed. This could be due to response bias -- perhaps participants responded yes to the adoption because they thought they were expected to, and the inclusion of the lower income scenarios did not diminish this bias. Also the majority of the sample was under the age of 21, indicating that the participants may not have completely understood the concept of the salary. Only 10 of the participants who indicated acceptance of the couple mentioned having apprehensions of their decision due to the income along with having only one working parent.

One limitation of this study was not distinguishing between genders of the same-sex couple. The second study took the next step in distinguishing between these couples to determine whether gender of the couple plays a predictive role in acceptance.

## Chapter 7: Study Two

The research question for the second study was to determine if the level of heterosexism and priming gender norms affect which couple is chosen first and second in an adoption scenario. It was predicted that i) a person with a higher level of heterosexism would choose the heterosexual couple first more often and ii) priming gender norms would affect which couple was chosen first and second.

### Method

#### Participants

Participants in this study were 171 undergraduate students enrolled in an Introductory Psychology course at the University of Central Oklahoma. Participation in this experiment was to fulfill partial credit for the Introductory Psychology course.

#### Materials

Primes were pictures that fit the category of the group. There were 30 pictures total for each group. The gender normative group had 30 pictures depicting various people in gender normative roles, such as a girl playing with a doll (see Appendix C). The gender non-normative group had 30 pictures depicting various people in gender non-normative roles, such as a boy playing with a doll (see Appendix D). The control group had 30 pictures depicting various nature scenes (see Appendix E).

One adoption scenario was created and used in all priming groups. The scenario was similar to the scenarios used in Study 1 in that they were told that they were a caseworker with an infant that needed to be adopted. They were informed that there were 3 couples that were available: a heterosexual couple, a same-sex male couple, and a same-sex female couple. The same information from Study 1 was used in describing the couples, excluding the annual

household income (see Appendix F). The amount of heterosexist attitudes was measured using the Attitudes Towards Lesbians and Gay Men scale (ATLG; Herek, 1988; see Appendix B).

### Procedure

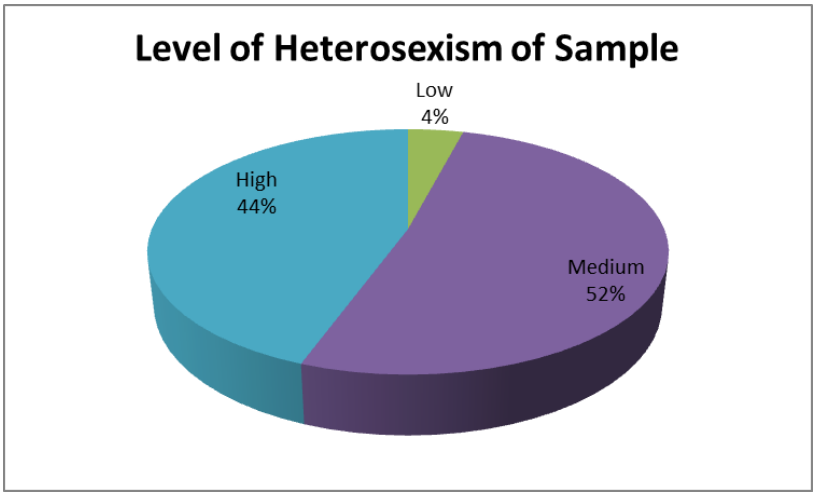
Participants were randomly assigned to one of three groups. One group was primed with gender normative pictures, the second group was primed with gender non-normative pictures, and the third group was primed with nature pictures (see Appendices C, D, and E). There were approximately 30 pictures per group. Participants were asked to rate each one on a Likert scale ranging from 1 (Extremely Dislike) to 5 (Extremely Like). After rating the pictures, participants were given an adoption scenario, where they were asked to decide which couple they would choose for the adoption (see Appendix F). Participants were also asked to indicate their confidence in the decision and to provide an explanation.

After they indicated their first choice, the participants were then asked to indicate their second choice from the remaining two couples, rate their confidence level and provide an explanation for their decision. They were instructed to write "None" if they did not want to provide an explanation for their decision. Last, they took the ATLG questionnaire (ATLG; Herek, 1988; see Appendix B) to assess their level of heterosexism.

## Results

Data from 171 participants was available for analysis: 18 male and 153 female. Fifty-nine participants were in the gender normative group, 56 were in the gender non-normative group and 56 were in the control group. A little over half of the sample was considered to be Medium in Heterosexism, having scored between 26 and 51 on the ATLG scale (see Figure 2.1).

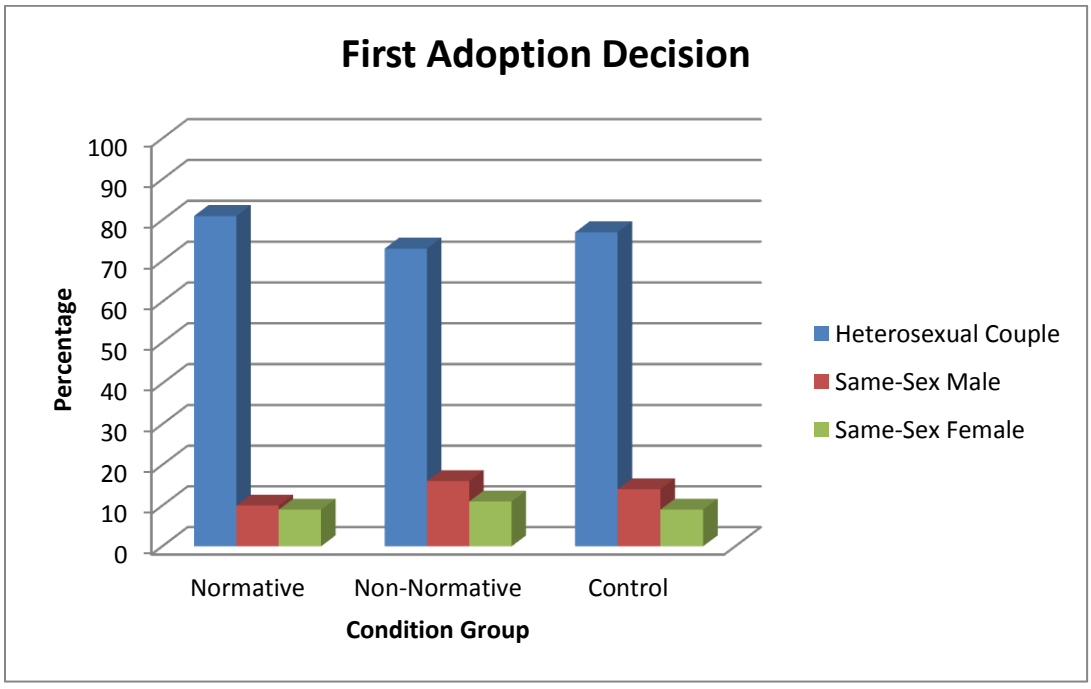
Figure 2.1




**Decision 1**

Overall, 77% of the participants chose the heterosexual couple, 14% chose the same-sex male couple and the remaining 9% chose the same-sex female couple for the adoption (see Figure 2.2).

Figure 2.2



A multinomial logistic regression analysis was used to predict membership in one of three categories of the First Decision (Heterosexual, Same-Sex Male, Same-Sex Female) as the outcome and two predictors: level of heterosexism and prime group (Normative, Non-Normative, Control).

A test of the full model with the two predictors against a constant-only model was statistically significant, $\chi^2$ (6, $N$ = 171) = 64.48, $p$ < .001, indicating that the predictors, as a set, do reliably distinguish between which of the three couples are chosen first (see Table 2.1). There was a good model fit (discrimination among groups) based on the full model, $\chi^2$ (216, $N$ = 171) = 130.00, $p$ = 1.00, using a deviance criterion (see Table 2.2).

Table 2.1
*Decision 1: Test of Model*

| Model | -2loglikelihood | $\chi^2$ | df |
|---|---|---|---|
| Constant | 214.593 | | |
| Full | 150.114 | 64.479*** | 6 |

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

Table 2.2

*Decision 1: Goodness-of-Fit*

| Model | $\chi^2$ | df | Significance |
|---|---|---|---|
| Pearson | 200.174 | 216 | 0.773 |
| Deviance | 129.999 | 216 | 1 |

The variance in the full model accounted for is moderate, with Nagelkerke's $R^2$ = .419 and Cox & Snell $R^2$ = .314 (see Table 2.3). Comparison of log-likelihood ratios for models with

and without the predictors showed statistically significant improvement with the addition of level of heterosexism, $\chi^2 = (2, N = 171) = 63.25$, $p < .001$ (see Table 2.4).

Table 2.3
*Decision 1: Pseudo R-Square Values*

| Cox & Snell | Nagelkerke |
|---|---|
| 0.314 | 0.419 |

Table 2.4
*Decision 1: Likelihood Ratio Tests*

| | Model-Fitting Criteria | Likelihood Ratio Tests | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Variable | -2Log Likelihood | $\chi^2$ | df |
| Constant | 150.114 | 0 | 0 |
| Heterosexism | 213.364 | 63.250*** | 2 |
| Prime Group | 150.888 | 0.774 | 4 |

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

Overall Classification was impressive. On the basis of the two predictors, correction classification rates were 100% for Heterosexual, 100% for Same-Sex Male, and 100% for Same-Sex Female; the overall correct classification rate was 100% (see Table 2.5)

Table 2.5
*Classification Table of the Full Model for First Decision*

| Observed | Predicted | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Heterosexual | Same-Sex Male | Same-Sex Female | % Correct |
| Heterosexual | 132 | 0 | 0 | 100% |
| Same-Sex Male | 0 | 23 | 0 | 100% |
| Same-Sex Female | 0 | 0 | 16 | 100% |
| Overall % | 77.2% | 13.5% | 9.4% | 100% |

Table 2.6 shows regression coefficients, Wald statistics, odds ratios and 95% confidence intervals for odds ratios for each predictor.

Table 2.6

*Decision 1: Variables in Full Model*

| First Decision[a] | | | | | 95% CI for Odds Ratio | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | B (SE) | Wald | df | Lower | Odds Ratio | Upper |
| Same-Sex Male | | | | | | | |
| | Constant | 5.104 (1.236) | 17.048*** | 1 | | | |
| | ATLG | -0.160 (.032) | 24.323*** | 1 | 0.800 | 0.852 | 0.908 |
| | Normative[b] | -0.333 (.690) | 0.233 | 1 | 0.185 | 0.717 | 2.769 |
| | Control[b] | -0.427 (.650) | 0.431 | 1 | 0.183 | 0.653 | 2.333 |
| Same-Sex Female | | | | | | | |
| | Constant | 3.369 (1.223) | 7.587** | 1 | | | |
| | ATLG | -0.120 (.030) | 16.272*** | 1 | 0.837 | 0.887 | 0.940 |
| | Normative[b] | -0.233 (.715) | 0.106 | 1 | 0.195 | 0.792 | 3.220 |
| | Control[b] | -0.523 (.711) | 0.541 | 1 | 0.147 | 0.592 | 2.389 |

a. Reference Category is Heterosexual

b. Reference Category is Non-Normative

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

**Decision II**

After making their first decision, participants made a second decision from the remaining two couples. Across the groups, 54% of the participants chose the same-sex female couple, 35% chose the same-sex male couple and the remaining 11% chose the heterosexual couple for the

adoption (see Figure 2.3). Figure 2.4 shows the second decision based on what was the participant's first decision. For example, in the control group, 31% of the participants who did not choose the heterosexual couple in the first decision chose them for the second decision, 42% of the participants who did not choose the same-sex male couple in the first decision chose them for the second decision, and 63% of the participants who did not choose the same-sex female couple in the first decision chose them for the second decision.

Figure 2.3

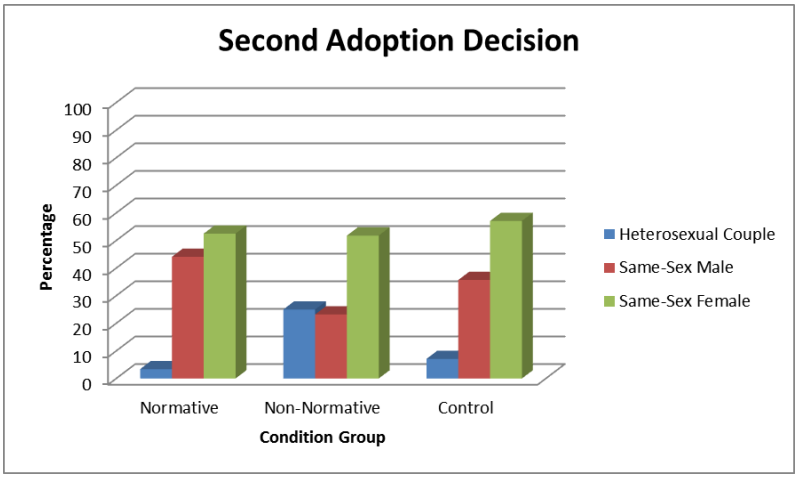
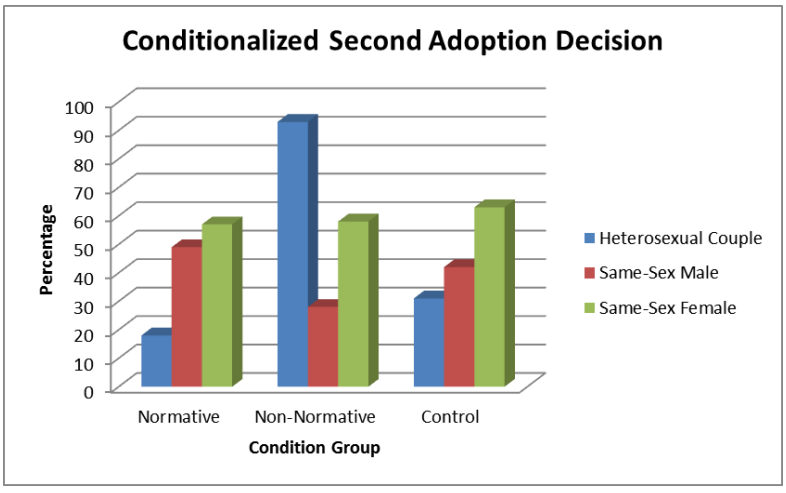



Figure 2.4



A multinomial logistic regression analysis was used to predict membership in one of three categories of the Second Decision (Heterosexual, Same-Sex Male, Same-Sex Female) as the outcome and two predictors: level of heterosexism and prime group (Normative, Non-Normative, Control).

A test of the full model with the two predictors against a constant-only model was statistically significant, $\chi^2$ (10, $N$ = 171) = 121.34, $p < .001$, indicating that the predictors, as a set, do reliably distinguish between which of the three couples are chosen first (see Table 2.7). There was a good model fit (discrimination among groups) based on the full model, $\chi^2$ (240, $N$ = 171) = 156.49, $p$ = 1.00, using a deviance criterion (see Table 2.8).

Table 2.7
*Decision 2: Test of Model*

| Model | -2loglikelihood | $\chi^2$ | df |
|---|---|---|---|
| Constant | 299.015 | | |
| Full | 177.678 | 121.337*** | 10 |

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

Table 2.8

*Decision 2: Goodness-of-Fit*

| Model | $\chi^2$ | df | Significance |
|---|---|---|---|
| Pearson | 135.33 | 240 | 1.00 |
| Deviance | 156.49 | 240 | 1.00 |

The variance in the full model accounted for is moderate, with Nagelkerke's $R^2$ = .597 and Cox & Snell $R^2$ = .508 (see Table 2.9). Comparison of log-likelihood ratios for models with and without the predictors showed statistically significant improvement with the addition of the

first decision, $\chi^2$ = (4, *N* = 171) = 74.11, *p* < .001, and priming condition, $\chi^2$ = (4, N = 171) = 23.59, p < .001 (see Table 2.10).

Table 2.9

*Decision 2: Pseudo $R^2$ Values*

| Cox & Snell | Nagelkerke |
|---|---|
| 0.508 | 0.597 |

Table 2.10

*Decision 2: Likelihood Ratio Tests*

| | Model-Fitting Criteria | Likelihood Ratio Tests | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Variable | -2Log Likelihood | $\chi^2$ | df |
| Constant | 177.678 | 0 | 0 |
| Heterosexism | 181.575 | 3.897 | 2 |
| Prime Group | 201.268 | 23.590*** | 4 |
| First Decision | 251.786 | 74.108*** | 4 |

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

Overall Classification was impressive. On the basis of the two predictors, correction classification rates were 100% for Heterosexual, 94.9% for Same-Sex Male, and 98.9% for Same-Sex Female; the overall correct classification rate was 97.7% (see Table 2.11)

Table 2.11

*Classification Table of the Full Model for Second Decision*

| Observed | Predicted | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Heterosexual | Same-Sex Male | Same-Sex Female | % Correct |
| Heterosexual | 20 | 0 | 0 | 100% |
| Same-Sex Male | 0 | 56 | 3 | 94.9% |
| Same-Sex Female | 0 | 1 | 91 | 98.9% |
| Overall % | 11.7% | 33.3% | 55.0% | 97.7% |

Table 2.12 shows regression coefficients, Wald statistics, odds ratios and 95% confidence intervals for odds ratios for each predictor.

Table 2.12

*Decision 2: Variables in Full Model*

| Second Decision[a] | | | | | 95% CI for Odds Ratio | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | B (SE) | Wald | df | Lower | Odds Ratio | Upper |
| Same-Sex Male | | | | | | | |
| | Constant | -5.025 (2.701) | 3.462 | 1 | | | |
| | ATLG | 0.39 (.058) | 0.451 | 1 | 0.928 | 1.040 | 1.165 |
| | Normative[b] | 4.841 (1.429) | 11.481*** | 1 | 7.698 | 126.647 | 2083.683 |
| | Control[b] | 3.986 (1.329) | 8.995*** | 1 | 3.979 | 53.824 | 728.028 |
| Same-Sex Female | | | | | | | |
| | Constant | -25.572 (3.326) | 120.895*** | 1 | | | |
| | ATLG | 0.063 (.059) | 1.146 | 1 | 0.949 | 1.065 | 1.195 |
| | Normative[b] | 4.236 (1.400) | 9.159** | 1 | 4.449 | 69.148 | 1074.670 |
| | Control[b] | 3.738 (1.290) | 8.402** | 1 | 3.355 | 42.023 | 526.308 |

a. Reference Category is Heterosexual

b. Reference Category is Non-Normative

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

## Analyses of Explanations

### Word Frequencies

A word frequency count was conducted on the explanations, showing a difference in the length of explanations between the condition groups in the first decision. Almost half of the total

words used by all the participants were contributed by the participants in the non-normative prime group and one-fourth of the total words being contributed by the participants in the normative prime group (see Figure 2.5). The word frequency count conducted on the second decision showed there to be no difference between the groups, with approximately one-third of the words used being distributed between the three groups (see Figure 2.6).

Figure 2.5

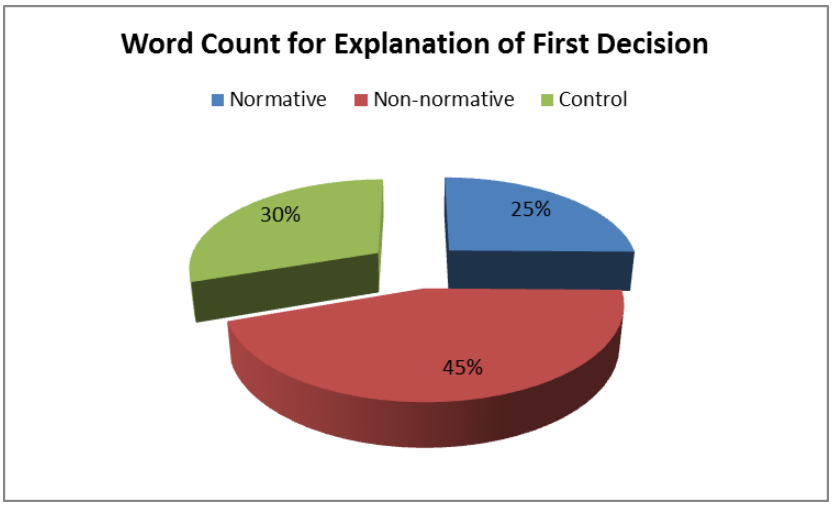
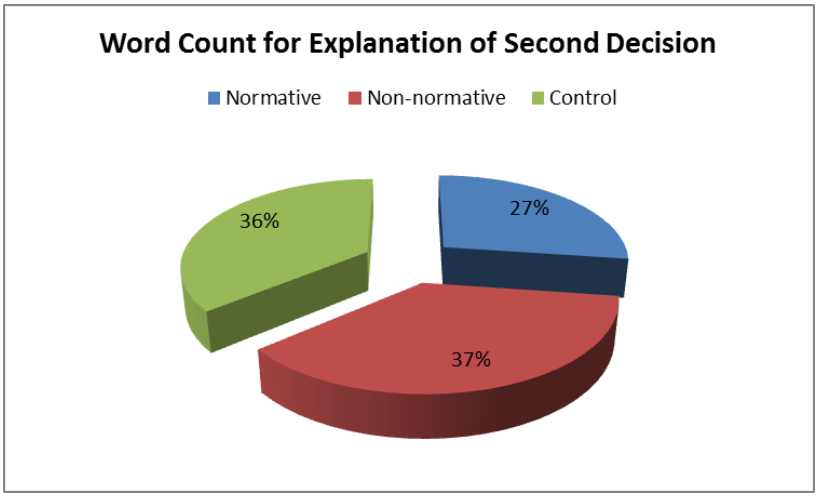



Figure 2.6



**Content Analysis**

A content analysis was conducted on the explanations given for the two decisions. The following eight overarching themes were extracted: Upbringing & Personal Experiences (I was raised in a heterosexual family; I have gay friends who would make wonderful parents), Child's Best Interest (I wouldn't want the child to get bullied by others; I would want the child to have normalcy), Nondiscriminatory/Equality (I have no problems with any of the couples; All couples have the right to raise a family regardless of sexual orientation), Gender Role Models (Children should have a mother and a father), Gender Stereotypes (Women are more nurturing, Fathers are more protective), Reproductive Restrictions (Lesbians/gay men are not able to have their own children without help), Religious Convictions/Personal Beliefs (I believe homosexuality is a sin), and Other. There is a ninth category, where the participant typed "None", indicating a wish to not provide an explanation. Figures 2.7 and 2.8 show the percentages of explanations used for both decisions.

Figure 2.7

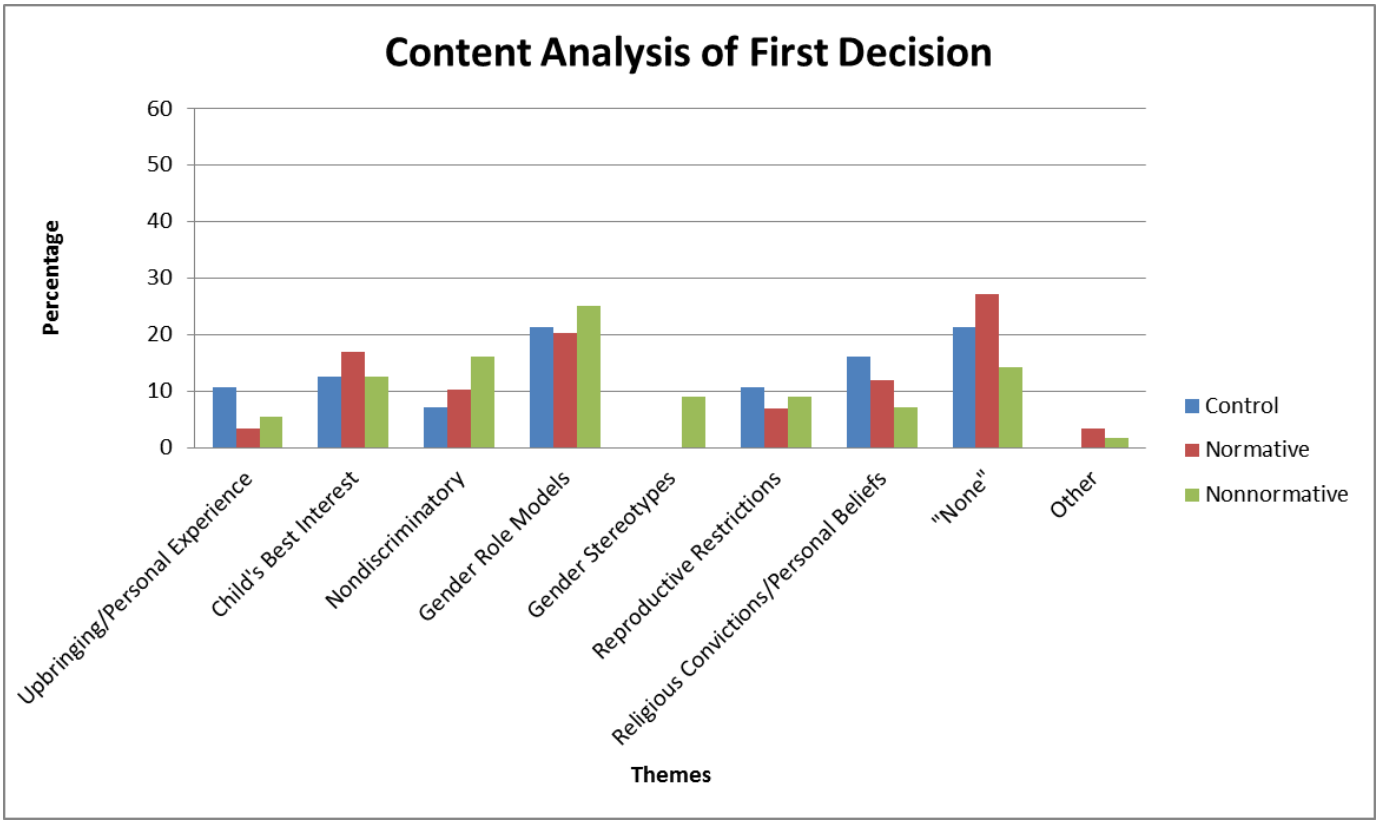
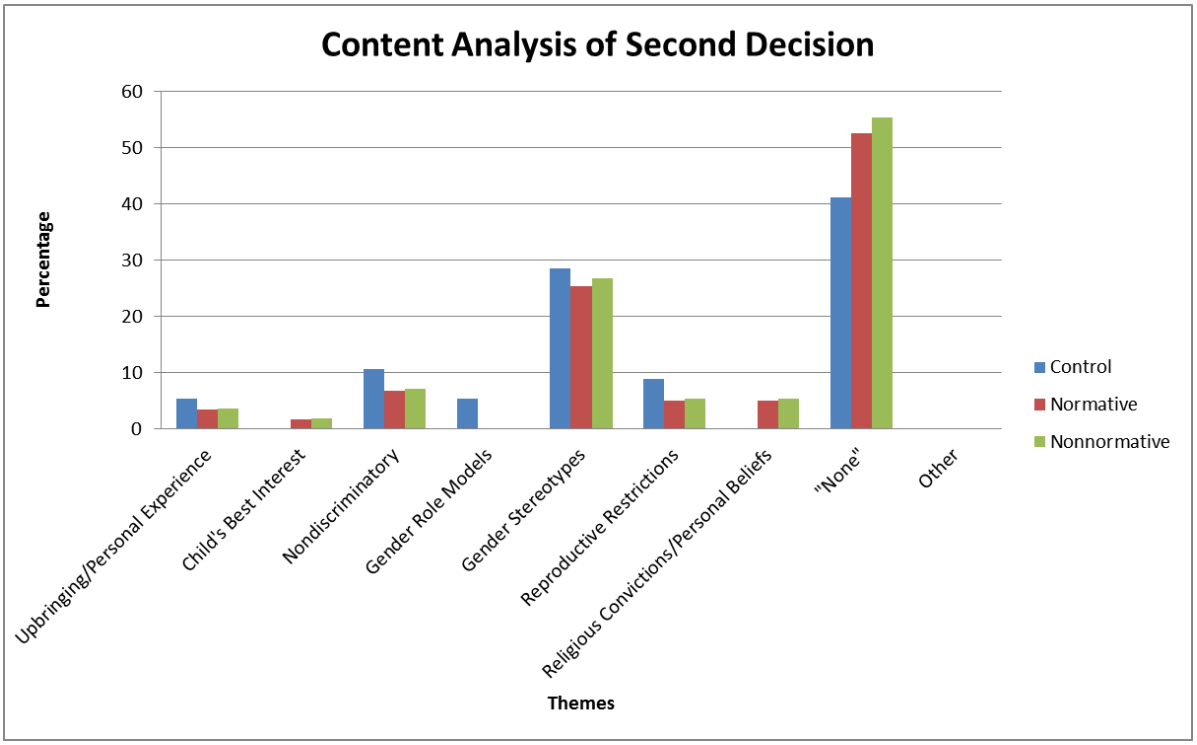

Content Analysis of First Decision
Percentage
60
50
40
30
20
10
0
Upbringing/Personal Experience
Child's Best Interest
Nondiscriminatory
Gender Role Models
Gender Stereotypes
Reproductive Restrictions
Religious Convictions/Personal Beliefs
"None"
Other
Themes
Control
Normative
Nonnormative

Figure 2.8




The content analyses of the explanations reveal interesting differences in rationalizations between the groups. In the first decision, None was the most frequent theme among the control and normative groups and Gender Stereotypes was the least frequent theme among those two groups. This is in contrast to the non-normative group, which used the Gender Role Models theme more frequently and Personal Experiences/Upbringing less frequently. There are also differences between groups within the themes, with Gender Stereotypes, Religious Convictions/Personal Beliefs, and None showing the biggest differences. Participants in the non-normative group used Gender Stereotypes more frequently while it was hardly used in the other two groups. Participants in the control group used Religious Convictions/Personal Beliefs more frequently while participants in the non-normative group used this theme less frequently.

Participants in the normative group indicated None more frequently while participants in the non-normative group used it less frequently.

In the second decision, None was the most frequent theme among all three groups, with Gender Stereotypes a close second for the control group. Gender Role Models was the least frequent theme among both the normative and non-normative groups, whereas the control group used the Child's Best Interest and Religious Convictions/Personal Beliefs themes least often. There are also differences between groups within the themes, with Gender Role Models, Reproductive Restrictions, Religious Convictions/Personal Beliefs, and None showing the biggest differences. Participants in both the normative and non-normative groups used Religious Convictions/Personal Beliefs and None more frequently compared to the participants in the control group. It is interesting to note that there are no major differences in the frequency of themes between the normative and non-normative groups. This correlates with the notion that stereotype suppression was occurring during the first decision, resulting in a rebound effect during the second decision.

**Discussion**

Results indicate that heterosexism levels are the only predictor in which couple is chosen first in an adoption scenario, which was expected based on previous results. Results also indicate that priming gender norms, along with heterosexism levels, are significant predictors as to which couple is chosen second in an adoption scenario. Even though the same-sex female couple was chosen more often during the second decision process for all three groups, the participants in the non-normative primed group chose the same-sex male couple less often and chose the heterosexual couple more often when compared to the other two groups.

The results also show unexpected stereotype suppression and rebound effect between the two decisions. Even though approximately three-fourths of the overall sample chose the heterosexual couple in the first decision, it seems that the other fourth were suppressing unwanted stereotypic thoughts during the decision-making process. This caused a rebound effect to occur during the second decision-making process, specifically with participants who were primed with gender non-normative pictures. This effect needs to be studied in this particular context more extensively before any major conclusions can be drawn. The results from the word frequency count indicate that people primed with non-normative pictures have a greater need to explain their first decision compared to the other two groups. This also points to a suppression of stereotypes, leading to the rebound effect during the second decision.

The results indicate that heterosexism is a significant predictor, but the measure used in the previous two studies was an explicit measure. The study also indicates that being primed with gender norms affects the decision-making process in choosing couples for an adoption. The content analysis of the explanations supports this as well. This led to the third study, to determine if the effect could be replicated as well as adding a behavioral measure as a means of measuring implicit heterosexism.

## Chapter 8: Study Three

There were three research questions for the third study. First was to determine if the effect from the second study could be replicated. Second was to determine if explicit levels of heterosexism and primed gender norms would have an effect on implicit disgust levels, measured by the use of hand sanitizer. Third was to determine if there was a relationship between the use of hand sanitizer and gender norms. It was predicted that i) a person with a higher level of heterosexism would choose the heterosexual couple first more often, ii) priming gender norms would affect which couple was chosen second, iii) people with a higher level of heterosexism would use the hand sanitizer more frequently and iv) being primed with gender norms would affect the amount of hand sanitizer used.

### Method

#### Participants

Participants in this study were 114 undergraduate students enrolled in an Introductory Psychology course at the University of Central Oklahoma. Participation in this experiment was to fulfill partial credit for the Introductory Psychology course.

#### Materials

The same primes that were used in Study Two were also used in Study Three (refer to Appendices C, D, & E). The same adoption scenario that was created for Study Two was also used in Study Three (refer to Appendix F). The amount of heterosexist attitudes was measured using the Attitudes Towards Lesbians and Gay Men scale (ATLG; Herek, 1988; see Appendix B).

To aid in the measurement of disgust levels, participants wore an eye-tracking device to record eye gaze patterns. The device was the SensoMotoric Instruments Eye Tracking Glasses (SMI-ETG), a mobile gaze tracking device that includes iViewETG software for video recording and BeGaze software for data analysis (see Appendix G). A bottle of hand sanitizer was placed in

close proximity to the participant during the study (see Appendix H). The phrase "For Student Use" was written on the front of the bottle.

**Procedure**

Upon entering the lab, participants were informed of the use of the SMI-ETG (see Appendix G). It was stressed that the recording would not be identifiable to the participant. Once consent was given, the SMI-ETG was placed on the face by the participant and tightened into place by the researcher. To calibrate the SMI-ETG, the researcher asked the participant to stare at the letter "S" of the word "Student" that was written on the bottle of hand sanitizer (see Appendix H).

Participants were randomly assigned to one of three groups prior to arrival. One group was primed with gender normative pictures, the second group was primed with gender non-normative pictures, and the third group was primed with nature pictures (see Appendices C, D, and E). There were approximately 30 pictures per group. Participants were asked to rate each one on a Likert scale ranging from 1 (Extremely Dislike) to 5 (Extremely Like). After rating the pictures, participants were given an adoption scenario, where they were asked to decide which couple they would choose for the adoption (see Appendix F). Participants were also asked to indicate their confidence in the decision and to provide an explanation. In addition to providing an explanation, the participant was asked to rank the themes derived from the previous study in order from 1 (Most Likely Reason for Decision) to 7 (Least Likely Reason for Decision) (see Appendix I).

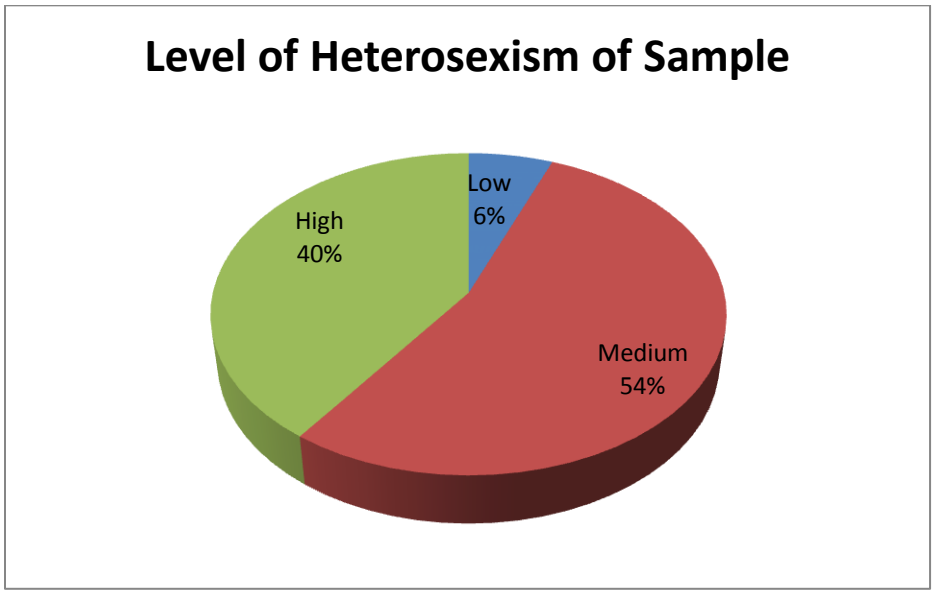
After indicating their first choice, the participants were then asked to indicate their second choice from the remaining two couples, rate their confidence level and provide an explanation for their decision. They were instructed to write "None" if they did not want to provide an explanation for their decision. They were also asked to rank the same themes in order

from 1 to 7 (see Appendix I). Last, they took the ATLG questionnaire (ATLG; Herek, 1988; see Appendix B) to assess their level of heterosexism. During the entire study, number of depressions of hand sanitizer use was recorded via SMI-ETG.

**Results**

Data from 114 participants was available for analysis: 23 male and 91 female. Forty participants were in the gender normative group, 37 were in the gender non-normative group and 37 were in the control group. A little over half of the sample was considered to be Medium in Heterosexism, having scored between 26 and 51 on the ATLG scale (see Figure 3.1).

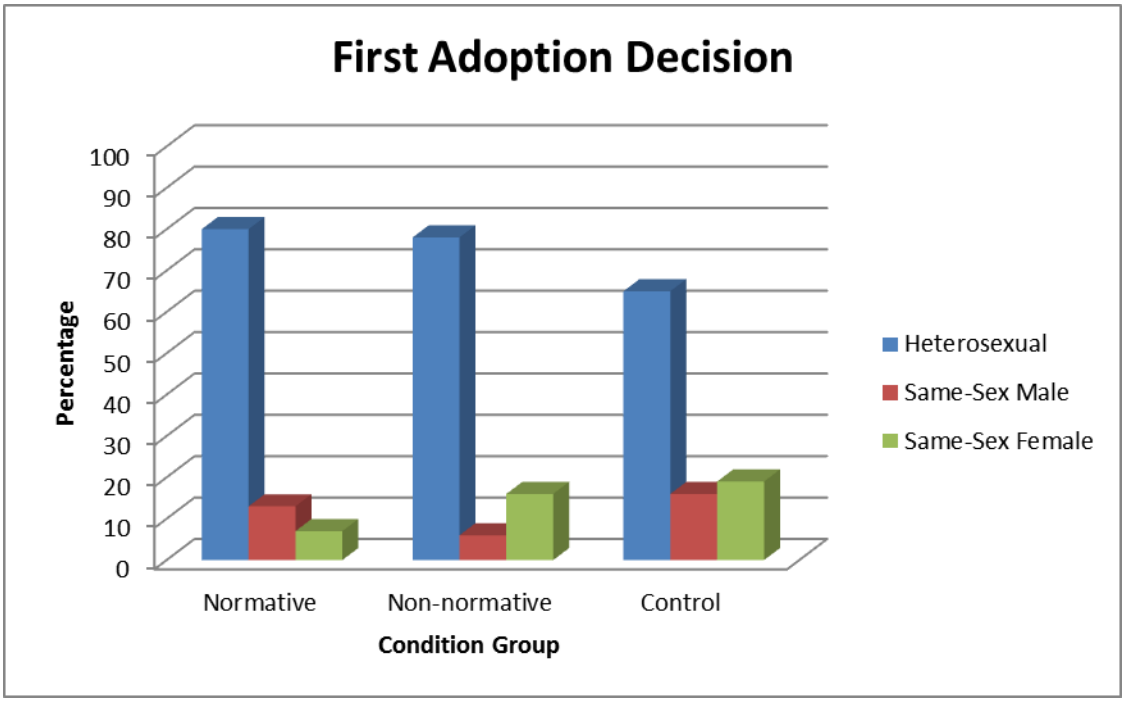
Figure 3.1




**Decision 1**

Overall, 75% of the participants chose the heterosexual couple, 11% chose the same-sex male couple and the remaining 14% chose the same-sex female couple for the adoption (see Figure 3.2).

Figure 3.2




A multinomial logistic regression analysis was used to predict membership in one of three categories with the First Decision (Heterosexual, Same-Sex Male, Same-Sex Female) as the outcome and two predictors: level of heterosexism and prime group (Normative, Non-Normative, Control).

A test of the full model with the two predictors, with the 6 demographics of Age, Gender, Sexual Orientation, Religion, Class Standing, and Race as covariates, against a constant-only model was statistically significant, $\chi^2$ (18, $N$ = 114) = 48.233, $p$ < .001, indicating that the predictors and covariates, as a set, do reliably distinguish between which of the three couples are chosen first (see Table 3.1). There was a good model fit (discrimination among groups) based on the full model, $\chi^2$ (204, $N$ = 114) = 115.413, $p$ = 1.000, using a deviance criterion (see Table 3.2).

Table 3.1

*Decision 1: Test of Model*

| Model | -2loglikelihood | $\chi^2$ | df |
|---|---|---|---|
| Constant | 166.418 | | |
| Full | 118.186 | 48.233*** | 18 |

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

Table 3.2

*Decision 1: Goodness-of-Fit*

| Model | $\chi^2$ | df | Significance |
|---|---|---|---|
| Pearson | 193.866 | 204 | 0.683 |
| Deviance | 115.413 | 204 | 1.000 |

The variance in the full model accounted for is moderate, with Nagelkerke's $R^2$ = .446 and Cox & Snell $R^2$ = .345 (see Table 3.3). Comparison of log-likelihood ratios for models with and without the predictors showed statistically significant improvement with the addition of level of heterosexism, $\chi^2$ = (2, $N$ = 114) = 12.929, $p$ = .002, and Sexual Orientation, $\chi^2$ = (2, $N$ = 114) = 8.272, $p$ = .016 (see Table 3.4).

Table 3.3

*Decision 1: Pseudo R-Square Values*

| Cox & Snell | Nagelkerke |
|---|---|
| 0.345 | 0.446 |

Table 3.4

*Decision 1: Likelihood Ratio Tests*

| | Model-Fitting Criteria | Likelihood Ratio Tests | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Variable | -2Log Likelihood | $\chi^2$ | df |
| Constant | 118.186 | 0 | 0 |
| Heterosexism | 131.115 | 12.929** | 2 |
| Sexual Orientation | 126.457 | 8.272* | 2 |
| Prime Group | 120.668 | 2.483 | 4 |

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

Overall Classification was impressive. On the basis of the two predictors and covariates, correction classification rates were 95.3% for Heterosexual, 23.1% for Same-Sex Male, and 31.3% for Same-Sex Female; the overall correct classification rate was 78.1% (see Table 3.5).

Table 3.5

*Classification Table of the Full Model for First Decision*

| Observed | Predicted | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Heterosexual | Same-Sex Male | Same-Sex Female | % Correct |
| Heterosexual | 81 | 1 | 3 | 95.3% |
| Same-Sex Male | 8 | 3 | 2 | 23.1% |
| Same-Sex Female | 09 | 2 | 5 | 31.3% |
| Overall % | 86.0% | 5.3% | 8.8% | 78.1% |

Table 3.6 shows regression coefficients, Wald statistics, odds ratios and 95% confidence intervals for odds ratios for each predictor.

Table 3.6

*Decision 1: Variables in Full Model*

| First Decision[a] | | | | | 95% CI for Odds Ratio | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | B (SE) | Wald | df | Lower | Odds Ratio | Upper |
| Same-Sex Male | | | | | | | |
| | Constant | -0.602 (2.426) | 0.062 | 1 | | | |
| | ATLG | -0.075 (0.031) | 5.917* | 1 | 0.874 | 0.928 | 0.986 |
| | Sexual Orientation | 0.232 (0.549) | 0.179 | 1 | 0.430 | 1.261 | 3.702 |
| | Normative[b] | 0.450 (1.077) | 0.175 | 1 | 0.190 | 1.568 | 12.939 |
| | Control[b] | 1.126 (1.018) | 1.223 | 1 | 0.419 | 3.083 | 22.675 |
| Same-Sex Female | | | | | | | |
| | Constant | 3.383 (2.615) | 1.674 | 1 | | | |
| | ATLG | -0.082 (0.032) | 6.437* | 1 | 0.865 | 0.922 | 0.982 |
| | Sexual Orientation | 0.900 (0.341) | 6.972** | 1 | 1.261 | 2.459 | 4.797 |
| | Normative[b] | -0.200 (0.996) | 0.040 | 1 | 0.116 | 0.819 | 5.771 |
| | Control[b] | 0.765 (0.848) | 0.815 | 1 | 0.408 | 2.150 | 11.326 |

a. Reference Category is Heterosexual

b. Reference Category is Non-Normative

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

**Decision II**

After making their first decision, participants made a second decision from the remaining two couples. Across the groups, 52% of the participants chose the same-sex female couple, 35% chose the same-sex male couple and the remaining 13% chose the heterosexual couple for the adoption (see Figure 3.3). Figure 3.4 shows the second decision based on the participant's first decision. For example, in the control group, 46% of the participants who did not choose the heterosexual couple in the first decision chose them for the second decision, 45% of the participants who did not choose the same-sex male couple in the first decision chose them for the second decision, and 57% of the participants who did not choose the same-sex female couple in the first decision chose them for the second decision.

Figure 3.3

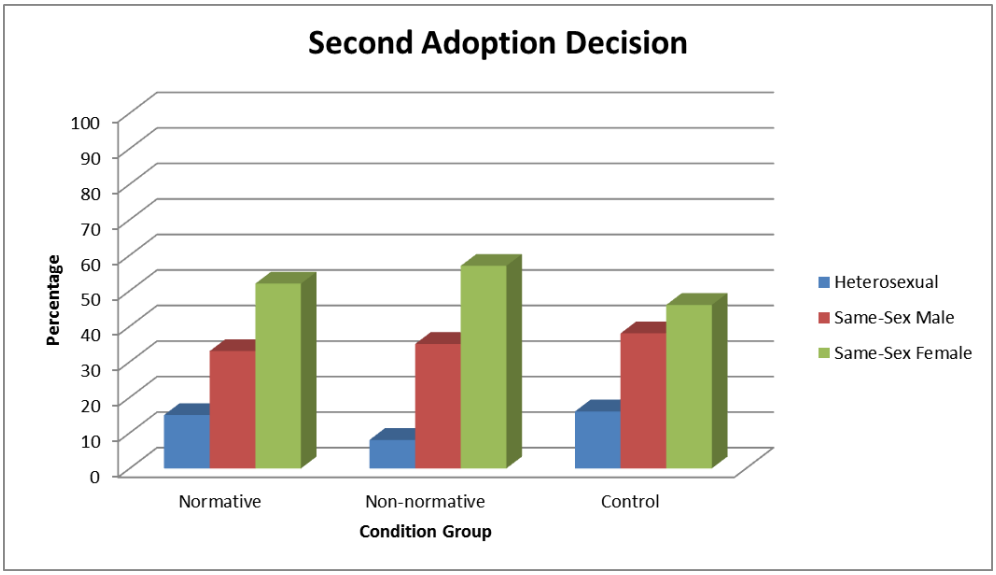
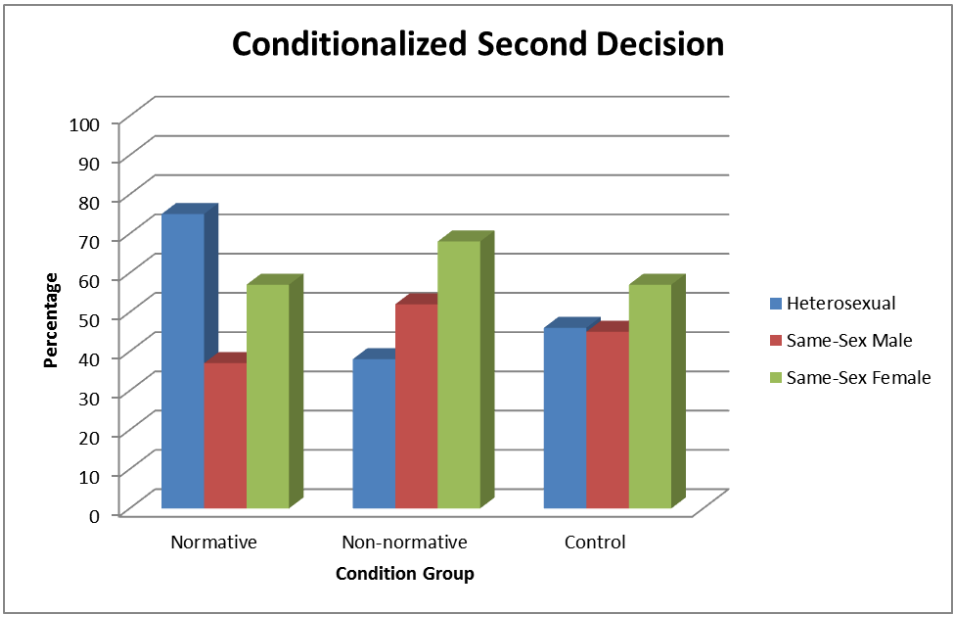


Figure 3.4




A multinomial logistic regression analysis was performed with the second decision (Heterosexual, Same-Sex Male, Same-Sex Female) as outcome and three predictors: first decision, level of heterosexism and prime group (Normative, Non-Normative, Control). The same covariates were also included in the analysis.

A test of the full model with the predictors and covariates against a constant-only model was statistically significant, $\chi^2$ (22, N = 114) = 97.254, p < .001, indicating that the predictors and covariates, as a set, do reliably distinguish between which of the three couples are chosen second (see Table 3.7). There was a good model fit (discrimination among groups) based on the full model, $\chi^2$ (204, $N$ = 114) = 125.098, $p$ = 1.000, using a deviance criterion (see Table 3.8).

Table 3.7

*Decision 2: Test of Model*

| Model | -2loglikelihood | $\chi^2$ | df |
|---|---|---|---|
| Constant | 222.352 | | |
| Full | 125.098 | 97.254*** | 22 |

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

Table 3.8

*Decision 2: Goodness-of-Fit*

| | $\chi^2$ | df | Significance |
|---|---|---|---|
| Pearson | 110.824 | 204 | 1.00 |
| Deviance | 125.098 | 204 | 1.00 |

The variance in the decision accounted for is moderate, with Nagelkerke's $R^2$ = .669 and Cox & Snell $R^2$ = .574 (see Table 3.9). Comparison of log-likelihood ratios for models with and without the predictors showed statistically significant improvement with the addition of the First Decision, $\chi^2$ = (4, $N$ = 114) = 81.810, $p$ < .001, level of heterosexism, $\chi^2$ = (2, $N$ = 114) = 9.872, $p$ = .007, and Sexual Orientation, $\chi^2$ = (2, $N$ = 114) = 7.524, $p$ = .023 (see Table 3.10).

Table 3.9

*Decision 2: Pseudo $R^2$ Values*

| Cox & Snell | Nagelkerke |
|---|---|
| 0.574 | 0.669 |

Table 3.10

*Decision 2: Likelihood Ratio Tests*

| | Model-Fitting Criteria | Likelihood Ratio Tests | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Variable | -2Log Likelihood | $\chi^2$ | df |
| Constant | 125.098 | 0 | 0 |
| Heterosexism | 134.970 | 9.872** | 2 |
| Sexual Orientation | 132.622 | 7.524* | 2 |
| Prime Group | 126.062 | 0.934 | 4 |
| First Decision | 206.908 | 81.810*** | 4 |

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

Overall Classification was impressive. On the basis of the predictors and covariates, correction classification rates were 86.7% for Heterosexual, 30.0% for Same-Sex Male, and 93.2% for Same-Sex Female; the overall correct classification rate was 70.2% (see Table 3.11).

Table 3.11

*Classification Table of the Full Model for Second Decision*

| Observed | Predicted | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Heterosexual | Same-Sex Male | Same-Sex Female | % Correct |
| Heterosexual | 13 | 2 | 0 | 86.7% |
| Same-Sex Male | 1 | 12 | 27 | 30.0% |
| Same-Sex Female | 0 | 4 | 55 | 93.2% |
| Overall % | 12.3% | 15.8% | 71.9% | 70.2% |

Table 3.12 shows regression coefficients, Wald statistics, odds ratios and 95% confidence intervals for odds ratios for each predictor.

Table 3.12

*Decision 2: Variables in Full Model*

| Second Decision[a] | | | | | 95% CI for Odds Ratio | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | B (SE) | Wald | df | Lower | Odds Ratio | Upper |
| Same-Sex Male | | | | | | | |
| | Constant | 17.465 (11.147) | 2.455 | 1 | | | |
| | ATLG | -0.288 (.133) | 4.692* | 1 | 0.578 | 0.750 | 0.973 |
| | Sexual Orienation | 1.874 (0.962) | 3.791* | 1 | 0.988 | 6.514 | 42.964 |
| | Normative[b] | 1.801 (2.755) | 0.428 | 1 | 0.027 | 6.057 | 1339.594 |
| | Control[b] | 1.676 (2.236) | 0.562 | 1 | 0.067 | 5.344 | 427.794 |
| Same-Sex Female | | | | | | | |
| | Constant | 0.579 (3189.93) | 0.000 | 1 | | | |
| | ATLG | -0.290 (0.133) | 4.727* | 1 | 0.577 | 0.749 | 0.972 |
| | Sexual Orientation | 1.836 (1.025) | 3.206 | 1 | 0.841 | 6.269 | 46.755 |
| | Normative[b] | 1.585 (2.804) | 0.320 | 1 | 0.020 | 4.880 | 1189.012 |
| | Control[b] | 1.358 (2.278) | 0.355 | 1 | 0.045 | 3.889 | 338.242 |

a. Reference Category is Heterosexual

b. Reference Category is Non-Normative

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

**Hand Sanitizer Use/Implicit Disgust**

The video recordings were reviewed by three different research assistants to document the number of depressions of the hand sanitizer for each participant. A One-Way Analysis of Covariance (ANCOVA) was conducted with Prime Group (Normative, Non-Normative, Control) as the independent variable, level of heterosexism as a covariate, and number of depressions of the hand sanitizer as the dependent variable. Levene's test indicated that the assumption of homogeneity was not met. The analysis was not significant for both Prime Group, $F(2, 110) = 1.795$, $p = .171$, $\eta_p^2 = .032$, observed power = .368, and level of heterosexism, $F(2, 110) = 2.314$, $p = .131$, $\eta_p^2 = ..021$, observed power = .326 (see Table 3.13). Table 3.14 shows means and standard deviations for hand sanitizer usage for each group.

Table 3.13
*ANCOVA Results for Hand Sanitizer Usage*

| | *F* | df | Partial Eta-Squared | *Observed Power* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Heterosexism | 2.314 | 1 | 0.021 | 0.326 |
| Prime Condition | 1.795 | 2 | 0.032 | 0.368 |
| Error | | 110 | | |

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

Table 3.14
*Means and Standard Deviations for Hand Sanitizer Usage*

| Prime Condition | Mean | Standard Deviation |
|---|---|---|
| Normative | 0.300 | 0.608 |
| Non-normative | 0.135 | 0.347 |
| Control | 0.135 | 0.419 |
| Total | 0.193 | 0.477 |

## Analyses of Explanations

### Word Frequencies

A word frequency count was conducted on the explanations, showing small differences in the length of explanations between the condition groups in the first decision. The word frequency count conducted on the first decision showed there to be no difference between the groups, with approximately one-third of the words used being distributed between the three groups (see Figure 3.5). The word frequency count conducted on the second decision also showed there to be no difference between the groups, with the Non-normative group having a slight increase when compared to the other two groups (see Figure 3.6).

Figure 3.5

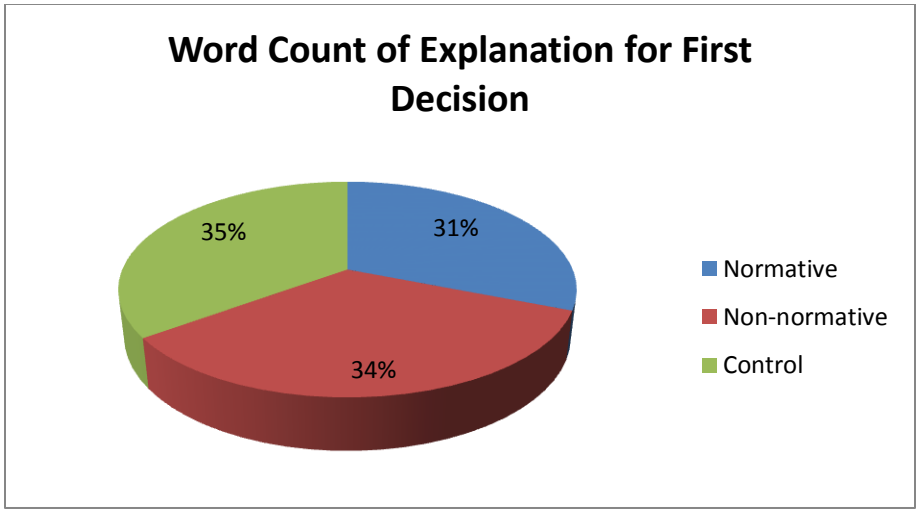
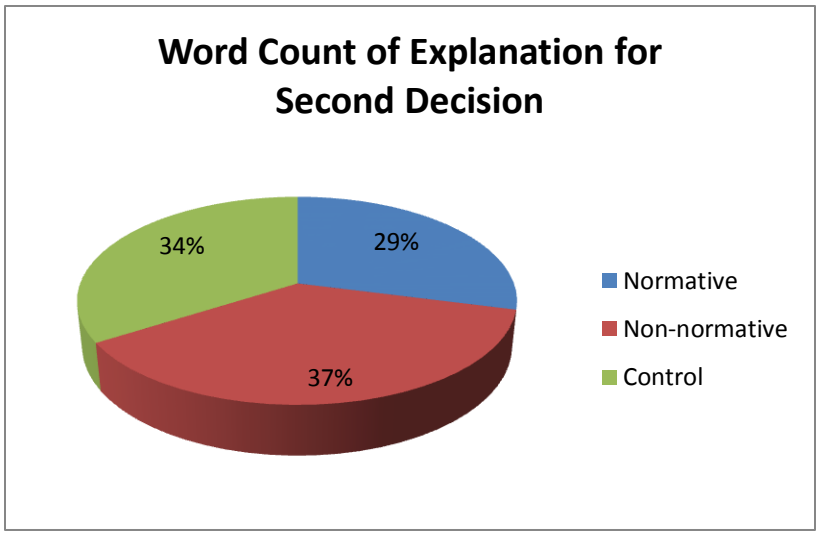


Figure 3.6




**Content Analysis**

A content analysis was conducted on the explanations given for the two decisions. The eight themes from the previous study were extracted (Upbringing & Personal Experiences, Child's Best Interest, Nondiscriminatory/Equality, Gender Role Models, Gender Stereotypes, Reproductive Restrictions, Religious Convictions/Personal Beliefs, None). There were also an additional four themes extracted: Sexual Orientation Stereotypes (There's a "female" within a gay couple), Unsure/Not Enough Information, Gender Hierarchy (Having a mother is more important than having a father), and Gender Matching (If the child was a boy I would choose the same-sex male couple). Figures 3.7 and 3.8 show the percentages of explanations used for both decisions.

Figure 3.7

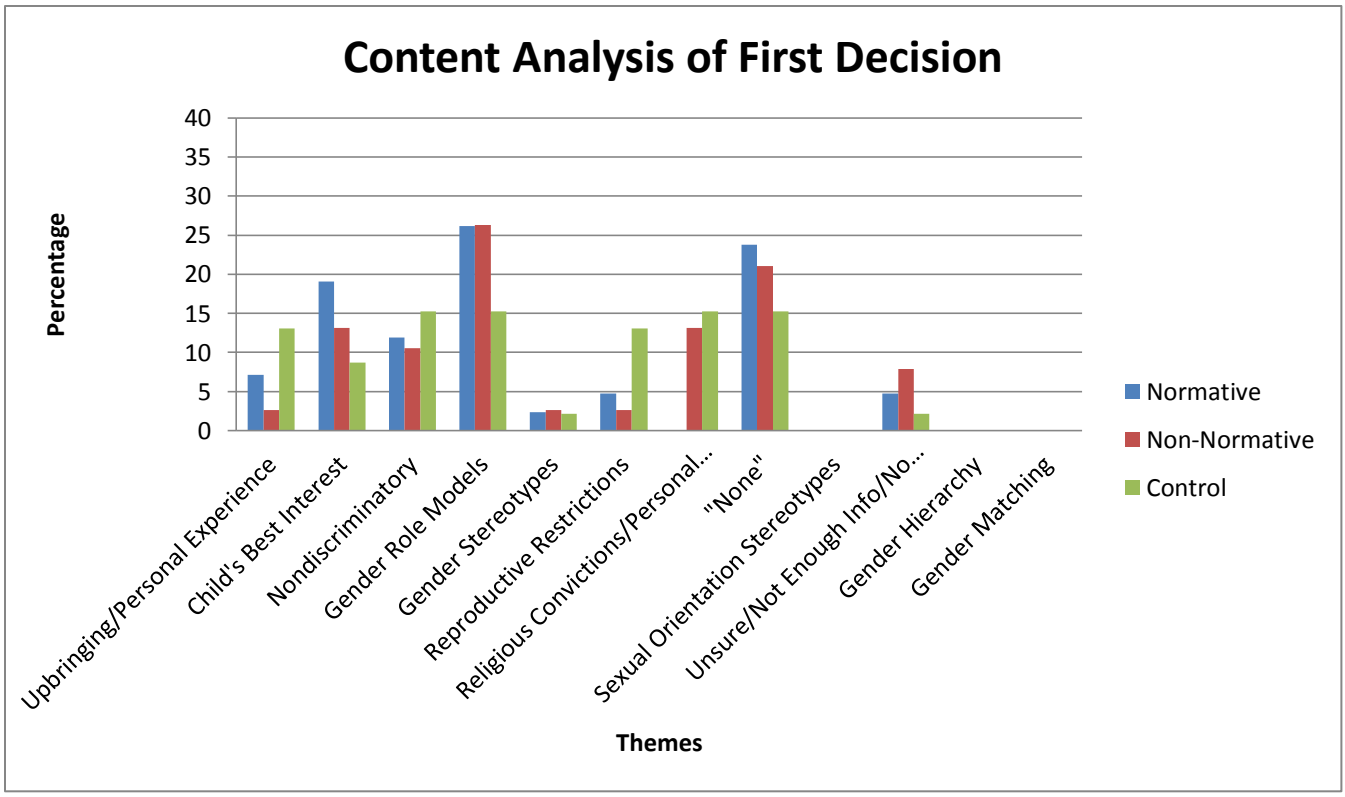
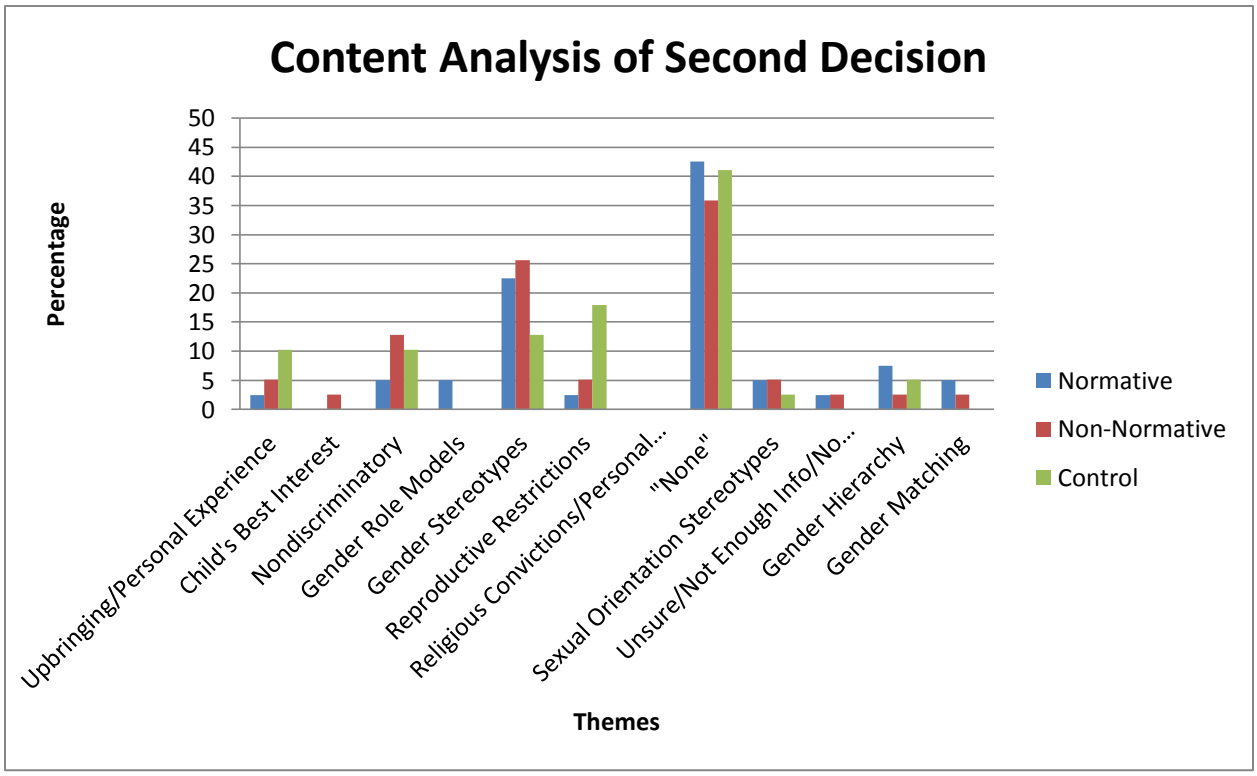

Content Analysis of First Decision
Percentage
40
35
30
25
20
15
10
5
0
Upbringing/Personal Experience
Child's Best Interest
Nondiscriminatory
Gender Role Models
Gender Stereotypes
Reproductive Restrictions
Religious Convictions/Personal...
"None"
Sexual Orientation Stereotypes
Unsure/Not Enough Info/No...
Gender Hierarchy
Gender Matching
Themes
Normative
Non-Normative
Control

Figure 3.8




The content analyses of the explanations reveal interesting differences in rationalizations between the groups. In the first decision, None and Gender Role Models were the most frequent themes among all three groups and Gender Stereotypes was the least frequent theme among all three groups. The non-normative group also used Upbringing/Personal Experiences and Reproductive Restrictions less frequently. Participants in the control group used Nondiscriminatory and Religious Convictions/Personal Beliefs frequently and Unsure/Not Enough Info less frequently. The themes Sexual Orientation Stereotypes, Gender Hierarchy and Gender Matching were not used by any of the three groups, and Religious Convictions/Personal Beliefs was not used by the normative group.

There were differences between groups within each theme used for the first decision. Participants in the control group used Gender Role Models significantly less than participants in

both the normative and non-normative groups and used Reproductive Restrictions significantly more frequently than participants in the both the normative and non-normative groups. None of the participants in the normative group used Religious Convictions/Personal Beliefs whereas it was used by participants in both the non-normative and control groups.

In the second decision, None was one of the most frequent themes amongst all three groups. Participants in the normative and non-normative groups also used Gender Stereotypes frequently and participants in the control group used Reproductive Restrictions frequently. Participants in the normative and non-normative group used Unsure/Not Enough Information less frequently, compared to the participants in the control group who used Sexual Orientation Stereotypes less frequently. The themes Religious Convictions/Personal Beliefs was not used by any participant for the second decision. Also Gender Role Models was not used for the second decision by participants in both the non-normative and control groups.

There were differences between groups within each theme for the second decision. Participants in the control group used Reproductive Restrictions more frequently than participants in the other two groups and used Gender Stereotypes less frequently when compared to the other two groups. Participants in the control group used Upbringing/Personal Experiences more frequently compared to the normative group. Participants in the normative group used Nondiscriminatory less frequently compared to the other two groups. It is interesting to note that only participants in the normative group used Gender Role Models in the second decision. Also there are no major differences in the frequency of themes between the normative and non-normative groups.

**Theme Ranking**

Correlation analyses using Kendall's Tau were used to determine strength of relationships within the ranking of themes for each decision. Three separate analyses were done:

one with the first decision, one with the second decision, and the third between the two decisions. There was a modest negative correlation between Religious Convictions/Personal Beliefs and Nondiscriminatory/Equality ($r_\tau = –0.360$, $p < .001$), meaning the higher the ranking of religious reasons, the lower the ranking of equality reasons. There were also modest negative correlations between Religious Convictions/Personal Beliefs and Gender Stereotypes ($r_\tau = –0.321$, $p < .001$), Upbringing/Personal Experience and Reproductive Restrictions ($r_\tau = –0.339$, $p < .001$), Gender Role Models and Reproductive Restrictions ($r_\tau = –0.328$, $p < .001$), and Gender Role Models and Nondiscriminatory/Equality ($r_\tau = –0.366$, $p < .001$). Table 3.15 shows the correlations between themes in the first decision.

Table 3.15

*Correlations between Themes in First Decision using Kendall's Tau*

| | Religious Convictions/ Personal Beliefs | Upbringing/ Personal Experience | Child's Best Interest | Nondisc. | Gender Role Models | Gender Stereotypes | Reproductive Restrictions |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Religious Convictions/Personal Beliefs | 1 | | | | | | |
| Upbringing/Personal Experience | 0.043 | 1 | | | | | |
| Child's Best Interest | -0.146 | 0.004 | 1 | | | | |
| Nondiscriminatory | -0.360*** | -0.126 | -0.840 | 1 | | | |
| Gender Role Models | 0.121 | -0.117 | -0.022 | -0.366*** | 1 | | |
| Gender Stereotypes | -0.321*** | -0.206** | -0.214* | -0.035 | -0.035 | 1 | |
| Reproductive Restrictions | -0.185* | -0.339*** | -0.252** | 0.253** | -0.328*** | 0.141 | 1 |

*Correlation is significant at the .05 level (2-tailed)

**Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed)

***Correlation is significant at the .001 level (2-tailed)

There was a modest negative correlation between Religious Convictions/Personal Beliefs and Nondiscriminatory/Equality ($r_\tau = –0.361$, $p < .001$), meaning the higher the ranking for religious reasons, the lower the ranking for equality reasons. Table 3.16 shows the correlations between themes in the second decision.

Table 3.16

*Correlations between Themes in Second Decision using Kendall's Tau*

| | Religious Convictions/ Personal Beliefs | Upbringing/ Personal Experience | Child's Best Interest | Nondisc. | Gender Role Models | Gender Stereotypes | Reproductive Restrictions |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Religious Convictions/Personal Beliefs | 1 | | | | | | |
| Upbringing/Personal Experience | 0.119 | 1 | | | | | |
| Child's Best Interest | -0.201* | 0.017 | 1 | | | | |
| Nondiscriminatory | -0.361*** | -0.138 | 0.006 | 1 | | | |
| Gender Role Models | -0.114 | -0.209* | -0.055 | -0.156 | 1 | | |
| Gender Stereotypes | -0.158 | -0.225** | -0.143 | -0.132 | -0.005 | 1 | |
| Reproductive Restrictions | -0.122 | -0.247** | -0.277** | 0.135 | -0.169 | -0.017 | 1 |

*Correlation is significant at the .05 level (2-tailed)

**Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed)

***Correlation is significant at the .001 level (2-tailed)

There were modest positive one-to-one correlations, such as between the ranking of Child's Best Interest for the first decision and its ranking for the second decision ($r_\tau = 0.373$, $p < .001$), meaning that if Child's Best Interest was ranked high for the first decision, it was also ranked high in the second decision. There were also slightly modest negative correlations between first decision ranking of Religious Convictions/Personal Beliefs and the second decision

ranking of Nondiscriminatory/Equality ($r_\tau$ = –0.297, $p$ = .001), meaning the higher the ranking of religious reasons in the first decision, the lower the ranking of equality issues in the second decision. Other correlations were also between the first decision ranking of Child's Best Interest and the second decision ranking of Reproductive Restrictions ($r_\tau$ = –0.292, $p$ = .001), as well as between the first decision ranking of Nondiscriminatory/Equality and the second decision ranking of Religious Convictions/Personal Beliefs ($r_\tau$ = –0.268, $p$ = .003). Table 3.17 shows the correlations between themes with both decisions.

Table 3.17

*Correlations between Themes with Both Decisions using Kendall's Tau*

| | First Decision | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Second Decision | Religious Convictions/ Personal Beliefs | Upbringing/ Personal Experience | Child's Best Interest | Nondisc. | Gender Role Models | Gender Stereotypes | Reproductive Restrictions |
| Religious Convictions/Personal Beliefs | 0.302*** | 0.026 | -0.071 | -0.268** | -0.028 | 0.027 | 0.006 |
| Upbringing/Personal Experience | 0.009 | 0.397*** | 0.079 | -0.078 | -0.063 | -0.154 | -0.161 |
| Child's Best Interest | -0.113 | 0.104 | 0.373*** | 0.057 | -0.087 | -0.121 | -0.176* |
| Nondiscriminatory | -0.297*** | 0.023 | 0.078 | 0.356*** | -0.056 | -0.059 | 0.013 |
| Gender Role Models | 0.032 | -0.191* | -0.132 | 0.020 | 0.041 | 0.095 | 0.096 |
| Gender Stereotypes | 0.129 | -0.082 | -0.051 | -0.108 | 0.217* | 0.095 | -0.158 |
| Reproductive Restrictions | -0.083 | -0.225* | -0.292*** | 0.080 | 0.029 | 0.131 | 0.382*** |

*Correlation is significant at the .05 level (2-tailed)

**Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed)

***Correlation is significant at the .001 level (2-tailed)

## Discussion

Results indicate that heterosexism levels are the only predictor in which couple is chosen first in an adoption scenario, which was expected based on previous results. Results also indicate that priming gender norms is not a significant predictor as to which couple is chosen second in an adoption scenario, contradicting previous results. An unforeseen confound is the increased media salience of the political issue regarding same-sex marriage. A Google News Archive search with the exact phrase "same-sex marriage" produced 238,000 article results from January 1, 2013 to December 31, 2013 (Google News, 2013). This is compared to the 434,000 articles with the same phrase from January 1, 2014 to December 31, 2014: over an 80% increase between the two years (Google News, 2014). This is due to the overturning of the Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA; Peralta, 2013) as well as the declination to hear the supporters of Proposition 8 (Peralta, 2013). These rulings sparked a national overturning of same-sex marriage bans at both state and federal levels, with a total of 61 supportive rulings after June, 2013 (Freedom to Marry, 2015). Particularly in Oklahoma, the ban was lifted on October 6, 2014 (Barnes, 2014). And as of the beginning of 2015, 36 states have legal same-sex marriage (ProCon, 2015). A year ago, there were only 17 states that had legalized same-sex marriage. The influence of this confound is not only observable in the lack of statistical significance of the prime groups, but also in the content analyses. The theme of Religious Convictions/Personal Beliefs was used far less than the previous year, and even more telling is that no one in the normative group gave explanations regarding religious reasons once.

The results also show stereotype suppression and rebound effect between the two decisions. Even though approximately three-fourths of the overall sample chose the heterosexual couple in the first decision, it seems that the other fourth were suppressing unwanted stereotypic

thoughts during the decision-making process. This caused a rebound effect to occur during the second decision-making process, specifically with participants who were primed with gender normative pictures; the same effect was seen in the previous study within the gender non-normative group. This correlates with the content analysis of no one using Religious Convictions/Personal Beliefs as a key reason as to their decision.

The analysis of theme-ranking indicated small correlations between various themes. An interesting find was between decisions: there was a positive correlation between Gender Role Models in the first decision and Gender Stereotypes in the second decision. Therefore if someone highly valued gender role models in explaining why they chose the heterosexual couple in the first decision, then they would also highly value gender stereotypes in explaining why they chose the same-sex female couple in the second decision. All correlations discussed previously were small at best, but still show how rationalizations of the first decision are connected to the rationalizations of the second decision.

## Chapter 9: General Discussion

Based on previous research, heterosexism is an influential variable in the formation of personal prejudices (Shelley-Sirecei & Ciano-Boyce, 2002; Herek, 2006; Mallon, 2011). These prejudices then affect societal biases that lead to public policies that are discriminatory towards homosexuals (Ausbrooks & Russell, 2011; Lemm, 2006). Research also shows the influential nature of gender norms on societal prejudices that lead to homosexual discrimination (Bigler, 1995; Rudman & Phelan, 2010). The results from all three of the studies support the previous research, indicating that heterosexism and gender norms are significant predictors of homosexual discrimination in adoptions. These results are based on priming gender norms by using gender normative and non-normative primes and making a decision regarding which couple would be suitable for adopting a child. Heterosexism was shown to be a significant predictor in all three studies whereas primed gender norms were only significant in the second study. There were distinct stereotype suppression/rebound effects within the gender non-normative and gender normative groups for Studies Two and Three respectively, indicating that gender norms do affect moral reasoning processes and decision-making behavior.

### Implications

Heterosexism is a predictor of homosexual discrimination in adoptions with people who express a higher level of heterosexism being more likely to reject a same-sex couple during the adoption process. Therefore regardless of what research has shown about same-sex parents, there is still an underlying belief that hinders these couples from providing homes for children in the welfare system. The belief that heterosexuality is the only normal sexual orientation is the basis of heterosexism and any deviation from this norm is considered to be improper, unnatural and morally wrong.

Along with heterosexism, gender norms predict homosexual discrimination in adoption cases. Results showed a significant difference between normative and non-normative gender norms, with people who are primed with non-normative pictures discriminating against gay men significantly more often compared to the normative and control groups. However this effect was not significant in the third study. The inconsistency of the results between the second and third studies could be due to the increased media salience of the political issue regarding same-sex marriage. A Google News Archive search with the exact phrase "same-sex marriage" produced 238,000 article results from January 1, 2013 to December 31, 2013 (Google News, 2013). This is compared to the 434,000 articles with the same phrase from January 1, 2014 to December 31, 2014: over an 80% increase between the two years (Google News, 2014). This is due to the overturning of the Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA; Peralta, 2013) as well as the declination to hear the supporters of Proposition 8 (Peralta, 2013). These rulings sparked a national overturning of same-sex marriage bans at both state and federal levels, with a total of 61 supportive rulings after June, 2013 (Freedom to Marry, 2015). Particularly in Oklahoma, the ban was lifted on October 6, 2014 (Barnes, 2014). As of the beginning of 2015, 36 states have legalized same-sex marriage (ProCon, 2015) whereas a year ago there were only 17 states that had legalized same-sex marriage. Such a drastic change in society's opinions as well as the legal system could have influenced the decisions made during the third study.

The results also show unexpected stereotype suppression and rebound effect (Gordjin, Hindriks, Koomen, Dijksterhuis & Knippenberg, 2004; Macrae, Bodenhaussen, Milne & Jetten, 1994; Monteith, Spicer & Tooman, 1998) between the two decisions in the second and third studies. Even though approximately three-fourths of the overall sample chose the heterosexual couple in the first decision, it seems that the other fourth were suppressing unwanted stereotypic

thoughts during the decision-making process. This caused a rebound effect to occur during the second decision-making process, specifically with participants who were primed with gender non-normative pictures. Future studies need to be conducted in this particular context more extensively before any major conclusions can be drawn.

In addition to the effects of heterosexism and gender norms, previous research suggests the emotion of disgust effects moral reasoning and decision-making processes (Inbar et al., 2009; Zinkernagel et al., 2011). The more sensitive one is to the emotion of disgust, the more harshly one judges moral transgressions. This has great implications in regards to homosexual discrimination in adoptions. The third study used a behavioral measure to determine one's implicit disgust levels through hand sanitizer usage. This turned out to be non-significant with less than 15% of the sample using the hand sanitizer. One reason for the lack of significance could be the environment. The room where the study was conducted was clean and free from debris. This could have lessened disgust levels, thereby affecting results. Also every effort was taken to ensure that participants did not feel coerced into using the hand sanitizer. However, the lack of use does not indicate the lack of disgust. Future studies can manipulate the environment by priming disgust during the study, perhaps through priming of sounds or pictures, or creating a "dirty" environment.

**Future Directions**

The ATLG was used a measure of heterosexism by combining the scores from the 20 questions regarding attitudes towards lesbians and gay men. Future studies might use other measures other than the ATLG as well as use the two separate scores for lesbians and gay men rather than combining them together into one overarching score. By separating them, one could determine if levels of heterosexism are different in regards to gender as well as look into possible

differences of homosexual discrimination in adoption cases regarding the gender of the same-sex couple.

The use of an explicit measure, such as the ATLG, may not measure underlying biases that a person may hold. The incorporation of an implicit measure of disgust was an attempt to indirectly measure heterosexism as well, but this needs to be further studied. Future studies can look into other ways to behaviorally measure implicit disgust levels as well as focus on manipulating implicit disgust rather than measuring it as a dependent variable.

**Conclusion**

In summary, both heterosexism and gender norms play key roles in the discrimination of homosexual couples in the adoption process. This discrimination is on top of current prejudices that are prevalent in society, hindering non-traditional couples from providing stable and loving homes for children in the welfare system. The influence of these two predictors has far-reaching effects, not only in the adoption process but also in other areas that are affected by institutional heterosexism. Understanding the role they play in the implicit attitudes one has regarding non-heterosexuals increases our awareness of our own negative attitudes and how they affect others that do not conform to society's norms. By increasing that awareness, we insure that equality for all, regardless of gender or sexual orientation, is a cornerstone of our society.

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# Appendix A

## Adoption Scenario for Study #1

"You are a case worker who has received a request for the adoption of a 4-month old infant. The same-sex couple is very eager to become parents. They have been together for longer than 5 years and have an annual income of $48,000. They have completed the adoption classes, passed background checks and have been deemed appropriate for adopting the infant. The couple has decided that one parent will stay at home with the infant, while the other will continue to work his/her full-time job. Would you allow this adoption to take place?"

Appendix B

Attitudes Towards Lesbians and Gay Men Scale (ATLG)

The first 20 questions on this survey were designed by G. M. Herek (1988) to understand personal ideas about homosexuals. There is no right or wrong answer, but please be as truthful as possible. The first 10 questions are about your attitudes toward lesbians, and the last 10 ask questions about your attitudes toward gay males. These questions are not designed to be offensive, but because they are personal in nature you might feel uncomfortable while answering them. Do not put your name on any of these pages, as your answers are completely confidential. Through answering these questions, you may understand more about your own thoughts and feelings and discover things you did not know about yourself. You may skip over any question or stop answering at any point if you begin to feel significant discomfort. At the end of the Attitudes Towards Lesbians and Gay Males section, there will be two demographic questions and one scenario-based question. Please take your time and answer these as truthfully as possible.

1. Lesbians just can't fit into our society.

A. strongly disagree B. disagree C. undecided D. agree E. strongly agree

2. A woman's homosexuality should not be a cause for job discrimination in any situation.

A. strongly disagree B. disagree C. undecided D. agree E. strongly agree

3. Female homosexuality is bad for society because it breaks down the natural divisions between the sexes.

A. strongly disagree B. disagree C. undecided D. agree E. strongly agree

4. State laws regulating private, consenting lesbian behavior should be eliminated.

A. strongly disagree B. disagree C. undecided D. agree E. strongly agree

5. Female homosexuality is a sin.

A. strongly disagree B. disagree C. undecided D. agree E. strongly agree

6. The growing number of lesbians indicates a decline in American morals.

A. strongly disagree B. disagree C. undecided D. agree E. strongly agree

7. Female homosexuality in itself is not problem, unless society makes it a problem.

A. strongly disagree B. disagree C. undecided D. agree E. strongly agree

8. Female homosexuality is a threat to many of our basic social institutions.

A. strongly disagree B. disagree C. undecided D. agree E. strongly agree

9. Female homosexuality is an inferior form of sexuality.

A. strongly disagree B. disagree C. undecided D. agree E. strongly agree

10. Lesbians are sick

A. strongly disagree B. disagree C. undecided D. agree E. strongly agree

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

A. strongly disagree B. disagree C. undecided D. agree E. strongly agree

12. I think male homosexuals are disgusting.

A. strongly disagree B. disagree C. undecided D. agree E. strongly agree

13. Male homosexuals should not be allowed to teach school.

A. strongly disagree B. disagree C. undecided D. agree E. strongly agree

14. Male homosexuality is a perversion.

A. strongly disagree B. disagree C. undecided D. agree E. strongly agree

15. Male homosexuality is a natural expression of sexuality in men.

A. strongly disagree B. disagree C. undecided D. agree E. strongly agree

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

A. strongly disagree B. disagree C. undecided D. agree E. strongly agree

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

A. strongly disagree B. disagree C. undecided D. agree E. strongly agree

18. Sex between two men is just plain wrong.

A. strongly disagree B. disagree C. undecided D. agree E. strongly agree

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

A. strongly disagree B. disagree C. undecided D. agree E. strongly agree

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

A. strongly disagree B. disagree C. undecided D. agree E. strongly agree

Appendix C

Gender Normative Primes

Example 1

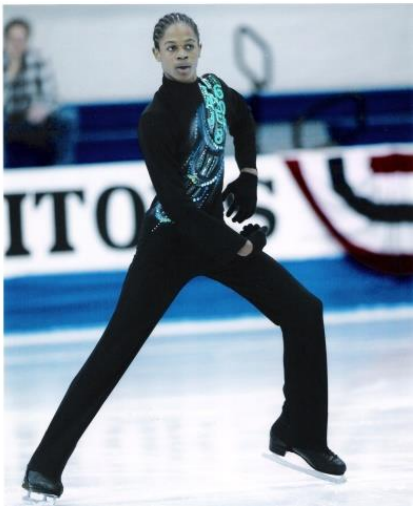
Example 2

Example 3

Appendix D

Gender Non-Normative Primes

Example 1



Example 2


Example 3

Appendix E

Control Primes

Example 1

Example 2

Example 3

## Appendix F

### Adoption Scenario for Study #2 & Study #3

"You are a caseworker who has received a request for the adoption of a 4-month old infant. You have a choice between 3 different couples: a Heterosexual couple, a Same-Sex Male couple, and a Same-Sex Female couple. Each couple has been together for longer than 5 years and is very eager to become parents. Each couple has also completed the necessary adoption classes, passed background checks, and have been deemed appropriate for adopting the infant.

Which couple would you choose for the adoption?"

# Appendix G

SensoMotoric Instruments Eye Tracking Glasses (SMI-ETG)


Appendix H

Hand Sanitizer Bottle

# Appendix I

## Screenshot of Ranking of Themes