

Sexual orientation and race intersectionally mute the normative nature of gender stereotypes

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Abstract

There is substantial research on the nature of gender prescriptive and proscriptive stereotypes. However, there has been relatively little work on whether these normative stereotypes are equally attributed to men and women of different identities. Across two studies (total $N = 1074$), we assessed the extent to which stereotypes are prescribed and proscribed for men and women of different sexual orientations (Study 1) and races (Study 2) in an American context. Results show strong evidence of a heterocentric bias, as prescriptive and proscriptive stereotypes of generic men and women most closely aligned with those of straight men and women. There was weaker evidence of a Eurocentric bias. Furthermore, observed gender differences in prescriptive and proscriptive stereotypes were significantly smaller, or non-existent, for sexual and ethnic minority targets compared to straight and White targets. These findings combined suggest that theories around the dyadic nature of gender normative stereotypes between men and women might be restricted to straight and White men and women.

Keywords: stereotypes, prescriptions, proscriptions, intersectionality, gender, race, sexual orientation

Sexual orientation and race intersectionally mute the normative nature of gender stereotypes

For decades (Bem, 1974; Eagly et al., 2020; Haines et al., 2016), social scientists have documented the persistent associations of women with traits like warm, kind, and emotional, and men with traits such as dominant, independent, and competitive. These gendered associations, or stereotypes, are simultaneously descriptive and normative. They both describe the prevailing perceptions of what men and women actually do (i.e., descriptive) as well as the norms that govern what men and women *should* (i.e., prescriptive) and *should not* do (i.e., proscriptive; Prentice & Carranza, 2002). While both descriptive and normative stereotypes contribute to a lack of women's representation in male-dominated fields (Burgess & Borgida, 1999; Heilman, 2001), normative stereotypes, in particular, are a major source of backlash discrimination. In other words, not only are women perceived to be warm and not agentic, they *should be* warm and *shouldn't be* agentic – making an agentic woman undesirable and subjected to punitive measures (Diekmann & Goodfriend, 2006; Eagly & Karau, 2002).

Despite the abundant scholarship on the nature and consequences of gendered stereotypes, it is still unclear whether findings around gender normative stereotypes are equally generalizable to men and women from different social identities. Existing literature primarily investigates stereotypes of “men” or “women” without specifying social identities such as age, sexual orientation, race, or religion, tacitly assuming generalizability to all non-prototypical minority subgroups within the broader gender category. We say tacit because manuscripts don't often state that the (lack of) diversity and representation within study materials itself might be a limitation on the generalizability of the findings, and potentially to a large extent. In the present research, we focus on two relevant social identities – sexual orientation and race – that have been

shown to interact with gender to influence experiences and perception (Babbitt, 2013; Parent et al., 2013). Here we argue that in the case of normative stereotypes, specifying the race and sexual orientation of the investigated men and women targets will change the prescriptive and proscriptive nature of the associated stereotypes. Thus, theories that aim to understand and mitigate the impact of gendered normative stereotypes (Diekman & Goodfriend, 2006; Eagly et al., 2000; Koenig & Eagly, 2014; Ritter & Yoder, 2004) might be limited in their scope to prototypical groups - heterosexual White men and women within the context of this study.

Incorporating an Intersectional Lens to Gender Normative Stereotypes

By interrogating the underlying assumptions around race and sexual orientation in gender research, we ask a question grounded in intersectionality, or the acknowledgement and incorporation of the interconnected nature of social identities into theories, hypotheses, methods, and interpretations (Cole, 2009; Collins, 2015; Crenshaw, 1982). Present in early sociological and critical feminist writings, it gained voice when coined by Kimberlé Crenshaw as a theory to understand how systems of oppression (e.g., sexism/patriarchy, racism/White supremacy) do not work independently but overlap to influence social inequality. In other words, we should not, and cannot, understand gender inequality without explicitly considering other systems of inequality.

As intersectionality work has become more common in psychology, there have been an increasing number of calls to action by scholars to address the dearth of research that examine more than one social group at a time (Cole, 2009; Davis, 2008; Else-Quest & Hyde, 2016; Warner & Shields, 2013). We answered this challenge with two important critiques—one methodological and one theoretical—to normative stereotype research in the realm of gender. Methodologically, we argue that ostensibly neutral labels such as “men” and “women” are not, in fact, neutral and are influenced by the prototypicality biases of participants. Thus, the work on

gender normative stereotypes likely best describes the experiences of prototypical targets—White, straight individuals, for example—and less likely to describe the experiences of those with other identity combinations. Theoretically, we critique the subsequent generalizability of research on gender normative stereotypes and, in particular, on the consequences of violating normative expectations. If normative expectations do differ for men and women of different sexual orientations and races, this suggests that our current theoretical understanding of the backlash that occurs as a function of violating expectations is missing nuance or even perhaps completely wrong.

Prototypicality Biases in Gender Normative Stereotypes

Below we review research on the prevalence of gender-, sexuality-, and race-based prototypicality biases on cognition. More specifically, prototypicality biases such as androcentrism (i.e., the assumption that an unspecified person is male), heterocentrism (i.e., the assumption that an unspecified individual is straight), and Eurocentrism (i.e., the assumption that an unspecified person in America is White) often influence the representations generated when calling to mind a “person”, “woman”, or “man” (Alt et al., 2020; Bailey et al., 2019, 2020; Devos & Banaji, 2005; Ghavami & Peplau, 2013; Hamilton, 1991; Lick & Johnson, 2016). As an example, words that purportedly activate representations that are inclusive of both men and women (e.g., chairmen) implicitly activate only male concepts (Banaji & Hardin, 1996). Relatedly, people show a heterocentric bias in perception, assuming heterosexuality even when the base rates suggest otherwise (Lick & Johnson, 2016). Finally, perceptions of people as White permeate many domains of cognitive representations, including leadership (Gündemir et al., 2014; Rosette et al., 2008) and the color of God’s skin (Roberts et al., 2020).

These biases also influence stereotypes of groups. For example, descriptive stereotypes of ethnic and sexual minorities do not always conform to the descriptive stereotypes of the relevant majority group, leading to unique descriptive stereotypes for minorities (E. V. Hall et al., 2019). Using a free-response paradigm, Ghavami & Peplau (2012) showed that descriptive stereotypes of racial groups exhibited androcentric biases, such that the descriptive stereotypes spontaneously generated for broad racial categories (e.g., Black people or White people) most closely matched the descriptive stereotypes generated for men in that racial category (e.g., Black and White men) than the women (e.g., Black and White women). This pattern was mirrored for Eurocentric biases, as the descriptive stereotypes generated for the category of “men” and “women” most closely matched those generated for White men and women.

Descriptive stereotypes of lesbian women and gay men also do not conform to the descriptive stereotypes of their straight counterparts. In fact, the literature suggests that most people hold assumptions of gender inversion, or the assumption that gay men and straight women are similar in traits while lesbian women and straight men are similar because the target of their sexual attraction is the same (Blashill & Powlishta, 2009a, 2009b, 2012; Kite & Deaux, 1987; Lehavot & Lambert, 2007). Thus, gay men are seen as possessing feminine, while lesbian women are seen as possessing masculine, characteristics and preferences, suggesting that traditional gender descriptive stereotypes are limited to heterosexual men and women.

Finally, biases influence stereotypes and perceptions in an intersectional way, as certain sub-groups are more prototypical than others along multiple dimensions (E. V. Hall et al., 2019). For example, Black women do not activate the category “women” as strongly as White women nor the category “Black” as strongly as Black men (Carpinella et al., 2015; Goff et al., 2008; Johnson et al., 2012) in various categorization tasks. Follow-up research has corroborated the

basic finding that Black is seen as masculine in society (Johnson et al., 2012; Thomas et al., 2014) and extended it to include Asian-Americans (Schug et al., 2015, 2017), who are presumed feminine, suggesting that gender can influence perceptions of race beyond androcentrism.

In this paper, we extend past work by asking whether *normative* stereotypes are also influenced by androcentric, heterocentric, and Eurocentric biases. As stated earlier, prescriptive and proscriptive stereotypes are uniquely associated with backlash discrimination when people violate the normative expectations placed on them. While there is often an equivalence between descriptive and prescriptive expectations—how we anticipate people being is also how we believe they *should* be (Prentice & Carranza, 2002) — almost all of the work done to date on intersectional stereotypes is on descriptive stereotypes.

There is reason to believe that in contrast to prototypical groups, normative stereotypes for men and women at the intersection of non-prototypical identities will *not* reflect their descriptive counterparts. For example, gay men and lesbian women can face discrimination precisely because they violate expectations placed on their gender. If that is true, that suggests that a gay man who acts femininely will be in line with descriptive expectations for his group but violating prescriptive expectations of masculinity based on his gender. Thus, expectations of femininity for gay men will be proscribed. However, a feminine gay man might be acting exactly as he should, keeping descriptive expectations in line with normative ones. Similarly, while Black men descriptively are seen as particularly masculine, the discrimination they face based on that masculinity (Plant et al., 2011) suggests that *normatively* they might not be expected to be masculine at all. Indeed, Black men who are perceived less masculinely, by removing their beards (Livingston & Pearce, 2009), acting communally (Livingston et al., 2012), or even being gay (Pedulla, 2014), face less discrimination. These examples highlight the importance of

directly investigating normative stereotypes for intersectional targets, as descriptive and normative stereotypes might not be congruent for all groups.

The Current Investigation

In light of prototypicality biases, we should not assume that gendered normative stereotypes are equally normative for men and women of other sexual orientations and races beyond straight and White. Given normative stereotypes' role in engendering backlash, it is important to understand how people, and society at large, desire men and women of different social identities to behave (E. V. Hall, Phillips, et al., 2015). This paper adds to the discussion of gender dynamics by providing an unfiltered view of the landscape of gender normative stereotypes for intersectional targets by sexual orientation (Study 1) and race (Study 2). If normative stereotypes for intersectional groups are unique from those of prototypical, majority groups, this suggests that theories that explain gender dynamics within the home and workplace cannot be easily extrapolated to non-prototypical groups, and perhaps need to be modified to be more inclusionary.

We had three major hypotheses regarding intersectional normative gender stereotypes. First, we hypothesized that despite increases in women's representation in male-dominated spaces, gender normative stereotypes still exist, an expectation that has been corroborated by recent work on gender descriptive stereotypes (Haines et al., 2016). Thus, we expected people to believe a "woman" (without any identity qualifiers) should display feminine and not masculine traits while a "man" (without any identity qualifiers) should hold masculine and not feminine traits. However, these normative gendered stereotypes are rooted in prototypical beliefs about women and men. Thus, our second hypothesis was that prototypicality biases such as androcentrism, heterocentrism, and Eurocentrism, influence normative stereotypes. We expected

stereotypes of targets labeled as a “person” to be more similar to stereotypes of targets labeled “man” compared to “woman” (i.e., androcentrism). We also expected stereotypes of unlabeled targets to be more similar to stereotypes of targets labeled as “straight” than “gay” (i.e., heterocentrism; Study 1), as well as “White” than any other race (i.e., Eurocentrism; Study 2).

Our third hypothesis was that sexual orientation and race would substantively alter the normative nature of stereotypes for men and women. Since, to our knowledge, there is no existing work on intersectional normative stereotypes, this hypothesis is exploratory. However, we outline what would be expected if normative stereotypes are similar to descriptive ones (Prentice & Carranza, 2002) for intersectional targets. At the intersection of sexual orientation and gender (Study 1), we would expect gender inversion to drive stereotype expectations such that gender differences between gay men and lesbian women’s normative stereotypes would be the inverse of gender differences between straight men and women’s. In other words, normative stereotypes of gay men will be more similar to straight women’s than straight men’s while normative stereotypes of lesbian women will be more similar to straight men’s than straight women’s.

At the intersection of race and gender, we expected Black men and women to face amplified prescriptions of masculinity and Asian men and women to face amplified prescriptions for femininity, based on work showing that races are gendered (Carpinella et al., 2015; E. V. Hall, Galinsky, et al., 2015; Schug et al., 2015). To add to the literature on racial stereotypes more broadly, we investigated several of the largest racial groups in America, including White, Black, Asian, Latino, and Middle-Eastern, in the realm of normative stereotypes. However, research on stereotypes of racial groups beyond Black and Asian in general is scant (Ghavami & Peplau, 2013). It is currently unclear whether Latino or Middle Eastern people are seen through a

similar masculine-feminine lens; a question we explore here. Given that threat and danger perceptions of Latino and Middle-Eastern individuals can be similar to those of Black Americans (Das et al., 2009; Sadler et al., 2012), we expect that they will also be seen as particularly masculine.

All data and data analysis scripts can be found on OSF (https://osf.io/nu8v2/?view_only=968a9afc3e4f42e4a01b2b39090aa2fb), as well as descriptive statistics and supplementary analyses. We report all manipulations, measures, and exclusions in these studies.

Prescriptive intersectional stereotypes by gender and sexual orientation (Study 1) and gender and race (Study 2)

Method

Participants

We used a rule of thumb strategy to recruit roughly 100 participants per condition and with such a sample we had 80% power to detect a paired sample *t*-test as small as $d = 0.28$ with an alpha level of .95. We recruited participants from two convenience participant pools: the Harvard Digital Lab for the Social Sciences (DLABSS) in Study 1 and Amazon Mechanical Turk in Study 2. DLABSS participants are volunteers and thus were not paid (see www.dlabss.harvard.edu). We paid our Amazon Mechanical Turk participants \$1.20 for their time. Of the 560 recruited participants in Study 1, 458 finished, while 619 out of 694 participants finished Study 2. We didn't exclude participants from either study for any reason other than not finishing the study. Participants in Study 1 predominantly self-identified as White (79%) and heterosexual (83%), with gender identity roughly evenly split between woman (57%) and man. Participants in Study 2 had a similar demographic profile, with 69% self-identified as White and

evenly split between identifying as a man (46%) or woman (53%). Due to a coding error, we did not collect sexual orientation information in Study 2.

Materials and Procedure

We asked participants to indicate the desirability of targets of different sexual orientations in Study 1 and different races in Study 2, having a series of 70 traits such as “Assertive”, “Warm and Kind”, and “Honest” (see supplementary materials for the full list of traits). These traits were amalgamated from several sources to encompass traits that are traditionally considered masculine, feminine, and neutral (Bem, 1974; E. V. Hall, Phillips, et al., 2015; Prentice & Carranza, 2002), as well as traits that are often used to describe sexual (e.g., “Theatrical”) or ethnic minoritized groups (e.g., “Musical”). Participants first familiarized themselves with the traits before moving to the trait rating task.

All participants rated trait desirability for a man, woman, and person; the sexual orientation or race of the targets differed between subjects. In Study 1, we randomly assigned participants to rate trait desirability for straight targets (i.e., a straight man, straight woman, and straight person), gay targets (i.e., a gay man, lesbian woman, and homosexual person), or label-less targets (i.e., a man, a woman, and person). In Study 2, we randomly assigned them to rate trait desirability for a man, a woman, and a person that was White, Black, Asian, Latino, Middle-Eastern, or label-less. The label-less conditions represent the standard way of assessing gender normative stereotypes (thus referred to as the Control conditions below) and constitute replications of Prentice & Carranza (2002) for 60 of the traits we used.

Participants rated the traits on a 9-point scale from 1 (Extremely Undesirable) to 9 (Extremely Desirable) while answering, “How desirable is it in American society for a [TARGET] to possess each of the following characteristics?” We purposefully asked participants

to indicate how they thought the average American would respond to help reduce demand characteristics (Fiske et al., 2002). The targets were presented sequentially, with participants randomly assigned to rate the man or the woman target on all 70 traits first, while the person target was always rated last. After the three rating tasks, participants described what they thought a typical man or woman of different sexual orientations (Study 1) and races (Study 2) looked and acted like in a free-response task. Finally, participants filled out a series of exploratory questionnaires, including a sexual and racial prototypicality scale and the Internal and External Motivation to appear Non-Prejudiced scale (IMS-EMS; Plant & Devine, 1998) towards LGBTQ people in Study 1 or ethnic minorities in Study 2. We do not discuss the free-responses or the exploratory questionnaires in this paper.

Data Analysis Strategy

We analyzed the data in Study 1 using a multilevel model in which Target Gender (3 Levels: Man, Woman, Person), Target Sexual Orientation (3 Levels: Straight, Gay/Lesbian, Control), and Traits (70 Levels: Aggressive, Ambitious, Approval Seeking, etc.) interacted to predict desirability ratings and included a participant-level random intercept to account for the within-subject nature of the trait ratings. We effects-coded each of our variables with the Person target, the Control condition, and the trait “Yielding” as reference categories. We also accounted for the effect of participant gender (Prentice & Carranza, 2002) by including the two-way interactions between participant gender (effects coded) and each of our variables of interest. We analyzed the data in Study 2 similarly as in Study 1, but instead of Target Sexual Orientation, we interacted Target Race (6 Levels: White, Black, Asian, Latino, Middle-Eastern, Control) with Target Gender and Traits.

Analyzing the data using a multilevel model allows for the greatest accounting of within-subject variance, compared to running 70 within-between ANOVAs. However, the two multilevel models are complicated, especially with Traits included as a fixed effect. We did not reduce the number of trait categories for two reasons. One, we were interested in showcasing the landscape of gender normative stereotypes at the intersection of sexual orientation and gender, allowing the current work to serve as a reference for future work on specific traits and attributes intersectionally. Two, creating superordinate categories from theory requires us to make assumptions about the nature of gender stereotypes that the current work is meant to challenge. For example, what traits should be labeled masculine or feminine, high- or low-status, is likely group-specific, making any aggregation likely a poor fit for one group relative to another. Similarly, creating superordinate categories in a bottom-up approach (e.g., EFA) makes it impossible to compare across groups, one of the advantages of the current design over others, such as open-ended free responses (Ghavami & Peplau, 2013).

We used the resulting models as the basis for planned comparisons across and within Target Gender, Target Identity (Sexual Orientation or Race) and Traits. To account for Type 1 error, we used the *emmeans* package in *R* (Lenth, 2021), controlling for multiple comparisons for all contrasts using the more stringent Bonferroni method. For large samples and complicated models, *emmeans* uses *z*-statistics for hypothesis testing instead of *t*-statistics, as it is much easier to calculate computationally. In this instance, using a *z*-test is the equivalent of using a *t*-test with infinite degrees of freedom. As the *t*-distribution approximates the *z*-distribution (i.e., the standard normal distribution) above 30 degrees of freedom, this is a reasonable substitution given our sample size in each factor combination. For both studies, at each stage, the more complicated

models better fit the data; the marginal pseudo R^2 (Bartoń, 2020) in Study 1 was .50 and .33 in Study 2.

Results

Hypothesis 1: Gender Normative Stereotypes Still Exist

We hypothesized that gender normative stereotypes still exist in America. We answered this question by examining gender differences in trait desirability between “Man” and “Woman” in the Control conditions in Studies 1 and 2. As expected, women and men were held to different normative standards on a variety of traits. There were 55 traits (out of 70; 79%) in Study 1 and 48 traits (69% of traits) in Study 2 for which participants’ desirability for a man versus a woman to display those traits significantly differed. The trait differences in desirability for a man versus a woman were robust, with some trait differences (e.g., feminine and masculine) as large as six units on a nine-point scale.

The top five prescriptive stereotypes for men included being self-reliant ($M_{\text{study 1}} = 8.17$; $M_{\text{study 2}} = 7.85$) displaying leadership ability ($M_{\text{study 1}} = 8.09$; $M_{\text{study 2}} = 7.93$), being ambitious ($M_{\text{study 1}} = 8.06$; $M_{\text{study 2}} = 7.77$), being masculine ($M_{\text{study 1}} = 8.03$; $M_{\text{study 2}} = 7.99$), and being decisive ($M_{\text{study 1}} = 8.03$; $M_{\text{study 2}} = 7.78$) while the top five prescriptive stereotypes for women included being feminine ($M_{\text{study 1}} = 8.08$; $M_{\text{study 2}} = 8.00$), being warm and kind ($M_{\text{study 1}} = 8.01$; $M_{\text{study 2}} = 7.73$), being patient ($M_{\text{study 1}} = 7.86$; $M_{\text{study 2}} = 7.59$), paying attention to appearances ($M_{\text{study 1}} = 7.77$; $M_{\text{study 2}} = 7.83$), and being polite ($M_{\text{study 1}} = 7.74$; $M_{\text{study 2}} = 7.86$). The top five proscriptive stereotypes for men included being weak ($M_{\text{study 1}} = 1.77$; $M_{\text{study 2}} = 2.15$), being feminine ($M_{\text{study 1}} = 2.16$; $M_{\text{study 2}} = 2.34$), naïve ($M_{\text{study 1}} = 2.16$; $M_{\text{study 2}} = 2.66$), being gullible ($M_{\text{study 1}} = 2.17$; $M_{\text{study 2}} = 2.44$), and being child-like ($M_{\text{study 1}} = 2.45$; $M_{\text{study 2}} = 2.78$), while women were proscribed the most from being arrogant, ($M_{\text{study 1}} = 2.16$; $M_{\text{study 2}} = 2.71$), being

masculine ($M_{\text{study 1}} = 2.28$; $M_{\text{study 2}} = 2.36$), controlling ($M_{\text{study 1}} = 2.68$; $M_{\text{study 2}} = 3.05$), promiscuous ($M_{\text{study 1}} = 3.04$; $M_{\text{study 2}} = 3.54$), and aggressive ($M_{\text{study 1}} = 3.15$; $M_{\text{study 2}} = 3.11$).

To place the continuity of gendered prescriptions in context, there were 60 traits that both we and Prentice and Carranza (2002) studied. Of those 60, Prentice and Carranza found significant gender differences for 55 of them. We found significant differences for 47 of the 60 in Study 1 and 41 in Study 2 (**Error! Reference source not found.** contains the gender prescriptive and proscriptive stereotypes that were present in Prentice and Carranza Study 1, our Study 1, and our Study 2). The continuity of gender normative stereotypes extended to more nuanced categorization of traits as intensified and relaxed prescriptive and proscriptive as outlined in Prentice and Carranza (2002). Those analyses can be found in the supplementary materials.

Hypothesis 2: Prototypicality biases impact people's normative stereotypes

We examined whether people's normative stereotypes were influenced by androcentrism in Studies 1 and 2, heterocentrism in Study 1, and Eurocentrism in Study 2.

Androcentrism. We empirically defined androcentrism to mean that trait desirabilities would be more similar between "Person" and "Man" targets compared to "Person" and "Woman" targets, suggesting conceptual overlap between a generic "Person" target with "Man" more so than "Woman". We first examined androcentrism within Target Gender and then nuanced by Target Sexual Orientation, using the *emmeans* package to compare averages using Bonferroni calculations. We were also able to calculate a difference score between the "Person" target with "Man" and "Woman" targets, as these assessments were within-subjects, to determine whether average trait differences between "Person" and "Man" were *relatively* smaller as well. To do so, we used the absolute value of the trait differences to analyze the magnitude of

difference between targets instead of the direction. Overall, the data supported an androcentric bias in gender normative stereotypes.

Study 1. There was a significant main effect of Target Gender, $F(2, 62385.31) = 60.72, p < .001$. Pairwise comparisons between the average trait desirability for “Man”, “Woman”, and “Person” targets collapsing across all traits and sexual orientations showed that there was not a significant difference between the man and the person targets, $z = -1.69, p = .271, d = -0.02$, but there was a significant difference in desirability between the woman and the person target, $z = 7.73, p < .001, d = 0.08$. Furthermore, the average trait desirability gap between “Person” and “Man” was significantly smaller than the average trait desirability gap between “Person” and “Woman”, $z = -23.1, p < .001, d = -0.23$.

Androcentrism was also present *within* sexual orientations (Figure 1), as evident by a significant interaction between Target Gender and Sexual Orientation, $F(4, 62380.66) = 3.99, p = .003$. The average trait desirability for “Person” compared to “Man” in the Control condition was not significantly different from one another, $z = -0.55, p = .999, d = -0.01$, while there was a significant difference between “Person” and “Woman”, $z = 6.00, p < .001, d = 0.09$. Furthermore, the gap between “Person” and “Man” was significantly smaller than “Person” and “Woman”, $z = -20.20, p < .001, d = -0.31$. This pattern was mirrored in the Straight condition such that the average trait desirability for “Straight Person” was not significantly different from “Straight Man”, $z = 1.44, p = .449, d = 0.03$, and was significantly smaller, $z = -15.7, p < .001, d = -0.28$, than the difference between “Straight Person” and “Straight Woman”, $z = 4.84, p < .001, d = 0.08$. In contrast, there was weaker evidence of androcentrism in the Gay condition, as the average trait desirability ratings for both “Gay Man” ($z = -3.70, p < .001, d = -0.07$) and “Lesbian Woman” ($z = 3.15, p = .005, d = 0.06$) were significantly different from “Homosexual Person”

target. However, “Gay Man” was *relatively* more similar to “Homosexual Person” than was “Lesbian Woman” target, $z = -5.70, p < .001, d = -0.11$.

Study 2. While there was also a significant main effect of Target Gender, $F(2, 127731.99) = 21.77, p < .001$, as well as an interaction between Target Gender and Target Race, $F(10, 127731.75) = 8.26, p < .001$, there was mixed evidence of androcentrism. Pairwise comparisons between “Man”, “Woman”, and “Person” targets across all traits and Target Races showed weaker evidence of androcentrism on trait desirability, as “Person” was significantly different from “Man”, $z = 5.40, p < .001, d = 0.04$, as well as “Woman”, $z = 5.98, p < .001, d = 0.04$. However, “Man” was relatively more similar to person compared to “Woman”, $z = -18.50, p < .001, d = -0.13$, in line with expectations.

There was also weaker evidence of androcentrism in the Control condition (Figure 2) such that the average trait desirability for “Person” and “Man”, was significantly different, $z = 3.13, p = .005, d = 0.05$, than the difference between “Person” and “Woman”, $z = 4.82, p < .001, d = 0.08$, but the gap between “Person” and “Man” was still stronger than the gap between “Person” and “Woman”, $z = -9.28, p < .001, d = -0.15$. In contrast, androcentrism was present in absolute and relative trait differences for White, Middle-Eastern, and Black targets. The average trait desirability for “White Person” was not significantly different from “White Man”, $z = 1.36, p = .523, d = 0.02$, but was significantly different from “White Woman”, $z = 5.91, p < .001, d = 0.10$, and was relatively more different as well, $z = -17.40, p < .001, d = -0.29$. Similarly, the average trait desirability for “Middle-Eastern Person” was not significantly different from “Middle-Eastern Man”, $z = 2.05, p = .121, d = 0.03$, but was significantly different from “Middle-Eastern Woman”, $z = 5.07, p < .001, d = 0.08$, and was also relatively different, $z = -10.8, p < .001, d = -0.18$. For Black targets, the average trait desirability for “Black Person” was

not significantly different from the “Black Man”, $z = 1.31, p = .569, d = 0.02$, but was significantly different from the “Black Woman”, $z = -3.39, p = .002, d = -0.06$. However, there was no difference between the two gaps, $z = 0.49, p = .999, d = -0.01$.

For Latino targets, there was partial evidence for a *female*-centric bias, or gynocentrism, instead of androcentrism. The average trait desirability for “Latino Person” was not significant different from “*Latina Woman*”, $z = 1.15, p = .754, d = 0.02$, but was significantly different from “Latino Man”, $z = 3.22, p = .004, d = 0.06$. The relative difference between “*Latina Woman*” and “Latino man” from “Latino Person” was not significant however, $z = 0.606, p = .999, d = 0.01$. Finally, for Asian targets, it wasn’t clear whether overall trait desirabilities conformed to androcentrism or gynocentrism. While the average trait desirability for “Asian Person” was not significantly different from “Asian Woman”, $z = 1.17, p = .722, d = 0.02$, but was (marginally) significantly different from “Asian Man”, $z = 2.15, p = .095, d = 0.04$, difference score analyses using absolute values showed that the desirability gap between “Asian Person” and “Asian Man” was smaller than the gap between “Asian person” and “Asian Woman”, $z = -9.03, p < .001, d = -0.15$.

Heterocentrism. We empirically defined heterocentrism to mean that the trait desirabilities for targets without a specified sexual orientation—“Man”, “Woman”, and “Person”—would be more similar to “Straight Man”, “Straight Woman”, and “Straight Person”, respectively, than “Gay Man”, “Lesbian Woman”, and “Homosexual Person”. We first examined heterocentrism within Target Sexual Orientation and then broken down by Target Gender, again using the *emmeans* package to compare averages using Bonferroni calculations. We were unable to calculate difference scores to test relative differences because Target Sexual Orientation wasn’t within-subjects. In support of that hypothesis, there was a significant main effect of

Target Sexual Orientation, $F(2, 283.63) = 18.48, p < .001$ as well as a significant interaction between Target Gender and Target Sexual Orientation, reported above. The aggregated trait desirabilities across all sexual orientations between the Control and Straight condition were statistically indistinguishable, $z = -0.70, p = .999, d = -0.03$, while there was a significant difference between the Control and Gay/Lesbian condition, $z = 5.01, p < .001, d = 0.19$.

Furthermore, this difference was present within every Target Gender (Figure 3). The average trait desirability for “Person” compared to “Homosexual Person” was significantly different from one another, $z = 5.48, p < .001, d = 0.22$, while it was statistically indistinguishable between “Person” and “Straight Person”, $z = -0.85, p = .999, d = -0.03$. The average trait desirability for “Man” compared to “Gay Man” was also significantly different from one another, $z = 4.01, p < .001, d = 0.16$, while it was statistically the same between “Man” and “Straight Man”, $z = -0.01, p = .999, d = 0.00$. Lastly, the average trait desirability differed for “Woman” compared to “Lesbian Woman”, $z = 4.61, p < .001, d = 0.18$, but didn’t differ between “Woman” and “Straight Woman”, $z = -1.15, p = .756, d = -0.05$.

Eurocentrism. Finally, we examined Eurocentrism, empirically defined to mean the trait desirabilities for targets without a specified sexual orientation—“Man”, “Woman”, and “Person”—would be more similar to “White Man”, “White Woman”, and “White Person” respectively, compared to the man, woman, and person targets of any other racial group. As with heterocentrism, we first examined Eurocentrism within Target Race and then broken down by Target Gender using *emmeans*. We again were unable to calculate difference scores to test relative differences because Target Race wasn’t within-subjects. There was a significant main effect of Target Race, $F(5,606) = 13.79, p < .001$, as well as a significant interaction between Target Gender and Target Race shown above. However, pairwise comparisons between Target

Race across all traits and sexes didn't show evidence of Eurocentrism on trait desirability, as the Control condition was significantly different from the White condition, $z = -3.82, p = .002, d = -0.20$. In terms of the other contrasts, against hypotheses, there was not a significant difference between trait desirabilities in the Control condition and the Latino, $z = 0.52, p = .999, d = 0.03$, Asian, $z = 1.29, p = .999, d = 0.07$, and Black conditions, $z = 2.8, p = .076, d = 0.14$, while the difference between Control and Middle-Eastern was significant, $z = 3.87, p = .002, d = 0.20$.

Furthermore, there wasn't evidence of Eurocentrism on the Target Gender level either. "Person" was significantly different from "White Person", $z = -0.37, p = .004, d = -0.19$, "Man" was significantly different from "White Man", $z = -4.18, p = .004, d = -0.22$, and "Woman" was significantly different from "White Woman", $z = -3.24, p = .018, d = -0.17$ (see supplementary materials for other comparisons). Although there wasn't evidence for Eurocentrism in stereotypes in isolation, as we discuss in the next section, gendered stereotypes as a dynamic between men and women showed evidence of Eurocentrism.

Hypothesis 3: Sexual orientation and race altered the prescriptive stereotypes of men and women.

As expected, the three-way interactions were significant in Study 1, $F(276, 62299.72) = 17.69, p < .001$, and Study 2, $F(690, 127728.01) = 3.18, p < .001$. In Study 1, we hypothesized that we would see evidence of gender inversion in normative stereotypes: the normative stereotypes of gay men would be similar to straight women, while the normative stereotypes of lesbian women would be similar to straight men. In Study 2, we hypothesized normative stereotypes would conform to expectations set by gendered race studies: gender normative stereotypes for Black men and women would be masculinized, while normative stereotypes for Asian men and women would be feminized. We also explored whether we would find similar

patterns for Latino and Middle Eastern men and women. All descriptive statistics and pairwise comparisons for each trait by Target Gender and Target Sexual Orientation/Race can be found in the supplementary materials, as well as graphs of each trait plotted separately.

Sexual Orientation. We labeled traits as showing evidence of gender inversion if there were significant gender differences between straight men and straight women as well as between gay men and lesbian women. Furthermore, the direction of the gender difference needed to be reversed from one sexual orientation to another—for example, if it was more desirable for a straight man to be aggressive compared to a straight woman, aggressiveness needed to be *less* desirable for a gay man compared to a lesbian woman.

Gender Inversion. There were 15 out of 70 traits for which there was gender inversion (Figure 4). A subset of these traits (i.e., “Attention to appearances”, “Cheerful”, “Excitable”, “Expresses emotion”, “Friendly”, “Stubborn”, “Theatrical”, “Warm and kind”) showed a unique type of gender inversion in which the desirability ratings for either the man or the woman target was the same for all sexual orientations but diverged for the opposite gender. What made this pattern of gender inversion noteworthy was that the normative pressure differed by sexual orientation for only one gender. For example, the desirability of paying attention to appearances showed gender inversion such that straight women and gay men faced a stronger prescription to pay attention to their appearances compared to straight men and lesbian women, respectively. However, the desirability of paying attention to appearances was the same for men of all sexual orientations but diverged for women, with people stating a lowered desirability for lesbian women to pay attention to their appearances compared to straight women. “Excitable”,

“Expresses emotion”, and “Theatrical” were the three traits for which there was differential pressure on men of different sexual orientations compared to the women.

Other Interaction Patterns. Gender inversion did not describe the pattern of prescription and proscription for the bulk of the traits, however. Instead, for 41 traits, we found a pattern we are labeling as “Sexual Orientation Asymmetry”, such that there were differences in the normative expectations between a man and a woman, but only for one of the sexual orientations. For 37 traits, (i.e., “Ambitious”, “Arrogant”, “Athletic”, “Business sense”, “Career Oriented”, “Child-like”, “Competitive”, “Cooperative”, “Cynical”, “Decisive/able to make decisions”, “Defends own beliefs”, “Emotional”, “Feminine”, “Gullible”, “Happy”, “High self-esteem”, “Impressionable”, “Intelligent”, “Leadership ability”, “Loves children”, “Masculine”, “Melodramatic”, “Naïve”, “Patient”, “Polite”, “Promiscuous”, “Rational”, “Rebellious”, “Self-reliant”, “Shy”, “Spiritual”, “Strong personality”, “Weak”, “Well-educated”, “Wholesome”, “Willing to take risks”, “Yielding”), there were significant gender differences between the straight targets but not for the gay/lesbian targets. There were only four traits for which there were significant differences between gay men and lesbian women but not between straight men and women (i.e., “Flirtatious”, “Materialistic”, “Musical”, and “Well-dressed”). Thus, people had distinct gendered norms for how straight men and straight women should and shouldn’t act but did not have strong gendered expectations for gay men and lesbian women. This conclusion is further supported by the fact that there were 52 traits for which trait desirability for a straight man differed from a straight woman but only 19 traits for which trait desirability differed between a gay man and lesbian woman.

The last 14 traits did not show any gender differentiation in either straight or gay/lesbian targets. Of these traits, 13 of them were traits that showed a main effect of Target Sexual

Orientation. More specifically, trait desirability was higher for straight targets than gay/lesbian targets for 10 traits (i.e., “Clean”, “Conservative”, “Consistent”, “Dependable”, “Disciplined”, “Enthusiastic”, “Honest”, “Likeable”, “Loyal”, and “Protects Others”) while trait desirability was higher for gay targets than straight targets for three traits (“Moody”, “Nosy”, and “Superstitious”).

Race. We tested our hypotheses around the gendered race hypothesis by first examining racial differences in the desirability to be masculine and feminine. Previous research has found that Black is descriptively associated with masculinity and Asian is associated with femininity (Galinsky et al., 2013). Here we examined prescriptive associations.

Gendered Race. First examining masculinity, the gendered race hypothesis predicts that Black men would have the highest norms to be masculine, followed by White men, and then Asian men. Contrary to hypotheses, it was most desirable for a White man ($M = 7.94$) to be masculine compared to Black ($M = 6.76$), Asian ($M = 6.14$), Latino ($M = 6.94$), and Middle-Eastern ($M = 6.67$) men. All ethnic minority men in contrast were held to the same standards around masculinity as each other, $ps > .888$. In contrast, there were no differences in the desirability of White ($M = 3.06$), Black ($M = 3.14$), Asian ($M = 3.11$), Latino ($M = 3.28$), or Middle-Eastern ($M = 3.18$) women to be masculine, $ps > .999$. This result is also contrary to the gendered race hypothesis, which presumes that Black women in particular would be desired to be more masculine compared to White and Asian women.

Next, we looked at the desirability to be feminine. Here there was some support for the gendered race hypothesis. While all men were proscribed from being feminine, it was more desirable for an Asian man ($M = 3.97$) to be feminine compared to a White man ($M = 2.84$), who didn't differ from Black ($M = 2.96$), Latino ($M = 3.39$), or Middle-Eastern ($M = 3.00$) men. It

was also less desirable for a Black ($M = 6.67$) and a Middle-Eastern ($M = 6.68$) woman to be feminine compared to a White woman ($M = 7.86$), who didn't differ from Asian ($M = 7.23$) or Latina ($M = 7.11$) women.

To continue to investigate the masculinity or femininity of racial gender norms, we assessed, on a trait by trait basis, whether people's normative stereotypes for "Man" and "Woman" (i.e., normative stereotypes in Study 2's Control condition) were similar to, or different than, the stereotypes of men and women of different races. To do this, we tabulated whether the 99% confidence intervals (CIs) for each trait desirability for White, Asian, Black, Latino men and women included the desirability point estimate for a "man" and "woman" respectively. We can then compare whether the normative stereotypes of men and women of different races had greater, or less, overlap with people's normative expectations for men overall, suggesting hyper- or hypo-masculinization, respectively. We did the same analyzes for hyper- and hypo-feminization as well.

First examining the male targets, overall, White men were hypermasculinized compared to men of other races, $\chi^2 (4, N = 70) = 24.20, p < .001$, as there were significantly more traits for which the White man's 99%CIs included the control condition "Man" point estimate compared to Black men, Asian Men, Latino men, and Middle-Eastern men. In contrast, there was no difference between men of different races in the degree of overlap for the control condition "Woman" point estimates, $\chi^2 (4, N = 70) = 2.54, p = .638$. Regarding women, overall Asian women were hyperfeminized and Black women were hypofeminized compared to White, Latina, and Middle-Eastern women, $\chi^2 (4, N = 70) = 21.48, p < .001$, supporting the gendered race hypothesis, while there was no difference between women of different races in the degree of overlap for the control condition "Man" point estimates, $\chi^2 (4, N = 70) = 5.85, p = .211$.

Other Interaction Patterns. Examining the traits overall, as was the case for sexual orientation, there was more pronounced gender differentiation in stereotypes for the prototypic White targets than for the non-prototypic racial minority: a pattern of “Race Asymmetry”. More specifically, close to half of the traits (34) showed significant gender differences between a White man and a White woman (i.e., “Aggressive”, “Ambitious”, “Approval seeking”, “Arrogant”, “Assertive”, “Athletic”, “Business sense”, “Career Oriented”, “Compassionate”, “Competitive”, “Controlling”, “Decisive/able to make decisions”, “Defends own beliefs”, “Emotional”, “Expresses emotion”, “Feminine”, “Forceful”, “Gullible”, “High self-esteem”, “Leadership ability”, “Loves children”, “Masculine”, “Naïve”, “Protects others”, “Rebellious”, “Self-reliant”, “Sensitive”, “Shy”, “Strong personality”, “Stubborn”, “Warm and kind”, “Weak”, “Willing to take risks”, and “Yielding”). In contrast, none of the other racial groups had more than a fourth of the traits show the same level of gender differentiation. There were 16 traits for which this was true for Middle-Eastern targets (i.e., “Aggressive”, “Ambitious”, “Assertive”, “Business sense”, “Career Oriented”, “Competitive”, “Controlling”, “Decisive/able to make decisions”, “Feminine”, “Forceful”, “Leadership ability”, “Masculine”, “Naïve”, “Sensitive”, “Shy”, and “Strong personality”), 12 traits for Asian targets (“Aggressive”, “Business sense”, “Career Oriented”, “Child-like”, “Competitive”, “Expresses emotion”, “Feminine”, “Leadership ability”, “Masculine”, “Naïve”, “Sensitive”, and “Shy”), four traits for Latino targets (“Athletic”, “Feminine”, “Masculine”, and “Sensitive”), and only three traits for Black targets (“Athletic”, “Feminine”, and “Masculine”).

Finally, of the 36 traits that didn’t show gender differences in White targets, 25 of them showed a main effect of Race for Black targets, 25 for Middle-Eastern targets, 22 for Latino

targets, and 15 for Asian targets. For almost all these stereotypes where there was a main effect of Race, there was a greater desire for White targets to display them than racial minorities.

General Discussion

There is a large body of work on the nature and impact of gender normative stereotypes. However, this research has predominantly been done in isolation to other identities that likely impact the normative expectations men and women are under, such as sexual orientation and race. In this work, we explored the landscape of gender normative stereotypes by asking people to rate the desirability of a man, woman, and person of various sexual orientations in Study 1, and races in Study 2, to display a series of traits. Overall, we find support for most of our hypotheses. As expected, gender normative stereotypes are still pervasive forces in society. Across 70 traits, 70% of them showed robust gender differences.

Furthermore, we found support for the presence of two out of three prototypicality biases. There was robust evidence of heterocentrism, as people's normative expectations for men and women conformed to the expectations of straight men and women rather than gay men and lesbian women. Normative stereotypes showed fairly consistent evidence of androcentrism, as people's trait desirabilities for "Person" were closer to "Man" than "Woman" in the Control and Straight conditions in Study 1, and in the Black, White, and Middle-Eastern conditions in Study 2. However, normative stereotypes did not support Eurocentrism, as the patterns seen in the Control condition did not conform more to White targets than other racial minorities. While there wasn't strong evidence of Eurocentrism on the level of Target Identity, there was Eurocentrism in the normative pressures applied to men and women as a dyadic unit: the stereotypes of how men and women should and shouldn't behave in relation to one another best matched people's normative stereotypes of White men and women compared to any other race.

Finally, there was some support for the gender inversion theory in Study 1 and gendered race hypothesis in Study 2. In Study 1, of the 52 traits that showed gender differences between straight men and straight women, only 15 of them also showed an inverted pattern of gendered differences between gay men and lesbian women. In Study 2, contrary to our expectation that Black men and women would be relatively more masculinized, White men were hypermasculinized. Asian men and women, as expected, were relatively more feminized, with Latino and Middle-Eastern seen similarly to White men and women in terms of femininity and masculinity. However, across both studies and for the bulk of the traits, participants did not draw large distinctions between the normative expectations of racial minority men and women. Indeed, participants reported significant differences in their desirability of a Black men compared to a Black woman to display a certain characteristic for only three out of 70 traits. Given that Target Gender was a within-subject factor, we set up the best-case situation to allow for differentiation by gender through contrast effects, and yet we only found it for prototypical groups.

In sum, from a methodological standpoint, gendered targets without an explicitly labeled social identity were not seen neutrally. Thus, research that does not specify social identities likely only applies to prototypical groups (in this case, straight, White individuals, in line with our methodological critique), and it should not be assumed that such work is generalizable, supporting our theoretical critique.

Implications

These findings have several implications for the work on gender normative stereotypes specifically, and gender research more broadly. We highlight two. The first is that our current understanding of gender normative stereotypes is not as applicable to non-prototypical groups.

Across both sexual orientation and race, being part of a non-prototypical group had more influence on people's normative expectations than being a particular gender; people didn't desire gay/lesbian, Black, Asian, Latino, and Middle-Eastern men and women to act as differently from one another as they desired straight and White men and women to act. Unpublished research on representations of transgender men and women have found a similar lack of gender differentiation within non-prototypical targets (Gallagher & Bodenhausen, 2021), a phenomenon they label as "de-gendering". Other work has also found that global stereotypes around competence and warmth for Black men and women show more similarity than the same stereotypes between White men and women (Coles & Pasek, 2020), further supporting the conclusion that gender differentiation is muted within non-prototypical groups.

Interestingly, within non-prototypical groups, we found that people differentiated Middle-Eastern men from Middle-Eastern women the most. We can only speculate, but it could be due to beliefs that Middle-Eastern people are particularly religious and conservative (Ghavami & Peplau, 2013), and thus this group retains normative expectations around traditional gender roles. It could also be due to weak group stereotypes, and thus participants defaulted to prototypical gender stereotypes. Finally, there could be an effect of status, as perceptions of race and status are related (Dupree et al., 2021; Penner & Saperstein, 2008). For example, Middle-Eastern and Asian Americans are stereotyped as rich while Black and Latino Americans are stereotyped as poor (Ghavami & Peplau, 2013); we found the greatest gender differences in the targets that are stereotyped as wealthier. Indeed, social role theory posits that the stereotypes of men and women come from the social roles they occupy (Eagly & Steffen, 1984). Gender is not the only social identity that has correlations with expected social roles along class and status dimensions, supporting an intersectional approach to normative stereotypes. More research is

needed on normative expectations of non-prototypical groups more broadly to understand when individuals default to stereotypes about one identity over another (Petsko & Bodenhausen, 2020).

Second, while there is often concordance between descriptive and normative stereotypes (Prentice & Carranza, 2002) for men and women, that concordance becomes untethered in non-prototypical groups. In other words, for straight and White individuals, descriptive stereotypes match normative stereotypes. How people expect straight men and women to be matches how straight men and women *ought to be* and *ought not to be* as well. However, there is a mismatch for non-prototypical targets. One glaring example is the masculinity associated with White and Black men. Descriptively Black men are seen as more masculine than White men (E. V. Hall, Galinsky, et al., 2015; Johnson et al., 2012). If the descriptive stereotypes associated with Black men in terms of masculinity matched normative stereotypes, we would expect participants to also indicate that it is most desirable for Black men (out of other races) to be masculine. Instead, we found that people desired Black men to be less masculine than White men.

This finding suggests that if a Black man displays the same level of masculinity as a White man, he is already too masculine and thus might face penalties for such behavior. Given the large amount of research on discrimination faced by Black men because of stereotypes around dangerousness and threat (Ghavami & Peplau, 2013; Livingston & Pearce, 2009; Pager et al., 2009), comparing descriptive and normative expectations of Black men gives us another account of how these disparities can arise. Indeed, the discrepancy between descriptive and normative stereotypes also can explain why Black men who act communally or appear nonthreatening are rewarded (Livingston et al., 2012; Livingston & Pearce, 2009).

Normative stereotypes associated with lesbian women also show this discrepancy between descriptive and normative stereotypes. Work on descriptive stereotypes broadly show

that people assume lesbian women are like straight men across a multitude of traits and characteristics. Normatively, however, there seems to be a distinct split in the masculine traits that lesbian women are desired to embody more so than gay men or straight women compared to the ones where they are not. For example, although it is more desirable for lesbians to be aggressive, assertive, and forceful compared to gay men or straight women, there are no differences in the desirability for traits like possessing business sense, being career oriented, or having leadership abilities. This suggests that although it might be acceptable for lesbian women to possess more masculine traits from a personality perspective, it isn't as acceptable for them to possess masculine traits in ways that would disturb the gender status quo. This split in masculine traits is mirrored in work on descriptive stereotypes of women of different races. Black women, who are also seen as more masculine are seen as agentic from a dominance perspective but not from a competence perspective (Rosette et al., 2016).

Limitations

While this study pushes the envelope on our understanding of gender normative stereotypes, there are some limitations to the research presented here. The most obvious limitation is the lack of diversity within our samples, especially along sexual orientation and race. Given that we asked participants to indicate the beliefs of an average American, the same prototypicality biases studied here likely influenced participants' answers, making it even more probable that these findings represent the beliefs of White and straight America. Thus, we want to be explicit and say that these findings represent the normative beliefs of prototypical White, straight group members, and should not be assumed to generalize beyond those group. That being said, understanding the normative pressures prototypical groups place on others is important as these individuals disproportionately hold political, economic, and social power.

Consequently, their normative beliefs are more likely to influence real-world outcomes like backlash and discrimination. Future studies should investigate the normative pressures non-prototypical groups place on themselves rather than expectations of what the broader society desires for the behavior of non-prototypical group members.

Another limitation is our simplified understanding of gender and sexual orientation. We assumed a gender binary in our design, asking individuals about their stereotypes for men and women. This design cannot further our understanding of gender fluid, gender queer, or non-binary individuals; future studies should examine normative stereotypes for individuals along the gender spectrum. Similarly, we only assessed stereotypes for gay men and lesbian women without acknowledging the diversity within those categories as well as other sexual minorities like bisexual or transgender men and women. Participants likely assumed a more feminine gay man and a more masculine lesbian woman, but we do not have evidence to speak to this. There is a need for intersectional work looking at subtypes within social categories (for some examples, see Brambilla et al., 2011; Clausell & Fiske, 2005).

Finally, we assessed stereotypes of people of different races without specifying other social identities that likely are assumed. For example, being a Muslim is often associated with individuals identifying as Middle Eastern, thus stereotypes towards Middle Eastern Americans likely reflect, to some extent, beliefs about Muslim Americans as well. As another example, we asked about Asian Americans, but the prototype for Asian Americans is East Asians rather than South Asians (Kibria, 1998; Kuo et al., 2020), at least in the American context these studies were conducted (Goh & McCue, 2021). Finally, there have been a recent surge of stereotype and perception research at the intersection of race and sexual orientation (Johnson & Ghavami, 2011; Pedulla, 2014; Petsko & Bodenhausen, 2019; Preddie & Biernat, 2021), suggesting that these

categories also influence one another in ways we do not examine here. We still believe there is utility in our studies, as these studies are but the first of, hopefully, many that will examine normative stereotypes intersectionally.

Finally, our determinations of gendered patterns relied on statistical breaks. We attempted to strike a balance between statistical rigor and not letting a focus on *p*-values overshadow the exploratory nature of the work. However, we let the data tell us where the important cleavages in patterns of gendered normative stereotypes lie, and there were some ambiguous cases. For example, while the desirability for straight and gay targets to be clean reflects a main effect of sexual orientation and not an interaction, the pattern clearly reflects a gender asymmetry effect. It was more desirable for a straight woman to be clean than a lesbian woman but equally as desirable for a straight and gay man to be clean. While this is indeed a gender asymmetry pattern, the fact that there weren't significant gender differences within both straight and gay targets precluded it from the category. Thus, we see gender normative stereotypes as more amorphous than what we present, and this is in part why it was important to include all means and comparisons in supplementary materials.

Conclusions and Future Directions

Despite these limitations, the results of these two studies invite inquiry into many avenues of research. We highlight two here. The first is to interrogate current work on gender backlash effects. The current findings from lesbian and ethnic minority women suggest that the ways in which they will experience role violations are distinct from straight and White women. While some recent research shows that Black women don't always experience backlash when acting in agentic ways, for example, (Livingston et al., 2012) compared to women in general (Brescoll & Uhlmann, 2008), much of the work blurs over these distinctions.

Second, these findings also highlight the importance of studying intra-racial and intra-sexual gender dynamics, as the very nature of gender normative stereotypes seem predicated upon the social identities at play. What does it mean for our gendered theories that there is a smaller distinction between the normative stereotypes of gay, Black, Asian Latino, and Middle Eastern men and women compared to straight and White men and women? How should we understand perceptions of, and engagement in, gender dynamics intra-sexually and intra-racially? We are excited for the new research that will explore these questions.

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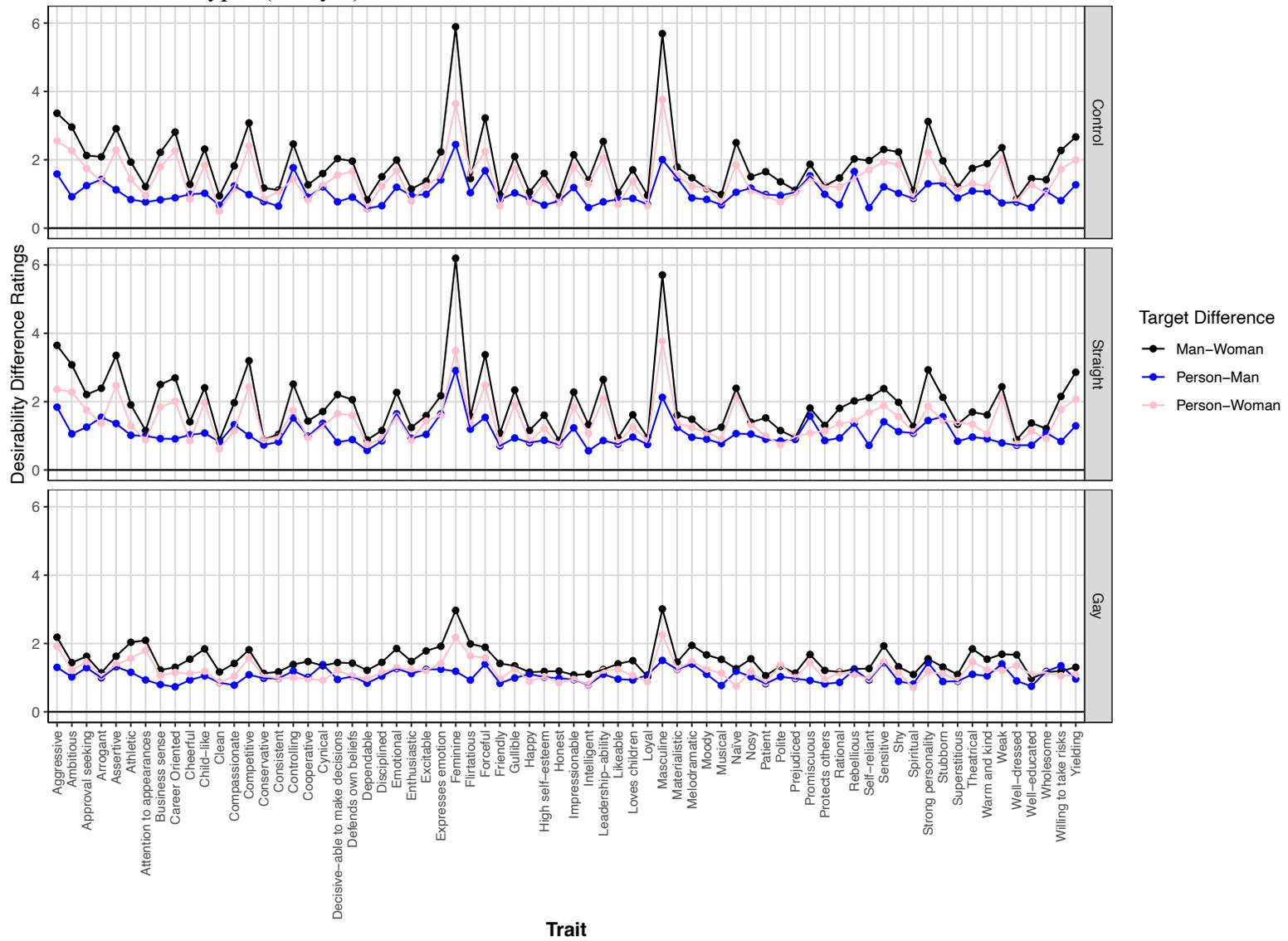
Table 1:*Stable Prescriptive and Proscriptive Gender Stereotypes from 2002 to Present*

	Study 1			Study 2		
	M	W	<i>d</i>	M	W	<i>d</i>
<i>Aggressive</i>	6.10	3.15	1.88	6.15	3.11	1.59
Ambitious	8.06	5.39	1.70	7.77	5.37	1.26
<i>Approval seeking</i>	3.90	5.39	-0.95	3.81	5.70	-0.99
Arrogant	4.03	2.16	1.19	4.67	2.71	1.02
Assertive	7.64	4.86	1.77	7.42	4.71	1.42
Athletic	7.72	5.97	1.11	7.76	5.81	1.02
Attention to appearances	6.98	7.77	-0.51	6.45	7.83	-0.73
Business sense	7.93	5.85	1.32	7.93	5.47	1.29
Career oriented	7.98	5.25	1.73	7.74	5.34	1.26
Child-like	2.45	4.20	-1.11	2.78	4.56	-0.93
<i>Competitive</i>	7.71	4.77	1.86	7.44	4.82	1.37
Controlling	4.63	2.68	1.24	5.16	3.05	1.11
Cynical	4.23	3.16	0.68	4.21	3.22	0.51
Decisive	8.03	6.26	1.13	7.78	5.82	1.03
Defends own beliefs	7.53	5.80	1.09	7.39	5.61	0.93
<i>Emotional</i>	3.45	4.93	-0.94	3.38	5.31	-1.01
<i>Express emotion</i>	4.73	5.94	-0.76	4.41	6.40	-1.04
<i>Feminine</i>	2.16	8.08	-3.76	2.34	8.00	-2.97
Forceful	6.40	3.67	1.73	6.00	3.32	1.40
Gullible	2.17	4.09	-1.22	2.44	4.60	-1.13
High self-esteem	7.73	6.39	0.85	7.57	6.41	0.61
<i>Impressionable</i>	3.76	5.40	-1.04	3.98	6.05	-1.08
Intelligent	7.88	6.67	0.77	7.63	6.54	0.57
Leadership ability	8.09	5.63	1.56	7.93	5.12	1.47
Loves children	6.49	7.75	-0.80	6.37	7.71	-0.70
<i>Masculine</i>	8.03	2.28	3.65	7.99	2.36	2.95
Melodramatic	2.25	3.25	-0.64	2.59	4.07	-0.77
Naive	2.16	4.62	-1.56	2.66	4.83	-1.14
Patience	6.46	7.86	-0.89	6.17	7.59	-0.75
Polite	6.82	7.74	-0.59	6.75	7.86	-0.58
Promiscuous	4.03	3.04	0.63	4.72	3.54	0.62
Rational	7.62	6.57	0.67	7.64	6.33	0.69
<i>Rebellious</i>	5.01	3.59	0.90	5.10	3.14	1.02
Self-reliant	8.17	6.26	1.21	7.85	5.89	1.03
<i>Sensitive</i>	4.79	6.62	-1.16	4.30	6.89	-1.36
<i>Shy</i>	2.97	5.05	-1.32	3.14	5.10	-1.03
Strong personality	7.48	4.50	1.89	7.34	4.71	1.38
Stubborn	4.62	3.11	0.96	5.19	3.34	0.97
Warm and Kind	6.36	8.01	-1.04	6.11	7.73	-0.85
Weak	1.77	3.96	-1.39	2.15	4.71	-1.34
Wholesome	6.20	7.34	-0.73	6.12	7.34	-0.63
Willing to take risks	7.46	5.45	1.28	7.41	4.83	1.35
<i>Yielding</i>	3.59	5.95	-1.50	3.70	6.37	-1.40

Note: *M* and *W* refers to the mean desirability for the man and woman target, respectively, in the control conditions. Shaded rows means that men had higher prescriptive/proscriptive norms than women. Unshaded rows means that women had higher prescriptive/proscriptive norms than men. Italicized traits indicate traits for which men and women faced opposite normative pressures (e.g., a trait that was prescribed for men but proscribed for women).

Figure 1:

Androcentrism in Gender Stereotypes (Study 1)



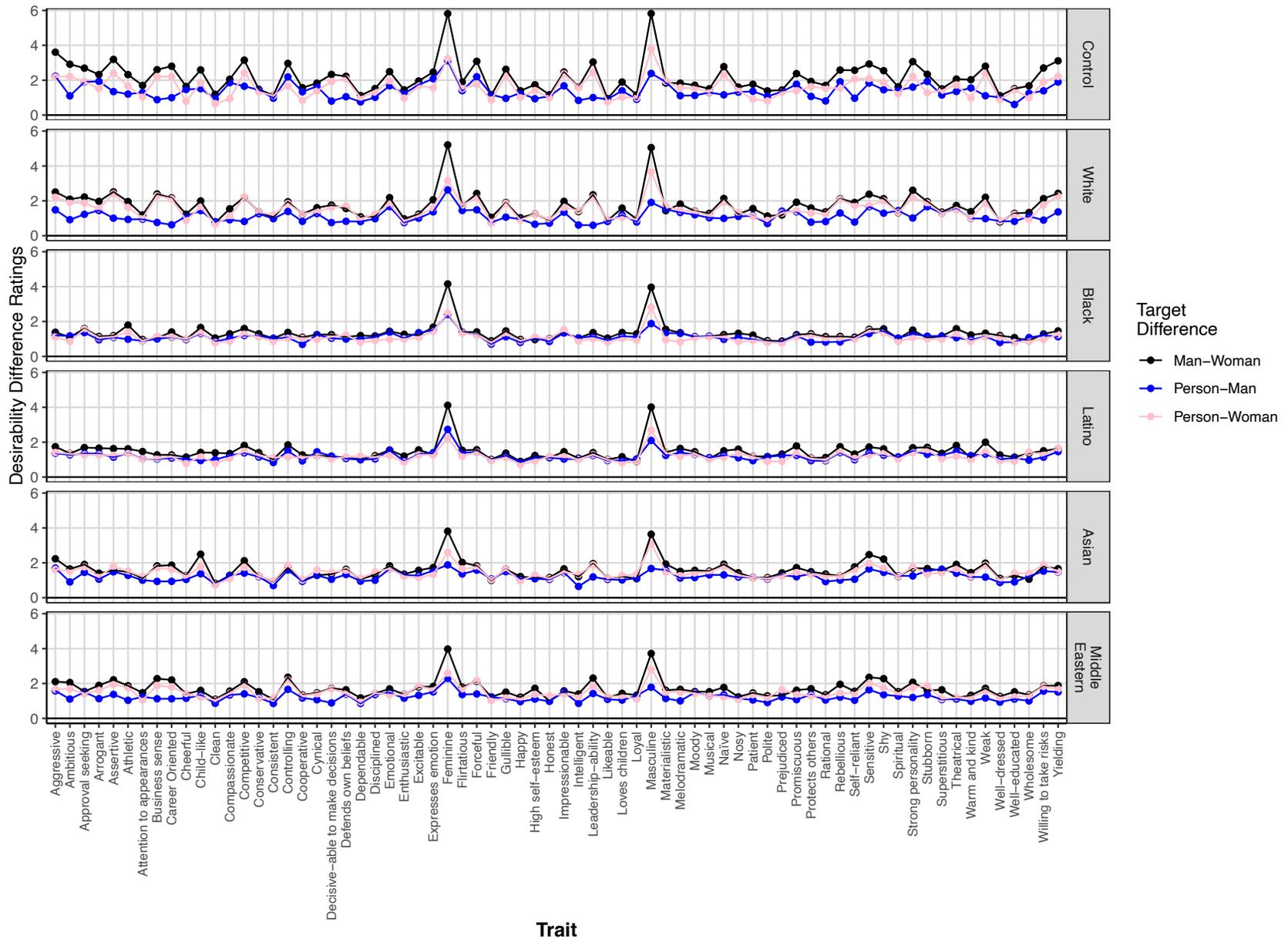
Note: Each dot represents the average of the absolute value of the difference in desirability for a single trait between two target sexes (represented by dot color) by sexual orientation (showcased in different panels). Black represents the average absolute value difference in desirability between Man and Woman targets; Blue represents the

Running head: INTERSECTIONAL GENDER NORMATIVE STEREOTYPES

average absolute value difference in desirability between Person and Man targets; and Pink represents the average absolute value difference in desirability between Person and Woman targets. Higher numbers represent a greater average difference in desirability between two target sexes for a given trait. Androcentrism is represented by how close the person-man comparison is to zero (indicating there is a smaller difference between the two desirabilities) compared to how close the person-woman comparison is.

Figure 2:

Androcentrism in Gender Stereotypes (Study 2)

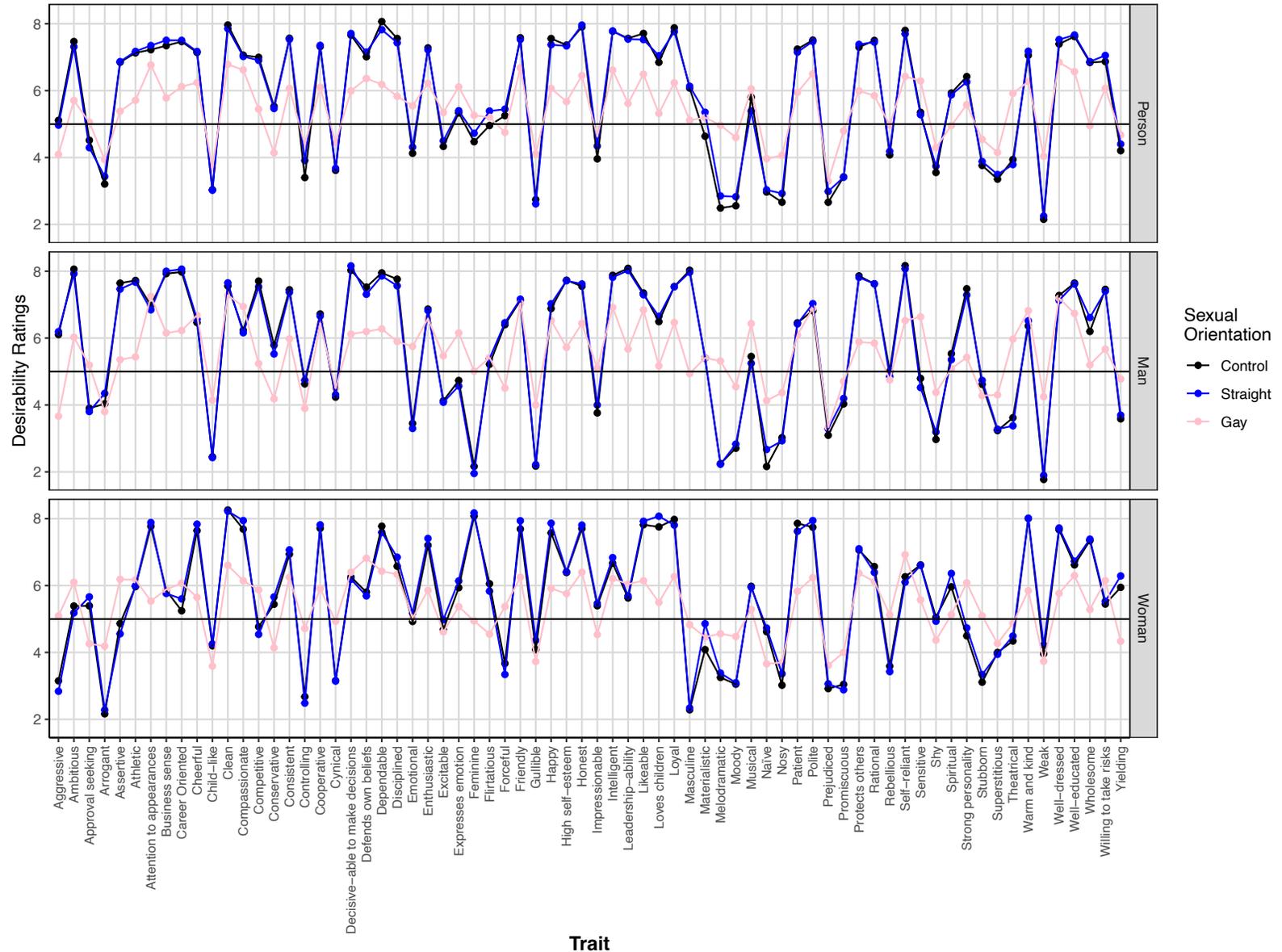


Running head: INTERSECTIONAL GENDER NORMATIVE STEREOTYPES

Note: Each dot represents the average of the absolute value of the difference in desirability for a single trait between two target sexes (represented by dot color) by race (showcased in different panels). Black represents the average absolute value difference in desirability between Man and Woman targets; Blue represents the average absolute value difference in desirability between Person and Man targets; and Pink represents the average absolute value difference in desirability between Person and Woman targets. Higher numbers represent a greater average difference in desirability between two target sexes for a given trait. Androcentrism is represented by how close the person-man comparison is to zero (indicating there is a smaller difference between the two desirabilities) compared to how close the person-woman comparison is.

Figure 3:

Heterocentrism in Gender Stereotypes

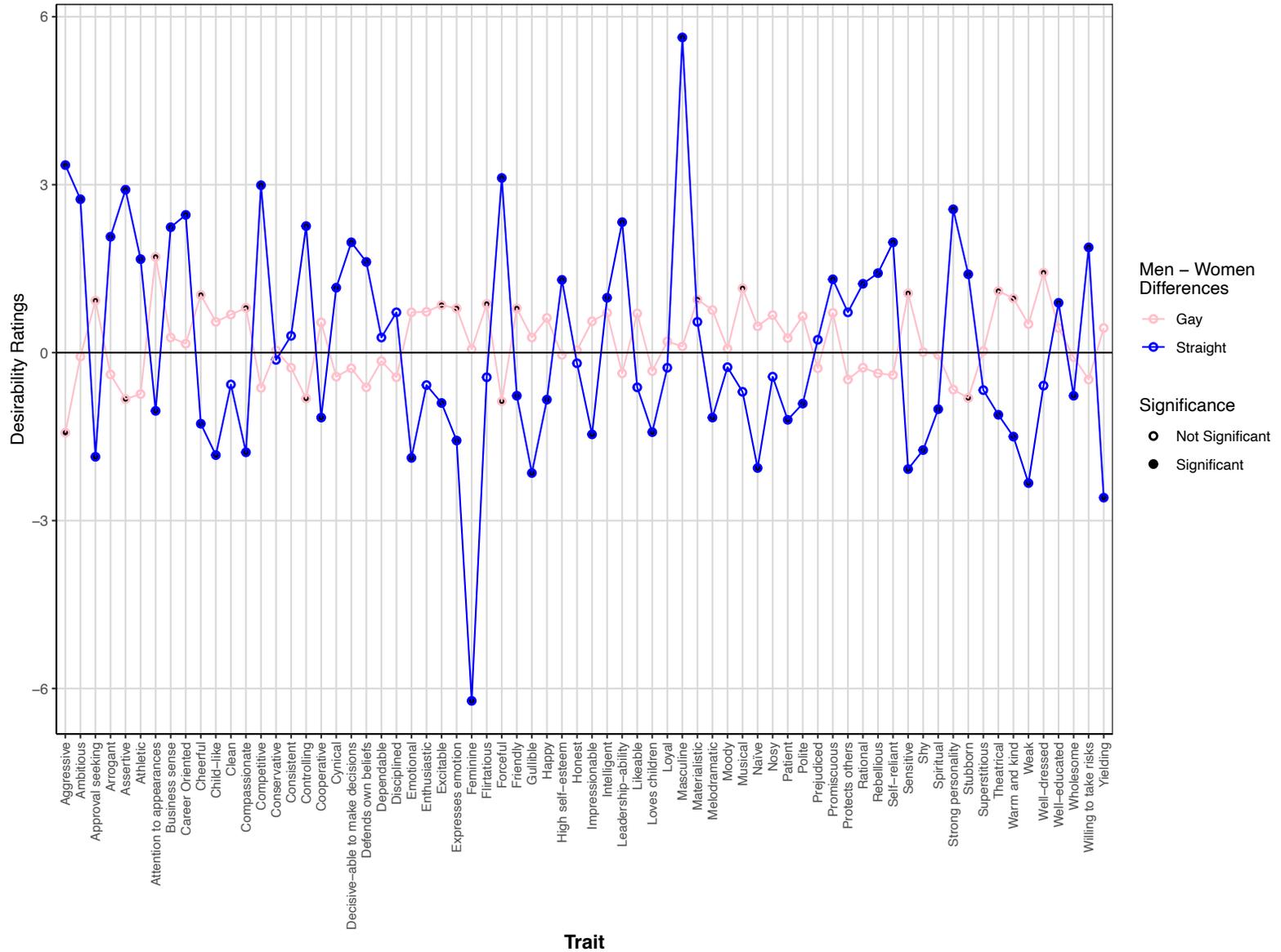


Running head: INTERSECTIONAL GENDER NORMATIVE STEREOTYPES

Note: Each dot represents the average desirability rating for a single trait by target sexual orientation (represented by dot color) and by target sex (showcased in different panels). Black represents the control condition; Blue represents straight condition; and Pink represents the gay/lesbian condition. Higher numbers represent a greater average desirability for a given trait; traits below the midpoint (5) are proscribed and traits above the midpoint are prescribed. Heterocentrism is represented by how similar the black dots are to the blue dots relative to how similar the black dots are to the pink dots.

Figure 4:

Gender Differences in Normative Stereotypes for Gay and Straight Targets



Running head: INTERSECTIONAL GENDER NORMATIVE STEREOTYPES

Note: Each dot represents the average gender difference between straight men and straight women (blue dots) as well as between gay men and lesbian women (pink dots) for a given trait. If the dot is filled with black, the gender difference for that trait is significantly greater than zero; if the dot is filled with white, the gender difference is not significantly different from zero. Dots above zero represent traits for which the man target had a greater desirability rating than the woman target; traits below zero represent traits for which the woman target had a greater desirability rating than the man target.