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Gender Differences in Attitudes Toward Gay Men and Lesbians: The Role of Motivation to Respond Without Prejudice

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Research has uncovered consistent gender differences in attitudes toward gay men, with women expressing less prejudice than men (Herek, 2003). Attitudes toward lesbians generally show a similar pattern, but to a weaker extent. The present work demonstrated that motivation to respond without prejudice importantly contributes to these divergent attitudes. Study 1 revealed that women evince higher internal motivation to respond without prejudice (IMS, Plant & Devine, 1998) than do men and that this difference partially mediates the relationship between gender and attitudes toward gay men. The second study replicated this finding and demonstrated that IMS mediates the relationship between gender and attitudes toward lesbians. Study 2 further revealed that gender-role variables contribute to the observed gender differences in motivation to respond without prejudice. These findings provide new insights into the nature of sexual prejudice and for the first time point to possible antecedents of variation in motivation to respond without prejudice.

Keywords: *attitudes; motivation; gender differences; gender-roles; sexual prejudice*

When Matthew Shepard was brutally beaten and left to die because he was gay, a wide range of reactions to the murder were expressed. Reverend Fred Phelps asked, “Is homosexuality—is being a fag okay? . . . If God doesn’t hate fags, why does he put ‘em in hell?” (Kaufman, 2001, p. 79). Conversely, another religious leader stated, “You think violence is what they did to Matthew—they did do violence to Matthew—but you know, every time that you are called a fag . . . do you realize that this is violence? That is the seed of violence” (Kaufman, 2001, p. 66).

Differences between individuals that might explain such divergent views of lesbians and gay men have come under scrutiny in the past 20 years. Research has uncovered a variety of individual difference variables that predict sexual prejudice¹ (e.g., Haddock, Zanna, & Esses, 1993; Herek, 1988, 2000; Whitley & Lee, 2000). Gender differences, in particular, have been afforded a great deal of attention in the literature, with findings indicating that heterosexual women are less prejudiced toward gay men than are heterosexual men (Herek, 1988). Attitudes toward lesbians generally show a similar pattern, but to a weaker extent. That is, some studies have shown that women are more favorable toward lesbians than are men (e.g., Herek, 1988, Study 3), whereas other investigations have found that female and male respondents evaluate lesbians similarly (e.g., Kite & Whitley, 1996).

Although a great deal of literature has examined gender differences in attitudes toward gay men and lesbians, our understanding of the cognitive processes and motivations that underlie these gender differences is in the nascent stages (Herek, 2003).

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The purpose of the present research is to explicate the motivation underlying gender differences in attitudes toward gay men and lesbians and to pinpoint the gender-related constructs associated with this motivation. In so doing, we hope to elucidate an important underlying process that drives attitudes toward lesbians and gay men.

Gender Differences in Attitudes Toward Lesbians and Gay Men

When examining factors that contribute to gender differences in sexual prejudice, it is important to note that gender can be viewed as multifaceted with various components operating relatively independently (Spence, 1993). For example, although both are related to gender-role norms, gender-role beliefs and gender-role self-concepts are distinct in that the former represents beliefs about how others should behave in terms of gender-role norms, whereas the latter represents perceptions of the self in terms of gender-role norms (Whitley, 1987, 2001). We believe that this distinction between gender-role beliefs and gender-role self-concepts is critical to a fuller understanding of gender differences in sexual prejudice.

The gender-role approach (e.g., Kite & Whitley, 1996, 1998; Lamar & Kite, 1998) provides a theoretical perspective for understanding gender differences in sexual prejudice that focuses on gender-role beliefs. This framework posits that gender-role beliefs are linked to sexual prejudice because homosexuality is perceived as a gender-role violation and, as such, the more an individual subscribes to traditional gender roles, the more hostility they will express toward individuals who presumably violate these norms (Kite & Whitley, 1998; Whitley, 2001). According to this perspective, men are said to endorse traditional gender-role beliefs to a greater degree than women—and to exhibit the associated heightened sexual prejudice—because gender-role violations are more egregious for men than for women (Bem, 1993). Consequently, men are pressured to affirm their masculinity by endorsing such ideals. Social dominance theory (Sidanius, 1993) provides another framework from which to examine gender differences in endorsement of traditional gender roles. This perspective posits that relative to women, men are higher in social dominance orientation—the desire for one's ingroup to maintain a dominant position in society—and that men subsequently endorse belief systems that maintain the status quo (e.g., endorsement of traditional gender roles) to a greater extent than do women (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999).

Although gender-role beliefs account for the relationship between gender and sexual prejudice, a direct relationship between gender-role self-concepts and sexual prejudice has not been observed (Kite & Whitley, 1998;

Whitley, 2001). According to multifactor gender identity theory (Spence, 1993), gender-role self-concepts are not related to sexual prejudice because they are personality traits that are not relevant for beliefs about how other people should behave (see also Whitley, 2001). Nevertheless, gender-role self-concepts are often internalized and adopted as personal standards by which people judge their own behavior, and engaging in behaviors consistent with these self-concepts results in positive feelings about the self (Wood, Christensen, Hebl, & Rothergerber, 1997). To the extent that gender-role self-concepts are related to treating others equitably, then, individuals should be motivated to treat others in a manner congruent with their self-concepts. This reasoning suggests that despite the lack of a direct relationship between gender-role self-concepts and sexual prejudice, self-concepts that include prescriptions regarding the equitable treatment of others should influence motivation related to the expression of prejudice.

Motivation to Respond Without Prejudice

To date, work examining motivation to respond without prejudice has focused primarily on attitudes toward African Americans (Fazio & Hilden, 2001; Plant & Devine, 1998). This research has shown that explicit endorsement of nonprejudiced sentiments does not reliably coincide with implicitly (i.e., unconsciously) measured attitudes or, even, outward expressions of behavior (Devine, Plant, Amodio, Harmon-Jones, & Vance, 2002; Fazio, Jackson, Dunton, & Williams, 1995), suggesting that the expression of such nonprejudiced sentiments may be motivated by concerns with appearing nonprejudiced rather than by an authentic desire to be nonprejudiced (e.g., Dunton & Fazio, 1997; Fazio & Hilden, 2001; Plant & Devine, 1998). Of importance, Plant and Devine (1998) drew a distinction between two independent sources of motivation to respond without prejudice: internal motivation (IM) resulting from internalized and personally important nonprejudiced standards and external motivation (EM) resulting from social pressure to comply with nonprejudiced norms (see also Dunton & Fazio, 1997; Fazio & Hilden, 2001).

According to these researchers, both internal and external sources of motivation act in concert within each individual to determine the nature of prejudice-related responses. Employing the Internal Motivation Scale (IMS) and the External Motivation Scale (EMS), Plant and Devine (1998, Studies 1 and 2) provided evidence for these distinct motivations to avoid prejudiced responses as well as unique patterns of both motivations in individuals. In Study 3, participants in either public or private conditions rated the extent to which 35 traits

were characteristic of Blacks. Source of motivation interacted with public or private setting to predict endorsement of prejudice-related beliefs. More specifically, only those individuals who were both low in internal and high in external motivation to respond without prejudice provided different ratings as a function of whether they were responding in private or public conditions, with more negative attitudes being expressed in the private condition. Of importance, internal and external motivation also can exert a moderating influence on implicit race bias (e.g., Devine et al., 2002; Fazio et al., 1995; Maddux, Barden, Brewer, & Petty, 2005). For instance, Devine et al. (2002) found that relative to all other participants, those individuals high in IM and low in EM exhibited the lowest levels of implicit race bias and, moreover, that high IMS scores were correlated with less prejudiced attitudes toward Blacks.

It is important to note that although IMS and measures of prejudice should be highly related (Devine et al., 2002; Plant & Devine, 1998), they are conceptually distinct. Measures of prejudice typically assess attitudes toward others, whereas IM reflects both how an individual views the self in terms of egalitarian standards and the extent to which these self-views motivate and subsequently enable the individual to control prejudiced responses (Devine et al., 2002). Due to this unique focus, motivations to respond without prejudice explain behavior beyond what is accounted for by explicit measures of prejudice (Fazio et al., 1995).

The Current Work

To date, the roles of internal and external motivation to respond without prejudice (Plant & Devine, 1998) with respect to gender differences in attitudes toward lesbians and gay men have not been examined. A purpose of the present work is to address this gap in the literature.

Given their mutual focus on self-related concerns, we expect that gender-role self-concepts will be particularly important in predicting gender differences in IM. Consequently, we focus on self-concepts rather than gender-role beliefs in framing our hypotheses. Because the gender-role self-concept is an internalized component of the self that serves as a standard by which people judge themselves (Wood et al., 1997), and internalized nonprejudiced standards develop from a sense of personal moral obligation rather than societal pressure (Monteith & Walters, 1998), we expect that to the extent that gender-role self-concepts prescribe egalitarian attitudes toward others, such self-concepts should be associated with higher IM. Because the feminine self-concept embodies communal behaviors such as warmth and compassion for others (Bem, 1974; Wood et al., 1997), individuals who highly endorse the feminine self-concept as

part of themselves should be internally motivated to be nonprejudiced toward others.

In contrast, the masculine self-concept includes agentic and dominance-oriented behaviors that are not related to concern with the welfare of others (Bem, 1974; Wood et al., 1997). Thus, the degree to which an individual endorses the masculine self-concept should not be related to internal motivation to respond without prejudice. Because social reinforcement leads women to be more likely than men to endorse a highly feminine self-concept, and men to be more likely than women to endorse a highly masculine self-concept (Bem, 1993; Eagly, Diekmann, Johannesen-Schmidt, & Koenig, 2004), it is predicted that women will express higher internal motivation to respond without prejudice toward both lesbians and gay men than will men. Similarly, because the expression of sexual prejudice has been shown to be associated with the dominance-related components of masculinity (Whitley & Lee, 2000), men should exhibit lower EM than women (i.e., a reduced desire to conceal prejudice). In light of empirical work demonstrating that the expression of sexual prejudice is not proscribed (e.g., Crandall & Eshleman, 2003; Haidt & Hersh, 2001; Herek, 1988), and that the relationship between EM and expressions of prejudice are weak (Plant & Devine, 1998), however, we do not expect that variation in EM will account for gender differences in sexual prejudice. Combining our prediction that male and female respondents will differ in IM with findings in the racial-prejudice literature regarding the importance of high IM for predicting prejudice-related responses (Devine et al., 2002), it is anticipated that internal motivation to respond without prejudice will at least partially account for the divergent attitudes toward lesbians and gay men that are expressed by men and women. Study 1 was designed to test this prediction.

STUDY 1

Method

PARTICIPANTS

Seven hundred and sixty self-identified heterosexual introductory psychology students at Ohio University (513 women, 247 men) participated for partial course credit.

INSTRUMENTS

Attitudes Toward Lesbians and Gay Men (ATLG) Scale. Prejudice scores were obtained using the ATLG scale (Herek, 1988). The ATLG is a 20-item measure of prejudice toward lesbians and gay men consisting of two subscales: Attitudes Toward Lesbians (ATL) and Attitudes

TABLE 1: Correlations Between Gender, Motivation, ATG, and ATG: Study 1 (N = 760)

Measure	IMS	EMS	ATG	ATL
Gender ^a	.371**	.108**	-.366**	-.096**
IMS		.144**	-.609**	-.505**
EMS			-.036	.003
ATG				.802**
ATL				
Women (n = 513)				
M	36.58	23.32	32.62	30.37
SD	6.88	8.47	18.88	15.22
Men (n = 247)				
M	30.23	21.40	49.07	33.58
SD	8.53	7.87	20.99	16.31

NOTE: IMS = internal motivation score; EMS = external motivation score; ATG = attitudes toward gay men score; and ATL = attitudes toward lesbians score.

a. -1 = men, 1 = women.

** $p < .01$.

Toward Gay Men (ATG), each comprising 10 items measured on a 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 9 (*strongly agree*) rating scale, with higher scores indicating greater prejudice. The ATL and ATG contain different items, each assessing disgust (e.g., “Lesbians are sick”; “I think male homosexuals are disgusting”) as well as corresponding endorsement of social inequity (e.g., “Lesbians just can’t fit into our society”; “Male homosexuals should not be allowed to teach school”). Reliability analyses indicated a high level of internal consistency: total ATLG ($\alpha = .94$), ATL ($\alpha = .86$), and ATG ($\alpha = .93$).

Internal and external motivation to respond without prejudice scales. Motivation to respond without prejudice was assessed with an adapted version of the 10-item combined IMS and EMS scale (Plant & Devine, 1998). The original version of the scale was intended to measure motivation to respond without prejudice toward Blacks; thus, for the current investigation, items were altered to assess external and internal motivation specific to gay men and lesbians.² The adapted measure contained two subscales—IMS (e.g., “I am personally motivated by my beliefs to be nonprejudiced toward gays”) and EMS (e.g., “I try to hide any negative thoughts about gays in order to avoid negative reactions from others”). Each subscale comprised 5 items measured on a 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 9 (*strongly agree*) rating scale. Reliability analyses revealed satisfactory levels of internal consistency for both IMS ($\alpha = .78$) and EMS ($\alpha = .69$).

PROCEDURE

As part of a larger data-collection effort, participants completed the ATLG (Herek, 1988) and an adapted version of the combined IMS and EMS (Plant & Devine, 1998) in one of two counterbalanced orders.

Results

ATG and ATL scores were compared for female and male respondents. Regression procedures were then employed to assess the predictive role of motivation to respond without prejudice in attitudes toward gay men and women, followed by a test of the hypothesis that internal motivation mediates the relationship between gender and attitudes for both gay men and lesbians.

GENDER DIFFERENCES

Prejudice scores. Because research has demonstrated that attitudes toward lesbians and gay men often diverge (Herek, 2000), gender differences in attitudes toward male and female targets (i.e., ATG vs. ATL) were examined separately (see also Herek, 1988).³ Data were subjected to a 2 (gender of respondent: female vs. male) \times 2 (gender of target: ATG vs. ATL) analysis of variance (ANOVA), with the gender of the target serving as a within-subjects factor.

Findings revealed two main effects. Regardless of the gender of the target, male respondents ($M = 41.33$) harbored more negative attitudes than did female respondents ($M = 31.5$), $F(1, 758) = 56.9$, $p < .0001$, $\eta^2 = .07$, and overall, more negative attitudes were expressed toward gay men ($M = 40.85$) than toward lesbians ($M = 31.98$), $F(1, 758) = 434.1$, $p < .0001$, $\eta^2 = .36$. This main effect of target was qualified by an interaction between gender of respondent and target gender, $F(1, 758) = 241.75$, $p < .0001$, $\eta^2 = .24$. Although attitudes toward lesbians and gay men did not significantly differ for female respondents, $F < 1$, male respondents exhibited more negative attitudes toward gay men than toward lesbians, $F(1, 758) = 127.66$, $p < .0001$, $d = .88$ (see Table 1).

Motivation to respond without prejudice scores. Relative to men, women expressed higher internal motivation to respond without prejudice, $t(758) = 10.76$, $p < .0001$, $d = .82$, and higher external motivation to respond without prejudice, $t(758) = 3.01$, $p < .01$, $d = .23$ (see Table 1).

MOTIVATION TO RESPOND WITHOUT PREJUDICE AS A PREDICTOR OF ATTITUDES

Correlations. As depicted in Table 1, ATG and ATL were not related to external motivation to respond without prejudice but they were negatively related to internal motivation.

Hierarchical regression analyses. The roles of internal and external motivation to respond without prejudice in predicting attitudes toward gay men and lesbians were more directly assessed through separate hierarchical regression analyses that employed ATG and ATL scores as dependent variables. Five steps were used to

TABLE 2: Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Predicting ATG

Variable	B (β)	F	Change R ²
Study 1 (N = 760)			
Step 1			
Gender ^a	-16.45 (-.366)***	117.56	.134***
Step 2			
IMS	-1.44 (-.549)***	324.74	.260***
Gender	-7.31 (-.163)***		
Step 3			
EMS	.16 (.062)*	4.69	.004*
IMS	-1.46 (-.556)***		
Gender	-7.49 (-.167)***		
Study 2 (N = 234)			
Step 1			
Gender	-16.65 (-.391)***	41.86	.153***
Step 2			
IMS	-1.06 (-.438)***	72.57	.386***
Gender	-12.20 (-.287)***		
Step 3			
EMS	.17 (.080)	2.25	.006
IMS	-1.06 (-.435)***		
Gender	-12.31 (.289)***		

NOTE: ATG = attitudes toward gay men score; IMS = internal motivation score; EMS = external motivation score.
 a. -1 = men, 1 = women.
 * $p < .05$. *** $p < .001$.

build each regression equation: gender of respondent was entered in the first block (-1 = man, 1 = woman), followed by IMS scores, EMS scores, all two-way interactions, and the three-way interaction between gender, IMS, and EMS. All interaction terms were created by multiplying the continuous IMS and EMS variables with the dichotomous gender variable. The IMS and EMS variables were entered in separate blocks to assess the contribution of IMS in the presence of gender of respondent, whereas the interaction terms allowed for a test of gender differences in relation to each of the other variables (see Tables 2 and 3 for individual regression coefficients and changes in R² associated with each step for ATG and ATL scores, respectively). IMS was entered after gender so that the influence of IMS on the relationship between gender and attitudes could be examined and was entered before EMS so that these relationships could be examined independent of the influence of EMS.

Gender of respondent significantly predicted both ATG and ATL when it was entered on the first step (see Tables 2 and 3), although the change in R² for ATL was minimal. In predicting ATG scores, when IMS was entered on the second step, gender of respondent remained significant, $t(757) = 7.31, p < .0001$, and IMS accounted for additional variance, $t(757) = 18.02, p < .0001$. Similarly, when ATL scores were regressed on gender of respondent and IMS scores, gender of

TABLE 3: Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Predicting ATL

Variable	B (β)	F	Change R ²
Study 1 (N = 760)			
Step 1			
Gender ^a	-3.21 (-.096)**	7.06	.009**
Step 2			
IMS	-1.06 (-.544)***	262.31	.255***
Gender	3.53 (.106)**		
Step 3			
EMS	.14 (.072)*	5.22	.005*
IMS	-1.08 (-.552)***		
Gender	3.37 (.101)**		
Study 2 (N = 234)			
Step 1			
Gender	-5.95 (-.202)**	9.82	.041**
Step 2			
IMS	-.78 (-.481)***	57.55	.191***
Gender	-.006 (.002)		
Step 3			
EMS	.21 (.139)*	5.91	.019*
IMS	-.76 (-.465)***		
Gender	-.37 (-.013)		

NOTE: ATL = attitudes toward lesbians score; IMS = internal motivation score; EMS = external motivation score.
 a. -1 = men, 1 = women.
 * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

respondent remained significant, $t(757) = 3.15, p < .01$, and IMS accounted for additional variance, $t(757) = 16.20, p < .0001$. Although entering EMS in the third block was a significant contributor to variance for both ATG and ATL subscales ($p < .05$), the change in R² was minimal (see Tables 2 and 3), $t(756) = 2.17, p < .001$, for ATG, and $t(756) = 2.29, p < .001$, for ATL.⁴ The interaction terms entered in the fourth and fifth blocks did not add significantly to the explained variance in any of the dependent variables and consequently were dropped from any further analyses.

IMS as a mediator of the relationship between gender of respondent and attitudes toward gay men and lesbians. Although entering IMS into the second block did not completely reduce the variability accounted for by gender of respondent in ATG scores, examination of the unstandardized coefficients revealed a drop from -16.45 to -7.31. To assess whether this change was statistically significant, a test of partial mediation (Kenny, Kashy, & Bolger, 1998) was conducted. As depicted in Figure 1, the paths from gender of respondent to ATG scores (Path c), gender of respondent to IMS scores (Path a), and IMS scores to ATG scores (Path b) were all significant (all $ps < .001$). However, extracting the variance associated with internal motivation produced a significant reduction in the beta weight of the direct path between gender of respondent and ATG, $Z = -9.35$,

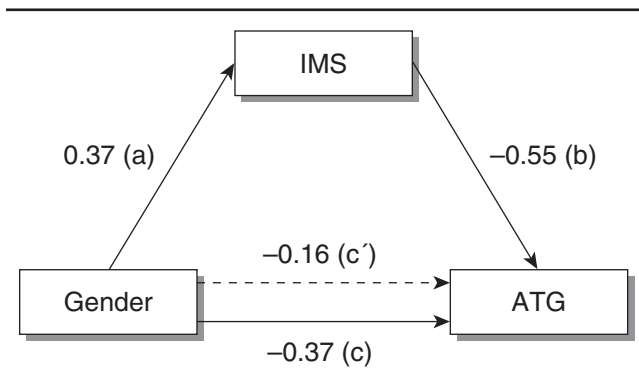


Figure 1 Path diagram and coefficients (standardized beta weights) for Study 1.

NOTE: ATG = attitudes toward gay men score. Solid paths are significant at $p \leq .05$. The dotted path (c') indicates a significant drop in Path c when internal motivation score (IMS) is included in the model, $Z = -9.35$, $p < .001$.

$p < .001$, that is, the beta coefficient associated with the relationship between gender of respondent and ATG scores when IMS was in the model (Path c') was significantly smaller than the direct path (excluding IMS) between gender of respondent and ATG scores (Path c). Thus, our hypothesis that internal motivation to respond without prejudice would at least partially mediate the relationship between gender of respondent and attitudes toward gay men was supported.

Although we expected that IMS would mediate the relationship between gender of respondent and attitudes toward lesbians, controlling for IMS instead revealed a reversal of the direction of the initial relationship between gender and ATL scores (see Table 3). Whereas women appeared to express less prejudice toward lesbians than did men when IMS was not controlled for, the addition of IMS into the model predicting ATL scores reversed the direction of this relationship such that women now appeared to express more prejudice toward lesbians than did men (see Table 3).⁵

STUDY 2

Study 1 demonstrated that women express higher internal motivation to respond without prejudice than do men and that this increased motivation predicts more positive attitudes toward gay men and lesbians. We expected to find such gender differences in IMS because we assumed that the feminine self-concept—which is more pronounced in women than in men—is associated with greater internal motivation to respond without prejudice toward others, whereas the masculine self-concept—which is more pronounced in men than in women—is not associated with such motivation.

Nevertheless, because we did not assess participants' gender-role self-concepts, Study 1 provided only indirect support for these relationships. Moreover, because previous research has shown that endorsement of traditional gender-role beliefs is related to greater sexual prejudice, it is critical to establish that gender-role self-concepts are uniquely related to IMS and EMS. The primary purpose of Study 2, then, is to empirically demonstrate the hypothesized relationships between the feminine and masculine self-concepts and IMS and EMS, as well as to demonstrate that gender-role beliefs and gender-role self-concepts are differentially related to IMS and EMS. To begin, it is predicted that endorsement of the feminine self-concept will be positively related to IMS but not related to EMS. Second, as suggested in Study 1, it is predicted that endorsement of the masculine self-concept will be negatively related to EMS. In contrast, because endorsement of gender-role beliefs is influenced by adherence to socially prescribed norms, strength of gender-role beliefs should be positively related to EMS to the extent that individuals are concerned with appearing to respond in a politically correct manner. Finally, because adherence to traditional gender-role beliefs enables the justification of sexual prejudice (Crandall & Eshleman, 2003) and homosexuality presumably violates such norms, IMS and gender-role adherence should be negatively related, that is, individuals who feel justified in their negative attitudes as a function of their gender-role beliefs should be unlikely to internalize motivation to be nonprejudiced.

As predicted, Study 1 revealed that men are lower in EM than are women but that this difference did not account for gender differences in attitudes toward lesbians or gay men. Although this result is not altogether surprising in light of the fact that expression of sexual prejudice is relatively acceptable among college students (Crandall, Eshleman, & O'Brien, 2002), it is also possible that the relatively private nature of the testing context in which the ATLG questionnaire was administered did not elicit concern to respond in a nonprejudiced manner. To disentangle these explanations in Study 2, we manipulated the conditions under which participants reported their attitudes toward lesbians and gay men (i.e., privately or publicly). If EMS did not contribute to gender differences in attitudes in Study 1 because participants did not experience pressure to respond without prejudice, then reporting condition should interact with IMS and EMS to predict prejudice (cf. Plant & Devine, 1998).

Another drawback with Study 1 was that IMS and EMS were not measured separately for gay men and lesbians. This could be problematic if people often think of gay men when they see words such as *homosexuals* and *gays* (Haddock et al., 1993). To ensure that our findings

generalize to gay men *and* lesbians, IMS and EMS for lesbian and male targets were measured separately in Study 2.

Finally, because we are proposing that IMS mediates the relationship between gender and sexual prejudice, and mediators should be measured before outcome variables (Kenny et al., 1998), Study 2 comprised two sessions. IMS/EMS are measured at Time 1, whereas ATL/ATG are measured at Time 2.

Method

PARTICIPANTS

Two hundred thirty-four self-identified heterosexual introductory psychology students at Ohio University (159 women, 75 men) participated for partial course credit.

INSTRUMENTS

ATLG scale. Prejudice scores were again ascertained via the ATLG scale (Herek, 1988). Reliability analyses indicated a high level of internal consistency: total ATLG ($\alpha = .95$), ATL ($\alpha = .86$), and ATG ($\alpha = .93$).

Internal and external motivation to respond without prejudice scales. Motivation to respond without prejudice was assessed with two newly adapted versions of the combined IMS and EMS scales (Plant & Devine, 1998), that is, in contrast to Study 1, respondents reported their external and internal motivation separately for gay men and lesbians. The adapted lesbian scale contained two subscales—IMS-L (e.g., “I am personally motivated by my beliefs to be nonprejudiced toward lesbians”) and EMS-L (e.g., “I try to hide any negative thoughts about lesbians in order to avoid negative reactions from others”). The adapted gay men scale also contained two subscales—IMS-G (e.g., “I am personally motivated by my beliefs to be nonprejudiced toward gay men”) and EMS-G (e.g., “I try to hide any negative thoughts about gay men in order to avoid negative reactions from others”).⁶ Reliability was satisfactory for IMS-L ($\alpha = .89$), IMS-G ($\alpha = .83$), EMS-L ($\alpha = .89$), and EMS-G ($\alpha = .85$).⁷

The gender-role self-concept. The feminine and masculine gender-role self-concepts were measured via the 60-item Bem (1974) Sex-Role Inventory (BSRI), which assesses endorsement of masculine and feminine traits as true of one’s self. The BSRI contains three subscales—femininity (BSRI-F; e.g., compassionate, sympathetic, warm), masculinity (BSRI-M; e.g., aggressive, dominant, individualistic), and gender-role neutral (e.g., conscientious, conceited, friendly)—that each comprise 20 traits. Participants indicate how well each trait describes them on a 7-point rating scale ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*very well*). For the purposes of the present investigation, means were calculated for the

BSRI-F ($\alpha = .82$) and BSRI-M ($\alpha = .86$) for each participant to represent their femininity and masculinity scores, respectively. In addition, a score was calculated to assess participants’ desire to respond in a socially desirable manner by reverse-scoring all gender-neutral traits that were negative in nature (e.g., conceited) and then computing a mean social desirability score from all 20 gender-neutral traits (cf. Bem, 1974). Higher scores on this measure indicate higher social desirability concerns.

Measures of gender-role beliefs. Gender-role beliefs were ascertained using both the short form of the Attitudes toward Women Scale (AWS; Spence & Helmreich, 1978) and the Male Role Norms Scale (MRNS; Thompson & Pleck, 1986), which assess endorsement of traditional gender roles. The AWS includes 14 items⁸ (e.g., “Women earning as much as their dates should bear equally the expense when they go out together”) measured on a 4-point scale ranging from A (*agree strongly*) to D (*disagree strongly*). The MRNS includes 26 items (e.g., “A man should never back down in the face of trouble”) measured on a 7-point scale ranging from 1 (*very strongly disagree*) to 7 (*very strongly agree*). Although the MRNS can be divided into three subscales, the scales were highly correlated with one another ($ps < .0001$), and thus, a single MRNS score was calculated (see Whitley, 2001). Higher scores on both the AWS ($\alpha = .75$) and the MRNS ($\alpha = .88$) indicate stronger endorsement of traditional gender roles; thus, these scales were combined to form an index of gender-role beliefs ($\alpha = .89$).

PROCEDURE

Participants completed the adapted IMS-EMS scales 1 to 9 weeks prior to the experimental session.

Upon arrival at the experimental session, participants were seated in a private room in front of a computer monitor to complete a study on “Ohio University students’ attitudes toward social issues.” Participants then received either a public or a private version of the ATLG. Following Plant and Devine (1998), in the public condition, the experimenter placed the 9-point rating scale associated with the ATLG in front of the participant and proceeded to read each item aloud and record the participant’s oral responses. In the private condition, participants were instructed to complete the questionnaire anonymously and to put it in a closed box when they were finished. After completion of the ATLG, participants began the computerized portion of the experiment, during which time they completed the BSRI, AWS, MRNS, and filler questionnaires in randomized order. Following a questionnaire designed to probe for suspicion regarding the public-private manipulation, participants were debriefed.

TABLE 4: Correlations Between Gender, Motivation, ATL, and ATG: Study 2 (N = 234)

Measure	IMS-L	EMS-L	IMS-G	EMS-G	ATG	ATL
Gender ^a	.415**	.030	.238**	.023	-.391**	-.202**
IMS-L		-.079	-.823**	.003	-.601	-.482
EMS-L			-.024	.751**	.105	.176**
IMS-G				-.032	-.506**	-.404**
EMS-G					.088	.116
ATG						.854**
ATL						
Women (n = 159)						
M	27.57	19.20	26.65	18.74	29.81	27.25
SD	7.33	9.36	7.76	9.61	17.31	13.85
Men (n = 75)						
M	20.03	18.60	22.67	18.28	46.45	33.20
SD	8.60	9.44	8.45	8.36	20.44	12.89

NOTE: ATG = attitudes toward gay men score; ATL = attitudes toward lesbians score; IMS-L = internal motivation to respond without prejudice toward lesbians score; EMS-L = external motivation to respond without prejudice toward lesbians score; IMS-G = internal motivation to respond without prejudice toward gay men score; EMS-G = external motivation to respond without prejudice toward gay men score.

a. -1 = men, 1 = women.

** $p < .01$.

Results

GENDER DIFFERENCES

Prejudice scores. The attitude data were subjected to a 2 (gender of respondent: female vs. male) \times 2 (gender of target: ATG vs. ATL) ANOVA, with the gender of the target serving as a within-subjects factor.⁹ Replicating Study 1, male respondents ($M = 39.83$) held more negative attitudes overall than did female respondents ($M = 28.53$), $F(1, 232) = 27.42$, $p < .0001$, $\eta^2 = .11$, and sexual prejudice was greater toward gay men ($M = 38.13$) than toward lesbians ($M = 30.23$), $F(1, 232) = 136.98$, $p < .0001$, $\eta^2 = .37$. An interaction between the gender of the respondent and the gender of the target emerged, $F(1, 232) = 62.77$, $p < .0001$, $\eta^2 = .213$, again demonstrating that whereas women did not exhibit a difference in their attitudes toward gay men or lesbians, $F < 1$, men expressed more negativity toward gay men than toward lesbians, $F(1, 232) = 35.47$, $p < .0001$, $d = .82$ (see Table 4).

Motivation to respond without prejudice. As depicted in Table 4, women expressed higher internal motivation to respond without prejudice toward both lesbians, $t(232) = 6.94$, $p < .0001$, $d = .94$, and gay men than did men, $t(232) = 3.74$, $p < .0001$, $d = .49$. In contrast with Study 1, women in this study not differ from men in their external motivation to respond without prejudice toward lesbians, $t < 1$, or toward gay men, $t < 1$. Overall, then, women in both studies expressed greater internal but not external motivation to respond without prejudice toward gay men and lesbians.

Gender-role variables. To examine gender differences in the endorsement of feminine and masculine self-concepts, separate paired t tests were conducted on the

femininity and masculinity subscales of the BSRI (Bem, 1974). As shown in Table 5, women exhibited more feminine self-concepts than did men, whereas men exhibited more masculine self-concepts than did women.

To assess gender differences in the endorsement of gender-role beliefs, the gender-role index was examined. As expected, men exhibited stronger endorsement of traditional gender-role beliefs than did women (see Table 5).

MOTIVATION TO RESPOND WITHOUT PREJUDICE AS A PREDICTOR OF ATTITUDES

Public versus private reports of attitudes toward lesbians and gay men. To examine the impact of the public/private manipulation, ATL scores were submitted to a 2 (reporting condition: public vs. private) \times 2 (IMS-L: low vs. high) \times 2 (EMS-L: low vs. high) ANOVA.¹⁰ Results revealed a main effect of reporting condition, such that participants reported more negativity toward lesbians in private ($M = 31.44$) than in public ($M = 26.36$), $F(1, 226) = 6.07$, $p = .01$, $\eta^2 = .03$. A main effect of IMS-L also emerged, with low IMS-L participants ($M = 35.04$) expressing more prejudice than high IMS-L participants ($M = 23.76$), $F(1, 226) = 46.42$, $p < .0001$, $\eta^2 = .17$. The analysis further revealed a marginally significant IMS-L \times EMS-L interaction, $F(1, 226) = 3.13$, $p < .078$, $\eta^2 = .01$, and contrasts revealed that high IMS-L/low EMS-L participants expressed less prejudice than did all other participants, $t(230) = 5.62$, $p = .0001$, $d = .82$.

ATG scores were subjected to a similar analysis. Again, participants expressed greater prejudice in private ($M = 38.40$) than in public ($M = 32.58$), $F(1, 226) = 6.44$, $p < .01$, $\eta^2 = .03$. As expected, participants low in IMS-G ($M = 44.61$) expressed more prejudice toward

TABLE 5: Correlations and Descriptive Statistics for Gender-Role Variables, Study 2 (N = 234)

	BSRI-F	BSRI-M	Gender Role Beliefs
IMS-L	.265**	-.029	-.439**
EMS-L	.064	-.210**	.140*
IMS-G	.178**	.083	-.370**
EMS-G	.008	-.273**	.162*
ATG	-.173**	.112	.544**
ATL	-.089	.010	.446**
BSRI-F		-.060	-.273
BSRI-M			.137*
Gender-Role Beliefs			
Women (n = 159)			
M	107.58	97.06	110.76
SD	11.58	14.91	20.83
Men (n = 75)			
M	94.80	104.36	133.40
SD	11.01	13.07	23.24
t	8.01****	3.63**	7.47****
df	232	232	232
d	1.13	.52	1.03

NOTE: Gender-role self-concepts were assessed separately. BSRI-F = Bem Sex-Role Inventory–femininity; BSRI-M = Bem Sex-Role Inventory–masculinity. Male Role Norms Scale (MRNS) and Attitudes toward Women Scale (AWS) scores were combined to create an index of gender-role beliefs. IMS-L = internal motivation to respond without prejudice toward lesbians score; EMS-L = external motivation to respond without prejudice toward lesbians score; IMS-G = internal motivation to respond without prejudice toward gay men score; EMS-G = external motivation to respond without prejudice toward gay men score; ATG = attitudes toward gay men score; ATL = attitudes toward lesbians score.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. **** $p < .0001$.

gay men than did participants high in IMS-G ($M = 26.37$), $F(1, 226) = 63.27$, $p < .0001$, $\eta^2 = .22$. An IMS-G \times EMS-G interaction also emerged, $F(1, 226) = 6.86$, $p < .01$, $\eta^2 = .03$, and contrasts revealed that participants who were high in IMS-G and low in EMS-G reported less prejudice toward gay men than did all other participants, $t(230) = 6.65$, $p < .0001$, $d = .99$. Thus, although the manipulation of reporting condition clearly influenced the expression of prejudice toward both lesbians and gay men, with participants in the public condition expressing less prejudice than participants in the private condition, IMS and EMS did not interact with reporting condition.

Correlations. IMS scores were again negatively related to both ATG and ATL scores (see Table 4). In addition, EMS-G scores were not related to the ATG subscale. However, there was a positive relationship between EMS-L scores and the ATL subscale.

To differentiate IMS and EMS from a general concern with presenting oneself in a positive light, we examined the relationships among IMS, EMS, and the social desirability index derived from the BSRI (Bem, 1974). Consistent with prior research (Plant & Devine,

1998), social desirability concerns were not related to IMS or EMS (all r s $\leq .08$).

Hierarchical regression analyses. The roles of internal and external motivation to respond without prejudice in predicting attitudes toward gay men and lesbians were assessed via the same hierarchical regression procedures that were employed in Study 1 (see Tables 2 and 3 for individual regression coefficients and changes in R^2 associated with each step for ATG and ATL scores, respectively).

When it was entered on the first step, gender of respondent was a reliable predictor of both ATG and ATL scores (see Tables 2 and 3). In predicting ATG scores, when IMS was entered on the second step, gender of respondent remained significant, $t(231) = 5.18$, $p < .0001$, and IMS accounted for additional variance, $t(231) = 7.92$, $p < .0001$. When ATL scores were regressed on gender of respondent and IMS scores, gender of respondent was no longer a significant predictor, $t < 1$, but IMS accounted for additional variance, $t(231) = 7.59$, $p < .0001$. Although entering EMS on the third block was a significant contributor to variance in ATL, the change in R^2 was small (see Table 3), $t(230) = 4.27$, $p < .0001$, and gender, $t(230) = 5.24$, $p < .0001$, and IMS, $t(230) = 7.88$, $p < .0001$, remained significant predictors. Moreover, EMS did not account for significant variance in ATG, $t < 1$, but gender, $t(230) = 5.24$, $p < .0001$, and IMS, $t(230) = 7.88$, $p < .0001$, again accounted for additional variance. The interaction terms entered in the subsequent blocks did not add significantly to the explained variance in ATG or ATL and consequently were dropped from any further analyses.

IMS as a mediator of the relationship between gender of respondent and attitudes toward lesbians and gay men. Although entering IMS into the second block did not completely reduce the variance accounted for by gender of respondent in ATG scores, the unstandardized coefficients did reveal a drop from -16.65 to -12.20 . As depicted in Figure 2, the relationships between gender of respondent and ATG scores (Path c), gender of respondent and IMS scores (Path a), and IMS scores to ATG scores (Path b) were all significant (p s $< .001$). However (replicating Study 1), extracting the variance associated with internal motivation produced a significant reduction in the beta weight of the direct path between gender of respondent and ATG ($Z = 4.99$, $p < .001$), thereby providing evidence for partial mediation.

Controlling for IMS revealed a significant drop in the relationship between gender of respondent and ATL scores (see Table 3) and a direct test for mediation received support (Kenny et al., 1998). The results of each step were as follows: (a) the relationship between gender and ATL was significant, (b) gender was related

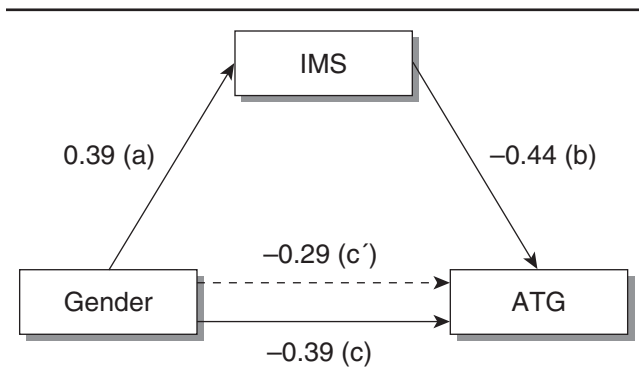


Figure 2 Path diagram and coefficients (standardized beta weights) for Study 2.

NOTE: ATG = attitudes toward gay men score. Solid paths are significant at $p \leq .05$. The dotted path (c') indicates a significant drop in Path c when internal motivation score (IMS) is included in the model, $Z = 4.99$, $p < .001$.

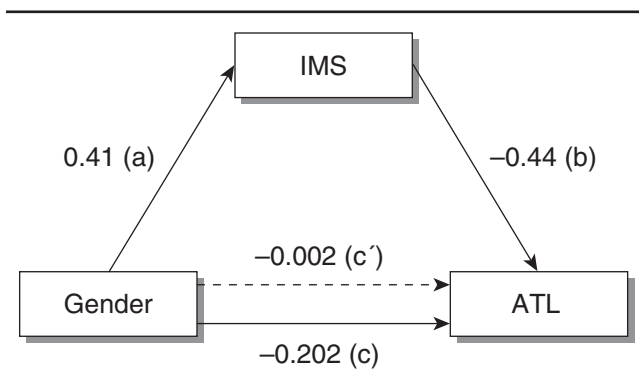


Figure 3 Path diagram and coefficients (standardized beta weights) for Study 2.

NOTE: ATL = attitudes toward lesbians score. Solid paths are significant at $p \leq .01$. Path c' is not significant when internal motivation score (IMS) is included in the model.

to IMS, $t(232) = 6.94$, $p < .001$, (c) IMS was related to ATL when gender was in the model, and (d) the relationship between gender and ATL was nonsignificant once IMS was controlled (see Figure 3).

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN GENDER-ROLE VARIABLES AND IMS, EMS, ATL, AND ATG

Correlations. We expected that endorsement of a feminine self-concept would be positively associated with IMS and would not be associated with EMS, whereas higher masculinity would be negatively related to EMS and unrelated to IMS. The data supported these predictions. Also consistent with predictions, EMS was positively related to the gender-role belief index, whereas IMS was negatively related to the belief index (see Table 5). Moreover, ATG scores and endorsement of the feminine self-concept were negatively related.

Gender-role variables as predictors of IMS and EMS. Devine et al. (2002) found that individuals who express high IMS and low EMS exhibit less implicit prejudice than do other participants—a finding that highlights the importance of understanding variables that predict the combination of high IMS/low EMS. Given that endorsement of the feminine self-concept was positively associated with IMS and strength of traditional gender-role beliefs was positively related to EMS, we reasoned that individuals who exhibit a combination of high femininity and low gender-role belief scores should be more likely than other participants to also exhibit the combination of high IMS/low EMS. Separate median splits were conducted on femininity and gender-role belief scores to categorize individuals as high or low on each dimension. Participants were then categorized as either high femininity/low endorsers of traditional gender roles or as “others.” Results revealed that individuals who were both high in femininity and low on traditional gender-role endorsement were more likely to express high IMS and low EMS toward lesbians (45.5%) than were other participants (23.8%), $\chi^2(1, N = 234) = 10.17$, $p < .001$, $\phi = .21$. Participants high in femininity and low on traditional gender-role endorsement also were more likely to express high IMS and low EMS toward gay men (48.4%) than were other participants (23.3%), $\chi^2(1, 234) = 13.09$, $p < .001$, $\phi = .24$.

DISTINCTIONS BETWEEN IMS AND SEXUAL PREJUDICE

Although we predicted that IMS and sexual prejudice would be strongly related, one might argue that their high intercorrelation indicates that IMS is redundant with sexual prejudice. The divergent relationships that sexual prejudice and IMS have with the feminine self-concept, however, make this possibility unlikely; that is, personality traits such as feminine self-concepts should not necessarily predict beliefs about other people (i.e., ATG and ATL) but should be related to internalized motives to respond in a nonprejudiced manner (i.e., IMS). Indeed, research typically finds that sexual prejudice is unrelated to the feminine self-concept (Kite & Whitley, 1998; Whitley, 2001)—a finding that we replicated with attitudes toward lesbians—whereas the present results indicate that IMS is related to the feminine self-concept. Such divergent relationships suggest that the IMS and ATLG measure conceptually different constructs.

We more directly tested the proposition that IMS and sexual prejudice are nonredundant by examining the relationship between gender-role beliefs and sexual prejudice while controlling for IMS. Prior research demonstrates a robust relationship between sexual prejudice and endorsement of traditional gender roles (Kite & Whitley, 1998; Whitley, 2001), and we found

that IM is negatively related to gender-role beliefs. If sexual prejudice and IMS account for entirely overlapping variance in such beliefs, however, the relationship between gender-role beliefs and sexual prejudice (i.e., ATG and ATL) should diminish when the variance associated with IMS is partialled out. Results from two partial correlations supported our contention that IMS and sexual prejudice are nonredundant in that the relationship between gender-role beliefs and both ATG ($r = .45$) and ATL ($r = .30$) remained significant (both $ps < .0001$) when IMS-G and IMS-L, respectively, were controlled. Moreover, the partial correlations are similar to the original relationships (see Table 5).

SUPPLEMENTAL DATA

The finding that social pressure (i.e., reporting condition) did not interact with EMS scores to predict sexual prejudice—a result that diverges from the racial prejudice literature (Plant & Devine, 1998)—could constitute further evidence that the expression of sexual prejudice is normatively more acceptable among college students than is racial prejudice (see also Crandall et al., 2002). To examine this proposition directly, we collected additional data from 47 undergraduates. Participants were asked to rate on three separate 9-point scales how acceptable it is to express prejudice toward African Americans, gay men, and lesbians on the Ohio University campus, with higher numbers indicating greater acceptability. Normative beliefs toward gay men and lesbians were combined ($\alpha = .82$) and compared with those regarding racial prejudice. As expected, expression of sexual prejudice ($M = 4.67$) was rated as more acceptable than expression of racial prejudice ($M = 3.94$), $t(46) = 2.83$, $p < .01$, $d = .41$.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

The present work examined the role of conceptually distinct sources of motivation to respond without prejudice in predicting attitudes toward gay men and lesbians and uncovered an important difference between men and women that elucidates the attitudinal variation between them. The current investigation extends the sexual prejudice literature by providing evidence that (a) internal motivation to respond without prejudice reliably predicts attitudes toward gay persons, whereas external motivation to respond without prejudice does not; (b) women and men appear to consistently differ in IM but not EM; (c) IM partially mediates the relationship between gender and attitudes toward gay men and fully mediates the relationship between gender and attitudes toward lesbians; and (d) endorsement of the feminine self-concept, although not typically related to

sexual prejudice, is associated with higher IM. This work also extends the motivation to respond without prejudice literature because it distinguishes between gender-role self-concepts and gender-role beliefs as possible antecedents to internal and external motivation to respond without prejudice toward lesbians and gay men.

Results from two separate studies revealed that as IMS scores increased, attitudes toward lesbians and gay men became more favorable, whereas EMS scores were not consistently related to sexual prejudice. Although we expected EMS scores to be unrelated to ATG and ATL scores, this prediction was borne out in Study 1 but not in Study 2 (EM was related to more negative attitudes toward lesbians). This inconsistency is, however, consonant with the existing racial prejudice literature. Plant and Devine (1998) suggested that is not clear how EM should be related to explicit measures of prejudice, and they found that EM is positively related to some explicit measures of racial bias, particularly when reporting conditions are anonymous.

Our finding that EM did not interact with reporting condition might indicate that EM associated with sexual prejudice is not a valid construct. It is also possible that individuals vary in external motivation to respond without sexual prejudice but that the present protocol did not sufficiently elicit such normative concerns. The logic underlying the public manipulation is that participants will view the experimenter as a nonprejudiced audience (Plant & Devine, 1998) and that this audience will elicit concern with appearing prejudiced, thereby leading participants to strategically alter their responses. However, Ohio University students assume that most people are prejudiced toward gay men and lesbians (Ratcliff & Markman, 2006), therefore introducing the possibility that the experimenter in the current study was not viewed as a nonprejudiced audience. Thus, although any audience may be sufficient to activate EM related to racial prejudice, it may be necessary for an audience to be identified as nonprejudiced before that audience will activate EM related to sexual prejudice. Future work might examine this possibility.

Internal motivation to respond without prejudice accounted for gender differences in attitudes toward lesbians and gay men across two studies. Adding IMS scores to a model containing the gender of respondent variable reduced the predictive value of gender in ATG and ATL scores, and we suggest that this is the case because it removes as a source of variance a component of the feminine self-concept that is associated with reduced prejudice. In the case of men, conversely, we believe that controlling for IM results in decreased negativity toward gay men and lesbians because it removes as a source of variance a component of the male self-concept (i.e., low IMS) that is partially responsible for

increased prejudice (Devine et al., 2002; Plant & Devine, 1998).

It is notable that IM fully mediates the relationship between gender and ATL but only partially mediates the relationship between gender and ATG—a result that suggests that the remaining variance in ATG may be accounted for by another construct. Social dominance theory (Sidanius, 1993) provides some insight into this asymmetry by postulating that prejudice and discrimination often serve as tools to maintain social hierarchies (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). According to this perspective, because men are higher in social dominance orientation (SDO) and are thus more motivated to maintain these hierarchies, not only do they express greater sexual prejudice than women but such prejudice aimed at hierarchy maintenance is then directed toward those who are most threatening to the status quo. Because men are typically more powerful than women (Sidanius, 1993), prejudice is aimed primarily at men within minority groups (see Haley, Sidanius, Lowery, & Malamuth, 2004). Correspondingly, sexual prejudice is primarily directed toward gay men (Herek, 1988). We suspect that the dual gender asymmetry in both the possessor and the target of sexual prejudice is related to our finding that IM only partially accounts for gender differences in ATG. Our specific conjecture is that men's higher SDO is more relevant to ATG than to ATL and, thus, SDO accounts for significant additional gender variation only in ATG.

Overall, our findings suggest that gender differences may be partially accounted for by internal motivation to respond without prejudice and that these gender differences in IM might derive from gender differences in gender-role self-concepts and gender-role beliefs. The gender differences in EMS scores, in contrast, were inconsistent across samples. Women scored higher on the EMS than did men in Study 1, but EMS scores were fairly equivalent among female and male respondents in Study 2. Although we expected that women would exhibit higher EM than men, our findings are consistent with previous research. Plant's work (E. A. Plant, personal communication, July 20, 2004) has revealed that although women typically have higher IM than do men, gender differences in EM are inconsistent. In light of both this ambiguity and the important contribution demonstrated in the present studies of IM explaining gender differences in the ATL and ATG, we suggest that internal more so than external motives to respond without prejudice are vital to understanding attitudinal variation between the sexes.

Although gender differences in sexual prejudice appear to be largely a function of variation in IM, attitudes toward lesbians and gay men were influenced by the combined effects of IM and EM. Consistent with

previous work (Devine et al., 2002), we found that individuals possessing high IM and low EM were more likely than other individuals to exhibit low levels of prejudice. In addition, our data suggest that the combination of a highly feminine self-concept and low endorsement of traditional gender-role beliefs predicts this pairing of IM/EM. As entrenched gender-role norms, or societal prescriptions regarding how men and women should behave, affect both the internalization of communal self-concepts and the adoption of gender-role beliefs, these data lend support to the notion that social norms such as gender-role norms critically contribute to sexual prejudice (Crandall et al., 2002).

Conclusions and Future Directions

The present studies integrate recent developments regarding sources of motivation to respond without prejudice with the existing literature on attitudes toward gay men and lesbians. The current findings indicate that the source of motivation to respond without prejudice may be at the crux of gender differences in sexual prejudice.

Although our results demonstrate that motives related to responding without sexual prejudice may diverge from motives associated with racial prejudice, we believe that the antecedents to such motives may be similar. More specifically, our data suggest that women's desire to be egalitarian derives in part from endorsement of the feminine self-concept and that this self-concept should not only serve as an antecedent to IM related to lesbians and gay men but as an antecedent to IM that is associated with other stigmatized individuals. Because the standards for interpersonal behavior that are associated with the feminine self-concept are not group specific, the feminine self-concept should be positively associated with motivation to respond without prejudice toward all stigmatized individuals. Correspondingly, Ratcliff, Lassiter, Markman, and Snyder (2006) found that endorsement of the feminine self-concept is negatively related to racial prejudice. Endorsement of the feminine self-concept should thus be positively related to internal motivation to respond without prejudice toward African Americans. Similarly, because gender-role beliefs are positively related to both sexual prejudice and racial prejudice (e.g., Bierly, 1985; Whitley, 2001), it can be inferred that the motivational patterns associated with adherence to traditional gender-role beliefs (i.e., lower IMS and higher EMS) would be the same for both forms of prejudice.

Although the data indicate that men have lower levels of internal motivation to respond without prejudice than do women, we do not mean to imply that men are somehow deficient in comparison. Instead, our data suggest that entrenched gender-role belief systems

importantly contribute to men's lower levels of IM, and we therefore advocate that rather than pointing an accusatory finger at the prejudiced individual, researchers instead examine the rigid gender-role expectations that society prescribes.

Because gender-based behaviors are susceptible to change via normative channels (Deaux & Major, 1987), an approach to prejudice reduction that focuses on altering normative attitudes and beliefs offers promise for the eventual amelioration of sexual prejudice. Recent research has shown that individuals can encourage a more accepting normative climate by vocalizing their personal nonprejudiced standards (Monteith & Walters, 1998) and by directly confronting the perpetrators of sexual prejudice (Czopp & Monteith, 2003). Remaining silent, in contrast, actually contributes to the problem and can, in fact, be deadly. Savin-Williams (1999) noted that prior to the murder of Matthew Shepard, "A local billboard advertising guns had been altered from 'Shoot a day or two' to 'Shoot a gay or two.' For more than a month, hundreds, if not thousands, of residents had remained silent" (p. 150). Through their silence, unsuspecting community members may have implicitly communicated acceptance of hostility toward lesbians and gay men.

NOTES

1. Sexual prejudice is defined in the broadest sense as a negative attitude that is based on sexual orientation, including homosexuality, bisexuality, or heterosexuality (Herek, 2003). In the present context, however, the term is intended to refer to heterosexuals' negative attitude toward lesbians and gay men.

2. Adaptation of the internal motivation scale (IMS) and external motivation scale (EMS) in this manner did not alter the original two-factor solution described by Plant and Devine (1998).

3. Because the attitudes toward gay men (ATG) score and attitudes toward lesbians (ATL) score diverge in content, Herek (1988) recommended that prior to direct comparison, subscale scores be transformed. Transformation of ATG and ATL scores did not alter our results. Thus, untransformed data are presented.

4. We do not mean to suggest, however, that EMS is irrelevant to understanding attitudes toward lesbians and gay men. Prior work (Devine, Plant, Amodio, Harmon-Jones, & Vance, 2002) has demonstrated that the interaction between IMS and EMS is essential for accurately predicting race bias, and individuals high in internal and low in external motivation express less race bias than do other individuals. Because the current work necessitated the use of regression analyses to assess the impact of adding IMS and EMS to an equation that contained the gender-of-respondent variable, we did not examine the data in this manner. However, ancillary analyses that employed a median split on both the IMS and EMS replicated earlier findings. Specifically, relative to all other participants, individuals who were both high in internal and low in external motivation to respond without prejudice expressed less explicit bias toward gay men, $t(756) = 11.0$, and toward lesbians, $t(756) = 9.07$ (both $ps < .0001$). Thus, although IMS independently accounts for a substantial portion of the variance between the sexes in their attitudes toward lesbians and gay men, the combined effects of IMS and EMS also successfully predict overall attitudes.

5. This result does not qualify as a suppressor effect because inclusion of IMS in the model did not improve the relationship between

gender and ATL (Krus & Wilkinson, 1986). That is, IMS did not enhance the multiple correlation beyond that found in the simple correlation. Nonetheless, caution should be exercised when interpreting this sign change. It is possible that this sign reversal was a statistical artifact that emerged as a function of the large sample size and the weak relationship between gender and ATL.

6. Due to a coding error incurred during the mass-testing session, one item for both the internal motivation to respond without prejudice toward lesbians (IMS-L) score and internal motivation to respond without prejudice toward gay men (IMS-G) score was lost. Thus, the revised version of the scale included nine items.

7. The original two-factor solution (see Plant & Devine, 1998) was replicated in both scales.

8. One outdated item was removed from the scale.

9. Transforming ATG and ATL scores did not alter results. Thus, untransformed data are presented.

10. Theoretically, participants low in IMS and high in EMS should be more likely than all other participants to respond strategically to prejudice-related questions in public (Plant & Devine, 1998). To directly examine this possibility, dichotomous IMS and EMS scores were created via median split. Regression analyses on the continuous variables produced identical results.

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