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# Hegemonic Masculinity and Transphobia

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HEGEMONIC MASCULINITY AND TRANSPHOBIA

by

Marilyn Chung

B.S., University of California, Davis, 2014

A Thesis

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the  
Master of Arts Degree

Department of Psychology  
in the Graduate School  
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HEGEMONIC MASCULINITY & TRANSPHOBIA

By

MARILYN CHUNG

A Thesis Submitted in Partial  
Fulfillment of the Requirements  
for the Degree of  
Master of Arts  
in the field of Psychology

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## AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF

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Transphobia research has focused on predictors and correlations of prejudice toward transgender people. Consistently, male participants have higher transphobic attitudes compared to female participants in various studies. Further, males are overrepresented in crimes against transgender people. However, these studies were correlational and causation cannot be determined. Masculinity researchers outside of psychology have discussed maintenance of masculine privilege as a motivator for oppressive beliefs and actions. Thus, the goal of this study was to provide an experimental study of causes for increased transphobic attitudes in men, based on sociological and gender studies' research on hegemonic masculinity.

To test this, participants were given false feedback that masculinity score was either "feminine" (the experimental group) or "similar to their age group" (the control group). Results of the present study indicated participants in the experimental group reported nearly statistically significantly greater transphobia than those in the control group,  $p = .047$ . Although the findings were not significant, further research is needed to validate these findings. The study provides implications for future research on causes of transphobic attitudes and behaviors through sociological frameworks of power and privilege in the context of gender.

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Lastly, I want to say thank you to my participants, for allowing me to build greater empathy for experiences that I continue to learn about. Through their help and my own growth process, I have begun to see the world much less black-and-white.

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## CHAPTER 1

In 2002, a seventeen-year-old girl named Gwen Araujo was murdered in Newark, CA. Her four male assailants reported they “confronted her about her gender, interrogating and forcibly removing her clothing,” where they learned she was transgender (trans) (Szymanski, 2005). This “elicited an emotional and chaotic reaction, with the men claiming to have been ‘tricked’ into ‘homosexual sex’ and violently attacking Araujo until she was killed” (Szymanski, 2005). The assailants used trans panic as their defense in court. In the case of the gay panic defense (or homosexual panic defense), individuals claim that after a “homosexual advance,” they are victims of psychological trauma, which sends them into states of uncontrollable violence toward the source of the “homosexual advance” (Green, 1992). In using this defense, the defendants defiled Araujo two-fold—negating her gender as a woman, and blaming her for her own murder. However, to use “panic” to describe the event may not be fully wrong.

Authors of the articles considered what caused this panic and subsequent harm to Araujo.; they suggested that because she was trans, she was murdered (Lee, 2006; and Szymanski, 2005). These same authors felt the need to list her past name and use of hormones, and that the men who had sexual contact with Araujo “suspected” her trans identity prior to their attack (Lee, 2006; Szymanski, 2005). By doing so, they reified a narrative focused on bodies and sensationalized gender change, and that trans identity provokes attacks from people.

The details of the event appear to show that two of the male assailants had sexual relations with Araujo (Lee, 2006). Their sexual contact did not appear to be an issue until weeks after their initial contact with Araujo. Specifically, once party-goers were made aware of her trans status, the two men and their friends began to act violently toward her (Lee, 2006;



Szymanski, 2005). Thus, what seemed to ignite the “panic” was the public knowledge of these men’s relationships with Araujo.

Similar to the news stories, researchers from fields such as psychology, sociology, and gender scholars have provided theoretical and statistical evidence that shows that trans people are oppressed. This has been helpful in legislative change and support for anti-discrimination laws. However, now with ample evidence, research now needs to continue to work toward prevention. Given that men have the highest levels of anti-trans prejudice and violence it is important to understand what triggers this violence and prejudice. Further, several researchers on predictors of transphobia have noted that there needs to be research as to why people with certain identities and beliefs are more likely to endorse transphobic attitudes and behaviors. Sociology researchers have theorized that possible explanations are hegemonic masculinity and masculine privilege. Thus, the current study was designed to provide an experimental example of how hegemonic masculinity can influence transphobic prejudice.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

Trans individuals are those whose assigned sex does not match their gender identities (Brewster, Velez, Mennicke, & Tebbe, 2014). Cisgender (cis) individuals are those whose assigned sex matches the gender with which they identify (Tebbe, Moradi, & Ege, 2014). Current research on trans identity continues to broaden. Psychology researchers have mainly focused on correlations and predictors of anti-trans attitudes. This research has shown that cissexism and, more specifically, anti-trans prejudice exists. Further, researchers have found that cis men perpetrate violence against trans people more often than the general population (National Coalition of Anti-violence Programs, 2015), and men tend to hold high anti-trans prejudice attitudes, compared to women (Hill & Willoughby, 2005; J. Nagoshi, Adams, Terrell, Hill, Brzuzy, & C. Nagoshi, 2008; King, Winter, & Webster, 2009; Norton & Herek, 2012; Tee & Hegarty, 2006; Winter, Webster, & Cheung, 2008).

Thus, it is important to analyze beliefs around masculinity that may influence anti-trans attitudes and behaviors to support change. In the first section of this literature review, I will define cissexism, the systemic privileging of cis people at social, institutional, and individual levels. For the second section, I will discuss anti-trans prejudice, and ways psychologists have addressed cissexism as attitudes toward trans people. In the third section, I will explore the relationship between anti-trans attitudes and masculine privilege, as shown in hegemonic masculinity and precarious manhood research. This chapter will conclude with the impetus of the current study, and hypotheses based on the literature presented.

## **Normalization of Oppositional Genders and Sexualities**

Cissexism is the systematic privileging of cis individuals, those whose assigned sex at birth matches the individuals' gender identity (Serano, 2007). For example, under cissexism, trans identities are imitations and/or illegitimate, while cis identities are part of the natural order (Serano, 2007). To support this hierarchy of identities, society prescribes and structures life around gender and sexuality. From birth, people born in the United States are assigned a sex, male or female, based on genitalia. Though biology often goes unquestioned, Fausto-Sterling (2012) writes that biology is seen through a social lens--sex is as culturally constructed as gender. The impact of social construction of sex is that sex, gender, and sexuality have varied through time and context (Fausto-Sterling, 2012). In the context of the Global North, sex as an unquestionable given supports cissexism by delegitimizing trans identities.

Today, sex, sex category, gender, and sexual orientation in the U.S. are often stereotypically combined and prescribed to reinforce systems of privilege and power. West and Zimmerman (1987) described the process in which people in the United States are socialized to perceive people's genders and to "do" their own, based on context. They first defined sex as the societally determined biological criteria for categorizing people as males or females. From there, sex category is how people perceive a person's sex, through applying these criteria for males or females (West and Zimmerman, 1987). Under cissexism, sex category may seem unnecessary—people have a sex that remains unchanged. But there are cases in which sex category may not fit a person's actual sex. A person may be perceived as a man, and perceive themselves as a man, but have been assigned female at birth. Thus, sex category often times is used in place of sex, without actually ever knowing the person's biological criteria (West and Zimmerman, 1987). Gender is the behavior, activities, and cognitions socially appropriate for each sex category, and

for the individual, for how people act with knowledge of their sex category (West and Zimmerman, 1987).

Gender is essentially something people “do.” To be a man is to have the biological qualities associated with men (e.g., penis, testes, prostate), masculine qualities more than feminine, and attraction solely to women; and to be a woman is to have the biological qualities associated with women (vagina, ovaries, uterus, etc.), feminine qualities, and attraction solely to men. If one fits these qualities, they are the “mythical norm against which all others in society are judged” (p. 147, Case, Kanenberg, Erich, & Tittsworth, 2012). Societies of the Global North thus value men and women being these complementary opposites (Serano, 2007), giving privilege to those that perform “normative” forms of gender and sex category. While there are differences that led to the categories within sex and gender, certain ways of being a gender have been privileged due to their support of heterosexual institutions. Chys Ingraham (1994) calls this the heterosexual imaginary—how heterosexuality is used to structure society’s social construction of gender. Thus, when discussing gender, it is imperative to discuss ways it intersects with sexuality.

In relation to privilege of sexuality and gender, Gayle Rubin (1984) discusses the Charmed Circle and Domino Theory of Sexual Peril in *Thinking Sex*. In Western societies (i.e., colonizing countries in the West), sexuality has been deemed bad unless under the context of marriage, reproduction, or love. Originally, these boundaries on “good” and “bad” sexuality were supported by the Christian church. Today, while this influence of religion remains, other influences such as psychiatry and law have led to social determinants of acceptable sexuality. In the field of counseling psychology where diagnosis is an integral part of practice in the United States, its influence is discussed below (American Psychological Association, 2017).

Psychiatry's influence is evident by the section of sexual dysfunction category in the 5<sup>th</sup> edition of the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM), and inclusion of sexual behavior as a criterion in several disorders (American Psychiatric Association, 2013). Further, sex is deemed a "special case in society." Rubin (1984) calls this the Fallacy of Misplaced Scale; where "sex is guilty until proven innocent" (p. 278). For example, sexual preferences can garner reactions of disgust, anger, anxiety, and/or intense emotion, whereas color preferences do not. Another example includes the number of laws around acceptable sex, such as sodomy laws. Her points illustrate the social constructive nature of sexual behaviors.

Acceptable sex, then is what is in the center of Rubin's (1984) Charmed Circle. In the center is sex that is: heterosexual, "vanilla," bodies only, no pornography, at home, same generation, in a relationship, coupled, free, procreative, monogamous, and married. These "charmed" forms of sexuality are treated as "good, normal, natural," or blessed. On the outer rings are sex seen as "bad, abnormal, unnatural, and damned." These include: homosexual, unmarried, promiscuous, non-procreative, commercial, alone or in groups, cross-generational, in public, with pornography, with manufactured objects, and sadomasochistic. These "charmed" or "damned" sexualities are given or withheld certain values such as mental health, respectability, legality, social and physical mobility, and material benefits.

Thus, when people consider good or bad sex, inherent in that is gender. Rubin explicitly discusses gender in her Domino Theory of Sexual Peril (see Figure 1). She compares dominos to the impact of the Charmed Circle as a hierarchy of acceptability. At the acceptable end are the charmed sexualities. In the middle are areas of contention: "unmarried heterosexual couples, promiscuous heterosexuals, masturbation, long-term [...] lesbian and gay male couples, lesbians in the bar, [...]" (p. 282). Her forecasts seem to be true with the recent pass of gay marriage in the

United States. With that said, she states that there is a social fear that with increasing acceptance, all sexualities will fall into acceptance, like dominos, leading to social fear of sexual chaos. This chaos would include the least acceptable sexualities, those that are on the outskirts of the Charmed Circle, as well as “transvestites, transsexuals, fetishists, sadomasochists, for money, [and] cross-generational.” This is evidenced by the removal of homosexual identity from the second edition of the DSM in 1973 (American Psychiatric Association, 1973), but continued inclusion of gender dysphoria (despite increasing edits and acceptance) to this day (American Psychiatric Association, 2013).

While those certain forms of being are increasingly accepted in mainstream Western culture, cis and straight people that seek to maintain these norms push back out of fear of the “dominos” falling, and “sexual chaos” (loss of privilege) becoming widespread. Examples of this include the recent “bathroom bill,” House Bill 2, of North Carolina. Proponents of the bill, which requires people to use the bathroom of their assigned sex, claim the protection of “social mores” and women from predators (Berman & Somashekhar, 2016). Inherent in their arguments are maintenance of structures of oppression (“social mores” and women as needing to be protected), which, to proponents, are legitimate.

Thus, because trans people challenge the foundational gender binary, privilege of “blessed” sexualities (and, thus, gender), they are often targeted for people’s frustrations and fears around gender and sexual orientation (Serano, 2007; Davis, 2009; Rubin, 1987). Societally, a person’s appearance embodies others’ perceptions of sex, sex category, gender, gender expression, and sexual orientation. These ascriptions are contingent on the cultural meanings placed on sex, sex category, gender, gender expression, and sexual orientation. Therefore, trans people, non-conforming expression, and non-straight orientations challenge the privilege of

legitimacy and normalcy ascribed to behaviors that fit this expression.

## **Cissexism**

Being trans in the United States can mean many different things, with definitions of gender and rules of "coming out" differing by generation (Fredriksen-Goldsen, Cook-Daniels, Kim, Erosheva, Emlet, Hoy-Ellis, & Muraco, 2014). Trans is an umbrella term that can include female-to-male, male-to-female, genderqueer, gender variant, and many other identities (Grant et al., 2011). Further, trans people hold an array of diverse identities, from gender, race, class, education, sexual orientation, and other cultural dimensions. Intersections of these cultural dimensions create unique lived experiences, access to privilege, experiences of disadvantage, and discrimination (Warner, 2008).

Cissexism can be understood in three realms: institutional, structural, and individual levels. An example of institutional oppression would be income disparities. Only 21 U.S. states have non-discrimination employment laws that cover gender identity (ACLU, 2017). Lombardi, Wilchins, Priesing, and Malouf (2001) found in their analysis of questionnaire data from April 1996-1997 with 402 trans persons that 37% reported unfair termination, hiring discrimination, promotion prevention, or unfair discipline. Those who experienced economic discrimination were nearly five times more likely to experience violence in their lifetimes than those who did not (Lombardi et al., 2001). Thus, cissexism at the structural, institutional, and individual levels can lead to experiences of classism, blocking opportunities, security, and livelihood.

Grant, Mottet, Tanis, Harrison, Herman, and Keisling (2011) came to a similar conclusion, with 47% of the sample of 6,450 trans/gender-nonconforming people in the United States reporting that gender identity discrimination affected their job outcomes. In this same study, respondents had double the rate of unemployment, compared to the general population.

Twenty-six percent reported they lost their job due to discrimination. The workplace itself may also be hostile. In Budge, Tebbe, and Howard's (2010) qualitative study of 18 trans individuals, participants stated they were denied restroom access, physically threatened, and/or emotionally abused. They also reported their co-workers purposefully misgendered her/him/them, and used her/his/their past name, rather than their name.

There is diversity in experiences and intersections of privilege and oppression. Kristen Schilt (2006) found in her qualitative study with 29 trans men at work in Southern California that 2/3 of her sample reported gender advantages since transitioning. In these cases, participants who more easily passed (due to longer use of hormones and height) and were White noted more advantages than those who had more difficulty passing and were men of color. One-third did not feel they gained masculine privilege. She noted this was primarily the case for those who had recently begun their transition or those who did not take hormones. For these men, they felt their coworkers still perceived them as women, given that they were consistently called the wrong pronouns (she/her/hers rather than he/him/his), and thus not treated like their other male coworkers. These participants also discussed difficulties in being perceived as youthful and thus treated with less authority, especially early in their transitions. For men of color, they noted the ways their genders were racialized, leading to new forms of racism. While all these participants are men and trans, their experiences vary widely, in part due to access to privilege.

Effects of work discrimination can be compounded by violence and abuse, which reflect individual forms of discrimination. For instance, approximately 60% of Lombardi et al. (2001)'s sample of 402 trans people reported experiencing harassment and/or violence. Similar findings have been reported in other studies. Gretchen Kenagy (2005), in a needs-assessment study of 182 trans people in Philadelphia, found that 56.3% experienced violence in their homes, 51.3% were



physically assaulted, 26% were denied medical care because of their gender identity, and 53.8% had been raped. In these results, Kenagy (2005) did not discuss who the people's assailants were. Overall, trans women were significantly more likely to report having experienced abuse and violence than trans men in the study. Similarly, in Grant and colleague's (2011) survey, 19% reported they were refused medical care because of their trans status, and 50% also reported they had to teach their medical providers about trans healthcare. Further, all categories of respondents reported higher rates of poorer health outcomes associated with social and economic marginalization, such as HIV infection, smoking, drug and alcohol use, and suicide attempts compared to the general population. These traumas can strongly influence mental health struggles, with 41% of respondents reporting attempted suicide, compared to 4.6% of general population (Grant et al., 2011). These studies indicate that compared to the general population, trans people appear to experience heightened proportions of violence and abuse.

In 2015, the National Coalition of Anti-Violence Programs (NCAVP) published 2014 report on violence and HIV rates in LGBTQ populations. Reports of violence were aggregated from twelve states across the U.S. The report indicated in the past four years, trans women, LGBTQ and HIV-affected people of color, and trans people of color experienced greater risk of homicide compared to white, cisgender, and non HIV-affected LGBTQ people in the same sample. The NCAVP documented twenty LGBTQ people murdered in 2014. Within the trans community, there are intersections of identity and systemic privilege and oppression, as with any other group. Of the twenty victims, 55% were trans women, and 50% of the trans women were trans women of color. This disproportionate statistic indicates intersections of marginalizations. Though trans women make up the greatest proportion of documented murders, only 18.88% of total reports identified them as trans. This represents a disproportionate level of fatal violence

toward trans women, compared to the sample of LGBTQ-identified individuals. In 2015, at least twenty-one trans women have been murdered, nineteen of whom were people of color (Kellaway & Brydum, 2015). As of November 2016, 21 trans people were killed, with majority of them being Black or Latina trans women (Allen, 2016). With this culminating evidence, it is clear that cissexism can impact trans people's lives socially, institutionally, and individually.

### **Predictors of Transphobia**

Researchers have found anti-trans prejudice predictors both within and outside the United States. For instance, in a study of attitudes towards transgenderism and transgender civil rights in Hong Kong residents, King, Winter, and Webster (2009) surveyed 856 Hong Kong Chinese people ages 15 to 64. They used the Chinese Attitudes toward Transgenderism and Transgender Civil Rights Scale (King, Winter, & Webster, 2009). They found that less education and older age positively correlated with negative attitudes towards trans individuals whereas contact with trans people was negatively correlated with negative attitudes. This study was unique in that it included non-college populations. They were able to show predictors of negative and positive attitudes, providing ways to improve people's attitudes toward trans people.

These results have been replicated in college populations in the United Kingdom and United States. Tee and Hegarty (2006) did a study of 151 students majoring engineering and psychology in the United Kingdom to determine if contact with sexual minorities (lesbian, gay, or bisexual people), and heterosexism (prejudice against lesbian women and gay men) would affect attitudes toward transsexuals and endorsement of transsexual's rights. They developed new measures on beliefs about gender and opposition to transsexual's rights for the purpose of their study. They found that students of color, international students, men, engineering majors, greater religiosity, authoritarianism, heterosexism, endorsement of the gender binary, and belief

in biological bases for gender were related to greater opposition to the rights of transsexuals, and contact with sexual minorities was positively correlated with more positive attitudes (Tee & Hegarty, 2006). Also, in a study of 310 U.S. undergraduates at Arizona State University, researchers found a positive correlation between religious fundamentalism and negative attitudes. Further, participants' attitudes about sexual and gender minorities were positively correlated (Nagoshi et al., 2008). From these studies, there appears to be trends in predictors of anti-trans prejudice, though causes have not yet been researched.

Norton and Herek (2012) surveyed 2,291 English-speaking, heterosexual people from across the United States. They surveyed respondents using warmth scales in which participants would rate their feelings towards a group of people (0 = cold and 100 = warm). They found authoritarian values and lower education were positively correlated with negative attitudes towards trans people. In contrast, support for the gender binary were negatively correlated with warmth towards gender minorities. Homophobic attitudes are often highly correlated with anti-trans prejudice (Hill & Willoughby, 2005; Nagoshi et al., 2008; Tebbe & Moradi, 2012; Willoughby, Hill, Gonzalez, Lacorazza, Macapagal, Barton, & Doty, 2010). Further, attitudes toward trans individuals were significantly more negative compared to attitudes toward sexual minorities in Norton and Herek's study (2012), which brings attention to the need for focus on trans identity unique to sexual minorities. Many of the listed studies found (likely cis) male identity were significantly correlated with anti-trans prejudice (Hill & Willoughby, 2005; King et al., 2009; Nagoshi et al., 2008; Norton & Herek, 2012; Tee & Hegarty, 2006; Winter et al., 2008).

### **Summary and Critique of Predictors of Transphobia Literature**

Within the reviewed research about anti-trans prejudice, there were some limitations. For example, there was inconsistencies in the aforementioned studies of whether they included options for participants to indicate genders outside of man or woman and or described whether their participants were cis or trans. Only two studies included whether their participants were cis or trans (Hill & Willoughby, 2005; Tee & Hegarty, 2006). Others had options for man and woman, and did not indicate cis or trans (King et al., 2009; Nagoshi et al., 2008; Norton & Herek, 2012; Tee & Hegarty, 2006; Winter et al., 2008). The researchers of these studies did not explicitly limit their recruitment to cis individuals; rather, they only measured if the participant was male or female. This resulted in a limitation of accurate generalizability. It is unclear whether findings may apply to cis and/or trans people, and normalizes binary gender and cis identity.

Further, several of the studies used their own scales developed for that study (Hill & Willoughby, 2005; King, Webster, & Winter, 2009; Nagoshi et al., 2008; Norton & Herek, 2012; Tee & Hegarty, 2009). At the moment, there does not appear to be a consistent or widely used scale to measure transphobia, or a scale that has been validated more than twice. Regarding predictors of transphobia, researchers have called for further research as to why people enact transphobia or have transphobic beliefs (Willoughby et al., 2011). Nagoshi and colleagues (2008) specifically discussed the need for research into hypermasculinity and its relationship to transphobia, given findings that men in their study reported more transphobia. Therefore, while some scholars have gone beyond measuring negative attitudes to looking into what predicts more positive feelings towards trans people, research of causes for transphobia may lead to ways to reduce cissexism in our society.

### **Hegemonic Masculinity: Ideologies, Behaviors, & Identities**

As discussed before, gender has been conceptualized as behavior, activities, and cognitions, that are appropriate for each sex category (West and Zimmerman, 1987). Masculinity, then, is ways of “doing” gender that is perceived to be related to what society sees related to men. Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) describe Western masculinity as a way for men to position themselves to hegemonic masculinity. This dominant form of masculinity is a gender performance that supports a patriarchal system that upholds men as dominant and women as subordinate (Connell, 1995). Through this positioning, a man can gain social capital (through acceptance, job opportunities, sense of normalcy) by enacting hegemonic masculinity or distancing himself from it. Therefore, rather than a set of traits or a fixed entity, men’s masculinities are dependent on context and are relational. Motives behind positioning with or against hegemonic masculinity is related to social capital garnered.

The complexity of masculine performance is shown in Schilt’s (2006) qualitative study of 29 female-to-male trans people in the Southern California area. She delved into the lived experience of trans men in the workplace. As inclusion criteria, participants were required to be assigned female at birth. Assigned female at birth mean given the sex of female on documents when born, based on appearance of outer genitalia (Cabral, 2015). Her selection criteria excluded what she described as “female-bodied individuals who identified as men but had not publicly come out as men at work” and trans men who did not have jobs since their transition. Schilt’s interview process revolved around if the participants viewed a difference in “working as a woman and working as a man,” and if they felt they “received any male privilege at work” (p. 470).

Schilt analyzed participant experiences using Collin’s (1986) “outsider-within” perspective. Collin’s (1986) framework was based on how Black women intellectuals used their

experiences of marginalization to inform their work in privileged spaces. For some of Schilt's participants, as trans men, they were in the past treated as women and some felt this brought a heightened awareness of their masculine privilege awarded to them in the workplace. Granted, this was not true for all participants, as some transitioned before entering the work force, and others' genders were perceived ambiguously prior to transitioning. Schilt also noted that treatment differed based on transition age, appearance, and occupation type. Of those that reported advantages, these gains came in the form of authority and competency, where "these same individuals, as men, find themselves with more authority and with their ideas, abilities, and attributes evaluated more positively in the workforce." (478). She also noted respect and recognition, bodily respect (not being sexually harassed, having personal space, but those who were openly trans still received invasive questions about their genitals and sex behaviors), and economic gains.

Some of Schilt's (2006) participants did not report "gender advantage" after transitioning, which revealed ways hegemonic masculinity functions. Part of their lack of gender advantage seemed to relate to cissexism, given how their coworkers continued to use the wrong pronouns post-transition. Other experiences appear to be related to gender performance as men. Once passing as men, perception of their age shifted; with hormone therapy, they began to develop "peach fuzz" which served as a marker of youth, often leaving to assumptions of younger age. This led people to assume they were new, interns, or children of workers, undermining their authority. Further, for some, they felt their height put them at a disadvantage, since some of them were 5'1" to 5'5, and the social construction of "successful hegemonic masculinity" in their contexts was 6 feet tall. Some participants of color in the study reported experiencing gendered forms of racism after transitioning. Thus, age, body size, and race influenced whether their

performances of masculinity granted them greater privilege (in the form of authority, for example).

Seen from Schilt's (2006) study, masculine privilege must be maintained, in differing ways for different people. Pascoe (2003) demonstrated ways males may position their masculinity against dominant masculinity to maintain privilege. Although they themselves may not necessarily be performing gender in the hegemonic sense, they still benefit from it. She interviewed 20 teenage high school boys whose social positions were either at the top of the hierarchy (Jocks) or below the top (non-Jocks). She described, based on interviews with the students, that a Jock has "dominance over others, whether it be on the field or in the social world," and that they "participate in an emphasized heterosexuality" where girls serve as status or sexual objects for the Jocks rather than girlfriends (1426).

Pascoe gives several examples and themes in which the youth maintain their masculinity by positioning themselves with or against Jock identity (hegemonic masculinity). For example, for one participant, Adam, he perceived himself as feminine in emotion expression. However, he noted he was able to do this because of his Jock status, to which he referred to as "Jock insurance." For Kevin, in contrast, legitimized his masculinity despite choosing drama over football. He discussed ways playing a sport took away from his heterosexuality and romantic prowess, whereas drama allowed him to flirt with girls and kiss a "senior hottie." For Oliver, he received social support and emotional connection with men through sports. He noted that his participation in track is a "pansy" sport, whereas his involvement in wrestling is a Jock sport, where he "rough houses." Notably, in his description of the two sports, he feminized other track team members compared to himself, since he was also involved in wrestling. In all three cases, they used their awareness of their position on the social hierarchy, and rearrange their identities

to maintain masculine privilege—in these cases, through heterosexuality and asserting dominance over others. These interviews showed how masculine privilege was interactional and required maintenance. One way to maintain this would be through actions that reinforce the system of power.

### **Masculine Privilege and Maintenance**

There has been research on how masculinity is precarious (Bosson & Vandello, 2011). Due to this quality, acting out hegemonic examples of masculinity can be a safeguard against emasculation. Examples of these types of masculinity emphasizing heterosexuality and dominance or, in the following examples, endorsing greater aggressive thoughts. Vandello, Bosso, Cohen, Burnaford, and Weaver (2008) found in two studies that when male participants received a “gender threat” (compared to women and men who did not), they endorsed greater anxiety and aggression. Participants took a 16-item test which asked questions about knowledge of stereotypically masculine topics (like sports and home repair). Those in the experimental condition were told they scored in the 27<sup>th</sup> percentile and near the “average woman’s” score, indicating a “feminine gender identity.” Those in the control were told they scored in the 74<sup>th</sup> percentile, near the “average man’s” score, indicating a “masculine gender identity.” In the first study, 81 participants were then asked to complete either anxiety-related words or anxiety-unrelated words. Percentage of completed anxiety-related words served as the dependent variable. Men in the experimental group showed a significantly higher score for the anxiety measure. Researchers also found similar results in their study with an aggression-related word measure. They surveyed 134 people and found that men with the gender-related threat had significantly higher percentage of aggression-related word completion than men who did not



receive this threat (and women in either condition as well). Possibly reasoning for these results may be that to uphold privilege relies on separation from femininity (Serano, 2007).

In a cissexist world, femininity is denigrated and seen as the opposite of masculinity (Serano, 2007). Because society values masculinity over femininity, those expected to be feminine (perceived as women, assigned female at birth) have more freedom to explore gender expression not meant for them (masculinity) (Serano, 2007). Those expected to be masculine (perceived as men, assigned male at birth) face more rigid options for gender expression. Further, those assigned male at birth face the risk of losing social capital for being feminine, especially by other men (Bosson & Michniewicz, 2013). Thus, if masculinity is precarious and masculinity is the opposite to femininity, a man may be at risk of losing masculine privilege if seen as feminine. To gain this privilege back, he may align himself with hegemonic masculinity (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005).

An example is the ways in which gay identity is denigrated in men. In Western contexts, attraction to men is seen as feminine (and oppressed) trait in a binary-based, sexist system (Serano, 2007; Rubin, 1984). Kimmel (1994) states that men fear other men, fear emasculation due to its connection to loss of privilege. To maintain heterosexism and cissexism and minimize this fear, an individual can reclaim masculine privilege through enacting forms of hegemonic masculinity. In this case, homophobia. This can be seen in Glick and colleagues' study of 53 undergraduate men in the United States (Glick, Gangl, Gibb, Klumpner, & Weinberg, 2007). Of the 35 male students, 48 reported they were heterosexual, two were homosexual, one was bisexual, and two did not indicate their sexual orientation. Participants were told the study focused on the relationship between personality characteristics and attitudes toward different types of homosexuals. They were then administered a computer-based questionnaire that

consisted of thirty items from the Bem Sex Role Inventory (1974). Participants were randomly assigned to an experimental or control condition. Scores of 0-25 were labeled feminine, and scores 25-50 were labeled masculine. In the experimental condition, participants were told they had a score of 18, and thus in the feminine range. The control group was told they had a score of 39, and thus in the masculine range.

After receiving these results, participants responded to an attitude survey toward two types of homosexual men (Glick et al., 2007). One type was the “masculine homosexual male” who was described as stereotypically masculine. His profile stated he enjoyed activities such as football and car restoration. He was also part of organizations like a fraternity, and had career aspirations such as a surgeon or a CEO of a major company. His personality was described as less expressive and logical. The “effeminate homosexual male” was described as enjoying stereotypically feminine activities such as taking dance lessons. He was part of organizations such as choir and sewing club, and aspired to be a dancer or hairdresser. His personality was described as neat, talkative, and emotional.

The attitude survey required participants to report their emotion ratings toward each of the homosexual male’s profiles. Emotions were rated on a scale of 1 (not at all) to 7 (extremely). Emotions included positive responses such as content, comfort, and sympathetic. Negative emotions had two types: fear-related responses such as nervous, intimidated, insecure; and hostility-related responses such as anger, disgust, and superiority. These ratings resulted in three scales: fear, hostility, and discomfort (which were the positive emotions reverse scored). Results showed that participants in the experimental condition exhibited significantly increased negative emotions toward feminine gay men but not masculine gay men. Further, though the sample size was small, the non-heterosexual men had similar results to the heterosexual men. It would appear

that participants were not enacting homophobia or negative affect toward gay people, but negative affect toward people like themselves (feminine men). Lastly, though the study was face valid, the researchers found that participants had higher negative affect toward feminine gay men more than masculine gay men overall (Glick et al., 2007).

In Western societies, gender is socially constructed where men and women as opposites, which pressures men to hold on to their social standing over other genders and endorse essentialist views on sexuality, especially when their masculinity is threatened (Bosson & Michniewicz, 2013; Falomir-Pichastor & Hegarty, 2013). Because trans identity blurs the lines of what society deems men and women (Serano, 2007), challenges acceptable sexuality (Rubin, 1984) their existence challenges existing structures of privilege. This may support why men consistently report higher levels of anti-trans prejudice and violence toward trans people. As stated before, the 2014 NCAVP reported showed that in documented cases of violence toward LGBTQ people, 63.76% of the perpetrators were identified as men (NCAVP, 2015).

In regards to relation to transphobia, past research has indicated that male participants who score higher on measures of perceived masculinity score higher on measures of anti-trans prejudice. For example, Nagoshi and colleagues (2008) found in their development of their Transphobia Scale that men who rated high on hypermasculinity (PAQ) also rated high on their Transphobia scale. In the validation of the Transphobia Scale, men scored higher than women overall (Tebbe & Moradi, 2012). In terms of identifying predictors, Willoughby and colleagues (2010) conducted a study with 180 university students in Canada to determine predictors of anti-trans prejudice and behaviors. In line with the conceptual connections between sexual orientation and gender, homophobia scores significantly accounted for variance in scores of anti-trans prejudice and behaviors, above and beyond demographic, identity, and basic value variables.

Overall, they found that being male, possessing low self-esteem, engaging in ego-defensiveness, moral dogmatism, authoritarian beliefs, as well as being homophobic significantly positively predicted anti-trans attitudes and behaviors. The authors suggested that participants may be insecure in their own identity, hence the relationship between low self-esteem and ego-defensiveness to anti-trans prejudice and behaviors. With consideration of sociological frameworks of hegemonic masculinity, participants may be invested in defending their masculinity through reinforcing structures of oppression, such as anti-trans prejudice and homophobia.

### **Summary and Critique of Literature on the Relation Between Masculinity and Transphobia**

Though there has been research on the impact of precarious manhood and hegemonic masculinity on gay men and lesbians, researchers have not investigated impact on anti-trans attitudes through experimental methods (Falomir-Pichastor & Hegarty, 2013; Glick et al., 2007; Herek, 1994; Kimmel, 1994). Further, while Glick and colleagues' (2007) study incorporated experimental methods, which allowed for causal conclusions. Their explanation of their results were that masculinity includes strong norms, which would then lead to punishment for breeching these norms. These analyses are also similar in Bosson and Vandello's (2011) study, and Vandello and others' study (2008). These explanations lacks analysis of power and privilege, or possible reasons why men would have stringent gender norms. Presenting their reasoning in this manner in some ways reinforces ideas that gender is natural and normal, and consistent through time and contexts. However, as presented throughout this document, gender is socially constructed. This is also supported in ways psychologists of discussed gender and sex in the past 60 years. Muchlenhard and Peterson (2011) in a meta-analysis of journals found on PsycInfo

found several definitions for sex and gender: traits based off social origins, characteristics of masculinity and femininity, stereotypes for men and women, and performance of a social roles. They noted inconsistencies across articles and even within articles. In their research of definitions of sex and gender, only one thing was consistent: they are social constructions. Thus, it is important to clarify definitions of masculinity and the social context in which the researcher is understanding it.

Past studies also failed to explicitly name cis or trans people (not any other gender and does not ask cis or trans) (Falomir-Pichastor & Hegarty, 2013; Glick et al., 2007; Parent & Moradi, 2011). Regarding other demographics, several studies did not measure race (Hill & Willoughby, 2005; Vandello et al., 2008; Willoughby et al., 2011; Glick et al., 2007), social class (Bosson & Michniewicz, 2013; Hill & Willoughby, 2005; Vandello et al., 2008; Willoughby et al., 2011; Glick et al., 2007), and/or sexual orientation (Bosson & Michniewicz, 2013; Hill & Willoughby, 2005; Vandello et al., 2008; Willoughby et al., 2011). None of the studies mentioned thus far have measured ability status. While their focus for research may not have been these identities, inclusion of this information can assist in more accurate generalization and understanding of applicability of results. Therefore, to fill the current gaps in research, it would be important to understand if emasculation does cause change in anti-trans attitudes. It is also important to shed light on possible differences among men that may affect levels of anti-trans prejudice, such as race, class, ability, and sexual orientation. It is important to give intersectional nuance to the male identity and masculinity.

### **The Current Study**

The purpose of the current study was to understand the influence of threatened masculinity on transphobic attitudes using experimental design. Men have a greater likelihood of

endorsing essentialist views of sex and gender and gender dichotomization, and are the most common perpetrators of transphobia and heterosexism (Hill & Willoughby, 2005; King et al., 2009; Nagoshi et al., 2008; Norton & Herek, 2012; Tee & Hegarty, 2006; Winter et al., 2008). Therefore, in line with Kimmel (1994) and Glick and colleague's findings surrounding femininity and homophobia, I hypothesized that if men were led to believe that they were feminine, they would endorse higher levels of anti-trans prejudice.

## **CHAPTER 3**

### **METHOD**

#### **Participants**

To obtain power of .80 with a significance level of .05, 57 participants were required for each group (i.e., control and experimental). Thus, a minimum of 114 participants were needed to achieve a moderate effect (Cohen, 1988). The final sample had 127 participants, with 65 in the experimental group, and 62 in the control group.

For the current study, 144 total participants were recruited from a midsize Midwestern university. They were recruited through the introduction to psychology research pool ( $n = 133$ ). The study was limited to male-identified persons. They received course credit for participating in the study or a chance to win \$20 gift card. The undergraduate lab in Life Science II was used. Participants were read the consent form, asked to sign the consent form, and told they were participating in a study about the effects of masculinity and transphobia (see Appendix A). Due to the deception portion of the study, the institutional review board (IRB) required transparency where possible and impression management was used in the data. Qualtrics was used to collect the data. Sixty-two were in the control group, and 65 were in the experimental group.

A total of 17 participants' responses were removed from the final data set. Some did not identify as men (2 identified as a woman and 1 as "human"). Others failed to respond correctly to the attention check (i.e., they were asked twice to mark "disagree" if they were still paying attention, and 13 did not). One participant was not a SIUC student. The final sample consisted of 127 participants.

## Measures

### Demographic Questionnaire

Participants were asked their sex at birth (e.g., what may appear on a birth certificate, for example) as well as the gender they identify as. Options for gender included: transgender, genderqueer, female, agender, male, bigender, and fill in the blank. If none of the presented options fit, participants were encouraged to enter their own response. Only those who identified as men (cis or trans) as their gender were used in the study. Age, race, disability status, sexual orientation, national origin, and ethnic identity were also asked. See Appendix B for the demographics questionnaire.

### MacArthur Scale of Subjective Social Status

To measure social class, I used the MacArthur Scale of Subjective Social Status (Adler, 2007). Participants were shown a ladder that represented the United States, with each rung representing a ranking of society. Each rung was given a number from 1 to 9 to represent a ranking (1 = “people who are the worst off [..]”; 9 = “people who are the best off [..]”). I asked them to choose the number that best represented their family compared to other families in the United States.

### Transphobia

To measure transphobia, as part of doing masculinity, I used the 9-item Transphobia Scale (See Appendix C) (Nagoshi et al., 2008). Each item is measured on a 7-point-Likert-type scale (1 = *completely disagree*, and 7 = *completely agree*) (Nagoshi et al., 2008). Traditionally, scores are then summed and averaged to a single score single score between 1 and 7. For this analysis, the sum, rather than the mean, of each individual’s scores was be used. This allowed for more discriminant comparison. Questions from the Transphobia Scale (Nagoshi et al., 2008)



include items such as “I don’t like it when someone is flirting with me, and I can’t tell if they are a man or a woman,” and “A person’s genitalia define what gender they are, e.g., a penis defines a person as being a man, a vagina defines a person as being a woman” (Nagoshi et al., 2008, p. 530).

The Transphobia Scale was designed to measure prejudice towards trans individuals (Nagoshi et al., 2008). Nagoshi and colleagues developed the measure using undergraduate students in an introduction to psychology course in Arizona State University (Nagoshi et al., 2008). The higher the score, the greater measured transphobia. Scores are typically averaged. The scale showed high internal consistency reliability ( $\alpha = .82$ ) (Gliner, Morgan, & Leech, 2009). Further, test-retest correlation was .88 (Nagoshi et al., 2008), a relatively high correlation (as cited in Gliner et al., 2009). Convergent validity was strong in that scores from the Transphobia Scale were moderately to highly correlated with scores from the Religious Fundamentalism scale (Altmeyer & Hunsberger, 1992) ( $r = .54$  for females,  $.28$  for males), the Right-Wing Authoritarianism scale ( $r = .49$  for females,  $.42$  for males) (Altmeyer, 1981), the Homophobia Scale (Wright, Adams, & Bernat, 1999) ( $r = .56$  for both males and females), the Rape Myth Acceptance scale (Burt, 1980) for females ( $r = .35$ ), and physical aggression and anger in males from the Aggression Questionnaire (Buss & Perry, 1992) ( $r = .25$  and  $.21$ , respectively) (Nagoshi et al., 2008).

The scale has been validated in a study of 250 undergraduates in an introduction to psychology course from a large Midwestern university (Tebbe & Moradi, 2012). The results supported unidimensional structure of the Transphobia Scale, showing greater support for the scale measuring only anti-trans prejudice (Tebbe & Moradi, 2012). Scores from the Transphobia Scale were significant correlated with scores from the Attitudes Toward Lesbians scale ( $r = .58$ ),

Attitudes Toward Gay Men scale ( $r = .68$ ), Attitudes Regarding Bisexuality Scale-Stability subscale ( $r = .50$ ), Attitudes Regarding Bisexuality Scale-Tolerance subscale ( $r = .68$ ), Attitudes Toward Women Scale ( $r = .50$ ), Gender Role Beliefs Scale ( $r = .62$ ), and Social Dominance Orientation scale ( $r = .44$ ). However, Tebbe and Moradi (2012) found that the Transphobia Scale's scores significantly correlated with social desirability ( $r = -.18$ ), as measured by the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale. Thus, respondents with lower scores of transphobia tended to have higher scores of social desirability. Cronbach's alpha for this measure for the current study was .89.

### **Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory-46**

To measure participants' performance of hegemonic masculinity, I used the Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory-46 (CMNI-46), an abbreviated measure of adherence to masculine social norms (Parent & Moradi, 2009). Each item is measured on a 4-point-Likert-type scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, and 4 = *strongly agree*) (See Appendix D for full scale). Scores are typically averaged, with a higher score indicating greater masculinity, as measured by the scale. Compared to the original CMNI scale (Mahalik, Locke, Ludlow, Diemer, Scott, Gottfried, & Freitas, 2003), the short version subscale scores showed a sufficient correlation with original subscale scores ( $r = .89$  to  $.98$ ). The CMNI-46 includes nine factors: Emotion Control, Winning, Playboy, Violence, Self-reliance, Risk-taking, Power Over Women, Primacy of Work, and Disdain for Homosexuals. Example items include "Sometimes violent action is necessary," and "I would be furious if someone thought I was gay," for Violence and Disdain for Homosexuals, respectively. The CMNI-46 was originally developed using 229 undergraduate men in a large Canadian university (Parent & Moradi, 2009). Follow-up analyses were done on data from 225 men in college and indicated sufficient convergent and discriminant validity (Parent & Moradi,

2011). Cronbach's alpha for this measure was .90.

### **Social Desirability**

To be mindful of social desirability effects, I used Paulhus's (1991) Balanced Inventory of Desirable Responding (BIDR) measure of impression management (IM). Each item is measured on a 7-point-Likert-type scale (1 = *not true*, and 7 = *very true*) (see Appendix E). For every "6" or "7" response, one point will be added. If the item is reverse-coded, a point will be added for "1" or "2" responses. The lowest score possible will be a 0, and the highest is 20. The scale showed sufficient internal consistency ( $\alpha = 0.77 - 0.85$ ). Questions from the BIDR include "I always declare everything at customs," and "I have never damaged a library book or store merchandise without reporting it" (Paulhus, 1991). The scale consists of 20 items. Cronbach's alpha for this measure was .76.

### **Procedure**

Each person was assigned to a computer with Internet connection. For both conditions, participants first took the Transphobia Scale and CMNI-46. Participants then received results based on the random assignment to the experimental or control condition. In both conditions, participants were informed they are taking a scale on level of masculinity and would be given feedback on their results, which was false. Those in the experimental condition were told they scored a "20, which suggest you are highly feminine." Those in the control condition were told they scored a "35, which suggests you are more similar to your age group."

They were then asked to take the impression management measure in Paulhus's Social Desirability Scale (1991). This was to check for social desirability, and to create a period of time between the pretest and posttest responses to the CMNI-46 and Transphobia Scale. After taking

the BIDR, participants answered the CMNI-46 and Transphobia Scale again. Lastly, they were prompted to respond to the demographics measure before being debriefed about the study.

As a manipulation check, participants were asked on the survey if the feedback was believable. To safeguard participants leaving the study with higher levels of anti-trans prejudice, participants were informed the feedback about the masculinity was false. Further, a brief slideshow was presented describing the reasoning of the study, masculinity, and the hypotheses of the study. Through this transparency of the study purposes, it was hoped that participants would become more aware of the possible impact of masculinity on their lives. See Appendix F for the debriefing statement and slideshow.

### **Data Analytic Strategy**

TS and CMNI-46 scores were summed for time 1 and time 2 to show clearer differences between groups. I also conducted a multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) to determine possible differences in scores of BIDR-IM, CMNI-46, and TS between experimental and control group participants. To test the main study hypothesis, I performed hierarchical multiple regression analyses. Prior to conducting the analyses, categorical background variables were recoded into dummy variables using "0" and "1" as codes. The condition variable was dummy-coded (control = 0; experimental = 1). The categorical variables were dichotomized and dummy coded. This included race (White = 0; non-White = 1), disability (no disability = 0; has a disability = 1), sexual orientation (heterosexual = 0; sexual minority = 1), national origin (US citizen = 0; non-US citizen = 1), and year in college (freshman = 0; non-freshman = 1).

Demographic variables, the Transphobia Scale scores for time 1, and CMNI-46 scores for time 1 were entered on the first step, followed by scores for social desirability. A "study condition" variable was created and dummy coded (i.e., experimental condition = 1, and control

condition = 0). The study condition variable was entered on the third and final step of the regression analyses. If the hypothesis was supported, then the study condition variable would be found to be significant a significant predictor of transphobia, and in the direction suggesting that the manipulation was effective for participants in the experimental condition. Lastly, a cross-tabs analysis and chi-square analysis was conducted to determine if group membership (experimental or control) would influence belief of results. This was done with data from the manipulation check where participants were asked if they believed their results, given options of “yes,” “no,” and “other.”

## CHAPTER 4

### RESULTS

#### Descriptive Analyses

Participant ages ranged from 18 to 29 ( $M = 19.66$ ,  $SD = 2.27$ ), with 45%. The MacArthur Subjective Social Status scale was used to measure social class (Adler, 2007). Participants were asked to rank their family compared to other families in the United States. The mean was 5.25 ( $SD = 1.6$ ). In general, the sample had a majority 18-year

Pearson's bivariate correlations were conducted between continuous variables: scores for BIDR-IM, and the sum of scores time 1 and time 2 for CMNI-46 and TS (see table 1 for descriptive statistics for the experimental and control groups for time 1 and time 2 scores for all measures). The correlations between time 1 and time 2 TS and time 1 and time 2 CMNI-46 were significantly correlated (see table 3). Neither of the TS were not significantly correlated with the BIDR-IM. Thus, impression management did not appear to be correlated to participants' reports of transphobia. Both of the CMNI-46 scores were significantly weakly negatively correlated with the BIDR-IM scores, meaning that as masculinity norms scores went up, impression management scores went down, and vice versa (see table 3). The correlation was weak in magnitude (Gliner et al., 2009).

A one-way MANOVA was conducted to determine possible differences between the two groups across BIDR-IM, CMNI-46, and TS scores. The *Box's M* (47.81) was significant,  $p < .001$ , which showed there were significant differences among covariance matrices. Therefore, Pillai's Trace was used to interpret the MANOVA results. There were no significant differences across the experimental and control group in scores from BIDR-IM, CMNI-46, and TS,  $F(3, 123) = 1.95$ ,  $p = .13$ ; Pillai's Trace = .05; partial  $\eta^2 = .05$ .

The cross-tabs and chi-square analysis was conducted. Cross-tabulation results can be found in table 5. Chi-square results comparing manipulation check responses and experimental and control groups were significant,  $\chi(2) = 24.74, p < .001$ . Thus, whether the participant was in the experimental or control group influenced whether they reported they believed the results or not.

### **Test of the Study Hypothesis**

In the first step of the hierarchical multiple regression, demographic variables, time 1 transphobia scores, and time 1 masculinity norms scores were entered. The model with predictors of parent's education level, national origin, disability, year in college, sexual orientation, class growing up, family's class, age, time 1 transphobia scores, and time 1 masculinity norms scores did significantly predict time 2 transphobia scores  $F(7, 119) = 70.06, p < .001$  (see Table 2). Specifically, only time 1 transphobia scores was a significant predictor,  $B = .929, \beta = .848, p < .001$ . In the second step, the impression management scores were added to the model. With this variables, the model was not,  $F(2, 117) = .001, p = .979$ . Lastly, the condition (experimental or control group) was added to the model. With this variable, the overall model was not significant,  $F(1, 116) = 4.025, p = .047$ .

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **DISCUSSION**

The goal of the current study was to conduct an experimental study to determine whether emasculation would predict transphobic attitudes. Participants were given an online survey which measured their levels of anti-trans prejudice through the Transphobia Scale (TS) (Nagoshi et al., 2008), and their level of conformity to masculine norms through the CMNI-46 (Parent & Moradi, 2009) before and after the experimental condition. For those in the experimental group, they were given their results to a masculinity measure as “highly feminine,” whereas those placed in the control group were told their results as “similar to those in their age group.” To be mindful of social desirability, participants were given Paulhus’ (1991) measure of impression management from the Balanced Inventory of Desirable Responding (BIDR-IM). This study was one of the first to include an experimental manipulation, delving into the possible causes of transphobic attitudes.

Based on past research of men in those studies endorsed essentialist views of sex and gender and gender dichotomization, and positive correlations between sexism and homophobia and transphobia, I hypothesized that the participants would endorse higher levels of anti-trans prejudice if emasculated. (Glotfelter, 2012; Hill & Willoughby, 2005; King et al., 2009; Tee & Hegarty, 2006). More specifically, men in the experimental group would show statistically significant increase after being told they were “highly feminine” in anti-trans prejudice compared to men in the control group.

#### **Preliminary Findings**

The correlations of time 1 and time 2 TS and CMNI-46 were significantly correlated (see table 3). The correlation is supported by past research that has shown that transphobic attitudes



are correlated with reported masculinity norms on quantitative measures (Nagoshi et al., 2008; Tebbe and Moradi, 2012; Tebbe, Moradi, and Ege, 2014). Watjen and Mitchell (2013) did a study of 114 male Eastern Kentucky University students and their reactions to living with a male-to-female transgender person. They found that transphobia (as measured by Willoughby and colleagues' Genderism and Transphobia Scale, (2011)) and adherence to masculine norms appeared to be part of the same attitude. In other words, masculinity norms and transphobia results were highly positively correlated. Furthermore, past findings have separated identifying as a man from the performance of masculinity when exploring transphobic beliefs (Hill & Willoughby, 2005; King et al., 2009; Nagoshi et al., 2008; Norton & Herek, 2012; Tee & Hegarty, 2006; Winter et al., 2008). Therefore, future researchers in this field should attend to the influences of masculinity as opposed to men's gender identity alone. Lastly, it may be equally important to investigate other genders' reported masculinity in relation to transphobia.

Transphobia Scale scores were not significantly correlated with the BIDR-IM scores, which indicates that there was no relationship between participants transphobia responses and impression management. Past research on transphobia have shown similar results (Claman, 2008; Tebbe, Moradi, & Ege, 2014). Thus, it appears that reporting anti-trans attitudes may not be related to social desirability.

Masculinity norms were significantly negatively correlated with social desirability, which has been supported in past research on the scale (Parent & Moradi, 2009). Therefore, participants' responses may have been affected by attempts at greater social desirability, i.e., to respond with lower endorsement of masculinity norms. The connection between masculinity and social desirability is inherent—gender performance is influenced by the immediate and greater social context (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). In the context of a study, perhaps performance

of masculinity, as measured by the CMNI-46, was not socially desirable. Further, the trait nature of the scale for masculinity norms (CMNI-46) may not have been able to capture the context-dependence of masculinity. Participants may have been aware that though they may have done some of the actions listed or endorse some of the values from the scale, it did not apply to them always in every context. With that said, the correlation does not indicate direction, so it may be that responding to the masculine norms scale affected responses to social desirability. Future studies in masculinity may thus benefit from methods that can observe performance in several contexts and times to have more holistic data of masculinity.

### **Primary Findings**

Demographics entered in the first step of the regression did not explain significant amount of variance. Based on demographics, past research studies have shown that male identity, older age, and living in a rural setting to be positively correlated to transphobic attitudes (Hill & Willoughby, 2005; Nagoshi et al., 2008; Norton & Herek, 2012; Tee & Hegarty, 2006; Winter et al., 2008). I measured their age and gender, but age did not appear to be significantly related to level of transphobia. This may be due to my college-sample, where majority of participants were 18, whereas Winter and colleague's (2008) study, found age to be as a positive correlate to transphobia, was a sample that ranged in age from 15 to 64. Further, all my participants were cisgender males; thus, a comparison based on reported gender was not possible. My sample had majority heterosexual and White participants. While there were not enough of sexual minorities to do a statistical comparison, race did not appear to have a significant effect. This goes against Tee and Hegarty's (2006) study of students in United Kingdom where students of color endorsed high levels of negative attitudes toward transsexual people. Watjen and Mitchell (2013) study showed similar results to the current findings, where they found that White men in their study

were equally transphobic to men of color. They also found Christians, middle to high SES, and heterosexual male college students were more transphobic and adhered to more masculine norms, compared to non-Christian, lower SES, and gay male college students. In my study, reported social class did not appear to have a significant effect on level of transphobia. This may be due to their shared education level as undergraduate students. Norton and Herek (2013) found that education level was significantly positively correlated with reported warmth toward trans people.

Time 1 transphobia scores was a significant predictor, which led to step one being statistically significant,  $B = .929$ ,  $\beta = .848$ ,  $p < .001$ . This was unsurprising because of the high test-retest of the Transphobia Scale (Nagoshi et al., 2009). Further, the participants took both time 1 and time 2 Transphobia Scale surveys in one sitting, giving little time between administrations. Memory of time 1 responses may have affected time 2 responses.

The second step of the hierarchical multiple regression was not statistically significant,  $F(2, 117) = .001$ ,  $p = .979$ . Inclusion of scores from the BIDR-IM did not appear to explain a significant amount of variance of transphobic attitudes. BIDR-IM was not a statistically significant predictor ( $B = -0.24$ ,  $\beta = -0.5$ ,  $p = .58$ ). As stated, it appears that social desirability may not be significantly related to level of anti-trans prejudice given respondents' openness to reporting this prejudice (Norton & Herek, 2012), and lack of significant correlations in past studies (Mahalik et al., 2003; Tebbe, Moradi, & Ege, 2014; Ngamake, Walch, & Raveepatarakul, 2014).

### **Results for the Hypothesis**

I predicted those in the experimental condition would have a significant change in reported transphobic attitudes. The third and final step of the multiple regression was not

significant, meaning the study condition variable did not predict transphobic attitudes as hypothesized. With that said, the p-value was .047, close to the significance cut-off .05. This finding implies that the manipulation of telling respondents they were “highly feminine” may have influenced transphobia scores, but further studies are required to test the reliability and perhaps strengthen the effect. When asked “did you believe the results were true,” a majority of participants responded “yes” in the control group, and a majority of participants responded “no” in the experimental group. This may indicate those in the experimental condition did not believe their results and, thus, were not affected by being told they were “highly feminine” (see table 5). A chi-square analysis was done to see if the chance for responses of “yes” or “no” for experimental and condition groups were beyond chance. The test was statistically significant, showing that group membership was related to participants’ reported belief in their results. With the openness about the intent of the study (see Appendix E for the consent form), participants may have been able to discern the deception for the study.

Respondents were also asked about their reactions to their results (see Table 6 and Table 7 for their responses), and no participants indicated they did not believe the results because they were faked, but because they felt it did not accurately describe them. Rather, some participants in the experimental condition reported feeling “upset,” “disrespected,” “shocked,” or “dumbfounded,” whereas others were stated they “did not care” or that it was accurate. The former responses seemed more common in the experimental condition than the control. However, a qualitative analysis is beyond the scope of this study.

The close statistical significance in the results may also be due to the method of measurement of transphobia. Cited research studies which showed a positive correlation between masculinity to transphobia used Hill and Willoughby’s (2005) Genderism and Transphobia Scale

(GTS) (Claman, 2008; Tebbe, Moradi, & Ege, 2014); Walch, Ngamake, Francisco, Stitt, and Shingler's (2012) Attitudes Toward Transgendered Individuals Scale (ATTI) (Ngamake, Walch, & Raveepatarakul, 2014); or a warmth scale (Norton & Herek, 2012). While Nagoshi and colleagues' (2008) Transphobia Scale has been validated, it is brief (Walch et al., 20012), and respondents may have been able to recall their time 1 responses.

Another possibility is that in this sample, emasculation did not lead to a strong or detectable shift in anti-trans prejudice. Harris and Harper (2014) study on masculinity in fraternities in United States and Canada found that contrary to popular belief, the fraternities in their study supported diversity, and were against sexism, racism, and homophobia. Thus, performance of masculinity maybe shifting. Further, Pascoe (2003) discussed her participants affirming their own masculinities through heterosexuality and dominance. It may be that in the context of when participants took their study, aligning themselves with acceptance of their false results affirmed their masculinity. Or, according to Connell and Messerschmidt's (2005), perhaps going against dominant ideas of fear of emasculation would reinforce their masculine privilege in the context of taking a study for a class.

### **Implications**

Given the results of this study, a replication study may be necessary to confirm the results. Several studies failed to report certain identities—such as gender identity, race, class—which can limit generalizability (King et al., 2009; Nagoshi et al., 2008; Norton & Herek, 2012; Tee & Hegarty, 2006; Winter et al., 2008), and in the example of cis and trans identities, normalize cis identity. This study may serve as a foundation for future research regarding motives and causes of transphobia. Given the range of reactions from participants about their results as feminine or similar to their age group, there may be experiences untapped by the

current measures. Qualitative methods may be more suitable to explore underlying beliefs and observing performance of masculinity, rather than the current trait measure. Further, although several studies on hegemonic masculinity mention articles by Connell (1995), and Connell and Messerschmidt's (2005), they use quantitative methods to measure masculinity (Glick et al., 2007; Nagoshi et al., 2008). This may serve to essentialize masculinity with the underlying assumption that the measure of the person's masculinity at that time applies to other contexts as well. The measure does not allow for observation of performance of masculinity in different time and place, or relational to others (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005).

### **Limitations**

One of the goals of this study was to conduct an experiment of the effects of emasculation on transphobic attitudes. In the past, researchers have done experimental methods to measure the effects of emasculation on homophobia (Glick et al., 2007), and have provided correlational evidence between masculinity and anti-trans prejudice (Nagoshi et al., 2008; Tebbe & Moradi, 2012). While this study did find the condition as a close-to statistically significant predictor of transphobic attitudes, this is perhaps one of the first studies of this nature. Therefore, more research is required to draw a conclusion. Further, given the performativity of masculinity (and gender in general) (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005), a qualitative study or field observation may be more suitable to address this research question to avoid essentializing masculinity.

### **Conclusion**

This study was intended to provide an experiment of impact of emasculation and hegemonic masculinity on transphobic attitudes. While the results did indicate this, the field of research on masculinity and transphobia continues to grow. From January to November 2016, 21

trans people have been killed in the United States (Allen, 2016). Thus, while perhaps the hypothesis was not found, more research is needed to confirm these findings and continue to address cissexism through research. Outside of this study's findings, the information regarding predictors of transphobia and sociologists' research on gender can be used to support the work of counseling psychologists. Given the field's role in academia, advocacy, and support, counseling psychologists can affirm those they serve and their own respective performances of gender, address attitudes related to transphobia, and continue to address structures of oppression.

Table 1

*Participant Demographics*

Variable	Levels	# of Subjects	% of Subjects
Age	18	57	44.9
	19	19	15.0
	20	16	12.6
	21	14	11.0
	22	5	3.9
	23	1	.8
	24	7	5.5
	25	2	1.6
	27	1	.8
	29	2	1.6
	No response	3	2.4
Disability status	Mobility	1	.8
	Learning	14	11.0
	None	106	83.5
	Other	3	2.4
	No response	3	2.4
Race <sup>+</sup>	Asian	1	.8
	Black	27	21.3
	Hispanic	22	17.3
	International Student	4	3.1
	Biracial/Multiracial	3	2.4
	White	65	51.2
	Other	3	2.4
	No response	2	1.6
Sexual orientation	Bisexual	7	5.5
	Gay	6	4.7
	Heterosexual	111	87.4
	Lesbian	1	0.8
	Other	1	0.8
	No response	1	0.8
Family's social class	10	2	1.6
	9	3	2.4
	8	12	9.4
	7	22	17.3
	6	31	24.4
	5	30	23.6
	4	18	14.2
	3	7	5.5
	2	2	1.6
	1	0	0



Variable	Levels	# of Subjects	% of Subjects
Parent/guardian education	Less than a high school education	8	6.3
	High school or GED	26	20.5
	Some college education	18	14.2
	Associates degree/technical degree	9	7.1
	Bachelor's degree	43	33.9
	Master's degree	21	16.5
	Doctorate or professional degree (e.g., MD, JD, or PhD)	2	1.6
Class growing up	At or below the poverty line	2	1.6
	Lower class	6	4.7
	Working class	12	9.4
	Lower-middle class	27	21.3
	Middle class	53	41.7
	Upper-middle class	24	18.9
	Upper class	3	2.4
Year in college	Freshman	69	54.3
	Sophomore	26	20.5
	Junior	16	12.6
	Senior	14	11.0
	No response	2	1.6
National origin	Student or work visa	9	7.1
	Undocumented status	1	0.8
	US citizenship	113	89.0
	Other	1	2.4
	No response	1	0.8

*Note.* <sup>a</sup>Racial demographics are based on Southern Illinois University, Carbondale's race/ethnicity categories.

Table 2

*Group Descriptive Statistics*

Group	<u>Time 1</u>		<u>Time 2</u>	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
<u>Control</u>				
BIDR-IM	4.38	.77		
TS Averaged	3.93	1.34	4.02	1.48
TS Summed	35.37	12.05	35.37	12.05
CMNI-46 Averaged	2.54	.34	2.52	.30
CMNI-46 Summed	117.05	15.66	116.05	14.02
<u>Experimental</u>				
BIDR-IM	4.44	.95		
TS Averaged	3.82	1.39	4.12	1.48
TS Summed	34.41	12.49	37.08	13.35
CMNI-46 Averaged	2.50	.32	2.51	.41
CMNI-46 Summed	114.77	14.61	119.85	18.92

*Note.* BIDR-IM = Balanced Inventory of Desirable Responding-Impression Management; TS Averaged = Average of time 1 and time 2 responses to the Transphobia Scale; TS Summed = Sum of time 1 and time 2 responses to the Transphobia Scale; CMNI-46 Averaged = Average of time 1 and time 2 responses to the Conformity to Masculinity Norms Inventory-46; CMNI-46 Summed = Sum. of time 1 and time 2 responses to the Conformity to Masculinity Norms Inventory-46; all responses from self-report.

Table 3

*Correlations Between Transphobia Scale, Conformity Masculinity Norms Inventory-46, and Balanced Inventory of Desirable Responding-Impression Management*

Variable	1	2	3	4	5
1 TS Sum Time 1	—				
2 TS Sum Time 2	.910**	—			
3 CMNI-46 Sum Time 1	.589**	.609**	—		
4 CMNI-46 Sum Time 2	.554**	.626**	.879**	—	
5 BIDR-IM	-.083	-.094	-.232**	-.358**	—

*Note.* TS Summed 1 = Sum of time 1 responses to the Transphobia Scale; TS Sum 2 = Sum of time 2 responses to the Transphobia Scale; CMNI-46 Summed Time 1 = Sum of time 1 responses to the Conformity to Masculinity Norms Inventory-46; CMNI-46 Sum Time 2 = Sum of time 2 responses to the Conformity to Masculinity Norms Inventory-46; BIDR-IM = Balanced Inventory of Desirable Responding-Impression Management; \*\* $p \leq .01$ .

Table 4

*Regression Analysis Predicting Transphobia Scores After Study Condition (N = 127)*

Step	Variables	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	$\beta$	$R^2$	$\Delta R^2$	<i>F</i>	Sig. of <i>F</i>
1	Race	-.139	1.058	-.005	.844	.844	70.060	.000
	Disability	-1.329	1.321	-0.037				
	Age	.062	0.290	.011				
	Sexual Orientation	-.772	1.584	-0.019				
	National Origin	-2.746	1.768	-0.065				
	Year in College	-1.399	1.267	-0.053				
	Family's Social Class	-0.061	0.329	-0.007				
	CMNI-46	.078	.043	.087				
	TS Time 1	.929**	.052	.848**				
2	Race	-0.143	1.075	-0.005	.844	.000	.001	.979
	Disability	-1.325	1.333	-0.037				
	Age	.061	.293	.010				
	Sexual Orientation	-.764	1.622	-0.019				
	National Origin	-2.747	1.777	-0.065				
	Year in College	-1.396	1.280	-0.052				
	Family's Social Class	-.060	0.334	-0.007				
	CMNI-46	.078	0.045	.088				
	TS Sum Time 1	.929**	0.052	.848**				
	BIDR-IM	-0.240	0.433	.001				
3	Race	.066	1.066	0.002	.849	.005	4.025	.047
	Disability	-1.326	1.316	-0.037				
	Age	-0.003	.291	-0.001				
	Sexual Orientation	-.666	1.602	-0.017				
	National Origin	-2.942	1.757	-0.069				
	Year in College	-1.261	1.265	-0.047				
	Family's Social Class	-.035	0.329	-0.004				
	CMNI-46	.083	.044	.092				
	TS Sum Time 1	.926**	.051	.845**				
	BIDR-IM	.029	0.614	0.002				
	Condition	1.971*	0.982	.074*				

*Note.* BIDR-IM = Balanced Inventory of Desirable Responding-Impression Management; TS Time 1 = Sum of time 1 responses to the Transphobia Scale; CMNI-46 = Sum of time 1 responses to the Conformity to Masculinity Norms Inventory-46

\* $p \leq .05$ , \*\* $p \leq .01$ .

Table 5

*Crosstab Analysis of Manipulation Check and Condition*

Response	Condition		Total
	Control	Experimental	
Yes	43	19	62
No	10	37	47
Other	9	9	18

Table 6

*Qualitative Reactions to Experimental Condition – Highly Feminine (N = 65)*

Participant Responses	
1	It is what it is.
2	Surprising, but many of my responses would fall under "doesn't really bother me" if that had been an option.
3	eh
4	Ok
5	feel happy
6	A lot of questions
7	I don't know
8	nothing
9	Not surprised. I have been known to open up more once I get to know someone.
10	I thought it was funny because I am a welder/fabricator and automotive mechanic and I also have a long beard and am covered in tattoos which are all things people wouldn't classify as feminine. People generally wouldn't come to this conclusion by taking a glance at me.
11	I find the scoring might be wrong. The lack of violence simply indicates a preference for other action, not that a person is feminine. Furthermore, the lack of caring whether or not another individual might find me gay doesn't indicate that I am more feminine, it shows that I do not care what other people think. Is the pursuit of knowledge more feminine than an aggressive nature? Is deciding that not every conflict calls for violence a more feminine choice? What measures are used to standardized the scoring of the survey? This survey could use a little better standardized scoring.
12	I disagree with that just answering the questions the best way I know how. Throughout the survey I was very honest with every question and to be told that I'm feminine really upset me.
13	I hear females are more in contact with their emotions and also better at communicating which I perceive as the most important characteristics of a person. I have no judgement on my result.
14	Somewhat surprised. But then again, I never really did think I was too masculine by society's definitions.
15	its not true
16	Do not necessarily agree. Very comfortable in my gender and masculinity.
17	IM SHOCKED, NEVER THOUGHT MY ACTIONS WOULD MAKE ME THIS WAY
18	I think that's wrong, but It doesn't bother me
19	Shocked, dumbfounded
20	ok cool? so what ? maybe that explains why girls don't stay interested in me for long
21	I can see that lol. I don't get into the "norms" of society and I tend to not really care about what others do as long as nobody is getting hurt needlessly
22	I disagree strongly.
23	Surprising
24	Pretty surprised
25	It is what it is. Not bothered by the result.
26	That is kind of surprising to hear, but it doesn't bother me or make me proud. I'm indifferent

27 I am a compassionate empathic person. I am not surprised.  
28 I thought I would be a little more masculine, but I was also mainly raised by women. I am a generally more accepting than other people. Things don't both me as much as others.  
29 ok  
30 I do not feel like I am highly feminine.  
31 Depending on how you scored this, I am probably fine with it.  
32 I am a gay male. so i don't care if people think im gay. I believe that people can be whatever that they want to be and shouldn't be judged for it. I also feel that men can show emotion and it doesn't mean that they are weak. also women should have just as many rights as men.  
33 I don't believe it but whatever xD  
34 My heart rate increased just reading this.  
35 I am not too surprised, as most of my time at home is spent around the company of my mother. It is possible that some of her ideas or behavior have rubbed off on me.  
36 I do not know how to react to the results.  
37 very surprising.  
38 Not accurate whatsoever  
39 I've been told that I don't necessarily portray the societal characteristics of a man because I tend to get along with the opposite gender. I'm not like every other guy because I tend to express myself to others, especially those I feel most comfortable with. Although, I believe that there shouldn't be any stereotypes that define what makes you a man or woman.  
40 Id like to think that I have an open mind. I feel many times questions are somewhat stereotypical or don't really apply to me  
41 I don't have a problem with it  
42 Sounds fair  
43 This crazy... can't believe yall just disrespected me like that.  
44 this is not correct at all. just because a guy doesn't mind talking about his feelings means that he is feminine.  
45 This comes as a shock to me, I identify as bisexual, however, I try my best not to show it in public scenarios.  
46 I am not feminine but ill take it your word for it  
47 I didn't know that  
48 Very shocking  
49 I don't care.  
50 no im not it takes a real man to be open about their self  
51 Sweet  
52 I am kind of shocked by this, because I do not consider myself feminine. I know that I am not the most masculine guy out there, but I am definitely not feminine.  
53 I am , what I am ya' know lol  
54 Ok?  
55 I'm not highly feminine  
56 ok  
57 No big deal  
58 something went wrong or something is not right.  
59 I find this to be very shocking  
60 Surprised  
61 gg

- 62 I don't think much of it.
- 63 I don't see myself as highly feminine, but I see my self as a man who thinks its important to share feelings and never be in charge of a women.
- 64 I feel as if this is very off. This is actually quite shocking to be honest. Me nor do anybody else I know see me as being highly feminine. This was a little disrespectful lol
- 65 I am okay with it. My friends and I would disagree though.
- 

*Note.* These were participants' reactions to being told that on a masculinity norms measure, their score was highly feminine.



Table 7

*Qualitative Reactions to Control Condition – Similar Masculinity to Age Group (N = 62)*

Participant Responses	
1	neutral
2	I guess this is good that I'm along with others my age
3	N/A
4	I am contempt with the results.
5	Ok cool.
6	I'm not shocked, I try to be a understandable person and not a bigot or a rude person but I'm also not a pushover.
7	I thought it is more. I don't feel comfortable to set with a gender who does something to show that he/she is the other gender.
8	I did not expect my results to be that different from other people my age so I am not surprised by these results.
9	I would have expected to be at an average level of masculinity because I am not a dominating aggressor, but at the same time I am not a feminine guy, so these results do not surprise me.
10	I am a bit confused, because the term "similar" is not explained. I am neither sad nor happy, but curious to what similar to my age group means.
11	Im not really shocked
12	I feel as if I am just a part of my new generation of not caring to much of gender roles.
13	I was not surprised as to the results that is how I see the world.
14	Unbothered
15	it is as accurate as I would think it should be.
16	I don't feel anything about it because I'm used to this kind of work.
17	I have no clue what 35 is trying to tell me. Also I do not remember if I have you my age or not.?
18	It seems about right, I feel.
19	A little surprising but not entirely
20	I have seen myself like this since I am taking a wgss class and I can identify key terms now and how other people would view themselves.
21	I scored 10 points higher than my age...is this good or bad?
22	There isn't really enough information given for me to form an opinion
23	seems normal
24	I'm not sure what the score means, but I'm not average.
25	I am not really shocked or surprised in any way.
26	These results are not surprising to me. I am sensitive but I am proud of my masculinity.
27	good
28	that's good
29	I'm not that surprised. This is how I would say I am too.
30	it lets me know I am in the norm
31	Not surprised if average.
32	I would like to know what my age group has to say regarding this survey.

- 33 I think society has a living norm in which people in my age group tend to live up to or live by certain expectations. Therefore, I am not shocked about my results, but at the same time I do not let society guide me downhill.
- 34 I think this test is a good test but can be improved in several ways. Some questions towards the end I felt like I was in a neutral state but there was no option for that. It was either agree or disagree.
- 35 I am not surprised. I understand who I am.
- 36 Sounds cool to me
- 37 Not surprised at all with these findings.
- 38 Im in my own lane
- 39 figured that would be my result
- 40 That's fine with me.
- 41 no comment
- 42 I am comfortable knowing that I am where my age group conforms. I like knowing that I am where I am with everyone else.
- 43 Indifferent
- 44 I'm a bit surprised. I figured being gay might make me an outlier in this regard.
- 45 Most of they made me laugh
- 46 I am not suprised
- 47 They are all pretty alike
- 48 Is similar good or bad?
- 49 I believe people have different perception of things and if i'm similar to my age group I guess that's good
- 50 I guess I would be considered a normal 19 year old then.
- 51 I would agree to these results. I used to be more close minded when it came to talking about this stuff but I feel society is promoting these conversations and it's helping people be more open-minded. I think these conversations beings awareness.
- 52 I'm not surprised. As a second-generation Mexican-American I was raised on machismo customs.
- 53 Im okay with the results
- 54 cool
- 55 I don't really care about how my results compare to others, because everyone has different opinions regarding masculinity and transphobia.
- 56 Not very surprised.
- 57 I don't understand them
- 58 I feel normal
- 59 I don't believe this
- 60 I'm not surprise by it at all
- 61 kind of average, I knew a lot of people feel the same way I do
- 62 that most guys my age group think alike.

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*Note.* These were participants' reactions to being told that on a masculinity norms measure, their score was similar to those of their age group.

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## APPENDICES

## APPENDIX A CONSENT FORM

My name is Marilyn Chung. I am a graduate student at Southern Illinois University-Carbondale.

The purpose of my study is to gather information about the relationship between masculinity in men and transphobia. At the end, you will be asked about your response to the questionnaire as well as further information about the study.

Participation is voluntary. If you choose to participate in the study, it will take approximately 20 to 30 minutes of your time. You will be asked to complete a series of questions about your level of masculinity. Then you will be given results compared to past participants. Then, you will be presented with another series of questions, and asked to respond to a demographics questionnaire. Lastly, you will be debriefed about the study and your participation.

The potential risks involved in this study are psychological, as some items in the questionnaires will ask about your experiences related to masculinity and levels of transphobia. These items may provoke feelings of distress for some participants. You will also be provided with contact information for the Counseling and Psychological Services Center at SIU

All your responses will be kept confidential within reasonable limits. Only those directly involved with this project will have access to the data.

If you have any questions about the study, please contact me or my advisor.

Marilyn Chung	(510) 590-6201	E-mail: <a href="mailto:marilync@siu.edu">marilync@siu.edu</a>
Dr. Tawanda M. Greer	(618) 453-3573	E-mail: <a href="mailto:tmgreer@siu.edu">tmgreer@siu.edu</a>

**By signing below, you agree to the following statements:**

**I have read the material above, and any questions I asked have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand a copy of this form will be made available to me for the relevant information and phone numbers. I realize that I may withdraw without prejudice at any time.**

Thank you for taking the time to assist me in this research.

---

Participant Signature and Date

This project has been reviewed and approved by the SIUC Human Subjects Committee. Questions concerning your rights as a participant in this research may be addressed to the Committee Chairperson, Office of Sponsored Projects Administration, SIUC, Carbondale, IL 62901-4709. Phone (618) 453-4533. E-mail: [siuhsc@siu.edu](mailto:siuhsc@siu.edu)

## APPENDIX B

### DEMOGRAPHICS QUESTIONNAIRE

Q10 How old are you?

Q11 What is your race? Choose all that apply.

- ☐ a. American Indian/Alaskan Native (1)
- ☐ b. Asian (2)
- ☐ c. Black (3)
- ☐ d. Hispanic (4)
- ☐ e. International (5)
- ☐ f. Native Hawaiian/Other Pacific Islander (6)
- ☐ g. Two-or-more races (7)
- ☐ h. Unknown (8)
- ☐ i. White (9)
- ☐ j. Other: (10) \_\_\_\_\_

Q12 What is your sex?

- ☐ a. Female (1)
- ☐ b. Male (2)
- ☐ c. Intersex (3)
- ☐ d. Other: (4) \_\_\_\_\_

Q13 What is your sex category? In other words, what sex do others typically identify you as? (For some, this may be the same or different from their sex.)

- ☐ a. Female (1)
- ☐ b. Male (2)
- ☐ d. Other: (3) \_\_\_\_\_

Q14 What is your gender?

- ☐ a) Agender (1)
- ☐ b) Bigender (2)
- ☐ c) Genderqueer (3)
- ☐ d) Man (4)
- ☐ e) Transgender (5)
- ☐ f) Woman (6)
- ☐ g) Other: (7) \_\_\_\_\_

Q15 How would you describe your gender?

Q16 What is your sexual orientation? i.e. What gender or genders are you attracted to?

- ☐ a) Bisexual (1)
- ☐ b) Gay (2)
- ☐ c) Heterosexual (3)
- ☐ d) Lesbian (4)
- ☐ e) Queer (5)
- ☐ f) Other: (6) \_\_\_\_\_

Q17 Did you understand the above questions about sex, sex category, gender, and sexual orientation? If not, which part was confusing?

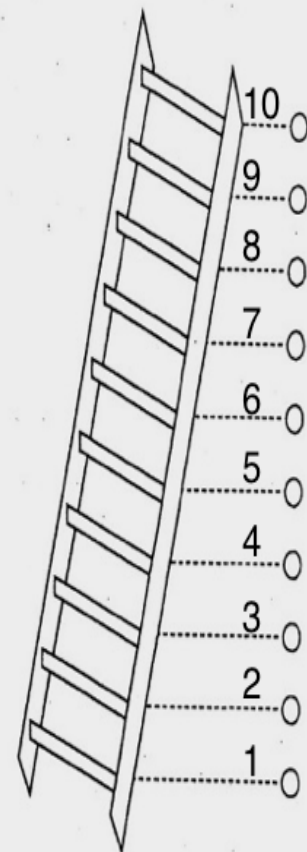
Q18 What culture(s) do you identify with?

Q19 Please continue to question 1a to respond.

1a. Imagine that this ladder pictures how American society is set up.

- ◆ At the top of the ladder are the people who are the best off--they have the most money, the highest amount of schooling, and the jobs that bring the most respect.
- ◆ At the bottom are people who are the worst off--they have the least money, little or no education, no job or jobs that no one wants or respects.

Now think about your family. Please tell us where you think your family would be on this ladder. **Fill in the circle that best represents where your family would be on this ladder.**



Q20 1a. Choose the circle that best represents where your family would be on the above ladder.

- ☐ 10 (1)
- ☐ 9 (2)
- ☐ 8 (3)
- ☐ 7 (4)
- ☐ 6 (5)
- ☐ 5 (6)
- ☐ 4 (7)
- ☐ 3 (8)
- ☐ 2 (9)
- ☐ 1 (10)

Q23 How would you characterize your social class growing up?

- ☐ a) At or below the poverty line (1)
- ☐ b) Lower class (2)
- ☐ c) Working Class (3)
- ☐ d) Lower-middle class (4)
- ☐ e) Middle class (5)
- ☐ f) Upper-middle class (6)
- ☐ g) Upper class (7)
- ☐ h) Other: (8) \_\_\_\_\_

Q24 What is the highest level of education achieved by your parents/guardians?

- ☐ a) Less than a high school education (1)
- ☐ b) High school or GED (2)
- ☐ c) Some college education (3)
- ☐ d) Associates degree/technical degree (4)
- ☐ e) Bachelor's degree (5)
- ☐ f) Masters degree (6)
- ☐ g) Doctorate or professional degree eg. MD, JD, PhD (7)

Q25 What is your current year in college?

- ☐ Undergraduate student (enter year of college in text box) (1) \_\_\_\_\_
- ☐ Graduate Student (Specify program and year in program in text box) (2) \_\_\_\_\_

Q26 What is your disability status? Check all that apply.

- ☐ a. Sensory disability (1)
- ☐ b. Mobility disability (2)
- ☐ c. Cognitive disability (3)
- ☐ d. Psycho/social disability (4)
- ☐ e. Learning disability (5)
- ☐ f. No disability (6)
- ☐ g. Other: (7) \_\_\_\_\_

Q27 National origin: which of the following applies?

- ☐ a. I have a student or work visa (1)
- ☐ b. I have a green card (2)
- ☐ c. I have undocumented status (3)
- ☐ d. I have US citizenship (4)
- ☐ e. Other: (5) \_\_\_\_\_



## APPENDIX C

### ITEMS FOR THE TRANSPHOBIA SCALE

Using the scale below as a guide, write a number beside each statement to indicate your agreement.

+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Completely disagree			Completely agree			

1. I don't like it when someone is flirting with me, and I can't tell if they are a man or a woman.
2. I think there is something wrong with a person who says that they are neither a man nor a woman.
3. I would be upset, if someone I'd known a long time revealed to me that they used to be another gender.
4. I avoid people on the street whose gender is unclear to me.
5. When I meet someone, it is important for me to be able to identify them as a man or a woman.
6. I believe that the male/female dichotomy is natural.
7. I am uncomfortable around people who don't conform to traditional gender roles, e.g., aggressive women or emotional men.
8. I believe that a person can never change their gender.
9. A person's genitalia define what gender they are, e.g., a penis defines a person as being a man, a vagina defines a person as being a woman.

## APPENDIX D

### ITEMS FOR THE CONFORMITY TO MASCULINE NORMS SCALE-46

The following pages contain a series of statements about how men might think, feel or behave. The statements are designed to measure attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors associated with both traditional and non-traditional masculine gender roles. Thinking about your own actions, feelings and beliefs, please indicate how much you personally agree or disagree with each statement by circling SD for "Strongly Disagree", D for "Disagree", A for "Agree," or SA for "Strongly agree" to the left of the statement. There are no right or wrong responses to the statements. You should give the responses that most accurately describe your personal actions, feelings and beliefs. It is best if you respond with your first impression when answering.

	+	+	+	+
	1	2	3	4
Strongly disagree				Strongly agree

- 1 In general, I will do anything to win
- 2 If I could, I would frequently change sexual partners
- 3 I hate asking for help
- 4 I believe that violence is never justified
- 5 Being thought of as gay is not a bad thing
- 6 In general, I do not like risky situations
- 7 Winning is not my first priority
- 8 I enjoy taking risks
- 9 I am disgusted by any kind of violence
- 10 I ask for help when I need it

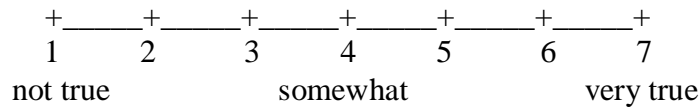
- 11 My work is the most important part of my life
- 12 I would only have sex if I was in a committed relationship
- 13 I bring up my feelings when talking to others
- 14 I would be furious if someone thought I was gay
- 15 I don't mind losing
- 16 I take risks
- 17 It would not bother me at all if someone thought I was gay
- 18 I never share my feelings
- 19 Sometimes violent action is necessary
- 20 In general, I control the women in my life
- 21 I would feel good if I had many sexual partners
- 22 It is important for me to win
- 23 I don't like giving all my attention to work
- 24 It would be awful if people thought I was gay
- 25 I like to talk about my feelings
- 26 I never ask for help
- 27 More often than not, losing does not bother me
- 28 I frequently put myself in risky situations
- 29 Women should be subservient to men
- 30 I am willing to get into a physical fight if necessary
- 31 I feel good when work is my first priority

- 32 I tend to keep my feelings to myself
- 33 Winning is not important to me
- 34 Violence is almost never justified
- 35 I am happiest when I'm risking danger
- 36 It would be enjoyable to date more than one person at a time
- 37 I would feel uncomfortable if someone thought I was gay
- 38 I am not ashamed to ask for help
- 39 Work comes first
- 40 I tend to share my feelings
- 41 No matter what the situation I would never act violently
- 42 Things tend to be better when men are in charge
- 43 It bothers me when I have to ask for help
- 44 I love it when men are in charge of women
- 45 I hate it when people ask me to talk about my feelings
- 46 I try to avoid being perceived as gay

## APPENDIX E

### ITEMS FOR THE IMPRESSION MANAGEMENT SCALE

Using the scale below as a guide, write a number beside each statement to indicate how true it is.



- \_\_\_ 1. I sometimes tell lies if I have to.
- \_\_\_ 2. I never cover up my mistakes.
- \_\_\_ 3. There have been occasions when I have taken advantage of someone.
- \_\_\_ 4. I never swear.
- \_\_\_ 5. I sometimes try to get even rather than forgive and forget.
- \_\_\_ 6. I always obey laws, even if I'm unlikely to get caught.
- \_\_\_ 7. I have said something bad about a friend behind his/her back.
- \_\_\_ 8. When I hear people talking privately, I avoid listening.
- \_\_\_ 9. I have received too much change from a salesperson without telling him or her.
- \_\_\_ 10. I always declare everything at customs.
- \_\_\_ 11. When I was young I sometimes stole things.
- \_\_\_ 12. I have never dropped litter on the street.
- \_\_\_ 13. I sometimes drive faster than the speed limit.
- \_\_\_ 14. I never read sexy books or magazines.
- \_\_\_ 15. I have done things that I don't tell other people about.
- \_\_\_ 16. I never take things that don't belong to me.
- \_\_\_ 17. I have taken sick-leave from work or school even though I wasn't really sick.
- \_\_\_ 18. I have never damaged a library book or store merchandise without reporting it.

\_\_\_\_ 19. I have some pretty awful habits.

\_\_\_\_ 20. I don't gossip about other people's business.

## APPENDIX F

### DEBRIEFING STATEMENT

#### XIV. Debriefing Statement

**Do not discuss this study once you have completed the survey. This is to maintain the integrity of the study.**

In order to study whether emasculation may lead to transphobic attitudes, you were given **false results that stated your masculinity levels were more similar to that of women or people your age.**

**Both results are *untrue*.** You were **randomly assigned** a result. Your actual scores did not produce any of the results.

The purpose of the study is to understand possible origins of violence toward trans (i.e., transgender) people by studying the most common perpetrators of violence. Men have a greater likelihood of endorsing essentialist views of sex and gender and gender dichotomization, and are the most common perpetrators of transphobia and heterosexism. Theorists suggest that men are motivated to distance themselves from femininity out of fear of emasculation. To regain masculinity, studies have shown that men enact stereotypical masculine behaviors and attitudes, which include homophobia. The purpose of this study is to determine if emasculation may be a possible cause of transphobic attitudes.

By understanding possible causes of transphobic men's prejudicial attitudes, prevention work can be done to reduce these attitudes and support the livelihood of trans people and people of all genders alike.

Please continue on to the next page to learn more about the basis of this study.

**Do not discuss this study once you have completed the survey. This is to maintain the integrity of the study. Thank you for your time and participation."**

Participants will be given false results to the CMNI-46, a scale of masculinity norms. They will be told the scale is of masculine and feminine traits. Those in the experimental condition will receive feedback that their scores on the CMNI-46 were more similar to a women's mean score. The control condition will receive feedback that their scores were more similar to those in their age group.

This is necessary because the basis of the theoretical study is that men fear femininity and will enact forms of dominant masculinity to be perceived as less feminine (and masculine). Without control of this condition, results may be confounded by the variations in men's actual levels of masculinity.

Due to the nature of this study, you may encounter psychological distress. Thus, you are encouraged to speak to me or my advisor in this case or seek support through the resources below.

If you have any questions about the study, please contact me or my advisor.

Marilyn Chung	(510) 590-6201	E-mail: <a href="mailto:marilync@siu.edu">marilync@siu.edu</a>
Dr. Tawanda M. Greer	(618) 453-3573	E-mail: <a href="mailto:tmgreer@siu.edu">tmgreer@siu.edu</a>

### **Psychological Resources on Campus**

#### **1. Counseling and Psychological Services:**

Call: (618) 453-5371

In person: Student Health Center, Second Floor, Room 253

**Hours:** Monday - Friday 8:00 a.m. - 4:30 p.m.

#### **2. Clinical Center:**

##### **CLINIC ADDRESS:**

Clinical Center  
Southern Illinois University  
Wham Building, Room 141  
625 Wham Drive  
Carbondale, IL 62901  
MailCode: 4602  
Phone: 618-453-2361  
Fax: 618-453-6130

##### **HOURS**

##### **During Semesters**

Monday.: 8:00 a.m. - 5:00 p.m.  
Tuesday.: 8:00 a.m. - 8:00 p.m.  
Wednesday.: 8:00 a.m. - 5:00 p.m.  
Thursday.: 8:00 a.m. - 8:00 p.m.  
Friday.: 8:00 a.m. - 4:30 p.m.

#### **3. Student Health Center/Wellness Services:**

Stress Management, Nutrition, and Related Services  
618-536-4441



# INTERNALIZED MASCULINITY & ANTI- TRANS PREJUDICE

Marilyn Chung, B.S.  
Counseling Psychology  
Southern Illinois University, Carbondale

## Inspiration from Janet Mock

- “If a man dares to be seen with a trans woman, he will likely lose social capital so he must adamantly deny, vehemently demean, trash and/or exterminate the woman in question. He must do this to maintain his standing in our patriarchal society. For a man to be associated with a trans woman, in effect, is to say **he is no longer a “real” man (as if such a thing exists)** because he sleeps with “fake” women (as if such a thing exists).”



In the U.S.,  
transgender  
and LGB  
youth face  
face harsh  
discrimination

## Gender & sexual orientation:

### Employment/economic disparities:

- Can be **fired** for not being straight in 31 states
- Work **discrimination against trans legal in 33** states
- 32 states allow gender identity discrimination in hiring practices

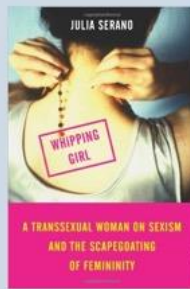


## Research Questions

- Why would men risk losing social capital from association with a trans woman?
- *How do men's masculinity influence their prejudice toward trans people?*

## Theoretical Underpinnings

- Trans people challenge gender binary (Serano, 2007; Davis, 2009)
- Precarious manhood → masculinity is easily lost (Vandello et al., 2008)
- Lose masculinity → enact hegemonic masculinity to regain social capital (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005)
- Men fear femininity, fear of emasculation (Kimmel, 1994)



## Past research findings



- **Higher anti-trans prejudice**
  - *Identifying as a man* (Hill & Willoughby, 2005; Tee & Hegarty, 2006; Winter et al., 2008; Nagoshi et al., 2008)
  - *Homophobic attitudes* (Hill & Willoughby, 2005; Nagoshi et al., 2008; Norton & Herek, 2012; Tebbe & Moradi, 2012)
- **Induced masculinity threat → Increased**
  - (-) *affect toward feminine gay men but not masculine gay men* (Glick et al., 2007)
  - *Aggression/violence* (Vandello et al., 2008)

## Anticipated Findings

If men are led to believe that they are feminine, they will endorse higher levels of anti-trans prejudice.

\* \* If this is true, then..

..To reduce transphobia:

- **We all have responsibility** to end transphobia by **changing our own behaviors**
  - *By, for example, accepting and supporting femininity in men*

### Example: Individual Experience & Agency

*Society (all of us)* contributes to transmisogyny by favoring masculinity and attacking/laughing at femininity (Serano, 2007) **in all people of all genders**

## References

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