Extrapolating Stereotypical Information on Sexual Orientation From Race Categories: The Case of Black and Asian Men

Andrea Carnaghi, Marta Stragà,
and Rosandra Coladonato
University of Trieste

Mauro Bianchi
University Lusófona/ISCTE–Lisbon University Institute

Valentina Piccoli
University of Trieste

The current research analyzed whether race categories concerning Black and Asian men could lead to extrapolative inferences concerning the sexual orientation (i.e., extrapolative sexual orientation stereotyping [ESOS]) of these category members. Study 1 assessed perceived culturally based ESOS and showed that Black men, compared with Asian men, were thought to be more heterosexual than gay men. Study 2 assessed participants' own ESOS and showed that Black men were conflated with heterosexual men to a greater extent than were Asian men, although Asian men were not assimilated to gay men. Black and White men were equally stereotyped as heterosexual men, thus suggesting a drop in the perceived heterosexuality of Asian men rather than an enhancement of the perceived heterosexuality of Black men. Study 3 confirmed that Black men were perceived as more masculine, less feminine, and more heterosexual than Asian men, although no difference was found between the two racial categories in the perceived homosexuality. The enhanced perception of femininity of Asian compared with Black men was associated with a decreased perception of Asian compared with Black men as heterosexual. Together, results suggest that the category of Asian and Black men worked as the basis for inferring the sexual orientation of these group members. These racial categories affected the inferred heterosexuality and less, if not somewhat elusively, the inferred homosexuality of Asian and Black men. Results were discussed with respect to research concerning the extrapolative stereotyping and gender-inversion stereotypes of gay men.

Public Significance Statement
When processing race categories concerning Black men and Asian men, participants relied on these category cues to infer the sexual orientation of these members (i.e., extrapolative sexual orientation stereotyping). In three studies we showed that Black men as compared with Asian men were more likely to be considered heterosexual men or possess heterosexual male stereotypical characteristics, although no information concerning the sexual orientation of these individuals was directly available in the experimental contexts.

Accumulated evidence shows that stereotypes (i.e., a set of beliefs and expectations concerning the characteristics of members of social groups) play a pivotal role in the elaboration of social information (e.g., Carnaghi & Yzerbyt, 2006; Fiske & Taylor, 1991; Kunda, 1999; Sherman & Frost, 2000). For instance, stereotypes trigger the inferential process that takes advantage of detectable or available characteristics of a given stimulus, such as one's group membership, to derive assumed traits or characteristics not readily apparent in the social encounter (i.e., extrapolative stereotyping). Indeed, stereotypes work as information-providing devices (Bodenhausen & Macrae, 1996; Bruner, 1957) given that they allow observers to perceive an individual group member (e.g.,

---

a man) as being highly likely to display group stereotype-consistent traits or characteristics (e.g., being a football fan) that are not directly available. Such a function of stereotypes has been referred to as the inductive potential of stereotypes or, more precisely, extrapolative stereotyping (Allport, 1954; Bodenhausen & Macrae, 1996; Craig & Bodenhausen, 2018).

The majority of studies concerning extrapolative stereotyping has involved individual and group targets that have been defined by a single category (e.g., race; Kang & Bodenhausen, 2015). Relatively little is known about the manner in which extrapolative stereotyping might bias the construal of a group of individuals that in principle may display multiple bases for social categorization (e.g., race and gender; Craig & Bodenhausen, 2018). In contrast, no study has thus far investigated whether perceivers may differently take advantage of specific category intersection (e.g., being male and Asian) to further extrapolate additional category characteristics (e.g., being a gay or heterosexual male) that are not explicitly observable in such category intersection. The current set of studies aims to fill this lacuna by posing the question of whether and how race categories (e.g., Asian and Black) can lead to extrapolative inference concerning the sexual orientation of male members of these categories (i.e., ESOS, extrapolative sexual orientation stereotyping).

This aim stems from theoretical and empirical efforts on the intersection of race and gender categories in general (Bowleg, 2012; Crenshaw, 1991; Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008), and the Intersectional Fusion Paradigm in particular (i.e., IFP; Liu & Wong, 2018). According to the IFP, the experiences of discrimination based on the crossover of race and gender are interdependent, and cannot be understood as the additive experiences of gender and racial discrimination (Goff, Di Leone, & Kahn, 2012; Liu & Wong, 2018; Schwing, Wong, & Fann, 2013; Wong, Liu, & Klann, 2017; Wong, Tsai, Liu, Zhu, & Wei, 2014). Given that stereotypes motivate, justify and enact group-based discrimination (Dovidio, Hewstone, Glick, & Esses, 2010; Fiske, 1998; Shamloo, Carnaghi, Piccoli, Grassi, & Bianchi, 2018), research rooted in the intersectionality has addressed the unique, nonaddictive stereotypes of subgroups related to gender and race. For instance, research has found that Blacks are stereotyped as more masculine/less feminine than Asians, and vice versa (Galinsky, Hall, & Cuddy, 2013; Schug, Alt, & Klauer, 2015). In addition, the stereotypes regarding Blacks largely overlap the stereotypes regarding Black men rather than Black women, while the stereotypes concerning Asians overlap both the stereotypes concerning Asian men and Asian women (Ghavami & Peplau, 2013). Together this evidence testifies to the fact that race categories are gendered (Goff, Thomas, & Jackson, 2008; Liu & Wong, 2018).

As race-related stereotypes map onto gender characteristics, the perceived and attributed masculinity of Black and Asian men can be dramatically different. For instance, in the United States, the representation of Black men seems to be conflated with the representation of masculinity, whereas the representation of Asian men seems to be characterized by a lack of masculinity (Beckley, 2008; Liu, Iwamoto, & Chae, 2010; Wong, Horn, & Chen, 2013). More specifically, research on the stereotypes concerning Asian American men has reported that this group is frequently stereotyped as effeminate, physically emasculated and characterized by feminine attributes (Chua & Fujino, 1999; Ho, 2011; Wong, 2008; Wong et al., 2013; Wong, Owen, Tran, Collins, & Higgins, 2012).

In contrast, African American men are typically stereotyped as being physically strong, sexually powerful, having strong athletic abilities (Czopp & Monteith, 2006; Hall, 2001; Wilson et al., 2009).

Additional research has addressed how these stereotypes regulate the categorization of individuals who were simultaneously defined by both gender (e.g., being a man) and race information (e.g., being an Asian American or an African American individual). For instance, as revealed by an ongoing categorization paradigm (i.e., mouse tracking paradigm; Johnson, Freeman, & Pauker, 2012), when performing a gender categorization of Asian men, compared with the categorization of Black Men, the trajectory associated with the selected option (i.e., male) showed a larger trajectory that gravitated around the unselected option (i.e., female). Moreover, Black male applicants were perceived as more appropriate for a masculine role than Asian men (Galinsky et al., 2013). In sum, the overlap of the stereotypical or phenotypical features of Black men and Men, and of Asian men and Women, significantly affects the gender categorization of Black men and Asian men as well as the perceived typicality of these group members with respect to the relevant gender category (see also, Wong et al., 2013).

Thus far, the implication of the differential association of Black and Asian men with gender characteristics in general, and masculinity in particular, in terms of the inferred sexual orientation of these group members has been unaddressed. The current research intends to address this neglected issue by testing the idea that the crossover of race categories and gender, and specifically being a Black or Asian man, not only alters the gender stereotyping of these groups, but further shapes the perceived sexual orientation of Black and Asian men.

A different strand of research which falls under the banner of the gender inversion theory (e.g., Kite & Deaux, 1987) backs this empirical endeavor. Indeed, accumulated evidence has documented that knowing that a group of men displays feminine characteristics dampens the likelihood that these men are perceived as heterosexuals, and enhances the possibility that these men might be considered gay (Blashill & Powlishta, 2009a; Martin, 1990; McCreary, 1994; Vandello, Bosson, Cohen, Burnaford, & Weaver, 2008). Consistent with this evidence, gay men are often stereotyped as less masculine than heterosexual men, whose cognitive representation is instead conflated with masculinity, and then perceived as feminine (i.e., gender inversion theory; Blashill & Powlishta, 2009b; Carnaghi, Anderson, & Bianchi, 2018; Kilianski, 2003; Kite & Deaux, 1987; Salvati, Ioverno, Giacomantonio, & Baiocco, 2016).

The current empirical effort intends to bridge these two strands of research that have developed independently thus far, by testing whether and how different racial categories concerning male individual members might lead to different extrapolative sexual orientation stereotyping of these individual members (i.e., ESOS). Overall, we expected that Black men were more likely to be perceived as heterosexual than gay men, and to a greater extent than Asian men. Specifically, given that the degrees of perceived masculinity/femininity in men are often associated with the perceived sexual orientation of men, we put forward that Black men, compared with Asian men, were stereotyped as more masculine and less feminine, and that this distinct gender stereotyping is consistently associated with the extrapolative sexual orientation

stereotyping of these groups, namely by stereotyping Black men as heterosexual to a greater extent than Asian men.

The current empirical efforts have various theoretical and practical advantages. First, we explore whether combining pieces of information regarding a specific category intersection, namely race and gender information, leads social perceivers to infer emergent information, such as being a gay or a heterosexual man, that cannot be reduced to the constituent information, namely being a man and being either a Black or an Asian individual (Kunda, Miller, & Claire, 1990). In so doing, and for the first time, we intend to demonstrate that, while processing a given category intersection, perceivers take advantage of such intersection to infer additional and novel category information that is not evident in that category crossover. Second, the current empirical efforts bridge together different lines of research that have separately addressed either the conflation of the representation of heterosexual men with the representation of masculinity (Kite & Deaux, 1987), or the differences between Asian and Black men in terms of perceived masculinity (e.g., Wong et al., 2013). The current research would further extend the theoretical implications of gender inversion theory by suggesting that the race membership of a group of men could be appraised per se as a relevant tag for the construal of the sexual orientation of such men, even if no information on the gender conformity of these men is explicitly and contextually available.

Third, the majority of research on intersectionality in general, and specifically on the intersection between race and gender categories has been carried out in the North American context. To our knowledge, the current research represents the first attempt to analyze category intersection in the Italian context. The Italian cultural setting is strongly characterized by high levels of sexual prejudice compared with other European Union (EU) countries (European Commission, 2012; ILGA-Europe, 2017; Zotti, Carnaghi, Piccoli, & Bianchi, 2018). Moreover, among EU countries, Italy is still characterized by significant levels of gender inequality (European Commission, 2018). Men are also heavily stereotyped in higher status roles than women, and are associated with agency-related characteristics to a greater extent than women (Carnaghi, Piccoli, Brambilla, & Bianchi, 2014; Durante et al., 2013; Puvia & Vaes, 2013). In this unique context, the construction of masculinity also appears to be based on both sexist and chauvinist attitudes as well as on discriminatory behaviors toward gay men (Carnaghi, Maass, & Fasoli, 2011; Volpato, 2013).

The racial makeup of the Italian and U.S. context is markedly different, in that Asian Americans (i.e., 5.8%) and people of color (i.e., 13.4%; U.S. Census Bureau, 2017) are more prevalent in the American context than in Italy (i.e., Individual of East Asian and African origin make up about 2% and 1% of the Italian population, respectively; Istituto Nazionale di Statistica, 2014).

Despite the dramatically different prevalence of racial minorities in the North American and Italian contexts, scattered qualitative analyses carried out in Italy have suggested that Asian men and Black men are differently stereotyped in terms of physical attributes, Asian men being stereotyped as less tall, whereas Black men are stereotyped as physically dominant; Asian men are also stereotyped as less athletic and less muscular than Black men, and Black men are particularly stereotyped as virile and with a powerful sexuality (Giuliani, 2013; Migliorati, Echazarreta, Isidori, & Maulini, 2014; Volpato, 2014; Zannoni, 2007). Although a sys-

tematic investigation concerning the manner in which Asian and Black men are differently stereotyped in terms of gender characteristics has not yet been carried out in Italy, the abovementioned qualitative analyses appear to suggest that Black men, compared with Asian men, are more likely to be stereotyped in terms of characteristics typically associated with perceived masculinity. The current research provides the first quantitative evidence on the different gendered stereotypes of the groups in question by addressing the gender stereotyping and ESOS of Asian and Black men in the Italian context.

Analyses for all studies reported in this article were performed after data collection was concluded. Sample size was informed by power analyses inputs. No participant was excluded from the analyses. All the independent and dependent variables are described in the procedure sections. Data were analyzed using the JAMOVI statistical package. All the studies received ethical approval from the University Ethical Committee. Participants were debriefed at the end of each study (i.e., participants were thanked, the aim and hypotheses of the study were explained, they were asked whether they had questions with regards to the experiment, and in the case of questions, the experimenter provided further clarification).

Study 1

Method

Study 1 aimed at gathering preliminary evidence on the ESOS of race categories. To attain this aim, rather than directly assessing participants' own ESOS of race categories, we relied on a paradigm assessing the perceived cultural-based ESOS of race categories (see Fasoli et al., 2016, p. 240; Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002). This paradigm circumvented participants' potential social desirability concerns and helped us to gain initial, albeit indirect, evidence on the ESOS of race categories that could be insightful in setting up subsequent studies assessing participants' own ESOS of race categories. Moreover, to deepen the understanding regarding the manner in which social perceivers enable extrapolative stereotyping, we assessed the inductive potential of race categories in terms of sexual orientation attribution (i.e., inferring sexual orientation from race categories) as well as the inductive potential of sexual-orientation categories in terms of race attribution (i.e., inferring race membership from sexual orientation categories; for a similar procedure, see Cloutier, Freeman, & Ambady, 2014). We hypothesized that when processing Black men as a social group, participants inferred that this social group referred to heterosexual men more than to gay men, and to a greater extent than Asian men. Also, we suggested that when processing heterosexuals (i.e., *eterosessuali* in Italian) as a social group, participants inferred that this social group was used to indicate Black over Asian men, and more so than homosexuals (i.e., *omosessuali* in Italian).

Participants. Eighty-four students from a university in the north of Italy ($n = 51$ women, $n = 33$ men) voluntarily took part in the study. Participants' age ranged from 18 to 35 years ($M = 21.20$, $SD = 2.72$). Seventy-seven participants were Italian, and seven participants were not Italian citizens. Eighty-one participants self-defined as White, three participants self-defined as "other" (i.e., unspecified race/ethnicity). Eighty-three participants self-defined as heterosexual (one self-identified as homosexual). Sen-

sitivity analyses (α error probability = .05, power [1 – β error probability] = .8, N = 84) indicated a minimal detectable effect (MDE) size d = .31. Hence, the smallest effect size which we would be able to detect (at 80% power) with this sample fell within the small-effect size area (Cohen, 1988).

Procedure. Participants were given a questionnaire after consenting to take part in the research. As a part of the cover story, they read that "This research aims at studying how people use words and what people refer to when using these words." Participants were further told that "We are not interested in the linguistic correctness, namely how people should use these words, but we seek to understand how these words are actually used in everyday life." Participants then received a list of eight words. Four words pertained to the sexual orientation estimation task, namely two target words (i.e., Black man [*nero*], Asian man [*asiatico*]) and two filler words (i.e., right-handed [*destrimane*], myopic [*miope*]), and four words pertained to the race estimation task, namely two target words (i.e., heterosexual [*eterosessuale*], homosexual [*omosessuale*]) and two filler words (i.e., right-handed, myopic).

Participants were instructed to report "the probability that people in general—not you personally—think of when using the listed words." This procedure allowed us to assess in a covered fashion the extrapolative inferences participants made based on a specific target category (hereafter referred to as *word*). In the sexual orientation estimation task, participants reported the extent to which each word referred to a homosexual man versus a heterosexual man on a six-point scale, ranging from 1 (*very much to a homosexual man* [*del tutto a un omosessuale*]) to 6 (*very much to a heterosexual man* [*del tutto a un eterosessuale*]). The labels associated with the endpoints of the scales were counterbalanced across participants. In the race estimation task, participants indicated the extent to which each word referred to an Asian man versus a Black man, on a six-point scale, ranging from 1 (*very much to an Asian man* [*del tutto a un Asiatico*]) to 6 (*very much to a Black man* [*del tutto a un Nero*]). The labels associated with the endpoints of the scales were counterbalanced across participants. The order of the presentation of these two estimation tasks was randomly allocated across participants. Within each task, the order of the presentation of the target words was counterbalanced across participants (for the statistical approach, see the online supplemental material).

It is worth noticing that the Italian language is a grammatically gender marked language. Hence the end points of the scales were presented in a masculine form, as signaled by the masculine article. Also, Black and Asian were presented in the grammatical masculine form. After completing these tasks participants reported their gender (i.e., binary choice: man, woman) and age (i.e., free format), citizenship (i.e., free format), ethnicity (i.e., nominal format of response: White, Black, Asian, other), and sexual orientation (i.e., nominal format of response: heterosexual, bisexual, homosexual, other).

Results

We first analyzed the sexual orientation estimation task. Participants' ratings of Black man (M = 4.44, SD = 1.21) were significantly higher than ratings of Asian man (M = 3.94, SD = 1.07), $t(83)$ = 3.76, p < .001, d = 0.41, 95% CI [0.24, 0.76], indicating that Black man was thought to refer to a heterosexual man to a

greater extent than Asian man. One sample t tests (test value = 3.5) also indicated that both Black man, $t(83)$ = 7.15, p < .001, d = 0.78, 95% CI [0.68, 1.20], and Asian man, $t(83)$ = 3.78, p < .001, d = 0.41, 95% CI [0.21, 0.67], were thought to refer to a heterosexual man.

We then analyzed the race estimation task. Participants' ratings of heterosexual (M = 4.00, SD = 0.99) were significantly higher than their ratings of homosexual (M = 3.23, SD = 0.92), $t(83)$ = 4.52, p < .001, d = 0.49, 95% CI [0.43, 1.12], suggesting that heterosexual referred to a Black man to a greater extent than did homosexual. One sample t tests (test value = 3.5) also indicated that heterosexual was thought to preferentially refer to a Black man than to an Asian man (test value = 3.5), $t(83)$ = 4.61, p < .001, d = 0.50, 95% CI [0.28, 0.72], whereas homosexual referred more to an Asian man than to a Black man (test value = 3.5), $t(83)$ = 2.72, p = .01, d = 0.30, 95% CI [−0.47, −0.07], (for the effect of participant gender, see the online supplemental material).

Discussion

Together, these results provide initial support for our hypothesis concerning the ESOS based on race categories. At least at the perceived cultural level, participants inferred that a Black man and an Asian man referred to heterosexual men by default, albeit Black man was understood as referring to heterosexual men to a greater extent than Asian man. Complementarily, heterosexual was preferentially construed as indicating a Black over an Asian man, while homosexual was appraised as pointing less to a Black man and more to an Asian man. As for this study, several limitations, which guided the setting up of subsequent studies, should be acknowledged. First, and although cultural and personal social knowledge are often correlated, an investigation of the participants' personal ESOS based on race categories is mandatory to understand whether the observed results were replicated when participants' own inferential processes were addressed. Second, participants' ratings were obtained using a 6-point scale (no neutral option included in the scale), thus preventing the recording of nuanced, nonpolarized ratings. For instance, and although homosexual was appraised as referring slightly more to an Asian man than to a Black man, we could not exclude that the lack of an explicit midpoint of the scale may have contributed to stressing the difference between the two racial groups under consideration. Hence, ruling out the possibility that the observed effects would have been a mere function of the characteristics of the assessment scale is needed to detect the ESOS based on race categories in a more reliable fashion. The design of the next studies was based on these requirements.

Study 2

Similarly to the sexual orientation task from Study 1, in Study 2 we tested participants' extrapolative sexual orientation stereotyping based on race category. Hence, we tested whether Black and Asian men were perceived differently as possessing varying degrees of heterosexual/gay male characteristics. As opposed to Study 1, we set our analyses at the level of the participants' own representations of the racial categories in question. Also, and differently from Study 1, participants were asked to rate these racial categories on heterosexual and gay male stereotypical

traits. Moreover, participants' ratings were collected by means of seven-point scales rather than by six-point scales as used in Study 1, thus including an explicit midpoint on the scale. In contrast to Study 1, three additional categories were entered into the experimental design. Participants rated two control groups, namely heterosexual men and gay men, on the same stereotypical traits. Also, participants rated White men on heterosexual and gay male stereotypical traits.

Method

This experimental design allowed us to test whether participants inferred that, compared with Asian men, Black men were more likely to possess heterosexual over gay male-stereotypical characteristics, in line with the results of the sexual-orientation task from Study 1. Also, by entering the categories of heterosexual and gay men in the experimental design, we would be able to assess participants' levels of stereotyping of these sexual orientation categories (i.e., the application of the sexual orientation-related beliefs to heterosexual and gay men), and compare them to the ESOS of Black and Asian men. In line with the results of the sexual-orientation task from Study 1, we would expect that the ESOS of both racial categories were different from the stereotyping of homosexual men. Also, we would expect that the ESOS of Black men, but not the ESOS of Asian men, were similar to the stereotyping of heterosexual men. If this pattern of results were confirmed, the representation of Black men, but not of Asian men, would be conflated with the representation of heterosexual men. Finally, by assessing the ESOS of White men, we could ascertain whether the ESOS of Black men exceeded or were similar to an additional racial category, and whether the ESOS of Asian men were weaker than or comparable to another racial category (for a similar procedure, see Schug et al., 2015; Wong et al., 2013).

Participants. Students ($N = 120$) from a University in the north of Italy ($n = 60$ women, $n = 60$ men) voluntarily took part in the experiment. Participants' ages ranged from 19 to 39 years ($M = 22.90$, $SD = 3.34$). Of the participants, 117 were Italian, two participants were non-Italian, and one participant had dual citizenship, which included Italian. One hundred 10 participants were Italian native speakers, and 10 participants reported themselves as Italian bilingual. One hundred 11 participants self-defined as heterosexual ($n = 8$ as bisexual, and $n = 1$ as other).

We a priori decided to rely on a sample of 120 participants. This decision was backed by a sensitivity analyses (α error probability $= .05$, power [1 – β error probability] $= .8$, $N = 120$) which indicated a MDE size $f = .10$. Hence, the smallest effect size which we would be able to detect (at 80% power) with this sample size fell within the small-effect size area (Cohen, 1988).

Procedure. After having consented to take part in the experiment, participants were handed a questionnaire and were presented with five groups, one at a time. All the groups were presented in the grammatical masculine form. Groups were: heterosexual men, gay men, White men, Black men and Asian men. Half of the participants were presented with sexual orientation groups (i.e., gay men, heterosexual men) first, the other half were presented with ethnic groups (i.e., White men, Black men and Asian men) first. The order of presentation of the sexual orientation groups (i.e., gay men first, heterosexual men first) and the order of presentation of the ethnic groups was counterbalanced

across participants. For each group, participants were asked to think about and report their opinion about this group. To attain this aim, participants read that they would rate several traits which would be useful for the experimenter to collect their opinion about these groups. Participants were instructed to indicate for each trait the extent to which a given trait was typical of the group in question. Participants were presented with 24 traits (for trait selection, see online supplemental material). Specifically, eight traits were stereotypical of gay men but counterstereotypical of heterosexual men (i.e., elegant, artistic, sensitive, polished, effeminate, emotional, unsteady, complicated); eight traits were stereotypical of heterosexual men but counterstereotypical of gay men (i.e., energetic, strong, leader, pragmatic, conservative, rude, intolerant, offensive); the remaining eight traits were filler traits (i.e., honest, confident, wise, trustworthy, worried, formal, greedy, cheat), namely irrelevant to groups defined by their sexual orientation (see materials section). Participants reported their responses on a seven-point scale ranging from 1 (*not at all typical*) to 7 (*very typical*). The order of presentation of the 24 traits was counterbalanced across participants. At the end of the questionnaire, participants reported their gender (i.e., binary choice: man, woman), their age (i.e., free format), their sexual orientation (i.e., nominal format of response: heterosexual, bisexual, homosexual, other) their citizenship and their first language by means of a free format.

Reliability analyses. Participants' ratings on the heterosexual male traits (race groups: Guttman's $\lambda_6 = .84$; heterosexual men: Guttman's $\lambda_6 = .77$; gay men: Guttman's $\lambda_6 = .66$), and on the gay male traits (race groups: Guttman's $\lambda_6 = .87$; heterosexual men: Guttman's $\lambda_6 = .67$; gay men: Guttman's $\lambda_6 = .80$) were averaged separately. This computation was performed for each group.

Results

Following the procedure outlined by Judd and Park (1993); see statistical approach in the online supplemental material), participants' ratings on the gay male traits were subtracted from their ratings on the heterosexual male traits. This differential score operationalized the sexual orientation stereotype, with a higher value indicating a stronger stereotyping of the group as heterosexual over gay. The sexual orientation stereotype was analyzed by means of an analysis of variance (five groups: heterosexual men vs. gay men vs. White men vs. Black men vs. Asian men), with groups as a within-participants factor. The effect of the groups was significant $F(4, 476) = 117$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .43$ (see Figure 1). Post hoc tests (Tukey correction) indicated that, compared with gay men, the sexual orientation stereotype was higher for heterosexual men, $t = 18.54$, $p < .001$. As both the sexual orientation stereotype of gay men, $t(119) = -16.54$, $p < .001$, $d = 1.51$, 95% CI $[-1.43, -1.12]$ and of heterosexual men, $t(119) = 6.21$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.57$, 95% CI $[0.31, 0.59]$, differed from zero as the test value, this pattern of results confirmed the correctness of the selected traits given that heterosexual men were more stereotyped on heterosexual than gay male traits, while homosexual men were more stereotyped on gay over heterosexual male traits.

Black men were stereotyped as heterosexual over gay men to a greater extent than Asian men ($t = 4.01$, $p < .001$). The sexual orientation stereotype of Black men was statistically similar to the sexual orientation stereotype of heterosexual men ($t = 1.27$, $p = $
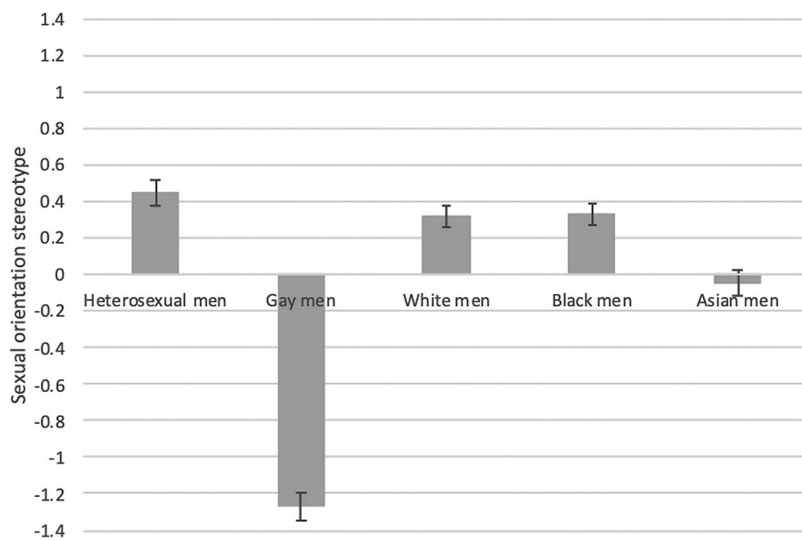
Figure 1. The sexual orientation stereotype as a function of groups. Bars represent standard errors of the means.

.71), whereas the sexual orientation stereotype of Asian men ($t = 5.28$, $p < .001$) was lower than the sexual orientation stereotype of heterosexual men. Also, the sexual orientation stereotype of both Black men ($t = 17.27$, $p < .001$) and Asian men ($t = 13.26$, $p < .001$) was higher than the sexual orientation stereotype of gay men. Moreover, the sexual orientation stereotype of Black men did not differ from the sexual orientation stereotype of White men ($t = 0.16$, $p = 1.00$), whereas the sexual orientation stereotype of Asian men was significantly lower than the sexual orientation stereotype of White men ($t = 3.85$, $p = .001$). One-sample t tests (test value $= 0$) on the sexual orientation stereotype indicated that heterosexual men, White men, and Black men were stereotyped more as heterosexual men than gay men ($ps < .001$), whereas Asians were stereotyped as being equally heterosexual and gay men ($p = .55$).

Discussion

Confirming the correctness of the selected traits, results indicated that heterosexual men were attributed more heterosexual traits than gay male traits, while the reverse pattern was found for gay men. Black men were thought of as possessing more heterosexual over gay male traits and to a greater extent than Asian men. Furthermore, Black men were attributed more heterosexual over gay male traits to a similar extent than heterosexual men, and, like heterosexual men, differed from the stereotyping of gay men. By contrast, Asian men were attributed less heterosexual over gay male traits than heterosexual men, indicating that they were not considered to be heterosexual men, but Asian men were also attributed more heterosexual over gay male traits than gay men, thus suggesting that they were not thought of as gay men. Finally, Black men were attributed more heterosexual over gay male traits as White men, while White men were attributed more heterosexual than gay male traits than Asian men.

In sum, and in line with the results of the sexual-orientation task from Study 1, the ESOS of Black men as heterosexual over gay

men was stronger than the ESOS of Asian men. Moreover, the ESOS of Black men as heterosexual men was not unique to this group but extended to White men, as both racial categories were inferred to possess more heterosexual than gay male traits to a similar extent than heterosexual men. Hence, Black and White men were conflated with heterosexual men. By contrast, the heterosexual defaulting of racial categories was attenuated for Asian men, as they significantly differ from heterosexual men. However, this racial category was not processed as being gay because gay men were thought to possess more gay male traits than heterosexual male traits to a greater extent than Asian men. Indeed, Asian men were the only racial category that was inferred to display both heterosexual and gay male characteristics to a similar extent.

Study 3

Method

Study 3 was designed to replicate the results of the race-estimation task from Study 1, and extend this analysis to three different, albeit related goals. First, we aimed to study whether Black men and Asian men were differently stereotyped in terms of gender characteristics (i.e., masculine and feminine). Specifically, we tested and expected that Black men would be stereotyped as more masculine and less feminine than Asian men, in line with previous studies on this issue carried out in the North American context (e.g., Wong et al., 2012, 2013). This first aim would establish a gender conformity perception of Black men and a gender nonconformity or gender inversion representation of Asian men in the Italian context. Second, and by providing participants with sexual orientation category attributes, namely heterosexual and gay men, we expected that participants would infer that Black men were more likely to be heterosexual men and less likely to be gay men than Asian men. Third, and according to gender inversion theory, if a man were perceived as more feminine, this would

decrease the probability that the man in question were represented as heterosexual (e.g., Falomir-Pichastor, Berent, & Anderson, 2019). Consistent with this claim, we expected that the extent to which participants perceived a racial category as less displaying femininity than the other category enhanced the probability of inferring that the former racial category was more likely to be heterosexual than the latter racial category.

Participants. Sixty students from a university in the north of Italy ($n = 39$ women, $n = 21$ men) voluntarily took part in the experiment. Participants' ages ranged from 18 to 53 years ($M = 26.80$, $SD = 6.87$). All participants were Italian. Fifty-eight participants were Italian native speakers, one participant was Italian bilingual, and one participant was not an Italian-native speaker. Fifty-four participants self-identified as heterosexuals, four as bisexuals, and two as other sexual orientation. Given that the size of the effects of interest fell in the small-size area (Studies 1 and 2), we set the N-rule to 60 participants, which was confirmed as adequate for an MDE size $dz = .37$ by a sensitivity analysis (α error probability $= .05$, power [1 – β error probability] $= .80$).

Procedure. After obtaining their written consent, participants were handed a questionnaire. Participants were asked to think of Asian individuals and to think of Black individuals. Then they were presented with six attributes and asked to indicate the extent to which they thought that either Asians or Blacks were more characterized by that attribute (e.g., thinking of Asian individuals and to think of Black individuals in general, do you think that Asians or Blacks are more masculine?). Specifically, two attributes were relevant to gender stereotyping (i.e., masculine, feminine), two attributes were fillers (i.e., left-handed, right-handed), and two attributes referred to sexual-orientation stereotyping (i.e., heterosexual, homosexual). Participants reported their answers by means of a bipolar scale ranging from −3 (*much more Asians*) to +3 (*much more Blacks*). Then, participants reported their gender (i.e., man, woman), age (i.e., free format), sexual orientation (i.e., nominal format of response: heterosexual, bisexual, homosexual, other), citizenship and first language by means of a free format (see statistical approach in the online supplemental material).

Results

Participants' ratings on masculine ($M = 1.62$, $SD = 0.87$), were higher than participants' ratings on feminine ($M = −0.82$, $SD = 0.91$), $t(59) = 13.64$, p $< .001$, $d = 1.76$; 95% CI [2.08, 2.79], indicating that masculine was attributed more strongly than feminine to Black men compared with Asian men. Specifically, one-sample t tests (test value $= 0$) showed that masculine was attributed more strongly to Black men than Asian men (test value $= 0$), $t(59) = 14.47$, $p < .001$, $d = 1.87$; 95% CI [1.39, 1.84], whereas feminine was attributed more strongly to Asian men than Black men (test value $= 0$), $t(59) = 6.94$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.90$; 95% CI [0.58, 1.05]. Also, participants' ratings on heterosexual ($M = 0.32$, $SD = 0.81$), were higher than participants' ratings on homosexual ($M = −0.15$, $SD = 0.69$), $t(59) = 2.69$, $p = .01$, $d = 0.35$; 95% CI [0.12, 0.81], indicating that heterosexual was attributed more strongly than homosexual to Black men compared with Asian men. Specifically, one-sample t tests (test value $= 0$) showed that heterosexual was attributed more strongly to Black men than Asian men ($M = 0.32$, $SD = 0.81$), $t(59) = 3.02$, $p = .004$, $d = 0.39$; 95% CI [0.11, 0.53], and that homosexual tended to be attributed

more to Asian men than Black men, although this difference was not statistically significant ($M = −0.15$, $SD = 0.69$), $t(59) = 1.70$, $p = .10$, $d = 0.22$; 95% CI [−0.33, 0.03].

Correlation analyses showed that the less Black men compared with Asian men were stereotyped as feminine (or the more the Asian men compared with Black men were stereotyped as feminine), the more Black men compared with Asian men were thought to be heterosexual (or the less Asian men compared with Black men were thought to be heterosexual), $r(60) = −.29$, $p = .03$ (95% CI [−.50, −.03]). The correlation between the attribution of femininity and homosexual sexual orientation was not significant, $r(60) = .05$, $p = .73$, 95% CI [−.21, .30]. The correlation between the attribution of masculinity and heterosexual sexual orientation, $r(60) = .15$, $p = .25$, 95% CI [−.11, .39], or homosexual sexual orientation, $r(60) = .02$, $p = .91$, 95% CI [−.24, .27], were not significant.

Discussion

In sum, we found that Black men, compared with Asian men, were stereotyped as more masculine and less feminine, thus confirming previous research attesting to the fact that the representations of these racial groups are gendered (e.g., Galinsky et al., 2013). Notably, we found that being heterosexual rather than gay was thought to be more likely for Black men than Asian men, and vice versa. Specifically, being heterosexual was inferred to be displayed to a greater extent by Black than Asian men, while being gay tended to be inferred more for Asian than Black men, albeit in a statistically nonsignificant fashion. Finally, attributing less femininity to Black men than to Asian men was associated with participants extrapolative stereotyping of Black men as more heterosexual than Asian men. In conclusion, it seems that the degrees of perceived gender stereotyping of these racial groups in general, and of gender-non conformity in particular, is associated with a consistent biased extrapolative sexual orientation stereotyping, namely by stereotyping Black men less than Asian men as feminine and by inferring that Black men were more likely to be heterosexual than Asian men.

General Discussion

In three studies we demonstrated that when processing race categories concerning males, namely Black men and Asian men, participants relied on these category cues to infer the sexual orientation of these members. Across three studies, we consistently demonstrated that Black men, compared with Asian men, were more likely to be considered heterosexual (Study 1 and 3) or possess heterosexual characteristics (Study 2 and 3), although no information concerning the sexual orientation of these individuals was directly available in the experimental contexts. These results were obtained by assessing participants' cultural-based ESOS (Study 1) as well as their own personal ESOS concerning the racial categories in question (Study 2 and 3). The fact that Black men, compared with Asian men, were thought to be or stereotyped as heterosexual were independent from the type of judgments required, this being comparative (Study 1 and 3) or absolute (Study 2). Furthermore, Study 2 operationalized the ESOS of racial categories by means of heterosexual and gay male stereotypical traits, whereas Study 3 relied on two core dimensions of the stereotype of

heterosexual and gay male individuals, namely the attribution of masculinity and femininity (Kimmel, 2012a, 2012b; Plummer, 2005). The results of Study 2 and 3 showed that, compared with Asian men, Black men were considered more characterized by heterosexual than gay male traits as well as being more masculine than feminine. As the ESOS of Black men was similar to the ESOS of White men and to the stereotyping of heterosexual men (Study 2), it may be plausible that the above-described pattern of results was driven by a drop in the inferred heterosexual sexual orientation of Asian men rather than by an enhancement of the inferred heterosexual sexual orientation of Black men.

The extrapolative sexual orientation stereotyping based on racial categories seems to involve the inferred heterosexual rather than the inferred homosexual sexual orientation. Indeed, while the relative disadvantage of Asian men with respect to Black men to be thought of as heterosexual was found across studies, the extrapolative sexual orientation of Asian men as gay or as possessing more homosexual male than heterosexual male characteristics was not consistent across the studies. Indeed, Study 1 indicated that being gay was more likely for an Asian man than for a Black man. By contrast, Study 3 indicated that being gay was equally likely for both Asian men and Black men. As in both studies we employed a comparative judgment, it could be that this discrepancy in terms of results was driven by the level of analyses, this being set at the cultural level in Study 1 and at the personal level in Study 3. Indeed, in Study 2 we again assessed participants' own ESOS of the racial categories and found that that the ESOS of Asian men differed from the stereotyping of gay men, thus suggesting that Asian men were not considered gay men by default.

The fact that racial categories moderated the extrapolative sexual orientation stereotyping in terms of the inferred heterosexual sexual orientation consistently across three studies, while this moderating effect was less consistent and almost elusive when participants inferred the potential homosexual sexual orientation of the racial categories, is in line with studies showing that perceivers typically presume that men are heterosexual by default, unless cues suggest otherwise (Lick & Johnson, 2016). Hence, it could be plausible that the activated defaulting, namely the assumption of a heterosexual sexual orientation took a primary role in guiding participants' ESOS of the racial category. Indeed, the straight defaulting, and not the inferred homosexual sexual orientation, appeared to be especially sensitive to category information concerning the racial group. Consistent with studies showing that the perceivers' attribution of a heterosexual sexual orientation to a given target is embedded with the perceived lack of femininity in that target (Falomir-Pichastor et al., 2019), we found that Asian men were stereotyped as more feminine than Black men, and this stereotyping covaried with the lower probability that Asian men were thought to be heterosexual men compared with Black men, and not with a higher probability that Asian men were thought to be gay men compared with Black men (Study 3). The stronger presence of the gender nonconformity characteristic in the representation of Asian men was associated with an attenuation of the ESOS of this group as heterosexual but not with an enhancement of the ESOS of this group as gay men.

The current analyses on the extrapolative sexual orientation stereotyping of Black and Asian male categories responds to the call to address the stereotyping of multiple category memberships (Nicolas, de la Fuente, & Fiske, 2017). Our results encourage

theorizing on gender inversion beliefs by suggesting that even in the absence of explicit information concerning the gender-non-conformity of a given group of male individuals, perceivers are able to infer such pieces of information mainly on the basis of the categories related to race/ethnicity. Also, this research is the first that confirms that Black men, compared with Asian men, are processed as possessing more masculine and less feminine stereotypical characteristics in the Italian context. Importantly, this work compliments previous theoretical efforts on the intersection of multiple social categories in the construction of individuals' social identities (e.g., Liu & Wong, 2018) by suggesting that the social perception of Asian men and Black men in the Italian context is not only based on the interaction between race and gender information, as demonstrated by Study 3, but this cross-over further extends to distinct assumptions regarding the sexual orientation of the groups in question. Said otherwise, these findings suggest that combining information concerning a specific identity intersection, such as being either an Asian or a Black man, leads social observers to infer emergent attributes, such as being a gay or heterosexual man, which could not be reduced to the constituent information concerning the gender and the race-related membership (Kunda et al., 1990).

Several limits should be acknowledged. First, this set of research limited its investigation to the ESOS of two racial categories, Black and Asian men. Future research should expand the analyses of the ESOS to additional categories, including, for example, Latinos. Second, small samples of a specific population (i.e., university students) were recruited in the current studies. Although results were consistent across three studies, future research could boost the internal and external validity of the current results concerning the ESOS of race categories by relying on larger samples issued from different populations.

At the practical level, these results have important implications. First, when processing asylum claims based on persecution on account of sexuality, the EU authorities should look at the applicant's statements relative to the determination of their sexual orientation (see, ILGA-Europe, 2016). In situations such as these, stereotypical beliefs could bias the interpretation of the evidence (i.e., interpolative function of stereotypes; Craig & Bodenhausen, 2018). Conjecturally, our results could suggest that the ESOS based on racial cues might guide the appraisal of the applicant's statements thus interfering with judgments concerning their asylum claims. Second, and in line with Liu and Wong's (2018) analyses, the current results suggest that it is extremely important to take into consideration the salient and unique dimensions of the stereotypes in general, and particularly of the ESOS of race categories, when addressing Asian and Black men's experience of discrimination in Italy. As for Asian men, given that they are highly likely to be perceived as feminine and not matching the consensual representation of male heterosexual sexual orientation, Asian men might either stress their attempts to imitate the hegemonic masculine ideal or internalize these prevalent stereotypes (Cheng, McDermott, Wong, & La, 2016; Wong et al., 2012). Both forms of coping may bolster Asian men's experiences of gender identity and gender role stress (Liu, 2002; Wong et al., 2013). As for Black men in Italy, the conflation of the social representation of this group of people with the masculine and heterosexual male stereotype may contribute to enacting the social invisibility of Black gay men within the LGBTQ community (e.g., medium.com,

2019). Together, these considerations might inform practitioners' appraisal of both Asian and Black heterosexual/gay men's experience of discrimination by resituating their unique gender role, gender identity and sexual orientation related discrimination within the cultural background that contributes to clients' issues (American Psychological Association, 2002). Third, given that the media plays a crucial role in both forming and altering stereotypes of the public at large (Cheryan, Master, & Meltzoff, 2015; Scherer, 1970; Zhang & Tan, 2011), informing media professionals about gendered stereotypes and the ESOS concerning Asian and Black men may help them to create media output that can counteract and possibly help revise the social stereotypes concerning both Asian and Black men.

References

Allport, G. W. (1954). *The nature of prejudice*. Oxford, England: Addison Wesley.

American Psychological Association. (2002). *Guidelines on multicultural education, training, research, practice, and organizational change for psychologists*. Retrieved from http://www.apa.org/pi/oema/resources/policy/multicultural-guidelines.aspx

Beckley, A. L. (2008). Race, masculinity, and boot camp failure. *Crime, Law, and Social Change, 49,* 303–314. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s10611-008-9105-9

Blashill, A. J., & Powlishta, K. K. (2009a). Gay stereotypes: The use of sexual orientation as a cue for gender-related attributes. *Sex Roles, 61*(11–12), 783–793. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s11199-009-9684-7

Blashill, A. J., & Powlishta, K. K. (2009b). The impact of sexual orientation and gender role on evaluations of men. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity, 10,* 160–173. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0014583

Bodenhausen, G. V., & Macrae, C. N. (1996). The self-regulation of intergroup perception: Mechanisms and consequences of stereotype suppression. In M. Hewstone, C. N. Macrae, & C. Stangor (Eds.), *Stereotypes and stereotyping*. New York, NY: Guilford Press.

Bowleg, L. (2012). The problem with the phrase women and minorities: Intersectionality-an important theoretical framework for public health. *American Journal of Public Health, 102,* 1267–1273. http://dx.doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.2012.300750

Bruner, J. S. (1957). On perceptual readiness. *Psychological Review, 64,* 123–152. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/h0043805

Cadinu, M., Latrofa, M., & Carnaghi, A. (2013). Comparing self-stereotyping with In-group-stereotyping and out-group-stereotyping in unequal-status groups: The case of gender. *Self and Identity, 12,* 582–596. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/15298868.2012.712753

Carnaghi, A., Anderson, J., & Bianchi, M. (2018). On the origin of beliefs about the sexual orientation and gender-role development of children raised by gay-male and heterosexual parents: An Italian study. *Men and Masculinities*. Advance online publication. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1097184X18775462

Carnaghi, A., & Maass, A. (2007). In-group and out-group perspectives in the use of derogatory group labels: Gay versus fag. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology, 26,* 142–156. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0261927X07300077

Carnaghi, A., Maass, A., & Fasoli, F. (2011). Enhancing masculinity by slandering homosexuals: The role of homophobic epithets in heterosexual gender identity. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 37,* 1655–1665. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0146167211424167

Carnaghi, A., Piccoli, V., Brambilla, M., & Bianchi, M. (2014). Gender hierarchy in the space: The role of gender status in shaping the spatial agency bias. *The Journal of Social Psychology, 154,* 105–114. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00224545.2013.863174

Carnaghi, A., & Yzerbyt, V. Y. (2006). Social consensus and the encoding of consistent and inconsistent information: When one's future audience orients information processing. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 36,* 199–210. http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.265

Carnaghi, A., & Yzerbyt, V. Y. (2007). Subtyping and social consensus: The role of the audience in the maintenance of stereotypic beliefs. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 37,* 902–922. http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.402

Carnaghi, A., Yzerbyt, V. Y., Cadinu, M., & Mahaux, N. (2005). Dimmi chi sei e ti dirò cosa penso: Processi di stereotipizzazione in contesti di giustificazione. *Giornale Italiano di Psicologia, 32,* 91–110.

Cheng, H. L., McDermott, R. C., Wong, Y. J., & La, S. (2016). Drive for muscularity in Asian American men: Sociocultural and racial/ethnic factors as correlates. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity, 17,* 215–227. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/men0000019

Cheryan, S., Master, A., & Meltzoff, A. N. (2015). Cultural stereotypes as gatekeepers: Increasing girls' interest in computer science and engineering by diversifying stereotypes. *Frontiers in Psychology, 6,* 49. http://dx.doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2015.00049

Chua, P., & Fujino, D. (1999). Negotiating new Asian-American masculinities: Attitudes and gender expectations. *Journal of Men's Studies, 7,* 391–413. http://dx.doi.org/10.3149/jms.0703.391

Cloutier, J., Freeman, J. B., & Ambady, N. (2014). Investigating the early stages of person perception: The asymmetry of social categorization by sex vs. age. *PLoS ONE, 9*(1), e84677. http://dx.doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0084677

Cohen, J. (1988). *Statistical power analysis for the behavioral sciences* (2nd ed.). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Craig, M. A., & Bodenhausen, G. V. (2018). Category (non) fit modulates extrapolative stereotyping of multiply categorizable social targets. *Social Cognition, 36,* 559–588. http://dx.doi.org/10.1521/soco.2018.36.5.559

Crenshaw, K. (1991). Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color. *Stanford Law Review, 43,* 1241–1299. http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/1229039

Czopp, A. M., & Monteith, M. J. (2006). Thinking well of African Americans: Measuring complimentary stereotypes and negative prejudice. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology, 28,* 233–250. http://dx.doi.org/10.1207/s15324834basp2803_3

Dovidio, J. F., Hewstone, M., Glick, P., & Esses, V. M. (2010). Prejudice, stereotyping and discrimination: Theoretical and empirical overview. In J. F. Dovidio, M. Hewstone, P. Glick, & V. M. Esses (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of prejudice, stereotyping and discrimination* (pp. 3–29). London, UK: SAGE. http://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781446200919.n1

Durante, F., Fiske, S. T., Kervyn, N., Cuddy, A. J., Akande, A. D., Adetoun, B. E., . . . Storari, C. C. (2013). Nations' income inequality predicts ambivalence in stereotype content: How societies mind the gap. *British Journal of Social Psychology, 52,* 726–746. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/bjso.12005

European Commission. (2012). *Eurobarometer 2012*. Retrieved from https://ec.europa.eu/echo/resources-campaigns/publications/eurobarometer2012_en

European Commission. (2018). *Report on equality between women and men in the EU*. Retrieved from https://ec.europa.eu/info/policies/justice-and-fundamental-rights/gender-equality/gender-equality-strategy_en

Falomir-Pichastor, J. M., Berent, J., & Anderson, J. (2019). Perceived men's feminization and attitudes toward homosexuality: Heterosexual men's reactions to the decline of the anti-femininity norm of masculinity. *Sex Roles*. Advance online publication. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s11199-018-0985-6

Fasoli, F., Paladino, M. P., Carnaghi, A., Jetten, J., Bastian, B., & Bain, P. G. (2016). Not "just words": Exposure to homophobic epithets leads to dehumanizing and physical distancing from gay men. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 46,* 237–248. http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.2148

Fiske, S. T. (1998). Stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination. In D. T. Gilbert, S. T. Fiske, & G. Lindzey (Eds.), *The handbook of social psychology* (pp. 357–411). New York, NY: McGraw-Hill.

Fiske, S. T., Cuddy, A. J., Glick, P., & Xu, J. (2002). A model of (often mixed) stereotype content: Competence and warmth respectively follow from perceived status and competition. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 82,* 878–902. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.82.6.878

Fiske, S. T., & Taylor, S. E. (1991). *McGraw-Hill series in social psychology. Social cognition* (2nd ed.). New York, NY: McGraw-Hill.

Gabbiadini, A., Riva, P., Andrighetto, L., Volpato, C., & Bushman, B. J. (2016). Acting like a tough guy: Violent-sexist video games, identification with game characters, masculine beliefs, & empathy for female violence victims. *PLoS ONE, 11*(4), e0152121. http://dx.doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0152121

Galinsky, A. D., Hall, E. V., & Cuddy, A. J. (2013). Gendered races: Implications for interracial marriage, leadership selection, and athletic participation. *Psychological Science, 24,* 498–506. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0956797612457783

Ghavami, N., & Peplau, L. A. (2013). An intersectional analysis of gender and ethnic stereotypes: Testing three hypotheses. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 37,* 113–127. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0361684312464203

Giuliani, G. (2013). La sottile linea bianca. Intersezioni di razza, genere e classe nell'Italia postcoloniale. *Studi culturali, 10,* 253–344. http://dx.doi.org/10.1405/74017

Goff, P. A., Di Leone, B. A. L., & Kahn, K. B. (2012). Racism leads to pushups: How racial discrimination threatens subordinate men's masculinity. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 48,* 1111–1116. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2012.03.015

Goff, P. A., Thomas, M. A., & Jackson, M. C. (2008). "Ain't I a woman?": Towards an intersectional approach to person perception and group-based harms. *Sex Roles, 59*(5–6), 392–403. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s11199-008-9505-4

Hall, R. E. (2001). The ball curve: Calculated racism and the stereotype of African American men. *Journal of Black Studies, 32,* 104–119. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/002193470103200106

Ho, H. K. (2011). *Negotiating the boundaries of (in)visibility: Asian American men and Asian/American masculinity on screen*. ProQuest Dissertations & Theses. (UMI No. 3476446)

ILGA-Europe. (2016). *Protecting the rights of LGBTI asylum seekers and refugees in the reform of the Common European Asylum System*. Retrieved from https://www.ilga-europe.org/resources/policy-papers/protecting-rights-lgbti-asylum-seekers-and-refugees-reform-common-european

ILGA-Europe. (2017). *Rainbow Europe 2017*. Retrieved from https://ilga-europe.org/rainboweurope/2017

Istituto Nazionale di Statistica. (2014). *Cittadini non comunitari regolarmente soggiornanti*. Retrieved from https://www.istat.it/it/archivio/129854

Johnson, K. L., Freeman, J. B., & Pauker, K. (2012). Race is gendered: How covarying phenotypes and stereotypes bias sex categorization. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 102,* 116–131. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0025335

Johnston, L., & Coolen, P. (1995). A dual processing approach to stereotype change. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 21,* 660–673. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0146167295217001

Judd, C. M., & Park, B. (1993). Definition and assessment of accuracy in social stereotypes. *Psychological Review, 100,* 109–128. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0033-295X.100.1.109

Judd, C. M., Park, B., Yzerbyt, V., Gordijn, E. H., & Muller, D. (2005). Attributions of intergroup bias and outgroup homogeneity to ingroup and outgroup others. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 35,* 677–704. http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.281

Kang, S. K., & Bodenhausen, G. V. (2015). Multiple identities in social perception and interaction: Challenges and opportunities. *Annual Review of Psychology, 66,* 547–574. http://dx.doi.org/10.1146/annurev-psych-010814-015025

Kilianski, S. E. (2003). Explaining heterosexual men's attitudes toward women and gay men: The theory of exclusively masculine identity. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity, 4,* 37–56. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/1524-9220.4.1.37

Kimmel, M. S. (2012a). *The gender of desire: Essays on male sexuality*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press.

Kimmel, M. (2012b). *Manhood in America: A cultural history*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Kite, M. E., & Deaux, K. (1987). Gender belief systems: Homosexuality and the implicit inversion theory. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 11,* 83–96. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-6402.1987.tb00776.x

Kunda, Z. (1999). *Social cognition: Making sense of people*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. http://dx.doi.org/10.7551/mitpress/6291.001.0001

Kunda, Z., Miller, D. T., & Claire, T. (1990). Combining social concepts: The role of causal reasoning. *Cognitive Science, 14,* 551–577. http://dx.doi.org/10.1207/s15516709cog1404_3

Latrofa, M., Vaes, J., Cadinu, M., & Carnaghi, A. (2010). The cognitive representation of self-stereotyping. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 36,* 911–922. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0146167210373907

Lick, D. J., & Johnson, K. L. (2016). Straight until proven gay: A systematic bias toward straight categorizations in sexual orientation judgments. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 110,* 801–817. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/pspa0000052

Liu, T., & Wong, Y. J. (2018). The intersection of race and gender: Asian American men's experience of discrimination. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity, 19,* 89–101. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/men0000084

Liu, W. M. (2002). Exploring the lives of Asian American men: Racial identity, male role norms, gender role conflict, and prejudicial attitudes. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity, 3,* 107–118. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/1524-9220.3.2.107

Liu, W. M., Iwamoto, D. K., & Chae, M. H. (2010). Introduction and overview. In W. M. Liu, D. K. Iwamoto, & M. H. Chae (Eds.), *Culturally responsive counseling with Asian American men* (pp. 1–17). New York, NY: Routledge.

Macrae, C. N., Hewstone, M., & Griffiths, R. J. (1993). Processing load and memory for stereotype-based information. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 23,* 77–87. http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.2420230107

Martin, C. L. (1990). Attitudes and expectations about children with nontraditional and traditional gender roles. *Sex Roles, 22*(3–4), 151–166. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/BF00288188

McCreary, D. R. (1994). The male role and avoiding femininity. *Sex Roles, 31*(9–10), 517–531. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/BF01544277

Medium Corporation. (2019). *Beyond symbols to action: Intersectional Allyship and the City of Philadelphia's Journey to Inclusion*. Retrieved from https://medium.com/@jenniferbrown_97699/beyond-symbols-to-action-intersectional-allyship-and-the-city-of-philadelphias-journey-to-8fe589c2202c

Migliorati, M., Echazarreta, R. R., Isidori, E., & Maulini, C. (2014). Gli stereotipi etnico-sportivi negli studenti italiani: Un'indagine nelle scuole secondarie della Provincia di Roma. *Italian Journal of Educational Research, 12,* 85–98.

Nicolas, G., de la Fuente, M. D., & Fiske, S. T. (2017). Mind the overlap in multiple categorization: A review of crossed categorization, intersectionality, and multiracial perception. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations, 20,* 621–631. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1368430217708862

Plummer, D. (2005). Crimes against manhood: Homophobia as the penalty for betraying hegemonic masculinity. In G. Hawkes & J. Scott (Eds.), *Perspectives in human sexuality* (pp. 218–232). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Purdie-Vaughns, V., & Eibach, R. (2008). Intersectional invisibility: The distinctive advantages and disadvantages of multiple subordinate-group

identities. *Sex Roles, 59,* 377–391. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s11199-008-9424-4

Puvia, E., & Vaes, J. (2013). Being a body: Women's appearance related self-views and their dehumanization of sexually objectified female targets. *Sex Roles, 68*(7–8), 484–495. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s11199-012-0255-y

Salvati, M., Ioverno, S., Giacomantonio, M., & Baiocco, R. (2016). Attitude toward gay men in an Italian sample: Masculinity and sexual orientation make a difference. *Sexuality Research & Social Policy, 13,* 109–118. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s13178-016-0218-0

Scherer, K. R. (1970). Stereotype change following exposure to counter-stereotypical media heroes. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media, 15,* 91–100. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/08838157009363629

Schug, J., Alt, N. P., & Klauer, K. C. (2015). Gendered race prototypes: Evidence for the non-prototypicality of Asian men and Black women. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 56,* 121–125. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2014.09.012

Schwing, A. E., Wong, Y. J., & Fann, M. D. (2013). Development and validation of the African American Men's Gendered Racism Stress Inventory. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity, 14,* 16–24. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0028272

Shamloo, S. E., Carnaghi, A., Piccoli, V., Grassi, M., & Bianchi, M. (2018). Imagined intergroup physical contact improves attitudes toward immigrants. *Frontiers in Psychology, 9,* 1685. Advance online publication. http://dx.doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2018.01685

Sherman, J. W., & Frost, L. A. (2000). On the encoding of stereotype-relevant information under cognitive load. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 26,* 26–34. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0146167200261003

U.S. Census Bureau. (2017). *QuickFacts*. Retrieved from https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/fact/table/US/PST045217

Vandello, J. A., Bosson, J. K., Cohen, D., Burnaford, R. M., & Weaver, J. R. (2008). Precarious manhood. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 95,* 1325–1339. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0012453

Volpato, C. (2013). *Psicosociologia del maschilismo. [e-Book].* Rome, Italy: Universale Laterza.

Volpato, C. (2014). Mario Canella e la psicologia razziale. Un caso di conformismo al potere universitario. In M. Ravenna & G. Brunelli (Eds.), *Il Giorno della memoria all'Università di Ferrara* (pp. 59–73). Firenze, Italy: Giuntina.

Wilson, P. A., Valera, P., Ventuneac, A., Balan, I., Rowe, M., & Carballo-Dieguez, A. (2009). Race-based sexual stereotyping and sexual partnering among men who use the internet to identify other men for bareback sex. *Journal of Sex Research, 46,* 399–413. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00224490902846479

Wong, R. P. (2008). *Development and validation of the Stereotypes of Asian American Men Endorsement Scale (SAAMES).* (Doctoral dissertation). Accession No. 2008–99200-566

Wong, Y. J., Horn, A. J., & Chen, S. (2013). Perceived masculinity: The potential influence of race, racial essentialist beliefs, and stereotypes. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity, 14,* 452–464. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0030100

Wong, Y. J., Liu, T., & Klann, E. M. (2017). The intersection of race, ethnicity, and masculinities: Progress, problems, and prospects. In R. F. Levant & Y. J. Wong (Eds.), *Psychology of men and masculinities* (pp. 261–288). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0000023-010

Wong, Y. J., Owen, J., Tran, K. K., Collins, D. L., & Higgins, C. E. (2012). Asian American male college students' perceptions of people's stereotypes about Asian American men. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity, 13,* 75–88. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0022800

Wong, Y. J., Tsai, P.-C., Liu, T., Zhu, Q., & Wei, M. (2014). Male Asian international students' perceived racial discrimination, masculine identity, and subjective masculinity stress: A moderated mediation model. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 61,* 560–569. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/cou0000038

Zannoni, F. (2007). Stereotipi e pregiudizi etnici nei pensieri dei bambini: Immagini, discussioni, prospettive. *Ricerche di pedagogia e didattica, 3,* 1000–1030. http://dx.doi.org/10.1400/128306

Zhang, Y., & Tan, A. (2011). Impact of mass media during the 2008 U.S. presidential election: A cross-cultural study of stereotype change in China and the United States. *Communication Studies, 62,* 353–371. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10510974.2011.588069

Zotti, D., Carnaghi, A., Piccoli, V., & Bianchi, M. (2018). Individual and contextual factors associated with school staff responses to homophobic bullying. *Sexuality Research & Social Policy.* Advance online publication. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s13178-018-0362-9