

“SEXUAL ANIMALS”:
PERSISTENT SEXUAL STEREOTYPES AT THE INTERSECTIONS OF
RACISM, SEXISM, AND SEXUAL PREJUDICE

A Dissertation

by

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation explored hypersexual stereotypes (HS) and their application to members of multiple marginalized groups in the U.S. HS are any characterization—including those related to physical traits, sexual practices, or sexual desires—of a person, based on group membership, that positions their sexuality as more abundant than a perceived norm. Five studies documented the present-day existence, application, and explanation of HS across sixteen diverse target groups: straight and queer White, Black, Latinx, and Asian men and women.

With extensive historical evidence, I collected and compared current articulations of HS (Study 1). With findings from Study 1 ($N = 157$) suggesting HS are still extant and accessible towards members of all target groups, Studies 2-3 then explored the variance in endorsement of HS across target race, gender, sexual orientation, and/or their interactions. Participants in Studies 2 ($N = 254$) and 3 ($N = 360$) viewed mock dating profiles that varied by race, gender, and sexual orientation, then selected hypersexual traits and rated agreement with hypersexual statements as the just-viewed gendered, sexually-oriented racial target. Across straight targets, there were very few significant differences except that women targets were more likely than men targets to be ascribed hypersexual traits. Within queer targets, however, additional differences emerged, indicating that Black lesbians were indeed hypersexualized to a significantly greater degree than White lesbians.

Studies 4 and 5 tested variability due to target race, gender, and/or sexual orientation by asking participants to select causal factors (race, gender, sociality, sexual orientation, biology, morality) of hypersexuality. Gendered explanations emerged as the

most consistently endorsed “causes” of hypersexuality. Racial explanations were more frequently used in hyposexual conditions than in hypersexual conditions for both straight (Study 4: $N = 627$) and queer targets (Study 5: $N = 576$).

Together, these findings provide evidence for the persistence of HS as sometimes overgeneralizing, sometimes differentiating members of multiple marginalized groups along the intersections of race, gender, and sexual orientation. These studies represent the first of necessary steps towards understanding HS as a key sociocultural and psychological phenomenon, particularly as they may be deployed for the maintenance of existing systems of oppression.

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my fellow graduate students. Without their support, encouragement, inspiration, camaraderie, and commiseration, this document would never have come to fruition. In particular, I dedicate this dissertation to graduate students everywhere who began a doctoral program but, for whatever reason, did not complete it. I cannot count the times I so closely approached the point of no return myself—I credit only the support I have received for (finally) arriving at this point instead.

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION AND LITERATURE REVIEW

“Nothing is more lascivious, more shameless, and more disposed to fornication, than these animals...they...make love with as little restraint as dogs.”

(La Mettrie, 1751, p. 200, as cited in Jahoda, 1999)

In late 2014, the American reality television star and socialite Kim Kardashian released photos for a *Paper Magazine* cover story and photo essay that proudly proclaimed its goal: to “Break the Internet” (Fortini, 2014). One of the photographs in this issue, shot by Jean-Paul Goude, featured Kardashian dressed in a black floor-length gown and standing on a pedestal. She is bending slightly at the knees, pushing her chest forward and her buttocks backward. A champagne glass is balanced on her buttocks. In her hands, she holds a recently shaken and popped champagne bottle. The champagne spews from the bottle, arching over her head and pouring into the glass that sits on top of her buttocks. She is making eye contact with the camera and has a joyous expression, complete with an open-mouthed smile, on her face.

While shocking in its own right, certain critics noted a compelling feature of this photograph often absent from its popular commentary: namely, that this was a reproduction of a 1976 photograph by the same photographer. That picture, titled after Goude’s model Carolina Beaumont, is clearly the inspiration for the current series. While this photo series did not fully achieve its goal of “breaking the internet,” the website hosting the series crashed from the incredible amount of traffic the series generated: 1% of

all United States (U.S.) internet activity the day after it appeared (Hershkovits, 2014). This cultural product—an object or idea produced that reflects the culture in which it was produced—remained as relevant, as controversial, and as enthralling as its original inception, though appearing nearly four decades later.

What was obscured in the second iteration of this photograph by, perhaps, the celebrity of Kardashian as an American public figure and the nature of the photograph's release, are the surrounding circumstances in which this product was conceived. Namely, Goude's original "Carolina Beaumont, New York" appeared in a photo book entitled *Jungle Fever*, which was a collection of photographs of Black women that fetishized their (intentionally exaggerated) physical features through animalistic portrayals (Clifton, 2014). Though the Kardashian series for *Paper Magazine* was not published under such a blatantly racist title, the other similarities are numerous enough to indicate that a one-to-one parallel was being attempted. The photographs (and the series as two wholes) feature naked or mostly naked women of color with sexually stereotyped physical characteristics—in this case, large buttocks—enhanced and exaggerated through post-production altering.

This example illuminates an interesting puzzle in the realm of sexual stereotypes; namely, while they are powerful, enduring, and accessible, they are also somewhat diffuse. We see their powerful and enduring essence, in this example, through their continued relevance and controversy-provoking nature. Their accessibility is clear in the fact that the hypersexual stereotypes—namely, stereotypes of women of color as curvaceous, sexually accessible, and erotic—need not be explicitly named to instantly be believed as they are pictorially represented. However, hypersexual stereotypes, in this instance, can also be

applied almost identically to a Black woman and a woman of Armenian and White European descent—both viewed as women of color in the U.S.

Defining Hypersexual Stereotypes

In order to understand what hypersexual stereotypes are, we must first unpack their constituent elements, hypersexuality and stereotypes. In the clinical literature, hypersexuality as a disorder has been associated with both acute physical (e.g., medication side effect) and chronic psychological (e.g., sexual impulsivity disorders) etiologies, though its exact definition remains somewhat unclear and inconsistent across researchers (e.g., Kafka, 1997). As a possible psychiatric diagnosis, “Hypersexual Disorder” was proposed for inclusion in the most recent edition of the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual* but was ultimately rejected (Kafka, 2010). Key features of the proposed disorder included “recurrent and intense sexual fantasies, sexual urges, or sexual behaviors” (Kafka, 2010, p. 379) and engaging in these fantasies, urges, or behaviors in response to negative mood, in response to life stress, or with disregard for the potential to harm others. In addition, the common diagnostic criteria of interfering with important life goals and/or being unable to control these fantasies, urges, or behaviors were also listed as possible criteria for this disorder (Kafka, 2010). While the vast majority of psychological literature on hypersexuality centers around an individual’s “disorder,” this dissertation takes a very different focus, and clinical considerations will not be made beyond this point.

The clinical definition is helpful in that it points to “fantasies,” “urges,” and “behaviors” as the arenas in which hypersexuality may present itself. Thus, it is likely we can look to these or similar arenas in the following exploration of hypersexual stereotypes: beliefs or attitudes, desires, and behaviors. Hypersexuality is an abundance of sexuality or

sexual-ness. While it could be used interchangeably with words like “oversexed,” it is best understood as being in contrast to both “normal” levels of sexuality and “hyposexuality,” or a dearth of sexuality or sexual-ness. In addition, given the opening example, hypersexuality includes physical characteristics as a possible arena in which hypersexual stereotypes can be developed and deployed.

Generally, stereotypes are simply understood as those traits that quickly come to mind when we encounter (physically or psychologically) social groups or members of those groups. People find these traits to generally be characteristic of members of groups, especially outgroups, and these stereotypes are usually rapidly formed, quickly applied, and easily maintained (Dovidio, Evans, & Tyler, 1986). Stereotypes are “normal” (as an automatic cognitive process) and “functional” in that they serve core social and evolutionary motives in helping humans interact with one another (Fiske, 2000). Core features of stereotypic information processing include automatic categorization of ingroup and outgroup members based on key markers, with the most prominent historically identified markers in the social psychological literature being race and gender (e.g., Zarate & Smith, 1990).

For the purposes of this dissertation, I operationalize *hypersexual stereotypes* as any characterization—including those related to physical traits, sexual practices, or sexual desires—of a person, based on group membership, that positions their sexuality as more abundant than a perceived norm. I echo Allport (1954) to emphasize here that stereotypes—particularly hypersexual stereotypes—are important to study because they are problematic. They are most frequently negative, inaccurate, overgeneralized, and unfair; however, even when stereotypes are positive or complimentary, they can have negative

effects on both targets and perpetrators of the stereotype (e.g., Czopp, 2008; Czopp & Monteith, 2006; Fryberg, Markus, Oyserman, & Stone, 2008). Important to the present discussion, hypersexual stereotypes and their associated cognitive processes serve to help mark those deemed different from the cultural norm: straight White men (Fiske, 2000; Hegarty & Pratto, 2001). These marked groups—so-called because they are marked by their deviation from the norm—are more quickly categorized than unmarked groups, subtly reinforcing the stereotype’s power by being so psychologically accessible (Eberhardt & Fiske, 1994). Thus, it is important to document and interrupt this cycle where hypersexual stereotypes about marginalized groups persist because historically, these erroneous beliefs emerged to perpetuate prejudice.

Historical and Cultural Manifestations of Hypersexual Stereotypes

By far, the most prevalent discussions about stereotypes of hypersexuality across multiple disciplines have noted its use in prejudicial descriptions of Black men and women (e.g., Buchanan & Ormerod, 2002; Collins, 2004; Epprecht, 2010; Hicks, 2009; Rosenthal & Lobel, 2016). This stereotype has deep historical roots in the imperialist interactions of colonialist Whites with native Africans, as will be discussed in further detail below.¹ Multiple researchers (e.g., Collins, 2004; Hicks, 2009) have traced this historical development and its shifts over time from explicit descriptions of virility and characterizations of sexual savagery to slightly more subtle characterizations of Black men and women as exotic and sexually promiscuous. When critical researchers have noted

¹ For further discussion of White imperialism (as opposed to Western imperialism or colonization), see Woan, 2008.

these stereotypes, they often agree that these serve to dehumanize Black men and women (e.g., Tyner & Houston, 2000). In turn, this dehumanization enables White maintenance of the oppressed position of Black people in America at or near the bottom of a pervasive racial hierarchy (Feagin, 2013, 2014).

However, members of other groups are also (at least sometimes) ascribed one or more hypersexual stereotypes, including: Latina women (e.g., López & Chesney-Lind, 2014), Latino men (e.g., Limón, 1997), Asian women (e.g., Durham, 2001), Asian men (e.g., Hoang, 2014; Kumashiro, 1999), gay men (e.g., Herek, 2000), lesbians (e.g., Herek, 2000), bisexual women (e.g., Dimitrova, 2011), and people with disabilities (e.g., Haslam, 2006). Thus, though Black men and women are largely studied with this stereotype and its effects in mind, various interdisciplinary literatures have noted that other marginalized groups are subject to at least some aspects of hypersexual stereotypes as well.

Hypersexualization, then, appears to be a common form of stereotyping that cuts across and through other groups, members of whom share the experience of being marginalized in American society.

From a cultural-psychology perspective, exploring the possible commonalities across groups in regards to hypersexual stereotypes means first examining their historical and present-day manifestation for members of various marginalized groups. This is not intended to be a comprehensive or exhaustive list. Rather, this list focuses on the predominately marginalized groups in the U.S. and the socially constructed identities by which these people are marginalized: race, gender, and sexual orientation. The historical analysis reveals that hypersexual stereotypes have already been deployed in consistent yet slightly dissimilar ways across marginalized groups in the U.S. for much of our history.

Hypersexuality and People of the African Diaspora

The bulk of the extant literature on hypersexual stereotypes focuses analyses on Africans and African Americans. Multiple sources converge on the developmental course for hypersexual stereotypes about Black people throughout history (e.g., Collins, 2004; Epprecht, 2010; Feagin, 2013; Jahoda, 1999). Drawing upon these diverse bodies of knowledge, we can trace the historical formation of a stereotyped and singular “African sexuality” that has long contained characteristics of hypersexuality. Arabic accounts of their interactions with Africans in the 9th century noted their relative high sexual potency and strong sexual drive, likely informing European encounters with Africans beginning around the 15th century (Epprecht, 2010).

Though the concept of the Other has been articulated since at least the first century A.D., it was the Europeans who connected African Blackness with the “Plinian” or “monstrous” races that had previously been described (Jahoda, 1999, p. 10). These Others were represented in various ways, from a satyr to a Wild Man or Wild Woman to monkeys and apes, which was where the representation had settled by about the 13th century (Jahoda, 1999). Because Europeans viewed animality as equal to savagery, apes as Others represented a marginal, ambiguous position between human and animal (Jahoda, 1999). The spread of Christianity across Europe also spread the symbolic connection of apes with the devil and, ergo, sin. For Christians, this symbolic sin took the form of hypersexuality: sexual carnality, bestiality, extreme potency, sexual aggressiveness to the point of rape (Jahoda, 1999).

In addition to the savagery attributed to the “monstrous races”, the term and idea of “black” already carried negative connotations in the European mind (Collins, 2004). It

was already semantically associated with concepts like “bad” and “evil.” The connection of Other with Black people enabled many other cognitive connections, including a diffuse understanding of African people as “different.” Finally, Europeans observed African ways of life and erroneously interpreted them as “primitive” and “savage” in comparison to their perceptions of their own ways of living as “advanced” and “noble.” For example, practices of polygyny in Africa that differed from Catholic-endorsed practices of monogyny in Europe frightened European leaders, likely contributing to their reactance against these groups (Epprecht, 2010).

Thus, when all these characterizations of African people were combined—because they are “bad,” “inferior,” and “primitive”—Europeans developed concomitant beliefs about the very nature of African people. In particular, they easily believed that members of this group were more likely to give into their “savage”, animalistic human nature, which, as has already been noted, are connected with sex.

Continuing European accounts of various African societies tended to be “exaggerated, sensationalized, judgmental, and imputed by error stemming from naiveté or linguistic misunderstanding” (Epprecht, 2010, p. 770). Europeans were preoccupied with and disturbed by the differences in sexual practices and gender expressions, noting such observations as men dressing in women’s clothing with disdain and contempt. By the 19th century, these observations had been subsumed into simplistic racist characterizations of African people as base savages whose “natural” characteristics meant they should have a high heterosexual sex drive without being concerned with higher-order emotions such as love (Epprecht, 2010).

Based on this historical evidence, stereotypes about hypersexuality as they apply to members of the African diaspora are longstanding and deeply entrenched. These stereotypes have historically served a valuable purpose for those Whites who wished to take advantage of people they deemed to be below themselves in the “natural” hierarchy. In time, these hypersexual stereotypes would serve to justify White male rape of Black female slaves and White killing of Black men misjudged as “rapists” (Davis, 1981, p. 172). In contemporary society, they continue to disenfranchise Black people through many systemic avenues, such as increased and targeted sexual violence against Black women and harsher legal punishments for Black men (George & Martinez, 2002; Miller, 2008; Steffensmeier, Ulmer, & Kramer, 1998). Indeed, recent studies still find that White-Black interracial rapes (compared to intraracial rape) are associated with increased victim-blaming and decreased perceptions of rape (George & Martinez, 2002).

Black women. Reports of early encounters suggest African women were initially seen as highly desirable by White European men: beautiful, erotic, and having high sexual prowess (Epprecht, 2010). This shifted in the 17th century to reports of African women as “savage, lewd, and unfeminine” (Hicks, 2009, p. 426). In both cases, however, sex with and rape of African women was justified for European men because they interpreted these stereotypes to mean that African women were incapable of being raped. These characterizations fed into White justifications for the brutal practice of slavery, and, though legalized slavery eventually ended, these stereotypes did not fade away. Both in popular society and among governmental officials in the early 20th century, African American women continued to be explicitly described as unvirtuous, sexually calculating, unintelligent, immoral, and prone to sexual misconduct (Hicks, 2009).

Hypersexual stereotypes of African women were also recorded and perpetuated in more indirect ways. In European artistic cultural products (e.g., paintings, operas) of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Black people were nearly always portrayed as servants; within a given scene, their presence symbolically marked the presence of illicit sexual activity (Gilman, 1985). Importantly, Black bodies (typically women) as markers of deviant sexuality were almost always paired in these scenes with White characters; their presence was less to directly evoke sexual desire and more to sexualize the depicted White woman (Gilman, 1985).

This construction of Black women as lower, baser, and thus more hypersexual was not widely accepted until it could receive “scientific” verification. Thus, some of the earliest examples of the White-Black dichotomy trend in scientific research found traction with doctors studying race in Western Europe in the early nineteenth century (Gilman, 1985). By positioning White females as the norm, both in terms of their genitalia and their sexual desire, nineteenth century White European men were able to “scientifically confirm” the primitiveness of Black African women (Gilman, 1985). Perhaps most famously, this marking of and fascination with Black female sexuality culminated in the exploitative exhibition of Saartje Baartman (also known as Sarah Bartmann) as the “Hottentot Venus.” In her autopsy performed by a French male doctor, he likened her as “a female of the ‘lowest’ human species with the highest ape, the orangutan” (Gilman, 1985, p. 85). In addition, he described her genitalia as anomalous. To continue to support both the public’s and the medical profession’s obsession with her (and Black women more generally), he dissected and displayed both her buttocks (her body part most “riveting” to European gawkers) and her vulva after her death. “For most Europeans who viewed her,

Sarah Bartmann existed only as a collection of sexual parts” (Gilman, 1985, p. 85). In this visceral and ghastly example, we see the extreme consequences of hypersexualization: a complete elimination of personhood at the expense of satisfying White fascination with the sexualized Black body.

While the literal terms and descriptors might have changed slightly, the underlying content of descriptors of African American women continues to remain the same: exoticized, they are consistently portrayed as sexually promiscuous, immoral, wild women (Stephens & Phillips, 2003). This group of stereotypes is so entrenched that, together, they form a caricature of a Black woman: the Jezebel (Collins, 2000; Stephens & Phillips, 2003). These characterizations shape both internal and external perceptions of these women, contributing at least in part to their higher rates of experiencing sexual harassment, sexual abuse, and negative sexual health outcomes (Stephens & Phillips, 2003).

Stereotypes of Black women as hypersexual cross gender lines as well. Some evidence has shown that, even in the context of same-sex relationships, the connection of dark skin color with notions of virility can help account for White attraction to Black women (Hicks, 2009). Additionally, White women are just as likely as White men to attribute characteristics consistent with the Jezebel stereotype more strongly to Black women than to themselves (Donovan, 2011).

Black men. While hypersexual stereotypes about Black men share many characteristics with those about Black women, there is an additional element that characterizes their stereotypes above all others: the stereotype of sexual aggression (Collins, 2004). The myth of the Black rapist is deeply seared into the American psyche through the thousands of brutal lynchings that occurred during the latter half of the 19th

century. Wells-Barnett (2014) and Davis (1981) shrewdly trace the development of this myth. Born in the death throes of slavery and grown through the pains of Reconstruction, the myth of the Black male rapist became a convenient (and enduring) excuse for White violence against Black people (Wells-Barnett, 2014). Post-Civil War, formerly enslaved Black people became a perceived liability to Whites who now felt that their hold on power was quite a bit more unsteady than they were comfortable with. The men to whom White people had already ascribed a ferocious sexual appetite were now, in Whites' eyes, capable and likely desirous of retaliation against their former White owners. White men attempted to use this "retaliation" as an excuse for targeting Black men for lynching, but the feared riots and rebellion were non-existent (Davis, 1981). Thus, Whites had to turn to another explanation to justify their murder of Black men, and one was readily available due to the long history of hypersexualization: the rape of White women by Black men. White fear of Black men's stereotyped hypersexuality enabled the death of thousands through false (or often non-existent) accusations of sexual assault.

These harmful White patriarchal characterizations of Black people continue to be observed today. bell hooks (2003, as cited in Belle, 2014) discusses the construction of Black men as lacking in the emotions and traits that are usually ascribed to other people, with their image being that of "the brute, untamed, uncivilized, unthinking and unfeeling" (p. xii). This construction is rooted in social systems that both constitute and are constituted by the lives that many Black males pursue (or are forced to pursue). These sociocultural institutions have been identified as being fourfold: the military, the prison system, organized sports/athletics, and the entertainment industry (Lemelle, 2009, as cited in Belle, 2014). Each of these institutions carries with it certain expectations that are, in

various ways, perpetrators of the masculine (and hypermasculine) scripts that Black men are expected to enact. Among this specific masculine characterization is an identity construction that almost always includes hypersexuality (Belle, 2014).

Studies exploring sexual stereotypes of Black men consistently find that Black men are hypersexualized in comparison to White men, especially in terms of sexual potency (Davis & Cross, 1979). This hypersexual stereotype, along with stereotypes of sexual aggressiveness and sexual organ largesse, were born out of and are maintained by White fear and correspond to other stereotypes of Black men as “bad” and criminal (Cooper, 2005). At times, the hypersexual stereotypes of Black men conflated sexual assault with sexual desire in terms of their interactions with White women; the conflation of these was reproduced in cultural products of the day such as portraits and novels (Gunning, 1996). The rape myth not only impacted perceptions of Black men, but perceptions of Black women as well:

The fictional image of the Black man as rapist has always strengthened its inseparable companion: the image of the Black woman as chronically promiscuous. For once the notion is accepted that Black men harbor irresistible and animal-like sexual urges, the entire race is invested with bestiality. If Black men have their eyes on white women as sexual objects, then Black women must certainly welcome the sexual attentions of white men. Viewed as “loose women” and whores, Black women’s cries of rape would necessarily lack legitimacy. (Davis, 1981, p. 182)

Thus, we see that stereotypes of hypersexuality against Black men not only reinforce their existence for members of that group—they extend, through the prototypicality of Black men for the race “Black,” to Black women as well (e.g., Thomas, Dovidio, & West, 2014).

This, in part, explains the continuance of these hypersexual stereotypes across race and gender as they work to mutually reinforce one another. Above all else, the White creation of the myth of the Black male rapist and subsequent actions due to the myth's preponderance (i.e., murder and assault of Black people) succeeded in resolving most Whites' remaining qualms about the clear racialization of power taking place (Gunning, 1996). Hypersexual stereotypes, it appears, persist in service of continuing White male hegemony.

Hypersexuality and Latinx People

The hypersexual stereotyping that exists for Latinx people² often shares many features with that against Black people. When possible and relevant, I will articulate the nation of origin for the Latinx people that I am discussing. For my proposed sample, the most commonly encountered Latinx people are those of Mexican origin; thus, Mexican men and women will be my primary focus. Future investigations should explore potential distinctions within the over-simplified categorization of Latinx or "Latinos" in regards to stereotypes of hypersexuality.

Latina women. One of the most accessible cultural products to examine representations of Latinx people is on-screen representations (television and cinema). The historical growth in population of Latinx people in the U.S., beginning with White

² The debate about terminology in referring to Latinx people in the U.S. has occurred in many realms and among many scholars and lay scholars who have well-articulated rationales for taking the positions they do (e.g., González & Gándara, 2005). For the purposes of this investigation, while I recognize that census categories such as "Hispanic" are problematic and ethnic labels such as "Latinos" encompass many groups of different national origin (Phinney, 1996), I will refer to those of Central and South American origin as "Latinx" people unless otherwise noted.

American imperialist expansion into Mexico in the mid-19th century, largely coincided with the rise in general media availability.

In vintage western popular imagery, the most common stereotypical representation of Mexican women was that of an attractive, darker-skinned, lower-class woman who was usually employed as a “bar-girl” (euphemism for sex worker; Limón, 1997). She was often seen as a desirable, but temporary, sexual partner for the White male protagonist. In much the same way as occurred with Black women, “casting Mexican women...as sexually promiscuous made them morally available within a code of racism ratifying and extending the right of Anglo conquest to the realm of the sexual” (Limón, 1997, p. 601). White men, ambivalent about their positioning and desiring to further cement their position at the top of the racial and sexual hierarchy, took advantage of stereotypes of hypersexuality in order to degrade both Mexican women and men while maintaining the presumed racial and sexual purity found in their future White wives, repeating patterns of behavior seen for centuries against Black people.

Generally, the depiction of Latinas on-screen in most present-day work still entails some degree of hypersexualization. Latina women are often characterized as “exotic bombshells” or “hoochie mamas” (López & Chesney-Lind, 2014). While no longer a one-to-one euphemism for “sex worker,” these characterizations still imply overly sexualized physical characteristics and these women’s accessibility for sex. Even when they are not overtly communicated, these stereotypes continue to be reinforced. Mass media and communication studies have found that Latinx characters are still presented more

provocatively and less professionally than their White counterparts in similar roles (Mastro & Greenberg, 2000).³ These close examinations of particular cultural products show that these hypersexual stereotypes of Latinas continue to be mutually reinforced: believed to be true, they are created, enacted, and viewed; viewed so consistently, they are believed to be true.

Importantly, the perpetuation of these stereotypes does not only affect outgroup perpetrators. Latina women themselves are aware of and spontaneously articulate some of the physical stereotypes around their own sexuality. In one qualitative study, Latina girls between the ages of 14 and 18 rated Latinas as “curvy,” “sexy,” and “brown and beautiful” (p. 533), indicating both knowledge of and internalization of these stereotypes (López & Chesney-Lind, 2014). While these stereotypes are not positively or negatively valenced in and of themselves, the data presented here should provide strong evidence that their perpetuation serves a harmful and discriminatory purpose.

Latino men. Historically, Latinx men (especially Mexicans) have been sexualized in sometimes opposing ways. Originally, these men actually experienced stereotypes of hyposexuality (Limón, 1997). In early American-Mexican relations, Mexican men were seen as presenting the greatest opposition to White American men’s colonialism. Thus, White men deployed stereotypes of hyposexuality to imply reduced virility in Mexican men, perhaps as a method of reducing their perceived social power by attacking this aspect of their masculinity (Limón, 1997). However, this hyposexualization (perhaps not being as

³ Interestingly, Mastro and Greenberg (2000) also found that Latinx people, while presented more provocatively than White people, were still presented *less* provocatively than Black people across the same set of prime-time programs – offering empirical support for a consistent pattern in terms of the magnitude of hypersexual stereotyping.

psychologically powerful as hypersexualization as a distancing force) eventually transitioned to hypersexualization (in the mid-20th century) in the form of the still-extant and familiar “macho man” or “Latin lover” stereotypes (Román, 2000).

Two potential factors helped to influence this movement towards hypersexualization. First, national perceptions of Latin America, especially Mexico, became much more tolerant after Mexico joined the Allied side during World War II (Limón, 1997). Not only were Americans more tolerant—all of a sudden, Mexican culture was in vogue. This was coupled with White women’s increased socioeconomic freedom post-World War II, a group who was stereotyped as being desirous of Latino men (Limón, 1997). Between these two powerful societal forces, the stereotype of the Latin lover was born: Latino men who are “tender, romantic, ardent, sexy and well-endowed, and generally give anyone, male or female, a better time, both in bed and socially, than anyone else around” (Lacey, 1991, p. 486). Since then, this familiar stereotype has consistently been embedded in cultural products, including television representations of Latino men (e.g., Berg, 1990). While American views towards Latinos in the U.S. have varied greatly over the past century and a half, hypersexual stereotypes of Latino men now remain consistent and reliably demonstrable.

Stereotypes of hypersexuality have become intertwined with other perceptions of Latinx people. Latino men have often been characterized by stereotypes included in what is understood as the “traditional” gender script of machismo (López & Chesney-Lind, 2014). This script calls for men to be passionate and hot-blooded, sometimes to the extent that their engagement in extramarital sex or sex with a high number of partners is seen as normal. This characteristic of machismo was so strong, it developed its own explanatory

phrase dating from the Spanish Conquest of Mexico (or, upon European imperialist expansion and the instantiation of this stereotype):

El hombre es fuego, la mujer estofa, viene el Diablo y sopla. En el hombre, el Diablo nunca duerme. [The man is fire, the woman straw, the devil blows and ignites it. In the man, the devil never sleeps.] (Falicov, 2010, p. 309)

The insomniac “devil” here is the embodiment of Latino men’s sexual appetite: it takes very little to stir the fire already believed to be burning within.

In a similar experience to that of Latina women, Latino men are aware of these stereotypes about their sexuality and experience psychological pressure due to them. Qualitative interviews with Latino men currently living in the U.S. have illuminated that they, in fact, experience sociocultural pressure to have multiple sexual partners in order to prove (and improve) their performance of masculinity (Rhodes et al., 2010). These kinds of pressures—pressures to engage in more sex with more people—can have potentially life-altering consequences (see Chapter VII). The stereotypes associated with machismo—including hypersexuality—have been shown to be overgeneralizing, obscuring the true nature of Latinos’ more common present day expressions of masculinity (Torres, Solberg, & Carlstrom, 2002). However, critical researchers have noted that a continued, deficit-oriented focus on this Latino masculinity script obscures those other constructs of masculinity that Latino men (along with other men of color) have developed (Falicov, 2010). Unfortunately, based on the continued abundance of hypersexual stereotypes about Latino men in our cultural psyche, it does not appear that other conceptions of masculinity have yet supplanted this hypersexual one.

Hypersexuality and Asian/Asian-American People

Continuing to speak in general terms⁴, many of the stereotypes of Asian and Asian-American people likely stem from early colonial encounters of the West with the East. Imperialist Whites invented “the Orient” as a romantic and exotic place, home to romantic and exotic people (Kim, 2011). Today, stereotypes of Asian Americans cluster in two prominent categories that are persistent and significant to their lives in the U.S.: the model minority stereotype and the perpetual foreigner stereotype (Lee, Wong, & Alvarez, 2009). The model minority stereotype⁵ includes the notion that, because Asian Americans have worked hard and followed their native cultural norms, Asian Americans have (relatively easily) achieved and continue to achieve great academic and economic success (Lee et al., 2009). Correspondingly, they are perceived to have fewer (if any) barriers to success that they must overcome, and their success belies for many the claims of systemic and institutionalized racism made by other people of color. However, Asian Americans also are subject to the perpetual foreigner stereotype, which marks them as inherently non-native and subsequently not truly “American” (Lee et al., 2009). These major stereotypes

⁴ Per Hoang (2014), in this reporting, except where noted, I do not distinguish between Asians and Asian Americans, and I do not differentiate between countries within the Asian continent. Most people in the U.S. not of Asian descent, when stereotyping those who appear to be of Asian origin, rarely make these distinctions themselves.

⁵ It is important to note that some historians trace the introduction of the model minority stereotype as a myth that was intentionally perpetuated by White Americans as a divisive tool between Asian and other communities of color, including African, Latinx, and Native American communities (Iwamoto & Liu, 2009). This myth, understood in this context, sought to convey to groups agitating for social change that the best way to succeed in America was to work hard, be subservient and diligent, and stay quiet—emulating the “natural culture” of successful Asian American immigrants (Iwamoto & Liu, 2009). It is likely that this myth then contributed to the formation (and continued existence) of the perpetual foreigner stereotype, because Asian Americans were not (and are not) ever able to distance themselves from their native or ancestral culture, if that was something they wished to do.

and their implications shape the specific stereotypes about sexuality for women and men of Asian descent.

Asian women. Asian women first began to immigrate to the U.S. in large numbers in the late 1800s and early 1900s (Hall, 2009). Prior to this, they had been prohibited from immigrating even after Asian men were allowed to, primarily due to capitalistic concerns that formed and newly forming families would threaten the efficiency of the workforce (Hall, 2009). Thus, when Asian women did eventually begin to immigrate in large numbers, they arrived in high sexual demand. Officials in the U.S. intentionally emigrated high numbers of Asian women as sex workers to sexually satisfy men, while at the same time hindering potential marriages and family formation (Hall, 2009). Due at least in part to this high ratio of Asian female sex workers upon their introduction to the U.S., sexual stereotypes of Asian women (including hypersexuality, sexual permissiveness, and sexual subservience) flourished (Hall, 2009). For other subgroups of Asian women (e.g., Filipino women), problematic White histories of their early encounters may have contributed to the development of hypersexual stereotypes, including characterizations of them as savage, uneducated, and animalistic (Regullano, 2012). Again, these descriptions echo those made about Black people and other people of color by White Europeans.

While many of the specific hypersexual stereotypes about Asian women overlap with those about other women of color, there are also some interesting differences. In contrast to the more aggressive stereotypes given to Black and Latina women, Asian women are often rendered as hyperfeminine (Pyke & Johnson, 2003). Hyperfemininity, while typically stereotyped in White America as including characteristics such as purity and chastity, can also include hypersexual stereotypes, including those of being

excessively submissive, exotic, and sexually available for and dutiful to White men (Pyke & Johnson, 2003). White American men, after major military conflicts with Asian countries ceased in the 20th century, became especially infatuated with the image of the “‘geisha,’ professional prostitutes who served upper-class men with baths, massages, tea, dancing, and sex. The geisha is an example of a perfect woman constructed by a patriarchal culture” (Hall, 2009, p. 198). The resultant “Asian mystique” has been developed and perpetuated in popular American media throughout the 20th century (e.g., *Memoirs of a Geisha*, *Madame Butterfly*: Kim, 2011). It specifically and repeatedly points to a sexually submissive and sensual Asian woman; this fantasy has been immortalized in terms such as “Yellow fever” or “Asian fetish” (Kim, 2011). Taken together, this confluence of hypersexual stereotypes, clearly informed by straight White male fetishization, appears unique to Asian women targets.

An additional element of the sexual stereotypes that have been noted for Asian American women are the physical characteristics the fantastical “perfect woman” is supposed to embody. In contrast to women of other racial groups, Asian women are stereotyped as being small in stature, having dainty facial features, and having small extremities (Hall, 2009)—apparently highly desirable qualities, at least to White men. These stereotyped physical features contribute further to the specific sexual stereotypes Asian American women face because they convey childlikeness: innocence, weakness, and lesser power (Hall, 2009). In this way, the stereotype of sexual submissiveness is reinforced, because those (women) who are seen as weak and who do not have power are not likely to question or resist (masculine) authority, power, or force.

Asian men. Upon the first major waves of immigration from China, Japan, and India, White men in power began establishing rules around race, gender, and sex to help maintain their hierarchical status. Laws restricted access to immigration to men from these and other Asian countries; as their status upon entry to the U.S. was intended to be that of transient workers to meet White labor needs, families became explicitly prohibited (Espiritu, 1997; Shek, 2006). However, due to White men's fears of Asian men pursuing and marrying White women, in the forced absence of Asian women, these laws were not enough. Anti-miscegenation laws were established that targeted White women who married non-White men by revoking the women's citizenship (Espiritu, 1997; Shek, 2006).

Fears about miscegenation specifically manifested in multiple, often conflicting representations of Asian men across the spectrum of sexual expressiveness: asexual, effeminate, sexually deviant, or enticing White women with exotic opium dens (Espiritu, 1997; Shek, 2006). From this large-scale arrival of Asian men in the U.S. in the mid- to late-1800s, the stereotypes about Asian men's sexuality were mixed in content, more so than any other group previously described. The cultural portrayals of Asian men were alternatively inferior or threatening, and sometimes even simultaneously so: "Racist images collapsed gender and sexuality so that Asian American men appeared to be both hypermasculine and effeminate" (Shek, 2006, p. 380). For example, the "Yellow Peril" stereotype was associated with the perceived excessive aggressiveness of Asian men; after the Japanese military bombing of Pearl Harbor, this stereotype was heavily leaned upon by White Americans in power in the media and the government (Shek, 2006). In the example of the hypermasculine image of the Yellow Peril, we can observe how it served an overgeneralizing, subsuming role, shifting over time (and across perceived threatening

groups) to primarily refer to Japanese, Chinese, Vietnamese, or South Asian people (Espiritu, 1997; Shek, 2006). The fact that Whites have deployed this stereotype across so many diverse Asian ethnicities throughout their historical domestic interactions may help explain its less reliable nature for Asian men, both historically and currently.

In today's stereotypical representations, Asian men are primarily hypersexualized only when they express an additional marginalized identity: queerness. Multiple authors (e.g., Hoang, 2014; Kumashiro, 1999) have noted that Asian and Asian American men are frequently fetishized as exotic, specifically within queer communities. Kumashiro in particular notes that this is frequently perpetuated by a specific group: "some queer, often older, white American men" (p. 68). Thus, the stereotype of hypersexuality again serves to perpetuate racism against a group with minority representation in the U.S., but it is racism that is queered in addition to being sexualized (Kumashiro, 1999).

From a heteronormative perspective, Asian men in the U.S. in the early 21st century are in fact are stereotyped at the opposite extreme of sexuality (i.e., hyposexual). Due to Asian men's relative economic successes compared to other racial or ethnic minority groups in the U.S. and growing American ties with East Asia post-World War II, the stereotype of the "model minority" was developed and continues to be reinforced (Lee et al., 2009). Those in power (i.e., White men), perceiving Asian men as a group to be an economic threat, were however unable to continue to hypersexualize them due to general American perceptions of their close familial ties. Remaining in the realm of sexuality, White men thus sought to strip Asian men of their masculinity, constraining their ability to develop their own sexual identity (Espiritu, 1997; Shek, 2006). This also provides a possible explanation for why remaining hypersexual stereotypes about Asian men are most

prominent among queer men: it is the intersection of sexuality with race and gender that predicts whether the stereotype content will be hypersexual or hyposexual, at least for this group.

Asian men are often stereotyped as being particularly unmasculine: weak, small, and geeky (Kumashiro, 1999). Additionally, Asian American men have been stereotyped as being sexually restrictive compared to White Americans, the typical reference group and the group that is seen as “normal” when degrading others’ sexual preferences and practices (Jackson, Hodge, Gerard, Ingram, Ervin, & Sheppard, 1996). Evidence of the accessibility of hyposexual stereotypes of Asian men can be found in the comments made by a sports reporter on the success of Jeremy Lin, an Asian American basketball star: “Some lucky lady is going to feel a couple of inches of pain tonight” (English, 2012). This racist, sexist, and heterosexist comment belies the intersectional nature of these forms of oppressions within the realm of sexuality, in addition to doing the work of reinforcing a longstanding stereotype about Asian American men (Wong, Horn, & Chen, 2013).

One major problematic for Asian American men is their lack of representation in popular media. When Asian American men are represented on television and in film, they are usually restricted to a narrow range of roles that do not allow for positive portrayal or movement beyond typical stereotypes (Iwamoto & Liu, 2009). This lack of representation contributes to the maintenance of hyposexual stereotypes for Asian American men, sometimes especially in contrast to their feminine counterparts:

Asian American men are also generally invisible in comparison to Asian American women in popular media. While Asian American women are fetishized and exoticized as objects of “consumption” and “desire” within a White dominant and

patriarchal society, no such cultural space is allotted for Asian American men. Left relatively invisible and voiceless, Asian American men are ineffective and impotent—the less-than-ideal male figure in comparison to the White male exemplar. (Iwamoto & Liu, 2009, p. 215)

When Asian American men are depicted in popular media, they are rarely cast as the leading male actor and, when they are, almost never as the romantic lead (Iwamoto & Liu, 2009). In fact, when available as a romantic option, they are often directly compared to—and inevitably fall short of—a White man as being romantically desirable (Iwamoto & Liu, 2009). These stereotypes and their resultant effects have documented effects on Asian American men in terms of heterosexual relationships, as both Asian American women and White women sometimes express cautious or outright negative views about Asian American male sexuality, consistent with these prominent stereotypes (Iwamoto & Liu, 2009; Lee & Vaught, 2003).

To conclude, Asian American men face a difficult negotiation with masculinity as it is constructed for them. The sexual stereotypes they typically face in White, heteronormative, patriarchal society (e.g., feminine, asexual [i.e., myth of small penises], deviant sexuality) translate into a picture of Asian American masculinity as being extreme and altogether deviant, whether it is being expressed in excess or in absentia (Iwamoto & Liu, 2009).

Hypersexuality and Queer People

Hypersexual stereotypes as they are applied to various sexual orientations add an interesting element to the present discussion because they have been noted by queer scholars as an explicit form of resistance to dominant, heteronormative sexual scripts

(Albertson, 2014). That is, non-conformity to both gender and sexual expectations—including acting in ways that conform to the hypersexuality stereotype such as engaging in frequent casual sex with multiple partners—has been a volitional act of rebellion for some lesbians and gay men. However, these stereotypes may still be applied to queer individuals by straight outsiders in discriminatory ways. Thus, I present here a brief discussion of hypersexual stereotypes that have been explored about gay men and lesbians. As my primary hypotheses centered on race as the dominant determining factor of hypersexual stereotypes, an exploration of hypersexual stereotypes based on sexual orientation is intended to achieve two goals: 1) Extend theoretical development of hypersexualization to explore both the unique and intersecting roles of sexual prejudice; and 2) Investigate specific hypersexual stereotypes about queer people of color. Studies 3 and 5 achieve the latter goal; here, I review the limited work in this area in order to address the former.

Gay men. Much of the literature investigating commonly held stereotypes of gay men notes how they have been viewed as feminine and passive, compared to straight men (e.g., Corbett, 1993). However, additional sources have commented on the hypersexual stereotypes that exist for gay men (Adam, 1978; Gilman, 1985; Herek, 1991). Similar to the sexual prejudice that exists against Black men, hypersexual stereotypes for gay men have been exaggerated to the point of criminalization. Culturally, stereotypes against outgroups are often used to portray them as particular points of threat for the ingroup's most vulnerable members (e.g., women, children; Herek, 1991). For gay men, their hypersexual stereotypes have been used to (mis)characterize them as being particularly dangerous in regards to child molestation. This conflation of pedophilia with same-sex

attraction in men is one important example of the potential for discriminatory harm due to the effects of hypersexual stereotypes.

Probably the primary example of criminalization due to hypersexual stereotypes for gay men is the fact that, throughout the world, their sex has been and continues to be legislated against. These laws have been, in some cases, overturned; in 2003, the U.S. Supreme Court invalidated sodomy laws in the 14 states in which they remained (*Lawrence v. Texas*, 2003). Even in the process of decriminalizing sex between men, courts have sometimes relied on hypersexual stereotypes to justify their declarations. In the case of *Leung v Secretary for Justice* in Hong Kong, the right to equality regardless of sexual orientation was cited as one of the reasons for the decriminalization of “buggery” (anal sex). However, this invocation suggests that the sexual behavior under question is somehow fundamental to one’s identity as a gay man (Danay, 2005). Implicitly, this judicial decision reinforced the connection of (particularly stigmatized) sexual conduct with gay men, recalling and reinscribing hypersexual stereotypes in the process (Danay, 2005).

Another important element of the history of hypersexual stereotypes for gay men relates to the historically “liberatory, transgressive character of queer sexual culture” (Stacey, 2004, p. 182). One of the important facets of the gay rights movement of the 1960s and 1970s was an embracing of a freer sexuality, loosed from the sexually repressive culture of earlier generations in which relationships between men were privately allowed but publicly scorned (Chura, 1991). This characteristic of gay male culture—legitimization of the pursuit of recreational sex with multiple partners—has corresponded to the overgeneralized stereotype that all gay men are hypersexual and that all gay men are

interested in pursuing multiple casual sexual relationships (Stacey, 2004). The generalization of this stereotype and resulting prejudice and discrimination, per the minority stress model (Meyer, 2003) and the concept of mutual constitution (Markus & Kitayama, 2010; Shweder, 2003), may contribute to past and continued engagement in hypersexual behavior as a coping mechanism (also referred to, especially in the context of gay men, as sexual compulsivity; Parsons, Grov, & Golub, 2012). If so, this may also contribute to the persistence of hypersexual stereotypes about queer people.

Lesbians. In prior work, “lesbians” as a whole have been differentiated into subgroups to better understand the specific stereotypes associated with each subgroup (Geiger, Harwood, & Hummert, 2006). In a two-stage trait-generation and trait-sorting task methodology, eight subtypes of lesbians emerged (Geiger et al., 2006). Of the four negative subcategories, three were primarily concerned with the sexual behavior of lesbians. One was specifically labeled the “hypersexual lesbian” and included the traits of “promiscuous,” “sexcrazy,” and “bisexual” (Geiger et al., 2006, pp. 171-173). These traits were differentiated from those included in the “sexually confused” and “sexually deviant” subgroups, suggesting that at least some lesbians are specifically seen as hypersexual in a way that other lesbians are not. Furthermore, hypersexual lesbians were seen as average in terms of valence (i.e., respondents did not feel either positively or negatively towards them) but were seen as one of the weaker subgroups of lesbians (as opposed to stronger). This example of within-group prejudice may reflect the morality (or lack thereof) associated with hypersexuality: even though hypersexual stereotypes do not predict negative attitudes, per se, they can be associated with other prejudicial attitudes.

Other work has examined stereotypes of lesbians from specific queer theories, such as gender inversion theory (Kite & Deaux, 1987). This theory posits that homosexual women are seen as more similar to heterosexual men than to other women. Indeed, Brambilla, Camaghi, and Ravenna (2011) found that lesbians as a whole are typically viewed as “not very feminine, lacking in maternal instincts, and displaying typically male behaviors and habits” (p. 101). This is interesting because it may, at least in part, explain why lesbians specifically are ascribed some hypersexual stereotypes. If men as a group are stereotyped as being more sexual than women, and if lesbians are perceived to display other behaviors more typically associated with men, then perceivers may extend their masculinization of these women to the sexual realm as well. Lesbians generally, then, already face competing hypersexual stereotypes. The interaction of race with this sexual orientation in the studies below may be influential in distinguishing between these categories of stereotype content.

Key Characteristics of Hypersexual Stereotypes

While the subsections above focus on the historical distinctions in stereotypes of hypersexuality between groups, some general commonalities should also be noted. One characteristic that encompasses nearly all hypersexual stereotypes is that of “abundance.” That is, hypersexual stereotypes share a construction of targets as somehow more sexual: having more frequent sex, possessing a more abundant desire for sex, developing a broader sexual repertoire, having more sexual partners, or possessing greater sexual skill (e.g., Dimitrova, 2011). This characteristic of abundance also frequently manifests in physical characteristics (e.g., the stereotype of Black men as having larger penises than White men: Davis & Cross, 1979). Because of its consistency across hypersexual stereotypes,

abundance is included in my previous definition of hypersexual stereotypes: any characterization—including those related to physical traits, sexual practices, or sexual desires—of a person, based on group membership, that positions their sexuality as more abundant than a perceived norm.

In addition, hypersexual stereotypes are gendered in that they explicitly differ when referencing men versus women of a given target group. While stereotypes about women of color—exotic, promiscuous—tend to enhance their perceived sexual accessibility, stereotypes about men of color—aggressive, sexually talented—tend to enhance their perceived threatening nature (to both sexual partners and sexual competitors). That is, to the extent hypersexual stereotypes vary within a given racial group, they also interact with gender in both the application of and the reasoning about hypersexual stereotypes.

Stereotypes of hypersexuality are historically ubiquitous across multiple marginalized groups. Though they manifest differently based on race, gender, and sexual orientation, they share some common features. They articulate some element of abundance in a target's sexuality, whether in practice, desire, or physicality. They also carry with them notions of exoticism, highlighting the otherness of these marginalized groups. As the following theoretical discussion argues, their deep roots in White imperialist history reflect lingering patterns of domination and subordination.

Theorizing Hypersexualization: Persistence across Difference

The historical evidence as presented above is clear: White supremacy, in tandem with imperialist and colonialist ideologies, laid the foundations for hypersexual stereotypes to persist in current day society. However, the historical analyses also provide some mixed evidence in terms of whether hypersexual stereotypes are similar or different across

groups. For example, in some cases (e.g., Black women, Latina women) hypersexual stereotypes about women of color lead to converging overgeneralizations about certain physical characteristics, such as the above-average size of the buttocks or a more ideal waist-to-hip ratio. However, these general stereotypes centering on the same physical features translate to specific, divergent stereotypes about Latina women as “curvy,” while Black women are stereotyped as having “big butts” (e.g., Chapter II, this paper; Gilman, 1985; López & Chesney-Lind, 2014). This section summarizes a diverse and interdisciplinary body of work that highlights the relevant psychological and cultural mechanisms that produce similarities and differences in hypersexualization across groups.

The Social-Psychological Mechanisms

Much social-psychological literature focuses on intergroup relations, particularly those between dominant and subordinate groups. Investigations into the maintenance of group dominance have theorized several processes by which it may occur. Hypersexualization implicates multiple of these, likely contributing to its persistence and general consistency across members of multiple marginalized groups: when hypersexual stereotypes are deployed, they can achieve these common, interrelated outgroup-distancing “goals.”

Ingroup favoritism/outgroup derogation. When people apply hypersexual stereotypes to outgroup members, similar cognitive processes of intergroup conflict may be activated for members across different groups because they are simply not a member of the ingroup (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). That is, as social identity theory predicts, ingroup favoritism (our sexuality is “right” and “good”) and outgroup derogation (their sexuality is “weird” and “bad”) will abound, particularly in stratified societies. It is this societal

component that is particularly relevant here, as it offers the “notion that social comparisons between groups [are] focused on the establishment of positive ingroup distinctiveness” (Turner & Reynolds, 2001, p. 135). From this perspective, hypersexualization of outgroup members allows White ingroup members to maintain their cultural “positive distinctiveness” through their self-perceived “normal” level of sexuality.⁶

One way people sometimes deal with personal psychological conflicts, specifically identity conflicts about gender and sexuality, is by taking a prejudicial and defensive positioning against an outgroup member (Herek, 1991). Sexuality, as an important yet less visible component of social identity than race or gender, may then be the ideal locus for discriminatory stereotyping: these stereotypes are already extant, easily accessible, yet difficult to directly refute. Moreover, we may deploy group-level stereotypes (and, in this case, the same group-level stereotype) because we have too little information about the group members (as opposed to too much: Nolan, Haslam, Spears, & Oakes, 1999). When people do not have actual experiences or knowledge to base their attitudes on, they can deploy stereotypes of others as a way to express or inhibit parts of the self (Herek, 1991). Sex, as a primarily intraracial act and a socially taboo topic, is clearly then a good candidate for stereotype deployment. For these stereotypes to persist as they have, though,

⁶ Of course, this happens in a White-dominated culture established on a religious system that situated regulation of sexuality simultaneously within the family, church, and state, continuing the historic European tradition of moralizing sexuality (D’Emilio & Freedman, 1997). That is, White people receive positive feelings by denigrating others’ sexuality as culturally deviant, even though it was White people who decided their sexuality was normal and that other expressions of sexuality were worth denigrating. In this way, we can see mutual constitution in action: hypersexual stereotypes are the cultural product created by Whites and continually culturally maintained due to the positive psychological reinforcement Whites receive from maintaining them (Shweder, 1990).

they must also be offering some kind of psychological affordance to those who continue to perpetrate them.

Dehumanization. The process of dehumanization entails two pathways that lead to representations of people as—potentially, sexual—objects. Haslam (2006) gives an overview of dehumanization, delineating its process into two distinct forms: animalistic and mechanistic. In the animalistic form, people are denied those traits that we generally think of as uniquely human (e.g., civility, refinement, moral sensibility, rationality, logic, maturity). This process causes them to be seen as closer to animals than humans, or more animal-like. In the mechanistic form of dehumanization, characteristics of human nature itself (e.g., emotional responsiveness, interpersonal warmth, cognitive openness, agency, individuality, depth) are denied to people.

Additionally, Haslam's (2006) model proposes that dehumanization can be conducted at the interpersonal level as well as the intergroup level. Dehumanization at the group level can occur when group differences are attributable to different underlying "essences," or the human nature of people (Leyens et al., 2000). This belief in different core essences (e.g., cultural, biological) corresponds with the belief that outgroup members lack some essential human characteristic, such as intelligence, emotion, or language (Leyens et al., 2000; Paladino, Leyens, Rodriguez, Rodriguez, Gaunt, & Demoulin, 2002). Beliefs such as these clearly align with the oppressive ideologies of racism, sexism, and sexual prejudice; indeed, Dalal (2006) argues that othering through dehumanization is *essential* to ideologies such as these:

Now, whatever racism is, it is essentially a dehumanizing process through which an other is transformed into The Other, from one of us into one of them. The racialized

and dehumanized other is positioned outside the moral universe, with all its attendant requirements and obligations to fellow human beings. However, one of the points I have been arguing is that strangers are not encountered, but made—we estrange them. This act of othering, or estranging, in part consists of the activity of repressing, subjugating, and annihilating the similarities between self and other and the ways in which the other is known and understood. (p. 158)

Hypersexual stereotypes are one way by which similarities between White peoples' sexuality and the sexuality of racialized Others have been "repressed, subjugated, and annihilated." By refusing to acknowledge Others' sexual expression as being individually determined, as they do their own, White people also remove any opportunity to recognize and appreciate the individual diversity that occurs across that expression, as they do their own.

Even when this diversity is appreciated, certain sexually-relevant traits can still contribute to a person being a target of dehumanization, whether the trait is actually held or only perceived to be held. Schwartz and Struch (1989) note that it is specifically hedonistic values (e.g., pleasure-seeking, viscerally positive, wanting a comfortable life) that are seen as being shared with infra- or non-human species but that are also subjugated to the higher mental and self-control processes of humans. These can be contrasted with prosocial values (e.g., equality, helpfulness), which are specifically human: they transcend the human/non-human distinction. Dehumanization, Schwartz and Struch propose, can thus proceed if people are perceived to overly value hedonism and/or undervalue prosocial motivations or behaviors. Certain stereotypes of hypersexuality (such as always wanting

more sex or not being able to be sexually satisfied) align with these hedonistic values that, if perceived to be held, may be linked to experiencing dehumanization.

However, if we continue to apply hypersexual stereotypes to each pathway (mechanistic and animalistic) of the model, as described above, we see that in fact hypersexualization often functions in an opposing way to some of these characteristics. For example, mechanistic dehumanization can be achieved by claiming interpersonal coldness. However, Latinas are stereotypically seen as being incredibly interpersonally warm, yet they are still objectified and dehumanized. Additionally, childlikeness is one way in which animalistic dehumanization occurs, and Blacks have been shown to be a group for which animalistic dehumanization occurs at a very high rate (e.g., Goff, Eberhardt, Williams, & Jackson, 2008). However, some research has shown that Black children are perceived as older and less childlike than their White counterparts (e.g., Goff, Jackson, Di Leone, Culotta, & DiTomasso, 2014).

Thus, it appears that dehumanization alone cannot capture or explain hypersexual stereotypes as they are expressed across multiple marginalized groups. It misses the range of experiences for those with intersecting marginal identities and, thus, those with multiple identity-relevant targets at which potential dehumanizers might aim. Since hypersexualization occurs at the intersections of identities and systems of oppression, dehumanization processes may function as one tool of the more general process of othering.

Othering. The process of othering involves defining an inferior group by inventing categories and then constructing markers for belonging to those categories (Schwalbe, Godwin, Holden, Schrock, Thompson, & Wolkomir, 2000). Race, gender, and

sexual orientation are all, to varying degrees, socially constructed: invented categories to differentiate groups of people, not for a neutral purpose but to hierarchically order them. Simplistically, one could even identify ingroup-outgroup as invented categories and hypersexuality as the constructed marker for belonging to the “outgroup” category. From this perspective, hypersexual stereotypes are such a constructed marker—and in fact, a special form of this kind of marker—that the dominant group has collectively created and maintained across outgroups to deem them “inferior” and unequal. The more specific indicators of hypersexual stereotypes, discussed above, are certainly well-constructed, as evidenced by their longstanding and “functional” nature.

The sociological literature on othering suggests that it can take at least three forms, and hypersexuality can be seen as helping to achieve each of these forms: (a) oppressive othering; (b) implicit othering; and (c) defensive othering (Schwalbe et al., 2000). In oppressive othering, the dominant group seeks (and often achieves) social advantage by classifying another group (or multiple other groups) as inferior. This can often take a moral tone, and it frequently (explicitly or implicitly) standardizes Whites as the norm while highlighting the exotic difference of Others (Schwalbe et al., 2000). Implicit othering involves members of the dominant group working to create “powerful virtual selves” that, whether real or not, showcase themselves and their fellow ingroup members as worthy of trust, among other things. Implicit othering implicates historically unequal power distributions as complicit in marginalized groups’ current inability to shape their own symbolic realities. This theory of hypersexualization would predict that implicit othering occurs, for example, when Whites contrast their sexual behaviors with the perceived behaviors of outgroup members (e.g., normalizing their sexual practices,

contrasting incarceration rates for sexual crimes). Finally, defensive othering occurs when members of subordinate groups disparage fellow group members in order to distance themselves from stigmatized identities. Though adaptive and one means of coping with marginalization, it does continue to reproduce inequality (Schwalbe et al., 2000). This theory of hypersexualization would predict, in future explorations of these stereotypes, that marginalized group members may contrast their own sexual practices with those perceived of members of their own or other marginalized groups; this would allow them to reclaim some of the morality and normalcy that had otherwise been stripped from them in a dehumanizing process.

The Sociocultural Processes

Though reproduced at the social-psychological level, hypersexualization has been and continues to be informed by and reflected in culture. Because of this, stereotypes resulting from outgroup hypersexualization are also culturally-bound and thus reflect broader, systemically-ingrained ideologies. Tracing sociological shifts in White imperialist ideology over time, then, can help clarify the historical differences across hypersexual stereotypes as well as predict their differential accessibility and articulation.

White racial frame. The White racial frame includes outgroup stereotypes designed to maintain a racial hierarchy that is built into this country's foundation (Feagin, 2013). This perspective suggests that stereotypes generally, and those about sexuality and hypersexuality specifically, are an especially effective tool for White people to maintain their power. By constructing "race" around skin color, cultural differences, and geographical location, and by positioning other races as inferior to their own, Europeans could psychologically and socially justify the exploitation, land theft, and enslavement of

othered peoples (Feagin, 2013). The white racial frame was not where the idea of group hierarchies originated, however. Europeans were able to lean heavily on an idea dating back to ancient Greece: the “great chain of being” (Feagin, 2013; Lovejoy, 1973). This idea, widely accepted by scientists and philosophers of the day and permeating our culture still, proposed an infinite hierarchy of all things in existence, each linked to the creature immediately above and below in the hierarchy (Feagin, 2013). Humans, possessing what were understood to be superior cognitive capabilities, were firmly positioned at the top of the earthly portion of the hierarchy in lay and scientific conceptions alike. However, those Europeans deploying this hierarchical way of thinking understood there to be additional levels of superiority and inferiority, even within humanity. Thus, before becoming racialized, this hierarchy was used to differentiate and socially order groups divided on other dimensions. Perhaps most notably among these, gender was long used by European men to rationalize male superiority over females and to establish a strong patriarchy, both in society and in the home. With the integration of racial othering into this extant patriarchal frame, we can see the beginnings of the intersections of systems of oppression that this dissertation explores. In sum, then, the important ingredients of the White racial frame are:

- (1) The recurring use of certain physical characteristics, such as skin color and facial features, to differentiate social groups;
- (2) The constant linking of physical characteristics to cultural characteristics; and
- (3) The regular use of physical and linked cultural distinctions to differentiate socially “superior” and “inferior” groups in a social hierarchy. (Feagin, 2013, p. 41)

These ideas of “superiority” and “inferiority,” so deeply entrenched in White-dominated culture, can be linked back to specific social-psychological processes that help explain both the development and maintenance of this system generally and of hypersexual stereotypes as a product and tool of this system specifically. If within-group (i.e., human) differentiation did not occur, then no group could be positioned as higher or lower on a hierarchical chain of being.

Intersectional stereotyping. Hypersexual stereotypes draw together some of the primary systems of oppression and illuminate the importance of examining their intersections: racism, sexism, and sexual prejudice. Social structural theory incorporates the role of biology in helping determine the traditional roles divided by the two primary sexes and the cultural systems that socialize gender roles and their concomitant relationship to the maintenance of patriarchal power structures (e.g., Eagly & Wood, 1999; Eagly, Wood, & Diekmann, 2000; Miller, Olson, & Fazio, 2004). Historically, White men have long been interested in controlling the bodies (including the sexuality) of others. Employing an intersectional approach, Donovan (2003) uses the crusades against White women’s prostitution that took place at the start of the 20th century to show how race, gender, and sexuality can intersect, “because ideas about racial purity define who has sexual access to whom. Stories of sexual danger served as a cultural resource for native-born whites, allowing them to draw sharp racial boundaries” (Donovan, 2003, p. 708). Proponents of racist ideologies mobilized sexuality and its related constructs (in this case, gender and reproduction) to portray members of marginalized racial groups as sexually dangerous (Donovan, 2003). In contrast, members of the dominant racial group (i.e., Whites) were called upon to restore “racial purity.” Unfortunately for “race purists,”

however, the biological foundation given to race (in that it was something that was passed through blood relations) did not imbue it with unshakable strength. On the contrary, race then became

vulnerable to different sexual and gendered practices. Constructing categories understood as “racial” requires regulating sexual intimacy within and between groups. The management of women’s sexuality is particularly important for making racial categories because women can create babies and “bloodlines” that others see as an expression of racial purity or impurity (Stoler 1989, 1995; Liu 1994).

(Donovan, 2003, p. 710)

This point by Donovan is crucial to developing our understanding of why sexuality—and more specifically, hypersexuality—is race-relevant. Stated generally, hypersexualizing racialized “Others” enables the promotion of nationalism, colonialism, and racism (Espiritu, 2001). By making race about heritable, phenotypical traits such as skin tone, powerful Whites necessarily connected it to sex and reproduction. Interestingly, in a White patriarchal society, this means that women are the progenitors of race (if race were indeed biologically determined). If White men fear for the propagation of their genes, they would certainly be interested in regulating White women’s sexual practices, especially with outgroup men.

In addition, there would be benefit for White men in stereotyping women of other racial/ethnic groups as hypersexual, because it would make them “sexually available” in ways that White women are not allowed to be. Correspondingly, White men might also then be invested in stereotyping men of other racial groups’ sexuality as hypersexual: overly rapacious, a dangerous thirst that cannot be quenched.

Evidence of the existence of and pernicious effects of hypersexual stereotypes exist in historical justifications of powerful White men raping Black women, lynching Black men, legalizing against interracial marriage, and continuing discrimination against interracial couples (e.g., Davis, 1981; Miller et al., 2004; Wells-Barnett, 2014). These provide a few salient examples of gendered racial sexual subjugation. Historically and presently, though, sexual subjugation has been theorized as a means by which straight White men have maintained their socioeconomic power and position at the top of a gendered sexualized racial hierarchy:

Within [the] White context, criminalization and punishment of interracial sexual relations has historically been grounded in material relations and not in abstract ideals of racial purity and fears of racial degeneration... Criminalization and punishment of interracial relations is thus seen as a component of a specific ideology forwarded by elite white males to prevent blurring of the races to maintain their social and material interests. (Tyner & Houston, 2000, p. 388)

In other words, White men created and maintained hypersexual stereotypes in order to demean “Others” and protect their status, then used hypersexual stereotypes to justify continuing domination.

Prototypicality. Intersectional research can also illuminate the experiences of those who have previously experienced relative social invisibility. By not being a “normal” (read: White) woman or “typical” Black person (read: man), these individuals can experience additive and interactive negative responses, including being the targets of stereotypes. That is, when identities of gender, race, and sexual orientation intersect in a way to position an individual as non-prototypical, they will broadly be seen as different or

deviant from the norm of each group with which they identify. For example, prior work has identified Black women as being non-prototypical members of both the racial category “Black” and the gender category “woman” (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008). This non-prototypicality corresponds to a relative invisibility for Black women, whereby Black women go “unnoticed and unheard” compared to White women and Black and White men (Sesko & Biernat, 2010).

Because the prototypical American is a straight White man (e.g., Devos & Banaji, 2005), social norms around and among race, gender, and sexual orientation are often established based on their experiences and desires. Gender and race are inevitably intertwined, but the ways in which they might influence one another are still not very clear:

[Race] is almost by definition not focused on men’s difference from women. But as a result, it implicitly becomes a difference between types of men hierarchically defined as superior (white) and lesser (Black or Asian). This suggests that white-Black and white-Asian racial hierarchies are likely to be implicitly represented as subordinated types of masculinities (either too masculine or not masculine enough) that are contrasted against the hegemonic, “just right” masculinity of the white male standard (Chen 1999; Connell 1995; Messner 1992). (Ridgeway & Kricheli-Katz, 2013, p. 302)

Ridgeway and Kricheli-Katz highlight that subordination of men of color can (and does) happen through perceptions of their masculinities and whether those perceptions suggest abundance or depletion.

Building on a small body of research suggesting that social categories (e.g., race) can be gendered, Galinsky, Hall, and Cuddy (2013) aimed to explore potential real-world

implications of the intersection of these socially constructed systems and the stereotypes they include. It was this inclusion of stereotypes in their studies that was an important addition to both the literature as a whole and the background of this set of studies more specifically. Galinsky and colleagues (2013) found that, indeed, racial stereotypes of Asians and Blacks were gendered such that Asians were seen as more feminine than both Whites and Blacks, and Blacks were seen as more masculine than both Whites and Asians.

Interestingly, these gendered racial stereotypes seem to have implications for behavioral choices as well, specifically within the dating and romantic relationship partner realm. Based on some evolutionary psychological research in heterosexual relationships, men tend to prefer women with more feminine characteristics, while women tend to prefer men with more masculine characteristics (e.g., Buss, 1998; Gangestad & Simpson, 2000). If this is true, and if racial stereotypes are indeed gendered, then one might expect to see straight men preferring Asian women (compared to Black women) at an increased rate. Correspondingly, one might also expect to see straight women preferring Black men (compared to Asian men) at an increased rate. Galinsky and colleagues (2013) predicted and found, consistent with anecdotal and qualitative evidence, that straight White men were more attracted to and had a greater history of dating and marrying Asian women than Black women, while straight White women were more attracted to and had a greater history of dating and marrying Black men than Asian men. This intersection of social and evolutionary psychology indicates that, at least in a sex-relevant realm, gender, race, sexuality, and their overlap must be explored to more fully understand complex social phenomena.

Non-prototypical group members, often due to intersectional invisibility, experience negative outcomes above and beyond their experiences as members of multiple marginalized groups. In a replication of Sesko and Biernat (2010), but with Asian men instead of Black women targets, Schug, Alt, and Klauer (2015) found that Asian men went “unnoticed and unheard” compared to Asian women and White men. In addition, in a direct test of the non-prototypicality theory, participants were more likely to spontaneously describe a Black person as a man (as opposed to a woman) and an Asian person as a woman (as opposed to a man; Schug et al., 2015). These discriminatory instances of misidentification and imposed invisibility are examples of oppressive othering: not quite dehumanization, but depersonalization and denigration nonetheless.

Taken together, these findings become particularly relevant in the context of hypersexual stereotypes. They explain the historical persistence of these stereotypes through the lens of White imperialism, which predicts their continued existence in an early 21st-century White-dominant U.S. They establish a complex theoretical justification for anticipating both similarities and differences in hypersexual stereotypes across marginalized groups. Finally, they illuminate the lack of an integrated approach to understanding this persistent category of stereotypes.

Project Description and Scope

The purpose of this research is to explore the nature of hypersexual stereotypes and examine whether they are applied to members of multiple marginalized groups in the U.S. The studies designed for this project sought to achieve two primary goals. First, I wanted to document the present-day existence of hypersexual stereotypes and identify their current articulation for the target groups of interest. Second, I wanted to generally explore the

present-day applicability of these stereotypes to targets across various marginalized groups, in light of the strong and persistent historical evidence for their wide application.

Across five studies, I investigated these research questions:

1. What is the content of present-day hypersexual stereotypes? To what extent are they consistent with the historical evidence? (Study 1)
2. Does the endorsement of different hypersexual stereotypes vary across race, gender, sexual orientation, and/or their intersections? To what extent does the content of endorsed hypersexual stereotypes vary across the race, gender, and/or sexual orientation of the target? (Studies 1-3)
3. What factors are used to explain hypersexuality at the intersections of race, gender, and sexual orientation? (Studies 4-5)

Study 1, a mixed methods survey design, addresses the first two research questions. Generally, I predicted the content and application of hypersexual stereotypes would align with their historical instantiations. Black men and Black women were expected to be consistently hypersexualized, likely more so than targets of any other group. Latina men and Latino men were also expected to be hypersexualized, but Latino men targets were expected to be targeted with both hypersexual and hyposexual stereotypes. Conversely, Asian men and Asian women were predicted to be stereotyped as largely hyposexual, though Asian women were predicted to be targeted with hypersexual stereotypes as well. For both gay men and lesbian targets across all races, I generally predicted a mixed response in terms of stereotype content that tended towards hypersexuality. Otherwise, I generally expected that race would be the primary driver of hypersexualization, so I predicted the observed patterns across race would be similar in straight versus gay targets.

Studies 2 and 3 experimentally tested whether hypersexual stereotype content endorsement varies across the race, gender, and/or sexual orientation of the target. Again, the historical evidence would suggest that hypersexual stereotypes would be applied more to men than women, and Black people and Latinx people would be hypersexualized more than White people. However, also consistent with the historical evidence, a mixed pattern of findings could emerge for certain target groups, such as Latino men, Asian people, and lesbians. These studies asked participants to take the perspective of a given target and “self-select” hypersexual traits and statements they agreed with (as that target). Generally, I predicted the pattern of findings to be consistent across both studies, regardless of the sexual orientation of the targets.

Finally, Studies 4 and 5 explored explicit explanation endorsement of a target’s expressed sexuality. In these studies, I additionally manipulated level of expressed sexuality—low versus high—in order to explore whether the degree of sexuality influenced peoples’ endorsement of certain causal explanations over others. Especially in high sexuality conditions, I expected participants to endorse racial, gendered, and sexual orientation explanations over other options; I also expected this to happen significantly more for people of color than for White people. I also tested whether differences across groups were better explained by hypersexual stereotypes being racialized gender stereotypes or gendered racial stereotypes.

These two pairs of studies were identical in design except for the experimental manipulation of target sexual orientation: straight or queer. Thus, methods and results for each pair are presented together to allow for the simultaneous consideration of all variables of interest.

Because this investigation proposes to simultaneously investigate multiple group identities, it is important to appreciate the fact that these identities cannot be pared down to their simplest forms. In other words, much could be (and has historically been) obscured if we continue to explore these relevant social identities as though they existed in a vacuum. Rather, following other intersectional scholarship including the now-canonical work of Kimberle Crenshaw (1989), I understand race, gender, and sexual orientation as social identities (and their corresponding systems of oppression) as operating in conjunction with each other and with other, less-frequently named identities to shape peoples' lived experiences. Primarily brought to attention by Black feminists (e.g., Collins, 2000; Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008; The Combahee River Collective, 1977/1983), membership in multiple marginalized groups often renders one's particular experiences invisible. Taking an intersectional approach, I aim to more thoroughly illuminate hypersexual stereotypes' role in systems of oppression based upon these social identities and their interactions. This project also included sexual orientation as an important social identity that I predicted may be implicated in the differential application or endorsement of hypersexual stereotypes (Figure 1).

While this project aspired to draw together many bodies of literature and illuminate patterns across intersectional identities, there are bounds to what these five studies explored. As noted above, race was prioritized both because of its dominance as a relevant social category and its role in the justification of the formation of hypersexual stereotypes. For this project, I chose to focus on Black, Latinx, and Asian racial/ethnic identities as these constitute the major historically marginalized groups in the U.S. Additionally, as the

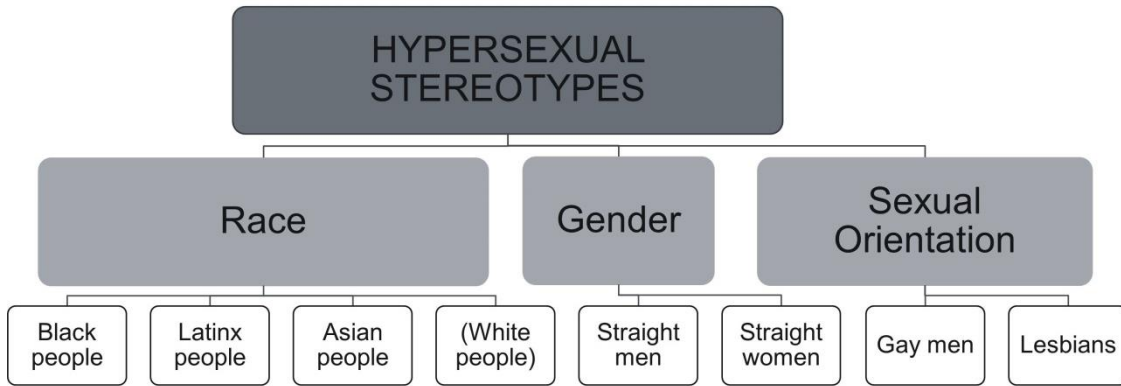


Figure 1. Scope of project and target groups of interest.

major racial/ethnic classifications in the U.S., they were hypothesized to have the strongest potential associations with historical and current hypersexual stereotypes.

This is not to suggest that other racial/ethnic groups have not been targets of hypersexual stereotypes. Indeed, the theoretical discussion of hypersexual stereotypes presented earlier suggests their existence towards other racial groups. For example, Native Americans were sometimes described by 18th-century White Europeans as “bestial, sexually abandoned” savages with incomprehensible understandings of gender and sexuality (Jahoda, 1999, p. 24). However, while additional racial/ethnic groups such as Native Americans are likely affected by hypersexual stereotypes, these are not explored further here.

Due to both study limitations and concerns of lack of stereotype accessibility, then, target “race” in these studies is restricted to White people, Black people, Latinx people, and Asian people. Similar restraints also drove the selection of target gender and sexual orientation. In order to balance competing desires of illuminating historically invisible experiences while having interpretable results, I restricted considerations of “gender” in

these studies as men and women. “Sexual orientations” under consideration were restricted to straight and queer. This selection resulted in sixteen target groups of interest: straight and queer men and women identified as White, Black, Latinx, and Asian.

CHAPTER II

STUDY 1

The purpose of this study was to investigate participants' current knowledge and reported content of the hypersexual stereotype. I sought to explore this content in the context of a historical record of persistent hypersexual stereotypes as they have been applied to specific target groups. Because of the similarities and variances illuminated by that historical record, I also sought to explore the present-day variance of hypersexual stereotypes about members of marginalized groups due to race, gender, and/or sexual orientation. As described in detail below, these questions were researched by gathering both qualitative and quantitative data from participants about the particularities of hypersexual stereotypes as they apply to a range of gendered racial groups and gendered sexual orientations.

Method

Participants

Participants ($N = 157$) were recruited from the psychology subject pool at a large Southern university. Participants were recruited through psychology courses and completed this study for partial course credit or extra credit. Participants reported their sex/gender as 41.4% female, 45.2% male; one participant identified as Transgender. Twenty participants did not provide their sex or gender. Participants reported their race/ethnicity as 66.9% White, 29% Hispanic/Latino, 5.7% Asian, 5.1% Black/African American, .6% American Indian/Alaskan Native, and 3.8% Biracial/Multiracial.

Participants reported their sexual orientation as 61.8% straight, 3.8% gay/lesbian, and 20.4% somewhere in between straight and gay/lesbian.⁷

Measures and Design

This study utilized mixed methods (qualitative and quantitative measures). The qualitative methodology followed a thematic analysis of participant open-ended responses. The quantitative methodology followed a correlational within-subjects design where participants completed selected measures that identified components of hypersexual stereotypes in the literature for each target group (Appendix A).

Qualitative sexual stereotypes. In order to allow participants to self-describe the hypersexual stereotypes of which they were aware, a single-item qualitative measure was adopted. To reduce potential biasing of these free responses, this item was administered immediately after participants electronically consented to participate in the study. Participants were first given the option to affirm whether or not they were aware of sexual stereotypes that involved the following groups: White men, White women,⁸ Black men, Black women, Latino men, Latina women, Asian men, Asian women, Gay men, Lesbians, Bisexual men, and Bisexual women. Each positive response (i.e., indicating “yes” to being aware of sexual stereotypes for a given group) led to an invitation to share those stereotypes of which they were aware: “What are the sexual stereotypes you are aware of

⁷ Sexual orientation was indicated via a one-item sliding scale. The far left end of the scale was labeled as “Completely gay/homosexual” while the far right end of the scale was labeled as “Completely straight/heterosexual.” This item type was chosen so that participants could more fully indicate variance, if any exists, in the sex of their preferred sexual partners.

⁸ Though the proposed theory of hypersexualization does not predict specific hypersexual stereotypes about White people, data was collected for that group for this and all following studies. This data will serve as a referent for how a White-dominated society stereotypes their own sexuality.

for members of the group [WHITE MEN/ WHITE WOMEN/ BLACK MEN/ BLACK WOMEN/ LATINO MEN/ LATINA WOMEN/ ASIAN MEN/ ASIAN WOMEN/ GAY MEN/ LESBIANS/ BISEXUAL MEN/ BISEXUAL WOMEN]?” Participants were not limited in the length or amount of responses they were able to provide, nor were they required to provide a response.

Content exploration. As the primary goal of this study was to identify the current content of hypersexual stereotypes as they are associated with different marginalized social identities, participants were asked to respond to 15 items that tapped into various facets of hypersexual stereotypes of marginalized group members. Each of the items were rated on a scale from -100 to 100, with “-100” corresponding to complete absence of the stereotype and “100” corresponding to complete display of the stereotype.

Perceptions of sexual interest ($\alpha = .98$). Participants were asked to rate the perceived degree to which a given target was interested in sex. These items ($n = 4$) were adapted from the Dimensions of Hypersexuality Scale (DHS: Sillice, 2012), a scale developed to explore the experience of Black men across different dimensions of hypersexuality. A sample item (paired with a specific identity, e.g., Latina women) was “In general, how interested in sex is the average person?”

Perceptions of sexual aggression ($\alpha = .93$). Participants also rated how sexually aggressive they believed members of each target group to be. One item tapped this factor: “How sexually aggressive are people?” (Sillice, 2012).

Perceptions of sexual obsession ($\alpha = .96$). To examine the degree to which various target groups were perceived as being obsessed with sex, participants were asked to respond to items ($n = 3$) adapted from the Bisexual Women Oversexual Stereotype Scale

(BWOSS: Dimitrova, 2011). This scale, specifically developed for sexual stereotypes about bisexual women, contained three relevant subscales for this broad overview. A sample item for this factor was “People find it hard to feel sexually satisfied, no matter how much sex they are having.”

Perceptions of sexual talent ($\alpha = .93$). Sexual prowess consistently emerged, in the historical evidence, as an indicator of hypersexuality. Items ($n = 4$) were adapted to assess perceptions of sexual talent across all target groups (Dimitrova, 2011; Sillice, 2012): for example, “People are complimented on their sexual skills.”

Perceptions of sexual promiscuity ($\alpha = .95$). Perceptions of promiscuity, or non-monogamy, were assessed for all target groups. Three items adapted from the BWOSS (Dimitrova, 2011) investigated perceived promiscuity; a sample item included “People tend to have multiple sex partners at once.”

Sexual behavior ($\alpha = .98$). Finally, in order to explore possible behavioral content of hypersexual stereotypes within target groups, participants were presented with a specific intersecting group identity (e.g., “straight Black men”) along with a list of nine sexual acts (e.g., “masturbate with a partner,” “perform anal sex”). Participants then indicated, in 20% quintiles, what percentage of all members of that identity would be willing to engage in each act listed.

Procedure

Participants were allowed to sign up for the study and complete all study measures online at their personal computer terminals. This methodology was chosen in order to reduce any social desirability effects or anonymity concerns that might have occurred if participants completed this study in the laboratory. Upon consenting to participate in this

study, participants were first presented with the qualitative measure as described above. After completing this broad qualitative measure, participants then completed all quantitative measures (Appendix A). Items were randomized within each facet of hypersexual stereotypes being explored. Upon completion of the study, participants were able to respond with their thoughts and feelings about the content of the study. Participants were awarded one study credit for their participation.

Results

Qualitative Results

An overarching examination of the qualitative reports supported the study design and selection of items. For each group about which participants responded, participants provided descriptions of the stereotypes around cognitive components (e.g., sexual interest, sexual obsession), physical characteristics (e.g., penis size, vaginal qualities) and sexual behaviors (e.g., specific sexual acts, sexual talent, sexual aggression). Of special note for the present examination, at least one respondent for each identity category reported a stereotype of members of that group as hypersexual. This finding provides important preliminary face-valid evidence in support of a theory of hypersexualization.

Qualitative results were analyzed using a thematic approach (Braun & Clarke, 2006). I first identified whether each response included the following themes as identified in the literature review: general sexuality, physical characteristics, and behavioral traits/sexual acts. Additionally, an initial broad review of the responses led me to also note stereotypes that indicated the target groups' preferences for certain people and stereotypes that were sexual or sex-related but did not fit in any of the aforementioned categories. I then re-coded all responses to indicate whether or not they were hypersexual in nature. I

also re-evaluated the themes, combining overlapping themes and using the extant literature to inform my selection (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This process resulted in five distinct themes emerging from the qualitative data: sexual behavior, frequency, promiscuity, interest, and physicality (Table 1).

Table 1. Results of thematic analysis

	Behavior	Frequency	Promiscuity	Interest	Physicality
White men	X			X	
White women	X	X	X		
Black men	X	X	X	X	X
Black women	X		X	X	X
Latinx men	X	X	X		X
Latinx women	X	X	X		X
Asian men	X				
Asian women	X				X
Gay men	X	X	X	X	
Lesbians	X	X		X	

Percentages of participants offering a hypersexual stereotype, as well as examples from each of the relevant categories for each target group, are presented below. In addition, Figure 2 shows the percentages of hypersexual stereotypes (out of all sexual stereotypes) reported for each group.

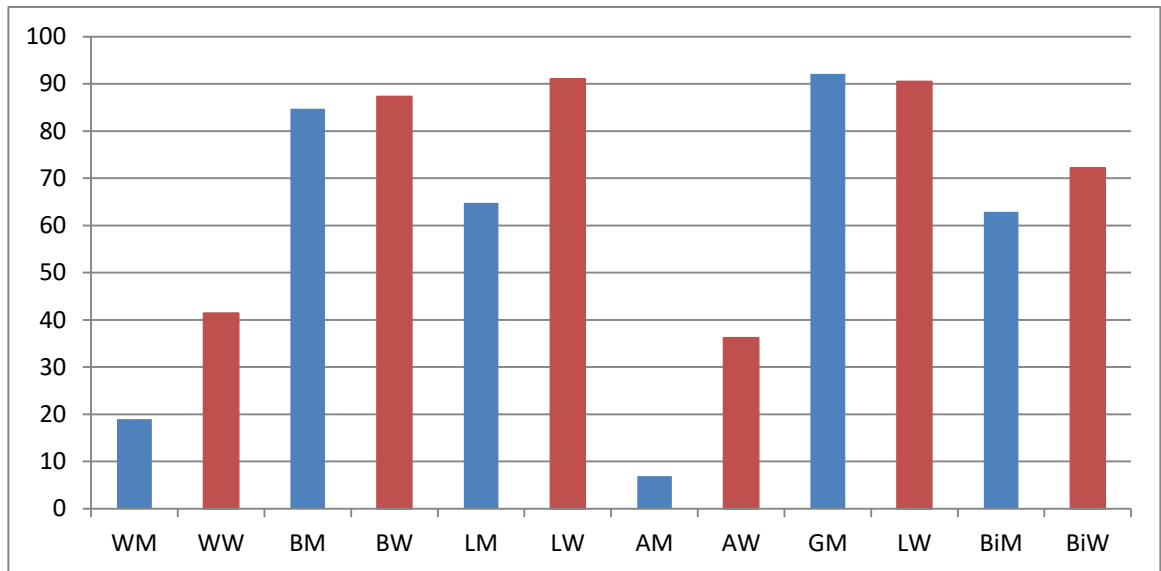


Figure 2. Hypersexual stereotypes as a percentage of all reported sexual stereotypes.
Note. WM=White man. WW=White woman. BM=Black man. BW=Black woman. LM=Latino man. LW=Latina woman. AM=Asian man. AW=Asian woman. GM=gay man. LW=lesbian woman. BiM=Bisexual man. BiW=Bisexual woman.

Examination of this figure indicates that, for both men and women, race was associated with the ratio of hypersexual stereotypes to all reported sexual stereotypes: stereotypes about Black and Latinx peoples’ sexuality were overwhelmingly hypersexual in nature; stereotypes about White people’s sexuality were mixed between hypersexual and not hypersexual; and stereotypes about Asian people’s sexuality were overwhelmingly not hypersexual in nature.

White men. Sixty-three participants (40.1% of the total sample) indicated a sexual stereotype related to White men. Of these, 19.0% ($n = 12$) participants reported a hypersexual stereotype of White men. Behaviorally, these tended to revolve around the idea that White men are preoccupied with sex (e.g., “always thinking of sex”). Physically, one participant reported that White men are “huge;” however, much more common among

physical sexual stereotypes was that White men have small- or medium-sized penises, which was not coded as being a hypersexual stereotype.

White women. Fifty-eight participants (36.9%) reported a sexual stereotype related to White women. Of these, 41.4% ($n = 24$) were hypersexual in nature. Behaviorally, the most common hypersexual stereotype was “slutty.” White women were also stereotyped as being “submissive.” Participants did not report any hypersexualized physical traits as stereotypical of White women. This was one of only two groups for whom that was the case (the other being Asian men).

Black men. The majority of participants—62.4% ($n = 98$)—reported a sexual stereotype related to Black men. Of all groups, Black men garnered the most participant responses related to sexual stereotypes. Of these, 84.7% ($n = 83$) were hypersexual in nature. In contrast to sexual stereotypes for White men and White women, the most common hypersexual stereotype for Black men was physical in nature. Specifically, it is that “they have big penises.” Behaviorally, Black men were most commonly stereotyped as being “sexually aggressive.” They were also stereotyped as being “promiscuous” and “sexually talented.”

Black women. Just over half of participants ($n = 79$, 50.3%) reported at least one sexual stereotype of Black women. Of these, the majority ($n = 69$, 87.3%) were hypersexual in nature. Behaviorally, one of the most common hypersexual stereotypes was that Black women are promiscuous. Many participants also reported the stereotyped physical characteristic of Black women having larger-than-average buttocks.

Latino men. Approximately one-third of participants ($n = 54$, 34.4%) reported a sexual stereotype of Latino men. Of these, the majority ($n = 35$, 64.8%) were hypersexual

stereotypes. Behaviorally, these hypersexual stereotypes generally indicated stereotypes of Latino men as “passionate lovers” or “aggressive”/“unable to control themselves.”

Physically, some participants reported that Latino men were generally stereotyped as having “sexy bodies.”

Latina women. About Latina women, 42.7% of participants ($n = 67$) reported at least one sexual stereotype. Of these, almost all ($n = 61$, 91.0%) were hypersexual in nature. Behaviorally, participants generally indicated that Latina women were “very sexually active” and “passionate.” Physically, participants reported that Latina women were “curvy” and had “big buttocks.”

Asian men. Though 45.9% of participants ($n = 72$) reported a sexual stereotype of Asian men, only 6.9% of these ($n = 5$) were hypersexual in nature. Of these, four participants reported the behavioral stereotype of Asian men as “perverted.” By far, the most common sexual stereotype of Asian men was physical in nature: that they have “small penises.” No participants reported a hypersexual physical stereotype of Asian men.

Asian women. Approximately one-third of participants ($n = 58$, 36.9%) reported a sexual stereotype of Asian women. Of these, 36.2% ($n = 21$) were hypersexual stereotypes. These were predominately behavioral in nature and were split between “kinky” and “submissive.” The sexual physical stereotypes of Asian women were generally hyposexual in nature, such as Asian women having “small” breasts and buttocks. One physical stereotype, reported by nine participants, involved fetishization and exoticization of Asian women’s vaginas.

Gay men. When asked if they were aware of any sexual stereotypes about gay men, 24.2% of participants ($n = 38$) provided at least one. Of these, nearly all ($n = 35$,

92.1%) were hypersexual in nature. These stereotypes primarily centered on specific sexual acts that gay men were perceived to be more likely to engage in (e.g., anal sex, “blow jobs”). The other main theme in stereotypes about this group was sexual interest, namely, that gay men “hit on every man they lay their eyes on.”

Lesbians. Over one-quarter of participants (26.8%, $n = 42$) provided at least one sexual stereotype of lesbians. Of these, the vast majority (90.5%, $n = 38$) were hypersexual in nature. The most prominent themes were promiscuity and “kinky” sexual behavior. In addition, several participants noted that lesbians are fetishized by men.⁹

Quantitative Results

I asked respondents to indicate the extent to which statements about various hypothesized components of hypersexual stereotypes were perceived to be true about members of each marginalized group. Statistical analyses were conducted to investigate the potential main effects of and interactions between race and gender on each of six identified components of hypersexual stereotypes: perceptions of sexual interest, aggression, obsession, talent, promiscuity, and behaviors. A repeated-measures analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted to investigate the potential interactions between race (White, Black, Latinx, Asian) and gender (men, women) for each variable of interest.

Results of these analyses are presented below.

Perceptions of sexual interest. Results indicated there was a significant effect of race on perceptions of sexual interest, $F(3, 112) = 10.00, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .21$. Examination

⁹ In this study, these are the final results reported for both gay men and lesbians. Due to a flaw in the study design, target race was only manipulated for straight targets. While this study still provided initial evidence for the preponderance of hypersexual stereotypes amongst sexual stereotypes of queer targets, the data for these targets was uninterpretable. Studies 3 and 5 directly address this concern.

of these means indicates that White people were perceived to have significantly more sexual interest than Asian people and somewhat less sexual interest than Black people. White and Latinx people were not perceived to differ on their degrees of sexual interest. In addition, there was a significant effect of gender on perceptions of sexual interest, $F(1, 114) = 10.18, p = .002, \eta_p^2 = .08$. Overall, men ($M = 52.11, SD = 3.35$) were perceived as having more sexual interest than women ($M = 47.94, SD = 3.26$). However, the interaction between race and gender was not significant, $p < .55$. The cell means and contrast tests within each gender are reported in Table 2.

Table 2. Means and contrast tests by race and gender on perceptions of sexual interest

	Men		Women	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
White	55.31 _a	38.07	49.71 _{a,b}	36.59
Black	58.66 _a	37.06	53.71 _a	34.26
Asian	43.60 _b	40.94	39.27 _c	43.22
Latinx	52.08 _a	40.61	49.06 _b	37.68

Note. Different subscripts indicate statistical differences within columns, $p < .05$.

Perceptions of sexual aggression. There was a significant effect of race on perceptions of sexual aggression, $F(3, 97) = 17.71, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .35$. Again, White people were generally perceived as more sexually aggressive than Asian people, similarly aggressive to Latinx people, and less aggressive than Black people. In addition, there was a significant effect of gender on perceptions of sexual aggression, $F(1, 99) = 11.55, p = .001,$

$\eta_p^2 = .10$, such that men ($M = 23.86$, $SD = 3.45$) were overall seen as being more sexually aggressive than women ($M = 17.20$, $SD = 3.39$). The interaction between race and gender was not significant, $F(3, 97) = 2.48$, $p = .065$, $\eta_p^2 = .07$. Cell means and contrast tests within each gender are reported in Table 3.

Table 3. Means and contrast tests by race and gender on perceptions of sexual aggression

	Men		Women	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
White	24.97 _a	41.29	12.31 _a	39.57
Black	40.02 _b	37.81	29.75 _b	38.04
Asian	5.78 _c	43.49	2.82 _c	44.84
Latinx	26.47 _a	40.87	24.42 _d	40.19

Note. Different subscripts indicate statistical differences within columns, $p < .05$.

Perceptions of sexual obsession. Results show there was a significant effect of race on perceptions of sexual obsession, $F(3, 90) = 6.80$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .19$. Overall, Asian people were perceived to be significantly less sexually obsessed than White and Latinx people, who were not perceived differently in this domain. Black people were perceived as being the most sexually obsessed. There was not a significant effect of gender on perceptions of sexual obsession, $F(1, 92) = 3.21$, $p = .076$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$. These findings were qualified by a significant interaction between race and gender, $F(3, 90) = 6.32$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .17$. Asian men ($M = -11.81$, $SD = 36.08$) appear to be driving this interaction; while men ($M = -1.27$, $SD = 3.68$) are overall seen as being more sexually

obsessed than women ($M = -3.76$, $SD = 3.66$), Asian men are stereotyped as being the least sexually obsessed of all the groups (for cell means and contrast tests, see Table 4).

Table 4. Means and contrast tests by race and gender on perceptions of sexual obsession

	Men		Women	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
White	.48 _a	39.05	-4.28 _a	38.60
Black	4.83 _b	41.20	.19 _b	40.83
Asian	-11.81 _c	36.08	-8.84 _c	35.87
Latinx	1.44 _a	39.02	-2.49 _d	36.78

Note. Different subscripts indicate statistical differences within columns, $p < .05$.

Perceptions of sexual talent. There was a significant effect of race on perceptions of sexual talent, $F(3, 85) = 12.19$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .30$. The same pattern of findings for the significant effect was again observed: White people were perceived to be more sexually talented than Asian people but less sexually talented than Black people and Latinx people (see Table 5 for means). The main effect of gender on perceptions of sexual talent was not significant, $F(1, 87) < 1$, $p = .56$, $\eta_p^2 = .004$. In addition, the interaction between race and gender was not significant, $F(3, 85) = 2.21$, $p = .093$, $\eta_p^2 = .07$.

Table 5. Means and contrast tests by race and gender on perceptions of sexual talent

	Men		Women	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
White	31.26 _a	28.16	29.67 _a	27.36
Black	35.52 _b	30.32	31.86 _a	27.23
Asian	15.99 _c	28.67	18.95 _b	26.58
Latinx	28.29 _a	26.54	29.26 _a	28.17

Note. Different subscripts indicate statistical differences within columns, $p < .05$.

Perceptions of sexual promiscuity. Results indicated there was a significant effect of race on perceptions of sexual promiscuity, $F(3, 85) = 9.30, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .25$. White people were perceived as being significantly more sexually promiscuous than Asian people (see Table 6 for all cell means and contrast tests). Additionally, there was a significant main effect of gender, $F(1, 87) = 17.63, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .19$. However, the interaction between race and gender was not statistically significant, $F(3, 85) = 1.62, p = .19, \eta_p^2 = .05$. Men ($M = -.24, SD = 3.49$) were perceived as being more sexually promiscuous than women ($M = -5.72, SD = 3.92$).

Table 6. Means and contrast tests by race and gender on perceptions of sexual promiscuity

	Men		Women	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
White	2.81 _a	34.73	-4.77 _a	39.53
Black	5.81 _a	34.32	-1.59 _a	37.63
Asian	-8.43 _b	36.43	-12.05 _b	39.53
Latinx	.48 _a	36.19	-4.47 _a	37.48

Note. Different subscripts indicate statistical differences within columns, $p < .001$.

Perceptions of sexual behaviors. Finally, analyses were conducted on a composite score of the participants' ratings of perceived sexual behaviors. There was a significant main effect of race, $F(3, 90) = 10.08, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .25$ (but no significant main effect of gender, nor a significant interaction between the two). White people were perceived to participate in significantly more sexual behaviors than Asian people, $F(1, 103) = 14.002, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .12$. Perceptions of sexual behaviors did not differ between White, Black, and Latino men (see Table 7 for cell means and contrast tests).

Table 7. Means and contrast tests by race and gender on perceptions of sexual behavior

	Men		Women	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
White	3.23 _a	.84	3.21 _a	.96
Black	3.30 _a	.81	3.38 _b	.98
Asian	2.98 _b	.87	2.86 _c	.98
Latinx	3.28 _a	.79	3.26 _a	.89

Note. Different subscripts indicate statistical differences within columns, $p < .05$.

Discussion

Study 1 was the primary examination into the contemporary content of hypersexual stereotypes as they are applied to intersecting racial and gendered identities. Participants expressed clear and explicit knowledge of hypersexual stereotypes across all the marginalized groups explored in this study. Notably, though participants were only asked to generate stereotypes that were sexual in nature, at least one hypersexual stereotype was generated by at least one participant for each marginalized group.

Additionally, my second hypothesis was generally supported by both the qualitative and the quantitative data. The content of hypersexual stereotypes did indeed vary across marginalized groups. Black and Latinx men and women, and gay men, were the most widely targeted groups across the range of themes that emerged from the qualitative analysis. Interestingly, the theme of behavior (which included sexual ability as well as specific sexual acts other than penile-vaginal intercourse) was prominent enough to be recognized as a theme for all target groups. Beyond behavior, Asian women's hypersexual

stereotypes were predominately about their sexualized physical characteristics; for White men, non-behavioral stereotypes had to do with sexual interest.

While differences in the specific hypersexual stereotypes were driven (at least in part) by race, gender, and their intersection, target race appeared to be the strongest and most consistent predictor of the application of hypersexual stereotypes. Black people (both men and women) were consistently stereotyped as more hypersexual across nearly all components than White people, Latinx people, and Asian people. Asian people, in contrast, were consistently stereotyped as more hyposexual than any of the three other racial groups. While the qualitative results indicated that Asian men and women are at least sometimes also stereotyped as being hypersexual, these results indicate that hyposexual stereotypes about them are sometimes more readily accessible. This mixed stereotype content is consistent with the historical evidence (Chapter I) about the sexual stereotypes of Asian men and women.

The findings of Study 1 provided initial evidence that people have and will articulate explicit knowledge of hypersexual stereotypes. These stereotypes appear to be primarily driven by racial categorization, though gender was also implicated. Findings from Study 1 generally support the theorized pattern of hypersexualization, which positions White sexuality as prototypical and all other expressions as non-prototypical, sometimes even deviant. However, these findings are correlational in nature and only the first step in a broad exploration of hypersexual stereotypes. Thus, Studies 2 and 3 sought to replicate and expand on these results by experimentally manipulating target race, gender, and sexual orientation in order to examine the actual present-day application of hypersexual stereotypes.

CHAPTER III

STUDIES 2 AND 3

Studies 2 and 3 continued to investigate whether the content of hypersexual stereotypes varies across target race, gender, and/or sexual orientation. In two experiments, I explored the active application of hypersexual stereotypes to members of marginalized groups, including potential variance across these groups due to interactions between race, gender, and sexual orientation. Generally, this variance was again predicted to follow the hierarchy present in the historical evidence and the pattern demonstrated in Study 1: hypersexual stereotypes were expected to be applied more to men than women, and Black people and Latinx people were expected to be hypersexualized more than White people. In addition, Study 1 illuminated the degree to which Asian people generally and Asian men specifically are in fact hyposexualized to a vast degree. Thus, the predicted emergent pattern reflected this finding: Asian people, particularly Asian men, were expected to have the fewest hypersexual stereotypes applied to them.

Studies 2 and 3 manipulated target race by pairing a sample dating profile (created by the researcher) with a stereotypically White, Black, Latinx, or Asian name. This was done for profiles featuring men and women targets, respectively. Sexual orientation was held constant in each study. In Study 2, each target's dating profile represented them as "Straight." In Study 3, each target's dating profile represented them as "Gay."¹⁰ After being randomly assigned to view target profiles of one racial/ethnic group, participants

¹⁰ With the exception of this difference, Study 2 and Study 3 methods were identical.

rated the degree to which men and women targets fit the hypersexual stereotype. Following the results of Study 1, I predicted that participants viewing profiles paired with stereotypically Black names would apply hypersexual stereotypes to a greater degree than participants viewing profiles paired with any other raced name. Conversely, it was also expected that participants viewing profiles paired with stereotypically Asian names would apply the hypersexual stereotype to a lesser degree than participants viewing profiles paired with any other raced name. Also following the results of Study 1, I predicted that hypersexual stereotypes would be more strongly applied overall to men than to women.

Method

Participants

Study 2. Participants were 254 adult volunteers recruited from Amazon Mechanical Turk (an online participant-recruiting platform) who were compensated \$.50 for their participation. Forty-six participants failed to complete any study materials. Additionally, one participant was dropped for completing fewer than half of the study materials and failing both attention checks, resulting in a final sample of 207 participants.

The mean age of participants was 35.37 years ($SD = 11.9$). A little over half (52.7%; $n = 109$) of participants identified their sex as female; all remaining participants identified their sex as male ($n = 98$). The majority of participants (89.8%; $n = 185$), self-identified as straight/ heterosexual. Five participants (2.4%) self-identified as “gay or lesbian”, and 11 participants (5.3%) self-identified as bisexual. One participant self-identified as “asexual,” and one participant self-identified as “polysexual.” Twelve participants (5.9%) self-identified as “Hispanic/Latino.” Participants reported their racial/ethnic background as follows: 77.8% White, 12.6% Black/African-American, 7.2%

Asian, 1.4% Native American/Alaskan Native, .5% Indian, and 2.4% Biracial/Multiracial. For 98.6% of participants, English is their native language, and they have lived in the U.S. for greater than or equal to 60% of their lives. Participants' median family income was between \$50,000 and \$59,999. Overall, participants identified their political outlook as slightly more conservative than liberal (using a 7-point Likert scale, 1 = "Very liberal", 7 = "Very conservative": $M = 4.52$, $SD = 1.96$), with 45.8% of participants describing their political party preference as "Independent," "Independent Lean Democrat," or "Independent Lean Republican." With respect to social issues, participants identified their political outlook as between slightly liberal and moderate (using a 7-point Likert scale, 1 = "Very liberal", 7 = "Very conservative": $M = 3.51$, $SD = 1.77$).

Study 3. Participants were 360 adult volunteers recruited from Amazon Mechanical Turk (an online participant-recruiting platform) who were compensated \$.50 for their participation. After dropping participants who failed to complete any study materials (e.g., screen failures: $n = 103$), the final sample consisted of 257 participants.

The mean age of participants was 35.4 years ($SD = 11.78$). 50.6% ($n = 130$) of participants identified their sex as female, while 46.7% ($n = 120$) identified their sex as male. The majority of participants (84.8%; $n = 218$), self-identified as straight/heterosexual. Thirteen participants (5.1%) self-identified as gay or lesbian, and 18 participants (7.0%) self-identified as bisexual. One participant self-identified as "asexual/panromantic." Twenty-seven participants (10.5%) self-identified as "Hispanic/Latino." Participants reported their racial/ethnic background as follows: 75.5% White, 12.5% Black/African-American, 5.8% Asian, 3.1% Native American/ Alaskan Native, 1.9% Indian, and 4.3% Biracial/Multiracial. For 96.5% of participants ($n = 248$),

English is their native language, and they have lived in the U.S. for greater than or equal to 60% of their lives. Participants' median family income was between \$50,000 and \$59,999. Overall, participants identified their political outlook as moderate to slightly conservative (using a 7-point Likert scale, 1 = "Very liberal", 7 = "Very conservative": $M = 4.21$, $SD = 2.13$), with 46.2% of participants describing their political party preference as "Independent," "Independent Lean Democrat," or "Independent Lean Republican." With respect to social issues, participants identified their political outlook as moderate to slightly liberal (using a 7-point Likert scale, 1 = "Very liberal", 7 = "Very conservative": $M = 3.16$, $SD = 1.84$).

Measures, Design, and Procedure

These studies followed a 4 (race: Black, White, Latinx, Asian) x 2 (gender: male, female) mixed design. Race varied between subjects, while gender varied within subjects. Participants completed the study online on personal computing devices. Participants read that they could participate in a study to explore perceptions of dating sites. Participants first viewed standardized information about each dating site (Appendix B); the site name matched the racial condition that participants were randomized into (i.e., CouplesMeet.com or WhiteCouplesMeet.com,¹¹ BlackCouplesMeet.com, AsianCouplesMeet.com, HispanicCouplesMeet.com). Then, participants viewed either a man or woman's target profile (randomized) of an individual using that site (see Appendix C for examples). After viewing the profile, instructions indicated that participants should answer typical dating

¹¹ Participants in the White racial condition were randomized into two groups: one group was told the site they were evaluating is "CouplesMeet.com," while the second group was told the site they were evaluating is "WhiteCouplesMeet.com." Groups were then compared on all relevant variables—results of these comparisons are reported below.

site questions as the person whose profile they just viewed (Appendix C). Participants then viewed the profile of a target individual who was of the same race but the gender they had not yet viewed (e.g., if a participant first viewed and responded to a straight Latino man's profile, they then viewed and responded to a straight Latina woman's profile). Finally, participants completed a manipulation check, provided demographic information, and viewed debriefing materials.

Hypersexual trait selection. Participants read the following instructions immediately after viewing each profile:

Now, you will respond to some questions typically found on dating sites AS THE PERSON YOU JUST SAW. Do not describe yourself, but rather imagine yourself as the person you just saw. Then, answer all these questions as THAT PERSON, not as yourself. Try and rely on your first, gut instinct - don't think too much or too long about this section.

Participants then saw the following instruction (worded as though it was taken from a dating site): "Choose some traits that describe you. You can choose as many or as few as you like, but your profile will be more complete (and lead to more matches) the more information you give!" Participants chose, from a list of 32 traits (Appendix D), items they felt the person in the profile they just viewed would choose for themselves.

Participants could choose as many or as few items as they wished. Items included 12 hypersexual traits generated by participants in Study 1 such as "freaky", "prude" (reverse-scored), and "promiscuous." Items also included 20 general personality traits, obtained from actual dating sites, such as "industrious," "helpful," and "gullible."

Hypersexual statement agreement. Participants were then reminded of the instructions to respond to questions as the person whose profile they just saw, not themselves. Participants were then asked to rate, on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = “Strongly disagree”), the degree to which they feel the depicted person would agree with statements indicating hypersexuality. Items ($n = 17$) included eight statements adapted from the DHS (Sillice, 2012) such as “I would describe myself as sexually aggressive” and from the BWOSS (Dimitrova, 2011) such as “I am frequently complimented on my sexual skills.” The remaining statements included eight phrases typical to dating site questionnaires, such as “I would describe myself as an outdoors person” and “I am frequently complimented on my public speaking skills,” and one attention check (Appendix D).

Results

For both Studies 2 and 3, I gathered data from a random sample (described above) of paid volunteers living in the U.S. Because of the historical evidence suggesting hypersexual stereotypes are longstanding and deeply entrenched in American culture and are still accessible and articulable today (Study 1), I would generally expect all those who have lived in the U.S. long enough to absorb the White dominant culture and deploy hypersexual stereotypes in ways informed by the racist, sexist, and sexually prejudiced system we all inhabit. However, the historical evidence also points to differences between White people and others in their respective likelihood of applying hypersexual stereotypes. Other, non-European groups (e.g., Arabic explorers: Epprecht, 2010) simply noted variances in the sexuality of outgroups they encountered, such as stronger sexual drives in some than others. It was specifically ancestral Europeans who connected “different” with “bad” and developed and maintained hypersexual stereotypes (Chapter I, this document;

Jahoda, 1999). Thus, as the overarching purpose of this set of studies is to explore the present-day nature and applicability of these stereotypes, the results presented here specifically focus on White (i.e., European American) participants' application of hypersexual stereotypes.¹²

To test the extent to which hypersexual stereotype content endorsement by White participants might vary across target race and gender, I conducted two repeated-measures ANOVAs with the outcomes of interest: hypersexual statement agreement and hypersexual trait selection. Gender presentation order was included as a between-subjects variable to control for potential order effects.

Study 2

For hypersexual statement agreement, there was not a significant main effect of race, $F(3,147) = .63, p = .596, \eta p^2 = .01$. There was also not a significant main effect of gender, $F(1,147) = 2.99, p = .086, \eta p^2 = .02$. Additionally, the interaction between race and gender was not statistically significant, $F(3,147) = .45, p = .719, \eta p^2 = .01$. Means are presented in Table 8.

¹² Supplemental results for all participants can be found in Appendix F. The pattern of results did not differ between White participants and all participants.

Table 8. Means by race and gender for endorsement of hypersexual statements, Study 2

	Men		Women	
	M	SD	M	SD
White	4.13 _a	.11	4.11 _a	.11
Black	4.26 _a	.14	4.16 _a	.14
Latinx	4.42 _a	.14	4.22 _a	.14
Asian	4.28 _a	.16	4.07 _a	.16
All	4.27 _a	.07	4.14 _a	.07

Note. Different subscripts indicate statistical differences within columns, $p < .05$.

For hypersexual trait selection, there was not a significant main effect of race, $F(3,153) = 1.06, p = .366, \eta^2 = .02$. In addition, the interaction between race and gender was not statistically significant, $F(3,153) = .91, p = .440, \eta^2 = .02$. However, there was a main effect of gender, $F(1,153) = 32.20, p < .001, \eta^2 = .17$. Examination of the means (Table 9) indicated that straight women targets were assigned significantly more hypersexual traits ($M = 2.83, SD = .18$) than were straight men targets ($M = 1.78, SD = .15$), regardless of race.

Table 9. Means by race and gender on selection of hypersexual traits, Study 2

	Men		Women	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
White	1.97 _a	.23	2.84 _a	.28
Black	1.66 _a	.32	2.70 _a	.39
Latinx	2.08 _a	.30	3.28 _a	.36
Asian	1.43 _a	.35	2.50 _a	.42
All	1.78 _a	.15	2.83 _a	.18

Note. Different subscripts indicate statistical differences within columns, $p < .05$.

Study 3

For hypersexual statement agreement, there was not a significant main effect of target race, $F(3,151) = .18, p = .908, \eta^2 = .00$. However, there was a significant main effect of gender, $F(1,151) = 9.86, p = .002, \eta^2 = .06$. Examination of the means indicated that gay men targets were predicted to endorse hypersexual statements to a significantly greater degree ($M = 4.30, SD = .07$) than were lesbian targets ($M = 4.10, SD = .07$). However, this was qualified by a significant interaction between target gender and target race, $F(3,151) = 2.89, p = .04, \eta^2 = .05$ (Figure 3).

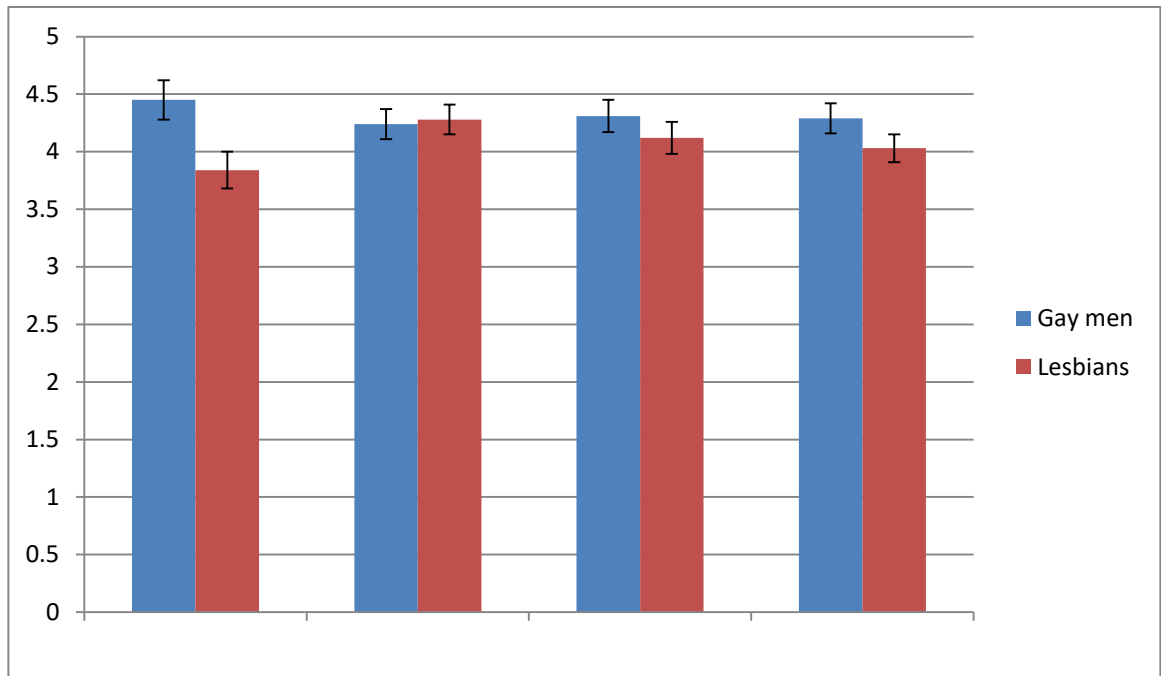


Figure 3. Interaction between target gender and race on hypersexual statement agreement, Study 3

Gay White men, White lesbian, and Black lesbian targets appeared to drive this interaction (see Table 10 for means). Gay White men were predicted to agree with hypersexual statements to a significantly greater degree than any other target group. Black lesbians were the only target group of women predicted to agree with the hypersexual statements more than gay men of the same race. In addition, White lesbians were the only target group predicted to disagree with the hypersexual statements more than they were predicted to agree.

Table 10. Means by race and gender on endorsement of hypersexual statements, Study 3

	Men		Women	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
White	4.45 _a	.17	3.84 _a	.16
Black	4.24 _a	.13	4.28 _a	.13
Latinx	4.31 _a	.14	4.12 _a	.14
Asian	4.29 _a	.13	4.03 _a	.12
All	4.30 _a	.07	4.10 _a	.07

Note. Different subscripts indicate statistical differences within columns, $p < .05$

For hypersexual trait selection, the main effect of race was not significant, $F(3,115) = .07, p = .975, \eta^2 = .00$. However, there was a main effect of gender, $F(1,115) = 4.64, p = .033, \eta^2 = .04$. Examination of the means indicated that lesbian targets were assigned significantly more hypersexual traits ($M = 2.99, SD = .19$) than were gay men targets ($M = 2.61, SD = .15$) (see Table 11 for means). The interaction between target gender and race was not significant, $F(3,115) = .44, p = .723, \eta^2 = .01$.

Table 11. Means by race and gender on selection of hypersexual traits, Study 3

	Men		Women	
	M	SD	M	SD
White	2.58 _a	.37	3.00 _a	.46
Black	2.83 _a	.28	2.92 _a	.35
Latinx	2.48 _a	.30	3.01 _a	.38
Asian	2.54 _a	.25	3.04 _a	.32
All	2.61 _a	.15	2.99 _a	.19

Note. Different subscripts indicate statistical differences within columns, $p < .05$

Discussion

Studies 2 and 3 investigated whether the endorsement of different hypersexual stereotypes varied across target race, gender, sexual orientation, and/or their intersections. These studies used two measures to capture this application: hypersexual trait selection and hypersexual statement agreement. The results of the trait selection task give some cause for concern. The task did not appear to be powerful enough to detect racial group differences, if any existed. Additionally, the significant findings in both studies (of women being assigned significantly more hypersexual traits than men, regardless of sexual orientation or race) contradicted theoretical predictions, previous findings, and even findings on the other measure within the same study that is intended to measure the same construct. After re-examining the specific wording of the hypersexual traits used in this task, I believe they may have been overly feminized and overly racialized as White

(Appendix D). These characteristics might have unintentionally influenced participants' responses; thus, these results should be interpreted with caution.

The results of Study 2, which examined straight targets of varying genders and races, were otherwise almost entirely non-significant. Participants did not differ in the degree to which they agreed with hypersexual statements or applied hypersexual traits, regardless of the targets' race or gender.

However, the significant findings in Study 3 on the hypersexual statement endorsement task are interesting in a number of ways. First, gay White men were perceived as endorsing the hypersexual statements to the greatest degree. Considering stereotypes of the prototypical gay man in America, this finding may provide evidence to support White men as the prototypical racialized gay man.

Second, the perceptions of White and Black women's hypersexuality (as indicated by hypersexual statement endorsement) significantly interacted with sexual orientation. White lesbians were actually perceived as the least sexual among all target groups, and they were the only group predicted to disagree with the hypersexual statements more than they agreed with them. However, Black lesbians were the most sexualized of women targets, surpassing the hypersexualization of gay Black men. Here again, Black women—specifically, queer Black women—are able to illuminate these intersecting systems of oppression that might have otherwise been obscured. Unfortunately, this position at the juncture of racism, sexism, and sexual prejudice appeared to invite, at least in Study 3, increased perceptions of hypersexuality.

In these studies, White people generally did not actively apply hypersexual stereotypes through the two measures provided them. When they did apply these

hypersexual stereotypes, however, their application appeared to be primarily driven by gender. For reasons discussed above, though, this finding may be suspect. What did appear to have a more robust influence on the application of hypersexual stereotypes was sexual orientation.

Still unilluminated by these studies are the factors people will endorse to explain hypersexuality when it is displayed, especially as the endorsement of different causal factors might vary across groups. In Studies 4 and 5, I move from examining the application of hypersexual stereotypes to exploring the explicit endorsement of explanations for hypersexuality. These final studies also allowed for the testing of competing hypotheses as to the essential nature of hypersexual stereotypes: are they gendered within racial group, or are they racialized within gender group?¹³

¹³ When comparing the pattern of results between White participants and all participants, there were no major differences (Appendix F). Thus, the results reported for Studies 4 and 5 will exclusively focus on White participants.

CHAPTER IV

STUDIES 4 AND 5

The remaining research questions begin to explore how present-day White people might reason about hypersexuality, especially as it is expressed (or not expressed) across multiple marginalized groups. If the application of these stereotypes is connected to ideologies of racism, sexism, and sexual prejudice, then it is reasonable to expect that White people might believe race, sex, or sexual orientation “cause” or influence sexuality and its expression. Studies 4 and 5 again manipulated target race, gender, and sexual orientation to explore possible differences in the endorsement of these causal factors (along with additional control factors, described below). These studies explored both general endorsement of these factors as explanations for hypersexuality as well as specific explanations of hypersexuality based on race, gender, sexuality, or their interactions.

In addition, this study design allowed for a closer examination at the interaction between race and gender when it comes to stereotype formation and maintenance. Recall Galinsky et al.’s (2013) findings that Asian men were more likely than White or Black men to be feminized, while Black women were more likely than White or Asian women to be masculinized. Galinsky et al. (2013) argued that racial stereotypes being gendered is a more likely explanation for their findings than gender stereotypes being racialized. While I do not disagree with this assessment in the case of their studies and findings, it is possible that gender stereotypes can be—and are—racialized. At least in the context of sexuality and sexual expression, where gender stereotypes are particularly relevant, stereotypes about race could be layered onto extant patterns of masculinity-femininity (as opposed to

the other way around). Thus, I statistically tested both the influence of race within gender groups (racialized gender stereotypes) and the influence of gender within racial groups (gendered racial stereotypes).

In these studies, I presented participants with purported responses from an individuals' dating profile questionnaire. These responses were grouped in two categories: "personality" and "sexuality." Participants were then asked to either endorse or reject possible explanations for each category. Under investigation is the relative frequency with which participants endorsed certain explanations over others for sexuality.

In addition, I manipulated the level of expressed sexuality as a variable (low vs. high) to explore if hypersexuality was indeed distinct from other sexual expressions or if results might be due to more general perceptions of sexuality overall. Also, with consistently mixed findings in the application of hypersexual stereotypes, particularly for Asian targets, the explicit inclusion of hyposexuality as a variable allowed for its more direct examination.

These studies sought to explore research question three: What factors will be utilized to explain hypersexuality? Given the historical evidence and previous research showing that certain groups, based on their background, are hypersexualized, will race, gender, and sexual orientation emerge as causal explanations?

Method

Participants

Study 4. Participants were 627 adult volunteers recruited from Amazon Mechanical Turk (an online participant-recruiting platform) who were compensated \$.50

for their participation. Thirty-four participants completed all study measures but did not report any demographic information.

The mean age of participants was 35.22 years ($SD = 11.12$). 50.8% ($n = 302$) of participants identified their sex as female, and 48.8% ($n = 290$) of participants identified their sex as male; two participants (.3%) preferred not to indicate their sex. 87.1% ($n = 515$) self-identified as straight/heterosexual. Eighteen participants (3.0%) self-identified as gay or lesbian, and 50 participants (8.5%) self-identified as bisexual. Additionally, two participants self-identified as “asexual,” and two participants self-identified as “pansexual.” Sixty-eight participants (11.6%) self-identified as “Hispanic/Latino.” Participants reported their racial/ethnic background as follows: 76.2% White, 9.4% Black/African-American, 6.4% Asian, 1% American Indian/Alaskan Native, .5% Indian, and 3.3% Biracial/Multiracial. For 97.6% of participants ($n = 576$), English is their native language; 97.7% ($n = 580$) have lived in the U.S. for greater than or equal to 60% of their lives. Participants’ median family income was between \$40,000 and \$49,999. On average, participants identified their political outlook as moderate to slightly conservative ($M = 4.39$, $SD = 2.06$; 7-point Likert scale, 1 = “Very liberal,” 7 = “Very conservative”); however, more participants indicated their political party preference for the Democratic party (47.7%) than for either the Republican party (30.8%) or “Independent” (21.5%). With respect to social issues, participants overall identified their political outlook as slightly liberal ($M = 3.41$, $SD = 1.85$).

Study 5. Participants were 576 adult volunteers recruited from Amazon Mechanical Turk (an online participant-recruiting platform) who were compensated \$.50 for their participation.

The mean age of participants was 35.49 years ($SD = 11.47$). 53.1% ($n = 304$) of participants identified their sex as female, and 46.8% ($n = 268$) of participants identified their sex as male; one participant preferred not to indicate their sex. 86.7% ($n = 495$) self-identified as straight/heterosexual. Twenty-two participants (3.9%) self-identified as gay or lesbian, and 49 participants (8.6%) self-identified as bisexual. Additionally, one participant self-identified as “queer,” and one participant self-identified as “pansexual.” Sixty-nine participants (12.1%) self-identified as “Hispanic/Latino.” Participants reported their racial/ethnic background as follows: 81.1% White, 8.3% Black/African-American, 8.9% Asian, 3% American Indian/Alaskan Native, .5% Indian, and 2.8% Biracial/Multiracial. For 97.3% of participants ($n = 550$), English is their native language; 97.5% ($n = 557$) have lived in the U.S. for greater than or equal to 60% of their lives. Participants’ median family income was between \$50,000 and \$59,999. On average, participants identified their political outlook as moderate to slightly conservative ($M = 4.27$, $SD = 2.02$; 7-point Likert scale, 1 = “Very liberal,” 7 = “Very conservative”); however, more participants indicated their political party preference for the Democratic party (51.5%) than for either the Republican party (27.4%) or “Independent” (21.1%). With respect to social issues, participants overall identified their political outlook as slightly liberal ($M = 3.19$, $SD = 1.79$).

Measures and Design

These studies followed a 4 (Target race: Black, White, Latinx, Asian) x 2 (Target gender: male, female) x 2 (Target sexuality: high, low) between-subjects design. The design for this study was adapted from Legare and Gelman (2008). Participants completed the study online on personal computing devices. Participants read that they could

participate in a study to explore measures typically used by dating sites. Participants, randomized into one of the 16 conditions, received a cover story to justify the nature of this task. Then, participants viewed the target's demographic information (Appendix E) and their purported responses to the "Personality Subscale" of a dating site questionnaire (Appendix G). The protocol always presented the personality subscale first as a means of training the participants in the task. Participants could then endorse or reject five explanations (randomized) for the pattern of responses they had just viewed; the instructions also reminded participants that they could neither endorse nor reject each explanation. On the subsequent page, participants were again provided with target demographic information and the target's purported responses to the "Sexuality Subscale" of a dating site questionnaire (Appendix H), along with the same response measure. Finally, participants completed a manipulation check, provided demographic information, and viewed debriefing materials.

Profiles. The target profiles developed for these studies were greatly simplified from those in Studies 2 and 3, given the more complex nature of the task (Appendix E). In addition, this allowed the researcher to highlight only the relevant information for each target. Each profile gave demographic information about the purported target, including the key information of a gendered and racialized name and the gender the target was "looking for." In Study 4, the gender of the target was different from what they were looking for (i.e., straight), while in Study 5 the gender of the target was the same as what they were looking for (i.e., queer).

Target subscale responses. Participants saw two subscales supposedly completed by the target in prior studies. First, participants saw a screenshot of the target's purported

responses to a personality subscale (Appendix G). The personality subscale was consistent across all participants, as it was used as a training module for the task of interest.

Responses to statements typical to dating site questionnaires, such as “I would describe myself as an outdoors person” and “I am frequently complimented on my public speaking skills,” were standardized by the researcher, using a 7-point Likert scale (1 = “Strongly disagree; 7 = “Strongly agree).

After completing the explanations task (below) for the personality subscale, participants viewed a screenshot of the target’s purported responses to a sexuality subscale (Appendix H). Two versions of the sexuality scale (Appendix H) were generated and standardized by the researcher using the same Likert scale described above: one version designed to represent hypersexuality (“high” condition), and one version designed to represent hyposexuality (“low” condition).

Explanations task. After viewing target demographic information and each subscale, participants were provided with five response choices to indicate as possible explanations for the pattern of responses they had just observed. Participants were able to endorse multiple explanations (or no explanations) for each subscale. The choices included, in randomized order, racial, gendered, social/sexual,¹⁴ biological, and moral explanations. Biological, moral, and social explanations were included as control explanations (Legare & Gelman, 2008), but I report responses to each explanation across groups. These explanations were posited to be face-valid as causal factors of

¹⁴ In Study 4, social explanations were used as one of three control options. In Study 5, the social explanation was replaced with a sexual orientation explanation to explore sexuality as an additional dimension of hypersexualization.

hypersexuality. Prior research has connected how people have reasoned about differences in expressions of sexuality within and across identities to biological (e.g., Jayaratne et al., 2006; Levine, 2003), moral (e.g., Haidt & Hersh, 2001; Warner, 1999), and social (e.g., Bay-Cheng, 2006; DeLamater & Hyde, 1998; Grossman, 1983) explanations. Given these lay and scientific theories about sexual differences, the results of these control factors are interpretable and potentially informative within this context.

Procedure

After consenting to participate in the study, participants were given detailed instructions on how to complete this task, given its unusual nature. Participants then navigated to the next web page, which included target profile information and purported responses to the target's personality subscale. All participants viewed the personality subscale responses first as training for the explanations task. Upon completion of rating the personality subscales, all participants then viewed and rated the sexuality subscales. Each page of the study included target profile information to reinforce the relevant cues. Participants then completed the manipulation check, demographic information, and data exclusion item. Finally, participants read debriefing information about the true nature of the study and thanked for their time.

Results

These studies sought to explore what causal explanations White people would claim as contributing factors to hypersexuality. In addition, given the historical evidence and results of Study 1, I generally predicted White people would more frequently endorse race, gender, and sexual orientation than the control explanations (biological, moral, and social) for people of color's hypersexuality, as demonstrated by the responses in the

experimental stimuli. In addition, I wanted to contrast how hypersexuality versus hyposexuality was explained within the same target group.

To address these questions within each study, I first conducted a one-way MANOVA, which simultaneously considered each explanation as a dependent variable. Because there was overall a low level of explanation endorsement, the dependent variable was calculated as a ratio of each explanation's endorsement to that participant's total endorsement of all explanations. Target race (White, Black, Latinx, Asian), target gender (Woman, Man), and target sexuality (High, Low) were entered as independent factors. Then, individual univariate ANOVAs were conducted for each explanation. Finally, as exploratory analyses, I conducted separate MANOVAs to explore the potential effects of gender within each racial group and race within each gender group. The results of these analyses for Study 4 (straight targets) and Study 5 (queer targets) are reported below.

Study 4: Primary Analyses

First, a MANOVA was conducted on the sample as an omnibus test of whether there was an overall impact of target background (i.e., race, gender, sexuality) on causal explanations. The main effects of target race and target gender were non-significant, p s range from .064 to .102. However, there was a significant main effect of target sexuality on explanation endorsement, Wilks' $\lambda=.91$, $F(4,448) = 11.24$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .09$. Post-hoc comparisons indicated more endorsement of both racial and moral explanations in the low sexuality conditions, while gendered and social explanations were endorsed more in the high sexuality conditions (Table 12). However, this main effect was qualified by a significant 2-way interaction between target sexuality and target gender, Wilks' $\lambda=.90$, $F(4,448) = 12.38$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .10$. Participants viewing men targets in the low

sexuality condition were most likely to endorse biological explanations ($M = .31, SD = .02$) and least likely to endorse gendered explanations ($M = .10, SD = .01$). However, participants viewing women targets in the low sexuality condition were most likely to endorse moral explanations ($M = .30, SD = .02$) and least likely to endorse social explanations ($M = .12, SD = .02$).

Table 12. Means and pairwise comparison significance of omnibus MANOVA on causal explanation endorsement, Study 4

Causal Explanations	Low sexuality $M (SD)$	High sexuality $M (SD)$	p
Racial	.16 (.01) _a	.11 (.01) _a	.001
Gendered	.14 (.01) _a	.18 (.01) _{a,b}	.011
Social	.15 (.01) _a	.23 (.01) _b	<.001
Biological	.27 (.02) _b	.28 (.02) _c	<.001
Moral	.29 (.01) _b	.20 (.01) _b	.060

Note. Different subscripts indicate statistical differences within columns, $p < .05$.

In the high sexuality condition, biological explanations were endorsed relatively highly (compared to the other explanations) for both men targets ($M = .27, SD = .02$) and women targets ($M = .30, SD = .02$). The other 2-ways and higher order interactions were non-significant, ps range from .242 to .984.

Next, univariate ANOVAs were conducted for each causal explanation (a summary of these results appears in Table 13).

Table 13. Summary of causal explanation univariate ANOVAs (straight targets), Study 4

Predictor		Racial	Gendered	Biological	Social	Moral
	<i>df</i>	<i>F-statistic</i>	<i>F-statistic</i>	<i>F-statistic</i>	<i>F-statistic</i>	<i>F-statistic</i>
TR	<i>F</i> (3,458)	2.84*	.58	3.24*	.29	1.97
TG	<i>F</i> (1,458)	.18	2.48	3.09	.00	2.48
TS	<i>F</i> (1,458)	12.41***	6.04*	.34	21.49***	20.82***
TR x TG	<i>F</i> (3,458)	.98	2.25	.22	.58	.49
TR x TS	<i>F</i> (3,458)	1.59	2.41	.73	.48	.96
TG x TS	<i>F</i> (1,458)	.82	45.13***	5.62*	5.26*	.33
3-way	<i>F</i> (3,458)	.65	.20	.07	.09	.52

Note. TR= Target race; TG = Target gender; TS = Target Sexuality; * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Racial explanations. There were no significant 2-way or 3-way interactions between target race, target gender, and target sexuality on the ratio of endorsement of race as a causal explanation of sexuality, p s range from .192 to .581 (Table 13).

However, the main effects of all three predictors were statistically significant (or approached levels of statistical significance). Target sexuality was the strongest predictor of racial explanation endorsement, $F(1,458) = 12.41$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .03$. Participants in low sexuality conditions ($M = .16$, $SD = .01$) were more likely than participants in high sexuality conditions ($M = .11$, $SD = .01$) to endorse race as an explanation for the straight target's expressed sexuality. Target race also significantly predicted racial explanation endorsement, $F(3,458) = 2.84$, $p = .037$, $\eta^2 = .02$. Straight Asian people's ($M = .17$, $SD =$

.01) sexuality was more likely to be explained by their race than straight Black people's ($M = .12, SD = .01$) sexuality; this difference approached statistical significance ($p = .052$). Endorsement of race as a causal explanation for straight White people's ($M = .12, SD = .01$) and straight Latinx people's ($M = .14, SD = .01$) sexuality was also lower than it was for straight Asian people, though not significantly so. Finally, target gender was a marginal predictor of racial explanation endorsement, $F(1,458) = 3.72, p = .054, \eta^2 = .01$. Straight women targets ($M = .15, SD = .01$) were more likely than straight men targets ($M = .12, SD = .01$) to have their sexuality explained by race.

Gendered explanations. There were no main effects of target race ($p = .626$) or target gender ($p = .115$) on the ratio of endorsement of gender as a causal explanation of sexuality. However, there was a significant main effect of target sexuality, $F(1,457) = 6.04, p = .014, \eta^2 = .01$. Targets expressing a high level of sexuality ($M = .18, SD = .01$) were more likely to receive a gendered causal explanation than targets expressing a low level of sexuality ($M = .14, SD = .01$). This main effect was qualified by a significant 2-way interaction between target gender and target sexuality, $F(1,457) = 45.13, p < .001, \eta^2 = .09$. For straight men targets, gendered explanations were used more in high sexuality conditions ($M = .23, SD = .01$) than in low sexuality conditions ($M = .10, SD = .01$). However, for straight women targets, this pattern was reversed: gendered explanations were used more in low sexuality conditions ($M = .18, SD = .02$) than in high sexuality conditions ($M = .12, SD = .02$). The other 2-way and higher order interactions were non-significant, ps range from .066 to .895 (Table 13).

Biological explanations. There were no main effects of target gender ($p = .080$) or target sexuality ($p = .561$) on the ratio of endorsement of biology as a causal explanation of

sexuality. However, there was a main effect of target race on the endorsement of a biological explanation of sexuality, $F(3,460) = 3.24, p = .022, \eta^2 = .02$. Latinx people ($M = .33, SD = .02$) were more likely to receive a biological explanation for their sexuality than Asian people ($M = .24, SD = .02$). As was the case for gendered explanations, there was a significant 2-way interaction between target gender and target sexuality, $F(1,460) = 5.62, p = .02, \eta^2 = .01$. However, in contrast to the results for gendered explanations, the 2-way interaction for endorsement of biological explanations followed the opposite pattern. Biology was used more frequently to explain straight men targets' low sexuality ($M = .31, SD = .02$) than their high sexuality ($M = .27, SD = .02$), while it was deployed as an explanation more frequently for straight women with high sexuality ($M = .30, SD = .02$) than with low sexuality ($M = .23, SD = .02$). The other 2-way and higher order interactions were non-significant, ps range from .532 to .880 (Table 13).

Social explanations. There were no main effects of target race ($p = .835$) or target gender ($p = .950$) on the ratio of endorsement of sociality as a causal explanation of sexuality. However, there was a significant main effect of target sexuality, $F(1,459) = 21.49, p < .001, \eta^2 = .05$. Targets described as having high sexuality ($M = .24, SD = .01$) received a higher ratio of social explanations than targets described as having low sexuality ($M = .15, SD = .01$). This significant main effect was qualified by a significant 2-way interaction between target gender and target sexuality, $F(1,459) = 5.26, p = .022, \eta^2 = .01$. For both straight men and straight women targets, endorsement of social explanations was greater in high sexuality conditions (Men: $M = .21, SD = .02$; Women: $M = .26, SD = .02$) than low sexuality conditions (Men: $M = .17, SD = .02$; Women: $M = .12, SD = .02$). This

pattern, however, was much more pronounced for women than for men. The other 2-way and higher order interactions were non-significant, ps range from .627 to .967 (Table 13).

Moral explanations. There were no main effects of target race ($p = .118$) or target gender ($p = .116$) on the ratio of endorsement of morality as a causal explanation of sexuality (Table 13). However, there was a main effect of target sexuality, $F(1,457) = 20.82, p < .001, \eta^2 = .04$. Targets described as having low sexuality ($M = .29, SD = .01$) were more likely to receive moral causal explanations than targets described as having high sexuality ($M = .20, SD = .01$). There were no significant interactions, ps range from .410 to .690.

Study 4: Secondary Analyses

In order to explore whether endorsement for explanations varied across race among men targets or across race among women targets, the data file was split by target gender. In addition, the data file was split by target sexuality in order to more closely investigate within the variable of interest, namely hypersexuality. As such, these analyses considered the influence of race within gender groups (i.e., racialized gender groups). In order to explore whether endorsement for explanations varied across gender within each racial/ethnic group, the data file was split by target race. In addition, the data file was split by target sexuality in order to more closely investigate within the variable of interest, namely hypersexuality. These analyses considered the influence of gender within racial groups (i.e., gendered racial stereotypes).

Racialized gender groups. The results of this MANOVA were almost entirely non-significant (Table 14). The only exception lay with hypersexualized straight men targets: target race had a main effect on endorsement of gendered explanations, $F(3,124) =$

2.83, $p = .041$, $\eta^2 = .07$. Examination of these means indicated that gender as an explanation was used more for hypersexual Asian men ($M = .30$, $SD = .03$) than for hypersexual White ($M = .20$, $SD = .03$), Black ($M = .20$, $SD = .03$), or Latino men ($M = .23$, $SD = .03$). Pairwise comparisons indicated that these differences did not reach traditional levels of statistical significance, $ps > .07$.

Table 14. Summary of MANOVA F-statistic results: significance of racial group differences within gender (racialized gender groups) (straight targets), Study 4

Predictor		Racial	Gendered	Biological	Social	Moral
	<i>df</i>	<i>F-statistic</i>	<i>F-statistic</i>	<i>F-statistic</i>	<i>F-statistic</i>	<i>F-statistic</i>
WLow	<i>F</i> (3,107)	1.85	1.92	.79	.55	.87
MLow	<i>F</i> (3,112)	1.38	.36	.23	.57	.61
WHigh	<i>F</i> (3,108)	1.75	.68	.47	.97	1.74
MHigh	<i>F</i> (3,124)	.36	2.83*	.49	2.36	.91

Note. WLow = Women targets, low sexuality; MLow = Men targets, low sexuality; WHigh = Women targets, high sexuality; MHigh = Men targets, high sexuality. * $p < .05$.

Gendered racial groups. Results of the MANOVA indicated no significant effects of target gender within race on racial, biological, or moral explanations, $ps > .05$ (Table 15). Social explanations differed only between hypersexual straight Black men and women targets, $F(1,66) = 4.66$, $p = .035$, $\eta^2 = .07$. Sociality was endorsed as an explanation more for hypersexual straight Black women targets ($M = .27$, $SD = .03$) than for hypersexual straight Black men targets ($M = .19$, $SD = .03$).

Table 15. Summary of MANOVA F-statistic results: gender group differences within race (gendered racial groups) (straight targets), Study 4

Predictor		Racial	Gendered	Biological	Social	Moral
	<i>df</i>	<i>F-statistic</i>	<i>F-statistic</i>	<i>F-statistic</i>	<i>F-statistic</i>	<i>F-statistic</i>
LW	<i>F</i> (1,54)	1.27	1.75	1.40	.89	.52
LB	<i>F</i> (1,56)	.42	5.24*	1.92	.17	.38
LL	<i>F</i> (1,55)	.83	10.70**	2.63	.89	.04
LA	<i>F</i> (1,54)	1.34	.85	1.61	2.98	1.97
HW	<i>F</i> (1,57)	.04	7.60**	.13	.61	.03
HB	<i>F</i> (1,66)	1.50	7.61**	.01	4.66*	1.01
HL	<i>F</i> (1,51)	.10	3.23	.12	.02	.47
HA	<i>F</i> (1,58)	2.79	14.03***	1.76	.11	1.38

Note. LW = Low White sexuality; LB = Low Black sexuality; LL = Low Latinx sexuality; LA = Low Asian sexuality; HW = High White sexuality; HB = High Black sexuality; HL = High Latinx sexuality; HA = High Asian sexuality. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

However, gendered explanations varied across target sexuality, race, and gender.

Examination of the means indicated significant differences between men and women among hyposexual Latinx targets, hypersexual White and Asian targets, and both hyposexual and hypersexual Black targets (Table 16).

Gender was endorsed more frequently as an explanation for low sexuality in straight Latinas ($M = .18$, $SD = .02$) than for low sexuality in straight Latinos ($M = .08$, $SD = .02$). Simultaneously, gender was endorsed more frequently as an explanation for high sexuality in both straight White men ($M = .20$, $SD = .03$) and straight Asian men ($M = .30$,

$SD = .03$), compared to their hypersexual women target racial counterparts (White women: $M = .16$, $SD = .03$; Asian women: $M = .12$, $SD = .04$). Hyposexuality in straight Black women was more frequently explained by gender ($M = .14$, $SD = .03$) than hyposexuality in straight Black men ($M = .11$, $SD = .03$). However, the opposite was true in the high sexuality conditions: gendered explanations were more endorsed for straight Black men ($M = .20$, $SD = .02$) than for straight Black women ($M = .11$, $SD = .02$).

Table 16. Means and pairwise comparisons for gendered explanations (straight targets), Study 4

	Low sexuality		High sexuality	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
White	.16 (.03)	.11 (.03)	.10 (.03)*	.20 (.03)*
Black	.14 (.03)*	.11 (.03)*	.11 (.02)*	.20 (.02)*
Latinx	.18 (.02)*	.08 (.02)*	.15 (.03)	.23 (.03)
Asian	.14 (.03)	.11 (.03)	.16 (.03)*	.11 (.03)*

Note. *Gender comparisons are significantly different ($p < .05$) within sexuality and race.

Study 5: Primary Analyses

First, a MANOVA was conducted on the sample as an omnibus test of whether there was an overall impact of target background (i.e., race, gender, sexuality) on causal explanations. Across all conditions, there was a significant main effect of target sexuality on explanation endorsement, Wilks' $\lambda = .99$, $F(4,439) = 5.11$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .05$. Post-hoc comparisons indicated greater endorsement of racial explanations in the low sexuality

conditions, while sexual orientation explanations were endorsed more in the high sexuality conditions (Table 17).

Table 17. Pairwise comparisons between overall causal explanation endorsement (queer targets), Study 5

Causal Explanations	Low sexuality	High sexuality	<i>p</i>
	<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>M (SD)</i>	
Racial	.17 (.01) _a	.12 (.01) _a	.002
Gendered	.16 (.01) _a	.19 (.01) _b	.094
Sexual Orientation	.14 (.01) _a	.19 (.01) _b	.001
Biological	.29 (.02) _b	.29 (.02) _c	.776
Moral	.25 (.01) _b	.21 (.01) _b	.060

Note. Different subscripts indicate statistical differences within columns, $p < .01$.

However, this main effect was qualified by a significant interaction between target sexuality and target gender, Wilks' $\lambda = .94$, $F(4,439) = 7.16$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .06$.

Participants viewing men targets in the low sexuality condition were most likely to endorse biological explanations ($M = .31$, $SD = .02$) and least likely to endorse gendered explanations ($M = .12$, $SD = .02$). However, participants viewing women targets in the low sexuality condition were most likely to endorse biological ($M = .26$, $SD = .02$) or moral explanations ($M = .25$, $SD = .02$) and least likely to endorse sexual orientation explanations ($M = .12$, $SD = .02$).

In the high sexuality condition, biological explanations were again endorsed relatively highly (compared to the other explanations) for both men targets ($M = .26$, $SD = .02$) and women targets ($M = .33$, $SD = .02$). The other 2-ways and higher order interactions were non-significant, ps range from .476 to .912.

Next, univariate ANOVAs were conducted for each causal explanation (a summary of these results appears in Table 18).

Table 18. Summary of causal explanation univariate ANOVAs (queer targets), Study 5

Predictor	<i>df</i>	Racial	Gendered	Sexual Orientation	Biological	Moral
TR	$F(3,463)$	1.99	1.77	.65	.99	1.14
TG	$F(1,463)$	.89	.00	.55	.27	1.07
TS	$F(1,463)$	10.41**	3.84	10.49**	.06	3.44
TR x TG	$F(3,463)$	1.25	2.37	.27	.17	.27
TR x TS	$F(3,463)$	.46	2.24	1.13	.62	.47
TG x TS	$F(1,463)$	1.99	25.24***	.55	5.47*	2.11
3-way	$F(3,463)$	.48	.60	.42	.47	.09

Note. TR= Target race; TG = Target gender; TS = Target Sexuality. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Racial explanations. There were no significant 2-way or 3-way interactions between target race, target gender, and target sexuality on the ratio of endorsement of race as a causal explanation of sexuality, ps range from .159 to .713 (Table 18). In addition, neither target race ($p = .120$) nor target gender ($p = .345$) had a main effect on racial

explanation endorsement. However, target sexuality did have a significant effect on racial explanation endorsement, $F(1,447) = 10.41, p < .001, \eta^2 = .02$. Participants in low sexuality conditions ($M = .18, SD = .01$) were more likely than participants in high sexuality conditions ($M = .12, SD = .01$) to endorse race as an explanation for the queer target's expressed sexuality.

Gendered explanations. There were no significant main effects of target race, target gender, or target sexuality on the ratio of endorsement of gender as a causal explanation of sexuality, ps range from .051 to .951. However, there was a significant 2-way interaction between target gender and target sexuality, $F(1,447) = 25.24, p < .001, \eta^2 = .05$. For gay men targets, gendered explanations were used more in high sexuality conditions ($M = .23, SD = .02$) than in low sexuality conditions ($M = .12, SD = .02$). However, for lesbian targets, this pattern was reversed: gendered explanations were used more in low sexuality conditions ($M = .20, SD = .02$) than in high sexuality conditions ($M = .15, SD = .02$). The other 2-way and higher order interactions were non-significant, ps range from .070 to .613 (Table 18).

Sexual orientation explanations. There were no main effects of target race ($p = .585$) or target gender ($p = .457$) on the ratio of endorsement of sexual orientation as a causal explanation of sexuality. However, there was a significant main effect of target sexuality, $F(1,446) = 10.49, p = .001, \eta^2 = .02$. Queer targets described as having high sexuality ($M = .19, SD = .01$) received a higher ratio of sexual orientation explanations than targets described as having low sexuality ($M = .14, SD = .01$). The 2-way and 3-way interactions were non-significant, ps range from .336 to .850 (Table 18).

Biological explanations. There were no main effects of target race, target gender, or target sexuality on the ratio of endorsement of biology as a causal explanation of sexuality, *ps* range from .307 to .809. However, there was a significant 2-way interaction between target gender and target sexuality, $F(1,447) = 5.47, p = .02, \eta^2 = .01$. Biology was used more frequently to explain lesbian targets' high sexuality ($M = .33, SD = .02$) than their low sexuality ($M = .27, SD = .02$), while it was deployed as an explanation more frequently for gay men with low sexuality ($M = .31, SD = .02$) than with high sexuality ($M = .26, SD = .02$). The other 2-way and higher order interactions were non-significant, *ps* range from .605 to .915 (Table 18).

Moral explanations. There were no main effects of target race, target gender, or target sexuality on the ratio of endorsement of morality as a causal explanation of sexuality, *ps* range from .064 to .335 (Table 18). In addition, there were no significant interactions, *ps* range from .147 to .965.

Study 5: Secondary Analyses

In order to explore whether endorsement for explanations varied across race for men versus women targets, the data file was split by target gender. In addition, the data file was split by target sexuality in order to more closely investigate the variable of interest, namely hypersexuality. As such, these analyses considered the influence of race within gender groups (i.e., racialized gender groups). In order to explore whether endorsement for explanations varied across gender for each racial/ethnic group, the data file was split by target race. In addition, the data file was split by target sexuality in order to more closely investigate the variable of interest, namely hypersexuality. These analyses considered the influence of gender within racial groups (i.e., gendered racial groups).

Racialized gender groups. The results of this MANOVA were entirely non-significant ($ps > .053$; Table 19). By looking at women across race and looking at men across race, no differences in causal explanation endorsement were found.

Table 19. Summary of MANOVA F-statistic results: significance of racial group differences within gender (racialized gender groups) (queer targets), Study 5

Predictor		Racial	Gendered	Biological	Social	Moral
	<i>df</i>	<i>F-statistic</i>	<i>F-statistic</i>	<i>F-statistic</i>	<i>F-statistic</i>	<i>F-statistic</i>
WLow	<i>F</i> (3,113)	2.20	2.63	1.11	.87	.54
MLow	<i>F</i> (3,107)	1.70	2.52	.22	.32	.18
WHigh	<i>F</i> (3,108)	.28	.95	.28	.04	.46
MHigh	<i>F</i> (3,124)	.68	.45	.97	1.38	.91

Note. WLow = Women targets, low sexuality; MLow = Men targets, low sexuality; WHigh = Women targets, high sexuality; MHigh = Men targets, high sexuality.

Gendered racial groups. Results of the MANOVA indicated no significant effects of target gender within race on racial, sexual orientation, biological, or moral explanations, $ps > .059$ (Table 20).

Table 20. Summary of MANOVA F-statistic results: gender group differences within race (gendered racial groups) (queer targets), Study 5

Predictor		Racial	Gendered	SO	Biological	Moral
	<i>df</i>	<i>F-statistic</i>	<i>F-statistic</i>	<i>F-statistic</i>	<i>F-statistic</i>	<i>F-statistic</i>
LW	<i>F</i> (1,54)	.75	4.76*	1.40	.89	.52
LB	<i>F</i> (1,56)	.11	3.40	.25	.22	.61
LL	<i>F</i> (1,55)	.14	14.16***	1.78	2.58	.04
LA	<i>F</i> (1,54)	3.70	.21	.03	.68	.05
HW	<i>F</i> (1,57)	.98	.79	.68	1.78	2.15
HB	<i>F</i> (1,66)	.48	2.64	.72	.01	.87
HL	<i>F</i> (1,51)	1.78	4.16*	.21	1.86	1.67
HA	<i>F</i> (1,58)	.65	4.39*	.02	2.99	.24

Note. LW = Low White sexuality; LB = Low Black sexuality; LL = Low Latinx sexuality; LA = Low Asian sexuality; HW = High White sexuality; HB = High Black sexuality; HL = High Latinx sexuality; HA = High Asian sexuality. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

However, gendered explanations varied across target sexuality, race, and gender.

Examination of the means indicated significant differences between men and women among hyposexual White targets, hypersexual Asian targets, and both hyposexual and hypersexual Latinx targets (Table 21). Gender was endorsed more frequently as an explanation for low sexuality in White lesbians ($M = .17$, $SD = .03$) than for low sexuality in gay White men ($M = .08$, $SD = .03$). Simultaneously, gender was endorsed more frequently as an explanation for high sexuality in gay Asian men ($M = .24$, $SD = .04$) than for high sexuality in Asian lesbians ($M = .14$, $SD = .03$).

Table 21. Means and pairwise comparisons for gendered explanations (queer targets), Study 5

	Low sexuality		High sexuality	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
	<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>M (SD)</i>
White	.17 (.03)*	.08 (.03)*	.18 (.03)	.23 (.04)
Black	.27 (.04)	.16 (.04)	.16 (.03)	.23 (.03)
Latinx	.22 (.03)*	.08 (.03)*	.11 (.03)*	.19 (.03)*
Asian	.14 (.03)	.16 (.03)	.14 (.03)*	.24 (.04)*

Note. *Genders are significantly different ($p < .05$) within sexuality and race.

Queer Latinx people's sexuality interacted across both sexuality and gender: hyposexuality in Latina lesbians ($M = .22, SD = .03$) was more frequently explained by gender than hyposexuality in gay Latino men ($M = .08, SD = .03$). However, the opposite was true in the high sexuality conditions: gendered explanations were more endorsed for gay Latino men ($M = .19, SD = .03$) than for Latina lesbians ($M = .11, SD = .03$).

Discussion

Studies 4 and 5 sought to explore which explanations for hypersexuality White people would explicitly endorse, and if that endorsement varied by race, gender, sexual orientation, or their interaction. As this was purely an exploratory story, I had no specific hypotheses for my primary analyses. For my secondary analyses, I tested the competing hypotheses of whether causal explanations of sexuality varied by racialized gender group or gendered racial group.

The first thing to note, across the results from Studies 4 and 5, is that participants responded very similarly to straight and queer profiles across gender, sexuality, and their interactions. Target sexuality and the interaction between target gender and target sexuality were the two most consistent predictors of causal explanation endorsement (especially racial explanations) for both straight and queer targets. Participants were consistently more likely to endorse race as a causal explanation for *hyposexuality*, not hypersexuality as predicted. In addition, biological explanations were endorsed at a higher rate in both studies. After examining the pattern of responses across studies, it appears that gender and biology were differentially endorsed as explanations depending on whether the displayed sexuality was stereotypical or not. That is, gender was used as an explicit explanation for sexuality when women expressed low levels and when men expressed high levels, conforming to traditional and entrenched gender stereotypes. However, biological explanations were endorsed when men and women displayed counter-stereotypical levels of sexuality: low and high, respectively.

Interesting, though, is the difference between Studies 4 and 5 in target race as a significant predictor of causal explanation endorsement. In Study 4, the race of straight targets influenced the endorsement of racial and biological explanations. Straight Asian and Latinx people's sexualities were more likely than Black people's sexualities to be explained by racial and biological causes, respectively. However, in Study 5, race did not significantly influence causal explanation endorsement for different queer targets. It is possible that information about a target's minority sexual orientation may override otherwise stereotyped racial differences in hypersexuality.

These findings and my additional analyses clearly indicated, at least in these studies, the superior fit of gendered racial stereotyping over racialized gender stereotyping. Though my initial findings did not implicate racial explanations as explicitly endorsed by White people, these analyses illuminated that gendered explanations of sexuality foundationally rely on racial stereotypes. Gender, sexual expression, and sexual orientation were all then layered on that foundation, resulting in a fairly consistent pattern of results that belie the intersecting nature of these socially-relevant characteristics.

CHAPTER V
DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

General Discussion

The studies described in Chapters II-IV sought to explore the observed social and cultural psychological phenomenon of persistent hypersexual stereotypes and their application to members of multiple historically marginalized groups in the United States. These studies were informed by well-documented stereotypes that have been described insofar as they target members of one marginalized group in particular (e.g., Black women, gay men). However, no previous examination has attempted to examine hypersexual stereotypes as they have been and continue to be *simultaneously* applied across typical group boundaries of race, gender, and sexual orientation, as well as at their loci of intersection.

These five studies were designed to achieve this simultaneous yet preliminary investigation into the persistence of hypersexual stereotypes across intersecting systems of oppression. Specifically, I researched the current expression, application, and explanation of hypersexual stereotypes across and within racial, gendered, and sexual identities. Using qualitative methodology (Study 1), I took a “sexual stereotype snapshot” of the sexual stereotypes people are currently aware of for people of my four races/ethnicities (White, Black, Latinx, Asian), two genders (woman, man), and two sexual orientations (straight, queer) of interest. Analysis of these qualitative results revealed that hypersexual stereotypes are still accessible for members of each of my target groups of interest. Stereotypes about sexuality, at least as revealed by these participants, were strongly

consistent with a gendered racial system of oppression. Women, overall, were more likely than men to have their sexuality stereotyped as hypersexual. However, hypersexual stereotype expression was much more strongly driven by race: for Black and Latinx people, their sexualities were stereotyped as hypersexual the majority of the time, whereas White and Asian peoples' sexualities were stereotyped as not hypersexual the majority of the time.

Thematically, these qualitative results were consistent overall with the themes of hypersexuality expressed in the literature. These included perceptions of abundance in various aspects of sexuality and sexual expression: cognitive components (e.g., sexual interest, sexual obsession), physical characteristics (e.g., penis size, vaginal qualities) and sexual behaviors (e.g., specific sexual acts, sexual talent, sexual aggression). As expected, the specific content of hypersexual stereotypes as they were applied to different target groups varied significantly. For example, hypersexual stereotypes about White men and Latino men were primarily described as cognitive in nature, e.g. "always thinking of sex." In contrast, stereotypes about Asian men's hypersexuality were primarily behavioral (e.g., "freaky"), while those about Black men were consistently behavioral (e.g., "sexually aggressive") and physical (e.g., "they have big penises").

The variance in perceptions of specific components of hypersexual stereotypes was explored further by deploying several quantitative measures along the dimensions of sexual interest, aggression, obsession, talent, promiscuity, and behaviors. These findings, in general, reflected those from the qualitative component of the study. Across those six dimensions, race consistently emerged as predictor of differential perceptions of hypersexuality, irrespective of gender. Asian people were consistently stereotyped as the

least hypersexual (and sometimes even hyposexual). Black people were consistently stereotyped as the most hypersexual. On all dimensions except perceived sexual talent, White and Latinx peoples' perceived sexualities were positioned between the two (in the case of sexual talent, Latinx people were seen as significantly more sexually talented than White people).

These findings reflected the pattern predicted by the White racial frame (Feagin, 2013) and the racial hierarchy it manifests and perpetuates: White people are positioned at the top of the sexual hierarchy by having “normal” sexuality. Black people, stereotyped as the most hypersexual, are positioned at the bottom of this sexual hierarchy (which was itself originally based on White expressions of sexuality). Latinx people, as a marginalized group of people of color whose historical experience with White Americans is vastly different than that of African people's, navigate a fluid position on this sexual hierarchy: sometimes hyposexualized, sometimes hypersexualized, sometimes perceived as having “normal” (i.e., near-White) levels of sexuality and sexual expression. Stereotypes of Asian peoples' sexuality also position them in the middle of this sexual hierarchy: sexual stereotype content is mixed and most frequently hyposexualized. This likely influenced by historical experiences between European and Asian people, as described in Chapter I.

Studies 2 and 3 examined ways in which hypersexual stereotypes can be actively applied to different targets who vary across race, gender, and sexual orientation. In two experiments, I explored the active application of hypersexual stereotypes to members of marginalized groups, finding that hypersexual stereotypes were generally applied at very low levels. This was the case across both tasks: hypersexual statement agreement and hypersexual trait selection.

While the results for the hypersexual trait selection task are somewhat suspect, given their gendered and racialized nature, the most interesting findings are the difference in results between Studies 2 and 3. Namely, Study 3 was able to illuminate differences at the intersections of the general groups “lesbians,” “White women,” and “Black women.” Though lesbians were ascribed relatively high levels of hypersexual traits in Study 1, Study 3 indicated that White lesbians are actually *not* hypersexualized – they were predicted to slightly disagree with hypersexual statements. However, Black lesbians experience the full magnitude of hypersexualization: they were hypersexualized to a greater degree than all other groups, including Black men. Though all other men target groups were seen as more hypersexual than their women counterparts, Black lesbians’ perceived hypersexuality exceeded all others.

Studies 4 and 5 took a different approach to examining hypersexual stereotypes, seeking to explore the explicit endorsement of certain “causes” of hypersexuality. Gender as a causal explanation emerged as one of the most commonly endorsed explanations across both studies, aligning with longstanding stereotypes about men and women’s relative sexual drive and overall sexuality (e.g., Baumeister, Catanese, & Vohs, 2001). When the target’s sexuality conformed with these gendered stereotypes (i.e., women have lower levels of sexuality, while men have higher levels), gendered explanations were leaned upon. However, when the target’s sexuality directly contradicted gendered stereotypes, biological explanations were more favored by the participants.

Though there were again differences between some straight and queer targets of the same race and gender, the pattern in this pair of studies was different from that of Studies 2 and 3. Here, racial causal explanations were endorsed more for straight Asian people, and

biological causal explanations were endorsed more for straight Latinx people. When these targets were described as queer, however, the differences between racial target groups disappeared. The difference in findings across these studies may be, at least in part, due to information about a target's minority sexual orientation overriding otherwise stereotyped racial differences in hypersexuality. Norm theory (Hegarty & Pratto, 2004) would predict that, between straight and queer targets, causal explanations should focus more on attributes of the non-normative (i.e., queer) targets. If this were the case (i.e., if participants were more focused on these targets' sexual orientation than their race), then that could explain the lack of significant findings for racial causal explanations in Study 5.

Across all five studies, there is evidence of both the intersectional (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008; Sesko & Biernat, 2010) and overgeneralizing (Espiritu, 1997; Shek, 2006; Torres et al., 2002) nature of hypersexual stereotypes. In some cases, for example, differences between gendered racial groups would not have emerged if sexual orientation were not queried (e.g., White and Black lesbians, Chapter III). In others, stereotypes around a queer sexual orientation may have overridden gendered racial stereotypes that are more prominent in a heteronormative society (e.g., straight and gay Asian and Latino men, Chapter IV). These differences between perceptions of straight and queer hypersexuality across target groups can possibly be explained by the simplistic understandings of same-sex love we still have at a cultural level (Norton, 1991). It is possible that we read hypersexual stereotypes into expressions of same-sex love even when they do not exist, because we simply do not understand expressions of same-sex sexual love, having been exposed to a relatively limited number and kind of cultural products (e.g., historical fiction, private letters: Norton, 1991).

Beyond identifying differences in the application and explanation of hypersexual stereotypes, these studies generally supported the continued existence and psychological accessibility of hypersexual stereotypes. As predicted by the historical evidence, specific hypersexual stereotype content was mixed between and within gendered racial groups. These studies contribute to the historical record in that they indicate the extent to which straight Asian men are currently hyposexualized. My findings also suggest that White people are most readily able to attribute the “cause” of straight Asian men’s sexuality to their ethnicity, more so than for any other racial or ethnic group. In fact, for Black people, the group who has endured the most longstanding and explicit hypersexualization, race as a causal explanation was often the least likely to be endorsed. Racial causal explanations were also more likely to be endorsed in low sexuality than high sexuality conditions, contrary to my predictions. However, these findings should be considered in light of the findings from Study 1, which consistently pointed to race as a significant predictor of differential stereotype endorsement and suggested that Black people are still hypersexualized to a greater degree than any other target group under consideration here.

Limitations of the Current Studies

As briefly noted above, there are several limitations to these studies that limit the interpretation of these findings. The traits generated in Study 1 and used in Studies 2 and 3 were likely too feminine and too White to be able to be equally applied across all target groups. The participants who generated these descriptors in Study 1 were college students at a predominately White traditional four-year institution in the South. This sample was very different from the sample in Studies 2-5, a random sample of paid online adult volunteers living anywhere in the U.S. with a mean age of around 35 years. In addition,

the low rates of trait selection and hypersexual statement endorsement across all target groups indicated that these were likely not the most sensitive measures to deploy in order to examine possible variability in hypersexual stereotype content. Future studies should consider using more sensitive and implicit measures of hypersexual stereotyping in order to bypass possible social desirability concerns, which were likely at play in these studies.

Another limitation of Studies 2-3 was the inclusion of gender as a within-subjects variable. The nature of the task likely cued participants to its true rationale, leading to the need to include gender presentation order as a control variable in the analyses. This reduced statistical power with which to conduct further analyses. Though this issue was directly addressed in Studies 4-5 with a between-subjects design, this led to the need for a substantially greater number of participants. Future researchers wishing to explore these and similar variables should consider an appropriate balance of power between the sensitivity of their measures and the sample of participants in order to accurately yet efficiently assess these factors and their interactions.

Much literature on stereotyping, especially racial stereotyping and other socially undesirable prejudicial behaviors, suggests that explicit measures are often more easily influenced by motivational biases (e.g., Fazio & Olson, 2003; Hofmann, Gawronski, Gschwendner, Le, & Schmitt, 2005). In reconsidering specific measures, future studies should broadly explore alternative research designs that utilize a more implicit approach. It is possible that the limited range of responses across these studies is a reflection of the study design creating a floor effect, as opposed to an actual lack of stereotype application.

In addition, my results may have been influenced by the shifting standards effect (Biernat, Manis, & Nelson, 1991). People who stereotype often shift the standards by

which they are evaluating an outgroup member based upon that group's stereotypes. Shifting standards are more likely to occur in arenas of subjective judgment—such as trait selection, statement agreement, or causal explanation endorsement—than in arenas of objective judgment (Biernat et al., 1991). Because hypersexual stereotypes are so longstanding and easily accessible (Study 1), it is possible that participants evaluated targets based on already-held standards about their sexuality. Thus, the very construct under investigation may obscure the degree to which it can be investigated, at least through these methods. Future studies might attempt to account for the shifting standards effect by including more objective measures of hypersexual stereotyping, or by accounting for the participants' standards of sexual behavior.

The focus of these studies was on illuminating the present-day content and application of hypersexual stereotypes. Because of this, I gathered limited data about my participants, and I did not include participant characteristics as covariates (e.g., participant sexual orientation). Also, participants may have systematically differed on relevant psychological variables, such as the degree to which they are motivated to control prejudice (Dunton & Fazio, 1997) or believe in extant social hierarchies (social dominance orientation: Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Bertram, 1994). Future studies should take into account these and other potentially relevant individual difference variables as they seek to understand the maintenance of these stereotypes.

Finally, these studies were limited in the extent to which they could explore the functional nature of hypersexual stereotypes because so much remained (and remains) to be known about their nature. As such a longstanding sociocultural phenomenon, these stereotypes have gone largely unexplored by social or cultural psychologists; much of the

relevant work has been conducted by sociologists and historians. These studies represented an initial attempt to draw together these diverse bodies of work that span a wide variety of peoples as foci, as they were limited by the lack of a singular theoretical perspective to inform specific research questions. Future studies should include designs that are able to directly test some of the previously proposed functions of hypersexual stereotypes, such as dehumanization (Haslam, 2006) and Othering (Schwalbe et al., 2000). These and other studies on stereotyping should also consider investigating the processes behind stereotyping. By exploring a group of stereotypes (such as hypersexual stereotypes) that are applied to multiple groups who share some defining feature (marginalization in the U.S.), it may be possible to illuminate the sociocultural and psychological mechanisms by which these stereotypes are maintained across generations and diverse targets.

From Causes to Effects: Implications of Hypersexualization

Exploring the maintenance of hypersexual stereotypes is important because hypersexualization has potentially far-reaching implications for peoples' lived experiences. These studies helped illuminate the content, application, and causes of hypersexual stereotypes; future explorations must move this information forward in order to address their effects. Some important historical implications of hypersexualization have already been identified (e.g., lynching of Black men, increased sexual violence against Black women: Chapter 1), but the scope of these studies did not allow for direct exploration of the effects of longstanding and present-day hypersexualization on its targets.

Because members of some groups have experienced such extreme degrees of hypersexualization, or have had hypersexual stereotypes applied to them for so long, many

have developed coping mechanisms to address the painful psychological experience of being Othered by being perceived as having an exaggerated non-normative hypersexuality (e.g., Essed, 1990; Falicov, 2010). Unfortunately, hypersexualization and its subsequent necessitation of coping have generally resulted in harmful effects for many of its targets (e.g., Buchanan & Ormerod, 2002; Miller, 2008).

As I discussed in Chapter 1, stereotypes about Black men's hypersexual aggressiveness were inflamed in the U.S. post-Reconstruction era as a way to justify powerful White men's murder of Black men, the new economic threat (Davis, 1981; Wells-Barnett, 2014). However, there is a multitude of additional evidence suggesting that hypersexual stereotypes can be harmful in a variety of ways and across all magnitudes of experience. One thing these harmful experiences can all be connected to, though, is a system of racialized hegemonic masculinity.

Racialized hegemonic masculinity, one of the effects of our patriarchal society in the U.S., perpetuates itself in a cycle that includes the continual reinforcement of hypersexual stereotypes of marginalized people. People of color, especially Black people, have consistently been stereotyped by White people as hypersexual and correspondingly treated as such. Within this systematic treatment, people can sometimes respond by justifying the system that perpetuates this treatment, even when they are victims of it (Jost & Banaji, 1994). Because "the ideas of the dominant tend to become the ideas of the dominated" (Jost & Banaji, 1994, p. 10), targets of hypersexual stereotypes can internalize these stereotypes and act in stereotype-conforming ways (Snyder, 1977). Within this White patriarchal system, unfortunately, hypersexuality is connected to increased sexual risk and their associated behaviors: sexual harassment, sexual violence, and exposure to

disease. These risks and the resultant consequences systematically affect more groups than others, maintaining these groups' statuses at positions lower than Whites in the U.S. societal hierarchy. These subordinated positions, often combined with uncritical examinations of the rates of these negative consequences and lay understandings of the effects of hypersexuality as "deserved," maintain the veracity of hypersexual stereotypes in a White dominant society. In addition, we do not need to look far (Introduction, Chapter I) to see several examples of cultural products that continue to perpetuate hypersexual stereotypes as well.

Prior research has provided evidence of the link between racialized hegemonic masculinity and hypersexual stereotypes. Wong, Horn, and Chen (2013) connected hypersexual stereotypes of straight Black men and hyposexual stereotypes of straight Asian men to each group's perceived masculinity more generally. That is, because hypersexual and hyposexual stereotypes are so deeply engrained about Black and Asian men, respectively, people connected this stereotype content with perceptions about these men's masculinity more holistically.

This feedback process is enabled by the normalization of White masculinity (Espiritu, 1992; Falicov, 2010; Truong, 2006) and White men's position as the societal default across most domains (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002). Recall the findings from Study 1: White men's sexuality was consistently described as being "average" or "normal" in the qualitative results, and the statistical results supported an interpretation of perceptions of "average" sexuality for this group. "Normal" masculinity is White masculinity; "normal" sexuality is White men's sexuality.

The co-occurrence of these beliefs demonstrate how sexual stereotypes can broadly help to serve a powerfully demeaning yet strangely overgeneralized function: they allow us to target those men who display non-normalized sexualities (and masculinities) for Othering. In this case, whether the stereotypes are hypersexualizing or hyposexualizing, the same goal is achieved: White men remain more representative in positions of power across the nation than men of any other racial or ethnic group. Future studies should test this proposition directly: whether beliefs about sexuality extend to broad beliefs about the person as a whole and inform subsequent responses to that person.

However, my findings in Studies 4 and 5 suggest that White people are only sometimes willing to explicitly connect hypersexuality with race as a causal explanation. This was the case in some hyposexual conditions and for straight Asian men targets. However, White people were resistant to or incapable of doing so in hypersexual conditions or for Black targets. In these cases, White participants were much more likely to deploy gendered causal explanations. In consideration of these findings, my theory about the diffuse nature of hypersexualization argues that, regardless of the explicitly stated causal explanation, these stereotypes are inextricably linked, in the White mind, to race and gender. As discussed above, there are many possible reasons for the low rates of racial causal explanations, including the possible influence of social desirability concerns.

My results pointed to my experimental targets being perceived as gendered members of racial groups (as opposed to racialized members of gender groups). Gendered stereotypes about sexuality appear to be so deeply entrenched and continually reinforced that gendered causal explanations emerged as the most highly endorsed reason for different expressions in sexuality. This perceived gender variance, though, is predicated on more

foundational beliefs about racial differences. Staying at the surface level of differences in experience by gender can and has obscured the experience of those already and additionally marginalized by race. For example, Black women in the workplace face particular forms of sexual harassment that is racialized; these experiences have historically been obscured by examinations on workplace discrimination strictly by race or by sex (a wound made that much more painful by the fact that the initial case setting the basis for future sex discrimination legislation was brought to court by a Black woman plaintiff: Buchanan & Ormerod, 2002). Black women also report being hesitant to report workplace sex discrimination for fear of confirming the hypersexual stereotypes they know are held about them (Essed, 1990), though the very nature of their experienced (sexual) discrimination often includes relying on hypersexual stereotypes to reinforce unwanted behavior (e.g., constant exoticization in the workplace). Hypersexualization brings an additional burden to already unwanted and unwarranted advances. Consider the Black woman student being subjected to sexual advances by a White man professor: not only is she navigating the gendered power dynamics inherent in this situation, but she is also balancing historical White fascination with Black bodies in general and Black women's bodies in particular (Essed, 1990).

This balancing act between the intersecting systems of racism, sexism, and sexual prejudice occurs across these variables as well. Men and women are equally capable of internalizing these stereotypes; insofar as they are internalized and systematically "rewarded," they can correspond to engagement in sexually risky behaviors that fit scripts of racialized hegemonic masculinity. Internalization of hypersexual stereotypes may contribute to intraracial gender violence in Black communities, especially among

adolescents as they guide young Black men's understanding of Black women as sexually accessible and incapable of being raped, and the act of rape and sexual violence as fitting their prescribed scripts of masculinity (Miller, 2008). In fact, sexually abusing girls leads to status elevation for men in some intrasexual groups (certain gangs: Miller, 2008). Because their masculinity has been constructed as hypersexually aggressive, they must conform to these expectations in order to socially confirm their masculinity.

Young Black girls, the targets of the sexual abuse mentioned above, are also victimized by self-internalization of hypersexual stereotypes. In qualitative responses, Black girls and boys alike described some girls "playing into" the early sexualization they were being subjected to (such as through clothing choices: Miller, 2008). Of course, children (and adults) are agentic in things like clothing choice insofar as they have access to a variety of options and a desire to deviate from prescribed norms. Thus, this premature "sexualization of girls likely made them vulnerable to sexual abuses in adolescence" (Miller, 2008, p. 59). These abuses, combined with victim-blaming, system-justifying beliefs that these girls had contributed to their own abuse, led to sexuality for Black girls becoming heavily policed in predominately Black communities, contributing to extant patriarchal patterns – again, a reinforcement of a system of racialized hegemonic masculinity.

The negative effects of hypersexual stereotypes are felt within Black communities in other ways as well. Negative perceptions of Black women's sexuality, including perceptions of higher levels of sexual activity and acceptable risk, have been associated with negative views about Black women's motherhood status and socioeconomic status, as well as the intersection of the two (Rosenthal & Lobel, 2016). At least in part due to

hypersexual stereotypes, pregnant Black women are more likely to be viewed as single; stereotyped as single mothers, they are also perceived to be a societal resource drain as they would necessitate public assistance (Rosenthal & Lobel, 2016). The perpetuation of hypersexual stereotypes about Black women, then, may have critical public and political implications, possibly through an indirect effect on support for policies designed to ameliorate social inequities.

The implication of class in the above example points to another illustration of the diffuse nature of hypersexual stereotypes and their broad consequences. Often, in historical depictions of White women, their sexuality was signaled as available through the presence of Black women (Gilman, 1985). In this way, their Otherness was communicated along with their sexual accessibility. Most notably, this occurred for sex workers: White women who chose to transgress prescribed sexual (and economic) boundaries. White sex workers were Othered through a connection with Blackness in other ways as well, such as through erroneous and derisive comparisons of certain physical characteristics to those stereotypical of “the Hottentot” (Gilman, 1985): “The primitive is the black, and the qualities of blackness, or at least of the black female, are those of the prostitute” (p. 99). The White preoccupation with Blackness as the locus of supreme hypersexuality manifests itself here again, allowing a pathway by which powerful White men might distance themselves from the White women sex workers who are transgressing bounds of ideal White women’s sexuality.

Finally, internalization of hypersexual stereotypes can lead to increased engagement in sexually risky behaviors that can be harmful to individual and public health. Latinx adolescents routinely face hypersexual stereotypes as they simultaneously deal with

marginalization in the U.S.; evidence exists to suggest there is a direct link between addressing negative sexual stereotypes and Latinx adolescent sexual risk (Villarruel & Rodriguez, 2003). Internalization of stereotypical expectancies of high rates of sexual partners, for example, may be associated with increased risk of sexually transmitted infections (STIs).

Others have theorized that gay men, especially those experiencing the early days of the AIDS crisis, may have actively internalized some aspects of hypersexual stereotypes, which may have subsequently contributed to increased HIV exposure. In a letter written towards the end of his life, a young gay man named Brian said, “The fault may very well lie with our own kind. One-night stands and nameless faces in the dark do not make for a happy existence” (Dreu, 1991, p. 373). Insofar as engagement in hypersexual behavior is seen, then, as an agentic versus a forced choice, one can empathize with Brian and the imposition upon him of attributes of hypersexuality. Through either conformity to or rejection of hypersexualization, a person is put at some level of personal or interpersonal risk.

This tension between being too sexual and not sexual enough can especially manifest for those who experience mixed stereotype content, as illuminated by the studies presented here. For example, Gay Latino men experience additional levels of competing pressures because of feminizing stereotypes of gay men that are predominant in Latin America:

Socially, the qualities associated with the man emphasize hardness, invulnerability, activity and the ability to attack or give, and those associated with the woman reflect softness, vulnerability, passiveness and the capacity to accept and receive.

...There is obviously no role for the homosexual in this code, and thus no suitable behavior for him. Is he biologically a male? Then he must act like a man, sexually and socially. If, defying the biological evidence, he insists on considering himself a woman, then he *must* behave, sexually and socially, like a woman. (Lacey, 1991, p. 487)

Social and sexual behaviors become inextricably linked when stereotypes about sexuality are tied so tightly to such important identities as race, gender, and sexual orientation. This can be potentially harmful for other targeted groups as well: for example, Black women who have internalized hypersexual stereotypes express beliefs that behaving in stereotype-conforming, sexually risky ways will strengthen their relationships with their partners (Duvall, Oser, Mooney, Staton-Tindall, Havens, & Leukefeld, 2013). Higher levels of hypersexual stereotype endorsement were also associated with higher numbers of casual partners and a higher reported willingness to exchange sex for money or goods (Duvall et al., 2013). Sexual stereotypes are internalized, targets behave and are treated according to these stereotypes, and the negative outcomes due to increased sexually risky behaviors reinforce the existence of these stereotypes. Unless it is intentionally interrupted, this well-developed system of racialized hegemonic masculinity will likely continue to sustain itself with powerful hypersexual stereotypes.

**Conclusion: The Persistence of Hypersexualization at the Intersections of Racism,
Sexism, and Sexual Prejudice**

In the fall of 2016, a college student at an R1, land-grant institution in the South referred to members of one of my sixteen target marginalized groups as “sexual animals.” This student, having been asked to reflect upon the sexual stereotypes they were aware of

for members of certain marginalized groups in the U.S., did just that. They did not invent the concept of “sexual animals,” nor did they necessarily realize they were participating in the dehumanization of others based on those Others’ sexuality. However, their response reflected the inheritance of a longstanding tradition of Othering through hypersexualization, as reflected in the opening quote: “Nothing is more lascivious, more shameless, and more disposed to fornication, than these animals...they...make love with as little restraint as dogs” (La Mettrie, 1751, p. 200, as cited in Jahoda, 1999). My findings documented the continued persistence of these stereotypes and their application to a multitude of Others, at least in the White cultural psyche. In a White-dominant U.S., then, we must monitor what kinds of beliefs are being culturally disseminated, especially as they perpetuate longstanding prejudices and unquestioned stereotypes, because these beliefs have the power to persist beyond rationality, reason, or fact.

These studies began to explore hypersexual stereotypes within the context of the systems that birthed and maintained them: racism, sexism, and sexual prejudice. As these systems are inextricably linked, so too are the various manifestations of hypersexual stereotypes described here. Disentangling these stereotypes and laying their true nature bare is one contribution this work seeks to make to the larger project of ameliorating societal inequities by illuminating and dismantling the cultural psychological structures by which they are maintained.

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APPENDIX A
MEASURES FOR STUDY 1

Qualitative Measures

1. Do you think there are sexual stereotypes associated with any of the following groups? (“Sexual stereotypes” refers to any widely held but possibly oversimplified idea of a person that has something to do with their sexual behavior.) [Response options: “Yes” or “No”]
 - a. White men
 - b. White women
 - c. Black men
 - d. Black women
 - e. Asian men
 - f. Asian women
 - g. Latino men
 - h. Latina women

2. [If yes was chosen:] What are the sexual stereotypes you are aware of for members of the group **INSERT GROUP HERE?**

Quantitative Measures [For each item, participants rank on the following scales for each of these groups]:

- Ideally, in principle
- In actual fact, reality
- The average White man
- The average White woman
- The average Black man
- The average Black woman
- The average Asian man
- The average Asian woman
- The average Latino man
- The average Latina woman

1. In general, how interested in sex is the average person?^a

-100	0	100
<i>Completely uninterested</i>	<i>Don't know/No opinion</i>	<i>Completely interested</i>

2. How frequently do people have sex?^a

-100	0	100
<i>Never</i>	<i>Don't know/No opinion</i>	<i>All the time</i>

3. How sexually aggressive are people?^b

-100	0	100
<i>Completely passive</i>	<i>Don't know/No opinion</i>	<i>Completely aggressive</i>

4. How casually do people treat sex?^a

-100	0	100
<i>Completely seriously</i>	<i>Don't know/No opinion</i>	<i>Completely casually</i>

5. People have sex more than six times a week.^c

-100	0	100
<i>Completely disagree</i>	<i>Don't know/No opinion</i>	<i>Completely agree</i>

6. People find it hard to feel sexually satisfied, no matter how much sex they are having.^c

-100	0	100
<i>Completely disagree</i>	<i>Don't know/No opinion</i>	<i>Completely agree</i>

7. People believe they are sexually talented.^d

-100	0	100
<i>Completely disagree</i>	<i>Don't know/No opinion</i>	<i>Completely agree</i>

8. People are complimented on their sexual skills.^d

-100	0	100
<i>Completely disagree</i>	<i>Don't know/No opinion</i>	<i>Completely agree</i>

9. People are highly knowledgeable and open-minded about sexual practices.^d

-100	0	100
<i>Completely disagree</i>	<i>Don't know/No opinion</i>	<i>Completely agree</i>

10. People enjoy sex very much.^a

-100	0	100
<i>Completely disagree</i>	<i>Don't know/No opinion</i>	<i>Completely agree</i>

11. People believe in open relationships.^e

-100	0	100
<i>Completely disagree</i>	<i>Don't know/No opinion</i>	<i>Completely agree</i>

12. People tend to have multiple sex partners at once.^e

-100	0	100
<i>Completely disagree</i>	<i>Don't know/No opinion</i>	<i>Completely agree</i>

13. People do not practice monogamy.^e

-100	0	100
<i>Completely disagree</i>	<i>Don't know/No opinion</i>	<i>Completely agree</i>

14. People doubt their own sexual competence. [Reverse-coded]^d

-100	0	100
<i>Completely disagree</i>	<i>Don't know/No opinion</i>	<i>Completely agree</i>

15. People seldom think about sex. [Reverse-coded]^c

-100	0	100
<i>Completely disagree</i>	<i>Don't know/No opinion</i>	<i>Completely agree</i>

Note: a = Sexual interest; b = Sexual aggression; c = Sexual obsession; d = Sexual talent; e = Sexual promiscuity.

Sexual Behaviors

What percentage of INSERT GROUP HERE do you think would be willing to engage in the following sexual acts:

- Black men
- Black women
- White men
- White women
- Asian men
- Asian women
- Latino men
- Latina women

Less than 20% 20% to 40% 40% to 60% 60% to 80% 80% to 100%

1. Perform oral sex
2. Receive oral sex
3. Perform anal sex
4. Receive anal sex
5. Perform as “dominant” during sex
6. Perform as “submissive during sex
7. Engage in “kink” with a sex partner
8. Masturbate alone
9. Masturbate with a partner

APPENDIX B

STANDARDIZED SITE INFORMATION FOR STUDIES 2-3

Websites

CouplesMeet.com, WhiteCouplesMeet.com, BlackCouplesMeet.com,
AsianCouplesMeet.com, HispanicCouplesMeet.com

Who We Are

Our purpose is to help you achieve whatever kind of relationship goal you are seeking. We create romantic opportunities so singles are more likely to find someone special. Over the years, we've learned more and more about what people want—and the tools they need to help take the lottery out of love. With more ways than ever to bring singles together, we remain committed to investigating and understanding what makes all kinds of relationships successful.

What We Do

Our mission is simple: to help singles find the kind of relationship they're looking for. And we think we're pretty good at it. Here at [INSERT WEBSITE HERE] we conduct math in the name of love. Algorithms, formulas, heuristics – we do a lot of crazy math stuff to help people connect faster

How It Works

At [INSERT WEBSITE HERE], we give singles the opportunity to express themselves through various free writing sections. Profiles may include several photos, as well as selected preferences regarding the person they're searching for. With the click of a mouse, members can instantly see photos and read about potential matches in their area.

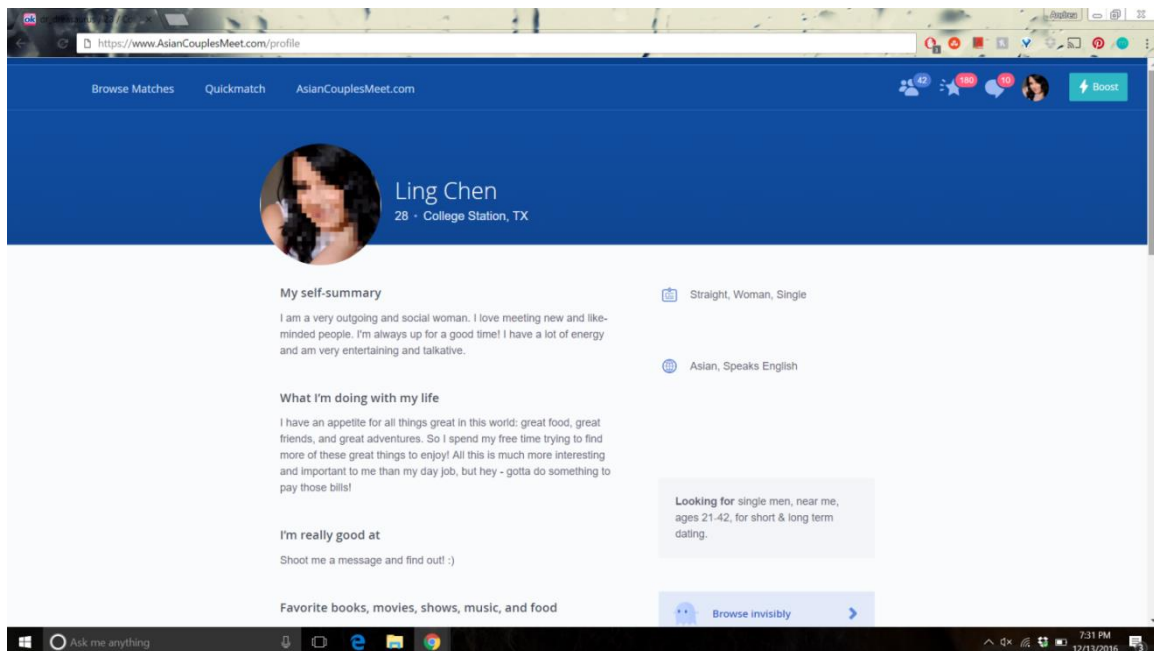
So What Are You Waiting For?


While love is universal, the way people meet, court, and develop relationships is far from it. That's why [INSERT WEBSITE HERE] offers different approaches and features unique to different cultures. So if making a great connection with someone special sounds like something that's worth trying (and we definitely think it is), give it a try today!


APPENDIX C

SAMPLE STIMULI FOR STUDIES 2-3

Note. All stimuli are identical with the exception of the blurred photographs (differs only by gender) and explicitly stated race, gender, and sexual orientation. Thus, one sample straight dating profile (Study 2) and one sample queer dating profile (Study 3) are displayed below.



Browse Matches Quickmatch Purchase A-List 



Lamar Washington

28 · College Station, TX

My self-summary

I am smart, fun, authentic, and love to try new things. People tell me I am very positive and extraverted. All I know is that I love meeting new and interesting people, and I am always ready to go out and have a good time!


What I'm doing with my life


At work I'm creative and driven, but I think what says more about me is what I do outside of the office. I'm always up for trying new things and rarely afraid to take risks in life. In fact, I thrive on it. I love travel and all the new experiences that it brings.

I'm really good at



Shoot me a message and find out! :)



Favorite books, movies, shows, music, and food

 Gay, Man, Single

 Black, Speaks English

Looking for single men, near me, ages 21-42, for short & long term dating.

 Browse invisibly 

Ask me anything  5:05 PM 1/3/2017 

APPENDIX D

MEASURES FOR STUDIES 2-3

Now, you will respond to some questions typically found on dating sites AS THE PERSON YOU JUST SAW. Do not describe yourself, but rather imagine yourself as the person you just saw. Then, answer all these questions as THAT PERSON, not as yourself. Try and rely on your first, gut instinct - don't think too much or too long about this section.

Hypersexual Trait Selection

Choose some traits that describe you. You can choose as many or as few as you like, but your profile will be more complete (and lead to more matches) the more information you give!

- Freaky
- Prude [reverse-coded]
- Promiscuous
- Sexually talented
- Sexually passive [reverse-coded]
- Sexually obsessed
- Unfaithful
- Slutty
- Kinky
- Chaste [reverse-coded]
- Alluring
- Enticing
- Vulgar
- Naughty
- Moral
- Sensual
- Passionate
- Dominant
- Selfish
- Irritable
- Arrogant
- Industrious
- Whiny
- Good-natured

- Careful
- Egotistical
- Helpful
- Determined
- Passive
- Cold
- Spineless
- Hostile
- Tolerant
- Gullible
- Kind
- Greedy
- Sincere
- Intelligent
- Independent
- Responsible
- Competitive
- Likable
- Confident
- Competent
- Warm
- Gentle
- Strong
- Successful
- Compassionate
- Strong-willed
- Talkative
- Modest
- Impatient
- Clever
- Ambitious
- Outgoing
- Agreeable
- Helpful
- Carefree

Hypersexual Statement Agreement

Please answer the following questions. These help us (and your future matches!) learn more about you. Go with your gut!

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<i>Strongly</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Somewhat</i>	<i>Neutral</i>	<i>Somewhat</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Strongly</i>
<i>disagree</i>		<i>disagree</i>		<i>agree</i>		<i>agree</i>

1. I would describe myself as sexually aggressive.
2. I am frequently complimented on my sexual skills.
3. I would prefer to have sex more than six times a week.
4. I believe in open relationships.
5. I feel I am never sexually satisfied.
6. I am more sexual than most people.
7. I have thought my sexuality is restrained. [reverse-coded]
8. I am less sexual than most people. [reverse-coded]
9. I would describe myself as an outdoors person.
10. I am frequently complimented on my public speaking skills.
11. I love to help others.
12. I get stressed out easily.
13. I am good at analyzing problems.
14. I am easily discouraged.
15. I catch on to things quickly.
16. I enjoy mingling with people on social occasions.

APPENDIX E

SAMPLE TARGET DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION FOR STUDIES 4-5

Note. All stimuli are identical with the exception of the name and explicitly stated sexual orientation. Thus, one sample of demographic information from a straight target (Study 4) and a queer target (Study 5) are displayed below.

Carlos Lopez

28 years old

Houston, TX (Greater Houston area)

Looking for: single women, near me,
ages 21-42, for short-term & long-term dating

Claire Roberts

28 years old

Houston, TX (Greater Houston area)

Looking for: single women, near me,
ages 21-42, for short-term & long-term dating

APPENDIX F

SUPPLEMENTAL RESULTS FOR STUDIES 2-3

Study 2

Table F-1. *Hypersexual statement agreement: All participants*

	<i>df</i>	<i>F</i>	η^2	<i>p</i>
Race	3	.68	.01	.568
Gender	1	2.31	.01	.131
Race x Gender	3	.56	.01	.641

Note. There were no effects approaching statistical significance, $ps > .13$.

Table F-2. *Hypersexual trait selection: All participants*

	<i>df</i>	<i>F</i>	η^2	<i>p</i>
Race	3	.73	.01	.535
Gender	1	30.19	.13	<.001
Race x Gender	3	.04	.00	.989

Note. There was a significant main effect of gender: more hypersexual traits were selected for straight women targets ($M = 2.78$, $SD = .17$) than for gay men targets ($M = 1.77$, $SD = .13$).

Study 3

Table F-3. *Hypersexual statement agreement: All participants*

	<i>df</i>	<i>F</i>	η^2	<i>p</i>
Race	3, 206	.29	.00	.830
Gender	1, 206	5.65	.03	.018
Race x Gender	3, 206	4.86	.07	.003

Note. There was a significant main effect of gender: gay men targets ($M = 4.26$, $SD = .06$) were expected to agree with hypersexual statements to a greater degree than lesbian targets ($M = 4.14$, $SD = .06$). However, this was qualified by a significant interaction between race and gender: Black lesbians ($M = 4.35$, $SD = .12$) were expected to agree with hypersexual statements to a greater degree than Black men targets ($M = 4.21$, $SD = .12$); they were the only target group of women for whom this was the case within their own race. In addition, White lesbians were the only target group predicted to disagree with the hypersexual statements more than they were predicted to agree.

Table F-4. *Hypersexual trait selection: All participants*

	<i>df</i>	<i>F</i>	η^2	<i>p</i>
Race	3, 151	.09	.00	.967
Gender	1, 151	6.09	.04	.015
Race x Gender	3, 151	1.78	.03	.153

Note. There was a significant main effect of gender: more hypersexual traits were selected for lesbian targets ($M = 3.05$, $SD = .16$) than for gay men targets ($M = 2.64$, $SD = .14$).

APPENDIX G

PERSONALITY SUBSCALE FOR STUDIES 4-5

Use the scale below to indicate how well each of the following describes you.

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly agree
I would describe myself as an outdoors person.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I am frequently complimented on my public speaking skills.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I am good at analyzing problems.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I enjoy a good joke.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>
I get stressed out easily.	<input type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I am able to express myself in unique ways (e.g., words, music, art).	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

APPENDIX H

SEXUALITY SUBSCALES FOR STUDIES 4-5

High Sexuality

Use the scale below to indicate how well each of the following describes you.

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly agree
I am often complimented on my sexual skills.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>
I am highly knowledgeable and open-minded about sexual practices.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I believe I can never have enough sex.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>
I consider myself to be sexually aggressive.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I am very interested in sex.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>
I seldom think about sex.	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Low Sexuality

Use the scale below to indicate how well each of the following describes you.

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Agree	Strongly agree
I am often complimented on my sexual skills.	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I am highly knowledgeable and open-minded about sexual practices.	<input type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I believe I can never have enough sex.	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I consider myself to be sexually aggressive.	<input type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I am very interested in sex.	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I seldom think about sex.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>