Internalized Stigma for Concealable Marginalized Identities:
A Barrier to Group-Related Political Engagement?

by

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Dedication

To Mom, for imparting through your words and actions that everyone, myself included, deserves peace, justice, and love.

Acknowledgments

A dissertation is more than just a document that closes the final chapter in the volume that is a doctoral education; it is the culmination of all the efforts, discussions, and encouragement that has occurred with and for the writer. While the contents of this dissertation certainly reflect my own ideas and labor, it would not have come to fruition without the love, support, and wisdom those with whom I have had the privilege of coming into contact during my time in graduate school and beyond. I owe the following individuals, as well as many countless others who have had a positive impact on my life but, for whatever reason, were not named here, a great deal of gratitude.

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Abstract

Many scientists have tried to address the simple question: "Why do people continue to be unjust and treat marginalized groups unfairly?" While there is a great deal of research that has explored this by examining the behavior, attitudes, and personalities of privileged/majority groups, much less research has explored what effect marginalized group members themselves might have on the societal systems that marginalize them. One potential place to look when examining societal stigma among marginalized people is their feelings of internalized stigma, or their negative feelings about their own group (the in-group) that are produced as a result of internalizing society's stigma toward their group. In this dissertation, I present research that tests the effect of internalized stigma as a simultaneous consequence and ongoing antecedent of societal stigma toward two groups: sexual minorities and working class/poor minorities. Specifically, I propose that stigma flows in a circular pattern from society to the individual and back. Thus, I argue that stigma partially acts through marginalized people themselves, namely through internalized self-stigma, and hinders the progress of socially progressive movements by impeding marginalized people's desire to act toward social change. I test this link between internalized stigma and hindered progress across three studies. The first examines the effect of internalized stigma on marginalized individuals' political attitudes and activism. In this study, which used a sample of 361 individuals (62 with only concealable identities, 166 with only visible identities, and 133 with both), I found that internalized stigma mediated the relationship between perceived stigma and lower levels of group-related activism and political issue importance. When comparing these effects for those with concealable identities (sexual

minorities and poor/working class people) to those with visible identities (people of color and women), I found that the effect was stronger for the former, leading to discussion of the importance of concealability. The second study examines the effect of internalized stigma on their personal educational/occupational values and life aspirations. Among sexual minorities (n = 181) and poor/working class people (n = 162) I found that internalized stigma generally predicted lower importance of these values and aspirations. Additionally, group-based deservingness was found to mediate this relationship. Finally, internalized stigma was also found to be associated with higher perceived importance of extrinsic markers of success in these groups, including wealth, status, and popularity. The third study examines the effect of statements expressing internalized stigma on potential allies' political attitudes and future expected activism. This study used a sample of 174 participants who self-identified as straight and middle class or higher. Although the initial hypothesis that witnessing stigmatizing statements made by marginalized group members would lead to lower levels of group-related political interest and expected engagement intentions was not supported, exploratory analyses *post hoc* provided preliminary evidence of the potential importance of individual differences, such as system justification, and the propensity to differentiate individual group members from the rest of the group as important variables to consider in future research. In general, this dissertation highlights the importance of internalized stigma as a barrier to social change, using two specific groups, sexual minorities and poor/working class people, as test cases for this important phenomenon. In each chapter the results are discussed in depth, along with limitations and future directions.

Chapter 1 Introduction and Theoretical Overview

"...stigma and bias shame us all."

-President William (Bill) Clinton

In his speech on the state of mental illness in the United States, President Clinton made an important observation regarding an immediate and powerful threat to social progress: the threat of stigma. Stigma can be understood as affecting not just those who identify with a mental illness, but various other groups with marginalized identities. Many have studied the negative consequences of social stigma for the individual, but not much research has shown what effect it has on the individual's participation in social life. In what way does stigma "shame us all"? How does stigma change the ways that marginalized individuals engage with our political and social institutions? Even if most marginalized people aspire to an equal and just society, why might progressive social movements (e.g. gay rights, accessibility awareness, etc.) be hindered or not fully embraced by marginalized people?

One potential reason, which will be analyzed in this dissertation, is that systems of power and marginalization, and their accompanying ideologies, are so deeply rooted that they cause even marginalized people themselves to accept and internalize their own oppression. This causes them to direct societal stigma experienced by their marginalized in-group toward the self, which has been called "internalized stigma" (Herek, Gillis, & Cogan, 2009; Mayfield, 2001; Ritsher, Otilingam, & Grajales, 2003). A consequence of the internalization of this stigma could be feelings of less group-based deservingness, stemming from prejudice directed at one's in-group.

Without a sense of deservingness and lower feelings of entitlement to experiences like equal rights, freedom from discrimination, and general societal acceptance/support, these individuals would lack the necessary preconditions of feelings of relative deprivation, or a felt relative lack of and desire for something (e.g. marriage rights or pay/benefits) that another group/person possesses (Crosby, 1976; Crosby, 1982). This lack of felt relative deprivation, stemming from a lack of deservingness, may lead individuals to be hesitant to engage in politically progressive movements or less likely to desire to change society both in small ways (e.g. everyday interactions with privileged others) and large ways (e.g. directing one's educational/occupational or career goals to help the cause). Therefore, the theory behind this dissertation does not put the burden of addressing stigma on the marginalized individual, but instead addresses the ways in which systems of stigma have inherent mechanisms (e.g. internalization) designed to ensure their endurance and impact. This conceptualization of the effect of stigma is not new (Apfelbaum, 1979), but what is new is a holistic model that proposes each of the variable links that would lead to these societal effects, showing potential spaces where social change efforts can be focused. In this dissertation I argue that internalization of stigma, in particular, has a powerful downstream effect of impeding social change efforts aimed at helping marginalized groups.

Internalized stigma has long been studied in terms of the negative individual consequences for minority group members, including negative health and mental health outcomes (Puckett, Newcomb, Garofalo, & Mustanski, 2016; Tang & Wu, 2012; Williamson, 2000). However, much less research has critically examined the *sociopolitical* consequences of internalized stigma, or the extent to which internalized stigma influences the ways people engage with others and political institutions. Some feminist psychologists have argued that psychology has made insufficient connection between individual outcomes and structural phenomena,

including systems of oppression that actively maintain power for the privileged by hindering the social progress of marginalized groups from within (i.e. through internalized stigma) (Cortina, Curtin, & Stewart, 2012). The primary goal of this dissertation is to expand our knowledge of these effects on society.

Across the three studies of this dissertation, I assess whether internalized stigma hinders investment in social progress, both among marginalized people who have internalized stigma, and potential political allies—people who are not themselves marginalized, but have the potential to be political advocates—who interact with marginalized people with internalized stigma. Specifically, I ask: “To what extent are marginalized people with higher internalized stigma less likely to engage with progressive politics aimed at improving conditions for their group? To what extent are marginalized people with higher internalized stigma less likely to have occupational values or life aspirations that focus on improving the social situation for their marginalized group? Finally, under what conditions does endorsement of internalized stigma by marginalized people diminish anticipated engagement by potential allies?” In three separate studies I aim to answer each of these questions, with the hope of providing insight into this over-looked and potentially consequential effect of internalized stigma.

Theoretical Model

In this dissertation I am especially interested in probing exactly how individual differences affect how individuals have the felt power or willingness to change their societies. Specifically, I am interested in examining whether prominent societal prejudices and their corresponding ideologies that are internalized by individuals (internalized stigma) through social interactions, lead to a dampening of social change as a result of marginalized people’s withdrawal from change-making in politics and their professional lives, which may even lead

them to take counter-productive actions, such as disengaging privileged others. The underlying logic of this model is based on the theory of relative deprivation, which states that people who are deprived (e.g., of rights) will seek out ways to enact change as long as certain criteria are met (Crosby, 1976; Crosby, 1982). One of these criteria, deservingness, can be directly affected by internalized stigma, or people's negative views of their in-group. This should, in turn, lead to hindered education of and engagement with potential allies, which leads to the original problematic values not changing as rapidly as marginalized group members might hope. This effect exposes marginalized people to the prejudiced views against their in-group more frequently, leading to more internalization and thus continuing the theoretical vicious cycle. This cycle can be viewed as a counter-current opposing the societal momentum of progressive social change, which could be thought of as the "virtuous cycle" of social change. While there has been much theorizing about what leads individuals to engage in social change that could inform a "virtuous" cyclical model, this dissertation focuses on the "vicious" cycle of hindered social change. See *Figure 1.1* for a graphical representation of this theoretical model.

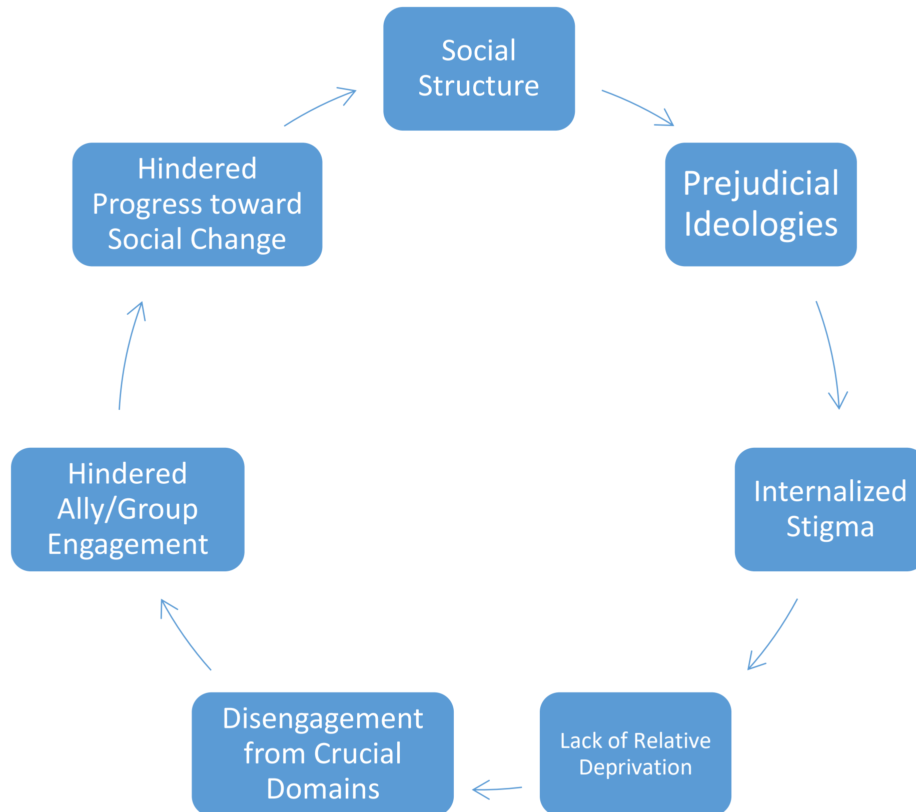

Figure 1.1: Theoretical Model: Role of Internalized Stigma in Hindering Social Change

In this model, social structures and ideologies are the starting point of a cycle of oppression and dampening of social progress. Thurs, it is not marginalized people themselves who are to blame for their own oppression. Researchers and theorists who regularly discuss the interplay between social structure and individuals often refer to the pervasiveness of oppressive systems and their respective ideologies (e.g. racism, sexism, classism, homonegativity, etc.) within society. Therefore, in writing this dissertation and proposing this theoretical model, I argue that by incorporating self-stigmatizing processes, these systems of oppression ensure the survival of those ideologies and their pervasiveness through time, despite many marginalized peoples' highly visible and passionate efforts to dislodge these oppressive systems' hold on society. Therefore, although the potential results of this research might appear to blame

marginalized people for their self-stigma, instead I aim to illuminate a *social process* that results in their reduced efforts (and the reduced efforts of their potential allies) to fight against societal oppression. In other words, throughout this dissertation I stress that the ultimate source of this cycle is societal stigma itself. In this case there is not a "chicken or egg" dilemma; marginalized people themselves are simply caught up in the strong currents of societal pressures.

In this dissertation I study the links between individuals (marginalized individuals and their potential allies) and crucial domains that have the potential to be socially progressive. These domains include politics, occupational values, and life aspirations. In each study I test the links that connect internalized stigma to hindered group/ally engagement through disengagement with those domains. Additionally, I argue that internalized stigma can have the effect of increasing intentions to improve one's own personal success (e.g. by focusing on occupational values and life aspirations aimed at acquiring wealth and prestige).

To show this is the case for sexual minorities, I test hypotheses based on the Best Little Boy in the World Hypothesis, which states that sexual minorities are more likely than straight individuals to seek out achievement-related domains (power, prestige, etc.) as important to the self (Pachankis & Hatzenbuehler, 2013). This logic is based on the fact that sexual minorities' actual/felt acceptance from others is uncertain and sometimes depends on their outness. Therefore, sexual minorities learn from a young age to rely for their self-acceptance and self-esteem on domains where they have control (e.g. success, money, competition), as opposed to domains where others have control (e.g. other's approval). Some of my past research has already shown a link between internalized stigma and sexual minorities' degree of academic-related contingencies of self-worth, a performance-based domain where they have maximal control and, therefore, feel can stake their self-esteem (Blankenship & Stewart, 2017). In study 2 of this

dissertation I seek to replicate this previous research, while also extending it to the related areas of occupational values and life aspirations. Additionally, although there is less research on these kinds of effects in poor/working class individuals in psychology, I test similar hypotheses in this population. One could expect that negative affect about a resource-based identity might lead one to endorse resource-based occupational values and life aspirations as important. Even though these additional effects fall outside of the proposed theoretical model, they are still important for the general questions being asked in this dissertation, showing that the link between internalized stigma and social outcomes is multifaceted and dynamic. Finally, although it would have been desirable to test all of the links in this proposed theoretical model, this was beyond the scope and capabilities of this psychologically grounded dissertation. Still, to help validate most of my proposed model, I ask the following research questions:

> **Research Question 1 for Studies 1 and 2:** Does internalized stigma relate to the engagement of marginalized people in domains that create progressive social change (politics and work/life)?
>
> **Research Question 2 for Study 3**: Do statements by marginalized group members indicating internalized stigma hinder majority/privileged group member's (potential allies) interest and engagement with causes aimed at helping these marginalized groups?

Populations of Interest: Concealable Identity

In this dissertation, I examine the impact of internalized stigma in two groups: sexual minorities and working-class minorities. Although I focus on these specific identity groups, other marginalized identity groups could have been used as the populations of interest for the current studies (people of color or women, for instance). However, I decided to focus on these two

different groups because they share the status of having a *concealable identity*, or an identity that is not obvious from phenotypical cues (e.g. skin color) or widely accepted socially constructed markers, such as gendered clothing (Quinn & Earnshaw, 2011).

Concealability is the unifying feature of the identities of interest because the particular social experience of having a concealable identity may lead to greater endorsement of internalized stigma and may also be associated with greater psychological distress as a result of this stigma. For instance, we know from previous research that concealable identity stigma is associated with greater self-differentiation across contexts. This “dividing” of the self is associated with many kinds of psychological distress and maladjustment (Sedlovskaya et al., 2013). We also know from that the process of “coming out” for individuals with concealable identities is one of the best ways to alleviate internalized self-stigma and the resulting psychological distress (Corrigan, Kosyluk, & Rüsch, 2013; Solomon, McAbee, Åsberg, & McGee, 2015). One can also imagine that people with these identities may be subjected to different kinds of enactments of prejudiced attitudes and discriminatory behaviors directed at their group because their membership in those groups may not be obvious to others. For instance, Gregory Herek and others have shown that expressions of sexual stigma are common in ostensibly straight male groups as a way to affirm straight males’ masculinity and heterosexuality (Herek, 2007). When members of a group assume everyone in the group is straight (which straight individuals often do), they may say and do things they would not if they were aware that someone was present who is not. Thus, we might expect that compared to the actions taken around people with visible marginalized identities (e.g. racial minorities), actions taken around people with concealable identities, or even taken by people with concealable identities themselves, may include a higher degree of explicit stigma, possibly inadvertently

directed at members of the concealable marginalized identity group present. In some cases, as with sexual minorities, people with concealable identities could spend years or even decades around out-group others (e.g. family members) who hold explicit prejudices against their stigmatized in-group. This may lead them to internalize others' negative attitudes, as a result of the years of proximity to prejudiced ideas and norms.

Another potential reason that one might expect lower rates of internalization among individuals with visible stigmatized identities has to do with different patterns of upbringing and tools that these individuals are equipped with to handle stigma. For instance, research has shown that Black children are supplied with counternarratives about their social identity group and its worthiness from a young age (Wang & Huguley, 2012; White-Johnson, Ford & Sellers, 2010). These counternarratives may serve as a shield in the face of eventual societal stigma, allowing them to internalize stigma less. Sexual minorities, by comparison, are unlikely to receive such early counternarratives as members of a concealable identity group. In fact, many experience stigmatization from their own family and close others before or after coming out. Since internalization is closely associated with increased levels of perceived stigma, internalization is likely more common among members of concealable identity groups, especially given the additional setback of not having group-affirming counternarratives.

Finally, unlike people with marginalized *visible* identities, people with marginalized but *concealable* identities might feel less pressure to act as vocal representatives of their group in the face of others' expressions of prejudice. Research on sexism, for instance, has shown that women feel more pressure to confront sexism than do men, due at least in part to the felt personal victimization and a felt need to confront explicit prejudice directed at their visible in-group (Becker, Zawadzki, & Shields, 2014). However, people with invisible identities may not

feel the same amount of pressure to confront stigma against their group. In fact, individuals with concealable identities may even become agents of oppression themselves, acting or speaking in ways that endorse the ideology that oppresses their group without it seeming odd or obviously "self-hating." Hence, people with concealable stigmatized identities may experience more exposure to these particular ideologies of oppression and may even be complicit in this oppression. Therefore, the incidence of internalized stigma in groups with concealable stigma is likely to be greater than in groups with visible stigma, making the former good candidates for the exploration of the effects of internalized stigma on political and work/life outcomes. For these reasons, individuals with concealable identities appear to be the optimal groups for studying the impact of internalized stigma on political outcomes, though these issues likely also affect those groups with visible stigmatized identities to some extent too. In study one I assess whether individuals with concealable identities have higher rates of internalized stigma and stronger associations between internalized stigma and the outcomes of interest, compared to those with visible stigmatized identities.

Of course, all types of identities can be understood as having varying degrees of immediate recognition or legibility, depending on the person being viewed and the social context. In other words, not all "visible" identities (race, gender, etc.) are known entirely without disclosure. In fact, people with typically visible identities are sometimes able to "pass" as something that they are not, usually in terms of categorical identity membership, such as Black vs. White (Goffman, 1963). Discussions of passing began with discussions of race, specifically examining people with Black heritage who were able to *pass* or be seen as white by others (Camaiti Hostert, 2007; Hobbs, 2014). Gender and other social identities that are typically visible and legible through initial contact between people have also been studied in this regard

(Callahan, 2008; DeJordy, 2008; Jenness & Fenstermaker, 2014; Pfeffer, 2014). Even so, I argue that the identities that I will be examining are fundamentally different because they *usually* require the individual to "out" themselves (Quinn & Earnshaw, 2011), or make their status known, in order to have that particular identity associated with them. This is especially true in the context of meetings between strangers or that are mediated by online interactions, such as the interactions I focus on in the last study, which first introduces interactions between groups to the dissertation.

I specifically study the effects of internalized stigma in sexual minorities and poor/working class minorities. These identities were selected not only because they share the feature of concealability, but because they differ in terms of *perceived identity changeability,* or the degree to which people believe that they are innate versus chosen. On the one hand, sexual minority identities are commonly believed by most to be innate and unchanging, largely as a result of the "Born This Way" argument incited by politicians, the public, and pop stars (Haslam & Levy, 2006). On the other hand, in our meritocratic society, social class is often seen as changeable, and almost completely dependent on the individual's drive and perseverance to succeed, especially among those with poor/working-class statuses (Kraus & Keltner, 2013; Mahalingam, 2003). Despite this widespread belief, empirical evidence has shown that upward mobility is actually rare (Corak, 2014). In fact, much of the class-based prejudice and stigma faced by working class and poor minorities can be seen as a direct product of the widely-accepted U.S. meritocratic ideology (Lott, 2012), which suggests that individuals who do not achieve social mobility must be lazy or have some other character flaw, rather than attributing that outcome to the unequal distribution of wealth and opportunity.

By examining two identities that differ in terms of perceived changeability, I hope to assess whether internalized stigma has the effect of dampening progress toward social change for marginalized groups, regardless of how much agency they perceive or are perceived by others to have, as members of that group. Alternatively, it could be that those with supposedly changeable identities, such as being working class, who are also high in internalized stigma, are less likely to engage in class-based political action because those with supposedly changeable and negatively-viewed identities are more likely to use their effort and resources to try to change their own class, rather than changing the structural systems that contribute to their predicament (e.g. wage inequity, corporate greed, etc.). In contrast, people with identities that are perceived to be unchangeable, like sexual orientation, may still participate in politically progressive actions even when internalized stigma is present, because they do not perceive a way to change this stigmatized identity. Of course, it is also true that people from both groups may view individual achievements as a way to improve the social status of their social identity group as a whole. Additionally, some people from both groups might pursue individual avenues toward success (e.g., money and status), while also trying to engage in collective pursuits geared toward social change. Therefore, throughout the studies I keep any analysis of group-relevant, collectivistic pursuits separate from individualistic/extrinsic pursuits, treating them as orthogonal constructs. In general though, I test the hypothesis that internalized stigma acts as a key factor in the dampening of socially progressive movements, regardless of perceived changeability of the identity. Therefore, I predict that internalized stigma will act as a barrier to positive social change for both sexual minorities and the poor/working class.

Internalized Stigma

In order to discuss the causes of internalized stigma, it is important to discuss the sources of stigma generally. Stigma is conceptualized by social scientists as a result of the negative attitudes that are directed towards marginalized groups because the privileged group asserts its dominance and power over the marginalized group (Goffman, 1963). Therefore, stigma takes the form of oppressive ideologies that assert the superiority of one group, usually the group with numerical or socio-political dominance, and make attributions of negative traits in the marginalized group.

So what is the role of *internalized* stigma? Researchers have theorized that internalized stigma happens as a result of stigmatized group members learning to accept and even endorse the dominant group's negative beliefs about their own group, resulting in "internalization" of the stigmatized status and the incorporation of the beliefs into their own belief system and self-conceptual understanding (Herek et al., 2009; Howland, Levin, Blixen, Tatsuoka, & Sajatovic, 2016; Livingston & Boyd, 2010; Pyke, 2010). Some theorists argue that stigma can be "internalized" by both majority/privileged group members and marginalized/minority group members. For example, homophobia/homonegativity can be internalized by straight people as a part of their self-concept (usually just called homophobia), but is termed "self-stigma" when internalized by sexual minorities (Herek, 2007). Since this research focuses almost entirely on internalized stigma in minority group populations, I refer to "self-stigma" when discussing internalized stigma. Additionally, I often discuss "perceived stigma" by which I mean the stigmatizing attitudes and behaviors directed at their group that marginalized groups witness.

Extant research has identified important consequences of internalized stigma across a variety of groups, including in terms of mental health and well-being (Howland et al., 2016;

Speight, 2007; Szymanski, 2005; Szymanski & Henrichs-Beck, 2014). I aim to evaluate the effect of internalized stigma on relatively unexamined socio-political outcomes, such as political engagement, activism, and issue importance, as well as less specific life-long variables like life aspirations and educational/occupational values. In the following sections, I briefly describe the current literature in each of these domains and how they relate to identity and stigma.

Deservingness: A Precursor to Relative Deprivation

Much research in social psychology has examined the theory of relative deprivation, investigating the circumstances under which actual disparities between people translate into felt disparities, and when individuals may feel empowered to act to correct the felt disparity (Crosby, 1976; Crosby, 1982; Smith, Pettigrew, Pippin, & Bialosiewicz, 2012). Relative deprivation has been used to explain felt discrepancies in a number of domains, both material (e.g. income) and symbolic (e.g. civil rights) (Crosby, 1976; Feather, 2015). Past research has shown that relative deprivation and the emotions felt as a result of inequality (e.g. anger) can be a strong factor in determining whether an individual tries to correct this injustice through individual or group-based action. While political action and issue importance are definitely important factors of interest in this dissertation, the importance of relative deprivation in the theoretical model lies in the link between individual differences in internalized stigma and feelings of deservingness, which serves as a precondition for relative deprivation and the activism or inaction that follows.

In her theoretical model describing the preconditions necessary in order for feelings relative deprivation to occur, Crosby describes five key components, referring to “X” as the object of which one has been deprived, in relation to another to another group or person: 1) See another possesses “X” 2) Want “X” 3) Feel that one deserves “X” 4) Think it is feasible to obtain “X” 5) Lack a sense of responsibility for failure to possess “X” (Crosby, 1982). Without going

into too much detail about all of these preconditions, all of which have been researched and documented as important precursors to relative deprivation, I focus on the third precondition as especially relevant. Research has documented the importance of felt deservingness for feelings of relative deprivation to occur (Feather, 2015). Indeed, it makes sense that if people do not think they deserve equal rights or equal pay, they likely will not feel resentment if they do not possess them. Furthermore, existing research examines the link between internalized attitudes about one's in-group and deservingness. For instance, McClelland argues that research examining sexual satisfaction between men and women should take account of women's feelings of sexual deservingness or entitlement, stemming from disparate societal beliefs about female sexuality in relation to male sexuality (McClelland, 2010; McClelland, Holland, & Griggs, 2014). Utilizing a similar adaptation as McClelland to Crosby's model of relative deprivation, one can predict that internalized negative attitudes toward one's in-group could lead to a lack of felt deservingness or entitlement to equal rights, equitable pay, or non-discrimination policies. In these studies, I test whether this theoretical link exists, by examining the relation between internalized stigma and hindered general interest in improving conditions for one's in-group, both in the short and long term (momentary political issue importance and recent activism vs. educational/occupational goals and life goals). Additionally, I include feelings of group-based deservingness as an outcome of internalized stigma and a predictor or the political outcomes. From a theoretical perspective, positive identification of such findings would support my assertion of the importance of one's feelings about one's in-group, their relation to felt deservingness as a precursor to relative deprivation, and their effect on any corresponding efforts to enact social change for one's marginalized group.

Political Engagement

I focus on two important aspects of political engagement. First, I consider *political activism*, defined by explicit behaviors directed toward a political cause, such as giving money, signing a petition, or marching in a rally (see Blankenship, Frederick, Savaş, Stewart, & Montgomery, 2017, for an example list of types of activism). Second, I consider *perceived importance of political issues*, defined by the degree to which individuals see particular political issues as important, compared with other issues (Kiousis & Mcdevitt, 2008). I argue that both of these should be significantly affected by identity, not just in terms of categorical membership (e.g. identifying as a gay person), which has been studied to some degree, but also in terms of one's feelings about a particular identity (e.g. internalized stigma). Specifically, the purpose of this dissertation is to examine whether internalized stigma significantly related to both of these variables in ways that hinder progress toward social change.

Empirical research on political engagement and issue importance among marginalized groups has largely stemmed from group-based theories developed in psychology, such as realistic group conflict theory, social identity theory, and social dominance theories (Carney, Jost, Gosling, & Potter, 2008; Ho et al., 2012; Sherif, 1988). Research examining political activism/engagement has shown that people with politicized marginalized identities (e.g. race) are significantly more likely to engage in political activism (Curtin, Stewart, & Duncan, 2010; Frost, 2011). However, it is important to note that not all marginalized individuals are politicized or participate in activism that benefits their group. Why might this be the case? In this dissertation I seek to show that internalized stigma serves as an important barrier to interest and engagement in politically transformative causes and issues.

Educational/Occupational Values and Life Aspirations

Social scientists have been increasingly interested in the ways that career/educationally-based choices coincide with people's general desire for what they wish to get out of life (life aspirations) (Twenge, Campbell, & Freeman, 2012). This is not surprising, since most adults spend most of their waking hours working, assuming a 40-hour work week. It stands to reason that individuals gravitate toward careers in which they can most closely achieve their life goals. In the counseling psychology literature, these gravitational tendencies are commonly referred to as work or occupational values, and they have been studied largely in the context of high school and college students, since it is during this adolescent period that students explore who they are and where they want to be later in life (Fouad, Ghosh, Chang, Figueiredo, & Bachhuber, 2016; Lent, Brown, & Hackett, 2002).

Work values are just one small piece of the larger Social Cognitive Career Theory and models of career development used in counseling psychology (Lent, Brown, & Hackett, 1994; Lent et al., 2002). Proponents of this theory argue that educational choices and the resulting career implications are a direct result of the interactions individuals have with their social environments. One of the strengths of this theory is that it takes into account the complex interplay between people and their social contexts, a goal shared by personality psychologists. These theorists argue that individuals are active participants in shaping and selecting their occupational environments, while also acknowledging that individual differences, like identity, can also actively shape the values, interests and expectancies of individuals that in turn shape their choices. One element that is affected by this interchange is work values. While certain individuals may already actively seek out careers that fulfill particular values (prestige, work-life flexibility, or capacity for social change), individual differences like social identity also affect

these processes. For instance, individuals who have endured a great deal of discrimination over the course of their early childhood and adolescence may be drawn toward careers, as young adults, that allow them to feel that they are lessening discrimination in society (e.g. as an educator or equal rights lawyer). It then follows that these career values could coincide with general life aspirations directed in a similar manner.

Since many people develop their attitudes about careers while exploring their social identities and their relevance to the self (Crocetti, Erentaitė, & Žukauskienė, 2014; Lounsbury, Huffstetler, Leong, & Gibson, 2005), it seems especially fruitful to empirically investigate the interactions between the two. While some research grounded in Social Cognitive Career Theory has examined categorical identity as a predictor of career-related variables, much less has examined specific dimensions of identity or the effect of stigma in this way. The closest theory that does this, Psychology of Working Theory, argues that power and privilege can affect people's ability to obtain fulfilling work (Duffy, Blustein, Diemer, & Autin, 2016). However, this theory could be expanded to show how societal stigma shapes individuals views of their own group, thereby affecting their values and goals. In Study Two of this dissertation, I examine the effect of internalized stigma on occupational values and life aspirations, which are direct predictors of educational trajectory and ultimate occupational selection. In this study I specifically examine whether internalized stigma not only constrains progressive advances in the short term, but also has long term effects on individuals' educational/occupational values and life goals that may in turn affect their ability to engage in activities directed at social change over the lifetime.

Ally Engagement

Political change movements aimed at improving conditions for marginalized groups often attract valuable support from some privileged group members, sometimes understood to be allies, in addition to marginalized group members. Although research has addressed some of the potential challenges of ally inclusion in social movements (Droogendyk, Wright, Lubensky, & Louis, 2016), it is safe to say that social movements usually benefit from ally support. Therefore, it seemed that political movements aimed at improving conditions for sexual minorities and poor/working class minorities could also benefit from appropriate inclusion of straight people and middle-upper class people. Furthermore, scientists who are interested in understanding the complicated ebb and flow of progressive social movements, including ones directed toward marginalized groups, must consider whether privileged people are an important piece of the puzzle.

Many psychologists have examined the conditions under which privileged group members engage in socially progressive behavior, as well as the potential benefits and costs of this behavior, whether it is everyday social justice behaviors (Montgomery, 2014) or political activism (Droogendyk et al., 2016; Grzanka, Adler, & Blazer, 2015; Russell, 2011; Russell & Bohan, 2016). However, much less research has examined the kind of experiences that may hinder progressive political action in potential political allies, or people who have not yet engaged in ally behavior but do not have an obvious reason for disengagement (i.e., are not prejudiced). One potential cause of hindered ally engagement is explored in this dissertation: exposure to the expression by marginalized group members of seemingly self-hating or internalized stigma-endorsing beliefs.

There is substantial evidence that intergroup contact can lower prejudice and lead to greater activism among privileged potential allies (Pettigrew, Tropp, Wagner, & Christ, 2011; Reimer *et al.,* 2017). Additionally, it is usually desirable for privileged group members to seek information and perspective about how to get involved from marginalized group members, rather than trying to "advise" marginalized group members on what they think is best for their group. However, dominant group members may look to marginalized group members for direction, sometimes even to a problematic degree (e.g., teachers and students may expect a single individual to provide a perspective on behalf of an entire social identity group) (Chesler, Lewis, & Crowfoot, 2005).

Based on past research, then, it makes sense that intergroup contact can realistically affect progressive social movements in one of two ways. On the one hand, in line with the virtuous cycle, we can imagine that potential allies could have an interaction with marginalized group members who endorse progressive steps forward for their group and maintain a positive attitude about their in-group. In this case, a potential ally should leave this type of interaction feeling generally positive about that marginalized out-group, perhaps even wanting to help the cause. On the other hand, in line with the "vicious" cycle, a potential ally might interact with members of a marginalized group who endorse self-stigmatizing views. This potential ally may habitually align themselves with these views, seeing them as justified, since they came from a member of the group themselves. This may then hinder their involvement or interest in enacting social change. This latter interaction is the type I examine in Study 3 of this dissertation, anticipating that internalized stigma can hinder progressive engagement of both marginalized individuals and the potential allies that they encounter.

Chapter 2 Stigma & Political Outcomes

Social scientists conceptualize stigma as negative attitudes about or associations with identity groups, as a result of a socially-determined "spoiling" of the identity (Goffman, 1963). Stigma leads to the marginalization of groups, while marginalization increases the likelihood of stigma, allowing those with relative social privilege to maintain their dominance and continue to wield stigma as a way to oppress those on the margins and maintain their social power. Although many groundbreaking studies have assessed how stigma is created and utilized by members of privileged groups, this study focuses on the effects of stigma for members of marginalized groups.

Stigma has been linked to many negative outcomes for socially marginalized groups, including poorer physical and mental health (Carpiniello & Pinna, 2017; Frost, 2011; Hatzenbuehler, Phelan, & Link, 2013; Mendoza-Denton & Leitner, 2017; Quinn & Earnshaw, 2011). Much less research has examined how stigma contributes to the ongoing marginalization of these groups through its effect on group-based political outcomes. In study 1 of this dissertation, I assess the ways in which stigma affects political outcomes like the perceived importance of group-based political issues and group-based political engagement. I use the term group-based political issue importance to refer to the degree to which individuals see political issues that affect their group (e.g. income inequality for working class people, or criminal justice reform for people of color) as an important component of their political views and motivations. I use the term group-based engagement to refer to a combination of what political scientists and psychologists call activism (e.g., attending a rally, donating money, or signing a petition)

directed at changing the status of one's group in society, and actions that demonstrate enthusiasm for changing the status quo but are not necessarily meant to create change by themselves (e.g., posting about a cause on Facebook). By assessing the relationship of stigma to these outcomes, I hope to identify potential points of intervention that might lessen the degree to which stigma hinders social progress for members of marginalized groups.

This study specifically examines the role of internalized stigma, or the extent to which negative social perceptions of one's marginalized group are adopted by the individuals themselves and seen as applying to themselves and other members of their marginalized group (Herek, Gillis, & Cogan, 2009). I view internalization as an intermediary between individual's perceptions of stigma and group-based political outcomes. I propose that addressing internalization may prove useful for those trying to encourage the group-serving political engagement of members of marginalized groups, above and beyond other relevant individual differences, like social dominance orientation. The purpose of this study is to make explicit connections among identity, stigma, and political engagement, drawing on theories like relative deprivation theory to make that connection.

Additionally, this study focusses on the ways in which the effects of stigma and internalized stigma may be different based on the concealability of the marginalized group identity. In this study I define concealability as any group status that is not readily known from physical cues alone (Quinn & Earnshaw, 2011). For individuals with concealable stigmatized identities, their group status is invisible or hidden from others until or unless they choose to disclose or "out" themselves; this fact can have consequences for identity related variables, like internalized stigma, and other outcomes like health and well-being (Kosciw, Palmer, & Kull, 2015; Moradi *et. al.*, 2010; Riggle, Rostosky, Black, & Rosenkrantz, 2017). Concealability is an

important dimension of identity that should be considered when examining the effects of identity on political outcomes, not only because it affects the experiences of members of these groups, in terms of how they manage (present, signal, conceptualize, etc.) their identities (King, Mohr, Peddie, Jones, & Kendra, 2017), but concealability may also play a role in how stigma operates and becomes internalized by members of these groups. If members of stigmatized concealable identity groups process and internalize perceived stigma differently from members of stigmatized identity groups with physical markers of their identity, this is helpful information for researchers who may be interested in creating interventions that target specific populations that differ in terms of their levels of concealability.

Perceptions of Stigma

Stigma has been thoroughly examined in many social science fields, like sociology, psychology, and political science. In his landmark book on stigma, Goffman discusses how stigma is characterized by the "spoiling" of an identity by the negative associations attributed to members of that identity group (Goffman, 1963). Stigma can present itself in more general forms, such as through prejudice, defined as a general disliking or negative feeling towards a particular group (Tajfel, 1969), or it can be presented in specific ways, such as through stereotypes, or particular negative assumptions attached to group members (Haines, Deaux, & Lofaro, 2016). Regardless of the way that stigma is enacted, the effect is the same: stigma ascribes a lower status to members of the stigmatized group, compared to members of groups that do not share that stigmatized group membership (Frost, 2011). While stigma is largely conceptualized as a tool of the privileged, used for maintaining power and status for their groups by subjugating members of lower status groups in society, I ask here how stigma also affects the

actions of members of marginalized groups, leading to further marginalization because of hindered political action (see Apfelbaum, 1979 for a discussion of these proposed processes).

Ultimately, group members cannot process or react to stigma without first being exposed to it. I am interested in how individuals' perceptions of stigma in society serve as a starting point for my proposed theoretical model (see *Figure 1.1*). Studies have demonstrated that exposure to stigma can have many negative consequences across many high-stakes domains, including health, academics, and intergroup relations (Canfield, & Cunningham, 2018; Hatzenbuehler, Nolen-Hoeksema, & Erickson, 2008; Lick, Durso, & Johnson, 2013; Pachankis, & Hatzenbuehler, 2013; Williams & Mann, 2017). Although I think stigma plays a consequential role in the status of groups across many important domains, it may be especially consequential in determining immediate and lifelong political action. Specifically, stigmatizing experiences are powerful because they communicate messages to individuals about their social identity groups and about themselves as members of those groups. For instance, if a member of a stigmatized group sees that others treat their group negatively, this may affect their own perceptions of their worth and place in society, in relation to privileged groups (Szymanski & Henrichs-Beck, 2014).

Past research has shown that individuals develop different strategies for dealing with stigma (Miller & Kaiser, 2001). On the one hand, theories that address critical consciousness and feminist consciousness, including critical race theory, have shown that stigma can strengthen identity and be a source of engagement and resilience, causing members of groups to perceive injustice and act to rectify it (Cole, Zucker, Ostrove, 1998; Diemer, Rapa, Park, & Perry, 2017; Duncan, 2010; Moane, 2010; Gurin, Miller, & Gurin, 1980; Stewart, Settles, Winter, 1998). On the other hand, theories like minority stress theory have shown that stigma can be debilitating, leading to negative coping mechanisms like substance use and abuse, poorer physical health, and

more psychological distress (Baams, Grossman, & Russell, 2015; Burns, Kamen, Lehman, & Beach, 2012; Frost, Lehavot, & Meyer, 2013; Lick, Durso, & Johnson, 2013; Goldbach, Tanner-Smith, Bagwell, & Dunlap, 2014; Meyer, 2003). Another outcome of stigma, which is the focus of this dissertation, is internalized stigma (Graham, West, Martinez, & Roemer, 2016; Kashubeck-West, Szymanski, & Meyer, 2008; Speight, 2007). Internalized stigma may be an important mechanism connecting the stigma shown toward marginalized groups with avoidance of political engagement by members of those marginalized groups.

Relative Deprivation Theory and Social Change

In order to make the connection between stigma and limited political engagement, it is necessary to consider how the personal (identity) is connected to the structural-political (political engagement). One theoretical tradition that is especially useful in this pursuit is relative deprivation theory (Crosby, 1976; Crosby, 1982). Several other theories connect political outcomes, such as activism, to individual differences and beliefs about the status of groups in society, including system justification (Jost, Banaji, & Nosek, 2004) and social dominance orientation (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994); these will be discussed later. In contrast, relative deprivation is especially useful for connecting the evaluative beliefs that individuals perceive about their group to political action on behalf of that group.

Relative deprivation theory posits that there are some necessary criteria that enable individuals to perceive an injustice (deprivation), feel that the injustice is changeable, and act to rectify that injustice. One can experience deprivation in many areas, including equal opportunities, equal pay, equitable treatment under the law, and other forms of injustice. However, for individuals to be moved to alter the injustice, they must first recognize that the injustice exists, meaning they perceive that they do not have X and others do. They also need to

believe that the injustice can be rectified (i.e. it is possible to obtain X), and to see this symbolic or material object as desirable (i.e. they want X). Finally, what separates relative deprivation theory from other theories of individuals' beliefs about injustice is the focus on "deservingness" as a necessary criterion for individuals to perceive an injustice and be motivated to acquire X. This is a crucial element of the relative deprivation framework for my argument that stigma plays a role in affecting individuals' responses to injustice, thereby diminishing their attempts to acquire X through political action. Other researchers have made the connection between perceptions of deservingness and socio-political outcomes (McClelland, 2010; Watkins-Hayes & Kovalsky, 2016). However, what is novel in this approach is the explicit connection being made in this study between internalized stigma and deservingness.

Specifically, I predict that it is difficult for individuals who have been exposed to negative views about their group (stigma) to see their social identity group as deserving, but this effect will hold most strongly for those who have actually internalized stigmatizing views of their group. In fact, those who have not internalized those views may be expected to perceive the injustices, and act on them, for themselves and their group, because they do actually feel they do deserve justice. I predict that it is the lack of felt deservingness that hinders the political engagement of individuals who have internalized stigma, because they do not believe that their group deserves equality. Although I argue that deservingness is the mechanism underlying the connection between stigma and political engagement, I cannot test this specific mechanism in study 1 of this dissertation because the study relied on an existing dataset that did not have a direct measure of deservingness (this specific link will be assessed in Study 2). Despite not being able to test the connection between deservingness and internalization in study 1 directly, I do test

whether internalized stigma, or the extent to which individuals have accepted society's negative views about their group as applying to the self, connects perceived stigma to political outcomes.

Internalized Stigma

While perceptions of being stigmatized are normal experiences for people from marginalized identity groups, some of these individuals go on to internalize that stigma, creating consequences above and beyond those associated with experiences of stigma. Internalization of stigma is widely understood as the acceptance of negative societal beliefs or feelings about one's marginalized social identity group as applying to the self and other group members (Herek, 2007; Szymanski, Kashubeck-West, & Meyer, 2008). Put another way, internalization is the acceptance of ideologies (e.g. racism, classism, heterosexism) that oppress members of one's marginalized group. Some researchers use different language; they argue that internalized stigma is the acceptance of oppressive ideologies by any individual (i.e. anyone who endorses classist attitudes, regardless of their own social class, has "internalized classism"), while *self-stigma* is the internalization of stigmatizing beliefs about one's own marginalized group(s) (e.g. a gay person endorsing views that are homonegative has "internalized self-stigma") (Herek, 2007). In contrast, I refer to self-stigma whenever I mention internalized stigma throughout this chapter, since this study only concerns marginalized individuals and their beliefs about their own marginalized groups.

Although internalized stigma is a construct of interest to psychologists who study many identities, including race, gender, and sexual orientation (Herek, Gillis, & Cogan, 2009; Pyke, 2010; Speight, 2007; Szymanski, 2005; Szymanski & Henrichs-Beck, 2014; Szymanski, Kashubeck-west, & Meyer, 2008), there is limited research in psychology that has assessed internalized stigma for other groups, such as individuals from marginal social classes, despite

individuals arguing for the importance of considering it in research and practice (Greenleaf, Ratts & Song, 2016; Russell, 1996). Although there are likely subtle or even important differences that characterize internalization for different marginalized groups, this study is unusual and useful because it uses a standard measure of stigmatized feelings about one's marginalized groups (low private regard) across group identities, so that the effects of stigma on internalization and internalization on political outcomes can be easily studied across all stigmatized identities, as well as used to differentiate between different types of identity. One important difference among the identities that serve as the focus of this dissertation is their level of concealability.

Concealable Identity and Internalized Stigma

Concealable identity applies to an identity group whose members are not readily identified without explicit disclosure or "outing" (Quinn & Earnshaw, 2011). In this study I focus on those who have stigmatized concealable identities and compare them to those who have visible stigmatized identities. Specifically, I compared those from two groups with concealable identities, sexual minorities and poor/working class people, to those from two groups with visible identities, women and people of color.

It is also important to stress that the distinction between visible and concealable is somewhat arbitrary. For instance, many people of color sometimes "pass" as white (intentionally or unintentionally), making their experience with stigma different from those who never pass (DeJordy, 2008; Renfrow, 2004). Additionally, individuals with stigmas that I call "concealable" in this study may have different markers of their status that they may be less able to manage when they present their identities. For instance, someone who is working class might not be able to hide their status as easily from friends and family, since many important markers of class, like education and occupation, are readily known to these individuals. However, these

individuals generally still do not have the same types of visible external markers that make their status legible to strangers, such as those that exist for race and gender. Therefore, it seemed reasonable to draw the distinctions between the groups in this way, with the caveat that assumptions about visibility/concealability of identity were made for the members of all of these groups.

Concealability itself has theoretically important implications for the types of stigma marginalized individuals experience, the range of ways these individuals react to stigma, and/or the methods of coping that are readily available for members of these groups. In general, I predict that for those with concealable stigma, there will be a stronger relationship between perceived sigma and internalized stigma, compared to those with only visible stigmatized identities. Although I offer many reasons why concealability might an important dimension to examine when testing for the effects of stigma on political outcomes, I argue that all of the possible mechanisms affect the link between perceived stigma and internalization in such a way that among those with concealable stigmatized identities, there will be a stronger positive relationship between perceived stigma and internalized stigma compared to a similar, but weaker, positive relationship for those with visible stigmatized identities.

Individuals who have concealable identities, such as sexual minority identities, experience stigma in different ways than those with visible identities. For example, if someone has a concealable identity, it is likely that others will freely express stigmatizing thoughts and feelings in their presence when they normally might soften or avoid expression if they knew someone with that status (e.g. a gay person) was in their presence. This is not to say that individuals with visible stigma do not experience explicit discrimination; they most certainly do (Mohr & Purdie-Vaughns, 2015). It is rather to say that this concealment dynamic likely allows

high-stakes perpetrators (e.g. close family and friends) to express stigma more openly around those with concealable stigma. For instance, those from stigmatized groups, when faced with these expressions from friends and family members may ignore stigmatizing statements, because of a desire to avoid interpersonal tension or conflict. Of course, people with visible identities may also choose to ignore these types of stigmatizing experiences. However, for those with concealable stigmatized identities, there is also potentially an added cost of acting against stigma in these contexts: outing oneself. This may further incentivize inaction, especially if they are around individuals who are unaware of their status. For example, if by standing up for one's stigmatized concealable identity group these individuals "out" themselves, they may be direct targets of further stigma-based statements/actions. They might be especially worried about this if the individuals seem especially prejudiced, potentially fearing for their safety. They might also worry if it is a close other (e.g. family or close friend) making the stigmatizing statement, potentially losing the favor of this person if they inadvertently out themselves through advocating against stigma. Therefore, because of their ability to conceal their status, individuals with concealable stigmatized identities experience the possibility of the risks of acting against stigma outweighing the potential benefits in more instances than for those with visible stigmatized identities. This incentivizes the choice not to act and may result in them internally processing the experienced stigma without overtly fighting against it or providing an explicit counternarrative, potentially leading to greater internalization.

It is also true that the strategies for addressing or coping with perceived stigma that are available to those with visible stigmatized identities are likely different from those available to individuals with concealable stigmatized identities. For instance, during or following a stigmatizing experience, individuals with visible stigmatized identities are likely more able to

seek out others who share their identity, as well as potential allies, compared to those with concealable stigmatized identities. This is likely due to the same issues of concealability and outness. While a woman and/or a person of color might be able to seek out social support to disclose stigmatizing experiences to other women and/or people of color and to process these experiences with them, individuals with concealable stigmatized identities may not have individuals readily available for this type of coping because they—and some other members of their group—are not open about their status. Therefore, whereas those with visible stigmatized identities might be more easily able to dismiss these negative messages about their group as problematic and untrue because of this social support, those with concealable identities may frequently process these experiences internally, potentially leading to greater levels of internalized stigma.

Finally, individuals with visible concealable stigmas may get more exposure to non-stigmatizing counternarratives that they can use as a source of self-assurance in moments where they perceive stigma being espoused against them or their group. For instance, literature on the racial socialization of Black children has shown that many parents prepare their children to experience stigma in its various forms by helping them develop a "shield" to deflect negative societal views and to develop a group-affirming perspective (Wang & Huguley, 2012; White-Johnson, Ford & Sellers, 2010). Conversely, there is no evidence from social science that most individuals with concealable stigmatized identities receive counter-narratives that they can use as self-protective tools for coping with stigma. Individuals with concealable statuses that they are unlikely to share with their parents, such as sexual minority identities, may suffer from this problem particularly, since their best chance of receiving this type of counternarrative early would stem from early disclosure and an accepting social support system that is able to delineate

such non-stigmatizing narratives before perceptions of societal stigma have had an opportunity to become internalized. Of course, not all individuals with concealable stigmatizing identities grow up in these types of identity-affirming environments (Schmitz & Tyler, 2018), likely resulting in higher rates of internalization for some of them as well.

Since all of these explanations suggest more internalization of perceived stigma for those with marginalized concealable identities, it seems logical that more perceptions of stigma among those with concealable stigmatized identities would have a larger effect on political outcomes. Therefore, I predict that the effect of perceived stigma on internalized stigma will be affected by the concealability of the identity group. Before discussing these expected effects in the form of hypotheses though, it is important to situate this study within the extant literature on identity, identity-related individual differences, and the political outcomes of interest.

Identity and Politicization

Political psychologists and political scientists have long explored the connection between identity and identity-related individual differences and political outcomes, such as issue importance and political engagement. Scholars have found that it is common for individuals to act politically in ways that would benefit their social identity group (for reviews, see Apfelbaum, 1979; Brewer, 1996; Tajfel & Turner, 2004), but there have also been studies that have found that some individuals with marginalized identities also act politically in ways that uphold the status quo and do not seek to rectify injustices against their social identity group (Jost, & Banaji, 1994; Jost, Banaji, & Nosek, 2004; Jost, Pelham, Sheldon, & Sullivan, 2003; Jost & Thompson, 2000; Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994; Pratto, Sidanius, & Levin, 2006; Sidanius, Levin, & Pratto, 1996; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). In this study I argue that, while many important individual differences and mechanisms have been proposed and confirmed as related to these

different propensities (Blankenship, Frederick, Savaş, Stewart, & Montgomery, 2017; Blankenship, Savaş, Frederick & Stewart, 2018; Curtin, Stewart, & Cole, 2015), I aim to demonstrate the specific importance of individuals' beliefs about their identity group, showing how these predict political engagement and issue importance above and beyond individual differences, like social dominance orientation; I make these arguments because of their presumed effect on perceptions of deservingness.

Issue Importance

The first political outcome that serves as a dependent variable in this study is perceived importance of identity-related issues. Individuals are typically grouped in terms of ideology in studies of political beliefs, but some research has assessed the specific political beliefs of individuals in the form of their perceived importance of political issues (Kiousis & Mcdevitt, 2008). Political issue attention is helpful to investigate because it can help researchers assess how specific beliefs about identity and society can translate into the relative importance of specific issues, which can then be used to better understand or predict political behavior (Blankenship, Savaş, Frederick, & Stewart, 2018).

Identity-related issue importance is the extent to which individuals see issues that specifically affect their marginalized social identity groups as important (e.g. income inequality for working-class people or criminal justice reform for people of color). Issue importance is especially consequential because research has also found that when identity-related issues (e.g. immigration) become salient to marginalized group members (e.g. Latinx Americans), this can have a powerful effect on mobilization and drive outcomes like Latinx voter turnout (Barreto & Collingwood, 2015). Therefore, political issue importance is of interest both on its own and

because it predicts more active, behavioral, group-based outcomes, such as group-based political engagement.

Political Engagement

For this study, political engagement is defined as involving two related kinds of behaviors. The first, activism, involves actions that explicitly and directly aim to create societal change though advocacy, policy, or by applying pressure to democratic institutions in various ways (e.g. donating money, attending a rally, etc.). The other type, political engagement, involves actions that signal an interest and expressed importance in creating social change, but are not necessarily methods that have been shown to be effective at creating such change (e.g. posting about a cause on social media). Furthermore, since these types of actions are not typically defined as activism, nor do individuals that participate in these types of actions always consider themselves activists, I group these behaviors and individuals under the general term, political engagement.

The literature on the antecedents of political engagement includes research on social identity, individual differences, and the relation between the two. The last of these approaches has been shown to be especially vital for investigating the ways in which identity predicts action. However, there is not as much research focusing on how people think and feel about their social identities, in conjunction with these other variables. Equally, there is no research on how basic experiential differences between identities, such as their level of concealability, can influence the relations between these variables. Both issues will be taken up in the current study.

By itself, social identity does not automatically predict group-based political action. Theories like realistic conflict theory (Sherif, 1988) and social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 2004) might lead one to believe that members of groups generally want to act in ways that serve

the interests of their group (i.e. create social change to benefit marginalized groups or uphold the status quo to benefit privileged groups), either because of conflicts over resources or because of a deep psychological affinity for their socially constructed groups. However, we know that this picture is complicated by individual differences, such as particular dimensions of identity or beliefs about society. We know from previous research that individuals with marginalized identities that have become politicized do more often engage in activism (Curtin, Stewart, & Duncan, 2010). However, we also know that individual differences can inflect these propensities in ways that impact political engagement, causing people to not act in ways that benefit their group (Blankenship et al., 2017). While widely-used theories of individual difference, such as system justification and social dominance orientation (Osborne, Jost, Becker, Badaan, & Sibley, 2018; Sidanius, Levin, & Pratto, 1996), are important for understanding the hindered political action of members of marginalized groups, identity-specific differences like internalized and perceived stigma, are also crucial in connecting individual-level experiences of specific identities to social structure and power in ways that these more general attitudes cannot. In this study, I attempt to show how dimensions of identity predict political engagement above and beyond one of these individual differences, namely social dominance orientation.

Social dominance orientation (SDO) is a related individual difference that has been shown to be positively correlated with system justification (Ho *et el.*, 2012). Like system justification, social dominance orientation is also associated with right-wing beliefs and behaviors (Blankenship *et al.*, 2018; Wilson & Sibley, 2013). Social dominance orientation also concerns individuals' beliefs about social structure. However, rather than being concerned with beliefs about the legitimacy of social structure, SDO is concerned with individuals' affinity for social hierarchy in the form of preference for social dominance (the dominance dimension) and

preference for non-egalitarian intergroup relations (the anti-egalitarian dimension) (Ho *et al.,* 2015). The latter has been shown to be associated with more subtle ways that privileged groups maintain their status through social inequality, as opposed to more forceful ways of asserting dominance over other groups. These have been thought of as modern forms of prejudice versus old-fashioned or traditional forms of prejudice (Ho *et al.*, 2012). Since previous studies have shown SDO to be an important factor in predicting progressive stances on issues and intentions to engage in social change, I include SDO as a control variable in all analyses. Since this study concerns in-group members' group-based political engagement, I specifically used the SDO anti-egalitarianism subscale (SDO-E) from members of marginalized groups as a control in all analyses, in order to test the prediction that the identity-related variables (perceived stigma and internalized stigma) would predict political engagement above and beyond these more general beliefs about the status of groups.

In summary, this study investigates two politically relevant outcomes, identity-related issue importance and identity-related political engagement. These outcomes differ in their level of activation, with political issue attention being a "cold," cognitive outcome that requires little action, while political engagement serves as a "hot," behavior-based outcomes that requires action. Assessing the effect of internalized stigma on both is important because it can demonstrate how internalized stigma not only affects the "hotter" (and rarer) behavioral processes, like engagement, but can even affect colder cognitive processes, such as attention to issues. Utilizing these two types of political outcomes in study 1, I assess whether internalized stigma undermines the politicization of marginalized individuals in ways that disengage them from efforts to improve the status of their social identity group in society.

The Current Study

The purpose of Study 1 is to test the degree to which stigma affects perceived importance of identity-related issues and socially progressive political engagement directed toward causes that benefit participants' stigmatized identity groups. To theoretically connect stigma to these social outcomes, I predict that internalized stigma mediates the link between stigma and these political outcomes. I predict that all of these effects will be moderated by the concealability of identities, with effects stronger for those with concealable identities than those with only visible identities. Finally, since other important individual differences, such as social dominance orientation, may also predict issue importance and engagement, I control for this variable in all analyses, showing how identity-related effects are important predictors above and beyond this individual difference. In this study I test the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1: (a) Participants with concealable stigmatized identities will have higher perceived stigma compared to those with only visible stigmatized identities. (b) Participants with concealable stigmatized identities will have higher internalized stigma compared to those with only visible stigmatized identities.

Hypothesis 2: (a) The relation between perceived stigma and identity-related issue importance will be mediated by internalized stigma, above and beyond effects of social dominance. (b) The relation between perceived stigma and identity-related engagement will also be mediated by internalized stigma, using the same control.

Hypothesis 3: The effects (a & b) described in hypothesis 2 will be stronger for those with concealable stigmatized identities compared to those with only visible stigmatized identities.

Hypothesis 4: The relation between perceived stigma and identity-related engagement will be mediated by internalized stigma and identity-related issue importance serially, such that internalized stigma will predict issue importance, while also using SDO as a control.

Methods

Participants

This study included adults (18+ year old) surveyed as part of a larger online (Amazon Mechanical Turk) longitudinal study of responses to the 2016 U.S. election season (total n = 782). Participants were only permitted to participate in subsequent waves if they participated in all previous waves. Since I used measures from wave 4, only participants who participated in all waves were included in the analyses (n = 480). Additionally, since I was only interested in testing for differences between those with concealable and visible stigmatized identities, I only included participants who identified with at least one stigmatized identity (women, gender minority, working class, sexual minority, or racial minority), excluding those who identified as straight, white, middle class males from the analyses. This left a final sample size of 362 individuals.

The sample used for the study was different from the larger sample, in terms of the variables of interest. This is not surprising, since the sample for the study only included individuals who had stigmatized identities, while everyone without stigmatized identities was excluded. The study's sample had significantly lower scores for social dominance orientation, t (788) = 4.29, $p < .001$, higher average stigma (average of gender, race, class, and sexual orientation ratings; measured as public regard, but reversed to assess perceived stigma), t (480) = 5.10, $p < .001$, and a trend toward higher average internalized stigma (average of gender, race,

class, and sexual orientation ratings; measured as private regard, but reversed to assess internalized stigma), t (480) = 1.92, p = .06. Participants included in the study also generally perceived the identity-relaetd issues as more important than those excluded from the study, t (480) = -4.99, p < .001, and were more likely to participate in identity-related engagement actions than those who were excluded, t (480) = -4.26, p < .001.

Amazon Mechanical Turk is an online resource for conducting social science and other research using samples of participants who perform short human intelligence tasks (HITs) for modest compensation (participants earned $13.05 over the course of 4 waves). Although MTurk is a useful resource for surveying large numbers of participants relatively quickly, it does have limitations. For instance, MTurk samples do not adequately reflect the composition of the U.S. population (Levay, Freese, & Druckman, 2016). Additionally, there can be concerns with non-naivete when it comes to measures/manipulations and dishonesty in reporting answers, though this mostly comes up in the context of selection criteria (Chandler, Mueller, & Paolacci, 2014; Chandler & Paolacci, 2017). Despite these and other concerns, researchers have also demonstrated the benefits of using this type of subject pool (see Goodman, Cryder, & Cheema, 2013, for both), especially when recruiting relatively diverse or hard-to-reach samples (Smith, Sabat, Martinez, Weaver, & Xu, 2015), such as those that were the focus of this study. Additionally, research has found that the data quality of U.S. MTurk samples is comparable to that of other U.S. panel samples (Smith, Roster, Golden, & Albaum, 2016).

In terms of demographics, the sample was relatively diverse. Racially, participants identified as White/Caucasian (n = 258, 72%), Black/African-American (n = 45, 12%), Asian/Asian-American/Pacific Islander (n = 25, 7%), Latino/Latina/Hispanic (n = 19, 5%), Native American (n = 3, 1%), and Middle Eastern (n =1, > 1%). Additionally, 10 individuals

further identified as biracial/multiracial (3%). Participants were able to identify with as many of these groups as they wished. While recognizing that a crude grouping of these groups into Whites and People of Color ignores important heterogeneity in both groups, two groups were created that captured key identity differences for comparison with the focal identities in the study: 258 were identified as Whites/Caucasians and 103 were identified as People of Color.

In terms of gender, 98 individuals identified as men (27%), 260 identified as women (72%), and 3 identified as Transgender/Gender non-binary (1%). The small number of people who identified as gender minorities did not allow for separate analysis of this group. Therefore, for all analyses we used two groups; one was individuals who identified with marginalized genders (women and trans/gender non-binary) and the other was those who identified with the privileged gender group (men).

As for social class, our participants identified as working class (n = 162; 45%), lower middle class (n = 74; 20%), middle class (n = 105; 29%), upper middle class (n = 18; 5%) and upper class (n =2; 1%). These were recoded into two groups, working class (n = 162) and middle/upper class (n = 200), for analyses.

Finally, in terms of sexual orientation, the majority (n = 303, 84%) identified as straight, while 33 (9%) identified as bisexual, 20 identified as gay/lesbian (6%), and 5 (1.4%) identified with none of these options, using a text-entry box to name their sexual identity (4 as “LGBTQA” and 1 as “unknown”), for a total of 64 sexual minority individuals.

Of course, these identities do not exist independently of each other. For instance, in our sample, 25 individuals identified as both sexual minority and poor/working class. While it would have been desirable to test for intersectional effects of these identities and develop hypotheses *a*

priori (Cole, 2009) about each of these intersectional groups (working class sexual minorities vs. middle-class sexual minorities), it is unclear within the extant literature on these topics what kind of effects of internalized stigma we should expect for these mixed identity groups. This is similarly true for those who had a mix of visible and concealable identities (e.g. queer people of color). Furthermore, the resulting groups would be too small for the analyses in this study.

Procedure

As indicated earlier, the sample for the current study was selected from a larger longitudinal study of the 2016 U.S. election. The larger study sampled Amazon Mechanical Turk (MTurk) workers during four waves throughout the 2016 U.S. Presidential Election and the months immediately following. The first wave took place before the Republican and Democratic conventions (July 2-12, 2016). To be eligible, participants were required to be registered to vote in the United States, to agree to participate in all four waves, and sign an informed consent form. The Wave 1 survey included several demographic, personality, and political measures. Wave 2 data were collected from September 6-13, 2016, temporally between the conventions and the presidential debates. Wave 3 surveyed participants again after the election, between November 15 and December 1, 2016, to assess their actual vote and obtain other measures. Finally, in Wave 4 we surveyed participants after the inauguration from January 25 to February 11, 2017. All waves described above received an exemption from IRB oversight by the University of Michigan Institutional Review Board Health Sciences and Behavioral Sciences. Participants provided informed consent at the beginning of each consecutive wave, in which they consented to participate in the current survey and also provided consent to be contacted for follow-up waves.

In general, participants completed most of the demographic measures in wave 1, most of the personality measures of interest for the current study (including internalized stigma) in wave

4, and some repeated measures, including issue importance and activism, in every wave. Participants were only allowed to complete consecutive waves if they completed all earlier waves. For example, only participants who completed the second wave were eligible to complete the third. Retention rates for each consecutive wave were relatively high (75-90% retention). To incentivize retention, participants received sliding compensation for completing each consecutive wave, receiving pay at the standard MTurk worker rate of $0.10/min for wave 1 ($3.00 per completion) and $0.20/min for wave 4 ($6.00 per completion). This study relies on measures collected during the first and fourth waves of the larger study.

Measures

Complete measures for Study 1 of this dissertation can be viewed in *Appendix A*. As stated earlier, for individuals who identified with multiple marginalized identities (both concealable and visible), we created combined scores for each of the measures that were the mean of the scores for their different marginalized identities. For instance, if a participant identified as both a racial minority and a sexual minority, their scores for all identity, issue, and activism variables were the means of their corresponding ratings for both of those identities (e.g. this participant's private regard would be equal to the mean of their private regard ratings for race and sexual orientation).

Perceived stigma. To operationalize *perceived stigma*, I used group-specific adaptations of the public collective self-esteem scale (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992) for each identity. An example item would be: "In general, others respect my class group." Participants rated their agreement with 4 statements for each identity, using a 7-point Likert scale (strongly disagree-strongly agree). This subscale has been shown to have acceptable reliability and validity (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992). Furthermore, in our sample, the coefficients for internal

consistency of the public regard subscales, collected in wave 4 for race, gender, class, and sexual orientation, had a high range (alpha = .89 for race at the lowest; alpha = .96 for sexual orientation and class at the highest). In order to make higher scores on these measures reflect higher perceived stigma, the scores were reversed prior to analysis.

Internalized stigma. To operationalize *internalized stigma*, I used group-specific adaptations of the private collective self-esteem scale (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992) for each identity. An example item would be: “I often regret that I belong to my class group.” Participants rated their agreement with 4 statements for each identity, using a 7-point Likert scale (strongly disagree-strongly agree). This subscale has been shown to have acceptable reliability and validity (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992). Furthermore, in our sample, the internal consistency coefficients for the private regard subscales, collected in wave 4 for race, gender, class, and sexual orientation, were high (alpha = .84 for sexual orientation at the lowest; alpha = .90 for race at the highest). In order to make higher scores on this these measures reflect more internalized stigma, the scores were reversed prior to analysis.

Political issue importance. To measure *political issue importance*, participants were given a series of measures in each wave asking about various experimenter-generated issues of importance in U.S. politics. I used the wave 4 measures in this dissertation, since this was a dependent variable for this study and logically should be measured later than all predictors. To establish consensus on the list of issues, prior to data collection the experimenters led a series of meetings with the research team. Among the issues that were selected, some were not related to the identities being examined in the current study (e.g. environmental rights, gun control, etc.) and others were (e.g. gay marriage, income inequality, etc.), mirroring similar designs where experimenters provided lists of study-relevant and irrelevant issues (Lecheler, De Vreese, &

Slothuus, 2009). Participants were asked several questions about each issue, but this study focusses on their ratings of general importance. General importance was measured by having the participants rate each item using the prompt "How important is this issue to you, in general?" with a 7-point Likert scale from (1) not at all important to (7) extremely important. Internal consistency of LGBTQ issues (lesbian & gay rights and transgender rights) was high (alpha=.91) for our sample. For class, an acceptable level of internal consistency was observed (alpha = .64), including unemployment, taxes, and economic growth items. Gender issues included abortion and women's rights, producing an acceptable coefficient (alpha = .65). Finally, racial issues included racism and criminal justice reform, producing an acceptable coefficient (alpha = .66).

Political engagement/activism. To assess political engagement and activism, the original election study team generated a similar list of politically-relevant causes, using a method used in previous research (Blankenship et al., 2017; Curtin et al., 2015; Curtin *et al*., 2010). These causes included items related to progressive action directed toward addressing the oppression faced by the marginalized groups in the study (e.g. Civil Rights, Poverty, and Gay/Lesbian Rights), as well as items unrelated to these identities (e.g. Environmental Causes, Anti-War/Peace, etc.). Participants were asked to indicate whether they engaged with each issue, providing 8 potential engagement items. Engagement items included posting about a cause online, signing a petition online (or in person), donating money, writing a letter or calling an elected official, attending a rally or demonstration, or being an active member of an organization to help a cause. Participants checked boxes next to each action they performed for each cause. To create a "breadth" of engagement score for each cause, presence/absence scores for all actions were summed for each cause. For instance, a person who performed the actions of giving money

and attending a rally to support LGBTQ rights would have received a breadth score of two out of eight (.25) for that cause.

As with the issue variables, identity-related activism/engagement scores (e.g. class-based activism/engagement) were computed by producing the mean of all related cause scores (e.g. the mean of income inequality and worker rights for class-based activism/engagement) for each identity. As with the issue measures, I only used the wave 4 scores for analyses. The anticipated identity-related activism/engagement items produced adequate reliabilities, with .81 for LGBTQ causes (LGBTQ rights and transgender rights), .76 for class-based causes (workers' rights and income inequality), .78 for race-based causes (civil rights, racial justice, prison reform, and criminal justice), and .75 for gender-based causes (pro-choice and women's rights).

Social Dominance Orientation (Anti-egalitarianism). Social dominance orientation was measured with an 8-item SDO measure (Ho et al., 2015) in the first wave of data collection. I used the anti-egalitarianism subscale of the social dominance orientation measure as a control in all regression-based analyses for this study, since there was likely to be more variability in these more subtle beliefs about preference for inequality, among members of marginalized groups, compared to the more extreme "dominance" sub-scale. Participants rated how much they favor or oppose each of the four statements on a 7-point Likert scale. An example item is "group equality should not be our primary goal." Participants, on average, rated themselves as opposing these items (M = 2.27, SD = 1.44). The scale also had good internal consistency (α = .86).

Results

Preliminary Analyses

Before conducting analyses to test the hypotheses for the study, it is helpful to assess the general relationships between variables, as well as differences in the key variables between the groups of interest.

Descriptives. In terms of internalized stigma, as operationalized by the (reverse-scored) private regard measures, individuals felt generally positive about their stigmatized identity groups, as shown by the relatively low mean level of internalized stigma (*M* = 2.36 on a 7-point scale), with women feeling least negatively, followed by people of color, sexual minorities, and working-class people. Individuals felt that others' perceptions of their stigmatized identity groups were more negative (*M* = 3.67). The order was similar for perceived stigma, but sexual minorities and working-class people were reversed. The fact that the groups with concealable stigmatized identities (working-class and sexual minority) had higher perceived and internalized stigma ratings than those with only visible stigmatized identities (women and POC) provides some support for the hypotheses prior to the running of any sort of statistical tests. For a complete list of descriptive statistics for each stigmatized identity group, see *Table 2.1*.

Table 2.1: Descriptive Statistics

Identity	Variables	Mean	SD	LL	UL	Cronbach's Alpha
Sexual Minorities (n = 58)						
	SO Internalized Stigma	2.28	1.22	1.5	7	.90
	SO Perceived Stigma	4.42	1.65	1	7	.95
	SO Issue Importance	3.51	1.13	1	5	.72
	SO Political Engagement	.58	.82	0	3	.70
Working Class (n = 162)						
	Class Internalized Stigma	3.63	1.52	1	7	.91
	Class Perceived Stigma	4.37	1.50	1	7	.95
	Class Issue Importance	3.86	.84	1.67	5	.84

Class Political Engagement	.29	.60	0	5	.78
Women (n = 260)					
Gender Internalized Stigma	1.83	.87	2.75	7	.85
Gender Perceived Stigma	3.27	1.29	1	7	.90
Gender Issue Importance	3.81	1.05	1	5	.55
Gender Political Engagement	.60	.94	0	5.5	.74
POC (n = 103)					
Racial Internalized Stigma	2.05	1.11	2.5	7	.86
Racial Perceived Stigma	3.90	1.48	1	7	.91
Racial Issue Importance	3.65	1.08	1	5	.66
Racial Political Engagement	.40	.53	0	8	.74
Sample (n =361)					
Stigmatized Identity Internalized Stigma	2.36	1.18	1.75	7	-
Stigmatized Identity Perceived Stigma	3.67	1.36	1	7	-
Stigmatized Identity Issue Importance	3.77	.90	1	5	-
Stigmatized Identity Political Engagement	.33	.63	0	5.25	-
Social Dominance Orientation (Anti-Egalitarianism)	2.27	1.44	1	7	.86

Correlations. Since all of the remaining statistical tests focus on comparisons between groups with concealable stigmatized identities and those with visible stigmatized identities, Table 2.2 presents the correlations for individuals with only concealable identities below the diagonal and the correlations for individuals with only visible stigmatized identities above the diagonal. Additionally, since there are individuals who have both visible and concealable identities, it is important to examine the bivariate correlations between variables for this group. Table 2.3 displays the correlations between variables for this group, displayed above and below the diagonal.

Table 2.2: Correlations between Key Variables (Only Visible or Only Concealable)

Variables	Variable #	1	2	3	4	5
Stigmatized Identity Internalized Stigma	1	-	.26**	-.08	-.03	-.02
Stigmatized Identity Perceived Stigma	2	.56**	-	.16*	.24**	-.26**
Stigmatized Identity Issue Importance	3	-.12	-.11	-	.28**	-.40**

Stigmatized Identity Political Engagement	4	-.03	.13	.19	-	-.30**
Social Dominance Orientation	5	.06	-.02	-.12	-.14	-

Notes: Correlations for those with only concealable identities (n = 62) are displayed below the diagonal and correlations for those with only visible identities are displayed above the diagonal (n = 166). * *p*< .05 * *p*< .01

Table 2.3: Correlations between Key Variables (Both Visible and Concealable)

Variables	Variable #	1	2	3	4	5
Stigmatized Identity Internalized Stigma	1	-				
Stigmatized Identity Perceived Stigma	2	.38**	-			
Stigmatized Identity Issue Importance	3	-.22*	.10	-		
Stigmatized Identity Political Engagement	4	-.10	.05	.33**	-	
Social Dominance Orientation	5	-.04	-.24*	-.30**	-.27**	-

Notes: Correlations for those with both concealable identities and visible identities (n = 133) are displayed below the diagonal. * *p*< .05 * *p*< .01

In general, correlations were sensible for participants with only concealable identities, those with only visible marginalized identities, and those with both. There was a significant positive correlation between perceived stigma and internalized stigma for all three. There was also a significant positive correlation between identity-related issue importance and identity-related engagement for those with visible identities and those with both, but these correlations were not so high that we would want to combine them as DVs in subsequent analyses ($r_{\text{Concealable}} = .28$, $r_{\text{Both}} = .33$). This correlation was not significant for those with only concealable identities, likely due to the fact that the sample size was much smaller (n = 66) than the other groups, since the correlation was in the same direction and a similar magnitude ($r = .19$). Since I was primarily interested in the effect of concealable identity compared to visible identity, I used the concealable presence/absence dummy code in all subsequent analyses in order to capitalize on sample size.

There were some small but notable differences between the correlations for these groups. First, the correlation between perceived stigma and identity-related issue importance was significant and positive for those with only visible stigmas, but was quite small, leaning negative, and not significant for those with only concealable identities and those with both. Similarly, the correlation between perceived stigma and engagement showed the same pattern: positive and significant for those with visible identities, but non-significant for those with only concealable identities and both. Given the pattern of these preliminary analyses, it was appropriate to proceed to test the hypotheses. Since issue importance and engagement were correlated, but also independent, these two DVs were analyzed separately. In addition, the simple correlations could not provide adequate tests of the complex hypothesized relationships among the variables for these different groups. Since some relationships were quite different for those with concealable and visible identities, while others were similar, concealable identity was defined as a dummy variable and used as a moderator in all analyses.

Analyses for Testing Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1: Regression. To test the hypothesis that individuals with concealable stigmatized identities have higher levels of perceived and internalized stigma, compared to those with only visible identities, a series of regression analyses was conducted. The predictors included one dummy variable for the presence/absence of a concealable stigmatized identity and another dummy variable for the presence/absence of a visible stigmatized identity. It was necessary to include both since there were individuals who identified as having both concealable and visible stigmatized identities. The dependent variable for the first regression model was the average of perceived stigma for every concealable identity held by a participant. For instance, if a participant was a gay man of color, his average stigma score was the mean of his racial and

sexual orientation stigma scores. The dependent variable for the second regression model was the average of the internalized stigma measures, calculated similarly to the perceived stigma measure.

Perceived stigma. As hypothesized, individuals with any concealable stigmatized identities perceived more stigma than those who had only visible stigmatized identities, $\beta = .79$, $t = 5.24$, $p < .001$. Individuals who had any visible stigmatized identity did not perceive more stigma compared to those who only had concealable identities, $\beta = -.12$, $t = -.62$, $p > .05$. Since individuals who had only privileged identities were excluded from the analyses, the interaction of presence of visible identity and presence of concealable identity could not be tested. The overall model accounted for a significant proportion of the variance in perceived stigma, $R^2 = .09$, $F(2, 358) = 18.54$, $p < .001$.

Internalized Stigma. As hypothesized, individuals with any concealable stigmatized identity had more internalized stigma than those who had only visible stigmatized identities, $\beta = .73$, $t = 6.04$, $p < .001$. Additionally, individuals with any visible stigmatized identity had lower levels of internalized stigma than those who only had concealable identities, $\beta = -.84$, $t = -5.27$, $p < .001$. Since individuals who had no stigmatized identities were excluded from the analyses, the interaction of these two could not be tested. The overall model accounted for a significant proportion of the variance in internalized stigma, $R^2 = .24$, $F(2, 358) = 55.29$, $p < .001$.

Hypothesis 2: Mediation Analyses. To test the hypothesis that the effect of perceived stigma on group-based issue importance and engagement variables is mediated by internalized stigma, I ran a series of mediation analyses, using model 4 of the PROCESS Macro for SPSS (Hayes, 2009; Hayes, 2013). In all analyses the main predictor variable was the same average *perceived stigma* score for all perceived stigmas that was used previously. The mediator variable

was always the same average *internalized stigma* variable that was previously used. The first analysis included perceived importance of identity-related political issues as the dependent variable, while the second analysis used identity-related engagement as the dependent variable. Since I wanted to test the effects on issue importance and engagement above and beyond any effects that might occur as a result of an individual difference in beliefs about egalitarianism, I also included social dominance orientation anti-egalitarianism (SDO-E) as a control variable in all mediation analyses. As expected, SDO-E significantly negatively predicted identity-related issue importance in both models, $\beta_{Direct} = -.19$, $t = -5.89$, $p < .001$, and engagement, $\beta_{Direct} = -.11$, $t = -4.78$, $p < .001$. Therefore, as expected, individuals who felt that inequality is justified did not view these identity-related issues as important.

Identity-related issue importance. While perceived stigma did not directly predict identity-related issue importance in the model by itself, $\beta_{Total} = .02$, $t = .59$, $p > .05$, it was nearly significant in the model that included internalized stigma, $\beta_{Direct} = .07$, $t = 1.86$, $p = .06$. This shows evidence of a suppression effect, meaning that including internalized stigma in the model improved the predictive ability of perceived stigma (MacKinnon, Krull, & Lockwood, 2000). In terms of the indirect effect, there was evidence that supported hypothesis 2a; perceived stigma significantly positively predicted internalized stigma, $\beta = .41$, $t = 9.92$, $p < .001$, while internalized stigma significantly negatively predicted identity-related issue importance, $\beta = -.12$, $t = -2.86$, $p < .01$, resulting in a significant negative indirect effect, $\beta = -.05$, *95% CI:*[-.09, -.02]. This indicated that internalized stigma mediated the relationship between perceived stigma and identity-related issue importance, supporting the second hypothesis.

Put more simply, individuals who perceived stigma directed toward their marginalized identities generally had higher levels of internalized stigma. This higher level of internalized

stigma then led these individuals to be less likely to view identity-related political issues as important. Thus, perceived stigma led stigmatized individuals to view identity-related political issues as less important, as a result of internalization. See *Figure 2.1* for a visual representation of these findings.

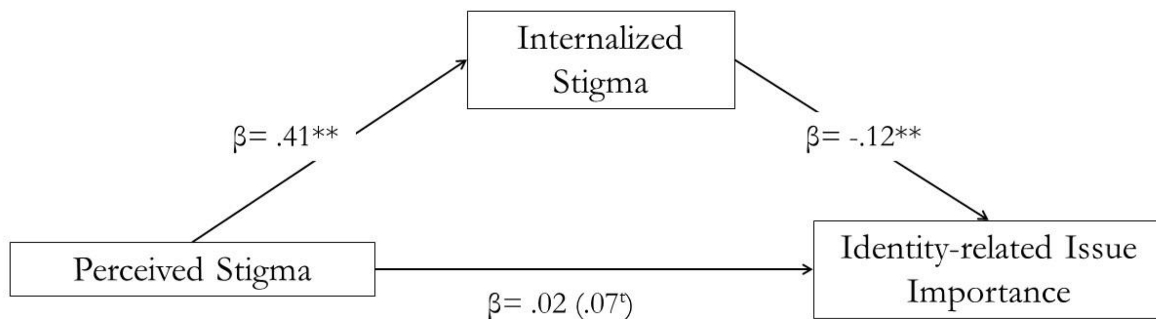

Figure 2.1: Mediation of the Effect of Perceived Stigma on Issue Importance by Internalized Stigma.

Notes: Indirect Effect = -.05, 95% Confidence Interval (1,000 bootstrapped samples): [-.09,-.02]. $R2 = .12$, $F(3, 357) = 16.38$, $p < .001$. $n = 361$. Analysis controls for social dominance orientation, anti-egalitarianism. t $p < .1$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Identity-related engagement. Perceived stigma tended to predict identity-related engagement in the model by itself, $\beta_{Total} = .04$, $t = 1.70$, $p = .09$. This effect was significant in the model that included the mediator, internalized stigma, $\beta_{Direct} = .07$, $t = 2.62$, $p = .009$. This again showed evidence of a similar suppression effect found in the identity-related issue importance analysis. In terms of indirect effects, perceived stigma significantly positively predicted

internalized stigma, β = .41, t = 9.92, $p < .001$, while internalized stigma significantly negatively predicted identity-related engagement, β = -.07, t = -2.38, $p < .05$, resulting in a significant negative indirect effect, β = -.03, *95% CI:*[-.05, -.006].

This means that individuals who perceived more stigma directed toward their stigmatized identities generally had higher levels of internalized stigma, mirroring the finding from the previous regression results for identity-related issue importance. However, the resulting internalized stigma experienced by these individuals then led them also to be less likely to be involved in identity-related engagement. Thus, perceived stigma led stigmatized individuals to less engagement with efforts to change the group's social status, as a result of internalization. These results provided supporting evidence for hypothesis 2b. See *Figure 2.2* for a visual representation of these findings.

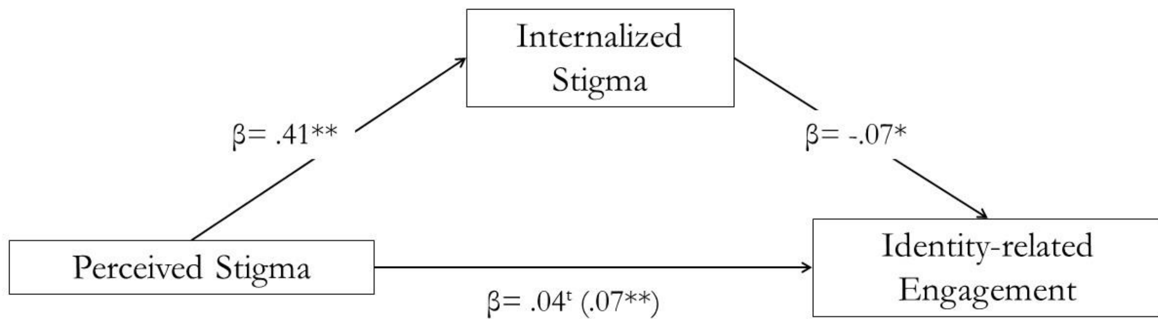

Figure 2.2. Mediation of the Effect of Perceived Stigma on Engagement by Internalized Stigma.

Notes: Indirect Effect = -.03, 95% Confidence Interval (1,000 bootstrapped samples): [-.05,-.006]. n = 361. $R^2 = .09$, $F(3, 357) = 11.97$, $p < .001$. Analysis controls for social dominance orientation, anti-egalitarianism. ^{t} $p < .1$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Hypothesis 3: Moderated Mediation Analyses. Moderated mediation analyses were conducted to test the hypothesis that these mediation effects are stronger for individuals with concealable stigmas versus those without them. Using the Hayes PROCESS model 8 (Hayes, 2009; 2013), the concealable identity dummy code that was used in the analyses for hypothesis 1 was entered as a moderating variable on the path between perceived stigma and internalized stigma. This path was chosen because of the hypothesized theoretical differences between the experiences of stigma faced by those with concealable identities and those with visible identities.

Separate analyses were conducted, using identity-related issue importance as the dependent variable in one analysis and identity-related engagement in the other. I also wanted to make sure that individual differences in feelings about inequality were controlled for in the analysis; social dominance orientation anti-egalitarianism (SDO-E) was again entered as a control variable. As expected, SDO-E significantly negatively predicted identity-related issue importance, $\beta_{Direct} = -.19$, $t = -5.89$, $p < .001$, and engagement, $\beta_{Direct} = -.11$, $t = -4.59$, $p < .001$. Therefore, individuals who felt that inequality is justified did not see identity-related issues as important and did not participate in identity-related engagement.

Identity-related issue importance. The moderated mediation analysis with identity-related issue importance entered as the dependent variable supported the third hypothesis. There was a significant negative indirect effect for both the concealable stigma group, $\beta = -.06$, *95% CI:*[-.11, -.02], and the group with only visible identities, $\beta = -.03$, *95% CI:*[-.06, -.01]. This means that, for both individuals with concealable marginalized identities and those with only visible identities, higher perceived stigma predicted higher internalized stigma, which in turn

predicted greater importance placed on identity-related issues. This means that both groups showed the positive effect found in the mediation analyses to test hypothesis 2.

However, there was a difference between the groups in the direct effects of perceived stigma on identity-related issue importance. The direct effects quantify the relation between the primary predictor variable in the model, perceived stigma, and the dependent variable, perceived importance of identity-related issues, after the effect of the mediator is considered. For individuals with concealable identities, the direct effect was not significant, $\beta = .03$, $t = .68$, $p = .50$. However, the group with only visible stigmatized identities showed a positive direct effect that was nearly significant, $\beta = .10$, $t = 1.85$, $p = .07$. This means that for this group there are simultaneous contradictory effects happening. On the one hand, the significant indirect effect shows evidence that perceived stigma was associated with lower perceived importance of identity-related issues. On the other hand, there is also evidence that perceived stigma was directly predicting higher importance of identity-related issues for this group with only visible stigmatized identities. This likely explains the suppression effect, or increase in the significance value from the total effect to the direct effect, found in the previous analysis of this dependent variable when the mediation was not moderated by the presence/absence of concealable identities.

Although the indirect effects were negative and significant for both groups, the index of moderated mediation indicated that there was a significant difference between them, $\beta = -.03$, *95% CI:*[-.07, -.01]. This means that, while this mediation effect was present for the group with concealable stigmatized identities and the group with only visible stigmatized identities, the negative mediation effect was significantly stronger for the group with concealable identities. Therefore, individuals with concealable identities who perceived more stigma had higher levels

of internalized stigma, compared to individuals with only visible identities who perceived the same levels of stigma. These results supported hypothesis 3a. See *Figure 2.3* for a visual presentation of these results.

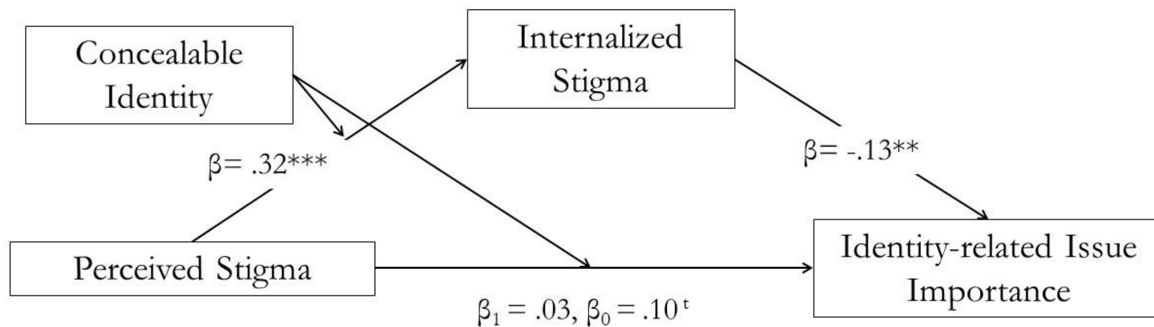

Figure 2.3. Moderated Mediation for Issue Importance.

Notes: Indirect Effect $_1$ = -.06, 95% Confidence Interval (1,000 bootstrapped samples): [-.11,-.02]. Indirect Effect $_0$ = -.03, 95% Confidence Interval (1,000 bootstrapped samples): [-.06,-.01]. Index of Moderated Mediation = -.03, 95% Confidence Interval (1,000 bootstrapped samples): [-.07,-.01]. R^2 = .13, F (4, 356) = 10.33, $p < .001$. Analysis controls for social dominance orientation, anti-egalitarianism. Concealable Identity variable coding: 0 = No concealable stigmatized identity, 1 = Concealable stigmatized identity. ^{t} $p < .1$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Identity-related engagement. The moderated mediation analysis with identity-related engagement entered as the dependent variable also supported the third hypothesis. There was a similar significant negative indirect effect for both the group that had concealable identities, β = -.04, *95% CI:*[-.07, -.01], and the group with only visible marginalized identities, β = -.02, *95% CI:*[-.04, -.004]. This means members of both groups who perceived more stigma also indicated having higher internalized stigma, which led to less identity-related engagement. Again, this

means that both groups were showing the positive effect found in the simple mediation analyses for hypothesis 2.

There was also a difference between the groups in the direct effects of perceived stigma on identity-related engagement. For individuals with concealable identities, the direct effect was not significant, $\beta = .05$, $t = 1.43$, $p = .15$. Mirroring the previous moderated mediation results, the group with only visible stigmatized identities showed a significant positive direct effect, $\beta = .08$, $t = 2.16$, $p < .05$. Again, this means that this group had contradictory effects. While the significant indirect effect showed that perceived stigma decreased engagement, as a result of internalized stigma, there was also evidence that perceived stigma directly predicted increased engagement for those with visible marginalized identities. This likely also explains the suppression effect found in the previous analyses, indicating that stigma can have different effects on political engagement depending on the concealability of the identity being assessed.

Although the indirect effects were negative and significant for both groups, the index of moderated mediation again indicated that there was a significant difference between these groups, $\beta = -.02$, *95% CI:*[-.05, -.003]. This means that, while the mediation effect was, again, present for both groups, the negative effect was significantly stronger for the group with concealable identities. Therefore, individuals with concealable identities who experienced more perceived stigma had higher levels of internalized stigma, compared to individuals with only visible marginalized identities who perceived the same levels of stigma. In turn, this indicates that perceived stigma led to lower levels of identity-related engagement among those with concealable identities, compared to those with only visible stigmatized identities. These results supported hypothesis 3b. See *Figure 2.4* for a visual presentation of these results.

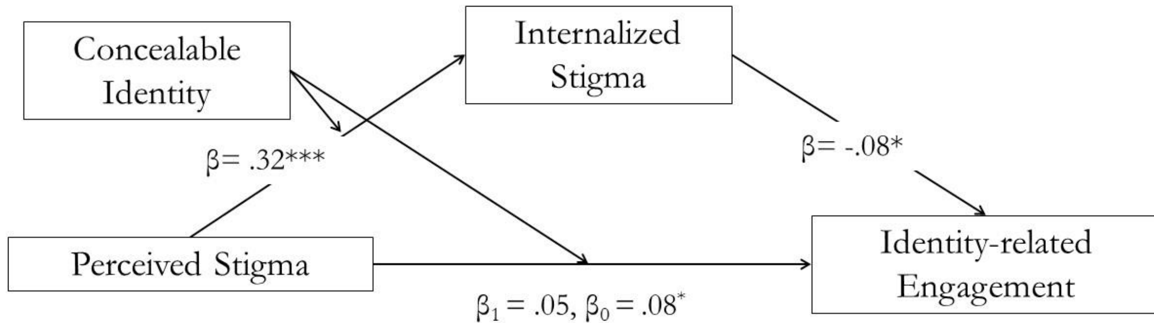

Figure 2.4. Moderated Mediation for Engagement.

Notes: Indirect Effect $_1$ = -.06, 95% Confidence Interval (1,000 bootstrapped samples): [-.11,-.02]. Indirect Effect $_0$ = -.03, 95% Confidence Interval (1,000 bootstrapped samples): [-.06,-.01]. Index of Moderated Mediation = -.03, 95% Confidence Interval (1,000 bootstrapped samples): [-.07,-.01]. $R^2 = .13$, F (4, 356) = 10.33, $p < .001$. Analysis controls for social dominance orientation, anti-egalitarianism. Concealable Identity variable coding: 0 = No concealable stigmatized identity, 1 = Concealable stigmatized identity. ^{t} $p < .1$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Hypothesis 4: Serial Mediation Analyses. Finally, to test the hypothesis that the relation between perceived stigma and identity-related engagement would be serially mediated first by internalized stigma and then by identity-related issue importance, a serial mediation analysis was conducted using model 6 of the Hayes PROCESS Macro for SPSS (Hayes, 2009; 2013). Social dominance orientation was entered as a control variable, as with the other analyses. The resulting analysis supported the hypothesized pathway predicting identity-related engagement. See *Figure 2.5* for a visual presentation of the results.

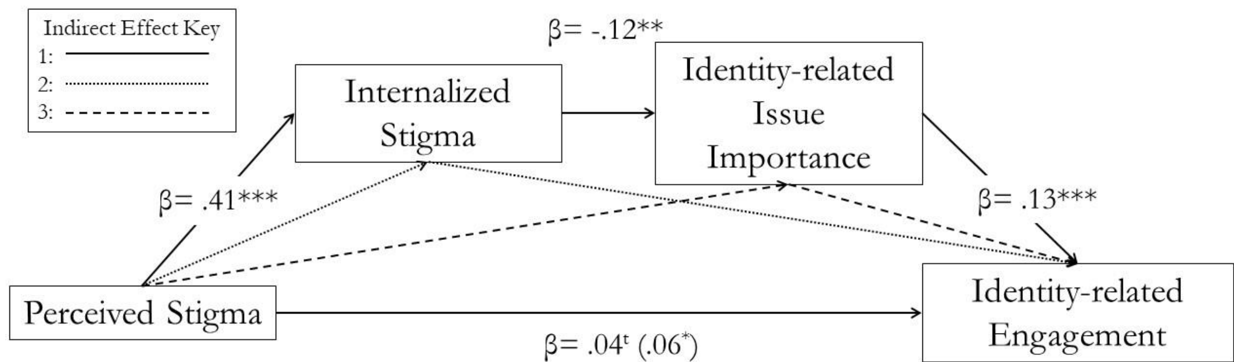

Figure 2.5. Serial Mediation of Perceived Stigma on Engagement through Internalized Stigma and Issue Importance.

Notes: Indirect $Effect_1$ = -.007, 95% Confidence Interval (1,000 bootstrapped samples): [-.01, -.002]. Indirect $Effect_2$ = -.02, 95% Confidence Interval (1,000 bootstrapped samples): [-.05, -.001]. Indirect $Effect_3$ = .009, 95% Confidence Interval (1,000 bootstrapped samples): [-.006, .02]. $R^2 = .12$, $F(4, 356) = 12.57$, $p < .001$. n = 361. Analysis controls for social dominance orientation, anti-egalitarianism. ^{t} $p < .1$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

The hypothesized indirect path through internalized stigma, followed by identity-related issue importance, was significant, β = -.007, *95% CI:* [-.01, -.002]. This means that individuals who perceived more stigma had lower identity-related engagement because of increased internalized stigma leading to decreased perceived importance of identity-related political issues. Interestingly, the path that went through internalized stigma and bypassed identity-related issue importance was also significant, β = -.04, *95% CI:*[-.07, -.01]. This means that, while the longer hypothesized path of relationships between predictor variables significantly predicted identity-related engagement, the shorter path that only went through internalized stigma, (exactly what was used to test hypothesis 3b), was also significant when the effect of identity-related issue importance was accounted for in the model. This indicates that internalized stigma is an

important predictor of identity-related engagement above and beyond simple "cold" attention to the issues, though its effect on perceived issue importance also has consequences for engagement. Unsurprisingly, the path that went through identity-related issue importance, and not internalized stigma, was not significant, $\beta = .01$, *95% CI:* [-.01, .02].

Discussion

There were two general questions of interest in study 1. First, what is the relationship between perceived stigma, internalized stigma, and political outcomes, such as ratings of political issue importance and political engagement? Second, are there were differences in these relationships between those with concealable identities and those with only visible identities? All the hypotheses were supported, leading to important and interesting contributions to the study of political outcomes and their relation to social identity.

Perceived Stigma and Internalized Stigma

The general hypothesized model of this dissertation (see *Figure 1.1*) starts with the relatively uncontroversial assumption that social structures create stigmatizing ideologies, such as sexism, racism, heterosexism, and classism, that serve to maintain the power of privileged individuals (such as Whites, men, straights, and privileged social classes), by oppressing marginalized group members through stigma. While it is argued that these ideologies serve to maintain the lower status of these marginalized groups by reinforcing privileged peoples' behaviors that oppress them, like discrimination, stereotyping, and even violence (Apfelbaum, 1979), the ideologies and their resulting stigma can also have direct detrimental effects on the marginalized groups. In this study I was mainly interested in one such effect: internalized stigma, or the internalization of stigmatizing beliefs about one's marginalized group as applying to the self.

A general relationship between perceived stigma and internalized stigma for all members of stigmatized groups was found in Study 1. Individuals who had higher levels of perceived stigma generally had higher levels of internalized stigma for their marginalized groups. This finding is important because it demonstrates that stigma has consequences that reach beyond interactions between groups. While stigma is harmful because it provides a foundation for the negative outcomes experienced by marginalized individuals when they interact with individuals of relative privilege, such as discrimination, prejudice, stereotyping, and violence, stigma also carries meaning outside of these interactions and affects marginalized individuals in other contexts through its internalization. In this way perceived stigma leads to internalization, which in turn relates to many negative outcomes for marginalized individuals, including increased substance use, poorer mental health outcomes, and even higher rates of suicidality (Carpiniello & Pinna, 2017; Graham et al., 2016; Howland et al., 2016; Livingston, & Boyd, 2010; Puckett *et al.*, 2016).

The findings of this study suggest that, while efforts should be maintained to address the negative consequences of internalized stigma for members of marginalized groups, efforts should also be made to address stigma, since it appears to be an important antecedent of internalization. For instance, efforts to address the consequences of internalized stigma, such as the It Gets Better Project to address suicide in the LGBTQ community, may be missing a crucial component in their prevention efforts if they are not also making efforts to address direct expression of LGBTQ stigma in mainstream society.

Internalized Stigma: A Barrier to Social Change?

A further purpose of this study was to test the effect of stigma on political outcomes through internalized stigma. I predicted that internalized stigma would serve as a mediating

variable between internalized stigma and identity-related issue importance and engagement. Since individuals with more internalized stigma should theoretically have a lower sense of group-based deservingness, I predicted they would be less activated to address group-based inequities and would, therefore, perceive identity-related issues as less important and be less politically engaged with identity-related causes.

Evidence from the analyses supported this hypothesized relationship. For both individuals with concealable marginalized identities and individuals with only visible identities, perceived stigma predicted decreased identity-related engagement and perceived identity-related issue importance, and internalized stigma mediated the relationship between these variables. This was an important component of the model because perceived stigma did not directly predict political outcomes for those with concealable identities, indicating that internalization was a crucial aspect of the relationship. These findings are consequential because they demonstrate the importance of internalized stigma as a mechanism for the political disengagement of marginalized individuals, especially those who have been the targets of increased stigma by members of privileged groups. This study highlights a potentially unrecognized barrier to political mobilization of marginalized groups. Assuming marginalized group members themselves are expected to be the driving force behind their own political movements, on the basis of having the most knowledge of their social position and the most likelihood to feel motivated to change it (Duncan, 1999; Harding, 1992; Miller, Gurin, Gurin, & Malanchuk, 1981), this path from stigma to the lack of political mobilization of marginalized group members through internalized stigma could be conceptualized as a type of political sabotage through which marginalizing ideologies, and the privileged who benefit from them, uphold the status quo.

The Importance of Concealability

Another purpose of this study was to test the degree to which the effects of perceived stigma on internalized stigma were different for groups with concealable stigmatized identities versus those with only visible stigmatized identities. Earlier I discussed the importance of exposure to stigma as a precursor to internalization. Since individuals with concealable stigmatized identities are often present around privileged others without being perceived as members of their marginalized group, their experience of perceiving stigma may be different from the experience of those with visible stigmatized identities. For instance, many gay people share the experience of being around straight people who are unaware of their sexual orientation and say stigmatizing things about gay people without realizing they are in the presence of a gay person. This puts the individuals with the stigmatized identity in an awkward predicament. On the one hand, they can counter the stigma, which may inadvertently out themselves and potentially make themselves the target of further stigma. On the other hand, they may remain silent in the face of self-relevant stigmatizing views, forcing them to process the experience internally without the potential benefit of feeling self-efficacious in fighting against oppression. That experience may add to their internalization of negative feelings about that identity. In contrast, at least some people likely moderate the degree to which they express stigmatizing views of groups with visible identities (such as people of color or women), while in their presence. If individuals do express stigmatizing views in the presence of people with visible stigmatized identities, there is not the same level of ambiguity or dilemma about exposure. Therefore, these individuals may be more likely to speak against the stigma, giving them feelings of self-efficacy in countering stigma. Therefore, although people of color and women frequently experience stigma, both explicit and implicit, (Moradi & Subich, 2002; Szymanski & Stewart,

2010), they differ from those with concealable identities in the extent to which they may feel pressured or self-efficacious to speak on behalf of their group. They may, of course, differ in other ways; for example, the stigmatizing experiences perceived by those with visible stigmas may be different from those experienced by individuals with concealable stigmas, and that may also lead to differential rates of internalization. Future research should explore this as a possible mechanism underlying this relationship between perceived stigma and internalized stigma.

While individuals with visible stigmatized identities may be able to accurately identify in-group members or call upon allies for social support and coping in the face of stigma, individuals with concealable stigmatized identities often need to out themselves to identify allies or need other group members to out themselves to identify peers. This likely leads to differential levels of perceived social support, especially for those who are not out in the context where they experience stigma. This may lead to further incidence of internalization, compared to those with visible stigmatized identities. Since this mechanism could not be tested in the context of this study, future research should look more closely at this as a possible reason for the stronger relationship between perceived stigma and internalized stigma for those with concealable identities.

Finally, individuals with visible stigmatized identities may be more likely to have been offered counternarratives about their identity group that they can juxtapose against the stigmatizing messages they receive during stigmatizing experiences. Related research on the racial development of African Americans has found that parents typically teach their children about the stigma that they will experience in society and prove them counternarratives to serve as a “shield” in the face of this stigma (Wang & Huguley, 2012; White-Johnson et al., 2010). In contrast, individuals with concealable stigmatized identities may not grow up in contexts where

they receive these messages, either because critical counternarratives to those types of stigma are not common (e.g. class-based stigma), or because their family/friends do not share the identity (e.g. LGBTQ) and/or the identity is concealable, so they would not receive these counternarratives until disclosure occurs. This may be too late for these individuals, since they likely experience stigma against their group prior to disclosure, perhaps resulting in more likelihood of internalizing this stigma. This mechanism could not be tested in the context of this study, so future research should assess this as a possible mechanism of the intensified link between perceived stigma and internalized stigma among those with concealable identities. If future research supports this mechanism, prevention efforts should highlight the importance of mainstreaming counternarratives prior to disclosure (e.g. telling all kids that they are valued and worthy, regardless of emergent social identities), in order to prevent internalized stigma.

Although the relationship between perceived stigma and internalized stigma was positive for both individuals with concealable stigmatized identities and those with only visible stigmatized identities, the relationship was significantly stronger for those with concealable identities, resulting in intensified downstream effects on political outcomes.

There was also a non-hypothesized, but consequential, result when it came to the direct effect of perceived stigma on the dependent variables of interest. While the direct effect of perceived stigma was positive and significant for issue importance and tended to be positive for engagement, for individuals with only visible stigmatized identities, these effects were definitely absent for individuals with concealable identities. Therefore, perceived stigma actually predicted an increase in issue importance and engagement for those with visible marginalized identities, meaning that experiences of perceiving stigma may have, indeed, been relatively politicizing for some of these individuals. Since this effect is found only when internalized stigma is included in

the model, it indicates that there are alternative pathways to *increased* issue importance and engagement for those with visible marginalized identities who do not internalize stigma, likely as a result of many of these individuals being able to rely on visible allies/peers and/or alternative counternarratives that instill feelings of worth and social belonging, allowing many of these individuals to be resistant to internalization. On the other hand, the presence of the same indirect pathway that negatively predicts politicization shows how stigma can impede politicization for those who do internalize stigma, regardless of concealability. Future research that examines mechanisms that lead those with visible identities to have either increased or decreased politicization because of stigma and/or internalized stigma would be a helpful contribution to the field.

These findings are consequential because they demonstrate an example of an important tenet of feminist and intersectional psychology. Specifically, psychological variables and their relations can and should be analyzed and theorized separately for different groups of marginalized participants, since their group-based and intersectional experiences and relations to power are unique and have important consequences for theory and practice (Cole, 2009). Although I was unable to test for differences between the identity groups, making the distinction between groups with concealable stigmatized identities and those with visible concealable identities still proved useful. Had the examination of these differences not been proposed for inquiry, the analyses would have concluded prior to the examination of the moderation effect of concealability. This would have missed important ways in which the concealability of identity affects the relationships between stigma, internalized stigma, and politicization.

These findings may also have important consequences for individuals or organizations that might be interested in facilitating political engagement or attention to identity-related issues for these

different groups. For instance, political organizations seeking to increase engagement or attention to identity-related issues may choose different strategies depending on the group that they are trying to activate. The activation of groups with concealable stigmas may be heightened if attention is paid to reducing stigma, in addition to the internalization of stigma. On the other hand, the activation of groups with visible stigma, such as people of color or women, may be increased through a two-pronged strategy that addresses both internalized stigma, in order to counter the negative indirect effect on political outcomes, and egregious enactments of stigma (e.g. police violence, housing and employment discrimination, and vote suppression against people of color or domestic violence, sexual harassment or unequal pay for women).

Limitations and Future Directions

Future research should investigate the relationships between these variables and their consequences for political engagement and attention. This study has limitations that future research would benefit from addressing. There are also some obvious extensions of this work that are not related to any limitations but should be taken up in future research.

First, this study relied on an MTurk convenience sample of volunteers that was not particularly racially or sexually diverse. The study did have good class diversity, enabling the inclusion of class stigma as an important component of study. In this study of concealable and visible stigmas, white women and racial minorities were combined for the visible stigma group, while sexual minorities and working-class people were combined for the concealable stigma group. Although this sample was acceptably large for testing these specific types of group differences, it did not have enough power and was not diverse enough to test for differences along single axes of identity (e.g. compare sexual minorities to non-sexual minorities) or to compare intersectionally-defined groups (e.g. middle-class queer people of color vs. white

straight working-class people). Future studies should explicitly recruit samples of these marginalized groups to make more specific statements about the relationships among these variables for these different groups. This would also allow future researchers to think critically about more intersectional hypotheses and test these predictions accordingly.

Second, the study was conducted as part of a larger longitudinal study that asked a lot of political questions in the context of the Presidential election. Taking several waves of political surveys over the course of the 2016 election may have caused these participants to think about or engage with the political process to a greater extent than a different type of sample. Future research should attempt to retest these models with different samples, including samples that were not recruited from online convenience sources or in such an explicitly political context.

Third, although I argue that internalized stigma likely affects political engagement and issue importance because of a decreased sense of group-based deservingness, I was not able to test this mechanism directly, because it was not assessed in the original larger study. Future studies (in addition to Study 2) should test whether group-based deservingness acts as the mechanism between internalized stigma and these outcomes. This could be done either experimentally, using a paradigm borrowed from other relative deprivation studies, or in a correlational manner, through a survey. Pinning down this mechanism would tie these identity-related variables more explicitly to the relative deprivation literature.

Finally, since the study was taken from a larger study that did not focus on these questions, the measures that were used could be improved upon for future research. Specifically, although the private regard and public regard measures are certainly theoretically related to the constructs of interest (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992), there are other specific measures, such as the Internalized Homonegativity Inventory (Mayfield, 2001), that were created to more specifically

measure these constructs for particular identities. Future research that utilizes some of these group-specific measures and still supports these hypotheses would strengthen the support for the theoretical arguments being tested in this study.

In terms of future directions, researchers should assess whether perceived stigma and internalized stigma are relevant to other political outcomes and behaviors. For instance, one could test whether these variables influence candidate choice or whether people even decide to vote. Future studies could more closely examine the theoretical connection between perceiving stigma and internalizing stigma, by asking questions like: What causes some individuals to internalize stigma while others do not? Could there be a type of learned helplessness, whereby individuals who routinely experience stigma ultimately "submit" to their perceived lower status and internalize that stigma? Under what conditions might this occur? Could the presence of social support in the form of other easily recognized group members or allies play a role? Do counternarratives that allow individuals to assert their worth and belonging in society cause individuals to be less likely to internalize stigma? Are there individual differences that affect the relations between variables? These are all research questions that should be answered through future research in order to improve our understanding of the relations between stigma, internalization, and political outcomes.

Conclusion

In conclusion, study 1 of this dissertation provides a significant contribution to the existing literature. First, the study demonstrates that identity concealability should be further considered in research on social identity. The differential effects on particular outcomes for individuals with concealable stigmatized identities versus those with only visible stigmatized identities, signal differences in the experiences of the members of these groups that may well

have other consequences. Additionally, this study demonstrates that internalization has consequences that go above and beyond the effects on the individual and their well-being, but can influence socio-political domains, including political engagement and attitudes. Partly by affecting the political engagement of the very people who are the most affected by them, the internalization by those people of the stigmatizing ideologies of sexism, racism, classism, and heterosexism helps maintain their oppressive force.

Chapter 3 The Role of Internalized Stigma in Occupational Goals and Life Aspirations

Chapter 2 focused on the ways in which internalized stigma hinders politically progressive action for members of marginalized groups within a relatively short period of time (e.g. activism taken within the last year and current perceived importance of a political issue). It focused on traditional types of political outcomes such as issue importance and activism. Chapter 3 will build on this study by examining political outcomes that represent longer-term intentions for political engagement through a person's goals for life and work, including educational and occupational values, and life aspirations directed at serving one's marginalized groups. Additionally, although I argued that group-based deservingness is a mechanism that links internalized stigma and political outcomes in Chapter 2, I was not able to test this mechanism. In the current study I will test the mediating effect of deservingness. These are the two major contributions of the current study, which provides further evidence in line with the hypothesized general model of the dissertation.

Internalized Stigma

Internalized stigma is defined as the acceptance of stigmatizing views about one's group as applying to the self or other group members (Herek et al., 2009; Russell, 1996). Of course, individuals cannot internalize stigma without first being exposed to stigmatizing views, usually in their interactions with people of relative social privilege, but sometimes also in interactions with other group members (Herek et al., 2009; Vogel, Bitman, Hammer, & Wade, 2013). In other words, stigmatizing views about one's group, or other groups for that matter, are not inherent, but learned. In study 1 of this dissertation, I confirmed that higher rates of perceived

stigma were, indeed, associated with higher internalized stigma. Study 2 drops the emphasis on perceived stigma, instead focusing solely on internalized stigma.

Some researchers make the argument that internalized stigma is agreement with stigmatizing attitudes or prejudicial beliefs about marginalized groups, regardless of individuals' own statuses (Herek et al., 2009). These researchers, therefore, make a distinction between *internalized stigma*, which can be found in both privileged and marginalized groups, and *self-stigma*, which is when minority group members hold stigmatizing beliefs about their own groups. Since I am only focusing on marginalized group members in this study, I am referring to self-stigma whenever I discuss internalized stigma throughout.

Internalized stigma has been studied in a variety of groups that are marginalized in terms of gender, racial, sexual orientation, ability, HIV, and many other identities and statuses (Herek *et al.*, 2009; Howland et al., 2016; Livingston & Boyd, 2010; Pyke, 2010; Speight, 2007; Szymanski & Henrichs-Beck, 2014). However, this is all to varying degrees; and the complete lack of research on other groups shows that more research is needed on this phenomenon. Of particular relevance to this study, researchers in psychology have noted the lack of attention paid to internalized class-based stigma (Russell, 1996), as well as research on class in general (Case, 2017; Liu & Ali, 2005). Some popular theories in psychology have been applied to such marginalized groups and would seem related to internalized stigma, such as system justification, social dominance orientation, and critical/group consciousness (Jost et al., 2003; Keefer, Goode, & Van Berkel, 2015; Pratto et al., 2006). However, these theories either lack the identity-based specificity (i.e. attitudes about one's specific group, as opposed to general attitudes about social hierarchy and the relations between groups) and/or valence-based attitudes (i.e. "I feel negatively about my group membership") that are characteristic of conceptualizations of internalized

stigma. Therefore, it seemed useful, from both a theoretical and methodological standpoint, to expand research on sexual minorities and poor/working class people, by incorporating internalized stigma in predicting socio-political engagement.

In contrast to extant research on class groups, a lot of research has been conducted on the consequences of internalized stigma for sexual minorities. For instance, past research has shown that internalized stigma is associated in sexual minorities with negative mental and physical health outcomes, higher HIV-related risk-taking behaviors, substance use and abuse, and other negative social outcomes (Jeffries & Johnson, 2018; Ross et al., 2013; Rosser, Bockting, Ross, Miner, & Coleman, 2008; Williamson, 2000). While this research is valuable for identifying and possibly addressing negative social and personal consequences for sexual minorities, it has focused less on socio-political/structural consequences. Therefore, one of the main goals of this dissertation is to identify the ways in which internalized stigma affects the socio-political engagement of minority groups, specifically focusing on sexual minorities, in part because of the wealth of research that has already been conducted on consequences of internalized stigma for this specific group. Further reasoning for this particular group selection will be discussed later.

Another focus of this specific study is the meaning and psychological structure of internalized stigma for both groups (sexual minorities and marginalized class group members). Few studies have examined the factor structure of internalized stigma for these two marginalized groups. This is surprising since we know that enacted stigma toward these groups is multifaceted and dynamic, as reflected by the different measures that capture stigma toward these groups (Aosved, Long, & Voller, 2009; Bullock & Limbert, 2003; Colbow et al., 2016; Costa, Bandeira, & Nardi, 2013). Therefore, in order to reflect the multidimensional, complex forms that stigma takes as it is directed at marginalized groups by privileged groups, I adopted existing measures of

internalized stigma that have been utilized with these marginalized groups along with adapted versions of extant measures of enacted stigma used to measure privileged peoples' attitudes toward these groups. Specifically, I adapted the latter for use with marginalized groups, in order to investigate the structure of internalized stigma for sexual minorities and poor working-class people by treating measures of enacted stigma and internalized stigma as parallel constructs.

Concealable Stigmatized Identities

Individuals are considered to have concealable stigmatized identities if their identity group membership is not readily known to others without explicit disclosure (Quinn & Earnshaw, 2011). This is in contrast to marginalized identity groups with visible identities, such as women and people of color. Most women and people of color do not need to disclose their status to others in order for their group membership to be known, though it is important to note that some individuals do "pass" as members of other groups (DeJordy, 2008; Renfrow, 2004). This process of disclosure or "outing" is one component of identity management (Button, 2004; Lasser & Tharinger, 2003; Kallschmidt & Eaton, 2018; King, Mohr, Peddie, Jones, & Kendra, 2017) that is common for people who are members of concealable identity groups. On the one hand, concealing allows one to move through society with a lower likelihood of being a direct target of prejudice and discrimination. On the other hand, disclosure can feel authentic, politically empowering, and can license one to be an advocate for one's group (Muñoz, 2016; Orne, 2011; Riggle et al., 2017). This tension between disclosure and concealment is one of the components of a concealable identity that may have implications for internalized stigma. The specific concealable identity groups that were chosen for this study were sexual minorities and people who identified as poor/working class.

These two groups were specifically chosen because they share the status of having a concealable identity while differing in their perceived level of changeability, a characteristic that may also bear on the meanings and consequences of internalized stigma for these groups. By changeability, I refer to the essentialist perceptions of these identities (Demoulin, Leyens, & Yzerbyt, 2006), or to the extent to which people see these identity statuses as innate to the individual and unchangeable. Sexual orientation is often seen as immutable, as a result of narratives about sexual orientation being the result of a biological difference (i.e. being "born this way") (Schilt, 2015), recent research has shown a wide range of alternative beliefs about the origins of sexual orientation (Grzanka, Zeiders, & Miles, 2016). In contrast, social class is largely seen as changeable, in part as a function of the meritocratic ideologies widely held in the U.S. These views lead people to believe that individuals have a choice when it comes to their class standing, as a result of their personal drive and motivation (Bullock & Limbert, 2003; Bullock & Reppond, 2016). Since many conceptualizations of internalized stigma and related constructs include disliking one's own group, often coupled with wanting to be in the privileged group (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992; Mohr & Fassinger, 2000; Mohr & Kendra, 2011; Szymanski & Chung, 2001; Sellers, Rowley, Chavous, Shelton, & Smith, 1997), individuals from these two identity groups are likely to display internalized stigma at different rates and in different ways. It may be common for a poor/working class person to want to change classes and become middle or upper class, because of their internalization of meritocratic explanations for class status and beliefs that their class can be changed with hard work. In contrast, sexual minorities may be less likely to want to change sexual orientations, in part because many believe it is impossible. Thus, those who do express a wish to change their sexual orientation may have especially stigmatizing or simply different views of their group. Since part of the purpose of this study was to assess the

measurement structure of internalized stigma, these two groups seemed like potentially fruitful choices, as groups that share concealable stigmatized identities, but differ in perceived changeability.

Extending the findings of the first study of this dissertation, I sought to examine the effect of internalized stigma on other types of socio-political engagement, using groups that I suspected would be especially prone to internalized stigma. Specifically, I chose to recruit participants that had concealable stigmatized identities because I expected that the specific experiences involved with having a concealable identity would lead one to have more internalized stigma. Internalized stigma is a relatively uncommon phenomenon among minority groups. Since most studies have shown that people have positive feelings about their marginalized groups and are more likely to have negative feelings about others (Tajfel & Turner, 2004), it was important to collect data from groups that might have higher incidence and therefore more potential for variability in internalized stigma.

There are many reasons to expect individuals with concealable identities to have higher levels of internalized stigma (and Study 1 verified that they did). Underlying all of the reasons to expect that concealable identity groups will have higher rates of internalized stigma is the association between perceived stigma and internalized stigma. Group members experience stigma before they can internalize it (Vogel *et al.*, 2013). Therefore, if concealability alters the degree to which individuals from different groups experience stigma, or the ways in which they are able to cope with experiences of stigma, it is reasonable to predict that these groups would experience higher rates of internalization, which is exactly what was found in study 1 of the dissertation. However, unlike in study 1, the meaning and consequences of internalized stigma

were assessed separately for the two groups—sexual minorities and poor/working class people—in the current study.

First, since individuals from concealable identity groups are not readily recognized, it is possible that their experiences with explicit stigma are different from those with visible stigmatized identities. Specifically, sexual minority or poor/working class people can be in the presence of privileged others who say stigmatizing things or engage in stigmatizing behaviors against their marginalized group without the privileged person recognizing them as a member of that group. This seems especially relevant for sexual minorities, since their own families usually do not know about their status until it is disclosed. Therefore, these individuals are more likely to find themselves around people who are not moderating their prejudiced expressions, as they might in the presence of others with visible stigmatized identities. This likely leads individuals from concealable identity groups to experience stigma in different ways or in a larger variety of contexts, including at home, compared to those with visible identities. As a result of experiencing this larger number of instances of stigma, we can expect differential perceptions of stigma in society, ultimately leading to higher internalized stigma.

Second, individuals from concealable identity groups who have not disclosed their identity and who do experience stigma are also probably less likely to act against that stigma out of fear of outing themselves and possibly making themselves the victims of further stigma. In contrast, individuals from visible identity groups or open members of concealable identity groups might feel pressure to be the spokespeople for their groups and act to rectify injustice against their marginalized groups because of the fact that they are visible members (Becker, Zawadzki, & Shields, 2014 discuss this in the context of gender). Thus, non-out members of concealable stigmatized groups have a consequential choice to make in these instances. On the

one hand, they can choose to speak up or act out against prejudice or discrimination directed against their group or against another group member, but this may lead them to become targets of stigma themselves, which can be uncomfortable in the best case and dangerous in the worst case. On the other hand, these individuals can choose to avoid acting, which can make them feel like inauthentic group members and/or ineffective in opposing prejudice and discrimination. The individual in the first instance might end up being the target of more stigma, leading to a greater likelihood of internalization, as a result of the close tie between perceived stigma and internalized stigma (Vogel et al., 2013), while the individual in the latter scenario may be more likely to internalize as a result of not feeling authentically/politically connected to their group and/or feeling helpless in the face of stigma.

Third, individuals from concealable marginalized identity groups are less likely than those with visible stigmatized identities to have received counter-stigmatizing narratives as children or adolescents. Although there is also little evidence that class-based counternarratives are common, this mechanism seems especially relevant for sexual minorities. As an example, Black children are taught counternarratives about their marginalized groups that are meant to serve as "shields" in the face of stigma (Wang & Huguley, 2012; White-Johnson *et al.*, 2010), providing an affirming positive view of their group in the face of the inevitable discrimination that they will experience later in life. However, unlike Black children and adolescents, sexual minority children and adolescents, as members of concealable identity groups, are not likely to be aware of these types of counternarratives before they are aware of their status and have experienced homonegative stigma for the first time, since parents would only think to provide these types of counternarratives after disclosure, in the best-case scenario. It is also possible that parents themselves express stigma when offspring disclose their sexual orientation, rather than

providing affirming counternarratives. This lack of counternarratives from an early age may make individuals with concealable identities more likely to internalize stigma.

Finally, individuals from visible identity groups are more likely to have accumulated a network of sources of social support among other group members and allies than individuals from concealable identity groups who are not open about their status. If individuals are not open about their status, they are less likely to have potential allies identify them as targets of stigma in the moment. They are also less able to look to out members of their group, if they are worried about self-disclosure. Therefore, in situations where they encounter stigma, individuals from concealable identity groups are more likely to need to cope with stigma and process it alone, leading to a greater likelihood of internalization. This is because other group members and allies are likely to help the target of stigma dismiss the stigmatizing ideologies as unjust and help the individual affirm counternarratives about their group, leading to lower incidence of internalization.

Regardless of the underlying mechanism(s) that lead individuals from concealable identity groups to experience internalized stigma at higher rates, I chose to study these two groups as the focus of this study because they have concealable identities, and differ in their levels of perceived changeability, I hoped that comparing these groups would generate valuable contributions for psychological theory and methods for studying internalized stigma.

Deservingness and Relative Deprivation

The other purpose of this dissertation is to connect variables relating to the self, specifically internalized stigma, to political outcomes, such as educational/occupational values and life aspirations (the potential for political salience in these will be discussed later). In Study 1, I argued that it is important to investigate potential mechanisms that connect these two

domains. I argue that relative deprivation theory and the notion of deservingness provide an especially important theoretical connection between these two constructs.

Of course, other theories in social/political psychology can explain individual differences in people's recognition of inequality and willingness to engage in ways that have the opportunity to create positive change for their marginalized groups. First, both types of social dominance orientation, one defined by the propensity to view social hierarchy as justified (anti-egalitarianism sub-scale) and the other defined by an affinity for dominant/subordinate social relations between groups (dominance sub-scale), are associated with hindered engagement by members of both privileged and marginalized groups to create social change aimed at increasing equality (Ho et al., 2015). Similarly, system justification has long been used as an individual difference that explains the propensity for individuals to see the current social system as just and, therefore, without needing to be changed for the benefit of marginalized groups (Jost, Banaji, & Nosek, 2004; Jost et al., 2017). In fact, some recent research has utilized system justification theory to explain the hindered socio-political engagement and motivations of economically marginalized groups, as well as sexual minorities, to change the social system to benefit their groups (Hoffarth & Jost, 2017; Jost, 2017). Finally, critical consciousness frameworks have been used by many researchers to make the connection between identity-related variables and political engagement (Diemer et al., 2017; Miller et al., 1981), including researchers interested in social class (Keefer et al., 2015). However, despite all of these useful theories that explain how the personal can become political, relative deprivation may be especially promising in its ability to connect a very personal, valenced feeling about one's identity—internalized stigma—to socio-political engagement aimed at improving conditions for those who share that particular identity, above and beyond individual differences in general feelings about equality and social hierarchy

and/or cognitive individual differences that do not have a valence component. In order to demonstrate this, I included such individual differences in my models, as appropriate. Effects of internalized stigma and deservingness above and beyond these individual differences would demonstrate the uniquely predictive power and utility of this approach to predicting socio-political engagement.

According to relative deprivation theory, there are 5 necessary criteria that must be met in order for an individual to recognize that an injustice (in terms of some object or status of value, "X") exists and to seek to correct it: 1) See another possesses "X" 2) Want "X" 3) Feel that one deserves "X" 4) Think it is feasible to obtain "X" 5) Lack a sense of responsibility for failure to possess "X" (Crosby, 1982). This theory has previously been foundational to researchers interested in social justice and activism, political engagement, and has even provided theoretical underpinnings for related theories, like system justification (Grasso, Yoxon, Karampampas, & Temple, 2017; Smith et al., 2012; Jost et al*.,* 2017). Throughout this dissertation, I argue that relative deprivation is especially useful for making the connection between individual and structural variables, specifically because of the third criterion, deservingness.

Deservingness is defined by the extent to which individuals feel that they are worthy of something (e.g. equal rights, pay, treatment under the law, etc.). If individuals do not feel deserving of a certain status or object, they will not view a disparity as problematic and will not seek to rectify that injustice. Other scholars have also made the important connection between this specific criterion of deservingness and group-related outcomes in several domains, from commonly held perceptions of economic deservingness to novel domains of disparity research, like sexual satisfaction (Bullock, & Reppond, 2016; McClelland, 2010; Watkins-Hayes & Kovalsky, 2016). Investigating deservingness as a possible mechanism is especially fruitful

because if people feel negatively about their marginalized *group* and have internalized negative societal attitudes about that *group,* they will be less likely to see their *group* as deserving. If individuals do not see their marginalized group as deserving, they should then be less likely to engage politically to change the status of that group in society. Therefore, I propose that, among sexual minorities and those who are economically marginalized, group-based deservingness should serve a mediator between internalized stigma directed toward one's marginalized group and hindered socio-political engagement.

Aspirations and Values as Political Outcomes

In this study, I focus on a general propensity for wanting to create social change, rather than particular political attitudes (beliefs about issue importance) or behaviors (activism and engagement behaviors). Specifically, I focus on educational/occupational values and life aspirations aimed at improving conditions for one's marginalized group.

These two types of outcomes typically come from different literatures, but I have reason to believe that they are likely measuring very similar constructs, which is why I chose to include them both as outcomes in the current study. Educational/occupational values define what people hope to gain through their educational and, later, occupational pursuits. These values have typically been divided into extrinsic values, defined by things that are external markers of success (e.g. money and status), and intrinsic values, defined by things that are internal to the individual as a value of work (e.g. personal growth) (Twenge, Campbell, Hoffman & Lance, 2010), largely coming from the tradition of self-determination theory (Deci & Ryan, 2000). Similarly, life aspirations are a way of characterizing people's desires, focusing on general pursuits that one has for their life, in general. A similar intrinsic/extrinsic dimension has also been used in this literature, along with the additional dimension of physical self/self-

transcendence (Grouzet et al., 2005), the latter of which will not be discussed in this dissertation chapter (see *Figure 3.1* for a visual representation). Life aspirations should track educational/occupational values closely, since Americans (our target population), and Western society in general, places such a strong emphasis on the importance of work. Therefore, both were measured, leaving the possibility open that they could be combined as a single construct. Additionally, I adapted some of the items from these scales to measure group-focused aspirations and values, specifically ones aimed at creating social change.

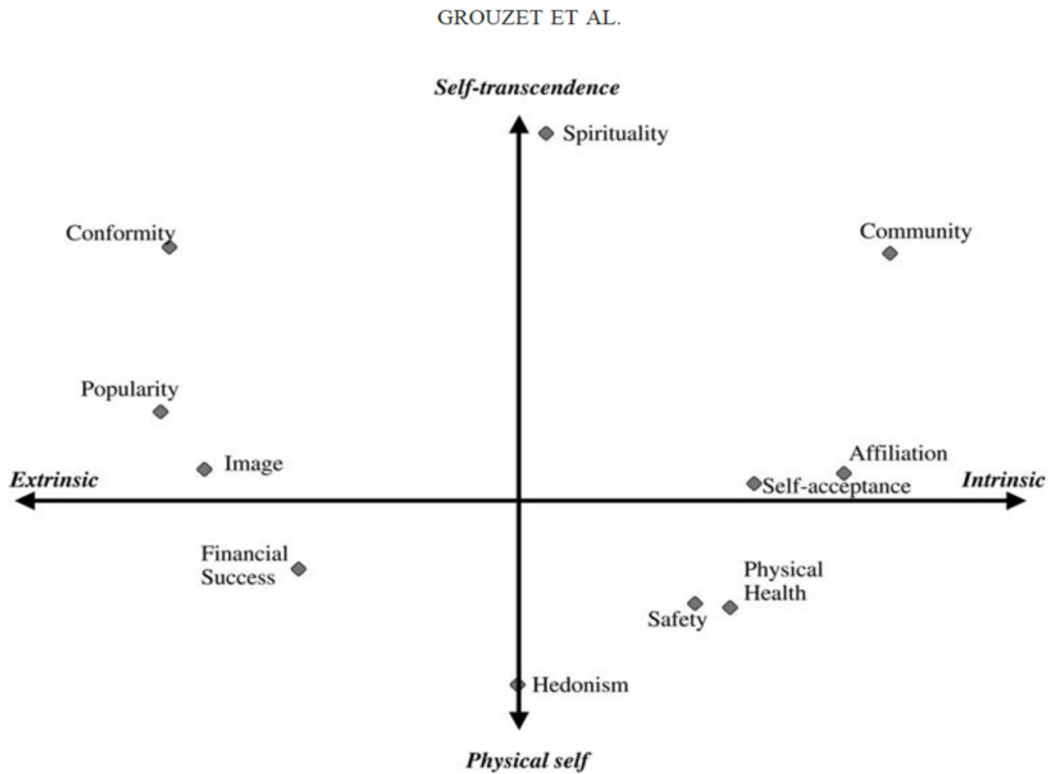

Figure 3.1: Two-Dimensional Representation of Aspirational Domains from Grouzet et al., 2005.

Research on how work and life-focused outcomes are linked to politicized selves is not new. For instance, researchers have found that individuals who were previously politically engaged (e.g. former activists) were more likely to participate in careers that have a social

impact, are service-oriented, or allow them the opportunity to remain politically active (Fendrich & Tarleau, 1973). Furthermore, existing theories from vocational psychology, like the Psychology of Working Theory (PWT) (Duffy et al., 2016) and Social Cognitive Career Theory (SCCT) (Lent et al., 2002), suggest that career-based outcomes and decisions are inherently social processes that are influenced by social context (i.e. social power) and individual-level factors.

Social Cognitive Career Theory (Lent & Brown, 2013; Lent, Brown, & Hackett, 1994), is helpful for setting up the current study because it focusses explicitly on the predictors of work-related decisions, such as values, self-efficacy, and goals in determining motivation. The originators of this theory argued that one of the weaknesses of other theories of career development is that they focus too much on individual-level cognitive abilities without explicitly focusing on the social system that constitutes the person, their environment, and their behaviors (Lent & Brown, 2013; Lent, Brown, & Hackett, 1994). SCCT specifically focusses on domains like self-efficacy and career-oriented goals as predictors of career-based outcomes, centralizing the theory around the interchange between contextual factors, like identity, and these key constructs, rather than aptitude. Taking account of these inter-related elements allows researchers to be able to more effectively model career-based outcomes, including career choice and performance. This theory, therefore, seems especially relevant to the current analysis because of the focus on identity and identity-related variables on educational/occupational values and life aspirations as predictors of identity-related socio-political engagement.

SCCT has been used to frame the research on career outcomes for a number of marginalized identity groups, including the ones of interest in this study (Flores, Navarro, & Ali, 2017; Prince, 1997; Tatum, 2018; Tatum, Formica, & Brown, 2017; Thompson & Dahling,

2012). For example, in a review of the state of research on social class using SCCT, Flores and colleagues (2017) found mixed results for the importance of social class for career-related outcomes, with some studies reporting significant effects of social class on career self-efficacy, values, and attainment, while other did not show significant effects. This set of mixed results points to the need for further study of the effects of social class on career-related outcomes. One specific empirical study that seemed especially relevant to the current study showed that higher perceived social class status (lower marginalization) was significantly positively associated with positive learning experiences, which then predicted greater career-based self-efficacy and career-based outcome expectancies (Thompson & Dahling, 2012). This study demonstrates the importance of subjective feelings about one's social class on career-based outcomes. Similarly, research has also found that work-place expectancies about marginalization (e.g., climate) based on sexual orientation were associated with lower levels of career self-efficacy and outcome expectancies related to their disclosure, which in turn affected disclosure strategies and then workplace satisfaction (Tatum, 2018). This study provides evidence that perceptions of marginalization are associated with career-based outcomes for sexual minorities, as for working-class individuals. Although these studies are useful, they do not make explicitly political/structural connections between individuals' work and general well-being.

Research based on the Psychology of Working Theory has shown that socio-economic forces have an important effect on the type of work people are able to acquire (Blustein, Kenny, Di Fabio & Guichard, 2019; Duffy et al., 2019). Moreover, these forces can be examined in the context of other types of marginalization (e.g. racism, sexism, homophobia, etc.) and used to predict work-related outcomes (Duffy et al., 2019), or while making explicit attempts to utilize intersectional theory and discussions of social power in the development and testing of

hypotheses (Cole, 2009). For instance, in a study of sexual minorities that utilized Psychology of Working Theory, researchers found that socio-economic challenges and sexuality-based marginalization were both uniquely associated with less work volition, or the perceived ability to make occupational choices despite challenges or barriers (Douglass, Velez, Conlin, Duffy, & England, 2017). This, in turn, was found to be associated with lower likelihood to obtain "decent work," a construct used in Psychology of Working Theory that is based on the International Labor Organization's criteria (ILO, 2012): (a) physically and socially safe conditions for work, (b) working hours that allow for enough time to achieve one's other life pursuits through relation, relaxation, and free time, (c) values at the organization that align with one's own family and social values, (d) livable, adequate compensation for work, and (e) access to adequate health care. Work is considered "decent" when these criteria are met because they allow one to live a life that is fulfilling and productive, with work contributing to one's quality of life, rather than taking away from it.

Psychology of Working Theory, therefore, seems especially helpful for investigations of politically-related work and life outcomes because it has focused directly on the challenges of marginalized people, especially those from poor/working class backgrounds (Duffy et al., 2019). First, PWT introduces the previously discussed concept of "decent work," which could be interpreted as work that covers one's basic needs while also allowing people to meet higher needs, such as self-actualization and fulfillment of life goals. For members of marginalized groups, it could be argued that decent work would allow them more time to focus on their group, in the hope of making conditions better. Furthermore, since decent work is defined as work where organizational values align with one's personal values, it is reasonable that decent work for marginalized people would be characterized as work that allows one to help their

marginalized groups, assuming those values are important to them. Therefore, PWT makes it easy to connect identity/marginalization to individuals' working conditions and the fulfillment of their more general well-being and satisfaction. Psychology of Working Theory is also helpful because it views the circumstances leading up to working conditions as inherently political and situated in existing power and structural contexts. For example, PWT highlights the importance of identity-based theories like critical consciousness (Diemer et al., 2017), arguing that critical awareness, and the political efficacy that accompanies it, are important factors affecting one's ability to find decent work. Therefore, Psychology of Working Theory allows researchers to make the theoretical connection between the personal and the political through work, which is also the aim of the current study. However, while this theory is helpful, it could be improved through the inclusion of identity-relevant variables, like internalized stigma and deservingness. This is one area where the current study can provide a meaningful contribution to existing theory.

In addition, these work-related outcomes are important to study because some researchers have shown that politicized goals and aspirations are becoming increasingly central in society, since newcomers to the workforce, specifically millennials, are increasingly interested in careers that have the potential for the individual to contribute to social change or "make a difference" (Kuron, Lyons, Schweitzer, & Ng, 2015). It is important to note that other researchers have not found large generational differences in these and other motivations (Twenge *et al.*, 2010; Wong, Gardiner, Lang, & Coulon, 2008), including a study that found millennials were actually less civically engaged, showed lower concern for others, and had lower levels of implicit values in work (e.g., community) (Twenge et al., 2012). Whether related to generation or not, it is important to study these types of outcomes, since people interested in facilitating an increased

desire for social change need to know what types of individual differences can affect this propensity.

Achievement-related Contingencies of Self-worth and Extrinsic Values/Aspirations

The main purpose of this study was to assess the effect of internalized stigma on specific group-based educational/occupational values and life aspirations. However, it is also important to investigate the effects of internalized stigma on other types of outcomes, such as contingencies of self-worth and educational/occupational values and life aspirations that are more frequently studied by psychologists. Showing that internalized stigma affects these previously studied domains can deepen our understanding of how people value themselves, value their work/educational pursuits, and ultimately seek to utilize their limited time and efforts over the course of their lives. Furthermore, such analyses demonstrate how internalized stigma affects the person beyond identity-focused outcomes/domains.

Based on extant theory and previous research about both groups of interest in this study, I expect these extrinsic contingencies, values, and aspirations to be related to internalized stigma in sexual minorities and poor/working class individuals. However, the mechanisms underlying this connection may be different for these two groups. For sexual minorities, I expect that these extrinsic value and aspirations are related to internalized stigma because of the Best Little Boy in the World Hypothesis (BLB) (Pachankis & Hatzenbuehler, 2013), which will be discussed in more detail later. For poor/working class people, I expect that internalized stigma will be related to higher endorsement of these contingencies, values, and aspirations because achieving these pursuits will allow these group members to materially and culturally distance themselves from their self-stigmatized class group.

Contingencies of self-worth are defined as the degree to which individuals stake their self-esteem on particular domains of life (Crocker & Wolfe, 2001). Researchers have theorized that through a process of socialization individuals tend to stake their self-esteem on aspects of their lives in which they have a higher likelihood to excel or have demonstrated previous ability at being able to excel. Therefore, individuals who are bad students may be less likely to stake their self-worth on academics, and instead might see competition in sports or another outlet as an important part of how they view themselves. The originators of the theory proposed seven factors that have been shown to be reliable contingencies of self-worth for individuals. These include: academics, appearance, approval from others, competition, family support, God's love, and virtue (Crocker, Luhtanen, Cooper, & Bouvrette, 2003; Crocker & Wolfe, 2001, Crocker, Wolfe, & Knight, 2001). In this study I will focus on achievement-related contingencies of self-worth, defined as contingencies that are dependent on the efforts/performance of the individual, rather than the acceptance or input of others (Pachankis & Hatzenbuehler, 2013). These contingencies include academics, competition, and appearance. I chose to focus on these because I expected them to be predicted by internalized stigma in both sexual minorities and poor/working class people.

Expanding the scope of this investigation on the effects of internalized stigma to other potentially related domains seemed important. As stated before, educational and occupational values are defined by the types of benefits or outcomes individuals desire in their work (Twenge et al., 2010). Like contingencies of self-worth, these values are highly socially and contextually dependent. Individuals learn to see particular educational and occupational pursuits as important as a result of learning from their social context, close others, and feedback from their environments. These values are typically divided into extrinsic values, or pursuits that are the

result of external reward mechanisms (e.g. money and status), and intrinsic values, or goals that are contained within the individual (e.g. sense of purpose, enjoyment). In this study, I specifically focused attention on extrinsic values, since I expected them to be the most related to internalized stigma in these groups.

Finally, the focus of this study includes life aspirations, which are likely to be related to both contingencies of self-worth and educational/occupational values. Again, life aspirations are what drives individuals and their pursuits across all domains of life (Grouzet et al., 2005). Ultimately, life aspirations concern how individuals want to spend their time and what they find important, answering questions like: “what do I want to do with my life?’ and “what is important to me?” One commonly used framework for conceptualizing such aspirations separates them into 11 sub-scales, which fall onto a two-dimensional factor structure (see *Figure 3.1*). One of the two dimensions is the extrinsic-intrinsic dimension, with popularity, financial, conformity, and image aspirations falling on the extrinsic side of this dimension (Grouzet et al., 2005). In line with my expectations for contingencies of self-worth and educational/occupational values, I predict that these extrinsic aspirations should be affected by internalized stigma, as a result of increased focus on external sources of self-worth and the pursuit of related goals. I expect that individuals’ educational/occupational values will be especially related to their life aspirations, since work is such a crucially important component of life and how people see themselves in Western contexts, where this study took place. Therefore, I assessed these separately, knowing that they could potentially be aggregated.

Sexual Minorities

The hypothesized effects for sexual minorities are largely based on previous research that examined contingencies of self-worth as outcomes related to common sexual minority

experiences (Pachankis & Hatzenbuehler, 2013) and, more recently, internalized stigma (Blankenship & Stewart, 2017). Previous research on contingencies of self-worth in sexual minorities has shown that sexual minorities tend to endorse achievement-related contingencies of self-worth as important, compared to their straight counterparts. According to Pachankis & Hatzenbuehler (2013), this effect is caused by a phenomenon called The Best Little Boy in the World Hypothesis, which argues that, since sexual minorities learn from a young age that their acceptance is fleeting and can potentially be lost as a result of disclosing their stigmatized status, they stake their self-worth on domains where they feel they have control. Originally applied only to men, further research has shown that in both men and women this propensity is heightened by internalized stigma, likely because these individuals developed this propensity as a protective mechanism in the face of prejudice in the form of perceived stigma, a precursor to internalization (Blankenship & Stewart, 2017; Crocker, Wolfe, & Knight, 2001). Furthermore, if individuals do not feel positively about their identity group membership as a source of self-worth (e.g. LGBTQ pride), this probably makes them more likely to seek out other socially advantageous domains on which to stake their self-worth (Blankenship & Stewart, 2017). In this study I attempted to replicate these findings in a different sample, while also including other related outcomes, namely extrinsic life goals and educational/occupational aspirations.

Based on the Best Little Boy Hypothesis applied to all sexual minority individuals, I expect those who have higher levels of internalized stigma to perceive extrinsic educational/occupational values and life aspirations as more important. This seems likely because individuals who have experienced rejection from others based on their identity probably see the acceptance of others as more fleeting and therefore are more likely to value pursuits where they have a higher degree of control, compared to those who have lower levels of

internalized stigma and therefore probably have not experienced/internalized as much stigma. As an extension, I expected that internalized stigma may also predict extrinsic life aspirations for similar reasons.

Poor/working class minorities

It seems especially likely that poor/working class people with high levels of internalized stigma would see these achievement-related contingencies, as well as extrinsic values and aspirations, as important. This is specifically because of the conceptualization of internalized stigma for poor/working class people. Since our meritocratic society generally makes people believe that their class status is a result of choice, centered on whether or not one works hard, as opposed to more structural or fatalistic reasons for their class status (Bullock & Reppond, 2016), we might expect individuals who are unhappy with their class status to desire to change it through these pursuits that are external to the self and are also markers of social class, such as money and status. If individuals do not just hold negative views of the material circumstances of their social class standing, but also dislike their class status for cultural reasons (e.g. negative stereotypes about their class group as being morally inferior and of lower taste), they may also prioritize some of the other types of extrinsic motives, such as image-based aspirations or appearance-based contingencies of self-worth, as a way to distance themselves from these negative stereotypical images of their class group. In the context of discussions of class habitus (Bourdieu, 1977; Power, 1999), or the systems of expectancies, taste, and norms surrounding particular social statuses, this explanation for the effect of internalized stigma makes a great deal of sense. Members of different class groups may often hold a positive view of their own group, while negatively characterizing other class groups (e.g. poor/working class people seeing upper class desires and taste as overly-indulgent and pretentious, while theirs remain grounded and

sensible) (Bourdieu, 1977). However, those with internalized class stigma may be less likely to hold positive views of their own class culture, instead internalizing the sensibilities of the privileged as superior. Therefore, it seems likely that individuals with internalized class stigma may also desire to achieve non-financial markers of class privilege in the form of image, attractiveness (e.g. buying nice clothes, make-up, accessories, etc.), and popularity/conformity with others.

Based on both of these meanings that may underly the conceptualization of internalized class stigma as a singular construct or multi-factorial construct, I expected to find positive connections between internalized class stigma and achievement-related contingencies, as well as extrinsic values and aspirations, among poor and working-class people. Testing this hypothesis has the potential to contribute to the existing literature because it may show how internalized stigma not only affects identity-based domains but can affect a wide range of domains in one's life, including what individuals believe are important indicators of their self-worth, what they want out of their work, and what they want out of their general life pursuits. Furthermore, while pursuing these types of goals may be a useful coping mechanism for dealing with internalized stigma, as well as a consequence of the stigma, it may also deter people from pursuits that are more personally sustainable. In other words, working class people who see these values as important, in an economy with limited levels of upward mobility (Katz & Krueger, 2017), may be under increased levels of psychological distress, as a result of these pursuits. These extrinsic/achievement-related goals may also lessen how much individuals pursue goals that are more beneficial/transformative for their class group, broader communities, or families. However, altruistic and/or intrinsic goals and individualistic/extrinsic goals are not always at odds with

each other as research shows that these goals can coexist and influence each other (Deci & Ryan, 2000), making it important to assess the effects of internalized stigma on these separately.

The Current Study

Given the finding from Study 1 that the effects of internalization are stronger for groups with concealable stigmatized identities, this study focused on two specific marginalized groups with concealable identities: sexual minorities and poor/working class individuals. In accordance with the proposed theoretical model (See *Figure 1.1*), I predicted that internalized stigma would be associated with fewer life aspirations and occupational values aimed at improving the situation for members of individuals' marginalized groups. Furthermore, in the current study I sought to follow-up on Study 1 by testing explicitly whether deservingness served as a mechanism affecting the relationship between internalized stigma and hindered group-based political engagement.

Along with assessing potential negative effects on group-serving political engagement, I also predicted that high internalized stigma among sexual minorities and working-class individuals would be associated with higher levels of *extrinsic* occupational values (e.g. status), extrinsic life aspirations, such as *money*, *popularity*, *conformity*, and *image*-based aspirations, and achievement-related contingencies of self-worth, such as *academic achievement*, *competition*, and *appearance*-related contingencies.

For sexual minorities, this set of supplemental hypotheses was based on the Best Little Boy in the World Hypothesis, which theorizes that sexual minorities have an increased likelihood to value achievement –related successes as an important part of their self-concept (Pachankis & Hatzenbuehler, 2013). I have found related effects in some of my previous research, demonstrating that the endorsement of academic values as being important varies by

the degree to which sexual minorities endorse self-stigmatizing beliefs (Blankenship & Stewart, 2017). In this study I attempt to conceptually replicate the previous findings of internalized stigma's effect on contingencies of self-worth, as well as test the extent to which this theory can also be applied to the domains of educational/occupational values and life aspirations.

Similarly, for poor/working class individuals, it was reasonable to expect similar results. Since class-based internalized stigma is based on access to resources and the accompanying cultural significance of having this status, internalized class stigma among members of this group would lead them to endorse occupational values and life aspiration centered on gaining access to more resources and prestige, as a way of changing their class standing. I also expected to find a similar effect for achievement-related contingencies of self-worth. Therefore, I tested a series of supplemental hypotheses in study 3 that are relevant to the overarching question of whether internalized stigma predicts group-based occupational values and life aspirations, but do not directly affect any components of the overarching theoretical model of the dissertation.

In summary, I will test the following main and supplemental hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1: Among individuals who are members of stigmatized concealable identity groups, more internalized stigma will be associated with lower incidence of educational/occupational values and life aspirations aimed at improving conditions for their stigmatized concealable identity group. This will be true for sexual minorities and poor/working class individuals, separately.

Hypothesis 2: In these same groups, group-based deservingness will mediate the relationship between internalized stigma and group-based educational/occupational values and life aspirations.

Supplemental Hypotheses: Individuals who identify as sexual minority or poor/working class with high internalized stigma, compared to those with low levels of internalized stigma, will have more extrinsic occupational values, aspirations based on money, popularity, conformity, and image, and achievement-related contingencies of self-worth (academics, competition, and appearance).

Methods

Participants

The sample was recruited using Amazon Mechanical Turk (MTurk). In order to sample just sexual minority and poor/working class individuals, I recruited participants broadly from MTurk and asked them simple demographics, including class and sexual orientation, in a screening survey. This technique was used, rather than simply asking only working class/poor and/or sexual minorities to participate, since it is known that MTurkers will lie about their identities in order to qualify for studies (Chandler & Paolacci, 2017). Furthermore, this method allowed me to ensure that I somewhat evenly sampled sexual minorities and poor/working class individuals for the final study. I did not utilize the existing Turk Prime panels because they did not have an option to filter for people based on class identification (only income). Participants were compensated at the standard rate of $0.10 per minute spent on the task, leading participants to make $2.00 each. Since I expected a medium-small effect of internalized stigma on educational/occupational and aspirational pursuits, using the results from Chapter 1 as a proxy, I recruited a relatively large sample (~150) for both sexual minorities and poor/working class individuals (Faul, Erdfelder, Lang, & Buchner, 2007).

The screening survey collected responses from 2,000 MTurkers, not using any filters or restrictions besides requiring them to be in the U.S. at the time of completing the survey. Once

these participants were sampled, they were divided into groups based on their responses. Those who identified as sexual minority and/or poor/working class were sent an invitation to participate in this study. Those who identified as straight and middle/upper class were invited to participate in Study 3.

To make these class selections, I used 2 criteria. First, since social comparison is a useful tool for determining class membership, given the fact that incomes and levels of education can mean different things in different regions or cities, I used Cantril's Ladder (1965) to measure their perceived place in the social hierarchy, using a 1-10 point scale (1 = lowest rung in society, 10 = highest rung in society). I selected participants who identified as being in the bottom third (3rd rung or lower) of the social hierarchy. Additionally, since I wanted to make sure that they also identified as being poor/working class in order for the measures to make sense for them, I also selected for participants who identified themselves as "poor" or "working class," using a categorical identity measure. Fifty-one of these prescreened participants said they were on the 3rd rung or lower, and identified as lower-middle class or higher, while 244 participants said they were on the 4th rung or higher, and identified as poor or working class. These prescreening participants who had inconsistent class measures were not invited to participate in the main study. To select participants who identified as sexual minority for the main study, I used a standard categorical sexual minority identity measure. Anyone who identified as anything but "heterosexual" or "straight" was invited to participate in the current study.

This sampling procedure resulted in 183 individuals who identified as middle class or higher and sexual minority, 307 who identified as poor or working class and straight, and 67 who identified as both. Since I only wanted about 200 participants from each group of interest, I sent out one MTurk HIT ("human intelligence task", or the name given to tasks available to paid

workers on MTurk) of the survey to everyone who identified as poor/working class and another HIT to everyone who identified as sexual minority, allowing for the first 200 who responded to each to participate. Individuals who identified as both were able to participate using a separate HIT (capped at 50 participants), automatically disqualifying them from the other HITs. Of the 450 thus allocated participant responses, I received 441 complete responses. Due to constraints on the time of the participants, participants were automatically shown only the sexual orientation measures if they identified as upper/middle class (again, using both the Cantril's ladder and the categorical identification) and sexual minority, only the class measures if they identified as poor/working class and straight, and were randomly assigned to see only one set of measures if they identified as both. Unfortunately, making the criteria so restrictive, despite participants having already been preselected to fit the same criteria, resulted in a sizable number (n = 86) who did not receive either measure because they either identified as middle/upper class and straight or their class measures were mixed (e.g., identified as poor/working class and rated themselves as an 8 on Cantril's ladder). In addition to these issues, 12 participants did not complete all measures required for the analyses to test the hypotheses. This resulted in a final sample size of 343 participants.

To describe the sample, I will first focus on the demographics that were not of interest in sampling. In terms of gender, 40.5% of the sample identified as men (n = 139) and 55.7% identified as women (n = 191), with the rest identifying as transgender (n = 4; 1.2%), non-binary (n = 7; 2%), or genderqueer (n =2; 0.6%). The sample was also racially diverse, with 31 identifying as African American or Black (9%), 4.7% as Asian/Asian American/Pacific Islander (n = 16), 22 as Latinx/Hispanic (6.4%), 19 as Native American (5.5%), 1 (.3%) as Middle Eastern, and 273 (79.6%) as White/Caucasian. It is worth noting that participants could select

more than one option and 12 individuals (3.5%) identified explicitly as biracial or multiracial. In terms of education, 61 individuals (18%) had a high school diploma/equivalent or less (only 1 did not have a diploma), about a quarter of the sample had some college, but no degree (n =86). Of those with degrees, 44 (13% of sample) had an associate or technical degree, 31.6% (n = 107) had a bachelor's degree, and 12% of the sample (n = 41) had a master's degree or higher (3 had doctoral degrees). Four individuals did not specify their level of education. People in the sample were relatively young (*M* = 35.88), but there was considerable variance (*SD* = 11.23) and range (18-73 years) in the sample.

The sample was quite diverse in terms of the demographics of interest in the study. In terms of sexual orientation, 37.9% (n = 130) identified as straight, 100 individuals (29.2%) identified as gay or lesbian, 27.4% (n = 94) identified as bisexual, and <1-2% identified with each of the categories of queer (n =7), asexual (n = 8), pansexual (n =4), and unknown/questioning (n =1). In terms of class, categorically, people identified as poor (n = 50; 14.6%), working class (n = 141; 41.1%), lower middle class (n = 36; 10.5%), middle class (n =91; 26.5%), upper middle class (n = 22; 6.4%), and upper class (n = 3; 0.9%). On the Cantril's ladder (1-10 scale), people on average saw themselves as slightly below the middle of the social hierarchy (*M* = 4.01, *SD* = 2.05), with the largest number of people placing themselves on the third rung (n = 105; 30.6%).

Procedure

Both the screening survey and the study surveys were administered to MTurk participants online, using the Qualtrics survey platform. The screening survey was advertised as a survey to collect demographics and other information (filler questions were added to avoid informing our participants of the populations that we were interested in sampling) for the purpose of qualifying

them for future studies. At the end of the screening survey, participants were asked for permission to be contacted via MTurk about future studies. Those who consented to this were divided in terms of demographics in order to decide whether they would be used as potential participants for the current study or Study 3. If participants were selected to participate in the current study, they received an additional HIT with the study survey link. Anonymized MTurk extension worker IDs (created via Turk Prime) were used to identify participants that qualified from the screening survey and then send them the study survey.

Once in the study survey, participants completed the informed consent documentation before being taken to the main body of the survey. Participants then completed a series of "check questions," which included relevant demographics, namely sexual orientation and class identities. These were used to trigger display logic and survey flow so that participants were automatically shown only the sexual orientation-related questions, only the class-related questions, or randomly assigned to one of the two, depending on how they identified in terms of class and sexual orientation. This was to avoid burdening the participants with an overly long survey by asking them all of the identity-related questions. Additionally, it might feel odd to a privileged group member (e.g. straight individual) to answer their agreement to statements like "It is unfair that I was born straight," for internalized homonegativity. Finally, only marginalized individuals received the measures.

Participants first responded to the identity-related measures, followed by the stigma-related measures, which used display logic, as described. After completing the internalized stigma measures, participants completed all other measures, including the life aspirations and educational/occupational values measures. Once participants completed all measures and filled

out a brief series of additional demographics at the end, they completed the study debrief and received study compensation.

Measures

Measures appeared generally in the order that they are displayed here, with participants only receiving one set of measures (class or sexual orientation), depending on their identities and/or display logic. Complete measures for this study can be reviewed in Appendix B.

Internalized classist stigma. While internalized classism has not been studied to the same extent as sexual orientation, researchers have stressed its importance, arguing that it should be studied for its implications for research and therapy (Thompson & Subich, 2012). Although some analysis has been developed, providing a more formalized theory about internalized classism (Russell, 1996), rigorous, psychometrically valid measures of internalized classism appear not to exist. Therefore, I used several measures that seemed like appropriate proxies for internalized class stigma. In order to assess their relative usefulness in measuring the construct of interest, and also in an attempt to make the analysis simpler, I ran a factor analysis (see results section to follow), using all of the items across the different scales. Psychometrically sound and logical factors were then extracted and rotated using Varimax rotation, and scales were created; these were checked for reliability and used in all subsequent analyses. For class I used four measures that assessed general negative attitudes about one's class and specific attitudes, such as stigmatized attributions for class status.

Private regard. First, to measure individual's general positive or negative feelings about their sexual orientation (an acceptable proxy for internalized stigma), I used the same adapted version of the *Collective Self-esteem Scale* (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992) that was used in Study 1. Participants reported their level of agreement with several statements that captured their

positive/negative feelings about their class identity. Participants rated 4 of these statements for class, using a Likert scale (strongly disagree-strongly agree). The statements included items such as "I often regret that I belong to the social class group that I do." This measure is widely used in the social identity literature and allowed me to capture the construct of internalized stigma (or at least a proxy) and provided consistency in the measures used across the studies of this dissertation. Since this measure of internalized stigma was used in Study 1 and also seemed like it would be a more feasible measure to give to privileged group members for the final study, compared to other more specific measures of identity-based stigma, this measure was included in the current study. The scale was found to be reliable for class minorities (alpha = .77).

Adapted classism attitudinal profile (CAP). Second, I used an adapted version of the Classism Attitudinal Profile (CAP) (Colbow et al., 2016). This is a 12-item measure that distinguishes between *downward classism*, or negative attitudes toward people of lower classes, and *upward classism*, or negative attitudes toward people of upper classes. Since I was interested in internalized classism among poor/working class individuals, I adapted the downward classism subscale to measure perceptions of their own class group. The original scale had good reliability ($\alpha = .75$) and demonstrated validity when compared to similar constructs of classist attitudes (Colbow et al., 2016). Participants rated their agreement with each of the 6 downward classism items, using a 5-point Likert scale (strongly disagree - strongly agree), with items altered such that each instance of "poor/working class people" was replaced with "my social class group" or "people of my social class." For instance, one item was "People from my social class are less refined compared to people of other groups." The adapted scale also had excellent reliability (alpha = .90).

Adapted attributions for poverty measure. Third, an adapted form of the *Attributions for Poverty Measure* (Bullock, Williams, & Limbert, 2003), specifically the *Individualistic Attributions* subscale, was administered. *Individualistic Attributions* emphasize individualistic, character-based flaws to explain low SES. These items provide classist and condemnatory explanations for poverty, as opposed to structural or non-judgmental/fatalistic ones. Past research has demonstrated that the individualistic attributions subscale has high reliability ($\alpha = .91$) and adequately mirrors similar constructs, indicating adequate validity (Bullock & Limbert, 2003; Bullock et al., 2003). This subscale consists of 17 items, each rated on 7-point Likert scale from strongly disagree to strongly agree. As with the previous measure, these questions were altered so the prompts ask for reasons why members of *their* social class group may have fewer resources, as opposed to reasons why people are poor in general. Example attributions to explain their class standing include a "lack of motivation or laziness," "loose morals," "lack of talent," and "alcohol and drug abuse." This adapted scale also had excellent reliability (alpha = .96).

Adapted internalized stigma scale. Finally, since there was an existing measure for internalized homonegativity (Mohr & Kendra, 2011), it seemed reasonable to adapt it for class, in the hope that it might capture a similar construct and account for a significant proportion of variance in the construct of interest in the factor analysis. The 3 adapted items came from Mohr and Kendra's (2011) internalized homonegativity sub-scale of their *Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Identity Scale.* An example item included "If it were possible, I would choose to be a higher class." The adapted scale had adequate reliability (alpha = .75).

Internalized homonegative stigma. Although there are existing scales for internalized homonegative stigma, I thought it was important to measure this construct using several scales, as I did for class. The content of internalized stigma can be theoretically comprised of general

negative attitudes (i.e., liking of one's sexual minority group) or specific stereotypes or negative attitudes (e.g., sexual minorities use their sexuality to obtain special privileges). Therefore, it seemed helpful to perform a similar factor analysis with the sexual orientation variables. Three separate scales were collected for the current study, and factor analyzed; the resulting scales were tested for reliability and used in all subsequent analyses.

Private regard. First, I used the adapted version of the *Collective Self-esteem Scale* (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992) that was used for class. Participants rated their agreement with 4 statements, using a Likert scale (strongly disagree-strongly agree). The statements included items such as "I often regret that I belong to the sexual minority group that I do." The adapted scale had excellent reliability (alpha = .91).

Internalized homonegativity. I collected the previously mentioned measure of internalized stigma by having participants complete the *Internalized Homonegativity* subscale of the *Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Identity Scale (LGBIS)* (Mohr & Kendra, 2011). Versions of the internalized homonegativity measure are commonly used in the psychological literature and have been shown to have good reliability ($\alpha = .78$) (Mohr & Kendra, 2011). This sub-scale consists of three items, with items such as "I wish I were heterosexual," and has respondents select their agreement from strongly agree (6) to strongly disagree (1), using a 6-point Likert scale. In terms of measuring a singular latent construct, this scale's construction aligns well with other measures of similar constructs like internalized sexual stigma, internalized homonegativity, and internalized homophobia (Herek et al., 2009; Mayfield, 2001; Mohr & Kendra, 2011; Moradi *et al.*, 2010; Szymanski et al., 2008). The scale had excellent reliability in the current study, as well (alpha = .93).

Modern homonegativity scale. Modern homonegativity was developed to measure anti-LGBTQ attitudes in a way that is removed from fundamentally religious or disgust-oriented reasons (Morrison & Morrison, 2003). Instead, it measures negative attitudes about sexual minorities in terms of their struggle for equality and justice. Similar measures have been used for race and gender (Becker & Swim, 2012; Glick & Fiske, 1996; McConahay, 2007) that measure more "modern" ways of being prejudiced that are not as blatant and are more socially acceptable (e.g. thinking groups have made too much progress with equal rights) than more overt forms of prejudice (e.g. explicitly saying a member of a group is disgusting). Some items were adapted so that participants were asked to what extent they held the beliefs about their own sexual minority group. An example item is: "Sexual minorities should stop complaining about the way they are treated in society, and simply get on with their lives." The scale had excellent reliability (alpha = .94).

Group-based deservingness. Using the relative deprivation framework as a guide (Crosby, 1982), I created scales for sexual minorities and poor/working class people to assess perceptions of their group's general social deservingness. For social class, agreement with the following items was answered on a 7-point Likert scale: "Poor people deserve equal treatment under the law," "poor people deserve the same rights and privileges as middle class and upper-class people," "poor people currently have the status they deserve in society," and "poor people do not deserve respect." The items were identical for sexual minorities, except they used "sexual minority people" instead of "poor people." The scales yielded good reliability for class deservingness (alpha = .84) and sexual minority deservingness (alpha = .76).

Educational/occupational values. Educational and occupational values, as stated before, are often viewed by researchers as strongly related, since education is often seen as a means to a

job that aligns with the values that one desires. In the spirit of this approach, I measured participants' educational and occupational values with the *Work Values Scale*, which was included in the work/leisure section of the Monitoring the Future study, a nationally representative survey of high school students. This survey has been used by researchers to study similar phenomena across age cohorts in the U.S. (Twenge et al., 2010). The measure includes 19 different job characteristics that form subscales of *leisure rewards, intrinsic rewards, altruistic rewards, social rewards,* and *extrinsic rewards.* Each item is rated for its perceived importance using a 7-point Likert scale (not at all important – very important), preceded by the prompt "Different people look for different things in their work. Please indicate how important each thing is for you." These subscales have been shown to have acceptable reliability across several cohorts of American young adults ($\alpha > .50$, for all subscales) (Twenge et al., 2010). The current study utilized the 4 extrinsic rewards subscale items, having participants rate the importance of each value, using a 7-point scale (1 = not at all important, 7 = very important); an example item would be: "A job that has high status and prestige."

In addition to these items, I added experimenter-generated items that were only displayed to members of the groups of interest, using display logic. These items were altered versions of the two altruistic rewards items: "A job that gives you an opportunity to be directly helpful to others" and "A job that is worthwhile to society." The adapted items were altered by replacing community and society with their sexual minority or working-class groups mentioned, with items such as "A job that gives you an opportunity to be directly helpful to the LGBTQ community" or "help the poor/working class community." While the more generalized altruistic rewards items might capture similar effects of internalized stigma, I was most interested in assessing whether the effects are identity-specific, which is why I altered these items. The class

and sexual orientation educational/occupational values items each had high reliability (alpha for class = .89, alpha for sexual orientation = .91).

Life aspirations. To measure *Life Aspirations*, participants completed an updated version of the *Aspiration Index* (Grouzet et al., 2005). The index measures 11 aspirational domains and has been shown to be valid and reliable across a number of cultures and contexts. The domains are as follows: financial success, image, conformity, popularity, self-acceptance, affiliation, community feeling, physical health, hedonism, safety, and spirituality. Participants were presented with 57 different "goals that they may have for the future" and were asked to rate their importance, using a 7-point Likert scale from 1) not at all important to 7) extremely important.

Grouzet and colleagues (2005) found a 2-dimensional structure captured key features of the aspiration index. The first dimension of intrinsic-extrinsic captures the relative importance of the domain to the solo-self versus the self in the context of others. The second dimension, of self-transcendence versus physical self, captures the relative importance of the domain to the physical body (e.g. hedonism) versus the non-physical body (e.g. spirituality). These domains have been used in research examining the life goals of high school and college students and have been found to be useful as a measure of general intrinsic versus extrinsic goal orientation (Twenge et al., 2012). See *Figure 3.1* for a dimensional representation of the domains. The analyses used the domains clustered on the "solo self" end of the first dimension, in order to assess the effect of internalized stigma on self-centered life aspirations, as opposed to group-based aspirations. These included image (alpha = .86), conformity (alpha = .80), popularity (alpha = .73), and financial success/money (alpha = 77).

In addition to these items, I included a set of experimenter-developed items based on the "community feeling" domain that were specific to the groups of interest, such as "help the

LGBTQ community" and "help poor/working class people." While the items in the existing set of items in the "community" domain surely capture some of this aspiration already, I specifically wanted to measure goals that are directed toward their specific group to assess the possible role of internalized stigma.

Contingencies of Self-worth. To measure contingencies of self-worth, I used the *Contingencies of Self-Worth Scale* (Crocker, Wolfe, & Knight, 2001), designed to measure 7 different contingencies of self-worth. These contingencies include: family support, competition, appearance, God's love, academic competence, virtue, and approval from others. This 35-item measure presents participants with a series of statements concerning how much different domains influence their feelings of self-worth, with questions like "I would feel worthless if I did poorly on a course test," for academic contingencies. The participants rated their agreement with these statements using a 6-point Likert scale from "Strongly Disagree" to "Strongly Agree." I used the achievement-related contingencies of self-worth to test the supplemental hypothesis, which included competition (alpha = .90), appearance (alpha = .80), and academic contingencies (alpha = .84).

Perceived stigma. I adapted the public collective self-esteem scale (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992) to be used for class and sexual orientation groups, in order to operationalize perceived stigma. An example item included: "In general, others respect my class group." Participants rated whether they agreed with 4 statements for class or sexual orientation, using a 7-point Likert scale (strongly disagree-strongly agree). Internal consistency of the public regard subscales had a high range for both groups (alpha = .80for class; alpha = .65 for sexual orientation). The scores on the scale items were reversed prior to analysis so that higher values indicated lower public regard and, therefore, higher levels of perceived stigma.

System justification. System Justification was measured using the 8-item American system justification measure (Kay & Jost, 2003). This was considered as a potential control in all regression-based analyses to control for participants general feelings about the justice of the American social system. Participants rated how much they agreed with the 8 statements on a 7-point Likert scale. An example item was “in general, you find society to be fair.” Participants, on average, rated themselves as opposing these items (M = 3.14, SD = 1.23). The scale also had good internal consistency (α = .88).

Results

Factor Analysis

As a preliminary step, it was necessary to perform separate factor analyses of the items in the internalized stigma measures for sexual minorities and poor/working class people. Since I did not have any preconceived expectations about how many factors should be produced, I performed a Principal Components Analysis (PCA) and used the scree plot to determine the appropriate number of factors. Using the Varimax-rotated component matrix, any items that cross-loaded onto multiple factors (eigenvalue > .4), were removed from the factor solution. Additionally, any items that had correlations with other items greater than .80 were removed in order to avoid issues resulting from multicollinearity. I also resolved to combine any resulting sub-scales into a single scale of the general construct of internalized stigma, assuming they had acceptable internal consistency as a combined scale. This was done for the sake of parsimony.

Internalized homonegativity. All 17 items that were measured as potential internalized homonegativity items were entered into the PCA analysis to determine the factor structure for internalized homonegativity. The correlation matrix showed that there were several items that were highly correlated with other items. In order to avoid issues with multicollinearity, I deleted

one of each of the items that were highly correlated in this way (see *Table 3.1* for the list of items in the notes). Similar to class, these items were selected with two goals in mind. First, any items that were similarly problematic across the two factor analyses for class and sexual orientation were automatically selected. Specifically, the "if it were possible, I would choose to be straight" item from the internalized homonegativity scale was chosen because it coincided with the similar item in the class analyses having high correlations with other items. Second, items that seemed similar to other items but used more complicated wording were eliminated, leaving the options with simpler, similar wording. Specifically, "if sexual minorities want to be treated like everyone else, then they need to stop making such a fuss about their sexuality/culture" from the modern homonegativity scale was deleted because it was similar to the simpler "sexual minorities have become far too confrontational in their demand for equal rights" item from the same scale, with which it was highly correlated.

The factor analysis of the internalized homonegativity items suggested that a one factor solution was best, based on the scree plot. This factor was simply called *Internalized Homonegativity*. All items that were entered into the factor analysis loaded onto this factor. That is, all of the measures of homonegativity that were provided appeared to be measuring a similar construct, unlike for class where two separate factors emerged from the analysis. This factor accounted for 48.30% of the variance in the items and produced a scale with an excellent reliability coefficient (alpha = .93). Therefore, I created a single internalized homonegativity scale that was used in all further analyses. See *Table 3.1* for the factor solution.

Table 3.1: Internalized Sexual Orientation Stigma Factor Analysis Varimax-rotated Factor Solution

Items	Factor 1: Internalized Homonegativity

MHS-Sexual minorities have become far too confrontational in their demand for equal rights.	**0.88**
MHS-Many sexual minorities use their sexual orientation so that they can obtain special privileges.	**0.83**
MHS-Celebrations such as “LGBTQ Pride Day” are ridiculous because they assume that an individual’s sexual orientation should constitute a source of pride.	**0.83**
MHS-Sexual minorities should stop shoving their lifestyle down other people’s throats.	**0.81**
MHS-In today’s tough economic times, American tax dollars shouldn’t be used to support LGBTQ organizations.	**0.80**
MHS-The notion of universities providing students with undergraduate degrees in Gay and Lesbian Studies is ridiculous.	**0.80**
MHS-Sexual minorities should stop complaining about the way they are treated in society, and simply get on with their lives.	**0.74**
PR-Overall, I feel that my sexual orientation group is not worthwhile.	**0.69**
IH-I wish I were heterosexual.	**0.68**
IH-I believe it is unfair I am attracted to people of the same sex.	**0.68**
PR-I often regret that I belong to my sexual orientation group.	**0.67**
MHS-Sexual minorities still need to protest for equal rights.	**0.63**
MHS-Sexual minorities seem to focus on the ways in which they differ from heterosexuals and ignore the ways in which they are the same.	**0.63**
MHS-Sexual minorities do not have all the rights they need.	**0.55**
PR-In general, I am glad to be a member of my sexual orientation group.	**0.48**
MHS-Sexual minorities who are “out of the closet” should be admired for their courage.	**0.48**
PR-I feel good about the sexual orientation I belong to.	**0.43**

Notes: PCA with Varimax rotation. Bolded items indicate items included in the factor. IH = Internalized homonegativity scale items, PR = Private Regard Scale items, MHS = Modern Homonegativity scale items. Due to being highly correlated (r >.8) with other items, the following 2 items were removed from the factor analysis: IH-“If it were possible, I would choose to be straight,” and MHS-“If sexual minorities want to be treated like everyone else, then they need to stop making such a fuss about their sexuality/culture.”

Internalized classism. All items that were measured as potential internalized classism items were entered into the PCA analysis to determine the factor structure for internalized classism. The correlation matrix showed that there were several items that were highly correlated with other items. In order to avoid issues with multicollinearity, I deleted one of each item that

was highly correlated in this way (see *Table 3.2* for the list of items in the notes). These items were selected with two goals in mind. First, any items that were similarly problematic across the two factor analyses for class and sexual orientation were automatically selected. Second, items that seemed overly similar to other items but used more complicated wording were eliminated, leaving simpler, similarly worded items. For instance, the item "a lack of motivation that results from being on public assistance" from the attributions for poverty scale, was more complex and specific than the simpler "lack of motivation and laziness" item, with which it was highly correlated (r = .82). Therefore, the latter item was retained, while the former item was removed from the factor analysis.

Table 3.2: Internalized Class Stigma Factor Analysis Varimax-rotated Factor Solution

Items	Factor 1	Factor 2
AP-Negative attitudes and an anti-work mentality.	**0.85**	0.02
AP-Lack of motivation and laziness.	**0.84**	0.03
AP-Lack of intelligence.	**0.83**	0.09
CAP-People from my social class try to abuse the system.	**0.81**	0.13
AP-Loose morals.	**0.78**	0.05
AP-An unwillingness to work at the competitive level that is necessary to make it in the world.	**0.78**	-0.01
AP-Lack of ability and talent.	**0.77**	-0.01
AP-Being too picky and refusing to take low paying, difficult jobs.	**0.77**	0.01
CAP-People from my social class are more violent than other groups of people.	**0.75**	0.21
AP-Alcohol and drug abuse.	**0.73**	0.24
CAP-People from my social class are less refined compared to most other groups.	**0.73**	0.06
CAP-People from my social class lack proper communication skills.	**0.72**	0.11

AP-Not having positive role models to teach children about drive and ambition.	**0.70**	0.27
AP-Being born with a low IQ.	**0.70**	0.05
AP-A vicious cycle that perpetuates poor work habits, welfare dependency, laziness and low self-esteem.	**0.68**	0.14
AP-The break-up of families (e.g., the increased divorce rate).	**0.63**	0.22
CAP-Generally, people from my social class have problems with drugs or alcohol.	**0.59**	0.28
CAP-People from my social class let their kids run around without supervision.	**0.58**	0.17
AP-Not receiving a high school diploma.	**0.47**	0.24
PR-I often regret that I belong to my class group.	0.08	**0.84**
PR-In general, I am glad to be a member of my class group.	0.06	**0.76**
PR-I feel good about the class I belong to.	0.11	**0.75**
IC-I wish I were a higher class.	0.10	**0.70**
IC-I believe it is unfair I am from a lower class.	0.01	**0.67**
PR-Overall, I feel that my class group is not worthwhile.	0.36	**0.43**

Notes: PCA with Varimax rotation. Bolded items indicate items included in the factor. AP = Attributions for Poverty items, PR = Private Regard Scale items, IC = Internalized Classism items (adapted form internalized homonegativity, CAP = Classism Attitudinal Profile items. Due to being highly correlated (r >.8) with other items, the following 4 items were removed from the factor analysis: IC-"If it were possible, I would choose to be a higher class," AP-"A lack of motivation that results from being on public assistance," AP- "Lack of drive and perseverance," and AP- "Lack of effort to improve themselves."

After examining the scree plot, a two-factor solution appeared to be best. However, since I was most interested in whether internalized class stigma predicted the outcomes of interest, regardless of the number of factors, I preferred to keep the items combined as a single construct, if it made sense. Not only did this allow for the most parsimonious results, but it also allowed the analyses to mirror the analyses for homonegativity. To see whether the two disparate sub-scales also held together as a single construct, I performed a reliability analysis to check the internal

consistency of the combined sub-scale items together. The combined scale had excellent internal consistency (alpha = .94). Since the combined scale reliably measured one construct, internalized classism, I used this combined internalized classism scale in the following analyses. For results for the separate sub-scales, see Appendix C.

Preliminary Analyses

Description of the variables. In general, the participants found their groups to be deserving (M_{Class} = 6.39, SD_{Class} = .75; M_{SM} = 6.15, SD_{SM} = 1.01). Sexual minorities scored below the midpoint on perceived stigma (*M* = 4.05, *SD* = 1.07) and internalized stigma (*M* = 2.15, *SD* = .92). Poor/working class participants also scored below the midpoint on perceived stigma (*M* = 3.03, *SD* = 1.16) and internalized stigma (*M* = 3.40, *SD* = 1.05). Participants generally had ratings above or near the midpoint for all of the dependent variables in the study, including educational/occupational values, life aspirations, achievement-oriented contingencies of self-worth, and extrinsic values/ aspirations. See Table 3.3 for all the means and standard deviations.

Table 3.3: Descriptive Statistics

				Observed Range		
Identity	Variables	Mean	SD	LL	UL	Cronbach's Alpha
Sexual Minorities (n = 181)						
	SO Perceived Stigma	4.05	1.07	1	7	.65
	SO Internalized Stigma	2.15	.92	1	4.35	.93
	SO Deservingness	6.15	1.01	3.25	7	.76
	SO Educational/Occupational Values	4.41	1.67	1	7	.91
	SO Life Aspirations	4.95	1.60	1	7	.96
Working Class (n = 162)						

Class Perceived Stigma	3.03	1.16	1	6.75	.80
Class Internalized Stigma	3.40	1.05	1.16	6.68	.94
Class Deservingness	6.39	.75	3.25	7	.84
Class Educational/Occupational Values	4.80	1.71	1	7	.89
Class Life Aspirations	4.97	1.58	1	7	.94
Both (n = 343)					
Extrinsic Educational/Occupational Values	4.44	1.24	1	7	.77
Aspirations: Money	4.56	1.25	1	7	.77
Aspirations: Image	3.49	1.45	1	7	.86
Aspirations: Popularity	3.51	1.48	1	7	.73
Aspirations: Conformity	3.59	1.46	1	7	.80
CSW: Competition	4.69	1.37	1	7	.90
CSW: Appearance	4.73	1.28	1	7	.80
CSW: Academic Success	5.08	1.22	1	7	.84
System Justification	3.09	1.23	1	6.38	.87

Correlations. In general, the correlations between the variables were sensible. There were a few that had implications for future analyses. First, for both sexual minorities and poor/working class individuals, there were strong correlations between identity-related life aspirations and identity-related educational/occupational values (r_{Class} = .80, p_{Class} < .001; r_{SM} = .72, p_{SM} < .001). Since this indicated that these two measures were measuring very similar constructs, I combined these two scales into one *Identity-related Life Aspirations and Educational/Occupational Values Scale* for each identity (M_{Class} = 4.97, SD_{Class} = 1.54, alpha = .95; M_{SM} = 4.72, SD_{SM} = 1.53, alpha = .94). This combined scale was used in all subsequent analyses to test the hypotheses.

Additionally, the correlation between identity-based deservingness and internalized homonegativity was very high for sexual minorities (r = -.78, p < .001). This meant that running a mediation analysis or any other analysis that included both variables would suffer from multicollinearity. Therefore, the hypothesized mediation that included deservingness was not

assessed for sexual minorities. System justification was sensibly correlated with most of the variables in the analyses, and therefore seemed like a reasonable control variable in the analyses. Finally, since the variables of interest for each of the supplemental hypotheses were mostly correlated, but not so correlated that they were likely to reflect the same underlying construct, multivariate multiple regression was used to assess the effects of the predictors on the dependent variables, while also accounting for the correlations between the dependent variables and correcting for multiple tests. For a list of all correlations between the variables used in the following analyses, see Table 3.4.

Table 3.4: Correlations between Key

Variables	Variable #	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Perceived Stigma	1	-	-.08	-0.11	-.08	.02	-.08	.05	-.01	.08	-.02	-.06	-.12	.27**
Internalized Stigma	2	-.29**	-	-.78**	-.35**	.10	.15	.32**	.27**	.41**	.22**	-.01	-.05	.51**
Deservingness	3	-.28**	.13	-	.08	-.21**	-.21**	-.40**	-.39**	-.47**	-.18*	.12	.14	.59**
Values/Aspirations	4	-.14	-.21**	.37**	-	.39**	.36**	.33**	.43**	.34**	.11	.03	.12	-.08
Extrinsic Values	5	-.03	.33**	.05	.25**	-	.70**	.63**	.58**	.56**	.28**	.13	.12	.21**
Aspirations: Money	6	-.15	.30**	.04	.09	.65**	-	.70**	.65**	.54**	.32**	.29**	.18*	.22**
Aspirations: Image	7	.01	.26**	-.02	.13	.61**	.60**	-	.77**	.71**	.35**	.38**	.14	.34**
Aspirations: Popularity	8	.01	.25**	-.12	.17*	.58**	.55**	.72**	-	.69**	.40**	.25**	.19*	.29**
Aspirations: Conformity	9	.05	.21**	-.10	.31**	.49**	.34**	.51**	.59**	-	.35**	.16*	.11	.47**
CSW: Competition	10	-.05	.31**	-.01	.01	.35**	.45**	.37**	.39**	.25**	-	.32**	.56**	.21**
CSW: Appearance	11	-.15	.17*	.15	.12	.34**	.47**	.50**	.31**	.24**	.49**	-	.34**	-.08
CSW: Academic Success	12	-.19*	.17*	.19*	.17*	.36**	.42**	.34**	.29**	.27**	.61**	.55**	-	-.12
System Justification	13	.41**	.04	-.43**	-.18*	.06	-.05	.06	.09	.24**	.11	-.07	-.02	-

Notes: Correlations for those who received class measures (n = 162) are displayed below the diagonal and correlations for those who received the sexual orientation measures are displayed above the diagonal (n = 181). Since participants who had both identities were randomly assigned one set of measures, the participants in each of these cells are exclusive. Since sexual orientation internalized stigma only had one factor and internalized class stigma had two, item 5 is blank above the diagonal. * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$.

Analyses for Hypothesis Testing

Hypothesis 1. The first hypothesis tested in Study 2 was whether internalized stigma predicted combined values and aspirations directly. Since the analyses for class included mediation analyses, which include tests of "total effects" that are equivalent to running a standard regression model without the mediator, these were used to test hypothesis 1 for class. Since similar mediation models were not conducted for sexual minorities, because homonegativity was highly correlated with sexual minority group-based deservingness, a standard regression analysis was conducted to test hypothesis 1 for sexual minorities.

All analyses controlled for the presence/absence of the other identity that was not part of the hypotheses (e.g. sexual minority identity for the class analyses), since there were participants who identified as both sexual minority and poor/working class in the analyses. The analyses all also controlled for perceived stigma (reverse-scored public regard), to account for this important individual difference that was studied more closely in Study 1. The analyses also controlled for participants' levels of system justification, since this individual difference would likely have bearing on these outcomes but was not too highly correlated with the other predictors.

Social class analyses for hypothesis 1. The mediation analysis for class used the combined internalized stigma scale as the main predictor variable, as discussed. As expected, the total effects model for this combined variable predicted group-based values and aspirations, $\beta = -.37$, $t(162) = -3.19$, $p < .01$. This means that the internalized stigma scale predicted group-based values and aspirations. The overall model accounted for a significant proportion of the variance in these values and aspirations, $R^2 = .12$, $F(4, 157) = 5.19$, $p > .001$.

Sexual orientation analyses for hypothesis 1. To test hypothesis 1 for sexual minorities, a multiple regression analysis was conducted, which included social class and perceived stigma

as control variables. The resulting analysis produced a significant negative effect of internalized homonegativity on group-based values and aspirations aimed at improving societal conditions for sexual minorities, $\beta = -.47$, $t(181) = -5.58$ $p < .001$. This meant that higher levels of internalized homonegativity predicted lower perceived importance of group-based values and aspirations. The total model accounted for a significant proportion of the variance in sexual minority-serving values and aspirations among sexual minority participants, $R^2 = .14$, $F(4, 176) = 8.49$, $p > .001$.

Hypothesis 2. Hypothesis 2 could only be tested for poor/working class participants and class identity, for reasons described earlier. To test the hypothesis that the relationship between internalized stigma and group-based values and aspirations was mediated by group-based deservingness, a mediation analyses was conducted, using Hayes' PROCESS macro for SPSS (model 4) (Hayes, 2013). Internalized stigma was entered as the main predictor, with class-based deservingness entered as the mediator and class-focused values and aspirations entered as the dependent variable. Perceived stigma, sexual orientation, and system justification were entered as control variables.

Results indicated that there was an indirect effect through deservingness, $\beta = .08$, 1,000 bootstrapped 95% confidence intervals: [-.19, -.01], indicating that deservingness mediated the relationship between internalized stigma and group-serving values and aspirations for poor/working class individuals. When examining the main path effects, there was a positive relationship between deservingness and group-based values and aspirations, $\beta = .62$, $t(162) = 3.70$, $p < .001$, as well as a significant negative relationship between internalized stigma and deservingness, $\beta = -.12$, $t(162) = -2.30$, $p < .05$. This means that individuals with higher feelings of internalized class stigma had a lower sense of class-based deservingness, which was then

associated with lower perceived importance of class-based values and aspirations, compared to those with less internalized classism. Despite the indirect effect being significant, the direct effect was also significant, $\beta = -.30$, $t(162) = -2.60$, $p < .05$. This meant that a significant proportion of the total relationship between internalized stigma and these values and aspirations, $\beta = -.37$, $t(162) = -3.19$, $p < .01$, was not accounted for by deservingness, indicating partial mediation. The overall model accounted for a significant proportion of the variance in group-based values and aspirations, $R^2 = .19$, $F(5, 156) = 7.23$, $p > .001$. See *Figure 3.2* for a graphical representation of this analysis.

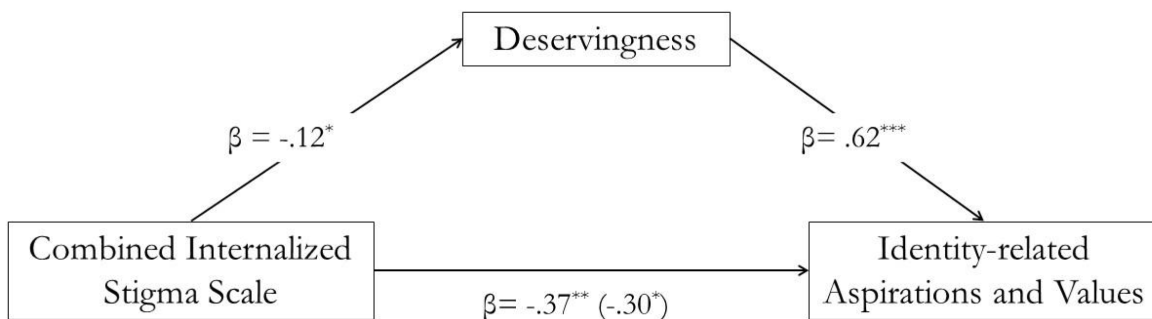

Figure 3.2: Mediation of the Effect of Internalized Classist Stigma on Identity-related Aspirations and Values by Deservingness.

Notes: Indirect Effect = -.08, 95% Confidence Interval (1,000 bootstrapped samples): [-.19, -.01]. n = 162. $R^2 = .19$, $F(5, 156) = 7.23$, $p < .001$. Analysis controls for sexual orientation, perceived class stigma, and system justification. t $p < .1$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Supplemental hypotheses. Finally, the supplemental hypotheses were tested. Although these hypotheses did not bear on the overall proposed model for the dissertation, they were still

relevant and theoretically important in terms of the relationship between internalized stigma and extrinsic life aspirations, extrinsic educational/occupational values, and achievement-based contingencies of self-worth. Since extrinsic educational/occupational values comprised one scale, a series of regression analyses was conducted to assess the relationship between internalized stigma and this dependent variable. Since both life aspirations and contingencies of self-worth included several sub-scales that are distinct (not too highly correlated), but theoretically related to the questions of interest, multivariate multiple regression analyses were conducted, entering these groupings of variables as dependent variables, with internalized stigma and related controls entered as covariates.

Extrinsic educational/occupational values. A regression analysis was first conducted that included class-based internalized stigma as a predictor of extrinsic educational/occupational values, with sexual orientation as a control. This model yielded a positive and significant coefficient, $\beta = .35$, $t(162) = 4.50$, $p < .001$, meaning that higher scores on the combined scale predicted higher perceived importance of extrinsic occupational values.

A second regression analysis was conducted that included internalized homonegativity as a predictor of extrinsic educational/occupational values. This analysis included social class and perceived sexual stigma as controls. The resulting coefficient from the regression equation indicated that internalized homonegativity did not predict extrinsic educational/occupational values, $\beta = .10$, $t(181) = 1.35$, $p > .05$. The overall model also did not account for a significant proportion of the variance in extrinsic educational/occupational values, $R^2 = .01$, $F(3, 177) = .83$, $p > .05$.

Extrinsic life aspirations. As stated before, the effect of internalized stigma on extrinsic life aspirations, which is a grouping of four related but distinct scales assessing aspirations (to

achieve financial success, conformity, popularity, and social image), was tested using multivariate multiple regression. Separate analyses were conducted for poor/working class individuals and sexual minorities.

Class analysis. For poor/working class participants, internalized stigma generally predicted the set of extrinsic life aspirations. The combined internalized classism scale was a significant predictor of the group of dependent variables, Pillai's Trace = .10, $F(4, 154) = 4.51$, $p < .01$, partial $\eta^2 = .10$, meaning internalized classism significantly predicted extrinsic life aspirations.

The univariate regression results showed that internalized classism accounted for a significant proportion of the variance in all of the extrinsic life aspiration, including financial success aspirations, $F(1, 158) = 12.1$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .07$, popularity aspirations, $F(1, 158) = 12.35$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .07$, and image aspirations, $F(1, 158) = 13.33$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .08$, and conformity aspirations $F(1, 158) = 8.87$, $p < .01$, partial $\eta^2 = .05$. In terms of parameters, the internalized classism scale positively predicted financial success aspirations, $B = .34$, $t(162) = 3.48$, $p < .001$, popularity aspirations, $B = .37$, $t(162) = 3.51$, $p < .001$, image-based aspirations, $B = .37$, $t(162) = 3.65$, $p < .001$, and conformity aspirations, $B = .31$, $t(162) = 2.98$, $p < .01$. Therefore, participants with higher levels of internalized classism were more likely to view all of these extrinsic life aspirations as important.

Sexual orientation analysis. For sexual minority participants, internalized homonegative stigma also generally predicted extrinsic life aspirations, Pillai's Trace = .20, $F(4, 172) = 10.50$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .20$. Examining the univariate models, internalized homonegative stigma accounted for a significant proportion of the variance in conformity aspirations, $F(1, 175) = 36.16$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .17$, popularity aspirations, $F(1, 175) = 13.56$, $p < .01$, partial $\eta^2 =$

.07, and image aspirations, $F(1, 175) = 20.64$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .11$. There was a trend for internalized homonegative prejudice to account for the variance in aspirations for financial success, $F(1, 175) = 3.56$, $p = .06$, partial $\eta^2 = .02$. In terms of parameters, internalized homonegative stigma positively predicted conformity aspirations, $B = .70$, $t(177) = 3.19$, $p < .001$, popularity aspirations, $B = .44$, $t(177) = 3.68$, $p < .001$, and image-based aspirations, $B = .53$, $t(177) = 4.54$, $p < .001$. The coefficient for financial success-based aspirations was positive, but marginally significant, $B = .19$, $t(177) = 1.89$, $p = .06$. Therefore, participants with higher levels of internalized homonegative stigma were generally more likely to view these extrinsic life aspirations as important.

Achievement-related contingencies of self-worth. The effect of internalized stigma on achievement-related contingencies of self-worth, a grouping of three distinct scales that measure contingencies of self-worth that are self-determined and based on one's own achievement, as opposed to being reliant on others (e.g. family support), was tested using similar multivariate multiple regression analyses. The achievement-related contingencies of self-worth included academic success, competition, and appearance. Separate analyses were conducted for poor/working class individuals and sexual minorities.

Class analysis. Among poor/working class participants, internalized class stigma generally predicted this set of contingencies of self-worth. Specifically, the combined internalized classism scale also predicted these contingencies, Pillai's Trace = .10, $F(3, 136) = 4.78$, $p < .01$, partial $\eta^2 = .10$.

The univariate analyses for the internalized classism scale showed that the combined scale only significantly predicted competition-related contingencies of self-worth, $F(1, 138) = 13.51$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .09$. Appearance-related contingencies of self-worth $F(1, 138) =$

2.57, $p > .05$, and academic contingencies of self-worth, $F(1, 138) = 3.22$, $p > .05$, were not predicted by the combined internalized class stigma scale. Examining the parameter for the significant effect, internalized classism positively predicted competition-related contingencies of self-worth, $B = 2.98$, $t(140) = 5.21$, $p < .001$. Therefore, participants with higher levels of internalized class stigma were more likely to view this contingency of self-worth as important.

Sexual orientation analysis. Among sexual minority participants, internalized homonegative stigma predicted this set of contingencies of self-worth. The multivariate test indicated that the internalized stigma scale predicted this set of dependent variables, Pillai's Trace = .08, $F(3, 160) = 4.81$, $p < .01$, but further examination of the univariate effects showed that this overall effect on the set of dependent variables occurred as a result of internalized stigma being a significant predictor only of competition-related contingencies of self-worth, $F(1, 162) = 6.76$, $p < .01$, partial $\eta^2 = .04$. Appearance-related contingencies of self-worth $F(1, 162) = .07$, $p > .05$, and academic contingencies of self-worth, $F(1, 162) = .45$, $p > .05$, were not predicted by internalized homonegative stigma. Examining the parameter for the significant effect, internalized homonegative stigma positively predicted competition-related contingencies of self-worth, $B = .29$, $t(140) = 2.60$, $p < .01$. Therefore, participants with higher levels of internalized stigma were more likely to view competition-related contingency of self-worth as important. See Table 3.5 for a summary of the findings for supplemental hypotheses.

Table 3.5: Summary of Results for Supplemental Hypotheses

Outcomes	Internalized Homonegativity	Internalized Classism
Ext. Occupational Values		+
Extrinsic Life Aspirations	+	+
Financial	$+^{t}$	+
Popularity	+	+
Image	+	+
Conformity	+	+

Contingencies of Self-Worth	+	+
Competition	+	+
Appearance		
Academic		

Notes: All cells with "+" indicate that the specific stigma scale positively predicted the outcome (there were no negative relationships between predictors and outcomes). [t] $p < .01$

Discussion

The purpose of Study 2 was to build on the promising results of Study 1 by highlighting the connection between internalized stigma and a lack of socio-political engagement aimed at helping one's marginalized groups, by explicitly including sense of deservingness, a critical component of relative deprivation. Additionally, the outcome variables in this study were chosen in order to assess under-studied areas of inquiry that could be fruitful for political psychologists and political scientists. Despite more explicit types of activism and political engagement continuing to be rare (Burstein & Sausner, 2005), movements aimed at social change continue to progress, especially for causes that benefit special marginalized groups in society. Therefore, in an effort to examine one potential but understudied source of social change, group-based values and aspirations were examined as outcomes that would theoretically connect the political to the educational/occupational, as well as how people generally choose to live their lives. This is important because how people choose to spend their working hours and/or their lives generally can have a big impact on creating social change above/beyond explicit activism.

In general, the hypotheses for Study 2 were supported by the results. First, individuals who had higher levels of internalized stigma generally perceived values and aspirations aimed at improving conditions for other sexual minority or poor/working-class people as less important. Second, as predicted, the relationship between internalized stigma and these group-based aspirations and values was at least partially accounted for by group-based deservingness. Finally,

the results supported the supplemental hypotheses, which generally tested whether internalized stigma accounted for individual differences in extrinsic values, aspirations, and contingencies of self-worth, meaning individuals with more negative views about their group saw external markers of success, such as financial success, image, and status, as more essential educational/occupational and life goals, compared to those who did not.

This collection of results contributes to the literature on identity and political engagement in several ways. First, this study provides evidence that internalized stigma affects outcomes with political consequences, above and beyond temporally proximal and explicitly political outcomes like activism and political issue importance (as in Study 1). This study demonstrates an explicit theoretical connection between individuals' career and life-based goals and aspirations and individual-level variables, such as internalized stigma, while also making the connection to political engagement. Second, some of these findings support the notion that group-based deservingness is a mediator between internalized stigma and politicization, showing that relative deprivation theory (Crosby, 1976) is a useful theory connecting these two constructs. This study shows that relative deprivation theory is a valuable complement to social cognitive career theory and its focus on outcomes like occupational values. Finally, this study shows how internalized stigma not only predicts lesser engagement with group-serving occupational-political outcomes, but also increases the propensity for outcomes that are focused on improving conditions for one's self, rather than one's group.

Internalized Stigma, Values/Aspirations, and Long-term Political Engagement

The results of this study supported the hypothesis that internalized stigma is associated with individuals' political engagement, using as indicators aspirations and values aiming at social change for one's group. Although these are related to outcomes from different literatures

in psychology, I used both in this study because I expected aspirations, which capture people's general feelings about what they want out of life, to be related to what participants want out of their educational/occupational trajectories, since so much of how we see ourselves is related to our work. However, the two could have proved to be separate constructs, since it is possible that an individual may want to use their time and resources to help their group but may not see these endeavors as an important feature of their professional life or vice versa. Therefore, I measured and analyzed these two types of outcomes separately, while also allowing for the possibility that they might reflect the same underlying dimension (which they did).

Individuals who identified as sexual minorities and endorsed higher levels of internalized stigma indicated that they perceived educational/occupational values and life aspirations aimed at improving social conditions for sexual minorities as less important than those with less internalized stigma. Similarly, individuals who identified as poor/working class and had higher levels of internalized classism scale perceived group-serving educational/occupational values and life aspirations aimed at helping other poor/working class people as less important than individuals who did not share the same negative, stigmatizing attitudes about their social identity groups. The similar findings across these groups are promising, but of course, similarities should not be assumed in future research. Indeed, there were observed differences in the underlying factor structure and those differences are displayed in the results discussed in Appendix C. Therefore, while it is expeditious and even theoretically helpful in some cases to combine groups in order to draw upon similarities when assessing these types of effects (as was done in Study 1 with shared concealability versus visibility), it is also important to look at groups separately so that group-level differences can be discovered. Stakeholders interested in developing

interventions to improve individuals' desires to enact social change may then be able to develop strategies that encompass or target these differences.

This study was novel for political psychologists in its use of politically-salient group-based educational/occupational values and life aspirations as its focus, demonstrating that these could be of interest to other researchers interested in political engagement broadly. Many researchers have examined the role of identity for more conventional, explicit, political outcomes, like activism and voting (Blankenship et al., 2017; Curtin et al., 2015; Duncan, 1999; Swank & Fahs, 2011), but few have examined how it affects broader educational and occupational values and aspirations to create social change, such as the ones examined in this study. These are important outcomes because they measure a more generalized interest in encouraging social change for one's marginalized groups, above and beyond specific activism/political engagement measures. Although it is extremely useful to understand the psychological variables and dynamics between them that affect political engagement and activism over the course of a year or two (a typical timeframe used in activism research), understanding how these variables and dynamics lead individuals to devote their educational/occupational resources and/or the focus of their life's work toward improving conditions for their marginalized social groups is also consequential. As educational institutions, workplaces, and other social institutions strive to contribute to a more fair and just society, it is becoming increasingly important to understand what contributes to a socially engaged citizenry, devoted to helping marginalized groups.

This research approach also contributes to the sub-field of occupational counseling psychology. Psychology of Working Theory, in particular, has proven to be a useful theory for connecting structural challenges and social identity to career volition and outcomes (Duffy et al.,

2016). However, this and other theories in vocational psychology could benefit from further assessment of identity-related constructs to better understand how individual factors interact with social context to shape career and life-related decisions and aspirations. Results of this study show that one domain that may operate to constrain and shape individuals' aspirations is internalized stigma. Additionally, I observed how both identity-specific and more general values and aspirations were affected by internalized stigma, suggesting a potential area for further exploration.

In summary, this study has shown that internalized stigma is a useful construct allowing us to further explore domains of political psychology and occupational counseling psychology. Sexual minority and poor/working class individuals who had higher levels of internalized stigma were less likely to see group-based educational/occupational values and life aspirations as important, leading to lower aspirations to help their marginalized groups. Therefore, individuals who want to create a more involved and politically active citizenry, not just in terms of single actions, such as time-limited activism and political engagement, but also in terms of increasing engagement-related motivations that affect how individuals spend a large proportion of their time, should seriously consider interventions that target internalized stigma. By targeting internalized stigma, stakeholders can help individuals feel better about their marginalized groups and inspire them to devote their work and life toward improving conditions for themselves and other members of their marginalized groups.

Deservingness: An Important Link Between Internalized Stigma and Political Engagement

Another contribution of the current study is that it shows that the connection between internalized stigma and political outcomes is at least sometimes mediated by group-based deservingness.

For sexual minorities, deservingness could not be tested as a mediator between internalized homonegativity and life aspirations and educational/occupational values, because sexual minorities' group-based deservingness was so highly correlated with internalized stigma. This strong relationship demonstrated that deservingness is so strongly linked with internalized stigma for sexual minorities that it could not mediate the relationship between stigma and outcomes. Therefore, sexual minorities who held negative views about their group membership also almost universally saw sexual minorities as less deserving, compared to sexual minorities that did not hold these views. This limited evidence supports the importance of relative deprivation theory and its criterion of deservingness in understanding these group-based occupational values and life aspirations, while not directly testing the role of deservingness per se.

For poor/working class individuals, the explanation is clearer. Here class-based group deservingness mediated the relationship between internalized class stigma and educational/occupational values and life aspirations aimed at improving social conditions for poor/working class people. Therefore, poor/working class people who felt more negatively about their class status did not see spending their time/efforts on improving conditions for poor/working class people as important, and this was shown to be the case at least partly because they saw their class group as less deserving than those who did not hold similarly negative views of the group.

It is likely that this difference in the strength of the correlations between internalized stigma and deservingness that existed between sexual minorities and poor/working class people is the result of perceptions of changeability. Specifically, it may be that sexual minorities feel less deserving as a result of internalized stigma because they do not think that they can change

this identity that they are self-stigmatizing, while those high in internalized class stigma vary in their degree of perceived deservingness because they vary in how much they think they can change their status. Therefore, it is possible that the degree to which poor/working class people view the class status as changeable (i.e. class-based essentialism) might moderate the relationship between internalized stigma and class-based deservingness. Future research could be done to explore this potential relationship and further explain why these relationships differ from sexual minorities.

These findings depend on being able to empirically separate internalized stigma from deservingness. When we were able to do so (for poor/working class individuals), we were able to confirm the value of relative deprivation theory, and the specific criterion of deservingness, for connecting identity/individual difference variables to group-based political outcomes aimed at affecting social structure, including group-based educational/occupational values and life aspirations. Furthermore, relative deprivation theory provides a useful framework in combination with the existing literature on social cognitive career theory. Although social cognitive career theory has made great strides in connecting individuals' career and, by extension, life related outcomes to individual variables like social identity and socio-cognitive factors that are affected by social context, it provides a particularly useful framework for understanding how the personal becomes political and how the political can become occupational and aspirational.

Internalized Stigma and Extrinsic Values, Aspirations, and Contingencies of Self-worth

Although it does not bear on the overarching model that underlies the dissertation, the relationship between internalized stigma and extrinsic educational/occupational values, life aspirations, and contingencies of self-worth was also closely examined. Since extrinsic outcomes are focused on improving one's own standing (e.g. money, status, etc.), as opposed to being

focused on improving conditions for others, I predicted that internalized stigma, which generally distances people from their politicized minority groups, would increase these tendencies. Specifically, I predicted that individuals with higher levels of internalized stigma directed toward their sexual minority or poor/working class concealable identities would have higher levels of extrinsic values, aspirations, and contingencies.

This prediction was generally confirmed. Sexual minorities and poor/working class people who had higher levels of internalized stigma expressed higher levels of extrinsic educational/occupational values, life aspirations, and contingencies of self-worth. While this effect was found for both groups, the specific effects that were statistically significant were slightly different for these groups. These differences have implications for future inquiry and suggest that there may be different psychological mechanisms underlying the different relationships.

Before focusing on any differences in the effects between these groups, it is important to focus on the commonalities, which were more numerous. First, in terms of life aspirations, both internalized class stigma and internalized homonegative stigma predicted greater perceived importance of extrinsic aspirations, including image aspirations, popularity aspirations, and conformity aspirations. Financial success aspirations were predicted for both groups, but there was only a trend toward significance for sexual minorities, perhaps because it is in fact less central to feelings of self-worth for sexual minorities than for class minorities. In terms of contingencies of self-worth, internalized class stigma and homonegativity predicted greater importance of achievement-related contingencies of self-worth, with competition-related contingencies, specifically, predicted by both types of internalized stigma.

In previous research, I found that internalized homonegative stigma was associated with higher levels of academic contingencies of self-worth, but this same effect was not found here. The original study focused on college students, who were actively engaged in academics, while the current sample was comprised of adult Mturk workers who had generally completed their education and are, therefore, less likely to view academic contingencies of self-worth as important. Past research has demonstrated that contingencies of self-worth are highly contextual and can change with age and over time (Crocker & Wolfe, 2001). However, future research should be conducted with other samples/populations to further clarify whether this difference in the particular extrinsic contingencies of self-worth is most germane at different ages for different populations.

The only notable difference in the effects for these groups related to the findings for extrinsic educational/occupational values. While internalized class stigma generally positively predicted higher perceived importance of extrinsic educational/occupational values for poor/working class people, a similar effect was not found for sexual minorities and internalized homonegativity. A lot of the stereotypes about poor/working class people focus specifically on their inability to be effective workers. People who believe this is true about their class group may be especially eager to pursue educational/occupational success in order to distance themselves from these stereotypes. Along similar lines, the internalized classism scale included items that endorsed poor/working class people's desires to be a different class, coupled with a disliking of their class group. If poor/working class people see educational/occupational success as the sole way to change classes, they might be more likely to endorse these specific items as important. For sexual minorities, on the other hand, the dynamics underlying The Best Little Boy in the World Hypothesis (Pachankis & Hatzenbuehler, 2013) are associated with the relation between

internalized stigma and extrinsic values. Since individuals can obtain personal success in other domains besides work and still fulfill this need, the effect on educational/occupational success may be less pronounced, especially in this sample of adults who are mostly finished with their schooling and are stable in their careers. Still, future research should be conducted to further investigate these different effects and potentially test the reasons for these differences.

In general, this set of results supported the supplemental hypothesis that internalized stigma predicts higher perceived importance of extrinsic values, aspirations, and contingencies of self-worth. Therefore, poor/working class people and sexual minorities who had negative views of their own groups were more likely to see extrinsic pursuits, like financial success, image, and popularity, as more important, compared to those who did not hold these stigmatizing views of their groups. This is consequential for research on both groups and contributes to the theories that led to similar predictions for both. For sexual minorities, the expectations of the Best Little Boy (BLB) in the World Hypothesis appear to be supported. As noted earlier, this hypothesis asserts that sexual minorities may ascertain from a young age that the acceptance of others can be fleeting and is dependent on a concealable part of their identity, which can be disclosed at any moment, causing them to learn to rely on extrinsic, achievement-related goals as a primary source of self-worth and contentment. By extension, it is reasonable to predict that individuals who may have higher levels of internalized stigma because of experiences of stigma in the form of prejudice, discrimination, and stereotyping may have a heightened affinity for these values and aspirations compared to those with lower levels of internalized stigma, as a result of feeling a stronger need to rely on extrinsic means of self-worth/accomplishment in the face of experiences of others' stigmatizing attitudes and behaviors. The results supported this notion, showing that sexual minorities who felt more negative about their sexual orientation saw these

extrinsic sources of self-worth and contentment as more important than those who did not hold similar views. This study extends the BLB hypothesis to outcomes beyond contingencies of self-worth. The broad range of extrinsic outcomes found to be affected by internalized stigma suggests the importance of this process for stigmatized sexual minorities.

Similarly, this study contributes to the literature on the effects of stigma for poor/working class people. This study showed that internalized class stigma for poor/working class people is associated with desires to change one's social standing by changing classes or by distancing from stereotypes about one's class group. This leads individuals with higher levels of internalized classism to endorse extrinsic values, aspirations, and contingencies as important. Thus poor/working class individuals who internalize classism are less likely to spend their talents and time helping their class group, and instead seek benefits for themselves individually through pursuits of financial success, status, and the like. Future research should further explore this effect, including investigating ways to decrease internalized stigma, and promote class-based political engagement over the lifetime.

Concealable Identities and Politicized Aspirations/Values

This study concerned the effect of internalized stigma on group-based values and aspirations for sexual minorities and poor/working class people, as a way to further test the association with socio-political engagement among those with marginalized identities, the main focus of the dissertation. These two groups were specifically selected for several reasons.

First, these groups share the status of having a concealable identity, which creates a particular condition for examining relationships between internalized stigma and socio-political outcomes. It was hypothesized that levels of internalized stigma would be higher among those with concealable identities, consistent with the results of Study 1. This greater internalization of

stigma was hypothesized to be a result of different dynamics for coping with stigma for those with concealable identities, versus those with visible identities (see the introduction to this chapter for a more comprehensive overview of this reasoning). Since I wanted to assess the effect of internalized stigma on political outcomes of interest, it was logical to use groups that would theoretically have relatively high levels of internalized stigma. Furthermore, these specific identities were selected because they were stigmatized concealable identity groups that had previously been successfully sampled on MTurk (Smith et al., 2015). Finally, poor/working class and sexual minorities seemed especially fruitful to sample, given the interest in group-based political outcomes and the relative salience of issues that have affected both groups in recent years (e.g. religious freedom bills and gay marriage for sexual minorities and the focus on economic inequality on both the right and the left during the time surrounding the 2016 U.S. election).

These two groups were also selected because they differ in the extent to which their status is seen as mutable in society. On the one hand, many people view sexual minority identities in an essentialist light, largely as a result of “born this way” explanations for sexual orientation (Schilt, 2015). Therefore, people, including sexual minorities themselves, usually do not see sexual orientation as a choice or something that can be changed. On the other hand, in American society especially, class is seen as entirely mutable. In accordance with the “pull yourself up by your bootstraps” mentality that defines the American Protestant work ethic, many individuals, including those from poor/working class backgrounds, believe that they can achieve financial success and move to a higher class if they work hard enough on their educational/occupational pursuits. Therefore, these two groups were selected because I wanted to

evaluate whether this difference in levels of changeability for these two groups had consequences for the results of internalized stigma predicting values and aspirations.

The results were similar across these two groups for the main hypotheses about political engagement. This may mean that perceptions of changeability do not make a big difference, when it comes to the effect of internalization on deservingness and political engagement, as operationalized by group-based values and aspirations. Despite the effects of internalized stigma being similar across these two groups, in terms of the main hypotheses, the proposed theoretical mechanisms were quite different for the supplemental hypotheses. These proposed mechanisms were explicitly connected to perceptions of changeability for class identity but could not be explicitly tested in the current study. Future research should further investigate what effect perceptions of changeability have on the relationship between internalized stigma and extrinsic values and aspirations, in order to further support these preliminary findings.

Limitations and Future Directions

This study had many strengths and contributes to theory and empirical research on the relations between social identity and political engagement. It is also important to address its limitations and describe possible future directions for further research.

First, this study relied on a convenient online sample from Amazon Mechanical Turk. Although this platform is a successful source of participants for research, especially research on hard-to-reach populations (Smith et al., 2015), this ready access comes with drawbacks (Chandler et al., 2014; Chandler & Paolacci, 2017; Paolacci & Chandler, 2014). Future research should be performed on sexual minority and poor/working class individuals recruited in other ways. Specifically, although student populations also have their flaws, this type of population might be especially useful to use for research on educational and occupational aspirations, since

students are in the active process of thinking about how they want to devote their time, in terms of their careers and life in general.

Similarly, although these particular populations of sexual minorities and poor/working class people were selected for the reasons described, there is no reason to expect that similar effects would not be predicted in other populations. Of course, the most obvious extension of this study would be to assess these effects in other groups with concealable identities. This could include people with concealable disabilities, People of Color who are able to pass as White, people with HIV or other stigmatized diseases, people who are addicted to drugs or alcohol, and people with concealable stigmatized religious identities, just to name a few. Based on the previous discussions of concealability and changeability as potentially important factors, researchers will need to think critically about specific hypotheses for each of these groups, perhaps including different mechanisms or accounting for specific characteristics of the identities. This research should also be extended to people with visible identities, but the models may be slightly different for these groups, or special consideration will need to be made to recruit samples with a range of internalization, since it may not be as common among members of these groups, for the reasons discussed previously. This type of analysis could still prove useful and could help illuminate some of the proposed mechanisms for the reduced connection between perceived stigma and internalized stigma in these populations. For instance, the same relations between internalized stigma and political engagement could be studied in African Americans, but it would seem reasonable to expect that degrees of parental racial socialization might be an important moderator of the relationship between perceived stigma and internalized stigma, creating further reduced downstream effects on political engagement.

Additionally, one limitation of this study was the separate analyses for sexual orientation and class. This study was done in this way in the interest of not burdening our participants who held both of these identities with significantly longer survey instruments in order to assess these dimensions for each identity. However, adopting this method meant I could not test intersectional hypotheses (Cole, 2009). Additionally, these effects may be inflected in the context of other identities (race, gender, disability, etc) not examined here. Future research should explicitly test these effects and see how and when the presence of other identities makes a meaningful difference. The psychological science of identity can only become stronger if researchers attempt to apply an intersectional approach to their theory and methods.

Further, although the method of collecting responses to items from multiple different scales and then using factor analysis to reduce them to fewer scales proved useful for data reduction, the resulting scales/items might not define reliable indicators in different samples. Further research is needed to assess the validity of these operationalizations of internalized stigma in these groups of individuals. Specifically, a measure of internalized classism is needed in the current literature, especially as class-based prejudice and discrimination becomes an increasingly important topic of interest to social scientists. Measures of internalized homonegativity have also not had a recent overhaul, despite same-sex marriage becoming legalized in the U.S., followed by reimagined efforts opposing progress for sexual minorities in the form of legal or legislative developments like “freedom of religion” laws, since the last major set of studies were conducted on the measurement of internalized stigma. A recent review of the state of the construct has explicitly made the case that more work on measurement should be conducted, along with additional qualitative research on this construct (Berg, Munthe-Kaas, & Ross, 2016). Since we know that social context affects and changes the meaning and boundaries

of what defines stigma and internalized stigma, it may be useful for future research to reexamine this dimension of identity for sexual minorities, as well as poor/working class people.

Along the same lines, several of the measures used in the current study were experimenter-generated or adapted and did not go through the rigorous process of developing and testing the psychometric properties of the variables. Although the resulting measures had face validity and provided coherent results, further analyses to assess convergent/discriminant validity and reliability might increase confidence in their value.

Finally, this study did not supply evidence that the group-based values and aspirations are associated with actual behavior. Although one might expect these to correlate with actual behavior, it is also possible that people can value certain pursuits and aspire to engage in certain actions but not actually follow through. Future studies should determine to what extent these experimenter-generated group-based values and aspirations predict actual behavior, like activism, political engagement, and/or career/life-based choices and behaviors.

In terms of future directions not tied to limitations, research should further examine the connections between identity-related variables, like internalized stigma, and how people choose to devote their time, education/career, and other resources over the course of their lives. Educational/occupational values and life aspirations could be assessed more often in future research on political mobilization and engagement to allow us a more complete understanding of people's desires to be agents of transformative social change, as opposed to being focused on educational/occupational pursuits and life goals aimed at helping themselves attain extrinsic resources, such as money, status, and image. These different values and aspirations could then be linked to specific types of activism, political issue salience, and voting, as well as being used as a predictor of what careers people choose, what majors/types of study they pursue, and how they

generally focus their endeavors. In general, political psychologists and occupational psychologists both stand to gain a lot from implementing this type of approach.

Conclusion

In summary, this study provides a much-needed analysis of the relations between internalized stigma and consequential values/aspirations. These values and aspirations may have a significant impact on the lifelong political engagement of members of marginalized groups, depending on whether or not individuals desire to spend their time and efforts to rectify injustice against their marginalized group. In line with the general model underlying this dissertation, I showed how stigma can have the effect of making some people from marginalized groups disengage from political domains aimed at creating social change through the effect stigma has on creating internalized stigma and lower feelings of deservingness. As some sexual minorities and people from poor/working class backgrounds internalize the stigma against their groups, this can cause them to feel less deserving as members of those groups, leading to lower political engagement.

Conceptualizing how people's career and life ambitions can be taken up as a form of political engagement is an important issue for social, political, and occupational psychology. By utilizing a broader conceptualization of political engagement than has been used in the past, we can better understand what predictors of social change look like in a country where levels of activism and political engagement remain relatively low (Burstein & Sausner, 2005), allowing stakeholders to investigate ways to improve these outcomes. For instance, if stigma decreases the perceptions of these types of values and aspirations as important, decreasing stigma and the related internalized stigma, could create a more socially and politically engaged citizenry. Furthermore, demonstrating that these types of outcomes are important to marginalized

individuals, as they decide their career and life trajectories, can help business/government/non-profit firms recruit and retain candidates from marginalized backgrounds, increasing diversity and inclusion in these workplaces.

Chapter 4 Observations of Internalized Stigma and Political Interests and Intentions

The focus of the current study was the effects of *observed* internalized stigma on the political interests and engagement of *privileged* participants. The previous studies focused on the negative effects of internalized stigma on the political outcomes of individuals from marginalized groups. In this study I argue that some of the most deleterious political effects of internalized stigma may involve its ability to hinder the momentum of social progress by causing people who have a lot of influence but do not stand to gain from such movements toward social progress to lose interest or become less engaged in such efforts. This study will make explicit connections between the final parts of my overall model (internalized stigma and political outcomes among privileged observers), demonstrating how stigma acts on society in a circular fashion, creating conditions that increase incidence of internalized stigma, which hinders efforts to create social change by disengaging marginalized people *and* their privileged others, thus allowing the cycle to self-perpetuate.

Apart from shifting the focus to privileged participants, this study also differs from the other two because I employ an experimental method to test my hypotheses. This method seemed best suited for testing these hypotheses because it allowed me to see the effect of observing enactments of internalized stigma without requiring participants to actively interact, or to have previously interacted, with marginalized groups. By creating a circumstance that simulates something that participants might experience in their everyday lives (e.g., viewing a Facebook post from a member of a marginalized group online), I was able to test whether observing self-stigmatizing statements ostensibly made by members of marginalized groups led privileged

group members to enact increased stigma, resulting in lower levels of perceived identity-related issue importance and engagement intentions, compared to those who observed affirming statements made by the same targets.

As with the other two studies, I examined targets marginalized by sexual orientation and class. These identities were selected because I hypothesized and showed in Study 1 that individuals with concealable identities, including sexual minorities and poor/working class people, would have a higher incidence of internalized stigma, compared to those with visible identities. In this study I create a form of virtual interaction of individuals with privileged identities with members of these concealable identity groups. The reasoning behind this choice is that people with relative social privilege to these groups, straight and/or middle/class people, are more likely to observe internalized stigma enacted by members of these groups, compared to those with visible marginalized identities, as a result of these groups' higher rates of internalization. Additionally, by utilizing the same types of identities across all three studies, I was able to assess how the overall model (see *Figure 1.1*) applies to these two specific groups, rather than focusing on different elements of the model for different identity groups.

Internalized Stigma and Concealable Identity Groups

There are several possible reasons for higher rates of internalized stigma among individuals with concealable identities, compared to those with visible identities. First, given the hidden nature of concealable identities, it is possible that experiences with stigma are different from the experiences of those with visible stigmatized identities. For instance, concealability could leave them more likely to find themselves around people who do not hide their prejudice because they are not aware that a member of the group they are expressing prejudice against is present, leading the marginalized individuals to experience stigma in a wider variety of contexts.

Second, these individuals may be less likely to advocate for themselves or their group, out of fear of outing themselves and becoming targeted further. These individuals could then either become the target of further stigma and have a greater likelihood of internalization, as a result of the association between perceived stigma and internalized stigma (Vogel et al., 2013), or they could be more likely to internalize because their inaction leaves them feeling inauthentic, politically dis-connected, or helpless in the face of stigma. Third, these individuals are less likely to have received affirming counternarratives, such as the counternarratives Black children receive about their marginalized groups that act as “shields” against negative societal views of their group (Wang & Huguley, 2012; White-Johnson et al., 2010). Finally, if these individuals are not open about their status, they are less likely to have developed a network of allies and in-group members, who can be a source of social support and similar affirming group messages in instances where they are confronted with societal stigma.

In this study, I arranged for straight, middle/upper-class people to observe an experimenter-created Facebook profile page of either a hypothetical gay man being homonegative or of a poor/working class man being classist, because I thought target group members who shared the status of having a concealable identity were more likely to endorse self-stigmatizing views. Ratings of these targets were contrasted with the ratings of the same types of targets who made identity-affirming statements, instead of identity stigmatizing statements.

Stigma and Intergroup Contact among Privileged Majorities

Many researchers have studied the precursors and consequences of stigma and prejudice for members of marginalized groups and by members of privileged groups (Herek et al., 2009; Pyke, 2010; Speight, 2007; Szymanski, 2005; Szymanski & Henrichs-Beck, 2014; Szymanski et al., 2008). Beyond the negative outcomes for the targets of stigma, stigma can also create

negative consequences for privileged group members and their environments. For instance, stigma can cause members of privileged groups to have discomfort in inter-group interactions (Goffman, 1963; Jones *et al.,* 1984), which can lead successive interactions to be less effective (Stephan, 2014). These types of dynamics can then contribute to negative outcomes for the collective, such as intergroup anxiety, stereotyping, and prejudice creating barriers to diverse workplaces (Patrick & Kumar, 2012), leading to diminished creativity and innovation that can supply competitive edge and benefit the whole firm (Bassett-Jones, 2005). Therefore, it is no surprise that a great deal of research has been conducted to assess potential interventions to lower societal stigma expressed toward many different marginalized groups, including sexual minorities and people from poor or working-class backgrounds. In this study, I investigated to what extent the expressed views of marginalized individuals have an effect on the stigmatizing attitudes of privileged individuals.

Existing research has pointed to potential opportunities to decrease societal stigma in the domain of the psychology of intergroup relations, focusing specifically on the positive effects of intergroup contact (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 1998; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Furthermore, the effects of this type of contact have been examined in the context of many types of social identity, including interethnic contact, contact between Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland, contact between Israelis and Palestinians, contact across different social classes, and between sexual minorities and straight people (Durante & Fiske, 2017; Hewstone, Cairns, Voci, Hamberger, & Niens, 2006; Reimer *et al.,* 2017; Verkuyten, Thijs, & Bekhuis, 2010). Although the focus of this type of research has primarily been on in-person contact, some studies have also shown that remote contact (e.g. social media) or other types of exposure to groups other than one's own (e.g. positive media portrayals) can have a similar ability to reduce stigma (Amichai-

Hamburger & McKenna, 2006; Hasler, Hirschberger, Shani-Sherman, & Friedman, 2014; Riggle, Ellis, & Crawford, 2005; Schwab, Sagioglou, & Greitemeyer, 2019).

The general theory behind the contact hypothesis, proposed by Gordon Allport (1954), is that interactions between members of different groups create the circumstances where intergroup prejudices are reduced. Sources of such prejudice can come from a variety of places, with some theories like Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 2004) arguing the causes are symbolic and come from an underlying effect of people categorizing themselves into groups, while other group conflicts are argued to be grounded in competition for actual material objects, as is reflected in Realistic Group Conflict Theory (Sherif, 1988). Building on these explanations for the basis of stigma, psychologists who have utilized feminist and other critical theoretical lenses, such as critical race theory, have argued that group-based stigma is essentially a social tool used by the privileged to maintain their social power through the continued oppression of marginalized groups (Apfelbaum, 1979; Cole et al., 1998; Diemer et al., 2017; Duncan, 2010; Moane, 2010; Gurin et al., 1980; Stewart et al., 1998). Regardless of the underlying psychological reasons that such stigmatizing ideologies exist, meaningful, positive contact between various marginalized and majority groups has generally been shown to reduce stigma, supporting the intergroup contact hypothesis. However, multiple studies have also shown that contact has limitations and boundary conditions, in terms of its success at reducing prejudice.

Despite the overwhelming support for the contact hypothesis and the efficacy of intergroup contact at reducing prejudice, I was interested in investigating one of the potential limits of the efficacy of such contact that has been overlooked in previous research. Outlining the boundaries of this theory has been of great interest to scholars who study intergroup contact since the formation of the theory. In his original work on the subject, Gordon Allport (1954)

established four criteria that are necessary for successful intergroup contact, including equal status between groups, common goals, interdependent cooperation toward those goals, and the support of a source of common authority, such as law or custom. Pettigrew (1998) further argued that an additional factor, potential for the development of intergroup friendships, is also crucial for creating changes in prejudicial attitudes. Since these studies, further research on such contextual effects has abounded, differentiating the effects of quality and/or "positive" intergroup contact from "negative" and/or shallow contact (Hayward, Tropp, Hornsey, & Barlow, 2017; Paolini, Harwood, & Rubin, 2010; Reimer et al., 2017). These and other factors have been found to be associated with different levels of change in the prejudice of majorities, as a result of intergroup contact.

Despite this important previous research, there are gaps that should be filled. For instance, most of this extant research has focused on the effects of majority group enactments of stigma on minority group members and has not closely examined the behaviors and attitudes that minority groups can introduce to these situations, at least in terms of their ability to increase stigma in the majority group member after the encounter. Research has shown that when marginalized people perceive stigma they are more likely to internalize (Vogel *et al.,* 2013), but less research has examined how the relationships between internalized and enacted stigma can flow in the other direction. In this vein, the extant research on intergroup contact has also assumed, at least implicitly through the lack of research on this topic, that marginalized individuals all bring positive attitudes about their marginalized groups to their instances of intergroup contact. This is not entirely unfounded, since most people do, indeed, have positive feelings about their various social identity groups (Luhtanen, & Crocker, 1992; Tajfel, & Turner, 2004). However, since *some* marginalized group members *do* hold self-stigmatizing attitudes, in

the form of internalized stigma, it is important to demonstrate what, if any, effect these attitudes could have on intergroup interactions that involve these types of individuals. Therefore, in this study, I focused on yet another factor that I argued would likely affect the stigma-reducing abilities of inter-group contact, namely enactments of internalized stigma by members of marginalized groups.

Since enactments of internalized stigma are simply enactments of stigma made by members of marginalized groups themselves (Herek, 2007), one could expect that this type of interaction might not be that different from one where a member of a privileged group is observing stigma enacted by another member of that privileged group. However, I argue that there is reason to believe that the effects would be different if the person being stigmatizing is a member of a marginalized group. Specifically, I expect internalized stigma to be an important predictor of the outcomes of intergroup contact because of the license that it would provide for majority group members to be stigmatizing. If members of majority groups see marginalized individuals being self-stigmatizing, this might lead them to believe that it is acceptable to express similar views, which they may or may not have held previously. Therefore, in this study, I sought to test some potential limits of the positive effects of intergroup contact over social media, by investigating whether there can be negative consequences, in terms of further homonegative or classist beliefs among privileged straight and middle-class people, as a result of intergroup contact that involves interaction with a marginalized individual who is sexual minority or poor/working-class and expresses internalized group-stigmatizing attitudes.

Homonegative Stigma

Since stigma has negative consequences for sexual minorities, including consequences for health, mental health, and behavioral outcomes (Jeffries & Johnson, 2018; Ross et al., 2013;

Rosser et al., 2008; Williamson, 2000), it is not surprising that researchers have long studied the meaning and precursors of such stigma, though under different names like internalized homophobia, internalized homonegativity, and internalized sexual stigma (Herek, 2007; Mayfield, 2001; Szymanski & Chung, 2003; Weinberg, 1972). In terms of meaning, it has been noted that early measures of homonegative prejudice, like the *Attitudes Toward Gays and Lesbians Scale* (Herek, 1988), focused on negative feelings toward sexual minorities that were based on moral objections to homosexuality or biblical teachings that homosexual is reprehensible. However, as visibility of sexual minorities in everyday life and the mainstream media increased, leading to further acceptance of sexual minorities, these measures were considered inadequate by scholars. Although moral and religious objections to same-sex sexual behavior are still present in our society, some have argued that they do not adequately capture the range of homonegative beliefs about sexual minorities that were associated with negative attitudes and treatment (Morrison & Morrison, 2003), which led to the creation of measures like the Modern Homonegativity Scale (Morrison & Morrison, 2003). This scale includes items that pertain to more abstract beliefs about sexual minorities' status in society and whether they have come too far, in terms of striving for equality and acceptance. Regardless of the type of homonegative stigma expressed by straight people, levels of meaningful intergroup contact are an important predictor of attitudes toward sexual minorities (Fingerhut, 2011; Herek & Capitanio, 1996).

In terms of reducing the negative effects of homonegative stigma in society, much of the research has focused on the potential benefits of intergroup contact between sexual minorities and straight individuals (Fingerhut, 2011; Herek, & Capitanio, 1996; Reimer *et al.,* 2017), utilizing the theory of intergroup contact (Allport, 1954). Further, positive contact can lead to

outcomes that promote even more contact, even in the most anti-gay environments and for those that may be unlikely to benefit from contact. For instance, in a study of Appalachian college students, contact with a gay or lesbian person was associated with more comfort with homosexuality (Eldridge, Mack, & Swank, 2006), which could lead to more contact. Contact was also found to decrease levels of homonegativity among people high in individual differences that would be associated with more prejudice, such as social dominance orientation or right-wing authoritarianism (Hodson, 2011). Intergroup contact is powerful because it can displace the anticipated negative outcomes of imagined interactions, largely as a result of internalized stereotypes and societal prejudice, that might cause straight individuals to have anxiety about interacting with sexual minorities. Contact can also lead straight people to find commonalities with sexual minorities, causing more positive views of equality and reduced perceptions of threat. As a result, specific kinds of intergroup contact between straight and sexual minority people have been associated with increased collective action to help sexual minorities (Fingerhut, 2011; Reimer et al., 2017). Although the positive effects of intergroup contact on the attitudes and behaviors of straight people are robust, I argue that intergroup contact may not reverse societal stigma in all cases, even beyond the limitations that have been previously articulated. Specifically, I propose that contact with self-stigmatizing gay people could be associated with increases in stigmatizing beliefs among straight people, resulting in negative consequences for social change efforts, in the form of diminished political interest and intentions to help sexual minorities.

Class-based Stigma

Compared with race, gender, and sexual orientation, research on the precursors and effects of class-based stigma has been relatively lacking in the psychological literature. Like all

forms of oppressive ideology, classism, or the system of beliefs that marginalizes people from poor/working class backgrounds in relation to other classes (e.g. middle/upper class), is thought to be socially constructed (Goffman, 1963; Greenleaf et al., 2016). In American society, people from marginalized classes are often believed to have "chosen" their class through their own personal flaws (e.g. lack of motivation, drug use, etc.) (Bullock & Limbert, 2003). These types of beliefs can be conceptualized as classist and stigmatizing since they shift the blame for inequality from social structures (e.g. unequal access to education, the concentration of corporate power, the weakening of the labor movement/unions, etc.) to the behaviors and attitudes of poor/working class people themselves. These individualistic attributions for one's social class are persistent in our society, even though research has shown that upward class mobility is relatively rare (Katz & Krueger, 2017), likely as a result of structural barriers impeding people's mobility. These classist beliefs ultimately provide the implicit foundation upon which meritocratic ideals become justified in American society. Therefore, like homonegativity, class-based stigma provides the necessary conditions that allow the privileged to maintain their social power, allowing people with relative class privilege to justify their own deservingness above others, while also making poor/working class people less likely to feel deprived and to engage in actions to help their status, such as collective actions targeting policies that would redistribute wealth.

Some research has found that people's endorsement of stigmatizing attitudes about poor and working-class people is associated with less support for social policies that would help the disadvantaged (Bullock & Reppond, 2016; Bullock et al., 2003). Research has also shown that class-based stigma is present in our most important social institutions, including educational, occupational, and health/mental health settings (Choi & Miller, 2018; Fuller-Rowell, Evans, & Ong, 2012; Kallschmidt & Eaton, 2018), leading to poorer outcomes for members of these

marginalized groups. Since class-based stigma has been associated with a number of negative outcomes for poor/working class people, it is surprising that researchers have not as readily examined ways to address classism in society, as they have with other types of oppressive ideologies. The lack of research in this area should prove to be a great opportunity for the creation of new knowledge.

The effect of meaningful intergroup contact has been shown to occur in the context of inter-class contact, but the effects are not as well-studied as they are for some other groups. For instance, research has shown that participants who had more quality contact with the homeless made more situational attributions for homelessness and had more positive attitudes toward homeless people (Aberson & McVean, 2008). Although findings that have demonstrated the efficacy of cross-class contact are currently limited, there is no reason to believe that intergroup contact would not reduce prejudice in this context too. Therefore, researchers will likely continue to assess what effect inter-class contact has on stigma and other political outcomes, especially given recent recommendations to study this type of contact, based on the applicability of the theory (Durante & Fiske, 2017; Ryan, Singh, Hentschke & Bullock, 2018). I argue that, as with intergroup interactions involving sexual minorities and straight people, the specific context and the types of dynamics individuals introduce to this type of contact likely influence the outcomes. Specifically, I am interested in investigating whether expression of internalized stigma in a marginalized poor/working-class person could preclude positive effects of reducing stigma in the privileged middle-class person.

Intergroup Contact and Privileged Group Members' Political Interests and Intentions

Just as it is associated with changes in prejudice, intergroup contact has been found to predict positive changes in political interests and engagement meant to support marginalized

groups (Bowman, 2011; Fingerhut, 2011; Bullock et al., 2003). However, just as there is a lack of research on how observed internalized stigma might affect stigmatizing attitudes in privileged observers, there is a lack of research on how these same dynamics are associated with future intentions and interest in political causes to help these groups. There has been promising research focused on the situational effects of inter-group contact on the political attitudes and behaviors of members of privileged and marginalized groups (Becker, Wright, Lubensky, & Zhou, 2013; Reimer *et al.,* 2017). However, almost all of this research has focused on how the member of the privileged group influences these dynamics, leaving the effects of the situational factors introduced by the member of the marginalized group out of the account. I argue that regardless of whether stakeholders ultimately want to see the status of these groups change by increasing positive perceptions of these groups or through increased collective action aimed at improving the status of these groups in society, it is necessary to investigate how observing enactments of stigma that result from internalization can interfere with these effects.

Psychologists have long been interested in the predictors of collective action and political attitudes for members of privileged groups. While studies have focused on the effect of individual differences, like system justification, in predicting the engagement of privileged others (Jost, Becker, Osborne, & Badaan, 2017), and others have examined how socio-political dynamics, like intergroup contact, can affect the political activities of members of privileged groups (Reimer *et al*., 2017), less research has focused on how individual-level factors, such as system justification in privileged people or internalized stigma in marginalized people can be brought into interactions between these groups and influence the previously described effects of inter-group contact on political engagement and attitudes.

Therefore, in addition to the expected effect of internalized stigma on increased stigma among privileged observers, I expected the political consequences of intergroup interactions that involve self-stigmatizing marginalized group members to be different from those that involve group-affirming members because of the expected relationship between internalized stigma and group-based deservingness. Deservingness is an important component of relative deprivation theory, which states that several criteria must be met in order for marginalized groups to see their status in society as unjustified, in relation to other privileged groups (Crosby, 1982). Throughout this dissertation, I have argued that internalized stigma likely directly undermines a group member's feelings of group-based deservingness because internalizing negative views of one's group would probably also make one see that group as less worthy. Similarly, I suspect that the increased stigma among privileged group members that is a result of observing marginalized people being self-stigmatizing, leads to lower interest and intentions to help the marginalized groups in this study. Although I suspected this would result from the theoretical connection between stigma and group-based deservingness, this mechanism was not evaluated in the current study.

The Current Study

In this study, I explore negative effects of privileged individuals observing internalized stigma expressed by minority individuals. Specifically, I examined whether one of the negative effects of internalized stigma in minority groups is its potential to dampen the perceived importance of group-based issues for these groups and/or the engagement of privileged others. I examined the effect of ostensibly sexual minority individuals' self-stigmatizing (homonegative) statements on the political intentions and interest of straight individuals alongside the effect of ostensibly poor/working class individuals' self-stigmatizing (classist) statements on

middle/upper class individuals' political outcomes. In order to address the gaps in the literature and theory that have been described, I tested the following hypotheses in this study:

Hypothesis 1: Participants with relative social privilege, specifically straight and upper/middle-class people, who observe stigmatizing statements made by targets who are members of marginalized concealable identity groups, either gay/middle-class or straight/working-class, will report lower perceived importance of issues and lower expected engagement aimed at improving conditions for the stigmatized identity group, compared to those who receive affirming statements from these targets.

Hypothesis 2: The relationships between the stigmatizing/affirming statement conditions and the main outcome variables will be mediated by group-specific stigmatizing attitudes. Thus, homonegative stigma for the gay target conditions and class-based stigma for the working-class target conditions, compared to the affirming statements condition, will be associated with more stigmatized perceptions of the groups, which will predict lower issue importance and expected engagement.

Methods

The purpose of the final study of this dissertation was to experimentally alter the self-stigma expressed by marginalized groups in order to examine its effect on the stigmatizing attitudes of privileged potential allies. I also examined what effect these attitudes had on the expected engagement and perceptions of identity-related issue importance in straight allies. I conducted an online experimental study to investigate these effects. For the gay/middle class target and the straight/working-class target there were two experimental conditions each. The "control" condition involved the target expressing identity-affirming views about an identity-related event on social media, while the experimental condition involved the target stating self-

stigmatizing views about their identity group when discussing the same event. The goal was to create a circumstance where a privileged individual might actually encounter a marginalized individual expressing self-stigmatizing views, without needing to facilitate actual intergroup interactions, such as in a lab-based study.

Participants

I recruited participants from Amazon Mechanical Turk. Amazon Mechanical Turk is a useful tool for recruiting relatively diverse samples for experiments (Goodman et al.,2013; Smith et al., 2016). In order to make sure that the study included only individuals that were straight and middle/upper class (i.e. privileged in relation to targets for all experimental conditions), I utilized the screening survey discussed in Study 2. This method was used, rather than explicitly identifying the selection criteria in the study description for two reasons. First, research has shown that MTurk participants are willing to lie about their social identities in order to qualify for more HITs (human intelligence tasks) on the MTurk site (Chandler & Paolacci, 2017). Since I wanted to be sure about their social identities so that I could know whether they are potential allies for both groups, I used this screening-resample method. Second, this method was preferable to explicit recruitment because it was less likely to make participants aware of the intentions of the study. Since deception was key to this particular experiment, I wanted to do my best to limit participants guessing the purpose of the study and potentially giving responses affected by response biases, such as demand characteristics (Orne, 1962). Additionally, this type of method needed to be used, because Turk Prime, a popular MTurk sampling and study management platform (Litman, Robinson, & Abberbock, 2017), did not have adequate options for selecting participants based on social class identity. Only income level and education were available as potential selection criteria at the time the study was conducted. While these are

certainly related to social class, I was primarily interested in identity, so I used the method described for sampling.

The screening survey recruited participants broadly from MTurk and asked them simple demographics, including class and sexual orientation. Responses were collected from 2,000 MTurkers. No restrictions were placed on participation besides requiring them to be in the U.S. at the time of completing the survey (mostly to avoid compliance issues with updated security laws in the European Union) and being 18 years old (for IRB compliance purposes). After these participants were sampled, they were divided into groups based on their responses. Those who identified as sexual minority and/or poor/working class were sent an invitation to participate in second study of the dissertation, while those who identified as straight and middle/upper class were invited to participate in the current study.

As in Study 2, I used two criteria for determining social class. First, since social comparison is a useful tool for determining class membership, given the fact that incomes and levels of education can mean different things in different regions or cities, I used a Cantril's Ladder (1965) to measure their perceived place in the social hierarchy, using a 1-10 point scale (1 = lowest rung in society, 10 = highest rung in society). For this study, I selected participants who identified as being in the top two-thirds (4rd rung or higher) of the social hierarchy. Additionally, since I wanted to make sure that they also identified as middle/upper class, I also selected for participants who identified themselves as any options from "lower-middle class" to "upper class," using a categorical identity measure. To select participants who identified as straight, I used a standard categorical sexual minority identity measure. Anyone who identified as anything but "heterosexual" or "straight" was excluded from the current study. I used the combination of these three criteria to select participants to invite to participate in the current

study, using their anonymous MTurk ID. Of the 2,000 participants screened, 715 met these criteria and were then invited to be one of the 200 participants recruited for the study.

A total of 200 previously identified straight, middle-class participants were recruited for the current study. After checking demographics post-recruitment, 100% identified as straight/heterosexual and were retained. Surprisingly, 5 participants self-identified as either "poor" or "working class" in the current study, despite having said otherwise in the screening survey and were excluded. Finally, 21 of the remaining participants failed the attention checks by incorrectly identifying the sexual orientation of the target as straight when he was gay, or by identifying the target as middle/upper class when he was poor/working class. This resulted in a final sample of 174 participants for analyses.

The participants who were not included in the analyses were similarly distributed across experimental conditions when compared to those who were included, X^2 (3, N = 200) = 6.68, $p >$ .05. They were also similarly distributed in terms of gender, X^2 (1, N = 200) = 1.95, $p > .05$. These groups of included/excluded participants also did not differ in terms of the main variables of interest in the study, including issue importance, $t(198) = -1.75$, $p > .05$, stigmatizing views, $t(198) = 1.86$, $p > .05$, and expected engagement, $t(198) = .74$, $p > .05$. Given these similarities between the excluded and included samples of participants, I felt confident that I could exclude these participants without needing additional controls.

The sample was relatively diverse and mostly resembled the typical demographic breakdown of MTurk (Levay, Freese, & Druckman, 2016), with the obvious exceptions of class and sexual orientation, given imposed limitations for sampling. In terms of race, the final sample was overwhelmingly white (n = 154; 89%), with seven (4%) identifying as Black/African-American, twelve (6.9%) as Asian/Asian-American, five (2.9%) as Latino/a or Hispanic, three

(1.7%) as Native American, three (1.7%) as Middle Eastern, and one (0.6%) identifying as Pacific Islander. Participants were able to select as many races as applied to them, but four (2.3%) explicitly identified as bi/multi-racial. 75 participants (43.1%) identified as men and 99 identified as women (56.9%). In terms of class, the majority identified as middle class (n = 125; 71.8%), with eleven identifying as lower middle class (6.3%), 37 (21.3) as upper middle class, and one (.6%) as upper class. Finally, participants ranged from 19 to 72 years of age (M = 41.9, SD = 11.94).

Procedure and Experimental Manipulations

Participants completed the study using the Qualtrics survey platform. The study was described as "personality and perceptions of Facebook users". After completing all required informed consent documentation, participants were randomly assigned a screenshot of either a gay, middle class male target or a straight, working-class male target's Facebook profile. This profile had a comment on a newspaper article about an identity-related event as the first post for the Facebook page. In this comment, the target either expressed affirming or stigmatizing views about their group. After viewing this information, the participants completed an attention check to make sure that they correctly identified the relevant social identities of their target. Then participants answered questions about their perceptions of their target, followed by their perceptions of relevant class or sexual minority groups in general, which were given depending on which condition they were assigned. Participants assigned a gay/middle class target received measures related to sexual orientation, while those who received a straight/working-class target received measures related to social class, including the measures of stigmatizing views about these groups. All participants were not given all measures in the interest of limiting the amount of time required to complete the survey. Additionally, I did not want to have any effects of the

manipulations dissipate before survey completion. Following the completion of the identity-related measures, participants answered questions about issue importance and engagement, which were finally followed by demographics and the debriefing.

The target's identity was manipulated through the "about me" section, which is typically seen on Facebook pages. To manipulate class, the target either worked as a branch manager for a bank and attended a university (middle class) or worked at as a cashier at a fast food restaurant and only attended junior high school (implying they dropped out after that). I also tried to signal differential social habitus (Bourdieu,1977; Power, 1999) by having the gay/middle class man have a post/pictures about attending a symphony, while the straight/working-class man had a post/pictures from an automobile race. It is important to note that this was not a design that completely crossed sexual orientation and class, since the gay male target was always middle class and the working-class target was always straight. In the discussion, I will discuss potential ways that a similar design could and should be used to test similar effects by fully crossing target-based factors. The views expressed in the first Facebook post were made to be either stigmatizing or affirming by changing whether or not the target expressed that they would be attending the identity-related event (a Pride celebration for the gay/middle class target or a labor day celebration explicitly targeting fast food workers for the straight/working-class condition) advertised in the fake news article. To manipulate the level of self-stigmatizing views, the target was manipulated to say either stigmatizing things about fellow marginalized group members (e.g. "lazy" for social class or "obnoxious" for sexual orientation) or affirming things (e.g. "fun" for sexual orientation and "hard-working" for class). To view the materials used as experimental manipulations, as well as attention checks, see Appendix D.

Pilot testing was conducted prior to final survey distribution. Pilot testing was first used to estimate time required for study completion, in order to assess the possibility of having participants complete all measures. Additionally, pilot testing was used to test whether the manipulation conditions were typically viewed by participants as expected. Specifically, pilot testing confirmed that people generally identified the participants, in terms of social identities, accurately. Pilot testing was also used to ensure that participants generally saw the views expressed in the stigmatizing conditions as more negative, compared to the views expressed in the affirming conditions. After several iterations, it was decided that the current study materials were sufficient for testing the hypotheses.

Measures

The following measures were presented to participants after they viewed their manipulation condition and completed attention checks. Full measures for Study 3 can be reviewed in Appendix E.

Stigma. In this study I was interested in investigating the effect of the stigmatizing versus affirming conditions on stigmatizing attitudes directed toward these groups. Therefore, I measured stigmatizing attitudes held by the participants immediately after exposure to the conditions. Those who received a middle class, gay male target received measures of homonegativity, while those who received a straight, poor/working class, male target received measures of classist stigma. All measures were not presented to all conditions, for the sake of time. Since I wanted to do a combined analysis on these conditions, I created a condition-based stigma measure by using the standardized means of the classism scores for those who received the poor/working class conditions and the standardized means of the homonegativity scores for those who received the gay male conditions. These scores were standardized before being

combined because one set of the stigma measures was on a 5-point scale and the other was on a 7-point scale.

Homonegative stigma. To measure participants' homonegative stigma, the *Modern Homonegativity Scale* was used (Morrison & Morrison, 2003), which consists of 12 statements that were evaluated by participants using a 5-point Likert scale (strongly disagree-strongly agree). This scale was used instead of other measures of stigma because it presents subtler stigmatizing items, such as "Many gay men use their sexual orientation to obtain special privileges." This was thought to be important because participants' attitudes about these might shift more easily than more overt items that are based on stronger emotions like disgust, or more deeply held cognitions, such as issues with homosexuality that arise out of one's religious beliefs. This scale has been shown to have high reliability ($\alpha = .91$) and validity compared to similar measures in previous studies (Morrison & Morrison, 2003; Morrison, Parriag, & Morrison, 1999). In this study, the scale had high internal consistency, as well ($\alpha = .96$).

Class-based stigma. To measure class-based stigma, two separate measures were used. This was because I wanted to use similar measures to those used in Study 2 and verify the ability to predict political behavior using these. Additionally, since there does not appear to be consensus in the literature on which scales are better at capturing class-based stigma, I decided to use both. These were found to create a reliable scale when combined ($\alpha = .96$), so they were combined in the analyses, for the sake of simplicity.

Classism attitudinal profile. The first measure, the Classism Attitudinal Profile (CAP) (Colbow et al., 2016), is a 12-item measure that distinguishes between *downward classism* (negative attitudes toward people with less class privilege), with items such as "People who are poor try to abuse the system," and *upward classism* (negative attitudes toward people of upper

classes), with items such as “I resent people from higher social classes.” Since I was interested in middle class people’s attitudes after exposure to a self-stigmatizing working-class person, “downward classism” was used in the current study. Participants rated their agreement with each item using a 7-point Likert scale from strongly disagree to strongly agree. The scale had excellent reliability (α = .96) in the current study and has previously demonstrated validity when compared to similar constructs in previous literature (Colbow et al., 2016).

Attributions for poverty. The second measure, *Attributions for Poverty* (Bullock et al., 2003), captures 3 dimensions of people’s attributions for poverty in 45 items. In this study, I focused on *Individualistic Attributions*, which describe individualistic and often character-based flaws to explain poverty, such as a “lack of motivation and laziness,” because these items best capture the negative and prejudiced explanations for poverty that arise out of class-based prejudice in a meritocratic society. Items were rated on 7-point Likert scale from strongly disagree to strongly agree. Past research has demonstrated that the individualistic attributions subscale has high reliability (α = .91) and adequately mirrors similar constructs, indicating adequate validity (Bullock & Limbert, 2003; Bullock et al., 2003). In the current study, this scale had excellent internal consistency (α = .95).

Target Descriptors. In addition to measuring attitudes about these groups that were grounded in stigma, it was also important to investigate how participants felt about the target. It seemed that descriptors might help explain the relationship between condition and stigmatizing attitudes. To measure perceptions of the target, participants rated 26 descriptors of the target immediately after the attention checks. This also served the purpose of giving some perceived validity to the cover story in the minds of the participants. The descriptors included a mix of traditionally negative words (e.g. mean and arrogant) and positive words (e.g. likable and warm),

as well as some potentially useful descriptive words that might not be as valenced (e.g. liberal or masculine). These words were generated by the study team by meeting and discussing words that would be helpful to measure in the context of the study. I conducted a factor analysis to determine the best organization of these descriptors post hoc, assuming I did not want to investigate specific words. These descriptors were rated on a 7-point Likert scale, with the poles labeled as “not at all” to “very.” Factor structure and reliabilities will be discussed in the results section.

Political issue importance. Participants were given a series of measures asking about various experimenter-generated issues of importance, utilizing a similar method that was used in Study 1 and has been used in similar studies (For an example, see Blankenship et al., 2018). To produce these issues, a series of experimenter-led meetings with the research team established consensus and provided a diverse set of issues for participants to select. As with Study 1, some issues were not directly related to the identities being examined (e.g. environmental rights, gun control, etc.) and others were related (e.g. gay and lesbian rights, income inequality, etc.). Issue importance was measured by having the participants rate each item using the prompt “How important is this issue to you, in general?” with a 9-point Likert from (1) “very unimportant” to (9) “very important”.

These issues were then combined into identity-related scales for analyses. The sexual minority issues included “gay and lesbian rights” and “transgender rights.” These items had a high degree of internal consistency ($\alpha = .95$). The class issues included “national debt,” “income inequality,” “unemployment,” “economic growth,” “taxes,” “labor unions,” “student debt,” and “the national minimum wage.” These items had a moderate degree of internal consistency ($\alpha = .77$). Since I was interested in examining differences between conditions in the issue importance

score related to the marginalized identity related to the condition, I created a condition-related issue importance variable for analyses by using the score for sexual minority issues for those who received the two gay and middle class conditions and the score for class issues for those who received the two poor/working class and straight conditions.

Expected political engagement. To assess expected political engagement as in study one, the study team generated a list of politically-relevant causes, using the same method described for issue importance. There were two causes displayed to all participants (civil rights and women's rights), two displayed to those in the middle/class and gay conditions (gay and lesbian rights and transgender rights), and four displayed to the straight and poor/working class conditions (income inequality, minimum wage, workers' rights, and labor union rights). All measures were not presented to all conditions, for the sake of time. These causes purposely included ones that are related to progressive action directed toward addressing the oppression faced by these marginalized groups (e.g. workers' rights and gay/lesbian rights), as well as causes that are unrelated to the identities of interest (e.g. civil rights and women's rights). These latter causes were added in order to be used as potential control variables and in order to make participants less likely to ascertain the purpose of the study. For each cause, a list of potential actions was provided that was similar to the ones used in Study 1. There were eight actions aimed at supporting the listed causes that ranged from low effort actions (e.g. signing a petition online) to high effort actions (e.g. attending a rally). Participants rated their likelihood of participating in these types of engagement in the future (expected engagement), using a 7-point Likert scale (extremely unlikely-extremely likely) with the prompt: "How likely is it that you will do any of these actions to support the following causes over the next year?" All the main identity-related causes had excellent inter-item consistency separately (alphas for causes >= .94)

and when combined into scales based on identity (class α = .98; sexual orientation α = .97). For the sake of simplicity, these scales were combined by identity, creating mean scores. Since the causes were only displayed to relevant conditions, these scores were then combined into one condition-based expected engagement score, by imputing class engagement for the poor/working class conditions and sexual minority engagement for the gay male target conditions.

System Justification. System Justification was measured with the system justification (American society) measure (Kay & Jost, 2003). Participants rated their level of agreement with eight statements on a 7-point Likert scale. An example item is "in general, you find society to be fair." The scale also had excellent internal consistency (α = .91). This measure was originally measured simply as a control variable but was also used to interpret effects in this study.

Results

Factor Analysis

Before performing any preliminary or hypothesis testing analyses, I conducted a factor analysis on the descriptors of the target. First, I entered all of the descriptors into a Principal Components Analysis (PCA). Any items that had correlations with other items greater than .80 were removed in order to avoid issues resulting from multicollinearity. As a general rule for doing this, I removed any items that were highly correlated with another item that is a commonly recognized as important in psychology (e.g. warm was highly correlated with likable, helpful, and nice), such as warmth from the stereotype content model (Fiske, Cuddy, & Glick, 2007). After following this rule, I randomly removed one of the items that correlated highly with another item. This resulted in the removal of 4 items, including hurtful, likable, nice, and helpful.

When performing the actual factor analysis, I did not have any *a priori* expectations for the number of factors so I used the scree plot to determine the appropriate number of factors. The

scree plot indicated that a one factor solution fit the data best. The items generally loaded (eigen values > +/- .50) such that items were sorted into positive/negative descriptors, as expected. To verify internal consistency of the items, I performed a confirmatory reliability analysis. The items had excellent internal consistency (α = .91), indicating that they could be combined into a single construct, which I called *negative target descriptors*, coding the scale such that higher endorsement of negative items (e.g. mean) and lower endorsement of positive items (e.g. warm) corresponded to higher scale scores. For the rotated factor solution, see Table 4.1.

Table 4.1: Target Descriptors Varimax-rotated Factor Solution

Items	Factor: Positive/Negative Descriptors
Warm	**0.842**
Friendly	**0.841**
Optimistic	**0.835**
Affectionate	**0.807**
Cold	**-0.800**
Ignorant	**-0.789**
Intelligent	**0.788**
Mean	**-0.788**
Emotionally stable	**0.747**
Competent	**0.725**
Arrogant	**-0.723**
Pessimistic	**-0.717**
Modest	**0.670**
Detail-oriented	**0.660**
Successful	**0.626**
Disgusting	**-0.620**
Honest	**0.607**
Attractive	**0.576**
Liberal	**0.539**
Conservative	-0.365

Feminine	0.212
Masculine	0.076

Notes: PCA with Varimax rotation. Bolded items indicate items included in the factor. Due to being highly correlated (*r* >.8) with other items, the following 4 items were removed from the factor analysis: "hurtful," "likable," "helpful," and "nice."

Preliminary Analyses

Description of variables. First, I was interested in assessing mean differences and descriptive statistics for the main variables of interest in relation to the conditions. In general, participants endorsed medium-low levels of stigma. I predicted, however, that the stigmatizing condition would make participants endorse stigma at greater levels, as a result of the self-stigmatizing target making them feel license to express stigmatizing or views, or as a result of the self-stigmatizing target causing them to change their views. However, this was not found to be the case. Homonegative stigma was rated below the midpoint (5-point scale) in the stigmatizing (M = 2.25, SD = 1.09) and still below the midpoint in the affirming conditions (M = 2.61, SD = 1.22), $t(92) = 1.53$, $p > .05$. Classism was also generally rated below the midpoint (7-point scale) for the stigmatizing (M = 3.56, SD = 1.29) and affirming conditions (M = 3.83, SD = 1.02), and not significantly different, $t(78) = 1.05$, $p > .05$.

Participants generally felt ambivalent in their descriptor ratings of the target, with means reaching the lowest point for the gay/affirming condition (M = 2.74, SD = .67) and the highest point for the class/stigmatizing condition (M = 4.71, SD = .91), with an overall mean of 3.78 (SD = 1.10). Looking by condition, people had more negative descriptors for the class condition than the gay condition, $t(172) = 6.09$, $p < .001$, and more negative descriptors for the stigmatizing condition than the affirming condition, $t(172) = -7.81$, $p < .001$. The difference between the class and gay conditions was not expected, but the difference between the stigmatizing and affirming conditions was expected.

Finally, I predicted that the participants would generally endorse identity-related issues as more important and would also be more likely to have future identity-related engagement intentions in the affirming condition compared to the stigmatizing condition. However, this was generally not found to be the case. Across the whole sample, people generally found the identity-related issues to be moderately important (*M* = 6.45, *SD* = 2.06), but were generally unlikely to expect to participate in future engagement for these identity-related causes (*M* = 2.76, *SD* = 1.58). There was a trend such that those in the stigmatizing condition were more likely to see the identity-related issues as more important than those in the affirming condition, $t(172) = -1.92$, $p = .06$, the opposite of what was expected. This was accompanied by a significant difference, such that those in the class condition rated class-related issues as more important than those in the gay condition rated sexuality-related issues, $t(172) = 2.30$, $p < .05$. In terms of expected engagement, there were no significant differences between the stigmatizing and affirming conditions, $t(172) = -1.27$, $p > .05$, nor between the gay and class conditions, $t(172) = .26$, $p > .05$. These findings generally did not suggest that our hypotheses would be supported. However, I was ultimately interested in modeling relationships between the conditions and stigma, which would then lead to predicting these outcomes, so I tested correlations as a precursor to the main hypotheses. To view the descriptive statistics for all variables, split by condition, see Table 4.2.

Table 4.2: Descriptive Statistics

Condition	Variables	Mean	SD	LL	UL	Cronbach's Alpha
Gay/Stigmatizing (n = 46)						
	Negative Descriptors	3.99	.99	1.71	6.48	.94
	Stigma	2.25	1.09	1	5	.97
	Issue Importance	6.51	2.30	1	9	.97
	Expected Engagement	2.89	1.51	1	7	.96
	System Justification	3.67	1.29	1.50	6.00	.91
Gay/Affirming (n = 48)						

	Negative Descriptors	2.74	.67	1.29	4.62	.89
	Stigma	2.61	1.22	1	5	.96
	Issue Importance	5.75	2.73	1	9	.98
	Expected Engagement	2.59	1.62	1	6.38	.97
	System Justification	3.84	1.33	1	6.38	.90
Class/Stigmatizing (n = 42)						
	Negative Descriptors	4.71	.91	2.57	6.62	.92
	Stigma	3.56	1.29	1.06	5.85	.97
	Issue Importance	7.00	1.11	4.63	8.88	.66
	Expected Engagement	2.94	1.75	1	7	.98
	System Justification	4.02	1.52	1.25	6.38	.91
Class/Affirming (n = 38)						
	Negative Descriptors	3.80	.74	2.76	5.81	.90
	Stigma	3.83	1.02	2.14	6.22	.94
	Issue Importance	6.65	1.23	3	8.75	.73
	Expected Engagement	2.64	1.44	1	5.71	.98
	System Justification	3.98	1.43	1.63	7	.92
Sample (n = 174)						
	Negative Descriptors	3.78	1.10	1.29	6.62	.94
	Stigma	-.05	.97	-2.13	2.20	-
	Issue Importance	6.45	2.06	1	9	-
	Expected Engagement	2.76	1.58	1	7	-
	System Justification	3.87	1.39	1	7	.91

Correlations. Most of the bi-variate correlations between variables were as expected. In the overall sample, stigma was significantly positively correlated with system justification (r = .41, $p < .01$) and significantly negatively correlated with issue importance (r = -.59, $p < .01$) and expected engagement (r = -.36, $p < .01$). There were no significant correlations between the negative descriptors and any other variables. For the table of correlations between variables across the sample, see Table 4.3.

Table 4.3: Correlations

Variables	Variable #	1	2	3	4	5
Negative Descriptors	1	-				

Stigma	2	.01	-			
Issue Importance	3	.06	-.59**	-		
Expected Engagement	4	.01	-.36**	.52**	-	
System Justification	5	-.11	.41**	-.36**	-.41**	-

It seemed reasonable to expect that the relationships between variables might be different based on the identity of the target, since mean differences were found previously, so these correlations were also conducted after splitting the sample by target identity conditions. Some important differences in the relationships between the variables were observed for the gay/middle class and straight/working-class conditions. First, the negative descriptors were only negatively correlated with system justification among those in the middle class/gay conditions. This means that, in the gay/middle class condition only, those with higher levels of system justification generally gave less negative ratings of the target. Furthermore, there was a difference between these conditions in what correlated with stigma. In the straight/working-class condition, stigma was only correlated with system justification ($r = .30$, $p < .01$), but in the gay/middle class condition stigma was also correlated with issue importance ($r = -.78$, $p < .01$) and expected engagement ($r = -.53$, $p < .01$). Therefore, although I originally expected that there would not be differences in the effects for the gay/middle class condition versus the straight/working-class conditions, based on the assumption that participants would react similarly to self-stigmatizing views expressed by concealable identity group members, there were some differences. Therefore, when testing all hypotheses, I tested interactions between the stigmatizing/affirming and gay/working-class conditions whenever it seemed reasonable. Whenever it was not possible to test for moderation effects for these two conditions, I ran the analyses for these two types of conditions separately, since the major purpose of this experiment

was to test for differences between the affirming and stigmatizing conditions. For the table of correlations separated by gay/working-class conditions, see Table 4.4.

Table 4.4: Correlations between Key Variables (Split by Condition)

Variables	Variable #	1	2	3	4	5
Negative Descriptors	1	-	.12	-.02	.01	.02
Stigma	2	-.17	-	-.78**	-.53**	.52**
Issue Importance	3	.00	-.21	-	.62**	-.54**
Expected Engagement	4	-.02	-.14	.42**	-	-.52**
System Justification	5	-.38**	.30**	-.15	-.30**	-

Notes: Correlations for those who received class conditions (n = 80) are displayed below the diagonal and correlations for those who received the sexual orientation conditions are displayed above the diagonal (n = 94). * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$

Hypothesis-related analyses

Moderation Analyses. To test the first set of hypotheses, I ran one moderation analysis for each of the main outcomes: issue importance and expected engagement. Each analysis had the gay/middle class versus straight/working-class condition contrast as one predictor and the stigmatizing versus affirming statements condition entered as the second predictor, while testing for the interaction as well. In order to test simple slopes of the affirming/stigmatizing conditions by the gay/class conditions, I performed the moderation analysis using Hayes' PROCESS macros for SPSS (model 1) (Hayes, 2013). I also entered system justification as a control variable, to ensure that any effects that occurred were above and beyond any individual differences in affinity for the current social system and seeing it as justified.

Issue importance. Examining the main effects of the conditions on the identity-related issue importance variable, there was a main effect of the gay/middle-class versus straight/working-class conditions, $\beta = -.83$, $t(174) = -2.91$, $p < .05$, such that people in the gay conditions were generally less likely to endorse those issues as important, compared to people in

the class conditions and class-related issues. This makes sense, since issues that were part of the grouping of class issues (e.g. income inequality) likely have broader appeal beyond just helping poor/working class people, compared to the sexual minority issues, which could be seen as helping sexual minorities only. There was also a trend for people in the stigmatizing condition to see these issues as more important than those in the affirming condition, $\beta = .53$, $t(174) = 1.86$, $p = .06$, which was the opposite of what was originally expected. There was not a significant interaction effect of these two variables, $\beta = -.56$, $t(174) = -.52$, $p > .05$. The overall model accounted for a significant proportion of the variance in issue importance, $R^2 = .19$, $F(4, 169) = 10.07$, $p > .001$.

In terms of simple slopes, there was not a significant effect of the stigmatizing/affirming condition on issue importance for the working-class target condition, $\beta = -.37$, $t(174) = .88$, $p > .05$. However, there was a trend for a simple slope for the gay condition, such that those in the stigmatizing condition tended to endorse these issues as important at higher rates than those in the affirming condition, $\beta = .67$, $t(174) = 1.72$, $p = .08$. Therefore, it seemed that the gay condition was driving the trend in the overall main effect discussed previously, but this effect was the opposite of what was expected.

Expected Engagement. Examining the main effects of the conditions on the identity-related expected engagement variable, there was no main effect of the gay/middle-class versus straight/working-class conditions, $\beta = -.17$, $t(174) = -.75$, $p > .05$. There was also no effect of the stigmatizing/affirming condition variable, $\beta = .27$, $t(174) = 1.21$, $p > .05$, and no significant interaction effect, $\beta = -.11$, $t(174) = -.24$, $p > .05$. The overall model still accounted for a significant proportion of the variance in issue importance, $R^2 = .18$, $F(4, 169) = 9.09$, $p > .001$, mostly because system justification was a strong predictor of expected engagement, $\beta = .47$,

$t(174) = -5.87$, $p < .001$. There were also no significant simple slopes of stigmatizing/affirming condition for the gay/middle-class, $\beta = .32$, $t(174) = 1.00$, $p > .05$, or the working-class/straight conditions, $\beta = .22$, $t(174) = .73$, $p > .05$.

Stigma. Since the next set of hypotheses introduced the effects of stigma on these outcomes, I entered stigma as an outcome variable in another moderation analysis. Examining the main effects of the conditions on the identity-related stigma variable, there was no main effect of the gay/middle-class versus straight/working-class conditions, $\beta = .02$, $t(174) = .17$, $p > .05$. There was a trend for an effect of the stigmatizing/affirming condition variable, $\beta = -.25$, $t(174) = 1.86$, $p = .07$, such that those in the stigmatizing condition tended to affirm homonegative/classist stigmatizing attitudes at lower rates than those in the affirming condition. This was, again, the opposite of what was originally expected. There was no significant interaction effect of these two variables, $\beta = -.04$, $t(174) = -.14$, $p > .05$. The overall model still accounted for a significant proportion of the variance in stigmatizing attitudes, $R^2 = .19$, $F(4, 169) = 9.65$, $p > .001$, as a result of system justification being a control variable, $\beta = .9$, $t(174) = -5.86$, $p < .001$. There were also no significant simple slopes of stigmatizing/affirming condition for the gay/middle-class, $\beta = -.23$, $t(174) = -1.16$, $p > .05$, or the working-class/straight conditions, $\beta = -.27$, $t(174) = 1.46$, $p > .05$.

Moderated Mediation Analyses. To test the second set of hypotheses that stigma would mediate the relationship between the stigmatizing/affirming conditions and the main outcome variables, I performed a series of mediation analyses. However, since there were differential effects of the gay versus working-class conditions previously and the correlations between variables were noticeably different for these two conditions, the gay/working-class variable was entered as a moderator on this mediation effect. Therefore, I ran a moderated mediation analysis

using Hayes' PROCESS Macro for SPSS (model 8). Again, system justification was included as a control variable, to demonstrate that any significant effects occurred above and beyond individual propensities to justify current statuses.

Issue Importance. The first moderated mediation analysis examined the effect of condition on identity-related issue importance through stigma. The indirect effects of the affirming/stigmatizing condition on issue importance through stigma were not significant for the gay/middle-class conditions, $\beta = .25$, 95% confidence interval (10,000 bootstrapped samples): [-.17, .75], or the working-class/straight conditions, $\beta = .29$, 95% confidence interval (10,000 bootstrapped samples): [-.10, .66]. Examining the main effects, in order to interrogate these non-significant findings, there was a trend toward the stigmatizing/affirming condition predicting stigma, $\beta = -.25$, $t(174) = -1.86$, $p = .07$, but such that the stigmatizing condition was associated with lower stigma compared to the affirming condition. Stigma, in turn, had a significant negative effect on identity-related issue importance, $\beta = -1.08$, $t(174) = -7.74$, $p < .001$. This meant that people who endorsed stigma against these groups were significantly less likely to see these group-based issues as important, as expected. Therefore, while the relationship between stigmatizing/affirming condition and stigma was not as expected, the relationship between stigma and issue importance was, and resulted in the model predicting a significant proportion of the variance in the perceptions of identity-related issue importance, $R^2 = .40$, $F(5, 168) = 22.85$, $p < .001$.

Expected Engagement. The second moderated mediation analysis examined the effect of condition on identity-related expected engagement through stigma. The indirect effects of the affirming/stigmatizing condition on issue importance through stigma were not significant for the gay/middle-class conditions, $\beta = .09$, 95% confidence interval (10,000 bootstrapped samples): [-

.01, .30], or the working-class/straight conditions, β = .08, 95% confidence interval (10,000 bootstrapped samples): [-.04, .31]. Examining the main effects, in order to contextualize these non-significant findings for testing the hypothesis, there was the same trend toward the stigmatizing/affirming condition predicting stigma, β = -.25, $t(174) = -1.86$, $p = .07$, but again, such that the stigmatizing condition was associated with lower stigma compared to the affirming condition. Stigma, again, had a significant negative effect on identity-related expected engagement, β = -.37, $t(174) = -2.89$, $p < .01$. People who endorsed stigma against these groups were significantly less likely to foresee participating in identity-related engagement, as was originally expected when the hypotheses were generated. Therefore, again I found that the relationship between stigmatizing/affirming condition and stigma was not what was expected, but the relationship between stigma and expected engagement was as hypothesized, and resulted in the model predicting a significant proportion of the variance in expected engagement, $R^2 = .22$, $F(5, 168) = 9.25$, $p < .001$.

Moderated Serial Mediation Analyses. Since the original hypotheses were not supported, and in some cases the opposite of the expected effect was found, it seemed important to consider potential relationships that might explain the findings, especially the findings that were the opposite of what was expected. Since negative descriptors of the target were correlated with system justification for the straight/working-class condition and were also significantly different across the stigmatizing/affirming conditions in both of the identity-based experimental conditions, it seemed likely that only some participants were associating the behavior of the target with attitudes about the group, leading to higher rates of stigma and lower issue importance and expected engagement, as a result.

It also seemed likely that the degree to which the stigmatizing condition was associated with negative views of the target might be dependent on an individual difference, such as system justification. Since system justification measures an underlying affinity for the current social system, including the status of marginalized groups, and whether it is justified, it seemed likely that this individual difference would explain differences in how participants viewed the target or how they responded to stigmatizing statements versus affirming statements. One could imagine a few ways that system justification might influence these variable relationships. On the one hand, it seemed possible that those with higher levels of system justification might have stronger reactions to the conditions than those with lower levels, leading to increased stigma endorsement. On the other hand, it seemed likely that those with lower levels of system justification might not be influenced by the condition and might even have a reactance effect, whereby they see identity-related issues as more important and expect higher levels of engagement in response to stigmatizing views that they find objectionable. Since these analyses are exploratory, I have no expectations for what may be happening in this sample. Therefore, I conducted moderated serial mediation analyses separately for the gay/middle-class and straight/working-class conditions. They were assessed separately, for the sake of simplicity and given the fact that the relationships between variables seemed entirely different across these target conditions.

These moderated serial mediation models were set up in the PROCESS macro, such that the stigmatizing/affirming condition variable predicted negative descriptors of the target, which then predicted stigma and finally predicted the main outcomes of identity-related engagement or issue importance. System justification was entered as a moderator on the first path of the meditation, between condition and negative descriptors, as well as on all the other direct and

indirect paths, to test whether these indirect effects differed across levels of system justification. The main pathways I focused on were the full serial mediation pathway and the shorter path through stigma that bypassed negative descriptors, since I am mainly interested in the effect of stigma on the outcomes of interest, having not originally made predictions about the direct effect of negative descriptors on the outcomes. This also seemed the most logical, since individuals might have negative attitudes towards the target, which could then translate into negative views of the group, or they could see the target and the group as separate, in which case only stigma would predict the political outcomes.

Gay/middle-class condition. First, I conducted the moderated serial mediation selecting only the participants who received the gay/middle class target conditions. The stigmatizing/affirming condition variable was entered as the main predictor, with negative descriptors and stigma entered as mediators, in that order, followed by issue importance or expected engagement. System justification was entered as a moderator, as described. All confidence intervals were constructed using 5,000 bootstrapped samples, using Hayes PROCESS macro model 85.

Issue importance. When issue importance was entered as the outcome variable, the full serial mediation pathway was significant for all levels of system justification, with effects that did not differ significantly, index of moderated mediation = .14, 95% CI: [-.0001, .37], between low (-1 *SD*), β = -.85, 95% CI: [-1.69, -.21], mean-level, β = -.67, 95% CI: [-1.32, -.17], and high (+1 *SD*) levels of system justification, β = -.45, 95% CI: [-.99, -.08]. Examining the predictive relationships between the pathways of this model, the stigmatizing condition was found to significantly and positively predict negative descriptors, $\beta = 1.26$, $t(94) = 7.36$, $p < .001$, which were found to significantly, positively predict stigma, $\beta = .29$, $t(94) = 2.75$, $p < .01$. Stigma then

significantly, negatively predicted identity-related issue importance $\beta = -1.78$, $t(94) = -8.88$, $p >$ .001, as found previously. Therefore, as a result of this significant indirect pathway, the stigmatizing condition was found to decrease perceived issue importance, as predicted. When the shorter path through stigma that bypassed negative descriptors was examined, however, the effect was also found to be significant, but positive, for low, $\beta = 1.30$, 95% CI: [.35, 2.41], and mean-level ratings of system justification, $\beta = 1.12$, 95% CI: [.36, 1.93]. This indirect effect through stigma was not significant for those with high levels of system justification, $\beta = .88$, 95% CI: [-.13, 1.86]. The positive effect appeared to be the result of the stigmatizing condition being directly associated with less stigma, in general, $\beta = -.62$, $t(94) = -2.83$, $p < .01$. This resulted in greater issue importance, compared to the affirming statements condition, as a result of the negative relationship between stigma and issue importance described earlier.

Therefore, this moderated serial mediation model sheds light on the previously unexpected result from the original hypothesis tests. Instead of the stigmatizing condition directly increasing stigma across the board, it appears that individual differences in system justification were associated with some people distinguishing the target from his marginalized group of sexual minorities. For those who did differentiate, there seems to be a reactance effect, whereby they endorse stigma less and have higher levels of perceived issue importance, as a result of seeing this self-stigmatizing behavior as problematic and wanting to act against it. Across the board, however, people generally saw the target making stigmatizing statements in a negative light, regardless of levels of system justification. These negative views were then associated with higher levels of stigma directed at the group and lower levels of perceived issue importance. This significant indirect pathway supports the original thinking underlying the hypotheses, although the importance of the negative descriptors of the target and the use of

system justification as a moderator were not originally hypothesized. For a visual representation of the tested model, see *Figure 4.1*.

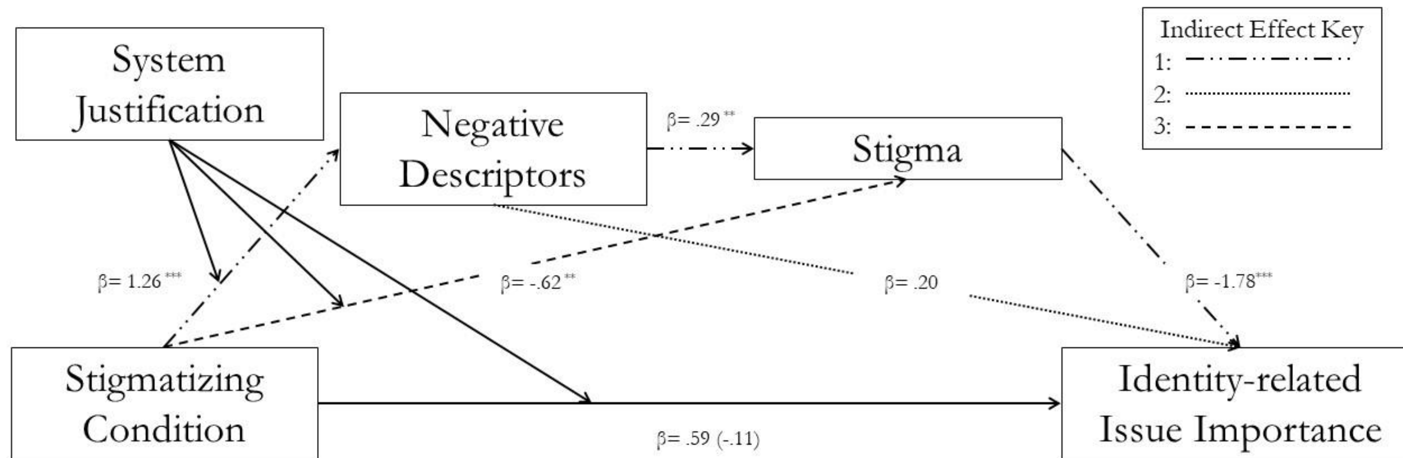

Figure 4.1. Moderated Serial Mediation of Stigmatizing Condition (vs. Affirming) on Issue Importance through Negative Descriptors and Stigma (Gay/Middle-class Condition).

Notes: Indirect effect one (condition => neg. descriptors => stigma => issue imp.) at levels of system justification: -1 *SD* = -.85, 95% CI: [-1.69, -.21], *M* = -.13, 95% CI: [-1.32, -.17] +1 *SD* = -.45, 95% CI: [-1.00, -.08]. Index of moderated mediation = .14, 95% CI: [-.0001, .37]. Indirect effect two (condition => neg. descriptors => issue imp.) at levels of system justification: -1 *SD* = .33, 95% CI: [-.43, 1.21], *M* = .26, 95% CI: [-.99, .75] +1 *SD* = .17, 95% CI: [-.21, .71]. Index of moderated mediation = .05, 95% CI: [-.24, .08]. Indirect effect three (condition => stigma => issue imp.) at levels of system justification: -1 *SD* = 1.30, 95% CI: [.35, 2.41], *M* = 1.12, 95% CI: [.36, 1.93] +1 *SD* = .88, 95% CI: [-.13, 1.86]. Index of moderated mediation = -.15, 95% CI: [-.62, .31]. $R^2 = .64$, $F(5, 88) = 30.94$, $p < .001$. Condition variable coded: 1 = stigmatizing condition, 0 = affirming condition. Confidence intervals created using 5,000 bootstrapped samples. Model 85. [t] $p < .1$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Expected engagement. When expected engagement was entered as the outcome variable, the full serial mediation pathway was also significant across all levels of system justification. with effects that did not differ significantly, index of moderated mediation = .05, 95% CI: [-.0004, .14], between low (-1 *SD*), β = -.29, 95% CI: [-.63, -.07], mean-level, β = -.23, 95% CI: [-.49, -.06], and high (+1 *SD*) levels of system justification, β = -.15, 95% CI: [-.36, -.03]. Since this model and the previous model were identical, with the exception of the outcome variable being different, most of the relationships were the same, with the stigmatizing condition significantly and positively predicting negative descriptors, $\beta = 1.26$, $t(94) = 7.36$, $p < .001$, which significantly, positively predicted stigma, $\beta = .29$, $t(94) = 2.75$, $p < .01$. Stigma then, again, significantly, negatively related to the main outcome variable, identity-related expected engagement, $\beta = -.61$, $t(94) = -3.80$, $p > .001$. Therefore, as a result of this significant indirect pathway, the stigmatizing condition was found to decrease expected engagement across all levels of system justification. Additionally, when the shorter path through stigma that bypassed negative descriptors was examined, the effect was again found to be significant and positive, for low, β = .45, 95% CI: [.09, .93], and mean-level ratings of system justification, β = .38, 95% CI: [.09, .79], like the results for issue importance. This indirect effect through stigma was not significant for those with high levels of system justification, β = .30, 95% CI: [-.04, .76]. This positive effect, again, appeared to be the result of the stigmatizing condition being directly associated with less stigma, in general, $\beta = -.62$, $t(94) = -2.83$, $p < .01$. Less stigma was then associated with more expected engagement, compared to the affirming statements condition, as a result of the negative relationship between stigma and expected engagement.

This moderated serial mediation model illuminates the previously unexpected results for expected engagement. Instead of the stigmatizing condition directly increasing stigma, as was

originally predicted, stigma only increased as a result of negative views of the target. To the extent that participants had more negative views of the target in the stigmatizing condition, compared to the affirming condition, those views were associated with more stigma and lower expected engagement. Additionally, there appeared to be a reactance effect for those with medium to low levels of system justification, as was found for issue importance, whereby these participants endorsed stigma less, as a result of seeing self-stigmatizing behavior as needing to be counteracted, resulting in less expression of stigma and more expected engagement to help this group. Therefore, while the longer indirect path supported the underlying thinking behind the hypotheses, the importance of negative descriptors of the target and the individual difference of system justification were not expected, although they make a great deal of sense *post hoc*. For a visual description of the tested model, see *Figure 4.2.*

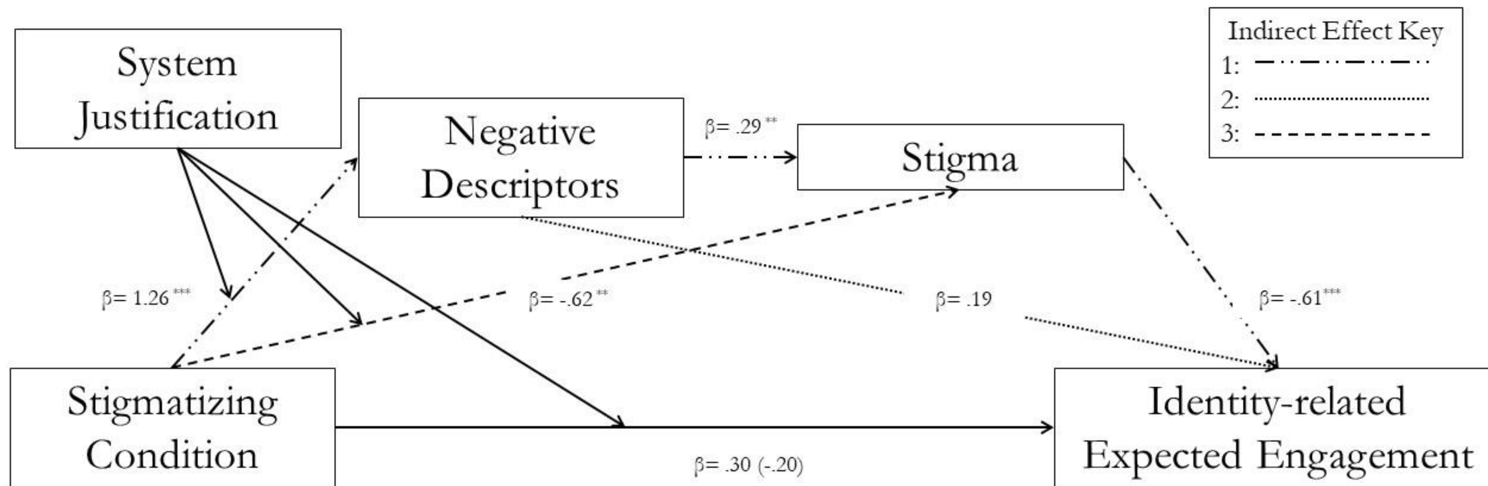

Figure 4.2. Moderated Serial Mediation of Stigmatizing Condition (vs. Affirming) on Expected Engagement through Negative Descriptors and Stigma (Gay/Middle-class Condition).

Notes: Indirect effect one (condition => neg. descriptors => stigma => exp. engagement) at levels of system justification: -1 *SD* = -.29, 95% CI: [-.63, -.07], *M* = -.23, 95% CI: [-.49, -.06] +1 *SD* = -.15, 95% CI: [-.36, -.03]. Index of moderated mediation = .05, 95% CI: [-.0004, .14]. Indirect effect two (condition => neg. descriptors => exp. engagement) at levels of system justification: -1 *SD* = .31, 95% CI: [-.33, 1.04], *M* = .25, 95% CI: [-.26, .81] +1 *SD* = .16, 95% CI: [-.19, .58]. Index of moderated mediation = -.05, 95% CI: [-.22, .05]. Indirect effect three (condition => stigma => exp. engagement) at levels of system justification: -1 *SD* = .45, 95% CI: [.09, .93], *M* = .38, 95% CI: [.09, .79] +1 *SD* = .30, 95% CI: [-.04, .76]. Index of moderated mediation = -.05, 95% CI: [-.22, .11]. R^2 = .39, $F(5, 88) = 11.18$, $p < .001$. Condition variable coded: 1 = stigmatizing condition, 0 = affirming condition. Confidence intervals created using 5,000 bootstrapped samples. Model 85. ^{t} $p < .1$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Working-class condition. Next, I ran the same moderated serial mediation models for those in the straight/working-class conditions. The stigmatizing/affirming condition variable was entered as the main predictor, with negative descriptors and stigma entered as mediators, in that order, followed by issue importance or expected engagement. System justification was entered as a moderator on the first path, as well as all paths between the main predictor and other variables. All confidence intervals were created using 5,000 bootstrapped samples, using Hayes PROCESS macro model 85.

Issue importance. When I examined the indirect effects of condition on issue importance through the same mediators, among those who received the working-class/straight condition, none of the indirect effects were significant across levels of system justification. The longer indirect path through both negative descriptors and stigma was not significant at low, β = -.0003, 95% CI: [-.09, .09], mean-level, β = -.0002, 95% CI: [-.08, .07], or high levels of system justification, β = -.0002, 95% CI: [-.07, .06]. Additionally, the shorter path that only went through stigma was also not significant at low, β = .05, 95% CI: [-.10, .36], mean-level, β = .05, 95% CI: [-.06, .26], or high levels of system justification, β = .04, 95% CI: [-.11, .24]. This appeared to be largely due to the fact that stigma did not predict issue importance directly, β = -.21, $t(80)$ = -1.43, $p > .05$.Therefore, regardless of whether the indirect or direct pathways, β = .53, $t(80)$ = 1.79, $p > .05$, from the stigmatized/affirming condition to issue importance were examined, there was not a significant effect on perceived issue importance in the straight/working-class condition.

Expected engagement. Finally, when I examined the indirect effects of condition on expected engagement through the same mediators, among those who received the working-class/straight condition, none of the sensible indirect effects were significant. The longer indirect

path through both negative descriptors and stigma was not significant at low, $\beta = -.0001$, 95% CI: [-.10, .08], mean-level, $\beta = -.0001$, 95% CI: [-.08, .06], or high levels of system justification, $\beta = -.0001$, 95% CI: [-.06, .05]. Additionally, the shorter path that only went through stigma was also not significant at low, $\beta = .02$, 95% CI: [-.14, .32], mean-level, $\beta = .02$, 95% CI: [-.11, .22], or high levels of system justification, $\beta = .02$, 95% CI: [-.15, .20]. This, again, seemed to largely be due to the fact that stigma did not predict expected engagement directly, $\beta = -.08$, $t(80) = -.41$, $p > .05$. Interestingly, the indirect effect that predicted expected engagement through negative descriptors only, while bypassing stigma, was significant at low, $\beta = -.57$, 95% CI: [-1.28, -.01], mean-level, $\beta = -.46$, 95% CI: [-1.00, -.01], and high levels of system justification, $\beta = -.37$, 95% CI: [-.85, -.002]. These significant effects also were not significantly different from each other, index of moderated mediation = .00, 95% CI: [-.01, .01]. This meant that the stigmatizing condition was partially associated with lower expected likelihood to participate in class-based engagement, as a result of more negative perceptions of the self-stigmatizing working-class target, $\beta = .91$, $t(80) = 5.36$, $p < .001$, which then directly predicted lower likelihood to engage, $\beta = -.51$, $t(80) = -2.22$, $p < .05$. Therefore, although the expected indirect and direct pathways, $\beta = .74$, $t(80) = 1.84$, $p > .05$, from the stigmatized/affirming condition to issue importance were not significant, there was an effect such that negative perceptions of the classist target directly predicted lower engagement, but not as a result of any relationship to perceptions of the group (stigma). For a visual representation of these findings, see *Figure 4.3*.

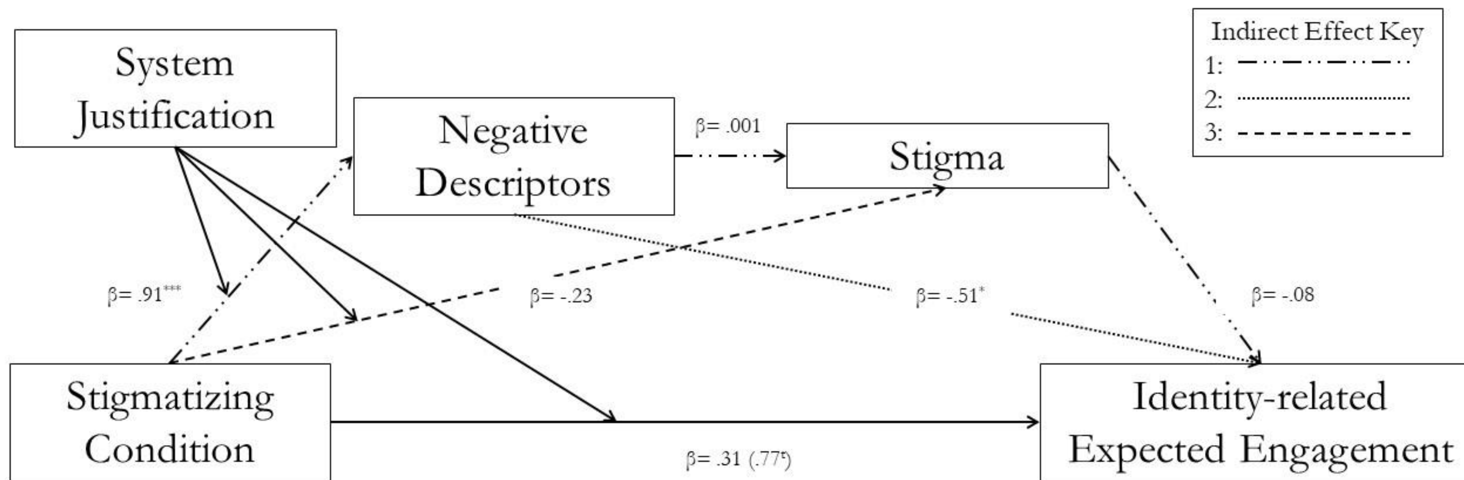

Figure 4.3. Moderated Serial Mediation of Stigmatizing Condition (vs. Affirming) on Expected Engagement through Negative Descriptors and Stigma (Working-class/Straight Condition).

Notes: Indirect effect one (condition => neg. descriptors => stigma => exp. engagement) at levels of system justification: -1 *SD* = -.0001, 95% CI: [-.09, .8], *M* = -.00021 95% CI: [-.08, .06] +1 *SD* = -.0001, 95% CI: [-.06, .05]. Index of moderated mediation = .00, 95% CI: [-.01, .01]. Indirect effect two (condition => neg. descriptors => exp. engagement) at levels of system justification: -1 *SD* = -.57, 95% CI: [-1.28, -.01], *M* = -.46, 95% CI: [-1.00, -.01] +1 *SD* = -.37, 95% CI: [-.85, -.002]. Index of moderated mediation = .07, 95% CI: [-.05, .24]. Indirect effect three (condition => stigma => exp. engagement) at levels of system justification: -1 *SD* = .02, 95% CI: [-.14, .32], *M* = .02, 95% CI: [-.11, .22] +1 *SD* = .02, 95% CI: [-.15, .20]. Index of moderated mediation = -.002, 95% CI: [-.09, .05]. R^2 = .16, $F(5, 74) = 2.87$, $p < .05$. Condition variable coded: 1 = stigmatizing condition, 0 = affirming condition. Confidence intervals created using 5,000 bootstrapped samples. Model 85. ᵗ $p < .1$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Discussion

The purpose of the third and final study of this dissertation was to examine the effect on the political interests and intentions of privileged individuals of expressions of internalized stigma, versus group affirming statements, made by marginalized sexual minority and working-class group members. There were two main hypotheses for the study. I predicted that identity-related political issue importance and expected engagement would be lower among those exposed to a target who made stigmatizing statements versus a target who made group affirming statements. Further, I predicted that this effect would be explained by changes in stigmatizing views of the groups as a consequence of exposure to these views. That is, I anticipated a mediation effect, such that exposure to the stigmatizing condition would increase individuals' perceptions of stigma toward the marginalized group in question, which would then lead to lower levels of expected engagement and issue importance. These hypotheses were not supported; in fact, in some instances, the effect was the opposite of what I expected. Because of these unexpected results, I conducted exploratory analyses that included an important individual difference that affected the relationships between these variables: system justification. This individual difference was also sensible to include, since it positively correlated with many of the outcomes and predictors in this and the second study of this dissertation (it was not measured in Study 1). Further analyses underscored the importance of accounting for attitudes about the target as a separate predictor from attitudes about the group.

For this study, as for the first two, I examined sexual minorities and working-class minorities as exemplars of stigmatized groups. Earlier I discussed the reasons that I anticipated having a concealable identity would likely lead one to have higher levels of internalized stigma, compared to those with visible identities. Since I was ultimately interested in testing the effect of

self-stigmatizing identities on the attitudes of privileged others, it seemed reasonable to test this hypothesis using groups that might be more likely to express internalized stigma in the real world. I predicted that self-stigmatizing views apparently expressed by members of both groups would have a similar effect on the views of privileged others because they shared the status of having a concealable identity. Though I did not expect to find differences between these two conditions, some ultimately emerged. These different findings based on the group membership of the target have implications for theory, and point to potential areas for further exploration, including both underlying mechanisms and measurement-based questions.

Stigma, Negative Views of Self-stigmatizing Targets, and System Justification

As noted above, the original hypotheses were not supported; in fact, in some cases the opposite of the anticipated effects were observed. For instance, when the initial moderated mediation was conducted, there was a trend for the gay/middle-class condition such that those in the stigmatizing condition were *less* likely to endorse stigma than those in the affirming condition, contrary to the initial hypotheses. If there had been no observable changes in any of the variables as a result of condition, I might have resolved that the conditions simply "did not work." However, this pattern prompted me to further investigate the effects by introducing individual difference variables into the statistical models. These endeavors proved to be fruitful, but of course because they were based on exploratory analyses should be considered preliminary evidence that can serve as the basis for future research into this important type of social interaction.

After conducting these exploratory analyses, I found that two previously overlooked variables were consequential. Most importantly, perceptions of the target were important for connecting the experimental conditions to stigma in the gay male conditions. In the gay/middle-

class conditions, participants who had more negative views of the self-stigmatizing target had higher levels of stigmatizing views, compared to those in the identity-affirming condition. This made sense, since it was likely that some people might have been associating the target with the rest of the group, while others did not. Therefore, to the extent that people viewed the target negatively in the stigmatizing condition and associated the target with the group, these individuals showed increased stigma toward sexual minorities. The results were different for class, though they still demonstrated the importance of the negative views variables, since the target expressing self-stigmatizing views was viewed as having more negative attributes by the participants. In the class conditions, however, these negative views were not associated with stigma, but directly predicted anticipated engagement. Although these particular pathways and relationships were not initially predicted, they do provide evidence supporting the kind of theoretical arguments that led to the original hypotheses.

Based on these results, it seemed important to account for the fact that some people were probably more likely to agree with the target's self-stigmatizing views prior to the experiment; that is, some people were simply predisposed to the views expressed by the target, while others were predisposed to disagree with them. This reasoning led me to include a second crucial variable: system justification. System justification was a good candidate to capture these types of views, since higher endorsement of it has been associated with stigmatizing views toward various groups in previous research (Jost & Thompson, 2000). Additionally, although system justification was measured after the experimental condition, it is assumed to be a stable individual difference and in fact did not differ significantly across conditions. Thus, I treated it as a measure of previously held views (though a better design in future research would measure these views prior to the experimental condition). In the gay/middle-class target experimental

conditions described before, people lower in system justification had lower levels of stigma in the stigmatizing condition compared to the affirming condition, indicating an effect opposite to that hypothesized. This made a great deal of sense when conceptualized as a reactance effect, according to which those who were disposed toward equalitarian and non-stigmatizing views of marginalized groups responded to the condition with lower stigmatizing toward this group, despite self-stigmatizing views expressed by a group member.

The fact that these two variables ended up being important additions to the proposed theoretical model and aided in the ability to predict the main outcomes for the sexual minority condition, further demonstrates what personality psychologists, specifically, have long argued: individual differences matter in how individuals interpret and respond to situations. There was no direct effect of condition on stigma, but there were indirect effects, once individual differences in negative perceptions of the target were taken into account. Although people generally viewed the self-stigmatizing target more negatively, the variability in the degree that people did this across conditions was the crucial link between the conditions and stigma. Further, although regardless of their levels of system justification people tended to associate the target who was saying stigmatizing things with more negative descriptors, and then generally expressed more stigma, this effect was offset by a reactance effect for those with lower levels of system justification. These indirect effects precluded overall effects of the experimental conditions on stigma and the main outcomes.

These results—though requiring replication—do support the original hypothesis that internalized stigma can be a factor in the further marginalization of sexual minorities. It is, however, notable that such effects were not found for the working-class target. This lack of parallelism could have a number of causes. It is possible that the affirming/stigmatizing

conditions were not effective at creating different perceptions of the working-class target. This seems unlikely though, since the stigmatizing condition was still associated with negative perceptions of the target in the class-based condition, though the relationship connecting perceptions of the target to expected action and interest bypassed stigma for this group. It is also possible that the lack of an effect on stigma was a result of measure selection. Stigma for the sexual minority conditions was measured using the modern homonegativity scale (Morrison & Morrison, 2003), which includes many items concerning group-based deservingness and perceptions of the status of sexual minorities in society, whereas the measures of stigma for the class-based conditions were two measures (Bullock et al., 2003; Colbow et al., 2016) that concern specific negative perceptions or stereotypes of the groups (e.g. being unintelligent or more likely to abuse drugs and alcohol), not more general perceptions of the status of working-class people in society or their deservingness. These differences in measurement of stigma could explain why general negative perceptions of the target were not associated with these specific stigmatizing beliefs in the working-class conditions.

In addition to these explanations for different findings that have to do primarily with measurement, it could also be the case that idiosyncrasies with the manipulation conditions themselves created these differential effects. For instance, the negative words used in the stigmatizing gay condition to describe their group were "slutty," "annoying," and "obnoxious," while the negative words used in the stigmatizing class condition were "pathetic," "lazy," and "drugged-up." While the latter invokes stereotypes of working-class people which may be almost universally salient, and thus hard to change, the former might be invoking stereotypes of gay men that are not especially well-known or salient. This might mean that participants in the gay male condition were more easily moved around, in terms of their stigmatizing beliefs, while

participants' stigmatizing beliefs, along these specific lines, about working-class people may be more solidified.

Relatedly, in addition to these experimental condition-based issues that might have led to different effects for the class conditions versus the sexual orientation conditions, there is also the possibility that *intensity* and the *types* of negative feelings felt by the participants toward these targets also played a role. Research on stereotypes of different groups has found that emotions felt toward different groups tend to be dependent on the stereotypes held toward these groups, including their specific content and how the stereotypes map onto widely used dimensional structures, such as warmth and competence in the Stereotype Content Model (SCM) (Fiske et al., 2007). This seems especially relevant for these two groups, since research has found that they do not map similarly onto these two dimensions. For instance, some research has found that gay men are viewed as both warm and competent, but overly feminine (Steffens, Niedlich, Beschorner & Köhler, 2019). Since this would seem to indicate a generally positive view toward gay men, at least in terms of the SC model, this could also have the effect of making views of gay men more pliable and able to be shifted in the negative direction, as a result of negative interactions, thus allowing for the hypothesized effect to be detected. Conversely, research has found that poor people are viewed as a low competence and low warmth group (Durante & Fiske, 2017; Fiske et al., 2007), making them especially contemptible within society. This might mean that views of this group may be more difficult to make even more negative (i.e. a floor effect), while also being less able to be changed through simple interactions. In addition to the views of working-class people potentially being more negative compared to those of gay men, as was supported by this data, these views might also be qualitatively different, in terms of the specific feelings that interactions with this group might elicit. While negative responses to gay

men generally involve feelings of disgust and pity, feelings toward poor people involve feelings of contempt or anger (Durante & Fiske, 2017; Fiske et al., 2007). These different types of feelings felt toward these groups may be critical for differentiating why these effects were found for one group and not the other. Therefore, one limitation of this study was the fact that the negative attributes were collapsed into one factor and were not examined in terms of specific dimensions of disliking or the related emotions evoked by these group members.

Finally, it is notable that both manipulation cases used a male target. It is possible that using targets of different genders could have affected the results. For instance, since the stereotypes are different for gay men than lesbians, the type of messages about stigma and deservingness signaled by expressions of internalized stigma might have differential effects for these groups. For instance, if a lesbian woman begrudgingly invoked the stereotype that lesbians are clingy and want to move quickly with romantic relationships, this might not create the same increases in stigma among straight observers, since many may not see this as especially problematic or worthy of contempt. Similarly, as a result of sexism, the male target in the class stigmatizing condition might have been especially penalized (and hurt his group), as a result of the work-related deficiency-based stereotypes that were invoked, while a working-class woman might not have received as negative views from invoking these specific stereotypes. Instead, she might have received negative views if different class-based stereotypes had been invoked, such as those about poor/working-class people not raising their children correctly, with the brunt of childcare decision-making being assumed to fall on the women. Therefore, it is crucial for future research to assess whether there are gender-based differences in these effects of the target's internalized stigma.

Stigma and Political Engagement

The second purpose of this study was to demonstrate that the relationship between observing internalized stigma and lower interest and intentions aimed at improving social conditions for marginalized groups would be accounted for by higher levels of stigma. For the gay/middle-class target conditions, as expected, stigmatizing attitudes were associated with less belief that that sexual minority-serving issues were important and were also associated with lower expectations to politically engage to help sexual minorities. Propensities for these stigmatizing attitudes were largely sensible and supported the thinking behind the hypotheses, as described earlier. This means that, depending on levels of system justification and negative perceptions of the target, people who observed internalized stigma in marginalized groups generally had diminished intentions and interest in helping sexual minorities.

This finding is important because support from privileged others for movements geared toward creating equality for marginalized groups can help increase the efficacy of the movement and further the achievement of group aims. Knowing that straight people might have lower engagement with, or interest in, efforts to promote equality for sexual minorities, as a result of observing self-stigmatizing statements, is useful to organizers, policy makers, educators, and others. Part of any organizing effort could involve avoiding self-stigmatizing language and examples, and instead highlighting identity-affirming voices of LGBTQ people, in addition to other efforts and tactics. Additionally, any organization aimed at creating social change for this group should consider efforts to address internalized stigma as an essential component of their strategy, since internalized stigma in group members could be undermining their efforts by increasing the already problematic effects of stigma among privileged others.

Although the picture painted by these results is potentially grim for members of some marginalized groups (sexual minorities in this case), there is a source of hope in the unexpected reactance finding. Since members of privileged groups low in system justification reacted in an opposite way, expressing lower stigma in the face of self-stigmatization by a gay individual, leading to increased interests and intentions, there are interesting opportunities to break the cycle apart from reducing self-stigmatization. Thus, although some individuals hold more stigmatizing views, others respond with lower stigma and are activated to engage more, as a result of the same expressions of stigma. Therefore, approaches to addressing inequality may need both to generally lessen societal expressions of stigma, while also potentially selectively highlighting existing expressions of stigma for those most likely to be motivated to action. Furthermore, efforts to address propensities toward stigma—e.g., the tendency to justify an unequal system—might diminish the negative effects that expressions of internalized stigma have on the intentions and interests of privileged others.

The lack of support for these relationships when the target was working class suggests that something different may be going on in that case. Specifically, as noted earlier, the measurement of stigma was itself rather different for the two conditions, and the difference in the two types of stigma may account for the differences found. Moreover, the measures of "issue importance" might not have been as closely identified with the stigmatized group. Specifically, issues like income inequality and worker's rights might be seen as having broader appeal to groups beyond poor and working-class groups. These issues actually might attract the interest of those who view the negative consequences of further concentrated power for corporations and the ultra-wealthy, leading to renewed interest and engagement with issues related to social class, on the far right (e.g. the Tea Party Movement) at least as much as the far left (e.g. the Occupy

Wall Street Movement). Thus, perhaps the measures of political interest and intention did not actually feel related to lower- or working-class individuals' interests at all.

Future research should look more closely at class, potentially utilizing different measures or thinking critically about issues specific to working-class people and assessing the effect of self-stigma on those issues. Regardless of the reason why the same effects were not found for the class condition as for the sexual orientation condition, there were still some negative effects of observed self-stigmatizing attitudes on the identity-related political interests of privileged people. Specifically, people in the stigmatizing class condition had more negative views of the target, as in the gay conditions, which were then associated with lower expected class-related engagement (but not issues), as a result of the indirect effect. There was, however, no overall effect of condition (affirming vs. stigmatizing) on stigma or the main outcomes in the class conditions, meaning that the condition did not directly affect any variables of original interest. However, this might still be preliminary evidence that a similar indirect effect of condition on stigma as was found in the sexual orientation conditions, could be found for the class conditions, if the measure of stigma had addressed the issues described previously. If so, this would lead to the conclusion that self-stigmatizing views expressed by working-class people can also be damaging to social change efforts aimed at helping working-class people in society, similar to the effect of internalized homonegative statements on diminishing straight people' interests and intentions to help sexual minorities.

Limitations and Future Directions

This study provides a starting point for future research into the effects of internalized stigma on the political intentions and interests among privileged observers of such internalization. However, the results found did not support the initial predictions, and even the

significant exploratory findings for sexual minority targets did not hold for working class targets. All of these results point to some specific limitations and areas for future research that might enable valuable contributions to our knowledge about this important type of inter-group interaction.

First, and probably most importantly, though some intelligible effects were found for sexual orientation (which need replication), there were no such effects for class. While this could have been due to differences in the measures of important constructs, like stigma, for these different groups, or a result of differences in the general interest and intentions directed toward these class-based outcomes compared to sexuality-based outcomes, it is also possible that the conditions themselves could be improved for this group. The marginalized sexual orientation condition was focused on comments about an LGBTQ Pride Festival. I tried to create an analog sort of event for working-class people and landed on a "labor day festival." These are not common occurrences like Pride festivals, and no longer carry the same type of focus on specific identity groups (working class individuals) as Pride festivals. Therefore, people may not have concluded as easily that the working-class target was being self-stigmatizing in that condition or affirming in the other condition, as the sexual minority target was in their conditions. In the future, the experimental conditions could be improved by being focused on more realistic self-stigmatizing or affirming statements about working-class people.

Second, the study used an online convenience sample from Amazon's MTurk. Although this remains a platform that is of great use to social scientists, including psychologists interested in studying hard to reach populations (Goodman et al., 2013; Smith et al., 2016; Smith et al., 2015), these findings would be strengthened by replications with other types of samples, including community samples, student samples, and others. Specifically, the current sample was

not especially diverse in terms of characteristics that were not selected for, such as race. It seems reasonable that members of other marginalized groups may respond differently to statements of internalized stigma, compared to those who generally have relative social privilege. This may be especially true for those who see the oppression of their marginalized groups as fundamentally tied to the stigmatization of other groups, which could be measured through individual differences like intersectional awareness (Curtin et al., 2015).

Additionally, focusing less on the sample, the online nature of the study also creates limitations, in terms of the ecological validity of the study. Although people might observe statements of internalized stigma online in the real world, the occurrence of most statements like these are more likely to be in person and across varying contexts. The circumstances that led to the disclosure of internalized stigma may also vary differently and affect the outcomes measured here. For instance, one could imagine members of marginalized groups expressing stigmatizing statements when they have been stated and presented as a consensus in inter-group interactions with privileged members, especially if they have a concealable identity. This may have different effects than if a person were to simultaneously self-disclose and express self-stigmatizing statements, as our target did in this study. Future research should be conducted to investigate how particular situational factors, including identity disclosure, affect these outcomes.

Finally, some of the measures used in this study, especially those used in the class conditions, could be improved. A measure of more generalized negative feelings about working-class people and attitudes about their status in society, rather than specific negative stereotypes about working-class people, might more effectively capture how stigma is related to the political interests and intentions of people with relative class privilege. Additionally, since many of the political interests and engagement causes used in this study for the class condition could

realistically be seen as important to members of groups beyond poor/working class people, outcomes focused more narrowly on these groups might more effectively capture how stigma predicts group-based political interests and intentions. For instance, interest in issues or engagement with causes like "food stamps," "universal basic income/welfare," or "subsidized housing" might be more related to class-based stigma, and therefore, might be more easily changed as a result of observing self-stigmatizing statements expressed by a working-class person.

Although these are important limitations that should be addressed in future research, there are also areas that can be expanded in future research, based on the strengths of this study. First and foremost, since many of these findings have important implications for research on identity and political outcomes, but were not completely hypothesized, the first step for future research is to replicate the findings. Beyond this type of replication, there are a few changes that could be made to the study paradigm to advance research in this field. First, since there was not a control condition that had the target make statements that were not related to their identity at all, future research should add a control condition in which the target does not make a statement about the event (i.e. they post a link to the news article, but nothing else). This could also be done by having the target talk about something completely unrelated to identity without posting the news article or by posting a news article that was not about an identity-related event. This is important because this type of control condition would allow researchers to assess whether the effects happen as a result of the stigmatizing condition itself, rather than as a result of differences between the stigmatizing condition and the affirming condition.

Initially I expected that reading self-stigmatizing statements from marginalized individuals would give those with relative privilege license to express more stigma against the

particular marginalized group. I assumed that this license would occur because many people believe that decisions about what statements should be considered stigmatizing and objectionable should be left to marginalized groups themselves, since they are the ones directly affected by those statements. This type of dynamic would theoretically allow privileged people to feel they can endorse oppressive views if they were expressed by a member of the marginalized group. Unfortunately this study was not designed to test this specific mechanism. However, this could easily be tested in a follow-up study that varies the identity of the target saying the stigmatizing statements, potentially showing differences in the change in stigma, as a result of these conditions. Therefore, a future study should be conducted with the target either as a privileged group member or a marginalized group member.

Following the same logic, it would also be important to conduct this type of study using other types of identities as target groups, in order to investigate whether the effects would replicate. I would have originally predicted that the effect of internalized stigma on the political outcomes of privileged individuals would be similar if the study were to be conducted with racial minority targets, women targets, targets with disabilities, and others. However, since I found different effects between the sexual minority and working-class conditions, I would now predict the contexts surrounding each of these identities might have an effect on the relationships between these variables. In this case, it seemed that class-based interests and intentions did not change as a function of experimental conditions as easily as the sexuality-based outcomes. As discussed previously, this is likely because the class-based issues, such as income inequality, taxes, and workers rights, are seen as affecting most groups, not just those with relative class disadvantage, probably as a result of individuals' realizations and media/political portrayals of egregious wealth disparities and increasingly centralized corporate power negatively affecting

people from most walks of life in the United States. Since the structural and political context changes who stands to benefit from these group-based intentions and interests, the self-stigmatizing expressions are likely to have differential effects based on the identity-group member expressing them. Theories like intersectionality theory in psychology have argued that hypotheses and theories being tested should take seriously how the unique socio-political structures that underly the experiences of different marginalized groups might affect results for those specific groups. Furthermore, intersectionality scholars and feminist scholars more broadly argue that constructs like power and privilege should be important components of our psychological theories, especially those related to identity. Therefore, future researchers should think critically about how different groups might experience internalized stigma and propose distinct hypotheses about the effect that expressions of it might have on the political intentions and interests of privileged others.

Conclusion

In general, this study highlights the importance of individual differences, such as system justification, in affecting privileged individuals' reactions to self-stigma. A significant indirect effect showed that many, regardless of system justification, in the gay/middle-class condition viewed the target who made self-stigmatizing statements negatively, leading to greater stigma toward the group and less identity-related political interest and intention to help the marginalize group. However, those who had lower levels of system justification had their positive associations between the self-stigmatizing condition and stigma offset by a reactance effect, according to which they endorsed stigma at a *lower* rate. This lower stigma predicted *increased* interest and intentions to help sexual minorities. In general, these separate, opposite indirect effects offset each other, explaining why there were no direct effects of condition on either

stigma or the main outcomes to be detected. This finding demonstrates the importance of accounting for individual differences when modeling political attitudes and expected behaviors. Future research should be conducted to replicate these findings, since the exact findings were not originally hypothesized, though they make sense in terms of the theory and arguments used to generate the original hypotheses. The fact that this pattern did not occur in the case of the class conditions underscores the importance of replication and clarification of the conditions under which these results occur.

In conclusion, this research is important because it highlights a particular mechanism by which internalized stigma acts as a barrier to social change for members of marginalized groups. While Studies 1 and 2 focused on the effects of internalized stigma on the temporary and life-long political interests and intentions of members of marginalized groups, this study demonstrates that internalized stigma can have an effect on the stigma of privileged individuals too. In the worst-case scenario for these groups, this can perpetuate the cycle of stigmatization, leading to further enactments of stigma, although that pattern was not consistent. There is still hope for social change for the betterment of these groups though, as expressed by the best-case scenario that some individuals who already hold more egalitarian views may react to expressions of stigma or internalized stigma by expressing less stigmatizing views that, in turn, become a source of further motivation to create social change.

Chapter 5 Discussion and Conclusions

This dissertation contributes to our understanding of the effects of stigma on the political engagement of privileged and marginalized people, specifically in terms of sexual orientation and social class. This chapter highlights these contributions and provides a discussion of the studies' limitations, as well as directions for future research to support and develop the theoretical model that guided this dissertation.

Stigma as a Barrier to Social Change: A Theoretical Model

In the three studies in this dissertation I sought to test aspects of a general theoretical model that connects social structure to stigma and internalized stigma, before looping back to affect social structure again, in the form of decreased social change. See *Figure 1.1* for a visual representation of this model. Specifically, I wanted to show how stigma leads to a lack of relative deprivation through decreased feelings of group-based deservingness, which are linked to disengagement from crucial domains that might create social change. Hindered political engagement from members of both privileged and marginalized groups is viewed as limiting social change, thus perpetuating the cycle. In general, the dissertation supported individual components of this model, though it is important to note that many of the links could not be tested with these studies, and the support for other links was mixed. Therefore, this dissertation should be viewed as a starting point for what should prove to be a fruitful area of future research into the relations among identity, stigma, and political engagement.

Perceived Stigma and Internalized Stigma

The first component of the model that was tested was the effect of prejudicial ideologies and the stigma that they produce on the internalized stigma of marginalized groups. This was one of the most robust links found in the overall model. This link was explicitly tested in Study 1, where it was found that for both poor/working class and sexual minorities there was a significant association between perceived stigma and internalized stigma. This was not surprising, since past research had already made this connection between perceived stigma and internalized stigma (Vogel et al., 2013). However, in order to test the overall model, it was crucial to demonstrate this relationship in both of these populations.

The relationship between external stigma and internalized stigma is thought to exist simply because it is assumed that minorities must observe stigma in their environments in order for it to be internalized. Therefore, greater exposure to stigma would theoretically be associated with an increased likelihood that the stigma will become internalized by members of marginalized groups. This relationship is foundational for the proposed model. If marginalized individuals did not internalize the stigma that they observed in their environments, marginalized people might not experience internalized stigma at all. This would mean that societal stigma would be less likely to have the proposed effect of disengaging marginalized individuals from social action aimed at helping their group, and the model would fall apart.

Internalized Stigma and Deservingness

Another link in the proposed model connects internalized stigma to relative deprivation. In study one, I proposed the relationship between internalized stigma and lower feelings of relative deprivation, as a result of internalized stigma predicting lower feelings of group-based deservingness, an essential component of relative deprivation. Unfortunately, I could not test this

expected relationship in Study 1, given the lack of a measure of deservingness in the dataset. However, in Study 2 I was able to test the proposed link between internalized stigma and lower feelings of group-based deservingness, supporting this hypothesized link.

The link between internalized stigma and group-based deservingness was so strong among sexual minorities that the variables were found to essentially measure the same construct. In contrast, among poor/working-class people, internalized stigma was negatively associated with group-based deservingness, but the correlations between these two variables was low enough for this group that they could be treated as two separate variables in the regression analyses. It is possible that differences in measurement may have played a role, since the wording of many of the modern homonegativity scale items were more closely tied to perceptions of deservingness than the items used in the class-based analyses. Perhaps perceptions of group changeability (with class status viewed as more changeable than sexuality) also contributed to this difference. Regardless of the explanation for the underlying difference in the different relationships for these groups, the findings from this study still support the idea that internalized stigma is closely tied to deservingness.

Internalized Stigma and Political Engagement

The link between internalized stigma and deservingness is crucial to the proposed model because it helps connect internalized stigma to political engagement, the next component of the model. This variable path should be replicated in future research, as well as compared to other feasible mechanisms that could be proposed. For instance, some scholars might propose that other variables and their accompanying theories, such as system justification, social dominance orientation, or critical consciousness (Jost et al., 2003; Keefer et al., 2015; Pratto et al., 2006) may better account for the relationship between internalized stigma and political outcomes.

However, to account for some of these suspected challenges to the proposed model in advance, system justification was used as a control variable in the analyses for Studies 2 and 3, while social dominance orientation was used as a control variable in Study 1. Even after accounting for these theoretically related individual differences, the hypothesized relationships between the variables were still ultimately supported. For instance, even after controlling for social dominance, internalized stigma predicted less interest in political issues aimed at creating group-based social change among members of marginalized groups, as well as less engagement aimed at supporting similar causes.

Ultimately, this link between variables demonstrates that internalized stigma has consequences for members of marginalized groups above and beyond causing disparities and negative outcomes in many crucial domains (Howland et al., 2016; Speight, 2007; Szymanski, 2005; Szymanski & Henrichs-Beck, 2014). In short, internalized stigma has consequences that ultimately affect the *status* of these groups in society through decreased socio-political engagement. These types of effects have long been proposed by scholars (Apfelbaum, 1979), but this dissertation connects several operationalizations of self-stigma to different political outcomes, with the most direct and conventional one being the political issue importance and engagement variables used in Study 1.

Internalized Stigma and Educational/Occupational Outcomes

I have argued that political interest and engagement can take many forms above and beyond more traditional markers, such as issue importance and activism. Specifically, I was interested in how internalized stigma predicted political engagement in the form of group-based work/life values and aspirations. These outcomes are consequential because they describe a general tendency for individuals to want to use their work, how they spend a majority of their

waking hours, and the rest of their time, conceptualized through their life aspirations, to help their group. Studying these types of outcomes can be consequential for social change because it can help stakeholders identify predictors of this type of generalized engagement. Increasing this type of engagement in society in general, but specifically among minorities, can have the effect of creating life-long political activism/engagement that can lead to real social change.

In Study 2, both sexual minorities and poor/working class people with high levels of internalized stigma perceived work/life values and aspirations aimed toward helping their marginalized groups as less important. This finding was coupled with a hypothesized and demonstrated increase in desires to pursue extrinsic markers of status (e.g. money, status, competition) in both groups. Therefore, this study shows that stigma can not only disengage poor/working-class and sexual minority participants from group-relevant political endeavors, but can also encourage them to engage in endeavors that uphold existing patterns of power and prestige.

Internalized Stigma and Privileged Observers

While Studies 1 and 2 show that internalized stigma is associated with the disengagement of these group members, oppression is largely produced and maintained by the majority group. Since this means that lessening the stigma of privileged people should have the largest effect for social change, I wanted to assess at least one important way that stigma can be worsened in privileged people, as a function of observed enactments of internalized stigma by members of marginalized groups. The third and final study tested whether internalized stigma could result in disengagement of potential allies, thereby fostering stigma and perpetuating the cycle. By testing this aspect of the model, I hoped to emphasize that decreasing stigma in majority groups should be the primary goal of efforts to create social change for these groups, not only because it will

lead them to be less oppressive but because it will diminish the engagement reducing effects of internalized stigma.

This study produced some unexpected results. Consequently, it is the one that requires the most future inquiry and replication. However, the results of the study mostly confirmed our expectation that observing enactments of internalized stigma made by marginalized group members would lead privileged group members to be less likely to see group-based political issues as important, or to engage politically to help the marginalized group. Ultimately, it was important to account for two additional variables in the model, in order to demonstrate the hypothesized effects.

First, negative perceptions of the target needed to be accounted for in the model. This was important because it allowed for the possibility that perceptions of the marginalized *group* were distinct (for some perceivers) from perceptions of the specific *target*. Some participants had lower perceptions of the target, as a result of him saying self-stigmatizing things, which were then related to higher ratings of stigmatizing attitudes toward the group, while others were actually motivated to see the group in a *less* stigmatizing light as a result of witnessing self-stigmatizing statements.

Recognizing that this individual difference mattered led me to include a second previously overlooked variable that proved consequential: system justification. It was not surprising that system justification mattered. In fact, this and similar variables (social dominance) were included as controls in the two previous studies. However, in this study system justification (highly correlated with SDO) was an important moderator of the relationship between the stigmatizing/affirming conditions and the other variables in the proposed model. Specifically, in the gay male target condition, those higher in system justification were more

likely to connect stigma with withdrawal from political engagement on behalf of the stigmatized group, as a function of their perception that the target had negative attributes. However, for those low-medium in system justification, the stigmatizing condition actually *decreased* stigma, leading to *increased* political interest and engagement. In comparison, for poor/working class targets, identical effects were not found. Instead negative attitudes predicted stigma and negative attributes of the target directly predicted the engagement outcome, bypassing stigma. One possible explanation of this was that the measure of stigma for class was different from the measure of stigma for sexual orientation, specifically because it did not measure perceptions of the deservingness of the group, which could be more closely related to the outcome. Another possible explanation is that different perceptions of the changeability of these groups led to different effects. These will be discussed in more detail later, along with potential ways that these different mechanisms can be tested in future work.

Regardless of the differences between the two groups of interest, in general the types of theoretical relationships that were hypothesized were supported for both. This is consequential because it supports the notion that inter-group contact may not always or inevitably lead to lower incidence of stigma and positive effects for the marginalized group. In this case, I demonstrated that (simulated Facebook posts reflecting) enactments of internalized stigma actually led straight and middle-class people to have less interest and engagement in helping the marginalized group, sometimes as a result of negative perceptions of the target only, and sometimes as a result of more stigmatizing attitudes. These results suggest that there is a need for future research into how these complicated, but important, situational and individual factors affect intergroup interactions and support for efforts toward social change.

Identity Concealability and Changeability

The purpose of this dissertation was to examine the effect of stigma on the political engagement of marginalized and privileged people as a function of internalized stigma. Secondary to this goal was the exploration of the effects of concealability and changeability on how these relationships worked. The two groups studied allowed examination of groups that were similar in holding concealable identities, but different in the average perception of their changeability.

Study 1 allowed direct comparison of the effects for individuals with marginalized concealable identities (sexual minorities and poor/working-class people) to those with marginalized visible identities (people of color and women). Perceived stigma had a stronger effect on increased internalized stigma among those with concealable identities, compared with those with only visible identities. This led to enhanced downstream consequences for those with concealable identities, in terms of diminished perceived issue importance and engagement, as a result of this enhanced internalized stigma. Thus, stigma may be especially harmful for social change efforts affecting groups with concealable identities, such as sexual minorities and poor/working class people. Stakeholders who want to help such groups might want to make social change efforts focus especially on stigma-reduction strategies.

The results of the other two studies seemed to indicate that changeability was also an important factor. However, there is no direct measure of perceptions of changeability, such as those measured with essentialism measures. We are limited only to comparisons of the two groups, recognizing that their difference in changeability may not be the only or most important one.

In Studies 2 and 3 many relationships were similar for the two groups. However, in some cases the same results could arise for different reasons. For example, in Study 2, I expected that stigma-related increases in extrinsic markers of status would be a result of The Best Little Boy in the World Hypothesis for sexual minorities (Pachankis & Hatzenbuehler, 2013). At the same time, I expected that a similar increase among poor/working class people would be a result of a desire to change one's own social status by acquiring things like money and status. This is an important and different potential mechanism, which could not be directly assessed in Study 2. The results obtained are consistent with this hypothesis but only a more direct measure of belief in changeability could establish that this different mechanism produced the results for class and not for sexual orientation.

Unlike Study 2, Study 3 did have distinctive results for the gay male compared to the working-class male target. While the stigmatizing condition and negative attributes of the target were directly associated with greater group-based stigma in the sexual minority condition, there were not similar associations in the working-class target condition. This could be directly related to perceptions of changeability. If working class targets are seen as having negative attributes that are changeable (as opposed to sexual minorities who may be seen as having negative but unchangeable attributes), people may be more likely to hold poor/working class individuals responsible for their outcomes (rather than viewing some outcomes as out of their control). This is an interesting idea that could be potentially problematic for social change efforts directed at helping poor/working-class people, and should be studied in future research, along with other potential ways that perceptions of changeability may differentiate effects between these and other groups.

Limitations and Future Directions

In general, the hypothesized links in the general proposed theoretical model for the dissertation and its application to both sexual and class identities were supported. However, there is still a lot of research that must be conducted to develop and expand these findings.

Limitations

In terms of limitations of the individual studies, there are many. I will highlight the limitations that apply across the three studies.

First and foremost, the studies all relied on Amazon MTurk samples. Although this is a useful source for gathering data quickly and efficiently, especially from hard to reach populations, while also matching the data quality of many other kinds of samples (Goodman et al., 2013; Smith et al., 2016; Smith et al., 2015), it is still an imperfect sampling strategy. Future research on this topic would benefit from the use of other samples. For instance, it is logical to recruit a younger sample, such as a college student sample, for any study investigating the outcomes from Study 2, work/life values and aspirations. Since college students are still establishing their careers and what they want out of their lives, this can be an important sample for investigating these outcomes, whether with a cross-sectional or a longitudinal design. Other types of samples would be desirable for studies involving the other variables too. Any studies that are similar to Study 3 would be especially easy to replicate using other samples, since straight and/or middle-class people should be relatively easy to find on college campuses and in the community broadly.

A second pressing limitation is the fact that these studies only focused on two types of identity, sexual orientation and social class. Future examination of other identities would only serve to better support the model and the underlying hypotheses. Although this is a limitation

that should be taken seriously by all researchers who hope to study these kinds of topics, I will note some specific identities that I hope to examine in my own future research that will help address this general limitation.

Along these same lines, the current study did not allow for the examination of the effects of multiple identities. Intersectionality theory is becoming increasingly important in psychology (Cole, 2009), and this dissertation is limited by its focus on one identity at a time. Since stigma is situationally based and, by extension, intersectional, it is important that future research assess what effect stigma has on internalized stigma when it is inflected, multiplied, diminished, or unaffected by the presence of other stigmatized identities and their adjoining stigma. I will propose some ideas for future research that could incorporate intersectionality.

Finally, an important limitation of the dissertation is that the links between the variables could not be tested using methods that allow one to infer causality. Since two of the studies were correlational in nature, it is impossible to rule out the possibility that other important third variables might change or explain these findings. Therefore, this research is limited in its ability to generate causal inferences, a consideration that should be taken seriously by stakeholders who may want to rely on these findings to inform policy, practice, or approaches to creating social change. Some follow-up experimental studies could be undertaken that do not challenge ethical considerations (as would attempting to manipulate stigma or identity). The most sensible link in the model where such studies could be employed is the link between observed internalized stigma and increased stigma among privileged majorities, since this was the only study in the dissertation that used an experimental methodology. However, it is here that results were not as predicted, so it is crucial that they be replicated.

Future Directions

In terms of future directions, there are many opportunities to build on these findings about the effects of stigma and internalized stigma on the political engagement and interest of majority and minority populations. I plan to pursue many of these ideas myself, as I try to expand this research and produce new knowledge on this important topic.

The first area that requires future study is the links in the model that this data supported less, as well as links that could not be tested. For instance, the results for the effect of stigma on political outcomes through deservingness could not always be tested across groups. Additionally, the mediating effect of deservingness could not be tested at all in the first study. This is an important opportunity for future research, since the outcomes of issue importance and political engagement may be of more interest to stakeholders than the work/life values and aspirations variables. Therefore, future research on this topic should attempt to replicate Study 1, but include measures of group-based deservingness, so the mediation pathway can be tested with these outcomes too.

Additionally, there are many potential links in the model that could be tested that were not explicitly proposed as the model has been presented. For instance, it would valuable to investigate whether the work/life values and aspirations variables predict other relevant behaviors and decisions. Future research could assess whether group-based life values are associated with higher levels of activism and political engagement over the lifetime. Similarly, future research could be conducted to assess whether group-based work values predict the types of careers that undergraduates pursue. Although the existing measures of work values and life aspirations have been shown to predict behaviors and choices, the predictive ability of these adapted group-based versions has not been tested.

Taking another approach to future research, one could assess whether the pathways in the model flow differently between particular variables. For instance, it seems reasonable that engaging in activism or other types of group-based engagement that involves contact could diminish levels of internalized stigma in members of marginalized groups. Whereas the model presented in the dissertation would theoretically lead to greater levels of societal stigma and internalization as it winds clock-wise, researchers could also study the counter-model that could lead to decreases in internalized stigma and societal stigma, as a result of winding counter-clockwise. The existence of such a parallel counter-model is likely, since many relationships between variables in psychology are not unidirectional, but in fact, allow for a push/pull in both directions.

The most obvious place where this type of countervailing effect could be studied further is with the contact hypothesis. In Study 3, I showed one way that contact between members of stigmatized and privileged groups can lead to higher levels of stigma in the privileged group members, as a result of observing a marginalized group member be self-stigmatizing. This runs contrary to the normal course of intergroup contact. Similarly, one could see whether observations of minority-group-affirming attitudes and behaviors made by a member of the majority could diminish previous levels of internalized stigma in a member of the marginalized group. Most of the research on intergroup contact has focused on diminishing prejudice among members of majority groups, but I suspect that contact could also create opportunities to diminish self-stigma. While there has been research showing that levels of outness among LGBTQ people are associated with decreased incidence of internalized stigma (Corrigan et al., 2013), the mechanisms underlying this are not entirely clear. It is possible that internalized stigma is reduced as a result of positive contact with out-group members, but this specific

hypothesis should be tested by researchers. Therefore, other ways to reduce the incidence of internalized stigma should be studied by researchers, answering previous calls to conduct more research on this topic (Greenleaf et al., 2016; Russell, 1996).

Another promising future direction would involve the inclusion of other groups. Approaches to addressing this type of future direction can be two-fold. First, Study 1 showed that, among those with visible identities, perceived stigma was still associated with greater internalized stigma and lower political interest and engagement aimed at helping their group. Although these effects were not as strong as they were for those with concealable stigmatized identities, the existence of such effects still shows promise for increasing our understanding of the relationships between stigma, internalized stigma, and political engagement. Therefore, future research should be conducted to further assess to what extent similar effects exist for members of other visible identity groups, including various racial/ethnic minority groups, immigrants, religious minorities, and others. Such studies would be valuable for assessing the ubiquity of this effect of internalized stigma decreasing political engagement.

The second approach to including other groups is inclusion of other groups with concealable stigmatized identities. There are many groups in society that have concealable identities, allowing for seemingly endless opportunity to continue to apply and develop this model with these groups. I believe it is important to focus on this groups for two reasons. First, this would allow the proposed mechanisms and variable relationships that would be theoretically dependent on concealability to be further elaborated. Second, since I demonstrated that members of at least two of these concealable identity groups, sexual minorities and poor/working-class people, had higher levels of internalized stigma associated with perceiving stigma in society, it is important to further research these groups in order to better understand and possibly reverse

these damaging effects for social change efforts. In addition to continuing to study these two groups, furthering the understanding of the model by using the groups for whom the model was most applied, I would be especially interested in applying this model to people with the concealable stigmatized identities of being HIV positive, having a mental illness, and/or being addicted to drugs or alcohol. I believe applying this model to these groups would be interesting and valuable for several reasons. First, all of these identity groups currently have pressing issues, most of which have life/death consequences, that require immediate, large policy overhauls that can only be achieved through increased levels of activism, engagement, and political interest. Second, since all of these statuses are concealable, it is likely that societal stigma is disengaging these individuals by increasing internalized stigma. Third, issues related to these groups are all major priorities of various institutes of the government, meaning there could be ample opportunities for governmental funding of projects that could make a real difference for these groups. Additionally, these groups all vary in the previously discussed dimension of perceived changeability, allowing the opportunity for important theoretical contributions to the model that incorporate this identity dimension. As an interesting example, HIV is unique in this regard because, although the status currently cannot be changed (i.e., there is not a cure), it is very much thought to be a status that results from personal choices around safe sex, drug use, and other behaviors. Of course, this leaves out the fact that some people do contract HIV because of circumstances outside of their control, such as through a sexual partner lying about their status or non-consensual, non-monogamous behavior. This means that perceptions of HIV and the related stigma is an interesting test-case for the effect of changeability and may prove significant, as an area for future research. Finally, in line with the previously discussed limitation about the lack of an intersectional approach in this dissertation, studying these groups concurrently would

provide the opportunity to generate many theoretically consequential hypotheses based on intersectional positionalities of these groups.

In terms of including intersectional methods and theoretical lenses, these specific identities offer a great opportunity for expanding our understanding of how stigma affects all of these groups. There are numerous ways that future research could incorporate these identities. For instance, it would be useful to conduct an analysis of the effect of homonegative stigma, as it relates to political activism related to addiction among sexual minorities in recovery. Many addiction recovery frameworks, such as 12-step programs, rely on a method that calls upon participants to submit to a higher power (Alcoholics Anonymous, 2013; Tonigan, 2007). As discussed previously, sexual minorities often perceived a lot of homonegative stigma coming from religious people and institutions. Therefore, it is possible that sexual minorities with high internalized stigma might be more likely to disengage from addiction-related advocacy, increasing the likelihood that they will have poorer outcomes and potentially have a greater risk of internalizing negative attitudes about addicts because of lower levels of connection with that community. Another study that would also involve sexual minorities could examine the effect of internalized homonegative stigma as it relates to internalized HIV-related stigma. It could be that these two might be strongly related among sexual minorities who have HIV, potentially causing disengagement from both sets of issues and causes. Finally, internalized stigma related to having a mental illness might be heightened among those from poor/working class backgrounds, since access to education may influence conceptualizations of the changeability of this status. All of these study proposals would be intersectional because they detail specific hypotheses about the effects of having multiple statuses that also take account of situational contexts and power differences between the various groups.

Another important future direction for this research topic and for furthering this model involves a continued focus on how perceptions of changeability can affect the variable relationships. As discussed before, while differences found between the two groups in these studies might be a result of differences in the changeability of the identity, this was never explicitly tested. The best way to test the effect of such perceptions would be to include measures of essentialism for the various identities in future studies. The model could be expanded to include perceptions of changeability as a meditator of the relationship between perceived stigma and internalized stigma. Additional models that assess the effect of perceptions of changeability on other links in the model could also be tested. For instance, in Study 3 I speculated that the mediation effect was not found for the working-class target because of the difference in perceptions of changeability. In future research, this type of perception could be directly assessed. It would be logical to expect that stigma may be especially high among those who think social class is changeable, suggesting that a single (vignette-style) interaction with a member of the group may be unlikely to move them. In general, I expect that perceptions of changeability will be an important factor to consider whether investigating the effects for groups with visible identities or groups with concealable identities.

Finally, I think that it will be important for future research in this domain to continue to prioritize investigating the effect of concealability. This dissertation showed that the effect of internalized stigma on political outcomes is likely intensified for those with concealable stigmas. However, there is still much to be researched in this regard. For instance, although Study 1 demonstrated that there were differences in these effects for those with visible identities, compared to those with concealable identities, the actual mechanism underlying these differences was not examined. Future research could provide a useful contribution to this topic within

psychology by testing some of the proposed mechanisms. For instance, one of the proposed mechanisms suggested that many people with visible identities, including people of color, receive counter-narratives about the worthiness of their group (Wang & Huguley, 2012; White-Johnson et al., 2010), which are theorized to have the effect of buffering against later experiences of stigma. A future study could compare Black participants to a group with a concealable identity, in terms of exposure to positive messages about their social identity groups while growing up. This measure could then be used as a mediator, showing that the difference between the rates of internalization for these groups can be explained by these types of buffering experiences. Another potential explanation concerns the differences in experiences of enacted stigma between these groups. It is likely that people with relative social privilege actively moderate their stigmatizing statements while in the presence of people who are known members of marginalized groups, either because of the group member's disclosure or because they have a visible identity. Therefore, individuals with concealable identities who are not out may experience different kinds of explicit prejudice compared to those with visible identities, simply because their status is not readily known without disclosure. Evidence of the negative relationship between outness and internalized stigma, along with its accompanying threats to well-being among sexual minorities (Corrigan et al., 2013; Solomon et al., 2015) provides support for both of these hypothesized mechanisms. Future research could further elaborate and contrast these mechanisms, potentially showing that there are complementary and simultaneous reasons for the increased rates of internalization.

Conclusion

This dissertation centered the experiences of two groups—sexual minorities and poor/working-class people—that have been largely overlooked in the psychological literature,

especially in the domains of political psychology, occupational psychology, and personality/social psychology. The theoretical model proposed here was largely supported by the results of the three studies of the dissertation, indicating several promising areas for future inquiry. Findings from this dissertation provide a detailed account of some of the ways that stigma can be a tool to maintain social inequalities. Internalized stigma has this oppressive effect on multiple fronts. First, it was found to be associated with decreased levels of political interest and engagement aimed at helping the members of one's own marginalized group. This effect was found to be multi-faceted and far reaching—associated with decreased political issue importance, political engagement, and group-based work/life values and aspirations in the first two studies. Observations of internalized stigma affected people of relative social privilege, in terms of their stigmatizing attitudes, interest in political issues, and expected future engagement aimed at helping the marginalized group. Taken together, these results support the general theoretical model employed in this dissertation. In the future, scholarship and scholars must continue to assess the negative effects of stigma and internalized stigma as a *significant* barrier to social change.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Study 1 Measures

The current appendix (Appendix A) contains all measures used in the first study of the dissertation. All measures are listed in the order that they appeared in the study to participants.

Perceived Stigma

Prompt(s)

Prompts were given for each type of identity. Race: “Many people belong to more than one racial group. Please answer the following questions for one racial group of which you belong.” Gender, class, sexual orientation: “Now, please think about your ____ identity.”

Items

The following items were used to measure perceived stigma (one set for each identity):

1. Overall, my ____ group is considered good by others. *
2. Most people consider ____ orientation group, on the average, to be more ineffective than other groups.
3. In general, others respect my _____ group. *
4. In general, others think that my ____ group is unworthy.

Response Options

The following were used as response options for each item in the scale: 1) “Strongly disagree,” 2) “Disagree,” 3) “Somewhat disagree,” 4) “Neither agree nor disagree,” 5) “Somewhat agree,” 6) “Agree,” 7) “Strongly agree.”

Notes

All spaces ("_____") were filled with "racial", "gender", "class" and "sexual orientation" for each subscale in the survey. Items with an asterisk (*) indicate items that were reverse scored (higher values indicate lower perceived stigma). Scale adapted from existing measure of identity public regard (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992).

Internalized Stigma

Prompt(s)

Race: "Many people belong to more than one racial group. Please answer the following questions for one racial group of which you belong." Gender, class, sexual orientation: "Now, please think about your ____ identity."

Items

The following items were used to measure internalized stigma (one set for each identity):

1. I often regret that I belong to my ____ group.
2. In general, I am glad to be a member of my ____ group. *
3. Overall, I feel that my _______ group is not worthwhile.

I feel good about the ______ I belong to. *

Response Options

The following were used as response options for each item in the scale: 1) "Strongly disagree," 2) "Disagree," 3) "Somewhat disagree," 4) "Neither agree nor disagree," 5) "Somewhat agree," 6) "Agree," 7) "Strongly agree."

Notes

All spaces ("_____") were filled with "racial", "gender", "class" and "sexual orientation" for each subscale in the survey. Items with an asterisk (*) indicate items that were reverse scored

(higher values indicate lower internalized stigma). Scale adapted from existing measure of identity private regard (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992).

Political Issue Importance

Prompt

The following was used as a general prompt before the list of items and response options: "How important are each of these issues to you, generally?"

Items

The following items were used to measure issue importance:

Abortion[***]

National debt

Environment and climate change

Lesbian & Gay Rights[*]

Gun control

Health care

Immigration

Income Inequality

Unemployment[**]

Disability Rights

Economic growth[**]

Military strength

Racism[****]

Social security

Taxes[**]

Women's Rights[***]

Crime

Foreign policy

Education

Terrorism and homeland security

Criminal justice reform[****]

Religious Freedom

Transgender Right[*]

Gun Rights

Response Options

The following were used as response options for each item: 1) “Not at all,” 2) “A little,” 3) “A moderate amount,” 4) “A lot,” 5) “Very.”

Notes

The following symbols indicate which items were aggregated to make the corresponding scales:

* LGBTQ Issues ** Class Issues ***Gender Issues ****Race Issues

Political Engagement/Activism

Prompt

The following prompt was used prior to displaying the items and response options: “Please indicate how you have been involved in **promoting** any of the following causes over the past year by checking all boxes that are applicable.”

Items

The following items were used to measure political engagement:

Civil Rights****	Transgender Rights*	Gun Rights/2nd Amendment
Disability Rights	Racial Justice****	Border Security
Environmental Issues	Religious Freedom	Health Care
Pro-Choice***	Income Inequality**	National Security
Pro-Life	LGBT Rights*	Family Values
Women's Rights***	Prison Reform****	Gun Control
Workers’ Rights**	Criminal J. Reform****	

Immigrant Rights | Other Cause (Please Specify)

Response Options

The following were used as response options for each item (all applicable options could be selected): 1) “None” 2) “Posted online promoting this cause (i.e. social media)” 3) “Signed a petition (online)” 4) “Signed a petition (in person)” 5) “Gave money” 6) “Wrote a letter or called a public official” 7) “Attended a meeting” 8) “Was an active member of an organization” 9) “Attended a rally or demonstration.” Responses to response options coded for presence/absence coding (0 or 1).

Notes

The following symbols indicate which items were aggregated (responses for items summed, then means taken for scales) to make the corresponding scales:

[*] LGBTQ Issues [**] Class Issues [***]Gender Issues [****]Race Issues

Social Dominance Orientation (anti-equalitarianism)

Prompt

The following prompt was used prior to displaying the items and response options: “Show how much you favor or oppose each idea below by selecting a number from 1 to 7 on the scale below. You can work quickly; your first feeling is generally best.”

Items

The following items were used to measure social dominance orientation:

1. Group equality should not be our primary goal.
2. It is unjust to try to make groups equal.
3. We should do what we can to equalize conditions for different groups. *
4. We should work to give all groups an equal chance to succeed. *

Response Options

The following were used as response options for each item: 1) “Strongly oppose,” 2) “Somewhat oppose,” 3) “Slightly oppose,” 4) “Neutral,” 5) “Slightly favor,” 6) “Somewhat favor,” 7) “Strongly favor.”

Notes

Items with an asterisk (*) indicate items that were reverse scored (higher values indicate lower internalized stigma). Scale is a existing measure of social dominance orientation (Ho *et al.,* 2015).

Appendix B: Study 2 Measures

The current appendix (Appendix B) contains all measures used in the second study of the dissertation. All measures are listed in the order that they appeared in the study to participants. If measures were only shown to certain participants, this is noted in parentheses after the name of the measure.

Internalized Stigma-Private Regard

Prompt

The following prompt was used prior to displaying the items and response options: "For each of the following questions, please mark the response that best indicates your current feelings toward your ___ group:"

Items

The following items were used to measure internalized stigma (one set for each identity):

1. I often regret that I belong to my ____ group.
2. In general, I am glad to be a member of my ____ group. *
3. Overall, I feel that my _______ group is not worthwhile.
4. I feel good about the ______ I belong to. *

Response Options

The following were used as response options for each item in the scale: 1) "Strongly disagree," 2) "Disagree," 3) "Somewhat disagree," 4) "Neither agree nor disagree," 5) "Somewhat agree," 6) "Agree," 7) "Strongly agree."

Notes

All spaces ("_____") were filled with "class" or "sexual orientation" for each subscale in the survey, depending on the identities of the participants. Items with an asterisk (*) indicate items that were reverse scored (higher values indicate lower internalized stigma). Scale adapted from existing measure of identity private regard (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992).

Perceived Stigma-Public Regard

Prompt

The following prompt was used prior to displaying the items and response options: "For each of the following questions, please mark the response that best indicates your current feelings toward your ___ group:"

Items

The following items were used to measure internalized stigma:

1. Overall, my ____ group is considered good by others.*
2. Most people consider ____ orientation group, on the average, to be more ineffective than other groups.
3. In general, others respect my _____ group.*
4. In general, others think that my ____ group is unworthy.

Response Options

The following were used as response options for each item in the scale: 1) "Strongly disagree," 2) "Disagree," 3) "Somewhat disagree," 4) "Neither agree nor disagree," 5) "Somewhat agree," 6) "Agree," 7) "Strongly agree."

Notes

All spaces ("_____") were filled with "class" or "sexual orientation" for each subscale in the survey, depending on the identities of the participants. Items with an asterisk (*) indicate

items that were reverse scored (higher values indicate lower perceived stigma). Scale adapted from existing measure of identity public regard (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992).

Internalized Stigma, Adapted Internalized Homonegativity

Prompt

The following prompt was used prior to displaying the items and response options: "For each of the following questions, please mark the response that best indicates your current feelings toward your ___ group:"

Items

The following items were used to measure internalized stigma:

1. If it were possible, I would choose to be _____ (straight/middle class).
2. I wish I were ___ (straight/middle class).
3. I believe it is unfair I am ___ (attracted to people of the same sex/from a lower class).

Response Options

The following were used as response options for each item in the scale: 1) "Strongly disagree," 2) "Disagree," 3) "Somewhat disagree," 4) "Neither agree nor disagree," 5) "Somewhat agree," 6) "Agree," 7) "Strongly agree."

Notes

All spaces ("_____") were filled with the appropriate response for class or sexual orientation for each subscale in the survey, depending on the identities of the participants. Scale adapted from existing measure of internalized homonegativity (Mohr & Kendra, 2011).

Deservingness

Prompt

The following prompt was used prior to displaying the items and response options: "Please indicate the extent that you agree or disagree with the following statements. There are no right or wrong answers."

Items

The following items were used to measure deservingness:

1. ___ deserve equal treatment under the law.
2. ___ deserve the same rights and privileges as straight people.
3. ___ currently have the status they deserve in society.
4. ___ do not deserve respect.

Response Options

The following were used as response options for each item in the scale: 1) "Strongly disagree," 2) "Disagree," 3) "Somewhat disagree," 4) "Neither agree nor disagree," 5) "Somewhat agree," 6) "Agree," 7) "Strongly agree."

Notes

All spaces ("_____") were filled with the appropriate response for class or sexual orientation for each subscale in the survey, depending on the identities of the participants. Scale created based on conceptualizations of deservingness from relative deprivation theory literature (Crosby, 1982).

Internalized Stigma, Classism Attitudinal Profile (CAP)-Adapted (Lower Class)

Prompt

The following prompt was used prior to displaying the items and response options: "Please rate your agreement with the following statements concerning members of *your* social class group:"

Items

The following items were used to measure internalized stigma:

1. People from my social class let their kids run around without supervision.
2. People from my social class lack proper communication skills.
3. Generally, people from my social class have problems with drugs or alcohol.
4. People from my social class are more violent than other groups of people.
5. People from my social class try to abuse the system.
6. People from my social class are less refined compared to most other groups.

Response Options

The following were used as response options for each item in the scale: 1) "Strongly disagree," 2) "Disagree," 3) "Somewhat disagree," 4) "Neither agree nor disagree," 5) "Somewhat agree," 6) "Agree," 7) "Strongly agree."

Notes

Scale adapted from an existing measure of classism, the Classism Attitudinal Profile (CAP) (Colbow *et al.,* 2016). Items only displayed to those who identified at poor/working class.

Internalized Stigma, Attributions for Poverty-Adapted (Lower Class)

Prompt

The following prompt was used prior to displaying the items and response options: "To what extent do you agree with the following statements to explain the reasons for *your* social class group's status in society?"

Items

The following items were used to measure internalized stigma:

1. Negative attitudes and an anti-work mentality.
2. An unwillingness to work at the competitive level that is necessary to make it in the world.
3. A lack of motivation that results from being on public assistance.
4. Loose morals.
5. Lack of drive and perseverance.
6. Lack of motivation and laziness.
7. Being too picky and refusing to take low paying, difficult jobs.
8. Lack of intelligence.
9. Lack of effort to improve themselves.
10. A vicious cycle that perpetuates poor work habits, welfare dependency, laziness and low self-esteem.
11. Alcohol and drug abuse.
12. Not having positive role models to teach children about drive and ambition.
13. The inability to save, spend and manage money wisely.
14. Lack of ability and talent.
15. Being born with a low IQ.
16. The break-up of families (e.g., the increased divorce rate).
17. Not receiving a high school diploma.

Response Options

The following were used as response options for each item in the scale: 1) “Strongly disagree,” 2) “Disagree,” 3) “Somewhat disagree,” 4) “Neither agree nor disagree,” 5) “Somewhat agree,” 6) “Agree,” 7) “Strongly agree.”

Notes

Scale adapted from an existing measure of classism, the Attributions for Poverty Scale (Individualistic) (Bullock, Williams & Limbert, 2003). Items only displayed to those who identified at poor/working class.

Internalized Stigma, Modern Homonegativity (Sexual Minority)

Prompt

The following prompt was used prior to displaying the items and response options: “To what extent do you agree with the following statements? Remember, there is no right or wrong answer.“

Items

The following items were used to measure internalized stigma:

1. Many sexual minorities use their sexual orientation so that they can obtain special privileges.
2. Sexual minorities seem to focus on the ways in which they differ from heterosexuals, and ignore the ways in which they are the same.
3. Sexual minorities do not have all the rights they need. *
4. The notion of universities providing students with undergraduate degrees in Gay and Lesbians Studies is ridiculous.
5. Celebrations such as “LGBT Pride Day” are ridiculous because they assume that an individual’s sexual orientation should constitute a source of pride.
6. Sexual minorities still need to protest for equal rights. *
7. Sexual minorities should stop shoving their lifestyle down other people’s throats.
8. If sexual minorities want to be treated like everyone else, then they need to stop making such a fuss about their sexuality/culture.
9. Sexual minorities who are “out of the closet” should be admired for their courage. *
10. Sexual minorities should stop complaining about the way they are treated in society, and simply get on with their lives.
11. In today’s tough economic times, American tax dollars shouldn’t be used to support sexual minority organizations.
12. Sexual minorities have become far too confrontational in their demand for equal rights.

Response Options

The following were used as response options for each item in the scale: 1) “Strongly disagree,” 2) “Disagree,” 3) “Neither agree nor disagree,” 4) “Agree,” 5) “Strongly agree.”

Notes

Items with an asterisk (*) indicate items that were reverse scored (higher values indicate lower internalized). Scale adapted from an existing measure of homonegativity, the Modern Homonegativity Scale (Morrison & Morrison, 2003). Measure only shown to those who identified as sexual minorities.

System Justification

Prompt

The following prompt was used prior to displaying the items and response options: "Please answer the following 8 questions by selecting the most appropriate response for you."

Items

The following items were used to measure system justification:

1. In general, you find society to be fair.
2. In general, the American political system operates as it should.
3. American society needs to be radically restructured. *
4. The United States is the best country in the world to live in.
5. Most policies serve the greater good.
6. Everyone has a fair shot at wealth and happiness.
7. Our society is getting worse every year. *
8. Society is set up so that people usually get what they deserve.

Response Options

The following were used as response options for each item in the scale: 1) "Strongly disagree," 2) "Disagree," 3) "Somewhat disagree," 4) "Neither agree nor disagree," 5) "Somewhat agree," 6) "Agree," 7) "Strongly agree."

Notes

Items with an asterisk (*) indicate items that were reverse scored (higher values indicate lower internalized stigma). Scale is a existing measure of social dominance orientation (Kay & Jost, 2003).

Contingencies of Self-Worth

Prompt

The following prompt was used prior to displaying the items and response options: "For each of the following questions, please mark the response that best indicates your current feelings about yourself. There are not right or wrong answers."

Items

The following items were used to contingencies of self-worth:

1. When I think I look attractive, I feel good about myself.
2. My self-worth is based on God's love.
3. I feel worthwhile when I perform better than others on a task or skill.
4. My self-esteem is unrelated to how I feel about the way my body looks.
5. Doing something I know is wrong makes me lose my self-respect.
6. I don't care if other people have a negative opinion about me.
7. Knowing that my family members love me makes me feel good about myself.
8. I feel worthwhile when I have God's love.
9. I can't respect myself if others don't respect me.
10. My self-worth is not influenced by the quality of my relationships with my family members.
11. Whenever I follow my moral principles, my sense of self-respect gets a boost.
12. Knowing that I am better than others on a task raises my self-esteem.
13. My opinion about myself isn't tied to how well I do in school.
14. I couldn't respect myself if I didn't live up to a moral code.
15. I don't care what other people think of me.
16. When my family members are proud of me, my sense of self-worth increases.
17. My self-esteem is influenced by how attractive I think my face or facial features are.
18. My self-esteem would suffer if I didn't have God's love.
19. Doing well in school gives me a sense of self-respect.
20. Doing better than others gives me a sense of self-respect.
21. My sense of self-worth suffers whenever I think I don't look good.
22. I feel better about myself when I know I'm doing well academically.

23. What others think of me has no effect on what I think about myself.
24. When I don't feel loved by my family, my self-esteem goes down.
25. My self-worth is affected by how well I do when I am competing with others.
26. My self-esteem goes up when I feel that God loves me.
27. My self-esteem is influenced by my academic performance.
28. My self-esteem would suffer if I did something unethical.
29. It is important to my self-respect that I have a family that cares about me.
30. My self-esteem does not depend on whether or not I feel attractive.
31. When I think that I'm disobeying God, I feel bad about myself.
32. My self-worth is influenced by how well I do on competitive tasks.
33. I feel bad about myself whenever my academic performance is lacking.
34. My self-esteem depends on whether or not I follow my moral/ethical principles.
35. My self-esteem depends on the opinions others hold of me.

Response Options

The following were used as response options for each item in the scale: 1) "Strongly disagree," 2) "Disagree," 3) "Somewhat disagree," 4) "Neither agree nor disagree," 5) "Somewhat agree," 6) "Agree," 7) "Strongly agree," 8) "N/A."

Notes

Items with an asterisk (*) indicate items that were reverse scored (higher values indicate lower internalized stigma). The scale was scored using the following items for the following scales: family support: items 7, 10*, 16, 24, and 29, competition: items 3, 12, 20, 25, and 32, appearance: items 1, 4*, 17, 21, and 30*, God's love: items 2, 8, 18, 26, and 31, academic competence: items 13*, 19, 22, 27, and 33, virtue: items 5, 11, 14, 28, and 34, approval from others: items: 6*, 9, 15*, 23*, and 35.

Educational Occupational Values

Prompt

The following prompt was used prior to displaying the items and response options: "Different people look for different things in their work. Please indicate how important each aspect is for you."

Items

The following items were used to measure contingencies of self-worth:

1. A job where you have more than 2 weeks' vacation
2. A job that leaves a lot of time for other things in your life.
3. A job with an easy pace that lets you work slowly
4. A job that leaves you mostly free of supervision by others
5. A job that is interesting to do
6. A job where you can learn new things, learn new skills
7. A job where the skills you learn will not go out of date
8. A job where you can see the results of what you do
9. A job that uses your skills and abilities—lets you do the things you can do best
10. A job where you do not have to pretend to be a type of person that you are not
11. A job where you have the chance to be creative
12. A job that gives you an opportunity to be directly helpful to others
13. A job that is worthwhile to society
14. A job that gives you a chance to make friends
15. A job that permits contact with a lot of people
16. A job that has high status and prestige
17. A job that most people look up to and respect
18. A job that provides you with a chance to earn a good deal of money
19. A job where the chances for advancement and promotion are good
20. A job that gives you an opportunity to be directly helpful to ___ people
21. A job that is worthwhile to the ___ community

Response Options

The following were used as response options for each item in the scale: 1) "Not at all important," 2) "Unimportant," 3) "Slightly unimportant," 4) "Neither important nor unimportant," 5) "Slightly important," 6) "Important," 7) "Extremely important."

Notes

Items were randomly presented to participants. Items were used/adapted from a study (Twenge et al., 2010), which used data from Monitoring the Future (Johnston, Bachman, & O'Malley, 2006). All spaces ("___") were filled with either "class" or "sexual orientation", depending on the identities of the participants. The scale was scored using the following items for the following scales: Leisure rewards: items 1-4, intrinsic rewards: items 5-11, altruistic rewards: items 12 and 13, social rewards: items 14 and 15, extrinsic rewards: items 16-19, and adapted community rewards: items 20 and 21

Aspiration Index

Prompt

The following prompt was used prior to displaying the items and response options: "This set of questions asks you about goals you may have for the future. Rate each item by circling how important each goal is to you. Try to use the entire scale when rating the items. That is, some of your answers will likely be at the lower end of the scale, some will be in the middle, and others will be at the higher end of the scale."

Items

The following items were used to measure life aspirations:

1. There will always be someone around to take care of me.
2. I will be efficient.
3. My image will be one other's find appealing.
4. I will find personal answers to universal spiritual questions (such as: Is there a supreme spiritual being? Is there life after death? What is the meaning of life?)
5. I will be in control of my emotions.
6. I will assist people who need it, asking nothing in return.
7. I will choose what I do, instead of being pushed along by life.
8. People will show affection to me, and I will to them.
9. I will feel energetic and full of life.
10. I will have few threats to my personal safety.

11. My life will be full of wine, lovers and song.
12. I will have many expensive possessions.
13. I will achieve the "look" I've been after.
14. I will be admired by many people.
15. I will be polite and obedient
16. I will have a great sex life.
17. I will have developed a code of ethics and/or morals to guide my life.
18. My basic needs for food, shelter and clothing will be met.
19. I will feel that there are people who really love me.
20. I will feel free.
21. The things I do will make other people's lives better.
22. My name will be known by many different people.
23. I will be in good physical shape.
24. Someone in my life will accept me as I am, no matter what.
25. I will follow my interests and curiosity where they take me.
26. I will find satisfying religious and/or spiritual activities.
27. I will live up to the expectations of my society.
28. I will deal effectively with problems in my life.
29. I will feel safe and secure.
30. People will often comment about how attractive I look.
31. I will feel good about my level of physical fitness.
32. I will be financially successful.
33. I will have a lot of excitement in my life.
34. I will not have to worry about bad things happening to me.
35. I will produce something of lasting worth.
36. I will find religious or spiritual beliefs that help me make sense of the world.
37. Most everyone who knows me will like me.
38. I will feel good about my abilities.
39. I will successfully hide the signs of aging.
40. I will be relatively free from sickness.
41. My desires and tastes will be similar to those of other people.
42. I will have enough money to buy everything I want.
43. I will express my love for special people.
44. I will find religious and/or spiritual beliefs that are growth-producing.
45. I will overcome the challenges that life presents me.
46. I will have insight into why I do the things I do.
47. I will help the world become a better place.
48. I will experience a great deal of sensual pleasure.
49. My life and actions will be in agreement with my religious/spiritual beliefs.
50. I will have a committed, intimate relationship.
51. I will have a job that pays well.
52. I will "fit in" with others.
53. I will be physically healthy.
54. I will have plenty of time to be lazy.
55. I will keep up with fashions in clothing and hair.
56. My surroundings will be stable and relatively unchanging.

57. People will really respect me.
58. I will assist _____ people who need it, asking nothing in return.
59. The things I do will make other _____ people's lives better.
60. I will help the world become a better place for ____ people

Response Options

The following were used as response options for each item in the scale: 1) “Not at all important,” 2) “Unimportant,” 3) “Slightly unimportant,” 4) “Neither important nor unimportant,” 5) “Slightly important,” 6) “Important,” 7) “Extremely important.

Notes

All spaces (“_____”) were filled with the appropriate response for class or sexual orientation for each subscale in the survey, depending on the identities of the participants. Items came from and existing scale (Grouzet *et al.,* 2005). Items were scored into subscales, using the following items: money: items 12, 32, 42, and 51; image = 3, 13, 30, 39, and 55; popularity = 14, 22, and 37; conformity = 15, 27, 41, and 52; self-acceptance = 2, 7, 20, 28, 38, 45, and 46; affiliation = 8, 19, 24, 43, and 50; community = 6, 21, and 47; health = 23, 31, 40, and 53; spirituality = 4, 26, 36, 44, 49; hedonism = 16, 33, and 48; safety = 10, 18, 29, and 34; ___ Community = 58, 59, and 60.

Appendix C: Two-Factor Results for Class in Study 2

As noted in the main text body for Study 2, the scree plot indicated that a two-factor solution was best for internalized class stigma. However, I decided to utilize the combined scale, for the sake of simplicity and comparison with the results for sexual orientation. This appendix explains the factor structure, the results of the analyses when the scale is separated into two sub-scales, and offers a brief discussion of the implications.

Description of Factors

The first factor, which I called *Stigmatizing Stereotypes Endorsement*, included various stigmatizing characteristics that describe poor/working class people as individually deviant, lazy, and the cause of their own lower social standing. Additionally, this factor included traits that describe poor/working class people as lacking the necessary social skills to navigate middle class society. All the items that comprised this factor came from either the *Attributions for Poverty Measure* (Bullock, Williams & Limbert, 2003), or the *Classism Attitudinal Profile* (Colbow *et al.*, 2016), with the example items: "People from my social class lack proper communication skills" and citing "a lack of intelligence" as the reason for their class standing. This factor was used to create a 19-item scale that was used as one of the measures of internalized classism in all further analyses. Any class-based analyses that did not use this factor as a predictor included it as a control variable. The factor accounted for 43.10% of the variance across all of the times and the scale yielded excellent internal consistency (alpha = .95).

I called the second factor *Internalized Prejudice* because it included 6 items that are associated with participants' general feelings about their class group, rather than specific stereotypes. All of these items came from the reverse-scored *Private Regard* (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992) and the adapted *Internalized Homonegativity* (Mohr & Kendra, 2011) scales. An

example item was “I wish I were a higher class.” The factor accounted for 11.60% of the variance and the resulting scale yielded good internal consistency (alpha = .80). This factor was used to create a scale that was used as one of the measures of internalized classism in all further analyses. Any class-based analyses that did not use this factor as a predictor included it as a control variable. The factor loadings for both factors can be viewed in Table 3.2.

Results Using Two-factor Solution for Internalized Classism

To test the hypotheses using the two-factor solution, I ran analyses parallel to those described in the study. Each set of analyses used one of the two factors as the main predictor while controlling for the other factor. For instance, all analyses that used the stereotype endorsement scale as the main predictor controlled for internalized prejudice.

Analyses for testing the first hypothesis. The first mediation model for class used the internalized stigmatizing stereotypes endorsement scale as the main predictor variable. The total effects model indicated that there was a significant effect of the internalized stereotypes scale on values and aspirations, such that higher internalization predicted less emphasis on group-based life aspirations and educational/occupational values aimed at improving social conditions for one’s group, even while controlling for perceived stigma, sexual orientation, and internalized prejudice, $\beta = -.31$, $t(162) = -2.97$, $p < .01$. The overall model accounted for a significant proportion of the variance in these values and aspirations though, $R^2 = .12$, $F(5, 156) = 4.18$, $p > .01$.

The second mediation analysis used the internalized prejudice scale as the main predictor variable. The total effects model for this variable did not produce an effect of this type of internalized stigma on group-based values and aspirations, $\beta = -.03$, $t(162) = -.21$, $p > .05$. This

means that internalized prejudice did not predict poor/working class individual's perceived level of importance for group-based values and aspirations aimed at improving conditions for their group in society, when controlling for perceived stigma, sexual orientation, and the other internalized stigma scale. The overall model still accounted for a significant proportion of the variance in these values and aspirations though, $R^2 = .12$, $F(5, 156) = 4.18$, $p > .01$, which was not surprising since the total effects regression analyses for both internalized classism sub-scales included the same control variables and each other, making them equivalent.

Analyses for testing the second hypothesis. In the first mediation analysis, internalized stigmatizing stereotypes endorsement was entered as the main predictor, with class-based deservingness entered as the mediator and class-focused values and aspirations entered as the dependent variable. Perceived stigma, sexual orientation, system justification, and the internalized prejudice scale were entered as control variables. The significant indirect effect, β = -.08, 1,000 bootstrapped 95% confidence intervals: [-.17, -.03], indicated that deservingness did mediate the relationship between internalized stigma (stereotype endorsement) and aspirations and values focused on improving conditions for poor/working class people in society. Probing the paths indicated that internalized stigma (stereotype endorsement) was associated with decreased identity-based deservingness, $\beta = -.13$, $t(162) = -2.80$, $p < .01$, which predicted decreased perceived importance of these group-focused aspirations and values, as a result of the positive relationship between deservingness and these, $\beta = .62$, $t(162) = 3.65$, $p < .001$. Despite the indirect effect being significant, the direct effect was still significant, $\beta = -.23$, $t(162) = -2.21$, $p < .05$, indicating that a significant proportion of the total relationship between internalized stereotype endorsement and these values and aspirations, $\beta = -.31$, $t(162) = -2.97$, $p < .01$, was not accounted for by deservingness, reflecting partial mediation. The model that included the

mediator, as well as the control variables, accounted for a significant proportion of the variance in these group-based values and aspirations for poor/working class people, $R^2 = .19$, $F(6, 155) = 5.99$, $p > .001$. See *Figure 0.1* for a visual representation of the model.

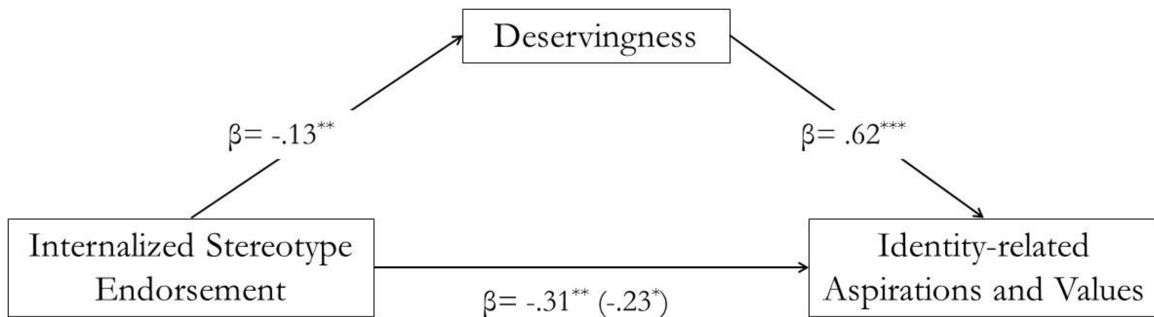

Figure 0.1: Mediation of the Effect of Internalized Stigma (Stereotype Endorsement) on Identity-related Aspirations and Values by Deservingness.

Notes: Indirect Effect = -.08, 95% Confidence Interval (1,000 bootstrapped samples): [-.17,-.03]. n = 162. $R^2 = .19$, $F(6, 155) = 5.99$, $p < .001$. Analysis controls for sexual orientation, perceived class stigma, the stigmatizing regard endorsement sub-scale for internalized class stigma, and system justification. ^{t} $p < .1$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

A second mediation model was tested, which included the internalized prejudice scale as the main predictor and left the stereotype endorsement scale in the model as a control variable. Everything else was identical to the previous model. Results indicated that there was not a similar indirect effect through deservingness, $\beta = .04$, 1,000 bootstrapped 95% confidence intervals: [-.04, .21], indicating that deservingness did not mediate the relationship between internalized prejudice and group-serving values and aspirations for poor/working class

individuals. Curiously, when examining the main path effects, there was a similar positive relationship between deservingness and group-related values and aspirations, $\beta = .62$, $t(162) = 3.65$, $p < .001$, but no relationship between internalized prejudice and deservingness, $\beta = .06$, $t(162) = 1.03$, $p > .05$. This means that individuals with stronger feelings of class-based deservingness were more likely to view class-related values and aspirations as important, as was found in the previous analysis. However, internalized prejudice was not related to class-based deservingness. This suggests that this factor may be substantially different from the stigmatizing stereotypes scale, in terms of its ability to predict socio-political variables. This will be explored further in the discussion section. The overall model accounted for s significant proportion of the variance in group-related values and aspirations, mostly as a result of the stereotype endorsement scale still being included as a control variable, $R^2 = .19$, $F(6, 155) = 5.99$, $p > .001$. See *Figure 0.2* for a graphical representation of this analysis.

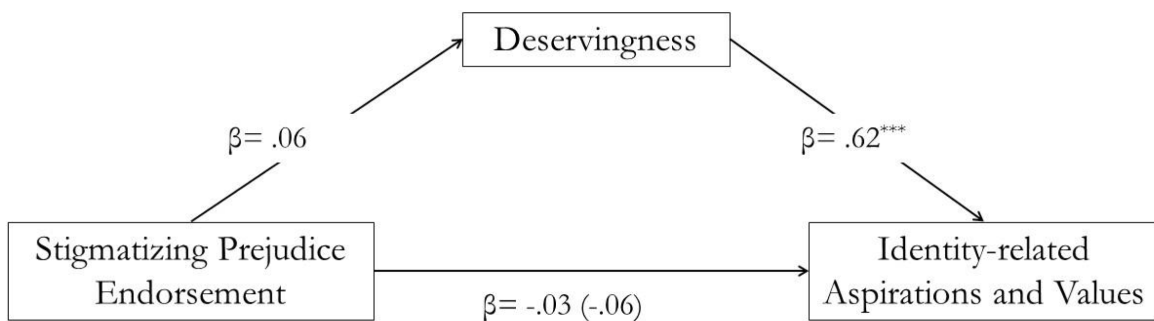

Figure 0.2. Mediation of the Effect of Internalized Stigma (Prejudice Endorsement) on Identity-related Aspirations and Values by Deservingness.

Notes: Indirect Effect = .04, 95% Confidence Interval (1,000 bootstrapped samples): [-.04,.21]. n = 162. R^2 = .19, F(6, 155) = 5.99, $p < .001$. Analysis controls for sexual orientation, perceived class stigma, the stigmatizing stereotypes endorsement sub-scale of internalized class stigma, and system justification. ^{t} $p < .1$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Analyses for testing the supplemental hypotheses. Similar to the primary hypotheses, I ran analyses for the separate scales for classism that tested the supplemental hypotheses. These results can be compared to the results when using the combined scale and the results for internalized homonegativity in *Table 0.1*.

Extrinsic educational/occupational values. The resulting coefficients from the regression equation that included the disparate internalized stigma scales as predictors indicated that both types of internalized class stigma positively predicted extrinsic educational/occupational values, $\beta_{Stereotyping} = .21$, $t(162) = 2.67$, $p < .01$; $\beta_{Prejudice} = .34$, $t(162) = 3.80$, $p < .001$. That is, participants who had higher levels of both types of internalized stigma rated extrinsic educational/occupational values as more important than those who had lower levels of internalized stigma. The overall model accounted for a significant proportion of the variance in extrinsic educational/occupational values, $R^2 = .14$, $F(4, 157) = 7.49$, $p > .001$.

Extrinsic life aspirations. The internalized prejudice scale predicted this set of dependent variables, Pillai's Trace = .21, $F(4, 154) = 10.48$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .21$. However, the stereotype endorsement scale did not predict this set of dependent variables, when included in the same set of regression analyses, Pillai's Trace = .04, $F(4, 154) = 1.58$, $p > .05$. This means that it can be said that the internalized prejudice measure generally predicted this set of measures, while the stereotype endorsement measure did not predict the set. However, it is still worth examining the univariate effects for the stereotype endorsement scale, keeping in mind that the test of the effect on the combined set of dependent variables was not significant, so the occurrence of significant univariate results could be due to chance.

Examining the univariate regression results, it was clear that the internalized prejudice scale accounted for a significant proportion of the variance in financial success aspirations, $F(1, 157) = 38.62$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .20$, popularity aspirations, $F(1, 157) = 11.00$, $p < .01$, partial $\eta^2 = .07$, and image aspirations, $F(1, 157) = 18.25$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .10$. It did not, however, account for a significant proportion of the variance in conformity aspirations $F(1, 157) = 1.11$, $p > .05$. In terms of parameters, the prejudice aspect of internalized classism positively predicted financial success aspirations, $B = .59$, $t(162) = 6.21$, $p < .001$, popularity aspirations, $B = .36$, $t(162) = 3.32$, $p < .001$, and image-based aspirations, $B = .44$, $t(162) = 4.27$, $p < .001$. Therefore, participants with higher levels of internalized classism (stereotype endorsement) were more likely to view these extrinsic life aspirations as important.

Although the omnibus test of the multivariate effect of the stereotyping scale on the dependent variables was not significant, it is still helpful to examine any significant univariate effects, noting that it is harder to rule out that this effect was only detected due to chance. Interestingly, although the internalized prejudice endorsement scale did not predict conformity aspirations, the stereotype endorsement scale did predict conformity aspirations, $F(1, 157) = 5.88$, $p < .05$, partial $\eta^2 = .04$, producing a significant positive effect, $B = .22$, $t(162) = 2.43$, $p < .05$. This means that as participants had higher levels of stigmatizing stereotype endorsement they were more likely to view conformity aspirations as important. This finding, coupled with the absence of an effect for internalized prejudice, showed that conformity has an entirely different relationship with the components of internalized classism, compared to the other extrinsic aspirational goals of financial success, popularity, and image. In general, these results supported the hypothesis that internalized classist stigma predicted greater importance of extrinsic life aspirations.

Achievement-based contingencies of self-worth. The internalized prejudice scale, Pillai's Trace = .08, $F(3, 135) = 3.97$, $p < .01$, partial $\eta^2 = .08$, and the stereotype endorsement scale, Pillai's Trace = .07, $F(3, 135) = 3.16$, $p < .05$, partial $\eta^2 = .07$, both predicted this set of dependent variables.

Examining the univariate analyses for internalized prejudice, the results showed that this aspect of internalized stigma significantly predicted competition-related contingencies of self-worth, $F(1, 137) = 6.01$, $p < .05$, partial $\eta^2 = .04$, appearance-related contingencies of self-worth $F(1, 137) = 10.95$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .07$, and academic contingencies of self-worth, $F(1, 137) = 6.43$, $p < .05$, partial $\eta^2 = .05$. Examining the parameters, the prejudice aspect of internalized classism positively predicted competition-related contingencies of self-worth, $B = .29$, $t(140) = 2.45$, $p < .001$, appearance-related contingencies of self-worth, $B = .38$, $t(140) = 3.31$, $p < .001$, and academic contingencies of self-worth, $B = .29$, $t(140) = 2.54$, $p < .05$. Therefore, participants with higher levels of internalized prejudice endorsement were more likely to view these contingencies of self-worth as important.

Examining the univariate regression analyses for internalized stereotype endorsement, the results showed that this aspect of internalized stigma only significantly predicted competition-related contingencies of self-worth, $F(1, 137) = 5.91$, $p < .05$, partial $\eta^2 = .04$. Appearance-related contingencies of self-worth $F(1, 137) = .001$, $p > .05$, and academic contingencies of self-worth, $F(1, 137) = .001$, $p > .05$, were not predicted by this aspect of internalized class stigma. Examining the parameter for the significant effect, the stigmatizing stereotypes aspect of internalized classism positively predicted competition-related contingencies of self-worth, $B = .29$, $t(140) = 2.45$, $p < .001$. Therefore, participants with higher levels of internalized class

stereotype endorsement were more likely to view this contingency of self-worth as important. See *Table 0.1* for a summary of the findings for supplemental hypotheses.

Table 0.1: Summary of Results for Supplemental Hypotheses

Outcomes	Internalized Homonegativity	Internalized Classism		
		Prejudice	Stereotyping	Combined
Ext. Occupational Values		+	+	+
Extrinsic Life Aspirations	+	+		+
Financial	$+^{t}$	+		+
Popularity	+	+		+
Image	+	+		+
Conformity	+		+	+
Contingencies of Self-Worth	+	+	+	+
Competition	+	+	+	+
Appearance		+		
Academic		+		

Notes: All cells with "+" indicate that the specific stigma scale positively predicted the outcome (there were no negative relationships between predictors and outcomes). $^{t}p < .10$

Discussion

There were a few notable differences in the results when using the two-factor solution for internalized classism. Since the overall discussion was about the effects of internalized stigma in general and did not deal with specific predictions about differences between different types of internalized stigma, these results were not highlighted in the dissertation. However, these results are still worth reporting and being replicated in future research.

First, in terms of the main hypotheses, there were some notable differences. Individuals who identified as poor/working class and had higher levels of internalized stereotype endorsement perceived group-serving educational/occupational values and life aspirations aimed at helping other poor/working class people as less important than individuals who did not share the same negative, stigmatizing attitudes about their social identity groups. Interestingly, a similar effect was not found for internalized classist prejudice. This may not be surprising

though, since these items mostly concerned attitudes about not liking their current social class and wanting to become a different social class. These types of attitudes likely do not have the same kind of bearing on deservingness and therefore on political engagement. On the one hand, one can envision times when individuals who endorse these items are motivated to help their class group through structural changes, causing more people to be lifted out of their social class group or by causing conditions for those currently in their social class to improve so their social conditions feel similar to those in higher social classes. On the other hand, individuals who endorse these items might be motivated to change their class group by helping themselves and improving their own social class (and the class of their closest others) through individual-level changes in employment, education, or resource acquisition, as opposed to structural changes that would benefit their whole class group.

In terms of the supplemental hypotheses, it was clear that the internalized prejudice subscale was the more predictive of extrinsic values, aspirations, and contingencies of self-worth. This is, again, not surprising, since individuals who dislike their class status probably desire to change it by pursuing these goals. There were some outcomes that were positively predicted by the stereotype endorsement subscale too. Since many of these items involved stereotypes that poor/working class people were incompetent and/or bad workers, it makes sense that people might want to act against these stereotypes by pursuing markers of success that disconfirm these stereotypes and allow these individuals to distance themselves from other members of their group.

Future research should attempt to replicate these findings and the factor structure. It is possible that these two different factors were produced for this group as a result of perceptions of the group's changeability. Whereas items like "I wish I were straight" might seem misplaced and

especially problematic for sexual minorities, who are perceived to have an immutable identity, items like "I wish I were in a higher class" might not seem as negative to poor/working-class people. It is debatable whether such attitudes even actually measure "internalized classism," depending on the theoretical orientation of the researcher. Some may argue that it is not unreasonable for poor/working class people to want to change their class status. However, researchers with a critical Marxist or anti-neoliberal orientation may see individual desires to change their own class rather than attempting to change the status of their fellow group members, as a sign of internalization of classist ideology. Regardless, it is interesting that a two-factor solution emerged for internalized classism and not internalized homonegativity. Future research should investigate whether these separate factors emerged as a direct result of different perceptions of group changeability.

It is also possible that a two-factor solution could have formed for this group and not sexual minorities because a similar measure of stereotype endorsement was not given to sexual minorities. Therefore, it is entirely possible that these two factors emerged because of the use of different types of measures of internalized stigma with these two groups. If a similar measure of negative stereotypes of sexual minorities had been used, perhaps this would have resulted in two distinct factors for this group as well. Interestingly, such measures are not widely used in the research on sexual minorities. Future research that develops such measures of similar stereotypes in sexual minorities and successfully replicates the two-factor structure of internalized stigma found for poor/working class people would support this explanation.

Appendix D: Study 3 Manipulations & Attention Checks

The current appendix (Appendix D) contains all manipulation conditions used in the third study of the dissertation. Participants were randomly assigned to one of the following 4 conditions. These conditions were immediately proceeded by attention checks, which are also in this appendix.

Prompt

The following prompt was displayed before participants viewed their condition:

"You will now examine a Facebook profile belonging to a randomly selected person on Facebook. Please pay close attention to their profile and feel free to continue once you feel you have a good idea of who the person is and what they are like. The profile posts, pictures, and profile information were taken off of Facebook and put into an experimenter-created template to ensure the anonymity of the Facebook user.

Note: You will NOT be able to go back once you have seen their profile, so please take your time and examine their profile for as long as you feel is necessary. We will ask you a few questions about their profile to confirm that you actually viewed it."

Manipulations

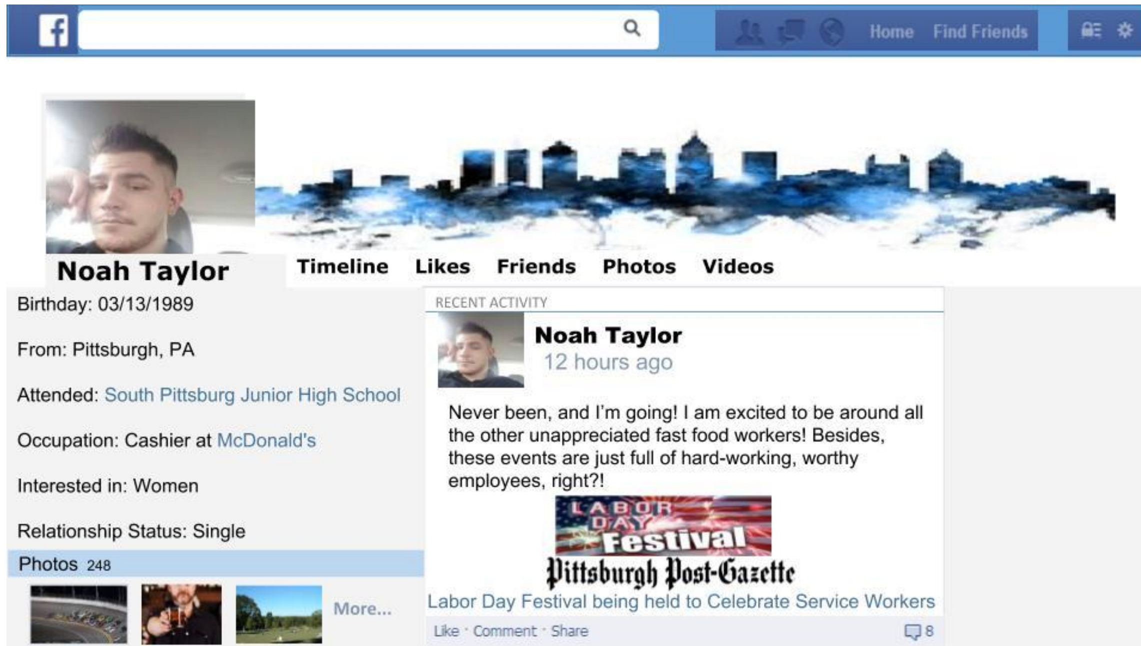

Figure 0.3: Class Affirming Condition Facebook Stimulus

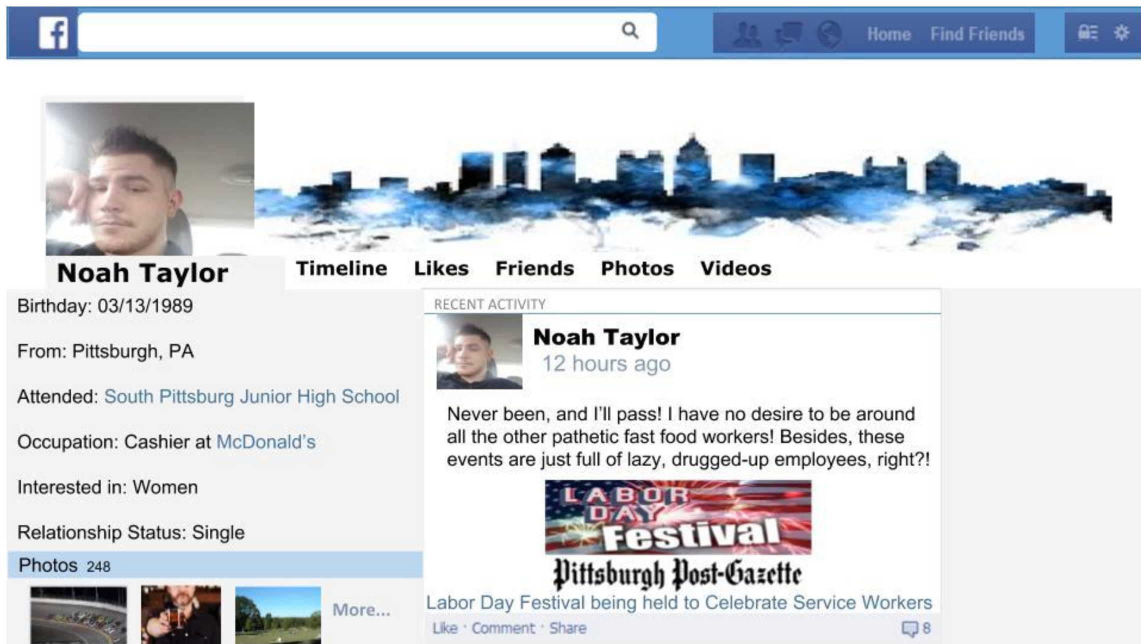

Figure 0.4: Class Stigmatizing Condition Facebook Stimulus

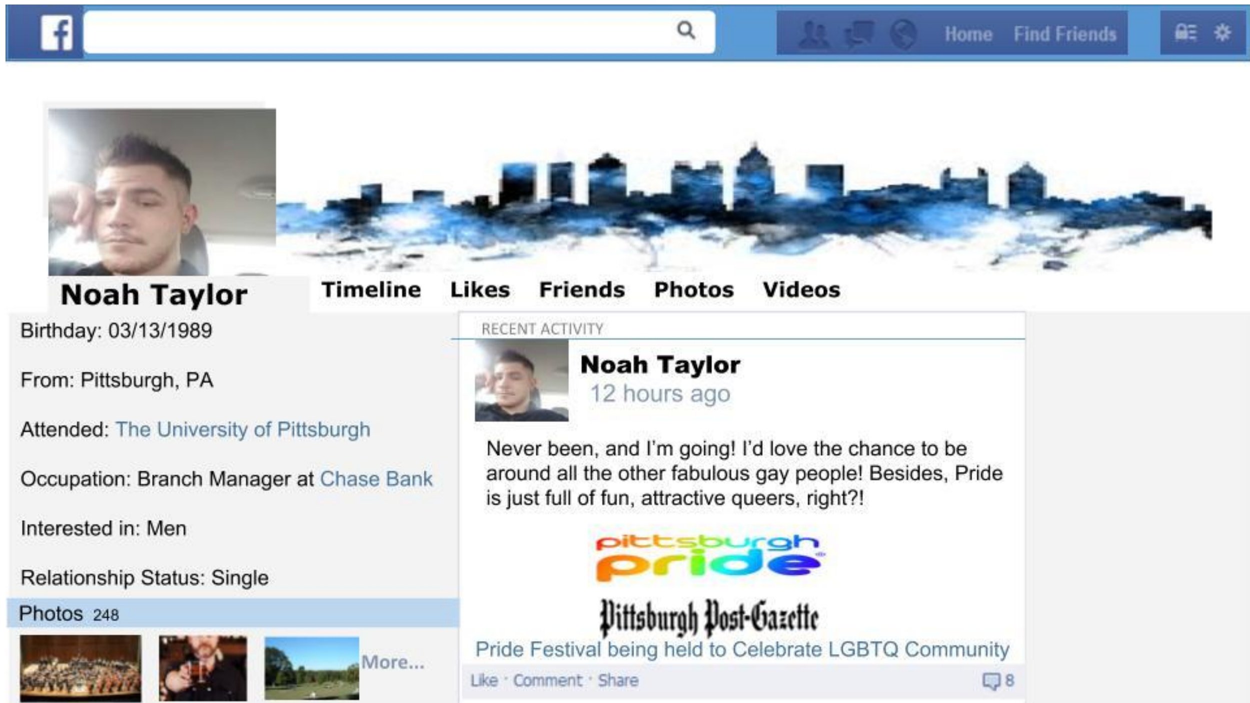

Figure 0.5: Gay Affirming Condition Facebook Stimulus

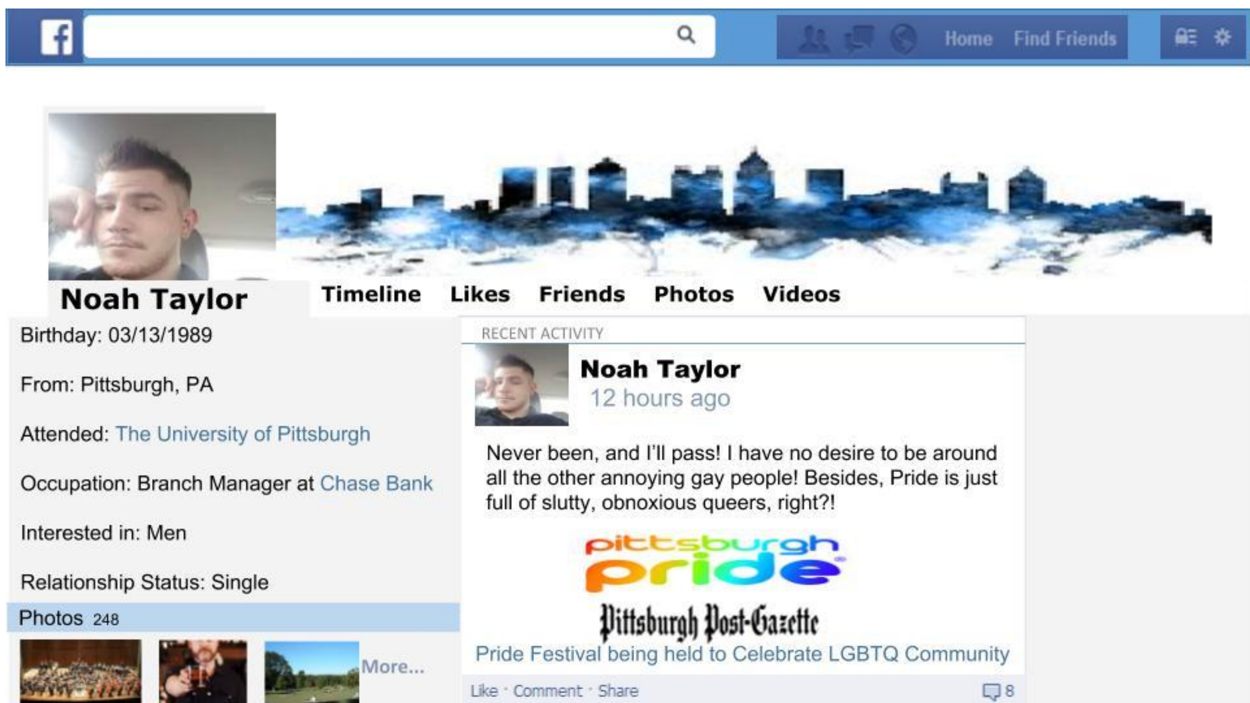

Figure 0.6: Gay Stigmatizing Condition Facebook Stimulus

Attention Checks

The following were displayed to participants as attention checks (response options in **bold** were scored as "correct") after the manipulations:

General Prompt. The following prompt was displayed to participants prior to the attention check questions: "Thank you for examing the profile and posts. Now we will ask you about your perceptions of this Facebook user. We will begin by checking to make sure that you were able to see the profile and learn about the user."

Sexual Orientation. The following was displayed to participants as an attention check after the manipulations: "My Facebook user was 'interested in':"

Response Options. The following were given as response options (response options in **bold** were scored as "correct"): 1) "**Men**" 2) "Women" 3) "Both."

Scoring. The responses were scored such that any participants who said their target was interested in men were as correct (1), while participants who said anything else were scored as incorrect (0). Participants were required to have a perfect score on the attention check questions in order to be used in analyses.

Class. The following was displayed to participants as an attention check after the manipulations: "Based on the occupation and/or education of my Facebook user, they were more than likely:"

Response Options: The following were given as response options (response options in **bold** were scored as "correct"): 1) "**Poor**" 2) "**Working Class"** 3) "Lower Middle Class" 4) "Upper Middle Class" 5) "Upper Class."

Scoring. The responses were scored such that any participants who said their target was poor or working class scored were as correct (1), while participants who said anything else were scored as incorrect (0). Participants were required to have a perfect score on the attention check questions in order to be used in analyses.

Appendix E: Study 3 Measures

The current appendix (Appendix E) contains all measures used in the third study of the dissertation. All measures are listed in the order that they appeared to participants in the study. Manipulation conditions were displayed prior to all measures.

Descriptors of Target

Prompt

The following prompt was used prior to displaying the items and response options: "To what extent do you believe your user is:"

Items

The following items were used to measure perceptions of the target:

1. Friendly
2. Honest
3. Nice
4. Arrogant
5. Competent
6. Warm
7. Intelligent
8. Successful
9. Modest
10. Helpful
11. Emotionally stable
12. Likable
13. Detail-oriented
14. Cold
15. Mean
16. Hurtful
17. Disgusting
18. Masculine
19. Feminine
20. Ignorant
21. Affectionate
22. Attractive
23. Conservative
24. Liberal
25. Optimistic
26. Pessimistic

Response Options

The following were used as response options for each item in the scale: 1) "Not at all" 2) "2," 3) "3," 4) "4," 5) "5," 6) "6," 7) "Very."

Stigma, Modern Homonegativity Scale (gay conditions)

Prompt

The following prompt was used prior to displaying the items and response options: “Please indicate your agreement with each of these statements concerning sexual minorities:“

Items

The following items were used to measure stigma:

13. Many sexual minorities use their sexual orientation so that they can obtain special privileges.
14. Sexual minorities seem to focus on the ways in which they differ from heterosexuals, and ignore the ways in which they are the same.
15. Sexual minorities do not have all the rights they need. *
16. The notion of universities providing students with undergraduate degrees in Gay and Lesbians Studies is ridiculous.
17. Celebrations such as “LGBT Pride Day” are ridiculous because they assume that an individual’s sexual orientation should constitute a source of pride.
18. Sexual minorities still need to protest for equal rights. *
19. Sexual minorities should stop shoving their lifestyle down other people’s throats.
20. If sexual minorities want to be treated like everyone else, then they need to stop making such a fuss about their sexuality/culture.
21. Sexual minorities who are “out of the closet” should be admired for their courage. *
22. Sexual minorities should stop complaining about the way they are treated in society, and simply get on with their lives.
23. In today’s tough economic times, American tax dollars shouldn’t be used to support sexual minority organizations.
24. Sexual minorities have become far too confrontational in their demand for equal rights.

Response Options

The following were used as response options for each item in the scale: 1) “Strongly disagree,” 2) “Disagree,” 3) “Neither agree nor disagree,” 4) “Agree,” 5) “Strongly agree.”

Notes

Items with an asterisk (*) indicate items that were reverse scored (higher values indicate lower internalized). Scale adapted from an existing measure of homonegativity, the Modern Homonegativity Scale (Morrison & Morrison, 2003).

Classism Attitudinal Profile (CAP) (poor/working class conditions)

Prompt

The following prompt was used prior to displaying the items and response options: "Please rate your agreement with the following statements concerning members of lower social classes:"

Items

The following items were used to measure stigma:

1. People from my social class let their kids run around without supervision.
2. People from my social class lack proper communication skills.
3. Generally, people from my social class have problems with drugs or alcohol.
4. People from my social class are more violent than other groups of people.
5. People from my social class try to abuse the system.
6. People from my social class are less refined compared to most other groups.

Response Options

The following were used as response options for each item in the scale: 1) "Strongly disagree," 2) "Disagree," 3) "Somewhat disagree," 4) "Neither agree nor disagree," 5) "Somewhat agree," 6) "Agree," 7) "Strongly agree."

Notes

Scale comes from an existing measure of classism, the Classism Attitudinal Profile (CAP) (Colbow *et al.,* 2016).

Attributions for Poverty (poor/working class conditions)

Prompt

The following prompt was used prior to displaying the items and response options: “To what extent do you agree with the following statements as explanations for the status of lower social classes in society? Poor and working class people have their status in society because of:”

Items

The following items were used to measure stigma:

1. Negative attitudes and an anti-work mentality.
2. An unwillingness to work at the competitive level that is necessary to make it in the world.
3. A lack of motivation that results from being on public assistance.
4. Loose morals.
5. Lack of drive and perseverance.
6. Lack of motivation and laziness.
7. Being too picky and refusing to take low paying, difficult jobs.
8. Lack of intelligence.
9. Lack of effort to improve themselves.
10. A vicious cycle that perpetuates poor work habits, welfare dependency, laziness and low self-esteem.
11. Alcohol and drug abuse.
12. Not having positive role models to teach children about drive and ambition.
13. The inability to save, spend and manage money wisely.
14. Lack of ability and talent.
15. Being born with a low IQ.
16. The break-up of families (e.g., the increased divorce rate).
17. Not receiving a high school diploma.

Response Options

The following were used as response options for each item in the scale: 1) “Strongly disagree,” 2) “Disagree,” 3) “Somewhat disagree,” 4) “Neither agree nor disagree,” 5) “Somewhat agree,” 6) “Agree,” 7) “Strongly agree.”

Notes

Scale uses an existing measure of classism, the Attributions for Poverty Scale (Individualistic) (Bullock, Williams & Limbert, 2003). Items only displayed to those who identified at poor/working class.

System Justification

Prompt

The following prompt was used prior to displaying the items and response options: "Please answer the following 8 questions by selecting the most appropriate response for you."

Items

The following items were used to measure system justification:

9. In general, you find society to be fair.
10. In general, the American political system operates as it should.
11. American society needs to be radically restructured. *
12. The United States is the best country in the world to live in.
13. Most policies serve the greater good.
14. Everyone has a fair shot at wealth and happiness.
15. Our society is getting worse every year. *
16. Society is set up so that people usually get what they deserve.

Response Options

The following were used as response options for each item in the scale: 1) "Strongly disagree," 2) "Disagree," 3) "Somewhat disagree," 4) "Neither agree nor disagree," 5) "Somewhat agree," 6) "Agree," 7) "Strongly agree."

Notes

Items with an asterisk (*) indicate items that were reverse scored (higher values indicate lower internalized stigma). Scale is a existing measure of social dominance orientation (Kay & Jost, 2003).

Issue Importance

Prompt

The following prompt was used prior to displaying the items and response options: "How important are each of these policy issues to you?"

Items

The following items were used to measure issue importance:

1. Abortion
2. National debt
3. Environment and climate change
4. Lesbian & Gay Rights
5. Gun control
6. Health care
7. Immigration
8. Income Inequality
9. Unemployment
10. Disability Rights
11. Economic growth
12. Military strength
13. Racism
14. Social security
15. Taxes
16. Women's Rights
17. Crime
18. Foreign policy
19. Education
20. Terrorism and homeland security
21. Criminal justice reform
22. Religious Freedom
23. Transgender Rights
24. Gun Rights
25. Labor unions
26. Student debt
27. The national minimum wage

Response Options

The following were used as response options for each item in the scale: 1) "Very unimportant," 2) "Unimportant," 3) "Moderately unimportant," 4) "Slightly unimportant," 5)

"Neither important nor unimportant," 6) "Slightly important," 7) "Moderately important," 8) "Important," 9) "Very important.

Notes

Identity-related issue importance scales were created using the following items for sexual minority and class-based issue importance:

Sexual orientation: Lesbian & Gay Rights and Transgender Rights

Class: national debt, income inequality, unemployment, economic growth, taxes, labor unions, student debt, and the national minimum wage

Expected Engagement

Prompt

The following prompt was used prior to displaying the items and response options: "How likely are you to do the following to support ____ over the next year?"

Items

The following causes were displayed to participants:

1. Civil rights
2. Gay and Lesbian rights
3. Transgender rights
4. Labor unions
5. Income inequality
6. Increasing the minimum wage
7. Worker's rights
8. Women's rights

Each of the following actions was displayed for each cause:

1. Post online promoting this cause (i.e. social media)
2. Sign a petition (online)

3. Sign a petition (in person)
4. Give money
5. Write a letter or call a public official
6. Attend a meeting
7. Be an active member of an organization
8. Attend a rally or demonstration

Response Options

The following were used as response options for each action for each cause in the scales: 1) "Extremely likely," 2) "Moderately likely," 3) "Slightly likely," 4) "Neither likely nor unlikely," 5) "Slightly unlikely," 6) "Moderately likely," 7) "Extremely likely."

Notes

The space ("___") in the prompt was filled with the name of the cause (e.g. gay and lesbian rights") for each cause. Relevant causes were only displayed to each condition, such that those in both of the gay/middle class male target conditions received causes 2 and 3, while both of the straight/working class conditions received causes 1-7. All conditions received causes 1 and 8, which were filler causes.