

Intersectional Invisibility: Whose Discrimination Experiences Are Recognized?

by

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Author's Declaration

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

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Abstract

In two studies, diverse Canadian undergraduate samples evaluated vignettes depicting ambiguous anti-Black racism, sexism, or homophobia towards a target individual. Pre-Study participants (N = 226) rated how typical the vignette was of identity-specific discrimination. Study 1 (N = 867) tested whether attributions to identity-specific discrimination varied based on the number of marginalized identities held by the target (one, two, or three). Consistent with predictions derived from intersectional invisibility theory, "prototypical" targets with only a single marginalized identity were seen as more likely to be experiencing discrimination than targets who held multiple marginalized identities. Within discrimination domain, this effect remained significant only for homophobia evaluations, but had a comparable marginal effect for racism evaluations. Participants who held more (vs. fewer) marginalized identities or who had higher (vs. lower) intersectional awareness made stronger attributions to discrimination, both overall and within each domain. Notably, the focal target marginalization (or intersectional invisibility) effect was not moderated by participants' own marginalization, their intersectional awareness, or vignette typicality and harm (as rated during material validation). I discuss the implications of these findings for discrimination recognition, as well as limitations and future directions.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Discrimination is often conceptualized and addressed from a singular lens, and research on discrimination has followed suit; studies on racism sample mostly Black men, while work on sexism predominantly investigates the experiences of White women. Criticism about such a singular approach prompted legal scholar Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989) to coin the term “intersectionality”, intended to capture the unique socio-political space that Black women had to navigate. Shortly afterwards, in 1991, the case of Anita Hill unfolded in American legal history, for which Crenshaw served on Hill’s legal team. Hill is a Black woman who testified that Clarence Thomas, a Supreme court nominee and a Black man, had sexually harassed her when he was her employer. The predominantly White feminist movement was supportive of Anita for her experiences of gender discrimination, and the Black community rallied around Thomas after he claimed the hearing was a “high-tech lynching” targeting him as a Black man (Crenshaw, 2019). In her reflection of the Hill case, Crenshaw would later write that the two groups “argued past each other, damaging the goal of antiracist and feminist collaboration” and emphasized that “black feminist frameworks have been... building the social justice movements that race-only or gender-only frames cannot” (Crenshaw, 2019).

Intersectional Invisibility

The nature of intersectionality, *how* it shapes one’s experiences, has been subject to great discussion in social psychology. The theory of interest for this thesis is *intersectional invisibility*, which suggests that those with multiple marginalized identities are underrecognized as members of their respective groups (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008). This invisibility comes from socio-cultural ideas of who is considered the standard (prototypical) person; for most Western

individuals these ideologies are androcentrism, hetero-centrism, and ethnocentrism (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008). Androcentrism is a bias which privileges the male experience (Bem, 1994; Eagly & Kite, 1987), an ideology that is especially prevalent in medical and empirical settings (Bueter, 2017; Merone et al., 2021, 2022). Heterocentrism is when heterosexuality is considered the natural default and other sexualities are a choice or faulty in comparison (Hegarty & Pratto, 2004), a prejudice that has played a role in Canada's history of healthcare efforts (Ryan, 2003). Lastly, ethnocentrism is a norm of seeing one's own social, ethnic, or racial group as above other groups (Gumpłowicz, 1881, see Bizumic, 2014 for additional information). In Western contexts this norm is frequently established from White standards (Bonilla-Silva, 2000; Sue, 1999), even more so in the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic and the strain it brought the socio-political stage (Bizumic et al., 2021). Androcentrism, heterocentrism, and ethnocentrism combine to both define a "typical" individual in the West, and to shape the "prototypical" target of a particular discrimination. The combination of androcentrism and heterocentrism defines the "standard"/prototypical Black person as a straight man, making Black women (straight or LGBTQ+) and Black gay men relatively invisible in cultural representations of Black people's experiences (recall Hill's case). Similarly, the combination of androcentrism and ethnocentrism defines the prototypical gay person as a White gay man, rendering sexual minority women/gender non-conforming individuals (regardless of race) and gay men of color relatively invisible in cultural representations of sexual minorities' experiences. Lastly, the combination of ethnocentrism and heterocentrism defines a prototypical woman as a White straight woman, rendering Black women (regardless of sexuality) and White LGBTQ+ women relatively invisible in cultural representations of women's experiences. This "invisibility" has typically occurred through historical, cultural, political, or legal events and norms, and this struggle to be

recognized in one's experiences "is the most distinctive form of oppression for people with intersectional subordinate-group identities" (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008).

Indeed, experimental research has demonstrated that multiply marginalized individuals have distinct experiences of discrimination. For instance, Black women are more likely to simply be *noticed and remembered less* than their singly-marginalized peers, and the effect may extend to other non-prototypical targets (Sesko & Biernat, 2010). Another example is how Black women's claims of gender discrimination are *believed less* than White women's, while their claims of racism are *also less believed* than Black men's (De Leon & Rosette, 2022). The same research found that Black women received *less* financial compensation for gender discrimination claims than White women, but *greater* compensation for claims of racism than Black men. De Leon and Rosette (2022) attribute the results to Black women fitting the "women's warmth" prototype less than White women for sexism, prompting less pity and lower compensation for sexual discrimination. In contrast, Black women were viewed as warmer (due to being women) and elicited less contempt in claims of racism than Black men, which was directly associated with increased financial compensation for claims of racism compared to Black men. Critically, this increase in compensation was not because Black women's experiences are taken more seriously, but because they elicited reduced negative affect compared to Black men by virtue of being seen as less (prototypically) Black. By existing between prototypes for sexism and racism, Black women have distinct experiences of invisibility during discrimination recognition and justice procedures compared to prototypical targets.

Intersectional invisibility has also been applied to other multiply marginalized groups. Women who have sex with women (WSW) are at risk of contracting HIV much like gay men (and anyone engaging in sexual activities). However, medical interventions have largely ignored

the risk to WSWs, an invisibility that is exacerbated by beliefs that lesbian sexual practices are not an HIV risk and a lack of public health efforts to engage WSWs (Arend, 2005). Additional research with South Asian gay and bisexual men (GBM) in Toronto reported that they have distinct experiences of racism in queer spaces that are not represented in mainstream narratives of racism (i.e. fetishization by White queers) as well as distinctive experiences of managing gay identities within their ethnic communities that are not captured in mainstream discourses about coping with homophobia (i.e., fears of being “outed” to homophobic South Asian community members if caught attending events for GBM) (Hart et al., 2023).

A key point of intersectional invisibility theory is the suggestion that social scaffolding around discrimination is designed with prototypical targets in mind, causing non-prototypical targets to fall through the gaps, as demonstrated by De Leon and Rosette (2022). With the growing evidence supporting intersectional invisibility, and testaments to the effect of prototypicality, it is reasonable to ask whether intersectional invisibility interferes with a bystander’s ability to identify discrimination *as it occurs*. Recognizing discrimination is critical for the equality-oriented bystander, as this identification can trigger the observer to intervene, contact relevant resources, support the target, etc. Intersectional invisibility theory suggests this recognition process could be hindered by the presence of a non-prototypical target, due to a dependence on prototypical ideas of discrimination and potential targets. Recall that non-prototypical targets are believed less than prototypical targets for identity-specific claims of discrimination, which leads to the primary question of this thesis: if witnessing ambiguous discrimination, are observers less likely to believe that identity-specific discrimination has occurred if the target is non-prototypical? For instance, do observers have lower belief that homophobia has occurred if they witness a White vs. a Black gay man experience homophobic

discrimination? If so, the entire process of justice could be impeded by rippling effects such as reduced bystander recognition and intervention, reduced belief of plausibility, and reduced information on how frequently and to what extent multiply marginalized individuals experience discrimination. It is valuable to pinpoint whether intersectional invisibility interferes with one's ability to recognize identity-specific discrimination.

Observer Marginalization

An observer's own marginalization can also affect perceptions of discrimination. For instance, non-White individuals associate a discomfort or unfamiliarity around Black people and a denial of current-day racism as active discrimination, while White individuals do not (Sommers & Norton, 2006). It is plausible that marginalized observers are better at recognizing ambiguous discrimination by having broader definitions of discrimination than non-marginalized observers. Additionally, individuals with multiple marginalized identities report greater feelings of invisibility, perceived discrimination, and concerns of being stereotyped than those with zero or one marginalized identity (Remedios & Snyder, 2018). Through this lived experience of invisibility and marginalization, multiply marginalized observers may make greater attributions to identity-specific discrimination for non-prototypical targets, compared to singly or non-marginalized observers. I hypothesize that an observer (participant) with at least one marginalized identity will make greater attributions to identity-specific discrimination than non-marginalized participants. I also hypothesize that multiply-marginalized participants will make higher attributions to discrimination than participants with zero or one marginalized identity when assessing non-prototypical targets.

Intersectional Awareness

The marginalization effects above imply variations in individuals' awareness and sensitivity to the connections between marginalized identities, and the impact these connections have on a target's experience (Curtin et al., 2015). This awareness can often begin in the realm of political movements and group activism, where activists coming together to advocate for a shared identity often find their other, non-shared identities become both more salient and potentially divisive (Greenwood, 2008; Turner et al., 1979). This effect of non-shared identities is compounded by the socio-political realities of unequal power and relations between marginalized groups (Greenwood, 2008). Movements can be protected from these divisive effects when activists/members of the group hold an *intersectional political consciousness*, defined as "a set of political beliefs and action orientations rooted in recognition of the need to account for multiple grounds of identity when considering how the social world is constructed... and when selecting the appropriate means for pursuing those goals" (Greenwood, 2008). Greenwood found that although high intersectional consciousness was not associated directly with strong political solidarity within diverse groups, intersectional consciousness "attenuated the negative association of diversity to [group] cohesiveness and commitment" (2008).

Building on Greenwood's (2008) work, Curtin et. al (2015) expanded the concept of intersectional consciousness to individuals who may hold intersectional perspectives despite not belonging to a marginalized social group, termed *intersectional awareness* (IA) and measured by the Intersectional Awareness Questionnaire (IAQ). IA was applied to social change broadly which included activist behavior, general orientation to be engaged, and pro-social attitudes towards outgroup members (Curtin et al., 2015). Participation in social change can develop an individual's awareness of discriminatory behavior and beliefs, and there was a significant positive effect of IA on "promoting diversity and interrupting prejudice" (Curtin et al., 2015).

Using an adapted version of the IAQ, I hypothesize that individuals with greater IA scores will make greater attributions to discrimination compared to those with lower IA scores, regardless of the discrimination depicted. I will also investigate whether a participant's IA scores moderate the effect of target marginalization on discrimination attribution, but there are no hypotheses on the nature of this moderation.

Additional Components of Discrimination Attribution

There are limitless forms of discrimination, as well as motivations to engage in discrimination, but across disciplines and social justice movements there are five traits that are generally agreed upon to be indicative of discrimination (Greenland et al., 2018):

These are that discrimination is (1) morally wrong and irrational; (2) performed by a particular kind of problematic identity (uneducated, isolated, and pathological); (3) deliberate and intended by the actor. Consequently, an act is not discrimination when it is (4) based on rational and objective realities; and (5) not intended to cause harm. (p. 543)

Traits 1 through 4 are often subjective or unclear for witnesses of discrimination. For this thesis, these traits are approximated by using perceptions of discrimination *typicality*. Although ideas of “typical” discrimination are also subjective, a more “typical” example of discrimination must, inherently, satisfy the traits of discrimination for observers to a greater degree than less “typical” examples. Asking observers for their perceived typicality of discriminatory events prompts observers to estimate the degree to which the act was morally wrong, irrational, or deliberate, as well as whether the actor has problematic beliefs as a motivation. In this way, typicality summarizes the degree to which the depicted discrimination aligns with common

ideas of discrimination, comparable to the social scaffolding described by Purdie-Vaughns and Eibach (2008). These evaluations are likely to vary due to differences in subjective beliefs and experiences of observers but can be averaged for a general idea of how typical the act of discrimination is in an observer's eyes. It is also plausible that acts deemed more typical of discrimination are also more easily recognized, facilitating greater attributions to discrimination through this recognition. I hypothesize that more typical examples of discrimination should receive greater attributions to identity-specific discrimination than less typical examples, regardless of the degree of target or participant marginalization.

The final trait of discrimination from Greenland et al. (2018) emphasizes that an action may not be considered discriminatory if there is a lack of intended harm. However, intention is not synonymous with impact, and there are many forms of discrimination (such as micro-aggressions) where an intention to harm is not required to *cause* harm (Devine & Plant, 2001). Further, in circumstances where intent is not evident to an observer, increased perceptions of harm are associated with increased judgements that discrimination has occurred (Swim et al., 2003). I hypothesize that forms of discrimination which elicit higher perceptions of harm will receive higher attributions to identity-specific discrimination, regardless of target or participant marginalization effects.

In review, my research goal for this thesis is to investigate the effects of multiple marginalization on discrimination attribution when (1) the target or (2) the observer (participant) holds multiple marginalized identities, and (3) whether these target and observer effects interact. I will also investigate (4) whether an observer (participant) with greater IA makes greater discrimination attributions, and (5) whether more “typical” and/or “harmful” vignettes of discrimination influence discrimination attributions and marginality effects.

Perceptions of vignette typicality and harm are collected in a material validations study, and research questions 1 through 4 are addressed by an experimental study manipulating target marginalization.

CHAPTER 2: DISCRIMINATION TYPICALITY AND HARM

In this material validation study, participants rated preselected vignettes on their typicality as instances of racism, sexism, and homophobia, as well as the vignettes' perceived harm. 23 vignettes were presented to participants in a randomized order twice, the first time to collect vignette typicality evaluations, and the second to collect harm perceptions. The vignettes (modified from appropriate Rejection Sensitivity Questionnaires) contained depictions of ambiguous discrimination on the grounds of race, gender, and sexuality, and were presented to participants in a randomized order with no indicators of which discrimination the vignettes were intended to represent. After responding to the 23 vignettes twice, participants then provided demographic information for analysis of possible demographic effects on typicality and harm evaluations. There were no predictions made for this study due to its purpose as material validation, but participant demographic effects were analyzed and reported for discussion. Data collected regarding typicality and harm are retained after analysis and imported into the main study data set, permitting analyses on the impacts of harm and typicality on discrimination attribution.

Method

Participants and Protocol.

Participants were undergraduate students at the University of Waterloo who were compensated with course credit for their participation. Of 289 consented participants, four were removed for not completing the survey and 29 removed for having low variation ($SD < 0.75$) on items about vignette typicality. Low variation was determined by computing the standard deviation of a participant's responses to vignettes within their focal discrimination, then

summing the standard deviations of each form of discrimination. If a participant had a summed standard deviation less than 0.75, they were flagged for low variation in their responses. Long string analyses (Meade & Craig, 2012) were also conducted, and the data set held low rates of repetitive responses; the highest long string was 5 identical responses consecutively, and this long string only appeared for the scale points 1 ($n = 82$), 2 ($n = 27$), and 3, the midpoint ($n = 28$). These were considered acceptable long string values for analyses, as 41% of the raw sample had a maximum long string of 4, and another 43% had a maximum long string of 5, while missing responses had long strings of 6 (one participant), 12 (one participant) and 69 (two participants), representing 1% of the sample. The variation flag was compared to participant maximum long strings, and the variation flag removes the two participants who had no data, five participants with a maximum long string of 4 responses, and 21 participants with a maximum long string of 5 responses. One participant accounted for by the variation flag did not have sufficient data for a long string calculation. With this, the flag for low variation in responses (rather than long string) was used for determining data quality.

The remaining 226 participants included 166 women, 56 men, and 3 non-binary individuals. Almost three quarters (73%) of this participant pool were students of color—predominantly South Asian (28%) and East Asian (23%)—and another 27% identified as White. Most (174) participants were straight; of the remaining 52 participants, 26 were bisexual. Participant age was collected by having participants select the item value that corresponded to their age range; the modal age range was 18 – 20 years old (53% of the sample), followed by 21 – 23 years old (38%). Table 1 provides an intersectional look at participant demographics across the material validation study and main study. Two participants with incomplete demographic data are excluded from this table.

Table 1.*Participant Demographics for material validation and experimental main study*

Condition assignment	Marginalized identities held	Identity makeup	Study 1 Condition			
			Pre-Study	Racism	Sexism	Homophobia
Randomized	0	Straight White men	11	2	7	6
	1	Straight POC men	40	22	14	13
		Straight White women	31	34	37	34
		Queer White men	6	1	2	0
	2	Queer POC men	2	1	4	4
		Queer White women	13	13	7	18
		Straight POC women	92	63	57	48
	3	Queer POC women	29	10	17	16
	0	Straight White men	NA	1	58	0
	1	Straight POC men	NA	2	110	0
Directed		Straight White women	NA	1	0	1
		Queer White men	NA	0	1	11
	2	Queer POC men	NA	2	1	11
		Queer White women	NA	1	0	67
		Straight POC women	NA	42	2	5
	3	Queer POC women	NA	10	0	56
Total			224	205	317	290

Note. POC = person of color. Pre-Study participants viewed all vignettes used in each Study 1 condition. Participants in Study 1 only saw the vignettes corresponding to their condition's focal discrimination. Boldface indicates individuals holding identities marginalized on the focal domain (although not all people of color are targeted by anti-Black racism).

Post-consent, participants began by completing the 23 vignette typicality evaluations, after which they completed the 23 vignette harm evaluations. Participants reported their demographics (age, gender, race, sexuality, socio-economic status), at which point the study concluded, participants were thanked for participation, and appropriate course credit assigned.

Measures.

Participants viewed 23 vignettes depicting ambiguous racism, sexism, or homophobia, depending on the RSQ that the vignette was sourced from. Although there were 8 vignettes

associated with each form of discrimination and a total of 24 vignettes, the racism and sexism RSQs shared a vignette, meaning there were 23 unique vignettes across the three RSQ themes. For these analyses each vignette has a focal discrimination (two, in the case of the shared vignette) reflecting their originating RSQ, as well as non-focal discrimination grounds. For example, a vignette adapted from the homophobia RSQ would have a focal discrimination of homophobia, while racism and sexism would be non-focal. Appendix A provides the full vignettes as they were presented to participants.

Participants were asked to rate on a scale of 1 (*Not at All*) to 5 (*Extremely*) “To what extent do you think this scenario is a **typical example** of: (anti-Black racism, anti-woman sexism, anti-LGBT+ homophobia)?”, with each of the three forms of discrimination having a separate item in a question matrix. Participants viewed the measure with each of the 23 vignettes, which were presented in randomized order. For harmfulness evaluations, participants viewed the same 23 vignettes again now indicating on a scale of 1 (*Not at all*) to 5 (*Extremely*) “How (Negative, Upsetting, Hurtful) do you think this experience was, for the person experiencing it?”. Once more, the three harm items were presented separately within a response matrix and the measure was presented alongside each vignette; these items were averaged for a composite harmfulness evaluation of each vignette.

Results

Analytic Approach.

Skew and kurtosis were assessed for the continuous variables of vignette typicality and vignette harmfulness ratings, and no violations were identified. Outliers greater than 3 *SDs* above the mean occurred for typicality evaluations of vignettes considered by most participants as not

typical of discrimination. These typicality outliers (86 observations) were winsorized to 3 *SDs* from the mean and occurred for 25 of the total 69 items. Harm evaluations were also screened for data points greater than 3 standard deviations from the mean; there were 3 participants who evaluated vignette #2 (Class question) as being 3.06 *SDs* more harmful than the mean for the vignette, with no other outliers in the harm evaluations. Due to the few outliers, their presence on only one vignette, and their proximity to the 3.0 *SD* cut-off, these outliers were retained and not adjusted. Correlations between typicality and harm ratings were significant with $p < .001$ for each vignette; vignette #17 (Wedding invitation) had the highest correlation of .611, and vignette #10 (Graduate supervisor) had the lowest correlation of .315. Vignette typicality and harm were analyzed with repeated-measures ANOVA, applying a Greenhouse-Geisser correction when Mauchly's Sphericity assumption was violated. Sidak corrections were used for post-hoc analyses. Typicality ratings were compared in two ways. First, I analyzed how vignettes within each discrimination set compared to each other. Which vignettes of sexism (for example) were considered the most typical vs least typical depictions of sexism? Second, I tested whether each vignette was rated as more typical of the intended (focal) discrimination relative to other (non-focal) forms. I discuss how participant marginalization at both an identity-specific and overall level impacts typicality and harm evaluations.

Typicality Evaluations.

Within each of the focal discrimination sets, participants evaluated some vignettes as significantly more typical of their focal discrimination than others. Ratings of typicality for the focal discrimination varied significantly across the racism vignettes, $F(6.32, 1421.98) = 100.63$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .31$, sexism vignettes, $F(6.37, 1433.93) = 64.14$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .22$, and homophobia vignettes, $F(6.37, 1434.34) = 14.27$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .06$. Pairwise comparisons of

typicality between individual vignettes can be found for racism (Table 2), sexism (Table 3), and homophobia (Table 4).

Table 2.

Vignette typicality ratings within and across Racism vignettes.

Vignette	Racism	Sexism	Homophobia	Harm
3 Store alarm	3.44 (1.37) _a	1.38 (0.72)	1.48 (0.82)	3.4 (1.07) _a
7 Police check	3.41 (1.31) _a	1.57 (0.85) ¹	1.59 (0.96) ¹	3.25 (1.08) _a
5 ATM line	3.21 (1.44) _a	1.34 (0.73)	1.64 (0.99)	2.83 (1.10) _b
8 Pharmacy clerk	3.19 (1.34) _a	1.39 (0.74)	1.70 (1.00)	2.92 (1.09) _b
1 Phone interview	2.48 (1.4) _b	1.8 (1.15) ¹	1.85 (1.13) ¹	3.23 (1.00) _a
6 Salt refill	2.41 (1.28) _{bc}	1.74 (0.98)	2.04 (1.14)	2.88 (1.00) _b
4 Bus change	2.18 (1.34) _c	1.49 (0.83)	1.6 (0.91)	2.51 (0.99) _c
2 Class question	1.76 (1.09) _d ¹	1.78 (1.12) ¹	1.5 (0.88)	1.95 (1.00) _d

Note. Within columns, means with a common letter subscript do not differ significantly ($p > .05$).

Within rows, means with a common numeric superscript do not differ significantly ($p > .05$).

Table 3.

Vignette typicality ratings within and across Sexism vignettes.

Vignette	Sexism	Racism	Homophobia	Harm
12 Colleague repeats	3.29 (1.33) _a	2.78 (1.24)	2.26 (1.17)	3.78 (0.89) _a
15 Challenge stereotype	2.85 (1.37) _b ¹	3.04 (1.42)	2.89 (1.41) ¹	3.7 (0.98) _a
14 Meeting notes	2.72 (1.37) _{bc}	1.48 (0.84) ¹	1.52 (0.88) ¹	2.8 (1.03) _b

Table 3 (continued).

11	Manager hire	2.52 (1.34) _c	2.25 (1.22)	1.96 (1.07)	3.33 (1.05) _c
16	Presentation feedback	2.31 (1.3) _{cd}	2.02 (1.14)	1.6 (0.97)	3.28 (0.99) _c
10	Grad mentor	2.12 (1.1) _{de} ¹	2.31 (1.19)	2.08 (1.09) ¹	3.17 (0.95) _c
9	Math grade	1.92 (1.08) _{ef} ¹	1.93 (1.13) ¹	1.59 (0.88)	2.8 (0.89) _b
13	Class question	1.78 (1.12) _f ¹	1.76 (1.09) ¹	1.5 (0.88)	1.95 (1.00) _c

Note. Within columns, means with a common letter subscript do not differ significantly ($p > .05$).

Within rows, means with a common numeric superscript do not differ significantly ($p > .05$).

Table 4.

Vignette typicality ratings within and across Homophobia vignettes.

Vignette	Homophobia	Racism	Sexism	Harm
20 Family reunion	3.32 (1.28) _a	2.58 (1.33)	1.52 (.094)	3.61 (0.98) _a
22 Work picnic	3.21 (1.33) _a	1.99 (1.19)	1.71 (1.01)	3.48 (0.97) _{ab}
17 Wedding	3.11 (1.43) _{ab}	1.53 (0.89)	1.29 (0.61)	3.33 (1.08) _{bc}
24 Gym bag	3.10 (1.29) _{ab}	1.91 (1.21)	1.50 (0.92)	3.27 (1.03) _{bcd}
18 Rural hotel	2.90 (1.32) _b	2.73 (1.29)	1.55 (0.94)	3.23 (0.97) _{cd}
19 School event	2.86 (1.33) _{bc}	2.53 (1.22)	1.51 (0.83)	3.07 (1.05) _d
23 Date night	2.85 (1.33) _{bc}	2.62 (1.29)	1.44 (0.82)	3.1 (1.16) _{cd}
21 Interviewed, married	2.58 (1.40) _c	1.41 (0.78)	2.13 (1.32)	3.05 (1.03) _d

Note. Within columns, means with a common letter subscript do not differ significantly ($p > .05$).

Within rows, means with a common numeric superscript do not differ significantly ($p > .05$).

Vignette Typicality of Focal (vs. Non-Focal) Discrimination.

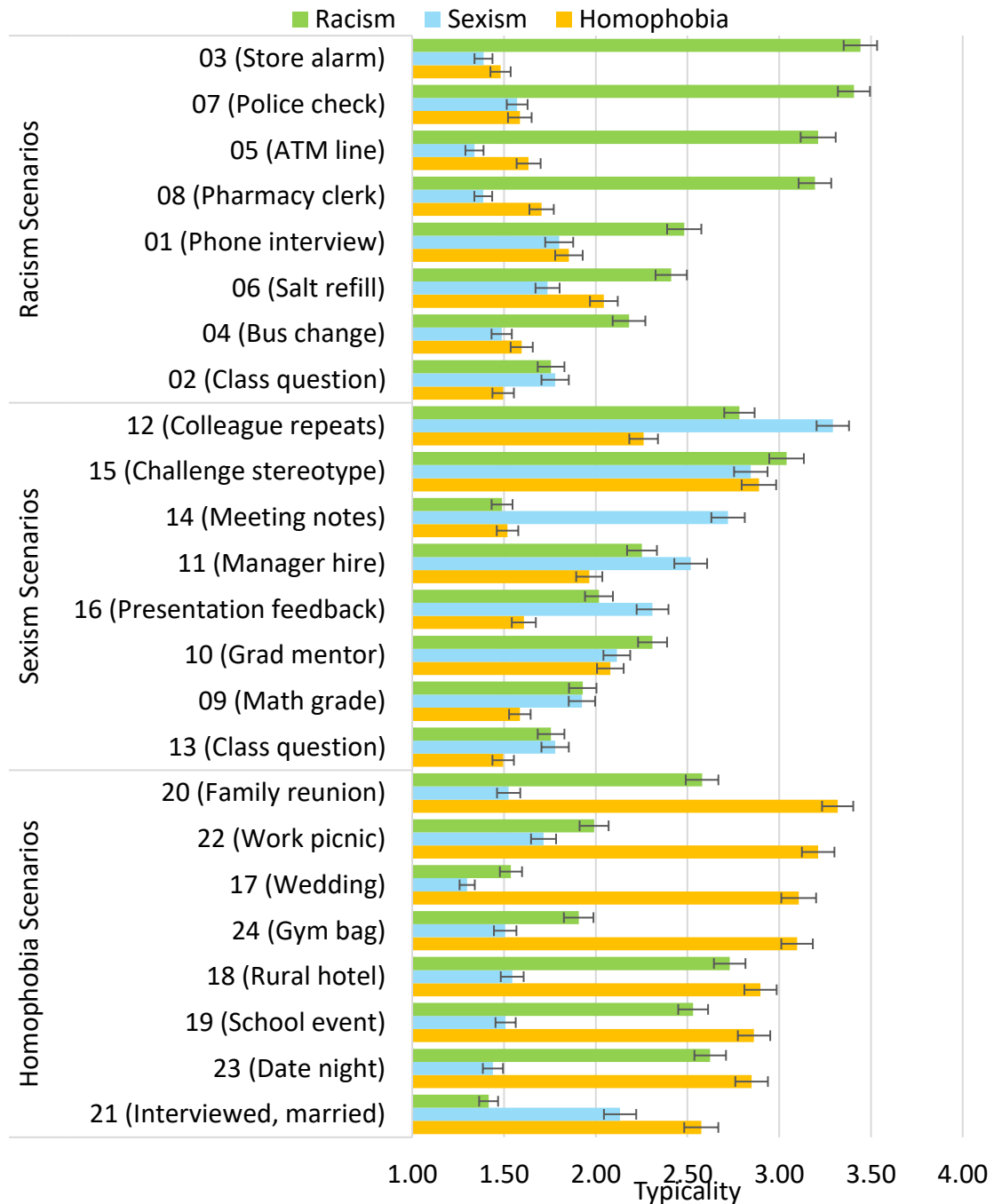
Within the racism vignette set, all vignettes were rated significantly more typical of racism than sexism and homophobia (all $ps < .001$) except vignette #2 (Class question; used in the Main Study within both the racism and sexism vignette sets), which was evaluated as comparably typical of racism and sexism, $p = .5$, and significantly less typical of homophobia, $ps < .001$. The sexism vignette set was less clear-cut regarding typicality. In addition to the earlier result for the Class Question vignette (vignettes # 2 and #13), vignette #9 (Math grade) had no significant difference between its racism and sexism typicality ($p > .9$). Moreover, vignettes #10 (Grade mentor) and #15 (Challenge stereotype) were rated significantly more typical of racism than sexism, $ps < .001$. The remaining four vignettes in the sexism set (# 11, 12, 14, and 16) were considered more typical of sexism than racism and homophobia ($ps < .002$). Lastly, each of the eight homophobia vignettes were evaluated as significantly more typical of homophobia than racism or sexism ($ps < .014$). Typicality assessments for racism, sexism, and homophobia are visualized in Figure 1.

Vignette Typicality and Participant Positionality Effects.

Positionality was considered both in the identity-specific and overall degree of marginalized identities held by participants. Participants were designated as marginalized or non-marginalized on identities of interest (race, gender, sexuality) relative to the prototypical Western individual (a straight White man). Analyses were also conducted considering the sum of marginalized identities that the participant holds and how this may affect their vignette typicality ratings

Figure 1

Typicality of each discrimination across vignettes and focal discrimination.



Note. Typicality was measured with a scale of 1 (*Not at all*) to 5 (*Extremely*). Error bars represent +/- 1 SE.

Overall, 12 participants had no marginalized identities (i.e. straight White men), 75 had one, 109 had two, and 30 had three marginalized identities.

Typicality ratings for the focal form of discrimination did not vary by participant race (POC vs. White participants) for racism vignettes, $F(1, 223) = 0, p > .1, \eta_p^2 < .001$, but varied by participant gender (men vs. women and gender non-conforming/GNC) for sexism vignettes, $F(67.43, 1352.6) = 67.43, p = .001, \eta_p^2 = .047$, and by participant sexuality (queer vs. straight) for homophobia vignettes, $F(1, 222) = 8.7, p < .004, \eta_p^2 = 0.04$. Specifically, women/GNC participants and queer participants rated the sexism and homophobia vignettes as more typical of the focal form of discrimination compared to men and straight participants, respectively. Notably, participant identities did not interact with vignette number to predict typicality ratings for discrimination on each relevant identity dimension ($ps > .09$). This null result suggests that although participants who themselves hold a marginalized (vs. non-marginalized) identity on a particular dimension may see that form of discrimination as more typical overall (at least for sexism and homophobia), no such disagreement emerged for *which* specific vignettes were most or least typical.

Participant overall marginalization (indexed by the number of relevant marginalized identities) was significantly associated with greater typicality ratings for the focal form of discrimination across vignette sets for racism, $F(1, 224) = 5.26, p = .023, \eta_p^2 = .02$; sexism, $F(1, 224) = 7.20, p = .008, \eta_p^2 = .03$; and homophobia, $F(1, 224) = 5.99, p = .015, \eta_p^2 = .03$. There were no interactions between vignette number and participant overall marginalization, with ps ranging from .2 to .7.

Vignette Harm Evaluations

Participant harm evaluations varied for each type of discrimination, with some of the eight vignettes rated as significantly more harmful than others within their vignette sets for racism, $F(6.45, 1451.61) = 56.53, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .2$, sexism, $F(6.6, 1485.13) = 16.15, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .07$, and homophobia, $F(1, 222) = 3.9, p = .049, \eta_p^2 = .02$. Tables 2, 3, and 4 display mean harm ratings of each vignette within the racism, sexism, and homophobia vignette sets respectively.

Vignette Harm and Participant Positionality Effects

I first analyzed how holding a marginalized identity relevant to the focal discrimination of a vignette set would affect a participant's harm ratings for the vignettes. Queer participants rated the homophobia vignettes as more harmful than straight participants, $F(1, 222) = 3.9, p = .049, \eta_p^2 = .02$, but there were no effects of participant race, $F(1, 223) = 1.35, p > .2, \eta_p^2 = .01$, nor gender, $F(1, 223) = 3.22, p = .074, \eta_p^2 = .01$, on vignette harm evaluations for racism and sexism, respectively. There were no significant interactions between individual participant identities and which specific vignettes were rated as more versus less harmful, $ps > .1$.

Overall participant marginalization (i.e., holding more marginalized identities) was associated with higher harm evaluations for racism vignettes, $F(1, 224) = 8.02, p = 0.005, \eta_p^2 = 0.03$, homophobia vignettes, $F(1, 224) = 6.16, p = 0.014, \eta_p^2 = 0.03$, and (marginally) sexism vignettes, $F(1, 224) = 3.34, p = 0.069, \eta_p^2 = 0.01$. There were no interactions between participant marginalization and vignette for harmfulness ratings, ps from .4 to .7.

Discussion

In each set of vignettes representing racism, sexism, and homophobia, some vignettes were significantly more typical of the focal form of discrimination than other vignettes, and

(often) also considered significantly more harmful. These ratings were retained in analyses for the Main Study to determine whether vignette typicality and harmfulness influence participant attributions to identity-specific discrimination.

There was no significant effect of participant race on typicality assessments for the racism vignettes, but this may be because the participant pool I studied were majority non-Black students. Women and queer participants found the sexism and homophobia vignettes (respectively) to be more typical of their focal discrimination than men and straight participants, demonstrating a stark effect of belonging to the marginalized group who may experience this discrimination in their day-to-day lives. Participant identities did not interact with individual vignettes for typicality, indicating that even though women and queer participants evaluated the associated vignettes as more typical, there was no disagreement within these groups about which specific vignettes were more vs. less typical. Further, participants who were more (vs. less) marginalized found the vignettes to be more typical of their focal discrimination, regardless of whether that was race, gender, or sexuality.

Like typicality assessments, participant evaluations of vignette harmfulness show that within each discrimination type there are several vignettes considered to be more harmful than others. Queer participant found several of the homophobia vignettes to be more harmful than others in the set, but there were no gender or race effects on the sexism and racism vignette harmfulness evaluations. Considering each participant's overall marginalization, those with more (vs. fewer) marginalized identities viewed some vignettes as significantly more harmful than others in the racism and homophobia vignette set. The same effect was marginal but non-significant for the sexism vignettes. Participant's unique and overall marginalization did not interact with harmfulness evaluations at any point.

CHAPTER 3: ATTRIBUTIONS TO DISCRIMINATION

In the Main Study, I randomized the identities of the vignette targets to determine whether a target's degree of marginalization influences participants' attributions to identity-specific discrimination. The target either had only one marginalized identity, the focal marginalized identity that was relevant to vignette discrimination type, or they had one or two additional marginalized identities. For example, the vignettes asking about sexism targets included White straight women (single marginalized identity), White lesbians and Black straight women (two marginalized identities), and Black lesbians (three marginalized identities). This experimental variation allowed me to test the primary hypothesis that participants would make lower attributions to discrimination for targets with multiple marginalized identities compared to singly marginalized targets. I recruited participants with diverse identities relevant to each of the focal kinds of discrimination. This was done to facilitate analyses of whether perceivers who have one or more marginalized identities make higher attributions to discrimination than less marginalized peers. Participants also responded to the Intersectional Awareness Questionnaire (IAQ), which was analyzed for effects on discrimination attribution alongside target and participant marginalization.

Method

Participants and Protocol.

Initially, 988 undergraduates participated for course credit in three waves: June-August 2021 ($n = 94$); September-December 2021 ($n = 357$); and October-December 2022 ($n = 418$). In the first and second waves of general recruitment participants were randomly assigned across the three conditions, whereas the third intentionally oversampled participants from groups of interest

to facilitate robust between-groups analyses on marginality variables within each condition. Analyses excluded 70 participants for a completion time that was less than half the median, 15 participants who withdrew consent, 14 duplicate submissions, 9 participants whose suspicion-probe responses indicated that they had some idea of the study's research questions, and 4 participants for "long-string" (Meade & Craig, 2012) data quality issues. Of the original sample, 88% (876 participants) were retained for analyses; 226 in the Racism condition, 334 in the Sexism condition, and 316 in the Homophobia condition. The retained sample was predominantly young (95.8% under 27), people of color (62.4%, including 19.1% East Asian, 18.2% South Asian, 7% Black), and women (63%). Woman of color made up 39.8% of the sample, and queer participants form 30.8% of the retained sample (see Table 1).

Post-consent, participants viewed a cover story describing the survey contents as reflective of a community sample; these cover stories varied depending on the condition/focal discrimination and can be found in Appendix B. Each participant evaluated eight vignettes from the pre-study (taken from one discrimination domain: racism, sexism, or homophobia) on the likelihood that the vignette target was experiencing identity-specific discrimination. After completing two suspicion items, participants responded to measures intended to gauge intersectional awareness before responding to the demographic items used in the pre-study. After a final suspicion probe, the survey was concluded.

Materials.

Vignettes, target profiles, and likelihood statements vary by condition, but the demographic, IAQ, and suspicion materials were presented to all participants. In addition to the materials below, participants were asked to share if any elements of the survey were confusing to

them (open-entry question) before concluding the survey and providing participants with the feedback letter.

Vignettes and Target Profiles

Participants completed one of three conditions: racism, sexism, or homophobia. Each condition used the eight pre-study vignettes for each focal discrimination, adding demographic information about the vignette target. This information was in the form of a *target profile* describing the name, age, race, gender, and sexuality of the target in the vignette. These target profiles were designed to reflect prototypical targets of the discrimination of interest, targets with two marginalized identities (including the identity of interest), and targets with two marginalized identities (including the identity of interest). The target profiles by condition are reported in Appendix C, and vignette contents are provided in full in Appendix D.

Discrimination Attribution

The vignettes were presented one-per-page, and participants indicated on a scale of 1 (*Very Unlikely*) to 7 (*Very Likely*) “How likely is it that [target’s name] experienced this treatment because [s/he is Black] [she is a woman] [s/he is gay]?” for each vignette. Whether the inquiry was regarding race, gender, or sexuality depended on which condition the participant was assigned to. This likelihood measure is the primary dependent variable for observing the effects of target marginalization on discrimination attribution.

Suspicion Items

Two open-entry suspicion probes were included in the survey, and presented immediately after participants rated the eight vignettes. Participants were informed that the survey is not yet complete, but the researchers were interested in their responses to these items at this time. The

first item, “Please briefly describe in your own words what the study is about”, is intended to capture whether participants would describe the research in a way that reflects the true purpose of the study (how demographic traits influence discrimination attributions). The second item asked participants whether there were any suspicious elements to the study and invited them to describe their suspicions; this question was also intended to capture whether participants were cognizant of the identity traits (and their variation) despite the cover story.

Intersectional Awareness Questionnaire (IAQ)

Participants completed the IAQ (Curtin et al., 2015), indicating their agreement with 13 statements from 1 (*Very Strongly Disagree*) to 5 (*Very Strongly Agree*). The statements are included in full in Appendix E, with minor grammatical edits made to the original statements. Items 1 through 8 capture intersectional awareness and Items 9 through 12 measure singular awareness; Item 13 was dropped from analyses due to poor factor loading. Analyses for this measure will focus on the intersectional awareness subscale only, shortened from 8 items ($\alpha = .80$) to 7 items ($\alpha = .83$), omitting IAQ item #3.

Results

Data Characteristics.

Skew and kurtosis were assessed for discrimination attributions (likelihood) and IAQ responses; skew and kurtosis were within standard bounds (Kline, 1998). There were no outliers in discrimination attributions, but there were several outliers in the IAQ responses. All seven of the retained Intersectional Awareness items (items 1 through 8, item 3 omitted) had statistical outliers where participants reported a much lower score on the items compared to most of the

sample. There was a total of 82 outlier cases corrected; IA item #8 had the lowest rate of outliers (5) while item #1 had the highest (28).

Analytic Approach

Analyses on independent variables of interest were analyzed in a multi-level model (MLM), nesting ratings for each vignette within participants. Due to the staggered data collection cohort effects were analyzed in an MLM that included condition (significant condition effects outlined below) and cohort. A significant effect of cohort, $F(1,6249.23) = 17.73, p < .001$, disappeared when accounting for the changing demographics of later cohorts, which were more likely to include individuals with the focal marginalized identity, so this predictor was dropped from subsequent models. Table 6 provides unstandardized coefficients from select regression analyses discussed below.

Condition Effects

A significant condition effect emerged for attributions to discrimination, $F(2,4289.22) = 384.4, p < .001$, such that—averaging across the vignettes in each set—participants made stronger attributions to racism ($M = 4.82, SD = 0.82$) and homophobia ($M = 5.07, SD = 0.86$) than to sexism at ($M = 4.08, SD = 1.03$). Mean attributions to discrimination are presented in Table 5.

Effects of Target Marginalization

My primary research question was whether varying target marginalization influences observers' identification of discrimination. As I hypothesized, targets with several marginalized identities received lower attributions to identity-focused discrimination than targets with fewer marginalized identities, $b = -0.08, SE = 0.03, t(1,6155.7) = 2.89, p = .004$. The model was run

Table 5.*Attributions to discrimination for each vignette within the main study.*

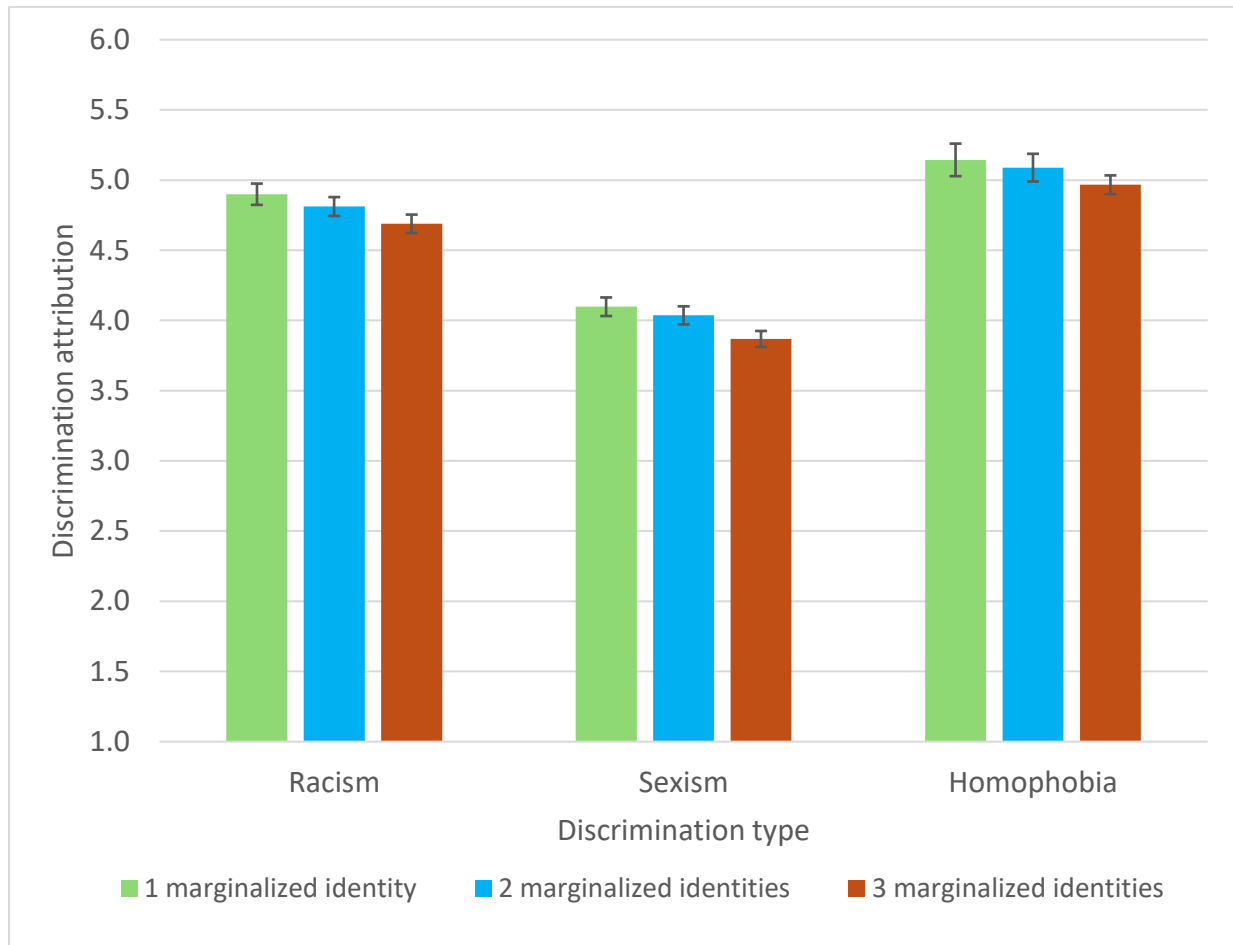
Condition	Vignette (#)	Attribution to Discrimination
		Mean (SD)
Racism	Pharmacy Clerk (1)	4.55 (1.48)
	Phone Interview (2)	2.74 (1.38)
	Class Question (3)	5.99 (1.20)
	Bus Change (4)	4.01 (1.73)
	ATM Line (5)	5.63 (1.22)
	Store Alarm (6)	4.47 (1.48)
	Salt Refill (7)	5.65 (1.25)
	Police Check (8)	5.49 (1.20)
Sexism	Math Grade (9)	3.77 (1.49)
	Grad Mentor (10)	3.98 (1.36)
	Manger Hire (11)	4.16 (1.49)
	Colleague Repeats (12)	5.41 (1.37)
	Class Question (13)	2.52 (1.53)
	Meeting Notes (14)	4.28 (1.73)
	Challenge Stereotype (15)	4.06 (1.71)
	Presentation Feedback (16)	4.42 (1.61)
Homophobia	Wedding (17)	4.39 (1.62)
	Rural Hotel (18)	5.35 (1.48)
	School Event (19)	5.20 (1.25)
	Family Reunion (20)	6.23 (0.94)
	Interview Married (21)	4.09 (1.46)
	Work Picnic (22)	5.46 (1.28)
	Date Night (23)	4.55 (1.52)
	Gym Bag (24)	5.30 (1.48)

Note. Attribution to discrimination was measured from 1 (*Very Unlikely*) to 7 (*Very Likely*).

again after splitting the data by condition and target marginalization effects persists for attributions to homophobia, $b = -0.09$, $SE = 0.04$, $t(1,2345.81) = 2.14$, $p = .033$, but not sexism, $b = -0.05$, $SE = 0.05$, $t(1,2519.72) = 1.14$, $p = .256$, nor racism, $b = -0.09$, $SE = 0.05$, $t(1,1453.1) = 1.69$, $p = .091$. There were no interactions between condition and target marginalization on discrimination attributions, $ps > .59$. Attributions to discrimination by target marginalization within each condition are presented in Figure 2.

Figure 2.

Attributions to discrimination by target marginalization.



Note. Target marginalization was computed by considering the number of marginalized identities (race, gender, sexuality) that the target held. Error bars represent +/- 1 SE.

Effects of Participant Race, Gender, and Sexuality on Attributions

Models were run to analyze whether a participant's marginalization on identities of interest had an effect on their attributions to discrimination. Each identity was effects coded such

that the marginalized identity is -1, and the majority identity +1, so negative regression estimates reflect stronger attributions to discrimination by participants with (vs. without) a given marginalized identity. I first analyzed marginalization effects of each identity ground of interest (race, gender, sexuality). In the full dataset there were significant effects of participant race, $b = -0.04$, $SE = 0.02$, $t(1,6180.32) = 2.06$, $p = .039$, gender, $b = -0.3$, $SE = 0.02$, $t(1,5817.94) = 13.2$, $p < .001$, and sexuality, $b = -0.22$, $SE = 0.02$, $t(1,5231.65) = 9.71$, $p < .001$, where participants who are marginalized on the relevant identity made stronger attributions to discrimination than those who were not. Condition effects were significant in each of these analyses as well, $F_s > 165$, $p_s < .001$, so participant identities were analyzed again within each condition to determine their effects discrimination attributions.

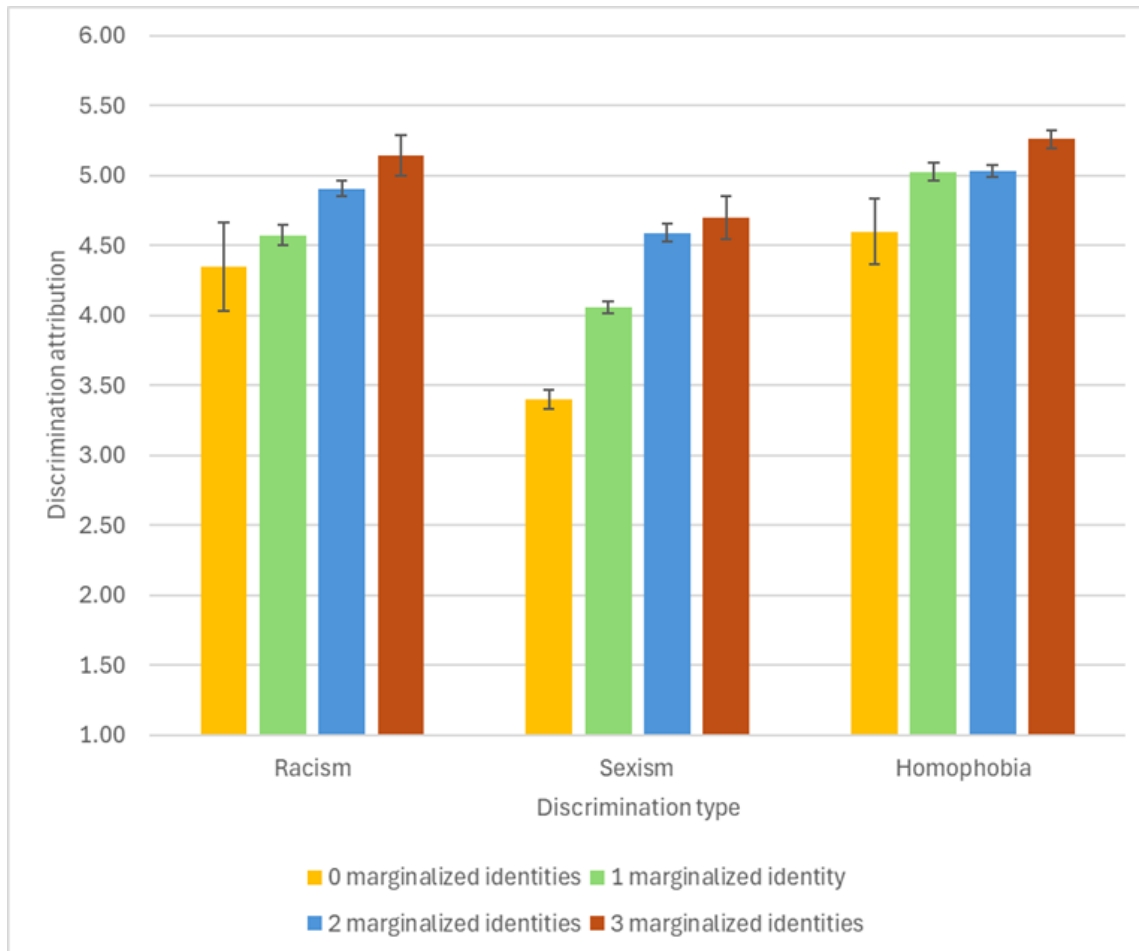
Within-condition analyses indicated that participants who were marginalized on a given identity consistently gave higher discrimination attributions for each form of discrimination than their majority counterparts, the only exception being that participant race was not associated with attributions to homophobia, $b = 0.04$, $SE = 0.03$, $t(1,2326.15) = 1.42$, $p = .157$. Attributions to racism were higher for participants with marginalized racial identities, $b = -0.1$, $SE = 0.04$, $t(1,1460.69) = 2.40$, $p = .017$, marginalized gender identities, $b = -0.13$, $SE = 0.05$, $t(1,1409.58) = 2.61$, $p = .009$, or marginalized sexualities, $b = -0.26$, $SE = 0.04$, $t(1,1383.89) = 5.98$, $p < .001$. The same pattern emerges for attributions to sexism, which were higher among participants with a marginalized racial identity, $b = -0.11$, $SE = 0.03$, $t(1,2499.72) = 3.17$, $p = .002$, gender identity, $b = -0.46$, $SE = 0.03$, $t(1,2451.13) = 14.48$, $p < .001$, or sexual orientation, $b = -0.26$, $SE = 0.05$, $t(1,2414.96) = 5.19$, $p < .001$. Lastly, participants with marginalized gender ($b = -0.15$, $SE = 0.04$, $t(1,2206.6) = 3.45$, $p = .001$) and sexual identities ($b = -0.18$, $SE = 0.03$, $t(1,2281.14) = 5.90$, $p < .001$) made greater attributions to homophobia.

Effects of Overall Participant Marginalization

Overall participant marginalization was calculated by summing the number of marginalized identities a participant held. A linear effect indicated that participants with more (vs. fewer) marginalized identities made stronger attributions to discrimination, $b = 0.33$, $SE = 0.03$, $t(1,6246.35) = 13.23$, $p < .001$. Mean attributions to discrimination for participants with zero, one, two, and three marginalized identities are presented in Figure 3.

Figure 3.

Participant marginalization and attributions to discrimination.



Note. Participant marginalization was computed by summing the number of marginalized identities the target held from identities of interest (race, gender, sexuality). Error bars represent +/- 1 SE.

Controlling for condition effects, participant marginalization effects persisted for attributions to racism, $b = 0.35$, $SE = 0.06$, $t(1,1440.61) = 6.10$, $p < .001$, sexism, $b = 0.51$, $SE = 0.04$, $t(1,2505.36) = 12.9$, $p < .001$, and homophobia, $b = 0.15$, $SE = 0.04$, $t(1,2339.71) = 3.72$, $p < .001$. When target marginalization was included in the overall model, both target and participant marginalization independently predicted discrimination attributions, $b = -0.08$, $SE = 0.03$, $t(1,6166.72) = 2.80$, $p = .005$. and $b = 0.33$, $SE = 0.03$, $t(1,6249.36) = 13.21$, $p < .001$, respectively. Given a condition effect ($p < .001$), separate analyses within each condition found that participant marginalization was significantly associated with attributions to discrimination in each condition ($bs > .1$, $ps < .001$). In comparison, target marginalization effects remained significant only for attributions to homophobia, $b = -0.09$, $SE = 0.04$, $t(1,2340.69) = 2.11$, $p = .035$. Target marginalization had no significant effect on attributions to racism, $b = -0.09$, $SE = 0.08$, $t(1,1384.16) = 1.08$, $p = .282$, or sexism, $b = 0.06$, $SE = 0.06$, $t(1,2408.98) = 1.09$, $p = .274$. Notably, participant and target marginalization did not interact to predict discrimination attributions within the overall data set, $b = -0.03$, $SE = 0.03$, $t(1,6028.62) = 0.80$, $p = .424$, nor when split by condition, $|bs| < .09$, $ps > .27$.

Intersectional Awareness

Associations between Intersectional Awareness (IA) and attributions to discrimination were analyzed by mean-centering the 7-item Intersectional Awareness scale and adding it to a model that considered condition effects alongside participant race, gender, and sexuality. Higher IA scores were associated with greater attributions to discrimination, $b = 0.51$, $SE = 0.03$, $t(1,5655.4) = 14.95$, $p < .001$, and participant identity effects (marginalized race, gender, or sexuality) remained significant. In a separate model with participant marginalization, target marginalization, and IA, higher IA scores were again associated with greater attributions to

discrimination, $b = 0.59$, $SE = 0.03$, $t(1,6064.73) = 18.28$, $p < .001$. Participant and target marginalization effects remained significant. In a final model testing for moderation, IA did not interact with target marginalization effects ($b = 0.02$, $SE = 0.04$, $t(1,6176.27) = 0.46$, $p = .644$) or participant marginalization effects ($b = -0.01$, $SE = 0.04$, $t(1,6123.3) = 0.37$, $p = .713$) to predict attributions to discrimination.

Given the previously reported condition effects on attributions to discrimination, follow-up analyses tested the model with both marginalization effects and IA scores within each condition. IA was significantly associated with stronger attributions to discrimination within each condition, as in earlier models, but participant marginalization remained significant only for attributions to racism, $b = 0.22$, $SE = 0.06$, $t(1,1377.31) = 3.92$, $p < .001$, and sexism, $b = 0.37$, $SE = 0.04$, $t(1,2479.45) = 9.21$, $p < .001$. Participant marginalization effects became non-significant for homophobia, $b = 0.06$, $SE = 0.04$, $t(1,2304.82) = 1.43$, $p = .154$. Target marginalization effects remained significant for homophobia, $b = -0.09$, $SE = 0.04$, $t(1,2306.73) = 2.21$, $p = .027$, but not for racism ($p = .099$) nor sexism ($p = .327$). This reflects the earlier patterns of target marginalization.

Vignette Typicality and Harm Effects on Attributions to Discrimination

An additional research question is whether vignette typicality and harm influences attributions to discrimination. Recall that harm and typicality evaluations for each vignette were positively correlated in the earlier material validation study ($ps < .001$). The mean typicality and harm for each vignette was calculated from material validation data and imported into the main study dataset, after which these variables were mean centered to facilitate analysis of more versus less typical and harmful vignettes.

Vignette Typicality

A model that included condition and typicality as predictors revealed that more typical vignettes elicited higher attributions to discrimination than less typical vignettes, $b = 0.95$, $SE = 0.04$, $t(1,1674.14) = 26.11$, $p < .001$. Splitting the data on condition, typicality ratings significantly predicted attributions to racism, $b = -0.33$, $SE = 0.06$, $t(1,698.86) = 5.93$, $p < .001$, sexism, $b = 1.07$, $SE = 0.05$, $t(1,682.43) = 22.8$, $p < .001$ and homophobia, $b = 1.78$, $SE = 0.09$, $t(1,985.16) = 20.15$, $p < .001$. Note that more typical instances of sexism and homophobia elicited higher discrimination attributions, but more typical instances of racism caused *lower* attribution to discrimination. Probing the data, I suspect that attributions to racism for the Class Question vignette are disrupting the pattern. This vignette was seen as the least typical ($M = 1.76$, $SD = 1.09$) and least harmful ($M = 1.95$, $SD = 1.00$) of the racism vignettes, however participants made the highest attributions to racism for the Class Question vignette ($M = 5.99$, $SD = 1.20$) compared to other racism vignettes. This juxtaposition between the low harm/typicality ratings and high attributions to racism for the Class Question vignette are likely driving the negative effect of typicality for racism attributions.

Typicality and Target Marginalization

In a model analyzing condition, vignette typicality, and target marginalization, more marginalized targets continued to receive lower attributions to discrimination, $b = -0.08$, $SE = 0.03$, $t(1,6042.41) = 3.08$, $p = .002$. Vignettes that were rated as more typical of their focal form of discrimination continued to receive higher discrimination attributions overall $b = 0.95$, $SE = 0.04$, $t(1,1667.15) = 26.12$, $p < .001$. Within homophobia ($b = 1.78$, $SE = 0.09$, $t(1,983.3) = 20.05$, $p < .001$) and sexism ($b = 1.07$, $SE = 0.05$, $t(1,680.05) = 22.79$, $p < .001$) more typical vignettes continue to receive higher attributions to discrimination. This pattern changes for

racism evaluations, as before, where more typical vignettes result in lower attributions to discrimination ($b = -0.33$, $SE = 0.06$, $t(1,695.65) = 5.88$, $p < .001$); the possible causes of this change are previously discussed. As in prior within-condition analyses, target marginalization was only marginally related to attributions to homophobia when considering the effects of vignette typicality, $b = -0.07$, $SE = 0.04$, $t(1,2126.11) = 1.73$, $p = .084$. Although there was an interaction between vignette typicality and target marginalization in the overall sample, $b = 0.11$, $SE = 0.05$, $t(1,1484.86) = 2.16$, $p = .031$, vignette typicality and target marginalization did not significantly interact to predict discrimination attributions within any condition ($ps > .102$).

Typicality and Participant Marginalization

Modelling discrimination attribution by condition with vignette typicality and participant marginalization, significant effects emerged in the overall sample for participant marginalization ($b = 0.33$, $SE = 0.02$, $t(1,6023.59) = 13.49$, $p < .001$) and vignette typicality, $b = 0.95$, $SE = 0.04$, $t(1,1632.09) = 26.49$, $p < .001$. These effects remain significant when analyzed within each condition, $ps < .001$. There were no significant interactions between vignette typicality and participant marginalization on discrimination attributions, $b = -0.04$, $SE = 0.04$, $t(1,1426.92) = 0.93$, $p = .352$.

When included altogether in one model (including condition effects), there are significant effects of vignette typicality ($b = 0.95$, $SE = 0.04$, $t(1,1624.71) = 26.5$, $p < .001$), target marginalization ($b = -0.08$, $SE = 0.03$, $t(1,6097.93) = 3.02$, $p = .003$), and participant marginalization ($b = 0.33$, $SE = 0.02$, $t(1,6034.96) = 13.47$, $p < .001$) on discrimination attributions. As before, only vignette typicality and participant marginalization remain as significant effects when discrimination attributions are split by condition ($ps < .001$), and target marginalization effects were absent in each condition ($p > .1$).

Vignette Harmfulness on Discrimination Attribution

Vignettes rated as more harmful elicited higher attributions to discrimination overall, $b = 1.06$, $SE = 0.05$, $t(1,1595.45) = 22.8$, $p < .001$. Considering vignette harm alongside target and participant marginalization effects (both separately and together), harm effects remained significant, $ps < .001$, and marginalization effects were also significant, $ps < .004$. An interaction occurred in the overall sample between harm evaluations and target marginalization, $b = 0.18$, $SE = 0.07$, $t(1,1459.22) = 2.69$, $p = .007$, but this interaction became non-significant within each condition, $ps > .111$. A marginal interaction occurred between harm evaluations and participant marginalization in the overall sample, $b = -0.1$, $SE = 0.06$, $t(1,1550.51) = 1.88$, $p = .061$, which was non-significant within conditions ($ps > .260$).

When split by condition, harm effects remained significant. Sexism ($b = 1.26$, $SE = 0.05$, $t(1,850.72) = 23.74$, $p < .001$) and homophobia ($b = 2.65$, $SE = 0.13$, $t(1,1067.2) = 21.15$, $p < .001$) received higher attributions to discrimination as perceived harm increased. However, racism demonstrates the opposite effect, $b = -0.82$, $SE = 0.07$, $t(1,503.85) = -11.26$, $p < .001$, where more harmful vignettes received lower attributions to discrimination. As discussed earlier, the Class Question vignette was seen as the least typical and least harmful vignette during material validation but received the highest attributions to racism from the racism vignettes. This stark difference is likely driving the negative effect of harm perceptions on racism attributions. Target marginalization (as before) becomes non-significant within each condition, $ps > .105$, while participant marginalization remained significant $ps < .001$.

Cumulative Effects of Independent Variables on Attribution to Discrimination

A final model was run to analyze the effects target marginalization, participant marginalization, IA scores, harm ratings, and typicality ratings in tandem; regression results are

presented in Table 6. Considering the sample overall, all the effects investigated here had a significant influence on discrimination attribution. Increased target marginalization continued to reduce discrimination attributions ($b = -0.08$, $SE = 0.03$, $t(1,6002.63) = 3.19$, $p = .001$), and participants with increased marginalized identities or higher IA scores had positive effects on discrimination attribution (b 's $> .218$, p 's $< .001$). Vignettes that were seen as more typical of their intended discrimination received higher attributions to discrimination as well, $b = 1.45$, $SE = 0.09$, $t(1,1121.18) = 15.86$, $p < .001$. Unexpectedly, the coefficient for harmfulness effects becomes sharply negative in this overall model, $b = -0.65$, $SE = 0.12$, $t(1,1171.94) = 5.67$, $p < .000$. This was the first model where vignette typicality and harmfulness evaluations were considered simultaneously, and a model with only these two variables show an overall harmfulness effect of $b = -0.89$, $SE = 0.12$, $t(1,929.47) = 7.72$, $p < .001$.

Analyzing these effects within condition, there is a degree of variation between discrimination types. Within discrimination attributions for racism, target marginalization became non-significant ($b = -0.09$, $SE = 0.05$, $t(1,1552.1) = 1.8$, $p = .071$) and harmfulness effects strengthened ($b = -2.75$, $SE = 0.13$, $t(1,598.55) = 21.46$, $p < .001$). The effects of participant marginalization, vignette typicality, and IA score were comparable to the overall model. Typicality, IA score, and participant marginalization continued to have significant effects on attributions to sexism, while target marginalization ($b = -0.05$, $SE = 0.04$, $t(1,2581.87) = 1.23$, $p = .219$) and vignette harmfulness ($b = 0.12$, $SE = 0.28$, $t(1,2251.1) = 0.42$, $p = .675$) became non-significant. Lastly, for attributions to homophobia, vignette harmfulness ($b = 2.79$, $SE = 0.38$, $t(1,1067.61) = 7.32$, $p < .001$) and IA scores ($b = 0.57$, $SE = 0.05$, $t(1,2103.05) = 11.09$, $p < .001$) remained as significant effects. Target marginalization effects for homophobia attributions were marginal ($b = -0.07$, $SE = 0.04$, $t(1,2150.89) = 1.92$, $p = .055$) and participant

marginalization and vignette typicality become non-significant ($ps > .158$). These results are summarized in Table 6.

Discussion

The purpose of the experimental Main Study was to identify possible effects of (1) target and (2) participant marginalization on discrimination attribution in ambiguous circumstances, and (3) whether these effects interact. Overall, participants made lower attributions to discrimination for targets that violate prototypical target expectations, with a coefficient of $b = -0.08$ for target marginalization effects. Although this effect only remained significant for homophobia when looking within conditions ($b = -0.09$, $p = .004$), the non-significant effect observed for racism had the same coefficient, $b = -0.09$. This suggests that although the effect was statistically insignificant within this study for racism attributions, a larger sample size may capture the significant effect of target marginalization for attributions to anti-Black discrimination.

Table 6.

Main study regression models and unstandardized coefficients.

Model	Predictor	Overall	Racism	Sexism	Homophobia
		B (SE)	B (SE)	B (SE)	B (SE)
1: Basic	Target marginalization	-.08 (.03)**	-.09 (.05) [†]	-.05 (.03)	-.09 (.04)**
	Participant marginalization	.34 (.03)***	.35 (.06)**	.51 (.04)***	.15 (.04)***
1: Basic + secondary	Target marginalization	-.08 (.03)***	-.09 (.13) [†]	-.05 (.04)	-.07 (.04) [†]
	Participant marginalization	.22 (.03)***	.20 (.06)***	.37 (.04)***	.05 (.04)
	Intersectional awareness	.56 (.03)***	.48 (.06)***	.57 (.05)***	.57 (.05)***
	Typicality	1.45 (.09)***	1.60 (.10)***	.98 (.24)***	-.11 (.27)
	Harmfulness	-.66 (.12)***	-2.75 (.13)***	.12 (.28)	2.79 (.38)**

2: Interaction	Target x participant marginalization	-.03 (.03)	-.09 (.09)	.07 (.06)	.03 (.06)
3: Moderation of target marginalization	Intersectional awareness	.02 (.04)	-.11 (.09)	.10 (.07)	.08 (.08)
	Typicality	.11 (.05)	-.09 (.08)	.11 (.07)	.14 (.13)
	Harmfulness	.18 (.07)**	.00 (.10)	.12 (.08)	.16 (.18)
3: Moderation of participant marginalization	Intersectional awareness	-.01 (.04)	.08 (.10)	.00 (.07)	.04 (.07)
	Typicality	-.04 (.04)	.09 (.09)	.00 (.06)	-.01 (.12)
	Harmfulness	-.10 (.06) [†]	.13 (.12)	-.03 (.07)	-.06 (.17)

Note. [†] $p < .1$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Turning to participant marginalization, those with a marginalized race, gender, or sexuality gave higher attributions to discrimination than their majority counterparts. This effect persisted when assessing within each condition *except for* when racially marginalized participants made attributions to homophobia, where the effect is non-significant. Further, participants with a greater number of overall marginalized identities made greater attributions to discrimination than those with fewer marginalized identities, regardless of whether the analysis was overall or within conditions. When both target and participant marginalization were considered, the two effects continued to decrease and increase attribution rates, respectively. Within conditions, target marginalization effects remain significant only for homophobia attributions, while participant marginalization effects remain in each condition. There were no interactions between target and participant marginalization at any point.

A secondary research question of Study 1 was (4) whether a participant's Intersectional Awareness (IA) influences their attributions to discrimination. Participants with higher degrees of IA made significantly higher attributions to discrimination than those without, and this effect

persisted when target and participant marginalization effects were included in the model. IA effects remained significant within each condition, where those with higher IA made higher attributions to discrimination, but participant marginalization only remained significant for racism and sexism attributions; a participant's own marginalization became irrelevant to their attributions to homophobia. Target marginalization effects within condition were unchanged by IA; when IA effects on attributions are considered, homophobia continued to be the only discrimination condition where a more marginalized target received lower attributions to discrimination compared to less marginalized targets. A notable result is that IA scores did not interact with either target or participant marginalization on discrimination attributions. This suggests that an increased awareness of intersectionality does not buffer an observer from making lower attributions to identity-specific discrimination for non-prototypical observers, even though higher IA is associated with higher attributions overall.

Lastly, I was interested in (5) whether vignette typicality and harmfulness scores (collected in the pre-study) influence discrimination attribution. The two were first analyzed separately from each other and then analyzed for their effects together on discrimination attribution. First analyzing vignette typicality, a pattern emerged where more typical vignettes received higher discrimination attributions than less typical vignettes *except for* attributions to racism. For racism, more typical vignettes elicited significantly *lower* attributions to discrimination; I suspect that this effect is driven by the Class Question evaluations of racism, as discussed earlier. Looking at vignette harmfulness effects, vignettes that were more harmful received higher attributions to discrimination in the overall sample and within each condition. In a model assessing vignette harmfulness and typicality effects together on attribution, the overall effect of vignette harmfulness changes to become negative. Analyzing within each condition, the

effect of vignette harmfulness changes vastly cross discrimination forms; more harmful vignettes receive higher attributions to homophobia, lower attributions to racism, and harm has no effect on attributions to sexism.

CHAPTER 4: GENERAL DISCUSSION

Through an experimental study design, I investigated the effects of target marginalization and participant marginalization on one's ability to identify ambiguous discrimination. There was a significant effect of target prototypicality overall, where non-prototypical targets were viewed as less likely to be experiencing identity-specific discrimination compared to prototypical targets, and the effect remains when looking at attributions to homophobia specifically. The marginally non-significant effect of invisibility observed for racism was a comparable size to the significant effect of target marginalization for homophobia, suggesting that an invisibility effect may be present for non-prototypical targets of racism in a larger sample. Target marginalization effects were non-significant for sexism on its own, but sexism vignettes also received significantly lower attributions to discrimination overall compared to racism and homophobia. Consequently, marginalized individuals who do not match cultural prototypes for targets of racism, sexism, or homophobia may be recognized less as potential targets, and therefore may be less likely to receive support from witnesses during or after experiences of discrimination.

A participant's own marginalization also had a significant effect on their discrimination evaluations; individuals who were marginalized on race, gender, or sexuality consistently made higher discrimination attributions compared to participants who were not marginalized on the same identity. The only notable exception to participant marginalization effects is that participants with marginalized racial identities did not make higher attributions to homophobia than White participants. Further, participants who had multiple marginalized identities made higher attributions to discrimination (regardless of condition) than those with a single marginalized identity. Despite the significant positive effect of participant marginalization on discrimination attributions, participant marginalization did *not* interact with target

marginalization. Although multiply marginalized participants make higher attributions to discrimination, they are still subject to a target marginalization effect, making significantly lower attributions to discrimination for non-prototypical targets compared to prototypical targets.

I was also interested in possible relationships between discrimination attributions and participants' intersectional awareness. Participants with greater intersectional awareness made greater attributions to discrimination overall and within each type of discrimination. Intersectional awareness *did not* interact with target marginalization or participant marginalization for discrimination attributions, suggesting that intersectional awareness does not translate to increased recognition of discrimination against targets with intersectional identities, regardless of whether the observer is marginalized themselves.

Lastly, I investigated the effect that perceptions of vignette typicality and harm had on discrimination attributions. Overall, vignettes that were more typical of their intended discrimination received higher attributions to that discrimination, but within conditions the effect remains positive only for attributions to homophobia. The typicality of sexism vignettes had no effect on sexism attributions, and more typical vignettes of racism received lower attributions to discrimination. Vignette harm had a comparable effect; overall, more harmful vignettes received higher attributions to discrimination, and the effect continues for attributions to sexism and homophobia specifically. Like before, however, racism vignettes that were seen as more harmful received lower attributions to racism. As discussed earlier, I suspect that the change in harm and typicality effects for racism is an artifact of the sharp difference between typicality and harm evaluations for the Class Question vignette, and the attributions that participants made to racism within the vignette.

Limitations

A limitation to the current design is that participants were asked to evaluate the likelihood that a *single* axis of identity (race, gender, or sexuality) was the cause for the treatments described in the vignettes. While this was an intentional choice, the focus on a single type of discrimination for each incident does not allow me to rule out that attributional ambiguity may influence participant evaluations. It may be that as a target has additional marginalized identities, an observer is conscious of the additional marginalized identities (i.e. gender, sexuality when evaluating racism) and considers these identities in addition to the focal identity as plausible sources of discrimination within the vignette. For instance, it may be that when an observer sees a negative incident experienced by a Black queer target, they are uncertain whether to attribute this to racism or homophobia. In contrast, a White queer target does not have the same ambiguity for causes of discrimination. Attributional ambiguity thus provides an alternative explanation for why observers make higher attributions to identity-specific discrimination for prototypical targets than no-prototypical targets.

Another limitation is the simplistic, additive approach to intersectionality that I used. I chose to focus on target marginalization as either “prototypical” or “non-prototypical” targets of the discrimination to reflect the intersectional invisibility model, and conducted analyses comparing targets with one, two, or three marginalized identities. This approach is not sensitive to the way that one’s identities can be influenced and shaped by each other (Crenshaw, 1989), nor does it consider the ways that stereotypes about marginalized identities can inform predictions about the legal outcomes for multiply marginalized individuals, such as the believability and financial outcomes for Black women pursuing claims of sexism versus racism (De Leon & Rosette, 2022).

A further limitation is that the items were drawn from prior research that may have been grounded in the discrimination experienced by prototypical targets. It is possible that the researchers who developed these discrimination vignettes were thinking of the kinds of racism, sexism, and homophobia that tend to be more commonly experienced by prototypical targets and neglected to include vignettes that were based on distinctive kinds of racism, sexism, and homophobia experienced by intersectional targets –e.g., the racism vignettes did not include experiences of racialized fetishization, like those that South Asian men reported in the research cited in the introduction (Hart et al., 2023). If the vignettes that I used had such a bias built into them, then my results may say more about the intersectional bias of the researchers who designed these vignettes than they do about the intersectional bias of the participants who responded to them.

Lastly, there are limits to this work due to the population that was sampled. Data was collected from undergraduate students at the University of Waterloo, and this convenience sample is predominantly White, South Asian, and East Asian; only 7% of the sample for the main study was Black. While other identity grounds such as participant gender (63% women) and sexuality (33% queer) had sufficient numbers to compare those who are subject to discrimination on that identity against those who are not (i.e. queer participants compared to straight participants), there were not enough Black participants to analyze participant race in the same way. Instead, analyses compared White participants and POC participants when evaluating the role of participant race, leading to a second limitation associated with the sample; it cannot be assumed that non-Black POC are as knowledgeable about anti-Black racism as Black participants due to unique features of historic and modern anti-Black racism compared to other forms of racism. Grouping Black and non-Black POC participants together to represent

participants who may be more familiar with anti-Black racism could weaken any possible effects that come from specifically being Black.

A key strength of this work is the use of a within-participants design for gathering attributions to identity-specific discrimination in Study 1. This design allows for more precise observation of how a single individual's evaluations of discrimination can vary between prototypical and non-prototypical targets. Another strength is the depth of randomization within Study 1 – target profiles were randomly paired with the associated vignettes, and then were presented to participants in a randomized order, removing ordering effects and rigorously evaluating how distinct targets are perceived by observers across a variety of vignettes. A final strength to note is that I used a multi-level modelling approach to test participant responses at the vignette level, allowing me to identify how a participant's evaluations of identity-specific discrimination vary in relation to the target marginalization presented across vignettes.

Implications and Future Directions

When an observer is witnessing a vignette of ambiguous discrimination, they generally make greater attributions to discrimination when the recipient is a prototypical target than when they are non-prototypical, particularly for attributions to homophobia and (marginally) racism. Marginalized observers make higher attributions to discrimination overall but are still subject to making lower attributions when the recipient is a non-prototypical target. As discussed in this research's limitations, the single-item measurement of discrimination does not capture attributional ambiguity; future work should investigate the possibility of attributing identity-specific discrimination to alternate marginalized identities held by the target. For instance, it may be that when an observer sees a negative incident experienced by a Black queer target, they are uncertain whether to attribute this to racism or homophobia, whereas for a White queer target

homophobia is the only relevant ground to attribute discrimination to. Additionally, it may be fruitful in future work to ask observers the likelihood that they believe discrimination has occurred *at all* in the vignette. It is plausible that although observers are making lower attributions to identity-specific discrimination when the target is non-prototypical, observers may still indicate that they believe discrimination has occurred at comparable rates for prototypical and non-prototypical targets despite less certainty about the specific grounds of discrimination.

Conclusion

This research confirms that non-prototypical targets of homophobia and racism (to a marginal extent) receive lower recognition of identity-specific discrimination compared to prototypical targets. Although simple, this has far-reaching implications: discrimination is an unfortunately common experience for marginalized individuals, with serious negative consequences on their psychological and physical well-being. The invisibility that non-prototypical targets experience in the eyes of a bystander should be taken into consideration for future anti-discrimination programs and interventions, as a program that only facilitates recognition for prototypical targets will ultimately fail to support the members of marginalized communities who face discrimination on multiple grounds.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Pilot Vignettes

Vignette #	Vignette Description
1	Someone had completed a job interview over the phone and was in good spirits because the interviewer seemed enthusiastic about their application. Soon afterwards, this person completed a second interview in person and was told that they would hear a decision soon. After two weeks, this person was informed that they did not get the position. ¹
2	Someone was in class and the professor asked a particularly difficult question. A handful of people, including this person, raised their hands to answer the question, and the professor picked another student to answer.
3	Someone had just finished shopping and was leaving the store carrying several bags. It was closing time, and several people were filing out of the store at once. Suddenly, the alarm began to sound, and a security guard came over to this person and asked them to pull out their receipt, while the other customers carried on.
4	Someone needed change for the bus but only had bills. They went into a nearby convenience store that someone at the bus stop said would break bills, but when this person asked for change the employee said no, citing store policy.
5	Someone was standing in line for the ATM and noticed that the woman at the machine was glancing back at them repeatedly while getting her money.
6	Someone was once at a busy restaurant trying to get the attention of their waitress to get their salt refilled. The waitress helped several other people and after almost 5 minutes of trying, this person gave up and ate their food before it got cold.
7	Someone was driving down the street and approached a police barricade. Police officers were randomly pulling people over to check driver's licenses and registrations. The police officers let several people through but when they made eye contact with this person, the police signaled for them pull over.
8	Someone was in a pharmacy picking out a few items. While they were looking at different brands, this person noticed one of the store clerks was frequently glancing their way.
9	Someone once received a low grade on a math test, and realized that there may be a mistake in the grading of one problem. This person approached their professor to ask if he could review the questions, and he seemed reluctant to do so.
10	Someone was meeting their graduate studies mentor for the first time after being accepted into graduate studies. This person noticed that their mentor seemed to be unwelcoming during the conversation.

11	Someone had worked at their job for over a year, and when a position opened up for a manager they approached their boss about it. This person interviewed for the position, but it was given to a new hire from outside of the company.
12	Someone was once in a business meeting and their boss asked for suggestions to improve the productivity of their department. This person shared an idea that was dismissed, but when a colleague shared the same idea worded slightly differently, the idea was praised.
14	Someone needed to join a group for a project in their university course, and the only remaining group was with 3 men. At their first meeting, this person had to take notes because the others in the group did not mention taking notes, nor did they volunteer to take notes.
15	Someone was in a course where the professor presented stereotypes relevant to the course content as facts. This person approached the professor afterwards and politely pointed out that the stereotypes were not facts and should be presented differently in future lessons. This person received a lower grade than their typical grades on the next assignment.
16	Someone was in a course with a heavily graded presentation component. They practiced for the presentation to have a professional, business-like tone, which mirrored the presentation style of their instructor for that course. After the presentation, this person received feedback from the professor that their presentation style was "cold" and "distant", and this was reflected in the grading.
17	Someone had been dating their partner for a few years and received a wedding invitation to a straight friend's wedding. The invite was addressed only to this person, not to this person and a guest.
18	Someone was with their partner on a road trip and decided to check into a hotel in a rural town. The sign out front indicated that there were vacancies, but when they inquired inside, the front desk clerk said there were no rooms left.
19	Someone had noticed that the principal at their child's elementary school had never spoken to themselves and their partner at school events, but this person often saw the principal speaking with other parents.
20	Someone once brought their partner to a family reunion. Two of their more old-fashioned aunts, who were usually very chatty, did not come to talk to this person even though the aunts saw them there.
21	Someone once had a job interview where the interviewer asked if they were married. This person said that they and their partner had been together for 5 years. This person later learned that they did not get the job.
22	Someone once had a supervisor who began raising concerns about their performance at work for the first time ever after this person brought their partner to a company picnic.

23	Someone was on a date with their partner at an upscale restaurant. When they arrived, the hostess seated them in a far corner of the restaurant where there was reduced visibility of other patrons.
24	Someone was at the gym with their partner, and they had brought their gym gear in the same workout bag. This person noticed that some of the other patrons in the change room had collected their things and moved further away from themselves and their partner after seeing them share the items from the gym bag.
<i>Note.</i> Vignette #2 (Class Question) is also vignette #13 for the sexism vignette set, hence why vignette #13 is absent from the table.	

Appendix B: Study 1 Cover Stories

Condition	Cover story
Racism	We recruited a sample of Black individuals from the community to share their lived experiences for a study of the everyday experiences of Black Canadians. We will present these experiences on the following pages, providing you with all of the demographic information provided by the participant (having changed their name for anonymity).
Sexism	We recruited a sample of women from the community to share their lived experiences for a study of the everyday experiences of Canadian women. We will present these experiences on the following pages, providing you with all of the collected demographic information provided by the participant (having changed their name for anonymity).
Homophobia	We recruited a sample of LGBTQ+ individuals from the community to share their lived experiences for a study of the everyday experiences of LGBTQ+ Canadians. We will present these experiences on the following pages, providing you with all of the collected demographic information provided by the participant (having changed their name for anonymity).

Note. The appropriate cover story was presented to participants depending on their condition, followed (for each condition) by the instruction “Please read these experiences and respond to the scale provided for each experience you see.”

Appendix C: Target profile descriptions and frequencies in each condition

Target Profile Description	Racism	Sexism	Homophobia	Target Names
Gay Black woman	1	1	2	Hannah, Samantha
Straight Black woman	3	3	0	Mary, Nora, Robin
Gay Black man	1	0	2	Jordan, Ryan
Straight Black man	3	0	0	Chris, Peter, Thomas
Straight White woman	0	3	0	Alice, Emily, Taylor
Gay White woman	0	1	2	Chloe, Katelyn
Gay White man	0	0	2	Ben, Tyler

Note. Participants also viewed age information about the target, but this information was constant with the vignette/remained the same regardless of the target that was presented.

Appendix D: Main Study Vignettes

Vignette #	Racial Discrimination Vignettes
1	{Target}, a 22-year-old {information}, was in a pharmacy picking out a few items. While {he/she} was looking at different brands, {he/she} noticed one of the store clerks was frequently glancing {his/her} way.
2	{Target}, a 26-year-old {information}, had completed a job interview over the phone, and was in good spirits because the interviewer seemed enthusiastic about {his/her} application. Soon afterwards {Target} completed a second interview in person, and was informed that {he/she} would hear a decision soon. After two weeks {Target} was informed {he/she} did not get the position.
3	{Target}, a 19-year-old {information}, was in class one day, and the professor asked a particularly difficult question. A handful of people, including {Target}, raised their hands to answer the question, and the professor picked another student.
4	{Target}, a 20-year-old {information}, needed change for the bus but only had bills. {He/She} went into a nearby convenience store that someone at the bus stop said would break bills, but when {he/she} asked the employee said no, citing store policy.
5	{Target}, a 21-year-old {information}, was standing in line for the ATM and noticed that the woman at the machine was glancing back at {Target} repeatedly while getting her money.
6	{Target}, a 23-year-old {information}, had just finished shopping and was leaving the store carrying several bags. It's closing time, and several people are filing out of the store at once. Suddenly, the alarm began to sound, and a security guard came over to {Target} and asked {him/her} to pull out {his/her} receipt while the others were allowed to exit.
7	{Target}, a 24-year-old {information}, was once at a busy restaurant trying to get the attention of {his/her} waitress to get {his/her} salt refilled. The waitress helped several other people and after almost 5 minutes of trying, {Target} gave up and ate {his/her} food before it got cold.
8	{Target}, a 25-year-old {information}, was driving down the street and approached a police barricade. Police officers were randomly pulling people over to check drivers' licenses and registrations. The police officers let several people through, but when they made eye contact with {Target}, they signaled for {him/her} to pull over.
Vignette #	Gender Discrimination Vignettes
9	{Target}, a 19-year-old {information} once received a low grade on a math test, and realized that there may be a mistake in the grading of one problem. She

	approached her professor to ask if he could review the questions, and he seemed reluctant to do so.
10	{Target}, a 22-year-old {information}, was meeting her graduate studies mentor for the first time, after being accepted into graduate studies. {Target} noticed that her mentor seemed to be blunt during the conversation.
11	{Target}, a 24-year-old {information}, had worked at her job for over a year, and when a position opened up for a manager, she approached her boss about it. {Target} interviewed for the position, but it was given to a new hire from outside of the company.
12	{Target}, a 26-year-old {information}, was once in a business meeting and her boss asked for suggestions to improve the productivity of her department. {Target} shared an idea that was dismissed, but when a colleague shared the same idea worded slightly differently, the idea was praised.
13	{Target}, a 20-year-old {information}, was in class one day, and the professor asked a particularly difficult question. A handful of people, including {Target}, raised their hands to answer the question, and the professor picked another student.
14	{Target}, a 21-year-old {information}, needed to join a group for a project in her university course, and the only remaining group was with 3 men. At their first project meeting, {Target} had to take notes because when the question of who was going to take notes came up, no one else volunteered.
15	{Target}, a 22-year-old {information}, was once in a course where the professor presented stereotypes relevant to the course content as facts. {Target} approached the professor afterwards and politely pointed out that the stereotypes were not true facts and should be presented differently in future lessons. {Target} received a lower grade than expected on the next assignment.
16	{Target}, a 23-year-old {information}, was in a course with a heavily graded presentation component. After completing her presentation, she practiced for her presentation to have a professional, business-like tone, which mirrored the presentation style of her instructor for that course. After the presentation, she received feedback from the professor that her presentation style was "cold" and "distant", and this was reflected in the grading.
Vignette #	Sexuality Discrimination Vignettes
17	{Target}, a 26-year-old {information}, had been dating someone for a few years now, and {s/he} received a wedding invitation to a straight friend's wedding. The invite was addressed only to {Target}, not to {Target} and a guest.
18	{Target}, a 24-year-old {information}, was with {his/her} partner on a road trip and decided to check into a hotel in a rural town. The sign out front indicated that there were vacancies, but when they inquired inside, the front desk clerk said there were no rooms left.

19	{Target}, a 30-year-old {information}, had noticed that the principal at {his/her} child's elementary school had never spoken to {Target} and {his/her} partner at school events, but {Target} often saw him speaking with other parents".
20	{Target}, a 23-year-old {information}, had brought {his/her} partner to a family reunion. Two of {his/her} more old-fashioned aunts didn't come to talk to {Target}, even though they saw {him/her} there.
21	{Target}, a 27-year-old {information}, once had a job interview where the interviewer asked if {s/he} was married. {Target} said that {s/he} and {his/her} partner had been together for 5 years. {Target} later learned that {s/he} didn't get the job.
22	{Target}, a 25-year-old {information}, once had a supervisor who began raising concerns about {his/her} performance at work for the first time ever after {Target} brought {his/her} partner to a company picnic.
23	{Target}, a 22-year-old {information}, was on a date with {his/her} partner at an upscale restaurant. When they arrived, the hostess seated them in a far corner of the restaurant where there was reduced visibility of other patrons.
24	{Target}, a 21-year-old {information}, was at the gym with {his/her} partner, and they had brought their gym gear in the same workout bag. While they were taking their gear out of the bag and changing, {Target} noticed that other patrons in the change room had collected their things and moved further away from {Target} and {his/her} partner.

Note. Vignettes 3 and 13 are the same vignette, as this vignette appears in both the Anti-Black Racism RSQ and the Gender RSQ. Certain vignettes depict events that are less believably done by someone at a young age (i.e. picking their child up from school), so age was held constant within each vignette rather than associated with the target profile.

Appendix E: Intersectional Awareness Questionnaire

Item #	IAQ Item/Statement
Intersectional awareness (IA) items	
1	We must understand racism as well as sexism
2	Understanding the experiences of women from different ethnic groups is important
3	Homophobia and heterosexism affect the lives of heterosexual people as well as gay men, lesbians, and bisexuals
4	People can belong to multiple social groups
5	People don't think enough about how connections between social class, race, gender, and sexuality affect individuals
6	People who belong to more than one marginalized social group (e.g. lesbians who are also ethnic minorities) have experiences that differ from people who belong to only one such group
7	While there are important differences in how different kinds of oppression work, there are also important similarities
8	Black and White women experience sexism in different ways
Singular awareness (SA) items	
9	Race is the most important issue in the lives of people of color
10	Gender is the most important issue in women's lives
11	Sexuality is the most important issue in gay men's, lesbians', and bisexuals' lives
12	The answer to oppression in all women's lives is the same: end sexism
Neither subscale (omitted from analysis)	
13	Racism impacts the lives of women of color, but we need to focus on the effects of sexism

Note. The IAQ administered in this study contains small punctuation/grammatical corrections (i.e., the original IAQs had “bisexual’s” for plural possessive of bisexual, which was corrected to “bisexuals”). Participants evaluated these statements from 1 (*Very Strongly Disagree*) to 5 (*Very Strongly Agree*). Item 13 was omitted from analysis due to poor factor loading in the current data set, paired with existing poor factor loading for item 13 in Curtain et. al (2012). Item #3 was omitted from analysis for an improved scale alpha = .83 (compared to alpha = .80 with #3 included).