



## **“WITH GREAT POWER COMES GREAT IMPRESSIONABILITY” A STUDY OF THE RELATION BETWEEN STEREOTYPES AND SUPERHEROES**

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### **Abstract**

The present multimethod research examines different stereotypes about race via a comic book superhero lens. This study focuses on the ascription of traits to a superhero figure developed specifically for this research, examining differences in trait ascription based on the race and sexual orientation of the hero. A diverse sample of participants ( $N= 371$ ) were presented random drawings of either White, African American, Hispanic, Middle Eastern, Asian, or Native American superhero images and asked questions about their perceptions of the hero's traits, character role (hero, villain, sidekick), powers, and socioeconomic status. Additionally, hero sexual orientation was manipulated (Heterosexual x Gay), bringing 12 conditions of hero identity that were randomly assigned to participants in a 6 (Race: White x Black x Latinx x Asian x Arab x Native American) x 2 (Sexual Orientation: Heterosexual x Gay) cross-sectional design. Results indicated that participants ascribed certain traits differently based on the race of the hero as well as how race and sexuality of the hero interacted. Additionally, results supported the use of original, fictional images as a means of examining participant perceptions of race and sexuality. These empirical findings can be helpful in the creation and real-world adaptations of comic book superhero media and understanding effects of comic media on the development and dissemination of stereotypes.

### **Keywords**

Stereotypes, Comic book superheroes, Media influences, Sexual orientation, Race

Superhero culture is one of the most popular genres of today's entertainment world (Mayfield, Mayfield, & Genestre, 2001). The spectrum of superhero culture ranges from comic books to action figures to cinematic blockbusters. The superhero genre has many outlets for success, ranging from superhero toys that made up 77% of Marvel's revenue in 1998 (Raviv, 2002), to the Marvel Cinematic Universe that earned over 12 billion dollars in sales through 2017 (Cain, 2017). Although comic book superheroes have been traditionally followed by the “geek” or “nerd” culture, in recent years, their influential reach has become mainstream (McCain, Gentile, & Campbell, 2015; Worldwide Grosses, 2014). Comic stories often express perceptions in culture, politics, and social desires within a given point of time (Reyns, & Henson, 2010). With the superhero genre fan base increasing and moving from small groups to the mainstream, their media influence grows with it (Ndalianis, 2011). Yet the effect of the genre on the perception of various demographic groups remains relatively unexamined. The powerful effects of stereotypes in media along with the impact of superhero culture in media inspired this study. We hope to add to the scant empirical data that examines this rapidly growing media culture. The present study examines the relationship between stereotypes based upon race and sexual orientation and the portrayals of superheroes. We hope to provide a clearer understanding of how comic book superheroes are perceived when presented to potential fan bases.

### **Representation & Stereotypes in Comic Media**

Journalist Walter Lippman (1922) described stereotypes as pictures in our heads. Social psychologists further define them as structured sets of beliefs that contain the perceiver's organized knowledge, beliefs, and expectancies about some human group (Bobo, 2001; Fiske & Taylor, 1991; Steele, 2010). These structures are the foundation of common forms of racism in today's society (Zamudio, & Rios, 2006). Racial/ethnic group stereotypes are considered the most powerful influences in self-image and identity and person perception (Jussim & Fleming, 1996; Kunda, 2000). They are often acquired through both direct and indirect sociocultural/social learning

(Newman, Caldwell, Chamberlin, & Griffin, 2005; Ward, 2004), one such prominent indirect mechanism being the consuming of media messages, such as those from television.

Viewing minority television characters can increase acceptance of members of outgroups to the majority (Mazziotta, Mummendey, & Wright, 2011). Research has found that being able to identify with gay fictional characters establishes empathy, which leads to increases in acceptance (Igartua, 2010). A 2016 study by McLaughlin and Rodriguez found that being able to identify with gay fictional characters could lead to acceptance while at the same time reinforcing gay stereotypes. Stereotypes can be both positive and negative (Czopp, Kay, & Cheryan, 2015; Kahalon, Shnabel, & Becker, 2018; Wheeler, Jarvis, & Petty, 2001). When gay characters are shown portraying even positive stereotypes, they do not allow the characters to be full and complex individuals (Sparks, 2015). Chung (2007) found that being exposed to media that only contains stereotypical portrayals of sexual minorities results in its consumers developing false assumptions of sexual minorities. The intersection of racial and sexual identities may result in stereotypes surrounding sexuality altering the extent to which racial characteristics/stereotypes are ascribed to racial/ethnic minority men (Petsko & Bodenhausen, 2019).

Stereotypes are often implied from facial appearances and physical attributes (Zwebner, Sellier, Rosenfeld, Goldenberg, & Mayo, 2017). Similarly, superhero figures are often evaluated by their appearance and attributes (Singer, 2002). Comic books often depict gendered and racialized images (Baker, & Raney, 2007). These, in turn, can affect how other media outlets portray gendered and racialized superheroes (Barker, 1989; Collins, 2011; Coyne et al, 2017; Singer, 2002). Although Marvel has taken steps to embrace different angles and diversify their media (Ostroff, 2016), and there have been attempts at stereotype reduction in the media (Mastro, 2015; Mastro, 2009; Paluck, 2009; Ramasubramanian, 2007, 2011; Tukachinsky, Mastro, & Yarchi, 2015) stereotypical portrayals persist.

DC Comics and Marvel Comics have introduced various gay and lesbian comic characters in their mainstream comic books since 1988, but most of these characters have only received minor roles (Franklin, 2001). Portrayals of sexual minorities have historically been rare in media, with existing depictions often represented in a stereotypical way (Chung, 2007). Despite increasingly progressive legislation and positive gay representation in television and film, stereotypes of gay men and lesbians have remained consistent in recent media (Blashill & Powlishta, 2009). Regular exposure to media stereotypes can contribute to the development of stereotypes that may then perpetuate upon exposure to further stereotyped content (Arendt, Steindl, & Vitouch, 2015).

Many of these effects outlined above are driven mechanistically by priming effects, a cornerstone of media psychology entailing that exposure to a media message or theme triggers thoughts and attitudes within a person related to that message that are already in place (Bryant, Thompson, & Finklea, 2013). Additionally, the consistent activation of such connections between groups and ideas reinforces them. These connections are picked up and perpetuated upon even if limited only to implicit symbolism and cues within media that may not even be intended, but instead seem to be product of existing, stereotyped-aligned views that appear on the surface to be race-neutral (Sonnnett, Johnson, & Dolan, 2015). In one study, participants exposed to equivalently violent portrayals of black and white media characters more readily associated black people with violent behaviors and weapons across both implicit and explicit batteries (Yang, 2014), an association that was not duplicated for participants exposed to the white character. Further, some evidence suggests that American media is both rife with stereotyped depictions of people of color (Tukachinsky, Mastro, & Yachi, 2015) and may be excessively prone to depict people of marginalized racial backgrounds in line with negative stereotypes compared to other media sources in the world (Tan, Zhang, Zhang, & Dalisay, 2009), offering ample opportunity for stereotypes to propagate in media consumers via consistent primes. Evidence also exists that marginalized characters that consumers enjoy and identify with, even when maintaining an overall positive public opinion, may still prime and reinforce stereotyped attitudes within consumers if they are portrayed in stereotyped ways, even when such a portrayal may have been intended positively (McMaughlin & Rodriguez, 2016).

Much prior work has been limited to the use of stereotypical images and stimuli as research primes. Characters in media that stand as foils to these typical stereotypes of people of marginalized identities, such as comic book heroes of color, are relatively uninvestigated in what reactions they elicit compared to more stereotyped oriented characters. This is especially relevant given media representations of people of color may not necessarily be best evaluated by how stereotyped they are, but how distant their depiction is from values of mainstream culture (Mastro & Kopacz, 2006), suggesting that limiting stereotype research, especially that involving priming stimuli, to only that which is in line/not in line with a stereotype may be limiting. The present study will advance the sparse empirical literature about the perception of people of different races, especially people of color, while using non-stereotyped stimuli that is matched visually across conditions save for race and gender. Future research can build upon our findings by examining how to combat these stereotypes of comic characters instead of reinforcing them. In line with prior work, we hypothesize that participants primed with images of hero characters of different races will attribute characteristics to the characters that are consistent with the stereotypes of that superhero's race and sexuality, despite such representations being non-stereotyped.

## Methods

### Participants

This study was approved by the university's institutional review board. The initial number of participants was 512 undergraduate students who completed the stereotype matrix as a part of a larger survey involving the superhero images. During the data cleaning process, participants were flagged for additional screening and possible exclusion from analyses when they were missing more than 30% of responses to survey items ( $N = 19$ ), completed the survey in less than 1200 seconds ( $N = 36$ ), took more than 24 hours to complete the survey ( $N = 21$ ), or were not old enough to legally consent to the study ( $N = 1$ ). Furthermore, due to a clerical error in the study design, participants who randomly sorted the condition where they would view the Hispanic Gay hero were shown the incorrect image. Thus, these participants' ( $N = 44$ ) data were excluded from the study. Lastly, exploratory factor analyses were conducted in order to pare down the number of factors taken from the study. Thirty-two participants were missing data that prevented the computation of factor scores, which led to their exclusion from final analyses. In sum, the data cleaning process saw the removal of 141 participants, leading to a final analysis pool of 371 participants.

Participants were 371 undergraduate students (34.8% male, 63.6% female, 1.1% nonbinary/nonconforming, .25% gender fluid, .25% genderless; age 18-60  $M = 21.1$ ,  $SD = 4.5$ ) from a large, public university in the southwestern United States. Additionally, 296 (79.8%) of participants identified as heterosexual/heterosexual, 15 (4.0%) identified as gay/lesbian/homosexual, 33 (8.9%) identified as bisexual, 10 (2.7%) identified as pansexual, 7 (1.9%) identified as asexual, and 10 (2.7%) identified as questioning/unsure. Racially, 178 (48%) participants identified as White, 70 identified as Latinx/Hispanic (18.9%), 53 (14.3%) identified as Black/African American, 28 (7.5%) identified as Asian, 1 (.3%) identified as Middle Eastern/Arab, 1 (.3%) identified as Native American, 38 (10.25%) identified as Multiracial.

### Procedure

#### Creating the Superhero Images

Starting with a blank slate, a diverse (African American, Mexican, Mexican American, White, Japanese American, male, female, gay, heterosexual) 12-member student research team began developing images. All students (one graduate, 11 undergraduates) were active consumers of the comic superhero genre. After deciding to develop images of American Indian, Arab Muslim, White, Latino, African American, and Asian American male images, the team first developed a generic athletic body image as a base that would be applied to each figure. The team then developed what they perceived to be a generic hero costume that they would apply to each figure. Team members with artistic skills then developed a generic head shape with a blank face, followed by adding eyes, eyebrows, nose, and lips, each of which were tweaked to reflect a recognizable racial face image, with traits based upon images of real people of these backgrounds, as well as existing comic/media depictions. As the team developed each figure, the images were shared with fellow students and in classrooms. The images were returned to the team with feedback and redrawn, then re-shared with other students for feedback. In an iterative process that took over one full academic year, these six images were finalized (see Appendix C, Figures 1-6).

### Survey

This study was disseminated via the Qualtrics online survey platform. After informed consent, the participants were randomly presented one of 12 conditions based on manipulation of hero race (White x Black x Latinx x Asian x Arab x Native American) and hero sexual orientation (Heterosexual x Gay). Participants were asked questions about their perceptions of the hero's powers, character role (hero, villain, sidekick), traits (intelligent, violent, rich, etc.) and socioeconomic status.

### Measures

**Validity of Images with Respect to Racial Identity.** To determine the extent to which participants accurately perceived the intended racial/ethnic identity of the hero characters, participants were presented with an item "What is the race of this superhero?"

Overall, 90% of participants accurately perceived the race of all superheroes. 5.7% of mistakes in race ascription confused the hero with a non-White racial group that was not their own, 1.1% of mistakes misattributed the hero as White when they were not, and 3% of incorrect responses were non-applicable or pointed out that the race of the hero was not stated. Within race conditions, 96.8% of participants correctly ascribed race to the White hero, 95.7% correctly ascribed race to the Black hero, 94.3% correctly ascribed race to the Asian hero, 93.3% correctly ascribed race to the Latinx hero, 85.1% correctly ascribed race to the Native American hero, and 77.8% correctly ascribed race to the Arab hero. The Native American hero's incorrect ascriptions were being mistaken as another Person of Color (13.4%) while the Arab hero was mistaken for another Person of Color (13.9%), as White (2.8%), and in other ways (5.6%) such as being thought of as multiracial.

**Stereotypes and Attributes.** A list of stereotypic attributes was compiled based on previous stereotypes research (Niemann, Jennings, Rozelle, Baxter, & Sullivan, 1994). Participants were presented with a list of 71

attributes (e.g., intelligent, peaceful, middle class etc.) and were asked to indicate how they felt the attributes matched with the hero that they had viewed on a scale from 1 = Strongly Disagree to 7 = Strongly Agree. Cronbach's alpha for this index was .81.

## Results

### *Analytic Approach*

Data analysis took place in two distinct phases. Due to the number of variables present in the stereotype matrix, we conducted a series of exploratory factor analyses (EFAs), paring down the number of variables to more manageable factor scores. These factor scores were then used to chart differences amongst clusters of variables found in the data. Once factor scores were calculated, a multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was conducted to determine how factor scores from the stereotype matrix differed based upon the race and sexual orientation of the hero. A principal component analysis was conducted on the factors and utilized a direct oblique rotation with Kaiser Normalization due to the perceived interrelatedness of the stereotype variables.

The stereotype matrix asked participants about 71 different traits that the person in the cape may demonstrate, each of which was rated on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from Strongly Disagree to Strongly Agree. During initial EFA tests, physical traits — such as blonde hair, dark skin, dark hair, etc. — were dominating the factor structure and clouding interpretation. Thus, they were removed from further analyses. Then, through an iterative process, the number of factors was reduced from 71 variables to 35 variables. This iterative process involved removing significantly cross-loading variables individually and subsequently rerunning the model to see how the factor structure was affected. This process was repeated until there were no significant cross loadings and the factor structure was easily interpretable. The 35 variables supported a four-factor structure. To further support the use of a four-factor structure, a parallel analysis was conducted utilizing Patil, Surendra, Sanjay, and Donavan's (2007) web-based engine. Comparing the mean eigenvalues of the web-based parallel analysis to the total eigenvalues of the SPSS analysis, a four-factor structure was further supported.

The four-factor structure possessed some minor cross-loadings but was deemed easily interpretable. The four factors were as follows: Positive Traits, Machismo Traits, Social Status Traits, and Socially Undesirable Traits. Variables that loaded onto each factor were calculated into a single factor score. These factor scores indicate the degree to which participants ascribed stereotypes of that factor to the hero image. Positive scores indicate that participants believe the hero possesses a trait, with higher scores being indicative of greater trait ascription (i.e. strongly agree that a hero possesses this trait). Negative scores indicate that participants believe that the trait is not true of the hero, with more extreme scores being indicative of greater trait denial (i.e. strongly disagree that a hero possesses this trait).

A MANOVA was conducted examining the race of the hero (White x Black x Latinx x Arab x Native American x Asian) and the sexual orientation of the hero (Heterosexual x Gay) in the context of the four factors outlined previously: positive traits, machismo traits, socially undesirable traits, and social status traits. A test for equality of variances, Box's M (100, 122861.79) = 1.656,  $p < .001$ , indicated that assumptions of the normality of the data were violated. However, the MANOVA is considered robust to this assumption as long as group sizes are greater than 30 (Hair, Black & Babin, 2010). Thus, the factorial MANOVA was considered cautiously interpretable when using Pillai's Trace due to its robustness, especially when dealing with unequal sample sizes.

Pillai's Trace for each of the IV's indicated differences based on the race of the hero ( $p < .001$ , partial  $\eta^2 = .039$ ) and no significant difference based on the sexuality of the hero ( $p = .842$ , partial  $\eta^2 = .004$ ). However, there was indication of an interaction between the hero's race and sexuality ( $p = .011$ , partial  $\eta^2 = .022$ ). Due to the statistically significant results of the MANOVA, additional interpretation of the main effects and interaction effects were warranted. The race of the hero supported differences in trait ascription with positive traits ( $p = .017$ , partial  $\eta^2 = .037$ ), machismo traits ( $p = .012$ , partial  $\eta^2 = .040$ ), and socially undesirable traits ( $p < .001$ , partial  $\eta^2 = .066$ ). The interaction of the hero's race and sexuality supported differences in trait ascription in regard to positive traits ( $p = .050$ , partial  $\eta^2 = .026$ ) and social status traits ( $p = .035$ , partial  $\eta^2 = .028$ ).

With regards to race, post hoc examinations did not reveal statistically significant differences among the races of hero when it came to positive traits, though the White hero was trending towards receiving more negative beliefs about possessing positive traits in comparison to the black hero (Tukey's HSD  $p = .083$ ). In terms of machismo, the White hero was considered to have more machismo-esque traits than the Asian hero ( $p = .03$ ). In terms of socially undesirable traits, the Arab hero was considered to have more undesirable traits than the Asian ( $p = .014$ ), Black ( $p = .001$ ), and Native American heroes ( $p = .001$ ).

To get an idea differences along participant identities, the data file was split across a number of participant demographics. The original factorial MANOVA was conducted again within split subsets of the participant demographics. The MANOVAs were conducted based on race (White x Latinx x Black x Other Races), gender (Male x Female), and Sexual Orientation (Heterosexual/Heterosexual x Non-Heterosexual). While the research team recognizes that the experiences of each of these identities and their intersections are extremely varied, and that the current analyses may imply a sense of homogeneity, these groups were formed based on the number of

participants for each identity being analyzed. Results of these analyses should be used to offer insight into future studies as opposed to being interpretable in their current state.

Participant race seems to contribute to differences in hero interpretation based upon examination of Pillai's Trace. Although most of the participant data did not retain enough power for significance, we did see that white participants significantly differed in how they ascribed hero traits based on hero race ( $p = .008$ , partial  $\eta^2 = .055$ ). Latinx participants did not differ significantly in how they ascribed traits based on hero race or sexuality. Black participants also did not demonstrate differences in trait ascription based on hero race or sexuality. Participants of other racial groups in aggregate also did not differ in how they ascribed traits based on hero race and sexuality.

Men did not demonstrate significant differences in how they ascribed traits based upon examination of Pillai's Trace. However, women were significantly different in how they ascribed hero traits based on hero race ( $p = .001$ , partial  $\eta^2 = .050$ ). Though they did not differ in the ascription of traits based on hero sexuality, there were differences among women in terms of how hero race and sexuality interacted to form their trait ascriptions ( $p = .029$ , partial  $\eta^2 = .031$ ).

Heterosexual/ heterosexual participants demonstrated differences in how they ascribed traits on the basis of hero race ( $p < .001$ , partial  $\eta^2 = .041$ ). However, non-heterosexual participants did not demonstrate significant differences in how traits were ascribed to a hero on the basis of race or sexuality.

## Discussion

The present study had three main goals: (1) to test the hypothesis that participants ascribe stereotypical characteristics to original, fictional characters based on race and sexuality; (2) to examine whether utilizing images developed for research, rather than proprietary images, would be a feasible methodology for testing for implicit biases and stereotype ascription; and (3) to seek evidence of ongoing racial and sexuality stereotypes within the current zeitgeist. The current study offers mixed support for the first goal, strong support for the second, and moderate support for the third.

The results indicate that a relatively diverse sample of participants significantly differed in how stereotypical traits were ascribed to heroes based on race. While trait ascription did not vastly differ as a result of hero sexuality, intersections of race and sex did contribute to differences in how people saw the hero. In this study, the White and Arab heroes—specifically the gay Arab hero—received the greatest endorsement of negative traits. While it is not within the purview of this data to understand the exact causality of this difference, initial hypotheses may be that the White hero was something of an acceptable target, with participants being more willing to ascribe the negative traits to the White image. Furthermore, the Arab hero having a higher endorsement of undesirable traits compared to other heroes of color may lie in the overwhelming portrayal of Arab characters in media as villainous. There also appears to be a significant interaction in the identities of the gay Arab hero. Future studies should explore these differences further. Thus, our initial assumption that participants would differ in their perceptions of an original fictional character based on race and sexuality were moderately supported by the results.

The images of the heroes (see Appendix C, Figures 1-6) were created entirely in-house, offering a wholly original, non-proprietary tool in the examination of media effects. The results of this study indicate that such images can be used effectively to gauge how individuals may ascribe stereotypical traits and demonstrate implicit biases in their responses to free response items. Due to the novel nature of these images, they were devoid of the history, context, and other potential confounds that more well-known comic book images may fall prey to. Thus, original images such as the images utilized in this study have great utility for future research, suggesting that goal two is strongly supported.

As for exploration of racial and sexual stereotypes, this study offers a degree of support that participants ascribe traits differently based on hero race and race x sexual identity intersections. Future work can further explore these differences with clear factor structures.

### **Implications of Current Study**

Previous research has shown that media influences can affect self-perceptions. The success of the comic book industry clearly indicates the popularity of this genre within mainstream media entertainment. The present study demonstrates that there are underlying imagery trends that should be taken into consideration when these heroes are created or portrayed through movies, television, or print. Through the application of stereotypical attributes to the superhero images, we could potentially see an effect on self-perception. This result should stand as a caution to creators and consumers as the presentation of superheroes of color are being introduced into the mainstream comic book media.

As comic book media (Ndalianis, 2011) superhero genre (Mayfield, Mayfield, & Genestre, 2001) continue to grow, it is important for researchers to incorporate these images into the evaluations of media. The present research supports previous work that shows the prevalence of stereotypes in media (Mastro, 2015; Mastro, 2009; Tukachinsky, Mastro, & Yachi, 2015), as well as specifically in comic book media (Cook & Frey, 2017). Therefore, it is important to evaluate these comic book heroes from a critical race and sexual orientation

perspective. The findings of this study may also be used in furthering efforts to create appropriate diversity and equality among the comic book superhero genre.

### **Future Directions**

Future studies should consider introducing heroes with intersectional race, sex, and sexual orientations. The intersections of these identities may influence stereotype ascription. Future studies may also want to consider utilizing free-response methodology for stereotype ascription as in Niemann et al. (1994). That may allow for further insights into the current state of stereotype ascription in American society. By pursuing other methods of inquiry within the realm of stereotypes and media effects, we can achieve a greater understanding of the myriad influences that comic books and related media have on how we view others and ourselves. We plan to build upon this study and are willing to work alongside any scholars interested in the use of our superhero imagery.

### **Limitations**

**Participants.** All participants within this study were undergraduate psychology students attending a large southwestern university. The homogeneity of certain factors, such as education level, environment, and values, may have influenced results and impacted external validity. Future research will benefit from non-college population participants as well as participants from other geographic regions to further generalize results.

Additionally, while the sample had some degree of diversity, certain groups were less represented than others in our participant pool, severely limiting the conclusions that could be drawn on the basis of certain demographics. Though preliminary MANOVA were conducted with participant demographics in mind, we recognize the inherent issues with aggregating the responses of multiple distinct identities in order to have groups large enough to analyze. Future studies should not only recruit for a greater diversity of participants but should also consider the intersections of participant identities such as race, gender, and sexuality.

**Study design.** It is also important to consider that due to the study design, it is difficult to match the race of the participants to their responses to the race of the superheroes. Future studies should focus on the participant and the influences of their identities more than the validation of the hero images that this study focused on.

**Female images.** This work served as a methodological validation of utilizing novel images to assess changes in participant perceptions. However, female images were not depicted in this iteration of the study. Future studies will also manipulate female hero images on the same bases as the men (Race x Sexuality).

### **Research Transparency Statement**

The authors are willing to share their data, analytics methods, and study materials with other researchers. The material will be available upon request.

### **WORKS CITATION**

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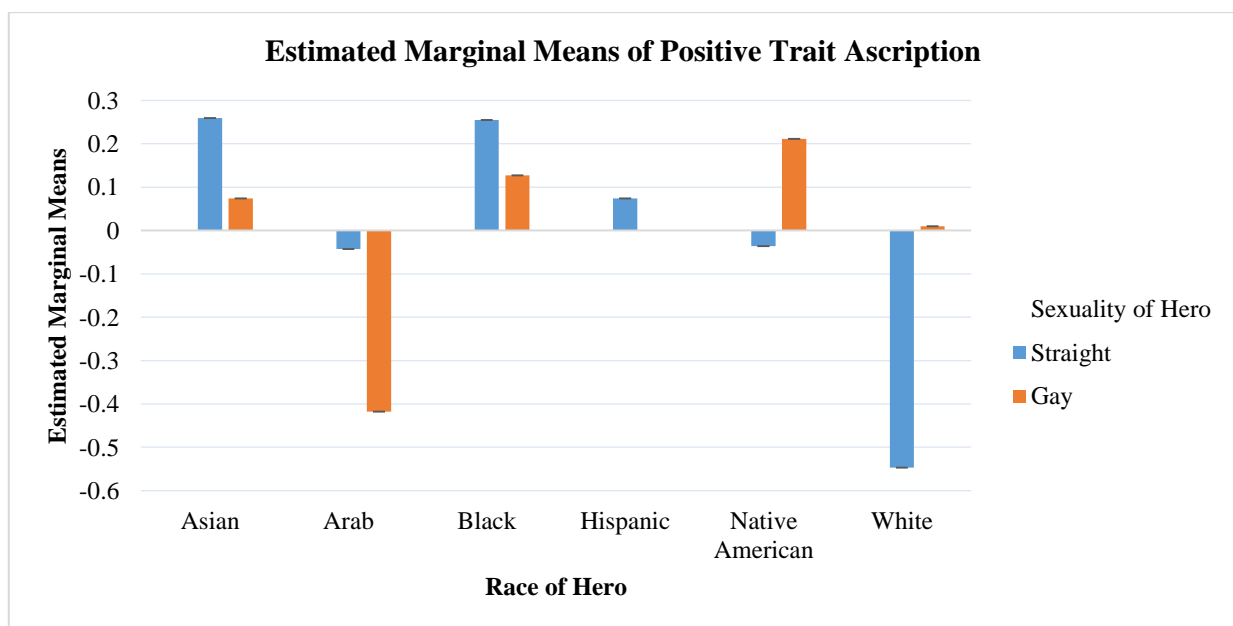
**Appendix A: Factor Structure**

Trait	PV	MC	SS	SU
Intelligence	0.729			
Peaceful	0.796			
Hard Worker	0.814			
Sociable	0.714			
Attractive	0.535			
Achievement Oriented	0.718			
Well-Mannered	0.862			
Racist	-0.473			0.657
Pleasant	0.839			
Powerful	0.599	0.345		
Humble	0.765			
Confident	0.677			
Independent	0.589		-0.335	
Criminal	-0.549			0.552
Lower Class			0.704	0.410
Non College Educated			0.838	
Aggressive		0.766		
Tolerant	0.620			
Caring	0.838			
Subordinate				0.687
Promiscuous				0.679
College Educated	0.356		-0.770	
Sexist	-0.536			0.652
Honest	0.829			
Loyal	0.807			
Trustworthy	0.853			
Good Student	0.712		-0.452	
Family Oriented	0.660			
Speak Loudly		0.506		
Compassionate	0.791			
Tempered		0.528		
Hyper Masculine		0.626		
Violent		0.757		0.321

**Table 1: Results of EFA Structure Coefficients**

Note. PV = Positive Valence, MC = Machismo, SS = Social Status, SU= Sociably Undesirable.

**Appendix B: Marginal Means of MANOVA**



**Table 1**

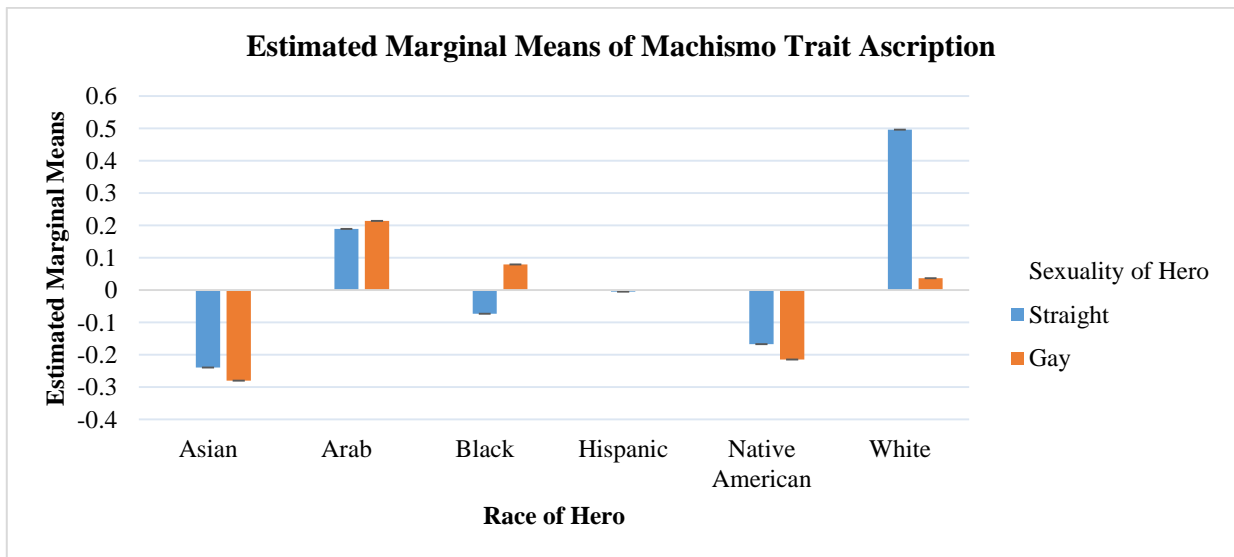


Table 2

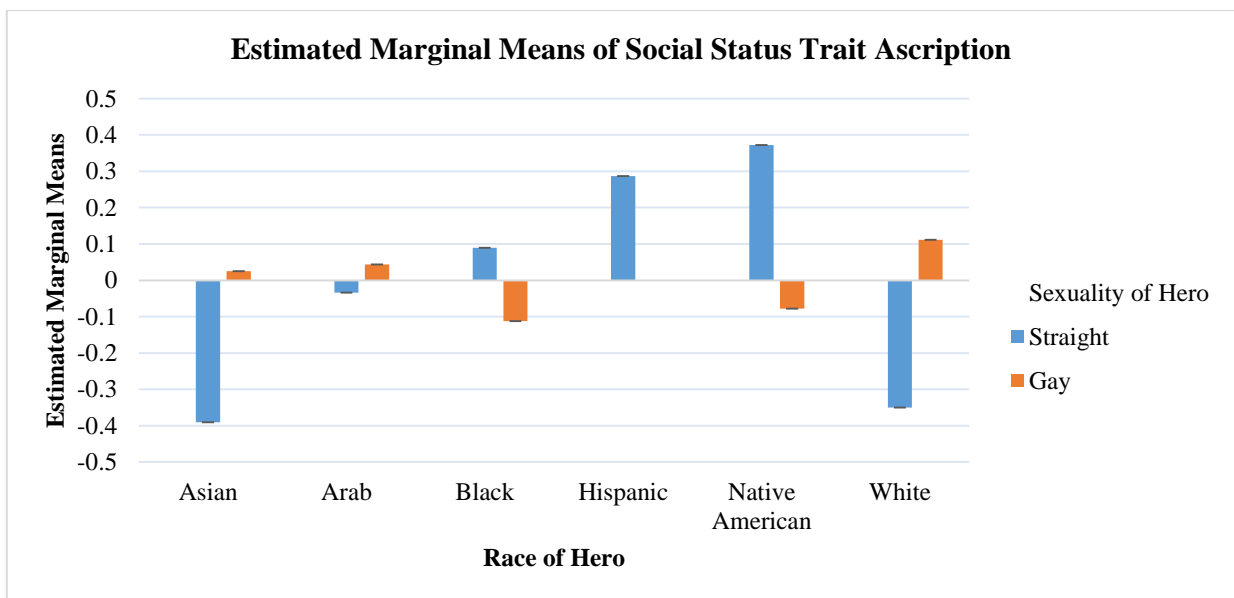


Table 3

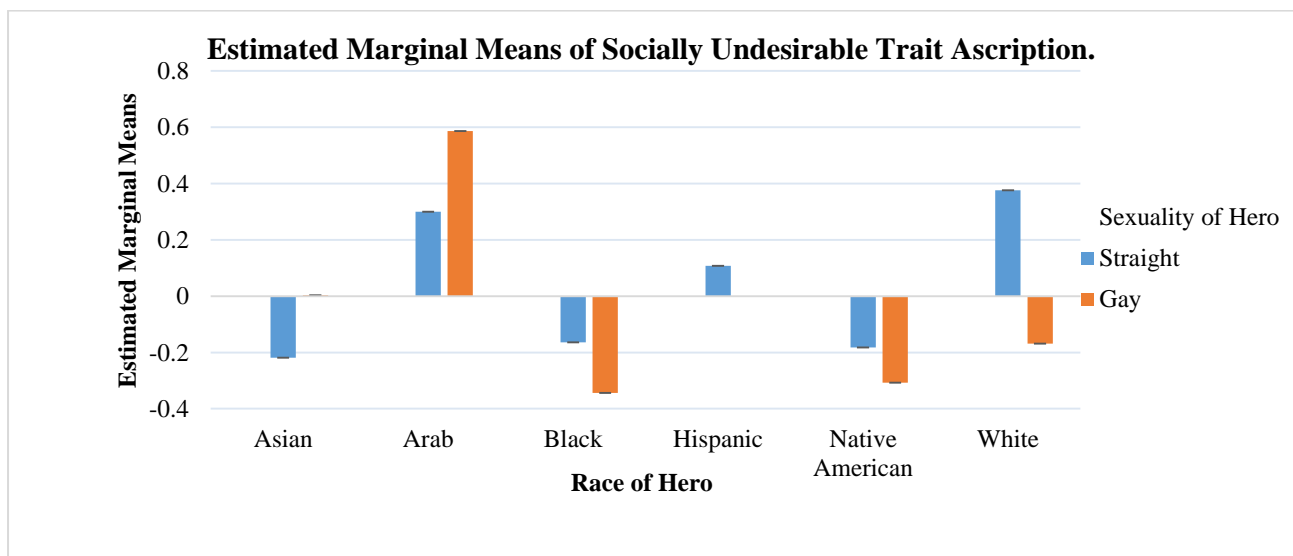


Table 4

### Appendix C: Superhero Images

**Middle Eastern Superhero**



**Asian Superhero**



**African American Superhero**



**Hispanic Superhero**



### Native American Superhero



### White Superhero

